

or supplies to or from a point of first delivery or to the farm of the truck owner or operator should have an exemption comparable to the commercial zone exemption applicable to urban drivers. This would permit a farm truck to operate free of the restrictions within a given distance of his farm.

I urge my colleagues in the House to examine this proposal which will cause unwarranted economic problems for the Nation's farmers and then to join me in petitioning Secretary Volpe to drastically alter this completely unnecessary plan. A copy of my letter to Secretary Volpe is a part of these remarks:

MARCH 24, 1971.

Hon. JOHN A. VOLPE,
Secretary of Transportation,
Department of Transportation,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Regulations under your jurisdiction which are currently affecting the drivers of some farm trucks in interstate commerce and others which are scheduled to be implemented beginning July 1, 1971, pose serious and unwarranted economic problems to many farmers in my Congressional district in Western Illinois. I'm certain the farmers of many other Congressional districts throughout the nation have similar concerns.

The existence of these regulations, which go back to 1939, was little known, understood, or of much concern to farmers until the DOT issued its notice in 1970 that drivers of farm trucks who had historically been exempt from most of the regulations would soon come under considerably more restrictive requirements than they knew about.

In addition to inadequate advance notice of the regulations, no educational program was undertaken to inform farmers what the regulations were, where they could get a copy, or what was required of them to fully qualify under these regulations. It is appreciated that the application of the regulations to the drivers of trucks of under 10,000 pounds gross weight was deferred until July 1, 1971.

Unless the regulations are changed, beginning July 1, 1971 all drivers of farm trucks involved in interstate commerce will have to be 21 years old, have passed a physical examination, a written examination, a road test, and if an employee of a farmer must have filed an extensive record relating to his driving history, which the employer must verify. I sincerely urge you to effect extensive changes in these proposed changes.

Regulations which are designed to fit large trucking operations do not fit farm trucks and their owners and operators. Some 2.8 million farm units operate an average of 1.3 trucks each as part of their individual farm production and marketing operation.

A large number of these trucks are used primarily for on-farm operations off the public roads and highways. A similar large portion of farm truck operation is for short trips, or for local hauling on an intermittent basis much of the time with very light loads or no load at all. I personally know many farmers who use their trucks on their farms much more than on public roads. An examination of motor fuel tax refund records will support this fact.

The safety record of farm truck drivers, including very young drivers, is dramatically better, according to insurance company and law enforcement records, than that of non-farm truck drivers.

I suggest that your regulations be amended prior to July 1, 1971, to: (1) Provide a permanent exemption from these regulations for drivers of pickup, panel, and other small trucks under 10,000 pounds gross weight when used for transportation of farm supplies and produce.

(2) That local hauling of farm products or supplies to or from a point of first delivery or to the farm of the truck owner or operator should have an exemption comparable to the commercial zone exemption applicable to urban drivers.

I further suggest that whatever regulations you approve should not take effect until at least six months after they have been publicly announced. This period of time should be used by DOT to mount an extensive information campaign to help farmers through the agricultural extension service, land grant colleges, their farm organizations, and local farm cooperatives become acquainted with the regulations and to become qualified to continue operating their trucks when the regulations take effect.

Farmers and their families have proven their ability to handle trucks with a considerably better safety record than the general trucking industry. These people, unlike the large commercial trucking firms, do not travel the highways in adverse weather, for the most part. In addition, they nearly always have a personal interest in the produce being hauled or the truck they are driving, and often share in the investment of both truck and load.

I urge you to announce as early as possible revisions in the regulations for farm truck drivers. I'm confident the revised regulations will be more acceptable and equally as effective for highway safety than those currently before us.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL FINLEY,
Representative in Congress.

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) is recognized for 10 minutes.

[Mr. GONZALEZ addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Mrs. GRASSO) is recognized for 10 minutes.

[Mrs. GRASSO addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

BAN SPORTS FROM CLOSED-CIRCUIT TV

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. ASPIN) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday I introduced a bill which would ban virtually all sports events from closed-circuit television, thus forcing promoters to use home TV and radio for the broadcast of sports events.

This bill would place an outright ban on the production of sports events over closed-circuit TV whenever a radio or television network or station wanted to broadcast the event. In other words, all sports events of general interest would have to be shown on home TV, or not be shown at all. Included in the closed-circuit TV ban would be boxing matches, auto races, super bowls, the Olympics, and infintum.

This bill makes one basic but, I believe, easily defensible assumption: that free home TV is capable of providing a rea-

enable profit to those involved in any sports event of general interest in America today. The best demonstration of this is, I think, that the \$2.5 million paid to both Mr. Ali and Mr. Frazier for this recent fight over closed-circuit TV is the same amount paid by NBC for the home TV rights to the 1971 Super Bowl—which provided a handsome profit to the 40 players on each team, the two team owners, and the NFL itself.

At present, closed-circuit TV is regulated, along with the telephone and telegraph industry, by the Common Carrier Bureau within the FCC. In addition to the ban of sports on closed-circuit TV, my bill would transfer jurisdiction over closed-circuit TV from the Common Carrier Bureau to the Broadcast Bureau, which has jurisdiction over pay TV, television, and radio. Since closed-circuit TV is, in essence, pay TV outside the home I believe this is a more rational approach.

Since my announcement 2 weeks ago that I would introduce this bill, the public reaction which I have received to it has been vocal, widespread in its origins, and nearly unanimous in support of the bill. This is hardly surprising, however, since, as you know, there has been a public outcry against the incredible profits the promoters of the fight made, the elitist nature of the fight, and the fact that the promoters even attempted to charge the armed services \$500,000 for a live broadcast of the fight to our men in Vietnam.

I believe there is clear evidence that if we do not act now to severely restrict sports presentations on closed-circuit TV that soon other sports will be drawn by the lure of the fantastic profits from closed-circuit TV. In fact, E. William Henry, chairman of Management Television Systems which set up the closed-circuit network for the Ali-Frazier fight, has predicted that the superbowl would be on closed-circuit TV within 5 years. Mr. Henry, who is also a former Chairman of the FCC, has estimated that the superbowl would gross receipts of \$48 million on closed-circuit TV.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is clear that if we want sports events to remain open to the general public we must act now to make sure that sports remain on home TV. I believe this bill would accomplish that, and I urge the House to enact this legislation in this session.

SOVIET FAILURES IN SPACE

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. RARIK) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. RARIK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Julius Epstein, a research associate at the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University has prepared a well-documented research paper outlining Soviet failures in space.

His paper may induce the administration to take certain steps to ease the unwarranted and foolish policy of absolute secrecy about the Soviet space tragedies.

I commend Mr. Epstein's paper to my colleagues.

CHICAGO, ILL.
SUN-TIMES

M - 541,086
S - 697,966

MAR 17 1971

Since we've procrastinated this long on our poor, beleaguered SST, why don't those wonderful folks in Washington wait just a few more months and see what the Tupolev 144—the Russian version due to go operative this October—does to Russia? Surely our embassy people (maybe even the CIA?) can find out the effects of the fast bird over there.

Jack J. Kessie

Symington Suggests Jackson Disclosed Classified Material

on Soviet

STATINTL

By JOHN W. FINNEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10

Senator Stuart Symington suggested today that Senator Henry M. Jackson had used classified information in stating on a nationwide television program that the Soviet Union was deploying an advanced intercontinental ballistic missile.

The suggestion was immediately denied by Senator Jackson who told reporters that "nothing I said violated any rules of security." In a television appearance last Sunday, the Washington Democrat said "the Russians are now in the

process of deploying a new generation, and advanced generation of offensive systems."

In a brief Senate speech, Senator Symington did not directly accuse Senator Jackson, a colleague on both the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, of having violated security.

But he contended that the information on new Soviet missile developments had been presented on a highly classified basis to the Armed Services Committee on March 4 by the Director of Central Intelligence, Richard Helms.

Later, after talking with Sen-

ator Jackson, Senator Symington said his speech was "not intended as criticism of Senator Jackson" over the intelligence information because the Administration "gave it to him to put out."

In complaining that "inaccurate intelligence reports" had been used in the past to justify unneeded weapons, Senator Symington, clearly alluding to the statements, made by Senator Jackson on the Columbia Broadcasting System program "Face the Nation," said:

"Last week, in a session secret to the point where no record was kept, the Senate Armed

Services Committee was briefed about Soviet missile plans. This briefing included for the first time purported details of new Soviet missile which was not known about when the Joint Atomic Energy Committee was briefed the previous weeks on the same subject by the same people."

Mr. Helms appeared before the Atomic Energy Committee on Feb. 24 and the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 4 in his annual briefing of the committees on Soviet military posture.

Senator Jackson said he had not attended the March 4 briefing but declined to say where he had obtained his information about the Soviet missile developments except to say, "I try to keep currently informed on what is going on." He said he had decided to make public use of the information on the basis of his own judgment, based on years of experience, that it was not classified.

The Symington speech was the latest round in a controversy that has developed between the Administration and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee--of which the Senator is a member--over the use of classified information.

Jackson Referred To Russian Silos, Not New Missiles

Construction of several new Soviet missile silos but no sign of any new missiles, is what Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) was referring to on Sunday when he spoke of Moscow "deploying" an "advanced generation" of such nuclear weapons.

This was learned yesterday as President Nixon held an hour-and-a-half National Security Council meeting on preparations for the fourth round of the strategic arms limitation talks which opens in Vienna next Monday. Final presidential decisions are expected later this week.

Jackson's information was said to have come from a congressional briefing by CIA Director Richard Helms. But the senator's statement was said to have been more specific than the available information, accounting for the cautious wording of Pentagon spokesman Jerry W. Friedheim in confirming evidence of "some new ICBM construction."

Most importantly, reconnaissance photos of the new silo construction work were available here before Mr. Nixon's Feb. 25 State of the World report and were taken into account in writing the section on arms control. It was in that report, also, that the President noted, "while it appears that the Soviets have slowed the increase of their missile systems, the evidence is far from unambiguous."

Moscow last winter halted construction work on 18 silos for their giant SS-9 missiles and as of yesterday there was no evidence this work had been resumed. That halt was announced by the Pentagon last Dec. 16. As a result the Soviet SS-9 total stands at 233, though Jackson spoke Sunday of around 305 SS-9s.

American efforts to draw out of that halt have been unavailing. Since the recent discovery of the new silo con-

struction, it is being assumed that Moscow did not want to make much of the SS-9 halt knowing that the United States would discover the new silo work.

Pentagon sources say the new missile construction is different from the normal SS-9 pattern but indicate that the size of the newly observed silos is close to the SS-9 or perhaps slightly larger. Some officials believe that the Soviets may be moving to a multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicle (MIRV), rather than a buckshot-style warhead (MRV), for the SS-9 and that this may have changed the shape of the mis-

Jackson interpreted the new work as meaning that "an advanced generation" of ICBMs is being deployed. Others said yesterday that there have been no new missile test firings in the Soviet Union and hence it is unknown just what purpose the new silos will serve. A new generation of missiles, however, is a possibility.

The same situation applies to reports that the Soviets are at work on a six-missile MIRV warhead for the SS-9s. Tests so far have not gone beyond three-missile warheads but theoretically six or several more are possible. The much smaller American Poseidon submarine missile, for example, will have a 10-missile MIRV warhead.

The president said on March 4 that an agreement with the Soviets must include "some mix" of offensive and defensive missiles. That leaves some room for maneuvering at Vienna but unless there is a change of Kremlin instructions the makings of an agreement is not evident.

At the State Department, spokesman Robert J. McCloskey termed the new Soviet silo construction an "important development" that has been taken into account in reevaluation of the U.S. position at SALT.

STATINTL

Reds Held Testing 'Hunter' Satellites

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Flight paths of two recently launched Soviet satellites indicate a new test of a system to knock out unfriendly space vehicles.

The two Russian satellites, designated Cosmos 394 and 397, also may have been sent up from a different spaceport than the two previous shots, one in 1968 and the other in 1970.

Space specialists theorized yesterday that the Soviet Union used the military complex at Plesetsk rather than the more civilian spaceport of Tyuratam.

If further analysis substantiates that theory, the change of spaceports probably means that the Soviet Union considers its satellite inspection system in the operational rather than experimental category.

Part of the basis for suspecting a different launching site is the change in the inclination of the Soviet spacecraft this time as they crossed the Equator.

Cosmos 394—launched Feb. 9—crossed at an inclination of 65.9 degrees and Cosmos 397—launched Feb. 25—crossed at 65.8 degrees. This compares with an inclination of about 62 degrees for previous satellite inspection lasts from Tyuratam.

The Soviet Union in all three series of shots used "target" and "hunter" satellites. The radar track showed the hunters passing close enough to the target satellites to blow them up—apparently testing the ability to knock out another nation's observation or navigation satellites.

In this new shot, Cosmos 394 flew a nearly circular orbit about 370 miles above the earth. The hunter—Cosmos 397—flew an elliptical course, zooming up as high as 1,390 miles and down as low as 368 miles.

In the two earlier experiments—the first beginning on Oct. 19, 1968, and the second on Oct. 25, 1970—three satel-

lites were used, two of them hunters. It appears that only two were used in this latest test.

American radars in those two earlier marksmanship exercises detected debris from explosions in the hunters, with space specialists unsure whether the target satellite shot the hunters or vice-versa.

Although the Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Department study such Soviet shots intensively, very little information is released to the public. But a recent Library of Congress report commented on the satellite inspection nature of the 1968 and 1970 tests.

"Two successive flights made a reasonably close intercept of a predecessor," wrote Charles S. Sheldon II in the Library of Congress report of Jan. 12, "and then moving away a bit were in turn exploded into many pieces of debris."

"In the absence of Soviet announcements," Sheldon continued, "an assessment cannot be conclusive. But the suspicion remains that a capability to inspect and destroy satellites had been created."

U. S. Strategy on the Kremlin Debate

By ROBERT KLEIMAN

The critical period of decision-making underway in the Kremlin in preparation for the postponed Communist party Congress March 30, the first since 1966, has set off a parallel debate in Washington. A reluctant White House is being urged by State Department, C.I.A. and outside Soviet analysts—including some in the Soviet Embassy—to send a new signal to the Moscow summit to influence decisions there on Russia's national priorities in the 1970s.

Crucial choices between guns and butter in the long-delayed 1971-75 Five-Year Plan, on the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) and on other issues undoubtedly will be affected by Moscow's estimate of the Nixon Administration's intentions.

"We are not sure that Washington is not serious about the SALT talks, but we are not sure that it is," Premier Kosygin told Senator Muskie last month.

If the Soviet Union misreads American policy toward SALT, Soviet-German detente, stability in the Mideast and peace in Southeast Asia, hard line elements in the Politburo could be strengthened.

There are signs that a power struggle within the Soviet leadership over the ultimate succession to party secretary Leonid Brezhnev may be in progress. Mr. Brezhnev, now 64, reportedly has suffered two heart attacks and some political ups and downs. President Podgorny will be 68 this month; Premier Kosygin will be 67 and has been in poor health. The average age of the 11-member Politburo is now 62 and ambitious younger men presumably are eyeing some of these posts.

Although the seriousness of this challenge is difficult to assess, as are the precise issues and players in the Politburo debate, analysts agree that there is a sharp conflict of tendencies, if not of individuals, within the Soviet leadership.

The official press reflects a trend toward a tightening up in ideology and discipline, a trend evidently favored by the party machine and military leaders. But among scientists, younger plant directors and the managerial elite who travel abroad there is a desire to modernize and rationalize the lumbering Soviet system and even to open it more to the world. Pressure for higher living standards, at the expense of heavy industry and arms spending, has increased since the Polish food price riots.

In these circumstances, President Nixon is being urged to employ a channel his predecessors used but he has neglected—direct correspondence with Premier Kosygin—in an effort to break the impasse in the SALT talks and clear away other misunderstandings.

Another suggestion is to set up a high-level strategy group to screen out Administration moves—such as the ill-timed announcement of a defense budget increase—that could have an adverse impact on the Politburo's internal argument.

Mr. Nixon reportedly tried to signal a real desire for accommodation in his speech to the U.N. General Assembly last fall. But there evidently was too much static in the line. Other White House comments have interpreted difficulties with Moscow on some matters, such as the Middle East and Cuba, as a general hardening of Soviet policy, requiring a stiffening of Wash-

ington's responses in unrelated fields. Many Soviet analysts challenge this "linkage" concept and urge an issue-by-issue approach to the Russians to make progress where possible.

The Russians have never been sure whether they were dealing with the "old Nixon" or a "new Nixon" and the White House has felt it advantageous in the past to keep them guessing. That strategy could boomerang now. What Ambassador Charles Yost once termed "the law of disproportionate responses to miscalculated challenges" could again govern the Kremlin's decisions.

Of all the positive steps Washington might take, Soviet analysts consider two of over-riding importance. One is to normalize trade with the Soviet Union beyond recent case-by-case relaxations in strategic trade controls. Secondly, a need is seen for a new, more reasonable proposal in the SALT talks to meet Soviet concern that the United States is trying to freeze Russia into a position of nuclear inferiority.

President Nixon has always believed that he could pressure Moscow toward agreement by withholding trade until later and by stepping up American missile deployments. But now he is being told that these tactics play into the hands of the Kremlin's hardliners. His decision in the coming weeks may determine whether deterioration continues in the Soviet-American relationship or whether a beginning is made toward the fundamental accommodation that Mr. Nixon himself undoubtedly wants.

Robert Kleiman is a member of the editorial board of *The Times*.

February 1, 1971

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ing, also of the Saginaw League, does alternate shows. Mary, and I ask the dumb questions that everyone else would ask, you know, and then we have a host, Mr. Henderson, who is the arts editor of the *Saginaw News*. He's the solid person on the show; he gets into the meat, the drag-it-down-into-the-depths sort of thing."

"The other program is called 'Introspect.' I'm the hostess and producer for that one too. We present a person who has a hobby that is really different and exciting, but completely remote from his education or vocation. We had a dentist who's a magician, and a guy who runs a trucking company and collects fire engines, real ones, and also builds little teeny models."

In addition to coping with three television programs—quite a load for a professional, let alone a housewife—Barbara has three children: a boy, 7, and two daughters, 5 and 3. It's a corny question, but how does she manage?

"My house is dirty sometimes. But I think the more you have to do, the more organized you get. If I get up in the morning and I don't have anything to do that day, it takes me all day to get the house picked up and the dishes out of the dishwasher. But I have a meeting at 9:30 a.m., everything is done by 9:00. Besides, I only tape 'Marquee' once a month, two shows at a time. 'TNT' is at 10:00, so the kids are in bed by that time. And I started taping 'Introspect' last summer, so there wasn't that much to do this winter. I do most of the work coordinating 'TNT' on the phone at home. I'm not really out much."

NEXT YEAR: PROJECT BRITO

"Next year I'll just be doing a little bit of television. But I'll be working mostly in inner-city schools. I'm involved in a project down there that's really going to pan out to be something neat. It's Project Brito (Building Resources to Improve Teaching for Everyone). We're starting with a very deep inner-city school. The Board of Education began this, and I've been working as a volunteer. We've done things like the Career Orientation program. I've gone out and gotten tapes of black community leaders who have made it—ministers, drug store owners, beauticians, and so on, who give about two minutes of pep talks on tape. We play maybe two a week on the speaker system in the school, and the kids feel like the people are in there. The tapes just say, 'each day in school is important.' It's a black voice and a black person whom they know, at least by name. The point is to motivate the kids to bigger things."

"Then every other week we have a successful black come into the school to talk to the fourth and fifth graders. Like one week we had a program on ministers. First the kids studied a little bit about what a minister does, and then we had a minister come into the classroom and he talked to the kids. Each minister had three half-hour sessions with them. It was great because it was double reinforcement, both for the minister and the kids. I sat in on one session featuring a girl who works for the Wicks Corporation. She's black, an accountant. She explained what she did, and what sort of education she needed. Just sort of a general career talk, and then the kids asked questions."

INDIGENOUS PUPPETS

"And then . . . the neatest thing now is that we're starting a puppet program. We're actually making black puppets. We've hired an artist who makes black heads. First, the heads were molded out of clay and then we made plaster of paris molds. We're in the experimental stage now to see if we should use latex, ceramic, plastic wood or papier mache. We'll test the puppets this summer, using black voices on tape, to see which puppets are most successful, and which method

goes over best. We'll send it out into the school system next fall. We're writing the scripts ourselves, using everything from reading concepts, math concepts, dental hygiene, family problems, social situations, or just fun. Just everything. We're working in conjunction with Saginaw Valley College and the Board of Education on this program. It may go throughout the country if it works."

"So it's really just kind of . . . well, I guess you could say . . . the Saginaw League is really moving."

HERE WE GO AGAIN ON EAST-WEST TRADE

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 1, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, several years ago over 120 Members of the House cosponsored legislation to establish a select committee to review this Nation's policies regarding trade with Communist countries. Unfortunately, as in the case of many other proposals, the legislation was not enacted. This proposal was based on the experiences of the House Select Committee on Export Control in 1961 and 1962 which reviewed and appraised grandiose recommendations for increased trade with Communist countries involving chemical processing equipment, machine tools and electronic equipment. As a result of the extensive work of the select committee, not only military but economic restrictions were made a basis for future policies.

In late December and January two excellent articles appeared in Barron's, the business and financial publication, which update developments in this all important field. Written by Shirley Scheibla, Barron's alert and inquisitive investigative reporter, this material provides ample arguments for the establishment of another House select committee to review our present policies in this area. For a sobering look at what the State and Commerce Departments have in store for us in the East-West trade field, I include at this point the two articles appearing in Barron's issues of December 28, 1970 and January 4, 1971:

[From Barron's, Dec. 28, 1970]

BUSY BRIDGE-BUILDERS—COMMERCE OFFICIALS PUSH PLANS FOR EXPANDING EAST-WEST TRADE

(By Shirley Scheibla)

WASHINGTON.—For the past few months, the Commerce Department's Director of International Commerce has been quietly urging U.S. industrialists to make business deals with Romania, Bulgaria and other Communist countries.

The proposals include factories for the manufacture of electronic components and ball bearings; as well as several chemical plants. These ventures and others are on so-called Communist shopping lists which Director Harold Scott obtained during a trip he and three other Commerce officials made last summer to Eastern Europe to look into the prospect of expanding East-West trade. Ever since, Mr. Scott has been traveling throughout the United States, making the same speech in which he reports on his mission and seeks to whip up business sentiment for increased trade with Communist Europe.

LOW-KEY PROGRAM

So far the speech is the only visible sign of an intensive low-key program designed to achieve what once was known as bridge-building between East and West. Both the Commerce and State Departments already have taken policy positions in favor of new legislation to extend Export-Import Bank financing and most favored nation (MFN) treatment to Eastern Europeans. (MFN treatment offers tariff advantages, while Exim financing, terms of which are below-market, amounts to a subsidy.) Except for Yugoslavia, which enjoys both advantages, and Poland, which gets MFN treatment, both now are outlawed for Communist countries.

Commerce wants legislative authority to empower the President, at his discretion, to grant Exim financing and MFN treatment for any European country in the Communist bloc. State, going even farther, seeks legislation authorizing both advantages for all Communist nations with which the U.S. has diplomatic or trading relations (and State, by the way, favors trading with Red China.)

Commerce argues that the establishment of "normal" trade with Eastern Europe will be impossible without the legislation it advocates. The measures, it contends, would encourage U.S. exporters to promote sales in Eastern Europe and enable the European Communists to expand their purchases from the U.S. On this score, Mr. Scott also obtained a list of everything the European Communists are willing to export to the U.S. Christopher Stowell, one of his assistants, told Barron's the list includes 100 products, such as ham, fish, tomato sauce, cheese, wine, fresh fruit, furniture and glass. Quite a quid pro quo for ball bearings and transistors.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Contrary to long-standing contentions of the bridge-builders, trade with Communist Europe, either with or without new legislation, is unlikely to have much effect on the U.S. balance of payments—it is not expected to constitute more than 1% of total U.S. exports. According to official projections, U.S. exports to Eastern European countries are put at between \$500 million and \$700 million by 1975, compared with total U.S. exports of between \$55 billion and \$60 billion for that year.

State, in advocating broader Communist trade legislation than Commerce, reasons that, if the Administration is going to make the effort on Capitol Hill, it might as well seek broad authority. Moreover, the Department argues that such authority would help President Nixon carry out his policy of negotiating with the Communists.

Contra-wise, the Defense Department has consistently maintained that State and Commerce have failed to provide adequate justification for seeking such changes. Defense is not convinced that the U.S. should reverse its policy of not lending or guaranteeing loans to countries with records of defaults on debts, confiscation of property without adequate compensation and supplying countries engaged in hostilities with the U.S. (According to Senator Thurmond, the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites furnish Hanoi with over 80% of the materials used in the Vietnam war.)

If the Administration opts for MFN treatment, Defense suggests asking Congress for it for only one Communist country at a time—and then only when assured of reciprocal gain. Like Defense, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Atomic Energy Commission are leery of the whole idea.

"TEMPTATION PERSISTS"

But Commerce's Harold Scott talks as if he has a Congressional mandate for promoting U.S.-Communist trade. "The Export Administration Act said to encourage trade with the Communists, and we started with that when

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THE KHRUSHCHEV MEMOIRS

VICTOR ZORZA has deduced that the Khrushchev memoirs now published in the West are not genuine and that the American Central Intelligence Agency has had a hand in them. Here he gives his reasons for thinking they are not by Khrushchev: next week he explains how he thinks the CIA was involved.

Mr K and the CIA

The Khrushchev memoirs, which have been described as the publishing sensation of the decade, are more than that. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that they are the publishing hoax of the century. They do not come from Khrushchev nor, as has often been asserted, from the "disinformation department" of the KGB in Moscow—although both Khrushchev and the KGB had something to do with them. On this occasion, however, the Kremlin's "Department D," as it is familiarly known in the trade, seems to have had the cooperation of its American counterpart, the "department of dirty tricks" in the Central Intelligence Agency, which looks like being responsible for the final product.

The evidence for this view which it has taken me more than a month to collect, will certainly be disputed. The reader will have to make up his own mind on the facts presented in this series. I spoke to Svetlana Stalin (now Mrs Wesley Peters) in Arizona, and to Milovan Djilas, the former Yugoslav leader, in Belgrade. I have questioned the Russian pianist Vladimir Ashkenazy, who has now made his home in Iceland, about the references to his activities which appear in the book. But above all else, I have been checking the facts in every accessible source—from the war archives captured by the Germans, to old copies of "Pravda."

There are literally hundreds of errors of fact, of time, and of place in the book—but the publishers claim that these prove nothing. Mr Ralph Graves, the managing editor of "Life" magazine, which obtained the material and then syndicated it throughout the world, says that Mr Khrushchev is "remembering at a fairly advanced age, and I think it is perfectly natural for him to misplace some dates, places, chronology."

The American publisher of "Khrushchev Remembers" declares in an introductory note that the book "is made up of material emanating from various sources at various times and in various circumstances." But he is "convinced beyond any doubt, and has taken pains to confirm, that this is an authentic record of Nikita Khrushchev's words."

These are not memoirs, the publisher insists, but "reminiscences." However, for the sake of convenience, I will follow the usage which has been generally adopted and will refer to them as memoirs.

Spokesmen for "Life," and the small group of men directly concerned in arranging the publication, refuse to state on record any fact concerning the provenance of the material. However, they have spoken off the record both to officials and to journalists of repute in the United States, which makes it possible to build up a composite picture of the claims they make for the book's origins.

It is claimed that the material came in the first place from members of the Khrushchev family—his daughter Rada, her husband Alexey Adzhubey, the former editor of "Izvestia" who, after the fall of Khrushchev, was given an insignificant journalistic post with a picture magazine; and another son-in-law, Lev Petrov, also a journalist, who died some months ago.

The story is difficult to credit, because these members of the Khrushchev family would have enough experience of international affairs to realise that their role could not remain secret for long and that, sooner or later, the KGB would catch up with them,

and would ruin what remained of their careers and even their liberty.

Whatever motives they might have for wishing to publish Khrushchev's memoirs, they would not trust their lives to "Life." And, as the disclosure of their names in the American press shows, they would have been right. Even though "Life" might now deny, for the record, that they had played any role in the matter, their names have been published and the KGB would certainly follow up any such clue with the utmost thoroughness and would find out anything there is to find out—as they would have known in advance.

The theory widely held in American official quarters—which deny that the CIA could possibly have had anything to do with it—is that, whatever the origins of the material might be, at some stage the KGB got in on the act. The date quoted most often is late August when Victor Louis, the KGB's international journalistic "fixer," travelled from Moscow to Copenhagen for a week's meeting with staff members of "Time-Life."

At the same time, however, it is claimed that the "Khrushchev" material had been reaching "Life" in dribs and drabs for something like 18 months, during which the work of editing and translation was proceeding apace. Indeed, some American officials profess to believe that the Moscow purveyors of the material intended it to be published in the West in time for the twenty-fourth party Congress in March, since postponed to March this year.

and this is that the publication of the memoirs, with their outspokenly anti-Stalin-

21 JAN 1971

U.S. Experts on Soviet Find Khrushchev Memoirs

By TERENCE SMITH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20

A group of 30 experts on the Soviet Union concluded in a meeting here last week that the recently published memoirs of former Nikita S. Khrushchev were authentic and that they had been released to the West without the approval of the present Soviet leadership.

The unpublicized meeting convened at the State Department, was attended by Soviet area specialists from the department, the Central Intelligence Agency and other Gov-

ernment agencies as well as private experts.

Two former ambassadors to Moscow, Llewellyn E. Thompson and George F. Kennan, also participated in the session, at which Ray S. Cline, director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, presided.

The meeting was designed to establish what conclusions could be drawn from the memoirs about Soviet policy and policy-makers. Another

goal was to coordinate what one participant described as the "available bits and pieces of rumor and gossip" that have

arisen about the manner in which the memoirs reached the West.

Time, Inc., which acquired the reminiscences and serialized them in Life magazine before they were published in book form, has refused to shed light on the origin of the material. The book, titled "Khrushchev Remembers," was published Dec. 21 by Little, Brown and Co.

The panel of experts concluded that most, if not all, of the published material was in the words of the Soviet leader although some of it appears to have been doctored

before it reached the publishers. Judging from the choppy, disorganized style, the specialists concluded that some sections had been excised perhaps to protect Mr. Khrushchev.

They believe that the manuscript was compiled from a number of sources, including speeches and tape-recorded recollections, and pasted together before it reached the West. But they remain, in the words of one participant, "very much in the dark" about how and why the material reached Time, Inc.

The conclusion that the document reached the West without the authorization of the present Soviet leadership is based on the anti-Stalinist tone of the memoirs. One participant described them as "an echo of the secret speech" Mr. Khrushchev delivered before a Soviet party congress in 1956.

Terror Now Minimized

The anti-Stalinist tone is out of step with the current policy of giving credit to Stalin for his wartime leadership and playing down his rule of terror.

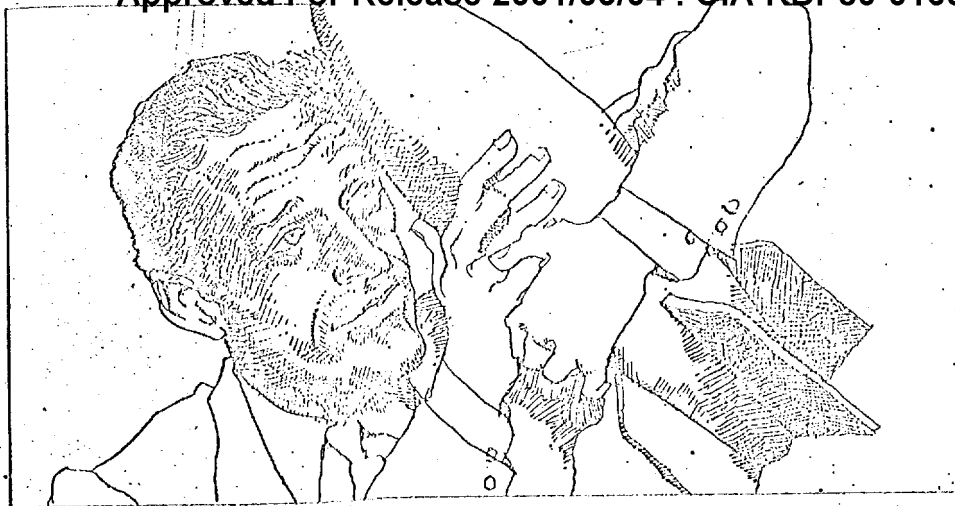
The conflict with current policy is so great, in the opinion of the experts, that the memoirs could not have received the endorsement of the present party chief, Leonid I. Brezhnev, who is closely identified with the partial rehabilitation of Stalin.

The specialists tend to doubt the theory that the memoirs were passed to the West under the sponsorship of a ranking Soviet official and the secret police in an effort to embarrass the leadership. No agreement on an alternate theory was reached at the meeting.

The inclusion of other damaging material, such as the admission that the Soviet Union attacked Finland in 1939 and that North Korea attacked South Korea in 1950, bolstered the experts' conclusion that the leadership had not intended the manuscript to be published in the form it was.

Although no definite plans have been set, a second meeting of the experts may be called after the material for the first is digested and further research is done by Government agencies.

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John Foster and How He Learned to Love the Bomb

By Donald May

THE WELCOME in the Pentagon's Room 3E1006 is friendly. John Foster smiles, shakes hands, and offers a chair. It seems Mr. Arms Race himself ought to be more sinister.

To his critics, Foster is a symbol of everything wrong with the arms race. He helps calculate the greater-than-expected threat, which is what we have armed ourselves against. He tells us we must have weapons in development today so that in ten years, when we might need them, they will be ready. When the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency proposes a U.S.-Soviet ban on the testing of multiple warhead missiles, he is the man who in effect says: "Wait! Our studies show there are ten ways in which the Russians could cheat."

As a physicist, Foster specialized in designing nuclear warheads. Now, as director of defense research and engineering, he is our number one weapons planner. With a staff of over 200, he manages the Pentagon's \$7 billion research program, which includes \$2.3 billion for government research, \$4.5 billion to private industry, and \$200 million to universities.

On Capitol Hill, the anti-defense spending Congressmen and staff regard Foster as an *eminence grise* of the Pentagon. People dedicated to arms control tend to regard him as the largest single obstacle to that goal. "He loves his weapons," says an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency official deskily.

Foster is controversial, but aside from being a star witness on the ARN, he does not operate differently now than he did in his early years at the Pentagon. What has happened is that the country has begun to debate, as it never has before, the extent and premises of its defense establishment and the arms race. The de-

bate has enveloped Foster and made him a symbol of Pentagon power.

John Stuart Foster, Jr., is a handsome symbol. He is a man of medium height and athletic build. His face is sharply featured, with strong lines across the brow and on either side of the mouth, a solid chin, bluish eyes, and brown hair, with a suggestion of grey at the temples. He was born in 1922 in New Haven, Connecticut, where his father was a Yale physics professor. After two years, the family moved to Montreal, where his father taught at McGill University. Foster grew up in Montreal and went to McGill, where he was a champion ski-jumper and gymnast. His wife, Barbara Anne, or Bobbie, says that when Foster was courting her he sometimes walked around on his hands or swung in great arcs from a tree.

There is no Dr. Strangelove quality about him. He has that kind of total normality you find in astronauts. His speech is unelevated. About twice in an hour you may hear a trace of a Canadian accent. His office is equally noneccentric—flags and seal behind the desk, pictures of his father, his family, and patrician scientist Ernest O. Lawrence, a world wall map, blackboard, conference table, perhaps a dozen models of planes, missiles, and tanks (all Pentagon offices have these models; they are a major secondary defense industry). There are books on war, science, and current affairs. There is a bar of Safeguard soap someone gave him to commemorate the fact that the Pentagon likes to make its own deodorants.

Foster walks around the Pentagon

hims without jacket or tie. Everyone calls him Johnny, and he signs his memos that way. He would rather get information in meetings than by reading. "When he has a meeting, he'll pour coffee all the time," one colleague says. "He'll be pouring coffee for some GS 11, and the GS 11 will be saying, 'No, Johnny, you're wrong!'"

He is normally at his desk at 7:15 A.M., at which time a messenger arrives and hands him a brown briefcase containing a morning intelligence summary. He leaves the office around 8 P.M., taking papers to read, either in the chauffeur-driven limousine or at home, a modern waterfront house at Lake Barcroft, Virginia. He sometimes breaks the work day with an early evening game of squash in the Pentagon athletic club. On Saturdays he winds up around 2 P.M. and goes flying.

Foster's hobby is flying military aircraft. He solos in propeller planes. But he also likes to ride in the high performance aircraft his office has developed, sometimes briefly taking the controls. "I fly aircraft to try to understand something of the nature of the problems that the pilots experience," he says. "We've got an enormous amount of effort involved in avionics and weapons systems and aircraft propulsion, and I just try to learn a little about that. I also do what I can to go into submarines, tanks, and other such things."

Foster's interest in airplanes dates from World War II. His father then was liaison officer between Canada and the United States on radar matters. The elder Foster spent a lot of time at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge. According to Johnny, his father suggested that he drop out of McGill, where he was a sophomore, and go to Cambridge to work at the Harvard Radio Research Laboratory on radar countermeasures. This he did, from 1942 to 1944, holding his own with Ph.D.s. A scientist there at the time recalled him as "our brightest dropout." Then for a year Foster was in the Mediterranean theater as an advisor on radar countermeasures with the Fifteenth Air Force. Ever since those days, says an aide, he has loved the cockpits of airplanes. After the war he went back to McGill, graduated with honors, and received a Ph.D. in physics at the University of California.

Within the arms control community, many see Foster as a "disciple of Teller." In the 1950's, Edward Teller led that faction of American science which successfully urged development of the H-bomb against the faction led by J. Robert Oppenheimer, and he is regarded by arms controllers as the patron saint of the hawkish wing of U.S. science today. In 1947, Teller was instrumental in setting up the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, Califor-