

## Celebration in Salzburg

Into the great banquet hall of the Schloss Leopoldskron trooped a stately procession of dark-suited guests. On the balcony, a string quartet interrupted its concert of Mozart chamber music, and Thomas H. Eliot, the white-haired former chancellor of St. Louis's Washington University, stepped before the enormous marble-and-tile fireplace. "This seminar," he told an audience that looked like a miniature Who's Who of the American and European intellectual establishment, "is an act of faith, which we hope, but cannot prove, helps make the world better." After the U.S. ambassador to Austria read congratulatory telegrams from President Nixon and Secretary of State William P. Rogers, a covey of blond girls in green dirndls gaily broke out champagne and the 200 guests strolled through the landscaped gardens beside the mountain lake.

With that, the silver-anniversary ceremony of the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies came to its dignified conclusion. There are hundreds of seminars in the prestige-conscious firmament of academe, but few can rival the eminence of the Salzburg program. Six times each year, a group of distinguished Americans—people such as Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, poet Robert Lowell, anthropologist Margaret Mead and Yale president Kingman Brewster—journey to Salzburg to lecture for three to four weeks about the United States. Their students are a scrupulously screened collection of the most promising young minds in Europe: the 50 to 60 students in each seminar, most of them in their early 30s,

must be well-educated, conversant with English and accomplished professionals.

The topics of the seminars are defined with bedeviling vagueness ("Problems of Cities," for example, and the current session, "American Law and Legal Institutions"). But the lectures and discussions are so stimulating, recalls one Austrian politician and former student, "that night after night we sat in the library devouring thick books. The seminar has brought no business to Salzburg's bars."

Twenty-five years ago, there was reason to doubt whether the seminar would survive long enough to accomplish even that. The windows of the war-battered, 236-year-old castle were blown out and only a few of the bathrooms were in working order; the first contingent of 110 students and teachers bedded down in sleeping bags and, in occupied Austria, even finding food was a daily problem. But just as the Marshall Plan helped facilitate a postwar economic recovery in Europe, the Salzburg Seminar helped spark an intellectual revival. Today, says a U.S. diplomat, it remains "a sort of tuning station where our intellectuals try to establish a common wavelength with the up-and-coming European elite."

**Critical Eye:** In its early years, the seminar occasionally was marred by war-fanned chauvinism; once an enraged Yugoslav pulled a knife on an Italian colleague. Even now, the school's determined policy of recruiting nonconformists leads to shouting matches between rightists and leftists and pupils and professors. But one factor that holds the participants together is the relentlessly critical eye that the U.S. faculty members turn on themselves and their country. "There

is never the least suggestion that Americans know all the answers," says Austrian editor Hubert Feichtlbauer, a former Salzburg student.

This tough-minded ambiance has largely dispelled a lingering European suspicion that the seminar, which is subsidized by the U.S. State Department and private foundation money, is a handmaiden of the CIA. In fact, Communists from all of the Soviet-bloc countries except East Germany and Russia are joining the roster of Salzburg Fellows in growing numbers. And with some 7,000 alumni—including members of parliaments, editors and lawyers from around the Continent—the seminar has inevitably had a salutary effect on the U.S. image abroad. Among these former students, says Thomas Eliot, who has been the seminar's president for nine months, there is "a far greater readiness to understand American attitudes." If nothing else, notes one U.S. diplomat, "the seminar shows that not everything my generation did after the war is outdated."

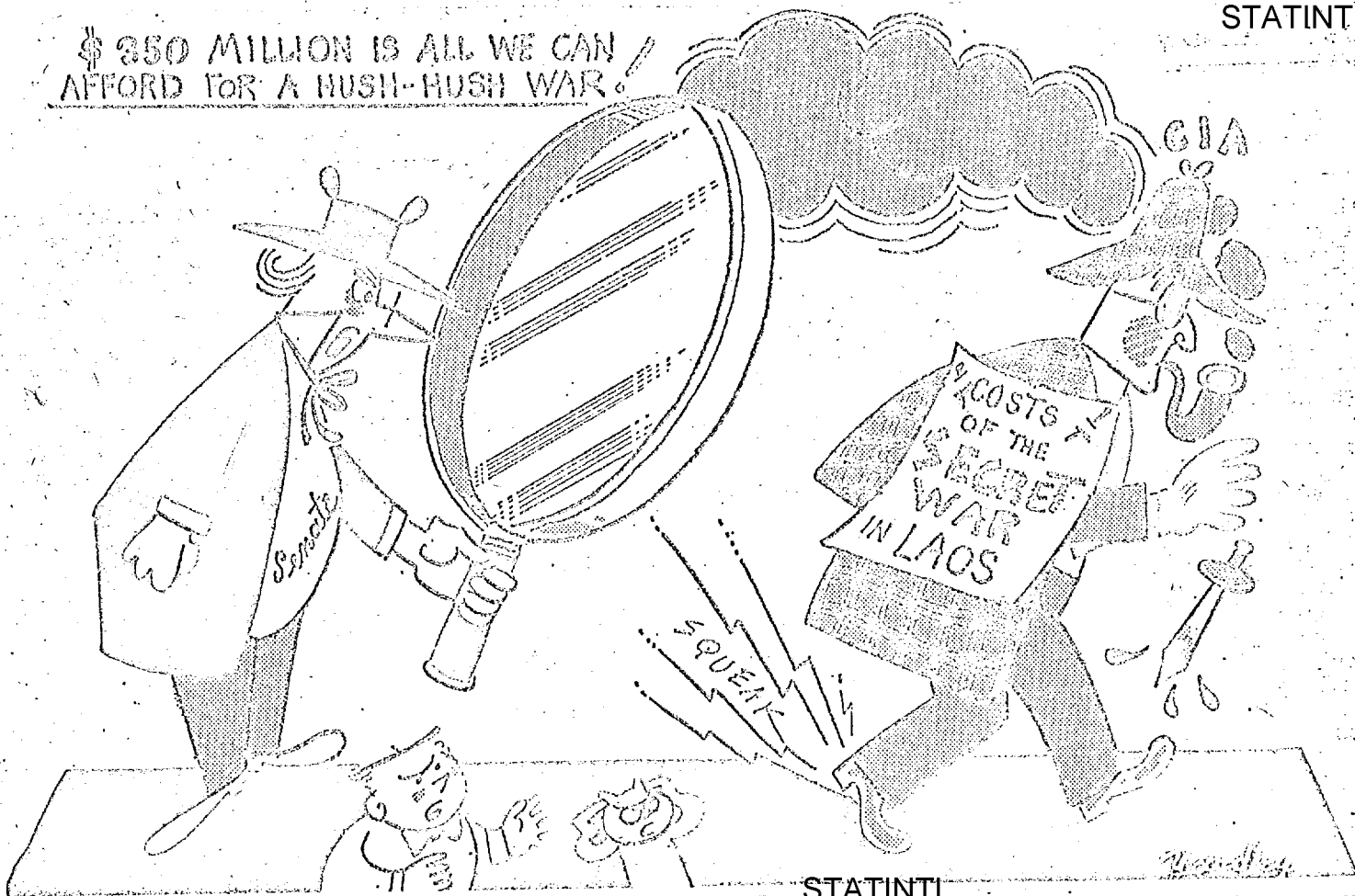


A. Madner

Yale's Brewster and Chief Justice Burger at Salzburg: 'An act of faith'

STATINTL

\$ 350 MILLION IS ALL WE CAN AFFORD FOR A HUSH-HUSH WAR.



STATINTL

5 OCT 1971

# Senate limits funds for Laotian war

By GENE OISHI

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The Senate voted yesterday to require the President to give Congress a full accounting of the currently secret war in Laos and to limit expenditures in that country to \$350 million—the amount the administration says it needs for this year.

While the measure would not have any effect on current United States expenditures in Laos, it would establish for the first time a congressional ceiling on the war in Laos, which heretofore has been carried on mostly with secret funds funneled through the Central Intelligence Agency.

The amendment to the military procurement authorization bill, offered by Senator Stuart Symington (D., Mo.), passed 67 to 11.

The Senate also approved by a 65-to-4 vote an amendment to provide a pay increase to members of the armed forces totaling \$381 million a year, in addition to the \$2.4 billion already enacted as part of the draft extension act.

The pay-raise amendment, which could be compromised in a House-Senate conference committee, also would reshape the approved pay raises so that more of the money would go the lowest grade enlisted ranks.

The amendment pertaining to the war in Laos originally was drafted to cut expenditures in Laos to \$200 million for fiscal 1972. According to both administration and congressional estimates, the amount that the United States expects to spend in Laos in fiscal 1972 for economic aid for CIA-directed military operations and other programs will total \$346.9 million.

In addition, Senator Syming-

ton said, the air war over northern Laos—which does not include the bombing of the Ho Chi Minh trail—will cost \$143.4 million, for a total of \$490.2 million.

As originally drafted, the Symington amendment would have cut the \$490.2 million to \$200 million.

But Mr. Symington modified his amendment to exclude the air war from the spending ceiling and also to raise the limit to \$350 million, a move that enabled him to get the support of Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and most of the members of the committee.

Mr. Symington said on the floor the reason he modified his amendment was that it did not have a chance of passage in its original form. He further noted that, by the time his amendment becomes law, fiscal 1972—which began on July 1—would be half over and at least half of the currently authorized amounts already will have been spent.

## Interpretations mixed

The interpretation of what the modified Symington amendment would accomplish was mixed. Mr. Symington defended it as a step toward placing congressional controls over the war in Laos, which is still being financed largely outside the usual authorization and appropriation processes of Congress.

For example, there never has been any public accounting of how the 30,000-man irregular forces in Laos or the large contingent of Thai "volunteers"—estimated now at 5,000 to 6,000—are financed.

On the other hand, Senator Stennis asserted that passage of the Symington amendment would amount to "legislative recognition that these funds are needed."

It was this point that caused some critics of the war in Laos to back off from the amendment. Senator J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, supported the original amendment but voted against the modified version.

Mr. Fulbright said he was fearful that the Symington amendment would not be viewed as a restrictive amendment, but rather as congressional authorization for conducting the war in Laos.

Senator Harold E. Hughes (D., Iowa) said that, while he supported a cutback in funds for Laos, "the principle of establishing some ceiling is even more urgent that the precise figure."

STATINTL



# Senate Limits Laos War Spending

BY FRED FARRAR

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4—The Senate today voted, 67 to 11, to impose a ceiling of \$350 million on United States spending in the war in Laos in the current fiscal year.

The cation also requires that in the future the administration report regularly to Congress on how much it spends in Laos and what the money is used for.

The vote came after Sen. Stuart Symington (D., Mo.), sponsor of the amendment to the military procurement authorization bill, altered his amendment to raise the ceiling from \$200 million and exempt the cost of air strikes in northern Laos from the ceiling in addition to air strikes against the Ho Chi Minh trail.

## Matches Planned Spending

The change brought the ceiling in line with what the administration had asked for in military spending in Laos for this fiscal year and won for the amendment the support of Sen. John C. Stennis (D., Miss.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and floor manager of the \$21 billion military procurement bill.

In agreeing to the change, Symington said: "I believe the principle in the long run is more important than the amount of the ceiling."

He was referring to the principle of congressional control over the amount of American military spending in Laos—control which he charged was heretofore been lacking without Congress or the public being aware of exactly how much this country has been spending there.

## Costs Disputed

He charged that altho the Nixon administration has said it only planned to spend \$221 million for military assistance to Laos in this fiscal year, the actual figure is \$490 million. He said this included the cost of air strikes in northern Laos,

but not those against the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

The cost of strikes against the trail are considered by the Pentagon to be part of the over-all cost of the Viet Nam War.

## Fulbright Opposes Plan

Symington said that the present administration, as well as previous ones, have hidden much of what has been spent in Laos by funneling the money thru the Central Intelligence Agency or using money from other funds. He said that the reporting provisions of his

amendment were designed to prevent this diversion.

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), who voted against the amendment, said that while he was in favor of it in principle, he was not convinced that the administration would abide by either the ceiling or the spirit of the reporting provisions.

The Foreign Relations Committee chairman noted that last year Congress passed the Cooper-Church amendment which banned the use of American money to introduce troops

from another country into Laos or Cambodia, but Fulbright contended that the administration got around this by paying Thai mercenaries to fight in Laos and describing them as "native Laotians."

The Senate is in its third week of debate on the military procurement bill and a final vote is expected Wednesday. Following the vote, the bill will go to a House-Senate conference committee to give the House the opportunity to express itself on the Symington amendment.



STATINTL

## Senate Votes Ceiling On CIA Funds in Laos

The Senate, disturbed by CIA involvement in a guerrilla war, has voted to clamp a lid on the steadily increasing cost of defending Laos.

In a compromise worked out between the Nixon administration and Sen. Stuart Symington, D-Mo., members voted, 67 to 11, yesterday to impose a \$350 million ceiling on U.S. support for allied forces fighting in Laos — including paramilitary troops who are trained, paid, fed, clothed, advised and supported by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The amendment, a rider to the \$21 billion military procurement bill, does not affect U.S. air support for Laos, which costs about \$140 million annually. Nor does it restrict the bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail that leads through Laos into South Vietnam.

### Would Ban Escalation

The administration decided not to fight the restriction since \$350 million apparently was all it planned to spend anyway.

But the Symington amend-

ment, if enacted, would prevent a major U.S. escalation of the war. And it represents the first attempt by Congress to control the CIA's role in the conflict—a role that now has been acknowledged by the administration.

The CIA-directed guerrilla army in Laos includes Lao irregulars and "volunteers" from neighboring Thailand.

Symington said during the debate that many of the Thai volunteers are professional soldiers from the Thai army. He said the cost of supporting them is 25 percent higher than the entire U.S. outlay for the Royal Lao army, the regular force that is supported under the official U.S. military assistance program but that has not proved effective in resisting the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao rebels.

American ground troops have been barred from fighting in Laos since 1969 by act of Congress. But there has been concern that the growing U.S. aid program and CIA involvement—which has increased American costs 20-fold in the last nine years—could escalate into a Vietnam-like war.

### CIA Role Unveiled

The CIA expenses, like most of the other appropriations for the agency, normally are disguised by hiding the outlays in padded appropriations for other agencies. The Symington amendment recognizes the CIA's involvement in Laos for the first time.

Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., warned however, that the amendment may be used by the administration in the future as evidence that Congress was authorizing the CIA to continue its work.

Mr. ALLOTT. Now, Mr. President, I am ready, if the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, the chairman of the committee, is ready, and I am perfectly willing to ask for a quorum call to be taken out of both sides. I want to be sure that we have a recorded vote on this matter, and when we have enough Senators in the Chamber, we can ask for yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have previously been ordered.

Mr. ALLOTT. If they have been ordered, Mr. President, I think we should have a short quorum call. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. ALLOTT. If it is agreeable to the chairman of the committee, the manager of the bill, I am willing to yield back the remainder of my time, if he is willing to yield back his, and we can then proceed, the yeas and nays having been ordered, to vote on amendment No. 430.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, if there is no one who wishes time, I am ready to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. ALLOTT. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENTSEN). All remaining time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment No. 430 of the Senator from Colorado, as modified. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I announce that the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURDICK), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. HART), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLINGS), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG), the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. RIBICOFF), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. McINTYRE), the Senator from Alabama (Mr. SPARKMAN), and the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON) are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEHEE), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MONTROYA), and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE) are absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURDICK), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL), the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEHEE), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. RIB-

COFF), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. McINTYRE), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY), and the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MONTROYA) would each vote "yea."

Mr. SCOTT. I announce that the Senator from Utah (Mr. BENNETT) is absent on official business.

The Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. BELLMON), the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. CORRON), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. DOLE), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. GRIFFIN), the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MURPHY) is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BROCK), and the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. WEICKER) are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BROCK), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. DOLE), the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 65, nays 4, as follows:

[No. 247 Leg.]

YEAS—65

- |           |               |           |
|-----------|---------------|-----------|
| Alken     | Fannin        | Nelson    |
| Allen     | Pong          | Packwood  |
| Allott    | Gambrell      | Pastore   |
| Anderson  | Goldwater     | Pearson   |
| Baker     | Gurney        | Pell      |
| Bayh      | Hansen        | Proxmire  |
| Beall     | Harris        | Randolph  |
| Bentsen   | Hatfield      | Roth      |
| Bible     | Hruska        | Saxbe     |
| Boggs     | Hughes        | Schweiker |
| Brooke    | Inouye        | Scott     |
| Buckley   | Jackson       | Spong     |
| Byrd, Va. | Jordan, N.C.  | Stafford  |
| Case      | Jordan, Idaho | Stennis   |
| Chiles    | Mansfield     | Stevens   |
| Cook      | Mathias       | Symington |
| Cooper    | McClellan     | Taft      |
| Cranston  | McGovern      | Thurmond  |
| Curtis    | Metcalf       | Tunney    |
| Dominick  | Miller        | Williams  |
| Ellender  | Moss          | Young     |
| Ervin     | Muskie        |           |

NAYS—4

- |           |       |           |
|-----------|-------|-----------|
| Fulbright | Smith | Stevenson |
| Kennedy   |       |           |

NOT VOTING—31

- |              |          |          |
|--------------|----------|----------|
| Bellmon      | Gravel   | Mondale  |
| Bennett      | Griffin  | Montoya  |
| Brock        | Hart     | Mundt    |
| Burdick      | Hartke   | Percy    |
| Byrd, W. Va. | Hollings | Ribicoff |
| Cannon       | Humphrey | Sparkman |
| Church       | Javits   | Talmadge |
| Cotton       | Long     | Tower    |
| Dole         | Magnuson | Welcker  |
| Eagleton     | McGee    |          |
| Eastland     | McIntyre |          |

So Mr. ALLOTT's amendment (No. 430) was agreed to.

Mr. DOLE subsequently said: Mr. President, this morning I was unavoidably detained in returning to Washington from Kansas and narrowly missed the rollcall on the amendment sponsored by the distinguished senior Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLOTT). Had I been present it would have been my privilege to join with the overwhelming majority of my colleagues in approving the Senator from Colorado's proposal to provide substantial pay increases to members of the armed services. Having voted in favor of

the earlier, Senate-passed version of the pay increase, I was gratified that Senate approval of this measure was achieved today.

It is important to keep in mind that raising military pay scales is a matter of high national priority for two very crucial reasons. First, by increasing the pay of our men and women in uniform we fulfill an obligation to recognize and reward the contributions they are making to the maintenance of our national defense. In many cases their pay is woefully inadequate and totally unjustified in terms of the responsibilities they bear and the obligations they owe to themselves and their families. And second, by putting military pay in closer competition with civilian wages we take a significant step toward ending the draft and creating an all-volunteer military force. For, only by making a military career attractive and secure monetarily, can we hope to draw to it the type of individuals needed to fulfill the requirements of modern national defense.

I commend the Senator from Colorado for his leadership in seeking to upgrade the pay scales of the Armed Forces and for his longstanding concern and devotion to the men and women who wear the uniform of the United States so proudly and with such great distinction to themselves and their Nation.

ORDER FOR STAR PRINT OF S. 2620

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a star print be ordered for S. 2620, the East-West Trade Exchange Act of 1971, introduced by the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON) on Thursday, September 30, 1971. Due to an inadvertence, an incorrect text was attached when the bill was introduced for referral.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENTSEN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MILITARY PROCUREMENT AUTHORIZATIONS, 1972

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8687) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1972 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, tracked combat vehicles, torpedoes, and other weapons, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and to prescribe the authorized personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 434

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STEVENSON). Pursuant to the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of amendment No. 434 by the Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON), which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON) proposes amendment No. 434 as follows:

At the end of the bill add a new section as follows:

"Sec. 505. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds authorized to be