

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

[From the Baltimore Sun, July 24, 1971]  
WHEN THE CANDIDATES FLY NOW, NOBODY  
BOTHERS TO PAY LATER

WASHINGTON.—Airlines are stuck with over \$2.1 million in unpaid debts run up by political candidates and their campaign organizations. Telephone companies have nearly \$400,000 in similar unpaid bills.

In addition to the Democratic and Republican National Committees, debtors listed include President Nixon, the late Robert F. Kennedy, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) and former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.).

The Senate GOP leader, Hugh Scott, put the figures in the *Congressional Record* yesterday in urging adoption of an election-reform bill amendment to curb political deadbeats.

"This business of trying to run political campaigns on the cuff is distinctly unfair and places a burden which not only should not be on the companies but is actually forcing them into making involuntary and illegal contributions," the Pennsylvanian told the Senate.

In talking with newsmen he jibed at Mr. McCarthy, who he said apparently is going to run for President again, as one "who doesn't run a shirt-sleeve campaign but one on the cuff."

Examination of the documents Mr. Scott put on record showed that American Airlines alone reported that as of last April 30 it had outstanding debts of \$1,337,834 incurred by candidates for federal office from 1962 on.

#### LISTING OF DEBTS

Here is the list it gave of candidates or political organizations and the amount owed by each:

Republican National Finance Committee, \$151,871; Richard M. Nixon, \$69,376; National Democratic Committee, \$426,833; Robert F. Kennedy, \$415,120; Hubert H. Humphrey, \$138,762, and McCarthy for President, \$135,872.

R. M. Bressler, vice president and treasurer of the airline, said in a letter to the Civil Aeronautics Board that because of "the substandard credit relations" it has experienced with candidates, it now is asking for personal guarantees in all cases.

#### WRITE-OFFS, SETTLEMENTS

Trans-World Airlines, in a June 2 report to the Civil Aeronautics Board, said its outstanding accounts showed \$221,519 owed by United Democrats for Humphrey, \$25,091 for a Humphrey charter, and \$13,196 by the GOP National Committee.

Trans World also reported that on February 24, 1969, it had written off \$6,867 by McCarthy for President, and on November 14, 1968, had settled for \$9,485 a debt of \$16,352 owed by McCarthy for President.

Other airlines also reported unpaid campaign debts, as did A.T.&T., Western Union and General Telephone and Electronics. An itemization of unpaid telephone bills covered page after page.

An unpaid Kennedy for President account totaling \$30,690 was reported as settled in July 1969 for \$15,395.

#### "LARGE DEBTS . . . NO MONEY"

Johnson Flying Service, Inc., of Missoula, Mont., reported that still unpaid is a \$2,910 bill incurred on September 20, 1968, by Mr. Humphrey and charged to the Democratic National Committee.

The company said it had tried to collect but "they state that they cannot pay as they have a large quantity of debts and no money."

Mr. Scott's amendment to the election reform bill would prohibit extension of unsecured credit to candidates for federal office by airlines, telephone companies and other industries regulated by the government.

He previously had requested the General Accounting Office to compile a report on all outstanding debts of candidates to such companies, along with any negotiated settlements.

#### NEARLY COMPLETE

Mr. Scott said the report is nearly complete and reveals "totally unacceptable campaign practices by both political parties not to mention the federal common carriers themselves."

Corporate contributions to political campaigns are forbidden by law, but Mr. Scott said that if a candidate fails to pay his bills, he has in effect received an involuntary contribution.

[From the Washington Post, July 24, 1971]  
SCOTT ASKS CAMPAIGN CREDIT BAN

Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott yesterday proposed forbidding political candidates to put telephone, telegram, travel and similar campaign expenses on the cuff.

Scott conceded his move, proposed as an amendment to a pending bill to limit campaign advertising expenses, was aimed at Democratic presidential contenders.

"Isn't that the name of the game?" he asked newsmen with a grin.

Scott's amendment would bar certain federally regulated industries such as airlines, telephone companies and the like, from extending "unsecured credit" to political candidates—in other words, no unlimited charge accounts.

He said both parties and their candidates still have enormous bills outstanding from previous campaigns, such as \$208,000 owed by the Democrats and \$112,000 by the Republicans to Eastern Airlines alone.

Scott said the worst offender is former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.), an unsuccessful contender for the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination who it is said will enter next year's primaries in another bid for the White House.

Scott said McCarthy still owes \$475,000 to just one telephone company from his 1968 effort.

"He favors everything except paying his bills," Scott said. "McCarthy doesn't run a shirt-sleeve campaign; everything is on the cuff."

He said there are also thousands of dollars in bills still unpaid from the 1968 campaign of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.) for the presidential nomination, including one of \$414,000 to American Airlines.

Scott put a lengthy list into the *Congressional Record* of what he said were documented unpaid campaign debts for both parties and their candidates.

The documents, in the form of replies from officials of affected companies to requests of the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Federal Communications Commission, showed that even President Nixon had whopped unpaid bills from his 1968 campaign.

American Airlines reported its balance due from Richard M. Nixon as of April 30 this year of \$69,376—\$2,666 left over from the election year and \$66,710 incurred in 1969. United Airlines reported the Nixon-Agnew campaign still owes them \$75,180.

American also reported an unpaid balance for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), Nixon's 1968 opponent, of \$138,762; United said the Humphrey-Muskie ticket is indebted to them for \$79,083.

Several officials said they have written off some of the campaign debts as uncollectable. R. M. Bressler, vice president and treasurer of American, said "We now ask for personal guarantees in all cases involving individual candidates and can report we have declined the applications of at least two well-known candidates in the last year where guarantees have not been forthcoming."

[From the Washington Star, July 23, 1971]  
SCOTT HITS 1968 AIR TRAVEL, PHONE DEBTS  
(By James Doyle)

Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott, R-Pa., disclosed today that inquiries to government regulatory commissions had revealed that Democratic and Republican political candidates owe more than \$2.1 million in outstanding airline bills and nearly \$400,000 in outstanding telephone bills.

Scott submitted an amendment to the proposed Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1971 to forbid the granting of unsecured credit by the transportation and communications industries.

Scott said his amendment would permit the candidates to use credit cards, as they do now, but would prohibit the companies from issuing cards if the candidates' ability to pay was dubious.

Scott introduced information from a number of companies indicating that they were unable to require huge deposits from candidates because they could not pinpoint the volume of business the candidate would generate and were prohibited by non-discriminatory clauses in federal regulations from setting a high deposit figure.

Scott said that most of the outstanding debts belong to Democratic candidates and the Democratic National Committee.

His figures showed that as of April 30, 1971, the Democratic National Committee had an outstanding debt with American Airlines of \$426,833, most of it left over from the 1968 campaign.

The Robert F. Kennedy political organization owed American Airlines \$415,120; the Hubert Humphrey campaign owed \$138,762, and the Eugene McCarthy campaign owed \$135,872.

The Richard M. Nixon campaign owed American Airlines \$69,376, and the Republican National Finance Committee owed American \$151,871.

Almost all of these debts dated back to the 1968 presidential campaign.

Trans-World Airlines listed debts of \$246,000 for the Humphrey campaign and \$13,000 for the Republican National Committee.

A debt of \$16,352.36, incurred by the McCarthy campaign in 1968 was settled for a payment of \$9,485, TWA reported, and another McCarthy debt of \$6,867.36, incurred in 1968, was written off Feb. 24, 1969.

TWA said political debts "are handled in the same manner as any other account" but did not explain the criteria for negotiating a lesser payment or completely writing off a debt.

United Air Lines listed an outstanding debt of \$79,000 for the Humphrey-Muskie campaign and \$75,000 for the Nixon-Agnew campaign. The Nixon campaign used United charters throughout 1968 and 1970.

An outstanding debt of \$12,000 was listed by United for the Democratic National Committee with the notation "incurred by R. F. Kennedy."

Eastern Airlines listed a Humphrey-Muskie debt of \$208,000 and a Republican National Committee debt of \$112,000.

Western Airlines said it had no outstanding campaign debts, but had written off a "ticket by mail" invoice for \$376.00 incurred in May, 1968, by "Senator Ted Kennedy and a Mr. Burke," and written off in September 1969.

The American Telephone & Telegraph Co. submitted a breakdown for its various regional companies, and said it wrote off some debts "after significant collection effort has been made" without success.

The breakdown did not segregate Democratic and Republican candidates but it showed written-off debts of \$2,200 in Pennsylvania, \$6,000 for Pacific Bell Telephone, \$7,700 for New England Telephone Co., \$1,200 for Michigan Bell and \$48,000 for Indiana all of it from the McCarthy for President campaign.

The McCarthy campaign had another \$5,600 debt written off by Northwestern Bell.

The General Telephone Companies submitted similar figures showing a total indebtedness from political campaigns of \$68,386.14.

Scott said the total outstanding debt to A.T. & T. was about \$76,000 for the Democrats.

#### ECONOMIC RAMIFICATIONS OF VIETNAM WAR

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, Mr. Harold Willens has been at the forefront of those who have reawakened the American business community to the serious economic ramifications of the war in Vietnam and our swollen military budget. Mr. Willens is convinced that the wide spectrum of American business cannot prosper in an economic climate that is soured by the war and distorted by inflated military expenditures. Recently he wrote a letter to President Nixon which outlines much of the thinking behind Mr. Willens' efforts. I ask unanimous consent that the letter and an Associated Press article about Mr. Willens be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APRIL 28, 1971.

President RICHARD M. NIXON,  
*The White House,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I happened to be visiting South Vietnam when the world heard the welcome news that our ping pong players would be visiting China.

That same day an American soldier gave me a copy of *The Serviceman's Daily Prayer*, a leaflet which he said was widely distributed to our military personnel in Vietnam. The leaflet, bearing the address: Service Prayer, 2936 Bremen Street, Columbus, Ohio 43224, contains these words:

"Bestow your blessing on my country and on all who fight against the evils of Communism."

Yesterday Secretary of State Rogers, in speaking about Chinese-American relations, stressed *political diversity* as a fact of life we cannot change and should accept. Secretary Rogers is right and realistic. By initiating a thaw in Chinese-American relations you were right and realistic, Mr. President.

But your action and your Secretary of State's words are being undermined by the exposure of young American minds to the inflammatory words of the prayer leaflet and similarly irrational military propaganda revealed by the recent CBS documentary: "The Selling of the Pentagon."

Business has trained me to operate pragmatically. A pragmatic evaluation indicates that our foreign policy in recent years has been counterproductive. Our international behavior has operated against our self-interest. In fact we have inflicted severe damage upon ourselves through a foreign policy which has not kept abreast of changing realities.

One of these realities is the changing nature of communism which has itself fragmented into a number of political divergencies. Changes in communism have been matched by changes in capitalism. My first employer, were he to return from the dead, would be astonished by the "social benefits" we have adopted over the past 35 years.

It seems logical to assume and project a succession of further changes "in our direction" within communist countries if international tensions can gradually be eased. Public statements on various occasions reveal your awareness that such easing of tensions would greatly benefit our country.

The dangers and burdens of an endless arms race and misadventures like Vietnam dramatize the advantage of accepting prudent calculated risks for peace. We will be more likely to take such calculated risks if we begin to look upon peace as an incremental process rather than something which appears suddenly and full-blown. And above all we must recognize that the small specific steps in such an incremental process depend upon limited, tentative trust in the other side. That kind of trust can never be developed if our people look upon ideological competitors as mortal theological foes.

Successful businessmen are always conscious of competitors. But I have seen healthy companies destroyed by competitor-obsession. Perhaps there is a lesson to be learned from this, Mr. President. If we become obsessed by our ideological competitors we cannot do justice to improving and winning willing adherents for our own great "product"—free enterprise democracy.

I very much hope, Mr. President, that you will take steps to put an end to the distribution of this prayer leaflet and everything else which furthers the intermingling of theology with foreign policy. Because I realize how complex and massive a job that is, and because I feel the Congress should be willing to help you in this, I am sending copies of this letter to each Senator and Congressman.

Sincerely,

HAROLD WILLENS.

BUSINESSMAN'S PEACE ACTIONS GOT HATE MAIL  
(By John Cunniff)

NEW YORK.—Four years ago Harold Willens, a Los Angeles executive and real estate developer, and Henry Niles, then chairman of Baltimore Life Insurance Co., formed Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace (BEM).

"At that time," said Willens, "anybody who spoke out against the war was considered the enemy or a nut."

The hate mail flooded in, Willens said, considerably faster than the membership applications. Willens and Niles felt, however, that the war was a mistake of historical magnitude, a military blunder, a political scandal.

BEM advocated that the businessman-citizen speak out on the issue. But its founders soon realized few establishment figures either cared or perhaps dared to. They disliked tangling with stockholders; they didn't want to rock the boat.

BEM drew memberships steadily, however. And then, since BEM was a one-issue organization, Willens in 1969 founded BEF, or Businessmen's Educational Fund, to fight on a broader scale what he felt was the militarization of America.

Willens, its chairman, devoted what his wife said was 101 per cent of his time to speeches, membership work, lobbying and, most recently, to a Vietnam trip. Results? Willens thinks he has succeeded to some extent.

In recent months the attitudes of some businessmen appear to have changed. Within the past year the heads of Bank of America, International Business Machines and E. I. du Pont have spoken against the war and blamed it for domestic problems.

Willens, a 57-year-old millionaire grandfather and former Marine, was asked if he felt a major change really has occurred in the business attitude.

"I think the line of the pragmatist and the idealist are meeting," he replied. "Damn few businessmen think we are unpatriotic now. All of them relate inflation to the war, for example."

Do you really think you can end wars?

"Yes. Maybe there'll be little ones. But my feeling is that since we've always had wars it is no reason to extrapolate into the future. We changed the name of the game when technology developed the ultimate weapon."

Isn't that being overly idealistic?

"We have to get away from the fuzzy thinking that says wars are inevitable and that peace is a utopian concept. Either man or war is obsolete. We have to decide."

But why should businessmen try to take a leadership role?

"The businessman's role is critical because he thinks pragmatically. He knows how to build. Peace must be constructed. It is an incremental thing, like constructing a building by putting in the foundation, then the first story and so on. It is a step-by-step operation."

Won't demilitarization weaken the nation's security?

"The present direction is counterproductive to the best interests of the country. Escalation has brought us into disastrous wars, bled our resources and kept us from solving critical domestic problems that erode our strength."

"The other approach, to seek peace, is a calculated risk, such as you take in business. There may not be immediate success. The armaments race grew step by step. De-escalation can proceed in the same way."

It was suggested to Willens that many people feel business executives can only hurt their own particular cause by speaking out on this subject. This lit the Willens fuse.

"Self-interest tells the corporate executive he's got to get in there. The businessman must redefine the corporate and individual responsibility. He must redefine it because his company is dependent upon the nation's policies."

"In order to be responsible to the stockholders, the executive has to act in accordance with the new realities. He must realize that in fact he is doing a deep disservice to stockholders, because business can only thrive in a healthy economy."

"He can't hide in a paneled office. He cannot hide behind the corporate curtain and protect the interest of stockholders, his country and himself."

"I don't think the businessman's alibi is any better than others—than the clergyman who fears what his parishioners will say or the physician who fears his patients."

#### PAKISTAN: THE THING SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

Mr. SAXBE. Mr. President, in law there is a doctrine entitled *Res Ipsa Loquitur*, meaning "the thing speaks for itself." The pictures in both *Time* and *Newsweek* today graphically illustrate a tragedy of immense proportions. It is too bad that the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* cannot reprint these pictures.

For several weeks now I have called to the attention of my colleagues, through the *RECORD*, the dreadful fate of millions of refugees in East Pakistan. Senator CHURCH and I have introduced an amendment with 32 cosponsors to the Foreign Assistance Act which would suspend America's aiding and abetting this terrible crime. I plead with my colleagues to look at the photographs in these two magazines. Nothing more need be said; nothing more can be said.

I ask unanimous consent that some articles regarding Pakistan be printed in the *RECORD*.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

#### BENGAL: THE MURDER OF A PEOPLE

It seemed a routine enough request. Assembling the young men of the village of Haluaghat in East Pakistan, a Pakistani Army major informed them that his wounded soldiers urgently needed blood. Would they be