MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 1, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

FROM: STEPHEN BULL

RE: Presidential Guest Identification Device

Alex Butterfield and I have been discussing the desirability of developing a device that would help identify more specifically who is in the Presidential Office. At the present time, whenever anyone other than Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Butterfield, Mr. Chapin or I enter the office, the guest light is pushed and you have no idea who is in there. Additionally, there are certain staff members who are entering the President's office via Alex Butterfield's office. This necessitates a telephone call on the part of Alex to the girls in my office who then indicate on their log who the guest is and when he went in.

There is a small corps of staff members who spend the most time in the President's office. They are as follows:

Mr. Haldeman
Mr. Ehrlichman
Mr. Kissinger
Rose Woods

The above-mentioned individuals are in the President's office not only for private consultations but frequently as the staff member sitting in during a regular meeting. At the conclusion of the meeting, the guest might leave but the staff member remain for a few minutes. Unless someone telephones you and indicates that Mr. X, the guest in the President's office, has departed and that Mr. Ehrlichman remains, you have no idea who is still in the President's office. Therefore, it is proposed that a very simple, unobtrusive device be placed in the offices of Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Chapin, Mr. Butterfield and at each of the two secretarial desks outside of my office. This device would be a small locater board containing the following names:

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Haldeman
Ehrlichman
Kissinger
Rose Woods
Staff
Guest

Next to each of these names would be a small light which, when illuminated, would signify that that individual was in the President's office. The lights could be activated by either of the two secretaries at their respective desks outside of my office or by Alex Butterfield in his office. The boards in Mr. Haldeman's and Mr. Chapin's office would not be able to turn a light on or off since there is no necessity for that capability. The sample device that Mr. Harrington showed me has a "reciprocal" capability. What this means is that Alex can illuminate a light from his side and Beverly or Harriet can extinguish the light by pushing the button on the console next to their desks.

Advantages To Be Derived

When Mr. Ehrlichman is accompanying Mr. X to a Presidential meeting and Mr. X departs but Mr. Ehrlichman remains, we will extinguish the guest button but leave the Ehrlichman button illuminated. You will then know that Mr. Ehrlichman is there by himself.

Should Mr. Ehrlichman be called down to the President's office and enter through Alex Butterfield's office, Alex will be saved the time and trouble of telephoning us to tell us that John has entered. Rather, all he need do is push the button labelled Ehrlichman.

This will provide a means of accurately, but rather simply, reporting to you on a continual basis of what is happening in the President's office.

Since people do use Mr. Butterfield's office for entrance and egress to and from the President's office, this system will allow us to keep more accurate records.

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The basic proposal presented here was for four principal staff members plus two other positions labelled "Staff" and "Guest". The reason for this is that the telephone company has a 6-button device. We can easily expand this to include more people should you so desire. In fact, the telephone company has a 12-button device (a 6-and 12-button box accompanies this memorandum). Should we wish to expand to other staff members, I might suggest the following:

Bryce Harlow
Alex Butterfield
Ron Ziegler
Cabinet Member

Mr. Harrington advises that the cost is 75¢ per button per set per month. This seems to be a relatively small cost considering the convenience and increased efficiency that such a system would provide to you.

The two boxes that accompany this memo are encased in plastic. I understand that they come in a variety of colors. Additionally, rather than plastic, they can be enclosed in a small wooden box to be constructed by GSA of any material that would be compatible with the furnishings and decor of your office. As you inspect these devices, please understand that all of the buttons will be the same color and that the springs will be removed so that any number may be depressed at the same time.

Finally, I would like to comment upon the "unobtrusive" placement of this device. Alex Butterfield will not require one of these sets. He is going to expand his telephone to a 30-button set and will be able to incorporate all of the buttons on his Call Director. Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Chapin, however, have insufficient numbers of buttons left on their telephones and will require an individual device. In order that being listed as a staff member in the President's office not become a great status symbol, this identification box must be small enough, and its existence be kept quiet enough, so as not to stir up controversy. We might even consider coding the names such as has been done on the samples. Of course, the codes here are pretty obvious.

If you give your approval to this proposal, the telephone company can make installation this week-end.

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Decision

Approve 6-button set_____

Approve 12-button set_____

See me regarding design of outer casing_____

Disapprove_____

Other_____

cc: Alex Butterfield

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RICHARD NIXON PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY
DOCUMENT CONTROL SHEET

ITEM REMOVED FROM THIS FOLDER

A RESTRICTED DOCUMENT OR CASE FILE HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER. FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THE ITEM REMOVED AND THE REASON FOR ITS REMOVAL, CONSULT DOCUMENT ENTRY NUMBER 1 ON THE DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD IN THE FRONT OF THIS FILE FOLDER.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

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Mr Butterfield

April 7, 1970

Chief, Intelligence Division
thru: Group Supervisor D

Special Agent Stanley J. Kieszkiel

Protection of the President and other Government Officials
Manual Supplement 93G-93 dated March 27, 1970

In view of the fact that the Intelligence Division is conducting a full-scale investigation on STEVE MARTINI, who is the President's personal barber, it is recommended that the Secret Service be apprised, through the Assistant Commissioner (Compliance), of such investigation. The taxpayer, in a prior interview, has stated that the matter under investigation is causing him considerable anxiety and that he is in a state of continual mental turmoil as a result. The taxpayer's accountant, WILLIAM PLASKETT, has recently stated MARTINI is very emotional and unpredictable.

It is conceivable that the taxpayer, being faced with a possible criminal conviction, might resort to violence while in an agitated state, with resulting harm to the person of the President or some other government official to whom he has personal access because of his trade.

Stanley J. Kieszkiel

Stanley J. Kieszkiel

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DEPARTMENTS OF THE ARMY AND THE AIR FORCE
NATIONAL GUARD BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20310

NGNGBI 8 April 1970

SUBJECT: American Prisoners of War in Vietnam

The Adjutants General of all States, the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

1. Inclosed in this package you will find the answer to the question, "What can I do about our prisoners of war?"

2. As you doubtless know, there are almost 1,500 U. S. servicemen missing in action or known to be prisoners in Southeast Asia. Most of the prisoners are being held captive by North Vietnam. Some of these men have been captive for almost six years -- far longer than internment in any previous war.

3. There is ample evidence that some of these men have been subjected to cruel physical and psychological treatment. Proper medical care is apparently non-existent, despite the fact that many of these men are known to be suffering from severe injury. Only a handful of the seriously sick and wounded have been repatriated. Some have been subjected to solitary confinement. Food is inadequate.

4. Perhaps the most distressing fact is that only a relatively few of the families of these men have ever received any information from any source as to whether they are prisoners or not, much less word as to their condition. In addition to wives, mothers, fathers and others, there are many children who have never seen their father, and indeed do not know if their father is alive. Because of their concern for the well-being of the prisoners of war and the anxieties of their families, the Virginia Air National Guard recently initiated a project which proved so successful that the Virginians have suggested that the project be expanded to a national basis.

5. As an American, I share their concern for the POWs and their families and believe that the feeling is further shared by a majority of other Americans. I'm told that the North Vietnamese officials have told emissaries that while the American government might be concerned for the prisoners, that attitude has not been voiced by the American people. For that reason, I think we Guardsmen -- as citizens and as dedicated Americans -- can provide a great service to the nation by conducting a "Show Your Concern" campaign within the communities.

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SUBJECT: American Prisoners of War in Vietnam

6. I would emphasize that this project deals only with the treatment of prisoners of war as called for in the Geneva Conventions. North Vietnam is a signatory. "Show Your Concern" should be purely humanitarian in concept and in operation. It is not -- and must not be -- in any way associated with political policies or personal ideologies concerning the war. It is a purely humanitarian appeal, and as it is presented in this package of materials for your dissemination, it has the approval of the Department of Defense.

7. I know that a great many other patriotic organizations, such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion, as well as civic organizations, are interested in the welfare of the prisoners of war and their families, too. Therefore, their assistance should be solicited in an effort to make the campaign truly a community project. I believe the Guard organization, both Army and Air, can provide the focal point for organizing such a community effort. And I urge all Guard commanders to accept this program as a project.

8. The Virginia Guardsmen drafted a petition deploring the action and inaction of the North Vietnamese Government whereby they have totally ignored the Geneva Conventions of 1949 regarding the treatment of prisoners. Twenty-five copies of the petition were prepared and over 90 per cent of the Virginia Air Guardsmen voluntarily signed their names to each of these petitions. The petitions were sent to the addressees listed in this package. It is believed they have the most persuasion with the government of North Vietnam.

9. I wish to further emphasize that the signing of these petitions must be entirely voluntary, as it was in Virginia.

10. To be most effective this project must be identified as the action of concerned individual citizens and <u>not</u> as a military-backed program. For this reason, publicity is encouraged.

11. Because of the Virginians' success, I believe you will find that having a member of a POW's family present during the petition signing would be most helpful. The family members, as a matter of fact, can be of great assistance in both publicizing the program and arranging for the actual signing of the petitions.

12. It is suggested that this project be implemented by all units during their April and/or May UTAs.

13. Among the materials inclosed is an "action letter" which I hope each of you will reproduce and distribute to your units for completion. When you have received summaries of the action taken in your State, I hope you will have your project officer forward a report to the Bureau. These reports should be mailed to NGNGBI.

Incls
as

WINSTON P. WILSON
Major General
Chief, National Guard Bureau

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SUBJECT: Show Your Concern

PROCEDURES FOR PRINTING AND SIGNING PETITIONS

I. Materials and Equipment:

1. IBM 407 accounting machine

2. Roll of 9 3/4" paper for IBM 407 (approximately $10.00)

3. A list of addresses to which the petitions may be sent (list attached).

4. Adequate space for making the petitions available for signing. Suitable places would be a parachute packing room, tables in a gymnasium, etc. (See March 1970 issue of the Air Reservist (copy attached)).

5. Plenty of pens -- at least one per petition.

6. Stamps and envelopes for mailing petitions (approximately $14.00 for stamps).

II. Printing:

1. For a large number of petitions, the IBM 407 is the easiest and quickest way to produce the same petition with numerous addressees; however, if these resources are not available, petitions may be hand-written or hand typed. The more variety in form and wording, the more effective this effort will be.

2. The petition may be worded any way the unit sponsor desires so as to reflect a request for humane treatment for our men being held prisoners by North Vietnam.

3. IBM 407 procedures are attached for reference.

4. The petition should be of sufficient length to accommodate the number of signatures anticipated, using two signatures to a line, hence the roll of 9 3/4" paper.

III. Set-up for Signing Petitions:

1. Prior to the date selected for the petition signing, an article should be run in unit and local papers advising unit members and the public when, where, and why the petition signing will be. Although this effort can be effective by unit participation alone, it is hoped as many units as possible will include the public. The longer the signature portion of the petition, the more effective it will be.

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SUBJECT: Show Your Concern

2. One of the most important aspects of this effort is to invite as many wives and family members of POW's and MIA's as possible. Even one of these people can make the entire unit effort worthwhile, and they certainly appreciate what is being done. A list of area coordinators for families of POW/MIA men is inclosed.

3. Coordinators in the appropriate area can help supply the names of people in a given area who can be invited to the petition signing.

4. On the day of signing, a brief reminder, by the project officer, should be made when the unit is assembled during the morning - say at inspection - that the signing will take place during afternoon roll call.

5. Afternoon roll call should be staggered to allow unit members to be able to sign without having a long wait. In a 600-man unit, roll call could run from 1300 to 1600 with different sections having roll call 15-30 minutes apart.

6. The signing should be voluntary and each man should sign all petitions once.

7. As much publicity as possible should be accorded the signing. Local newspapers/TV/Radio should be contacted to cover the signing. Favorable publicity showing concerned citizens requesting humane treatment for our prisoners can be a big help in impressing the leaders in Hanoi.

IV. Follow-up and Coordination:

1. The IBM 407 may be used to provide petitions for other groups interested in conducting a similar operation.

2. Return the inclosed action envelope.

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SAMPLE PETITION:

(Return address)
(Use Civilian address and
no military titles or units)

(Date)

Your Excellency:

As citizens of the United States of America, we would like to bring to your attention and the attention of your government the recent reports concerning treatment afforded United States military prisoners of war being held by the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and to solicit your assistance on behalf of these prisoners.

The reports, which we believe to be correct and true, indicate that these prisoners of war are not being treated in the manner prescribed by the Geneva Conventions of 1949. As you know, the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, along with 119 other governments, is a signatory of the Geneva Conventions.

Reported violations of the Conventions include the fact that the Hanoi government has refused to identify those United States prisoners of war it holds, or to allow these men to receive mail and packages from their homes. It has also been reported that prisoners have been forced to endure cruel and inhumane physical punishment and, in some cases, have been tortured by the Hanoi government. These acts are clearly violations of the Geneva Conventions.

We protest most vehemently these reported violations. At the same time, we respectfully request that you and your government exert all possible efforts to bring about strict compliance by the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam to the Geneva Conventions as they apply to prisoners of war, be they United States personnel or those of any other nation.

We thank you for your consideration in this matter.

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SAMPLE LETTER

Return Address
(Use civilian address and
no military titles or units)

Date

Dear Sir:

As citizens of the United States of America, we would like to bring to your attention and the attention of your government the recent reports concerning treatment afforded United States military prisoners of war being held by the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and to solicit your assistance on behalf of these prisoners.

The reports, which we believe to be correct and true, indicate that these prisoners of war are not being treated in the manner prescribed by the Geneva Conventions of 1949. As you know, the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, along with 119 other governments, is a signatory of the Geneva Conventions.

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We protest most vehemently these reported violations. At the same time, we respectfully request that you and your government exert all possible efforts to bring about strict compliance by the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam to the Geneva Conventions as they apply to prisoners of war, be they United States personnel or those of any other nation.

We thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

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HOW YOU CAN HELP OUR PRISONERS OF WAR

The eight listed nations are believed to be those which might have great influence in persuading North Vietnam to accord humane treatment to American prisoners. Letters can be directed to the ambassadors of these countries in Washington, D.C. Two leading publications from each nation have been selected, and correspondence can be addressed simply to "The Editor" and sent to the indicated address. Please note the necessary air mail rates.

CAMBODIA

Mr. Thay Sok
Charge d'Affaires
Embassy of Cambodia
4500 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20011

Agence Khmere Presse
Ministry of Information
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

La Depeche Du Cambodge
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

(25¢ per 1/2 ounce air mail)

FRANCE

His Excellency
Charles Lucet
Embassy of France
2535 Belmont Road, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Le Monde
Paris 8, France

Le Figaro
Paris 8, France

(20¢ per 1/2 ounce air mail)

INDIA

His Excellency
Nawab Ali Yavar Jung
Embassy of India
2107 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Times of India
New Delhi 1, India

Hindu
Madras 2, India

(25¢ per 1/2 ounce air mail)

DENMARK

The Honorable Hans C. Anderson
Ambassador of Denmark
2800 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20006

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POLAND

His Excellency
Jerzy Michalowski
Embassy of Polish People's Republic
2640 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

The Honorable Stefan Jedrychowski
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Warsaw, Poland

(20¢ per 1/2 ounce air mail)

Trybuna Ludu
Warsaw, Poland

Zycie Warszawv
Warsaw, Poland

ROMANIA

His Excellency
Corneliu Bogdan
Embassy of Socialist Republic of Romania
1607 Twenty-Third Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

The Honorable Corneliu Manescu
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Bucharest, Romania

(20¢ per 1/2 ounce air mail)

Scinteia
Bucharest, Romania

Romania Libera
Bucharest, Romania

SWEDEN

His Excellency
Hubert de Besche
Embassy of Sweden
2249 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

The Honorable Torsten Nilsson
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Stockholm, Sweden

(20¢ per 1/2 ounce air mail)

Dagens Nyheter
Stockholm, Sweden

Svenska Dagbladet
Stockholm, Sweden

USSR

His Excellency
Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
Embassy of the USSR
1125 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The Honorable Andrei Gromyko
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Moscow, U. S. S. R.

(25¢ per 1/2 ounce air mail)

Pravda
Moscow A-47, U.S.S.R.

Izvestia
Moscow A-47, U.S.S.R.

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NATIONAL COORDINATOR

Mrs. James B. Stockdale
National League of Families of American Prisoners in Southeast Asia
P. O. Box 9791
San Diego, California 92109

AREA COORDINATORS

NEW YORK -- NEW JERSEY

Mrs. Robert C. Davis
23 E. Broad Street
Box 365
Burlington, New Jersey
609-386-0261

MAINE -- NEW HAMPSHIRE -- VERMONT
MASSACHUSETTS -- RHODE ISLAND --
CONNECTICUT

Mrs. Kenneth W. North
Box 136
Wellfloat, Massachusetts 02667
617-349-3534

DELAWARE -- MARYLAND --
VIRGINIA -- WEST VIRGINIA

Mrs. James A. Mulligan, Jr.
905 Kemper Drive
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23454
703-340-0776

NORTH CAROLINA -- SOUTH CAROLINA

Mrs. James R. Hiteshow
308 Redwood Trail
Goldsboro, North Carolina 27530
919-734-6817

GEORGIA -- ALABAMA

Mrs. Jack Walters, Jr.
1959 A. N. Carolina Street
Albany, Georgia
912-436-4076

FLORIDA

Mrs. R. B. Fuller
5727 Salerno Road
Jacksonville, Florida 32210
904-388-5449

CALIFORNIA

El Toro

Mrs. C. L. Hanson
24112 Birdrock Drive
El Toro, California
714-837-4593

Lemoore

Mrs. John McKamey
127 Corsair
NAS, Lemoore, California 93245

Los Angeles

Mrs. Arthur S. Mearns
2736 Lyric Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90065
213-662-9657

San Diego

Mrs. Phillip Neal Butler
5623 Bellevue
La Jolla, California 92037
714-459-1058

San Francisco

Mrs. James J. Evans
3280 Thompson Avenue
Alameda, California 94501
415-521-2380

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AREA COORDINATORS (CONTINUED)

WASHINGTON -- OREGON --
ALASKA -- HAWAII

Mrs. R. W. Hagerman
12614 80th Avenue, E.
Puyallup, Washington 98371
206-TH5-7805

ARIZONA -- NEW MEXICO -- NEVADA

Mrs. Gene Smith
5424 Beatley
Las Vegas, Nevada 89109
702-737-2499

NORTH DAKOTA -- SOUTH DAKOTA

Mrs. Leland Torkelson
Box 155
Crosby, North Dakota 58730

NEBRASKA -- KANSAS

Mrs. Richard Ratzlaff
3118 N. 97th Street #150
Omaha, Nebraska 68134

IDAHO -- MONTANA -- UTAH
WYOMING -- COLORADO

Mrs. Ward K. Dodge
4010 Maxwell Place
Colorado Springs, Colorado 80909

TEXAS -- OKLAHOMA

Mrs. J. A. Singleton
11110 Joymeadow Drive
Dallas, Texas 75218
214-348-3870

MINNESOTA -- WISCONSIN

Mrs. David W. Winn
4911 Sunnyside Road
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55424

IOWA -- MISSOURI

Mrs. Donald G. Kolarik
2109 N. 2nd Street
Clinton, Iowa 52732

LOUISIANA -- ARKANSAS

Mrs. Hayden J. Lockhart, Jr.
3311 Nelson Street
Alexandria, Louisiana 71301
318-445-2669

MISSISSIPPI -- TENNESSEE
KENTUCKY

Mrs. Dennie K. Collins
956 W. Ridge Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39209

MICHIGAN -- INDIANA

Mr. & Mrs. J. F. Warner
2018 McKinley
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197

ILLINOIS

Mrs. Dorothy Bodden
5707 Walnut Avenue
Downers Grove, Illinois 60515
312-968-9392

OHIO

Mrs. Burton W. Campbell
450 Woodside Drive
Amherst, Ohio 44001

PENNSYLVANIA

Mrs. Cyril Reynolds
314 Ucindrillo Road
Bala-Cynwyd, Pennsylvania 19004

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SUBJECT: Action Letter on "Show Your Concern"

_____
(Date)

TO: National Guard Bureau
ATTN: NGNGBI
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20310

IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECT "CONCERN" IN OUR STATE WAS AS FOLLOWS:

- ☐ No Action
- ☐ Action as outlined in package
- ☐ Other action (please specify):

THE PROJECT WAS IMPLEMENTED AT THE FOLLOWING LEVELS:

ARMY:

- ☐ Company
- ☐ Battalion
- ☐ All units
- ☐ Other

AIR:

- ☐ Group
- ☐ Squadron
- ☐ All units
- ☐ Other

IMPLEMENTATION WAS ACCOMPLISHED IN:

- ☐ April
- ☐ May
- ☐ April and May
- ☐ Other (please specify):

ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING OUR EFFORT INCLUDED:

- ☐ American Legion
- ☐ Veterans of Foreign Wars
- ☐ Other (please specify):

OUR STATE: _____

TOTAL NUMBER OF PETITIONS AND/OR LETTERS: _____

TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO SIGNED PETITIONS OR LETTERS: _____

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his nose, his cheeks, his chin were sharply drawn, haggard. So were Hegdahl's. Their tightly stretched, almost translucent skin had a corpse-like pallor.

Their "escorts" had nothing but praise for what they had seen in North Vietnam, including Hanoi's "humane" treatment of prisoners. "How many prison camps did you visit?" I asked. After repeated evasions, their leader admitted that he had "no information at all" about any of the prison camps. Nor had they brought any hint that North Vietnam might consider changing its policy on prisoners.

The Prisoners Talk. Twenty-five days later, I saw Frishman and Hegdahl at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland. Sunshine had improved their color; they had regained some weight. They were ready to open up.

Frishman recounted how he had been blindfolded after his capture and, despite serious injuries, driven in a truck to other locations, where he was stoned by the populace. When he reached the prison, he was refused medical treatment and told he was "going to die in four hours" unless he talked. When he passed out, he was taken to a hospital. "Then, even with my bad arm, they tied me up with ropes."

Doctors operated on his arm, but failed to remove missile fragments; so it was six months before the incision healed over. "I would wake up and find my arm stuck to the blankets. . . . The scab would come off. . . . The wound would drain again."

Hegdahl, too, had been subjected to solitary confinement for more than a year. He was permitted occasional mail, but the letters were rifled of enclosures (including money) sent by his parents. The lone package he was allowed had been plundered before he got it. For propaganda purposes he was photographed "reading" a U.S. magazine, which he was allowed to hold "just long enough for them to take the picture."

Frishman was cautioned before his release not to forget that "we still have hundreds of your buddies." But those still imprisoned want the facts out in the open, he said. As one prisoner said to him, "Don't worry about telling the truth. If it means more torture, at least we'll know why we're getting it. It will be worth the sacrifice."

Plan for Action. Hanoi's continued lack of compassion has brought rising anger in Congress. In August, 42 Senators banded together in a strong statement condemning North Vietnam for its cruel treatment of the prisoners and their families. The declaration, sponsored by two opponents of our Vietnam policies, Charles Goodell (R., N.Y.) and Alan Cranston (D., Calif.), says that if North Vietnam thinks it can "influence the policy of the United States toward the Vietnam conflict" through its intransigent position on the prisoners, it is "doomed to failure." Those signing the statement included both Democrats and Republicans, and represented 33 of the 50 states.*

This sort of initiative is helpful, but only full and continuing exposure of the plight of the prisoners and their families, together with relentless public pressure at home and abroad, is likely to produce action. A business-as-usual attitude on the part of the American public can only indicate to Hanoi that these men who have given so much to their country have indeed been forgotten.

In my interviews with numerous government officials, with representatives of the Red Cross, members of the armed forces and next of kin of the prisoners, I have asked each person what would be the most effective attack that could be launched. They agreed that dramatic results could come from a vigorous letter campaign directed to 1) representatives of foreign nations and the press of those nations; 2) your Congressmen; and 3) Xuan Thuy, chief North Vietnam negotiator in Paris.

The mail to the foreign nations should urge that pressure be brought to bear on Hanoi to live up to the "spirit" of the Geneva Conventions by putting into practice the Conventions' rules on the treatment of war prisoners.

The letters to Xuan Thuy should make the same demands. And those individuals who are not in sympathy with the war itself should make it clear that proper treatment of the prisoners is an overriding consideration. All should note that continued intransigence on the part of Hanoi will stiffen the resolve of the American public, not weaken it.

Letters to members of Congress should call for a joint resolution demanding proper treatment for the prisoners and missing men.

There is a chance—possibly a good chance—that world opinion might force Hanoi to honor basic codes of human decency.

"By any human standards" the position of North Vietnam is "totally inexcusable," says Secretary of State William P. Rogers. "I don't understand why we have not become more excited about the prisoner question."

The Secretary is telling the people of the United States that their concern is important. The rest is up to you. If you want to help the men whom many Americans have forgotten, you can. Your letter could be the one that spells the difference.

If you want to help, send a postcard to Reprint Editor, The Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, N. Y. 10570, giving your name and address; you will be mailed a list of Washington, D. C., addresses of ambassadors of the foreign nations whose assistance could be particularly vital; and a list of selected foreign newspapers. Letters to Xuan Thuy can be addressed to: Xuan Thuy, North Vietnam Delegation, Paris Peace Talks, Paris, France (airmail rate, 20 cents).

*On August 21, the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris vehemently rejected the protest as "slander" and an attempt "to deceive public opinion."

Reprints of this article are available. Prices, postpaid to one address: 10—50¢; 50—$2; 100—$3.50; 500—$12.50; 1000—$18. Address Reprint Editor, The Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570

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A Reader's Digest REPRINT

Nothing less than a worldwide cry of outrage is likely to bring a halt to the grossly inhuman treatment our men are receiving in the enemy's prison camps

What You Can Do for American Prisoners in Vietnam

Condensed from AIR FORCE AND SPACE DIGEST

LOUIS R. STOCKSTILL

ONCE A MONTH from her apartment in Arlington, Va., Gloria Netherland walks down a long hallway to the mail chute and deposits a letter. She watches it drop from sight on the first leg of a journey into an unknown void halfway round the world. The letter begins "Dear Dutch." Whether Dutch will receive it is impossible to say.

Gloria and Dutch have been married 18 years, but she doesn't know whether he is alive or dead. For more than two years she has written the monthly letters—six lines each, according to current communist rules. None is answered; none is returned. But, in the pattern of "dreadful uncertainty" that characterizes her life, she never fails to write.

Capt. Roger M. Netherland, shot down over North Vietnam in May 1967, is officially "missing in action";

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fliers reconnoitering the site where his plane plunged to the ground believe they heard his voice, but no word has come through since.

Gloria Netherland is but one of hundreds of American wives and parents whose husbands and sons are the forgotten men of the Vietnam war—approximately 1400 men captured or missing and possibly in enemy hands. Most of the known captives are imprisoned in North Vietnam. Others are held by the Vietcong in the South. A few are interned in Laos and Red China.

On the shoddy pretext that these captives are "criminals," not POWs, Hanoi will not allow neutral inspections of its prisons—inspections required under the Geneva Conventions, ratified by North Vietnam in 1957 and by 119 other governments since the origination of the Conventions in 1949. In blatant disregard of international rules, Hanoi refuses even to identify the prisoners it holds, to release the sick and wounded, or to allow proper flow of letters and packages, though the Red Cross has tackled the problem again and again.

Evelyn Grubb's only knowledge of her husband, for example, has come from a Hanoi propaganda gesture. An unarmed reconnaissance aircraft, piloted by Maj. Wilmer "Newk" Grubb, was shot down in January 1966. Hanoi gloatingly publicized his capture. Each time Evelyn writes, she sends photographs of their four sons—stapled to the letter so that Newk will know if they have been removed. She doesn't know whether he has received a single photograph or letter. In almost four years, she has received no further official word of her husband.

Until recently, the American public has been provided scant information about American POWs in Vietnam. Now, for the first time, our officials are waging an open fight for the prisoners. The diplomatic maneuverings which previously shielded many aspects of the situation from public view—although perhaps right for that period—have been partially cast aside. The United States is speaking out. Yet, in order for the tough and forthright new policies to produce desired results, citizens must join the attack. Our assistance could be crucial.

Here, then, are the sobering facts about the prisoners—the way they are used and abused by Hanoi.

Misery and Malnutrition. The armed forces have been able to positively identify 401 men as captured (Air Force, 192; Navy, 140; Army, 46; Marine Corps, 23). Some intelligence about these men must be kept secret or couched in guarded language to protect them. Nevertheless, accounts of inhumane treatment have emerged. Consider Navy Lt. (j.g.) Dieter Dengler, who was

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Louis R. Stockstill, in researching this article, talked to dozens of government officials and numerous wives of Vietnam prisoners. A free-lance writer in Washington, D.C., Stockstill was for 22 years a reporter for the *Armed Forces Journal*, covering Congress and the Department of Defense.

taken by the Pathet Lao in 1966 and turned over to North Vietnamese soldiers. He was spread-eagled by his captors and left at night to the mercy of jungle insects, repeatedly beaten with sticks for refusing to sign a statement condemning the United States, and tied behind a water buffalo and dragged through the bush. The once 157-pound flier weighed 98 pounds following his escape and rescue.

Other escaped prisoners have told of similar maltreatment in Pathet Lao and Vietcong jungle camps. Prisoners are fed little but rice, and many suffer from malnutrition. Some are afflicted with intestinal parasites. Except when allowed out to empty toilet pails, prisoners are confined in huts, often locked in wooden foot blocks or handcuffs. Barbaric treatment is not unusual. In Hanoi's prisons, men have been kept in a pitch-black room for more than a year, hung from ceilings by their arms, tied with ropes until they developed infected scars, and burned with cigarettes. At least one has had his fingernails ripped from his hands. The broken bones of another, set by communist doctors and still in casts, were rebroken by guards.

Prisoner treatment varies, of course. North Vietnam operates its best-known prison camp—known as the "Hanoi Hilton"—in central Hanoi. Here prisoners are wakened between 5 and 6 a.m. by a gong, followed by a 30-minute Radio Hanoi English-language broadcast of propaganda piped into their cells. At mid-morning they are taken out to empty toilet buckets. At 11 a.m., as much as 19 hours after they last ate, they are fed. Food—picked up on a wooden tray and eaten in the individual cells—consists mainly of pumpkin or squash, pork fat, a vegetable resembling wild onion tops, and bread or rice. Then, prisoners may "nap" on their bare board bunks until two in the afternoon, when their cells are flooded with another half-hour Radio Hanoi broadcast. Between 4 and 6 p.m. they are fed the second and final meal of the day.

Prisoners generally are isolated from communication with more than one or two other prisoners. Many are kept in solitary. Certain prisoners have been allowed on occasion to write to their families, but few letters ever reach home. U.S. officials, with reasonable suspicion, regard the "Hanoi Hilton" as a propaganda showplace. It is the lone prison that foreign journalists have been allowed to enter.

Patterned Release. To date, only a handful of Americans have been released: 16 by the Vietcong, nine by Hanoi. The releases by Hanoi—on two occasions last year and one this August—have all followed a disturbing pattern. First, just three men have been let out at a time, and always accompanied by blatant propaganda. Second, the names of the men to be freed have been withheld for periods of more than a month after the intention to release was announced, thus creating untold agony for thousands of hopeful next of kin. Third, releases are carried out via dissident Americans instead of through the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The release last August illustrates how completely Hanoi milks the prisoner situation for its own purposes. To begin with, it was carried out via a group of eight dissenting Americans—a pacifist, two members of the Students for a Democratic Society, a member of anti-war organizations, a man who had served a stockade sentence for refusing to fight in Vietnam, and three cameramen from an underground movie-making outfit. All but one went to North Vietnam, where they were solicitously entertained for a couple of weeks.

Finally, on August 4, Hanoi named the men who were to be freed. Two were Navy men (Lt. Robert F. Frishman, captured 21 months earlier; and Seaman Douglas B. Hegdahl, imprisoned for two years and four months); the third was Air Force Capt. Wesley L. Rumble, a prisoner for 15 months.

At an airport press conference in Vientiane, Laos, U.S. newsmen described the men as "pale and gaunt." Lieutenant Frishman, acting as spokesman for the prisoners, selected his words carefully. He said only that he was "happy to be returning home."

"How was the treatment you received while a prisoner?" he was asked.

"I received adequate food, clothing and housing," Frishman replied.

View From the Side. When the three men arrived at Kennedy International Airport in New York, I was there to see them for myself. To television audiences, the returning prisoners may have looked reasonably well cared for. But their appearance as they disembarked was deeply saddening. Frishman and Hegdahl were first off the plane. Rumble, ill, stooped, pale, was assisted down the steps, helped into a police car, and rushed to a waiting medical-evacuation plane.

The two Navy men were ashen. Their eyes were deep, hollow circles of darker gray, much like the exaggerated eyes of starving children. Frishman had been seriously wounded. The North Vietnamese doctors had removed his elbow and tied the muscles together. "I am glad to still have my arm," he said. It hung at his left side, the loose sleeve of his jacket emphasizing that the arm was terribly wasted.

A reporter asked Hegdahl how much weight he had lost. He had "no comment." But then Frishman addressed the microphones: "I lost 45 pounds. Seaman Hegdahl lost 60 pounds."

What about the welfare of the other prisoners still held by Hanoi?

"No comment."

As Frishman turned to leave, I saw him for the first time from the side. His shoulders were incredibly thin. The cóllar of his shirt hung loosely about his neck. The lines of

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They Show Their Concern

by Jon R. Donnelly
Richmond (Va.) NEWS LEADER

The men of the Virginia National Guard filed into the room quietly—there was no laughter, no joking.

They read the petition, signed it and left to return to their various duties within the Guard base at Byrd Field (Sandston, Va.).

The parachute packing room, located in the main base hangar, was never empty last Sunday afternoon (Jan. 18, 1970).

The petition began:

"Dear Sir,

"As citizens of the United States of America, we would like to bring to your attention and the attention of your government the recent reports concerning treatment afforded U.S. military prisoners of war being held by the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and to solicit your assistance on behalf of these prisoners . . ."

By the time the last Air Guardsman had signed, there were more than 600 names on the 25 copies of the petition.

The copies will be sent to the embassies of the major nations maintaining diplomatic relations with North Vietnam.

The idea for a petition protesting POW treatment came from pilots of the Guard's 149th Tactical Fighter Squadron. The remainder of the Virginia Air Guard quickly backed the idea.

The petition continued:



Humane treatment of American POWs is asked by officers and airmen of the 192nd TFG, Virginia ANG as they sign 25 petitions bound for foreign governments and news media.

"The reports . . . indicate that these prisoners of war are not being treated in the manner prescribed by The Geneva Conventions of 1949. As you know, the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, along with 119 other governments, is a signatory of the Geneva accords. . . ."

Many of the Air Guardsmen who signed the petition are former Regular Air Force personnel who served in the Southeast Asia war.

"I think we owe it to these men to see that they get good treatment," said one young airman. Like many of the other men, he declined to identify himself.

"After all," he said after a reflective pause, "we sent them over there. We should do something."

The commander of the 192nd Tactical Fighter Group, VANG, Lt. Col. Claude F. Heath of Mechanicsville, ordered a staggered roll call during Sunday's drill so that the 600-man-plus unit could have an opportunity to sign the document.

"Reported violations of the conventions included the fact that the Hanoi government has refused to identify those U.S. prisoners of war it holds, or to allow these men to receive mail and packages from their homes.

"It also has been reported that prisoners have been forced to endure cruel and inhumane physical punishment and, in some cases, have been tortured by the Hanoi government. These acts clearly are violations of the Geneva Conventions. . . ."

"Well all we're doing is what we'd hope someone else would do for us if we were the POWs," said a Virginia Air Guard pilot with numerous combat missions to his credit.

He watched as still another group of Guardsmen filed into the room to sign the petition.

Nearby was Mrs. Phyllis Galanti of Richmond, whose husband, Navy Lt. Paul E. Galanti, became one of the estimated 1,300 Americans held prisoner in June 1966. She was invited to watch the petition signing by the 149th pilots.

"This is what we need," she said, "tangible evidence that the people are concerned and support efforts to improve the prisoners' living conditions."

The Hanoi regime is "concerned with its image and with world opinion," she said, adding that more petitions similar to that of the Air Guard might aid in bringing about the American POW's release.

"It's been long enough," she said. "We want our husbands home."

The petition concluded:

"We protest most vehemently these reported violations.

"At the same time we respectfully request that you and your government exert all possible efforts to bring about strict compliance by (North Vietnam) to the Geneva Conventions as they apply to prisoners of war, be they U.S. personnel or those of any other nation."

The Virginia Air Guardsmen are urging everyone to join in the movement for better treatment of POWs. "We'll make copies of the petition available to any individual or group who wants them," said a Guard officer.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE MAY 1, 1970

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

DAY OF PRAYER

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

One of the cruelest tactics of the war in Vietnam is the Communists' refusal to identify all prisoners of war, to provide information about them and to permit their families to communicate with them regularly. This callous policy is in violation of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, to which North Vietnam acceded in 1957. And it is in contempt of established customs among civilized nations and of ordinary human decency.

The government of the United States of America is making and will continue to make every effort to alleviate the anxiety of the families of these prisoners by working to change this situation. The Congress by a House Concurrent Resolution of April 28, 1970, has resolved that Friday, May 1, 1970, be commemorated as a day for an appeal for international justice for all American prisoners of war and servicemen missing in action in Southeast Asia and has requested the President to designate Sunday, May 3, 1970, as a National Day of Prayer for humane treatment and the safe return of these brave Americans.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Sunday, May 3, 1970, as a National Day of Prayer for all American Prisoners of War and Servicemen Missing in Action in Southeast Asia. I call upon all of the people of the United States to offer prayers on behalf of these men, to instill courage and perseverance in their hearts and the hearts of their loved ones and compassion in the hearts of their captors.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-fourth.

RICHARD NIXON

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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

INFLATION AND THE COST OF LIVING: SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. To many Americans, the rising cost-of-living and high interest rates have become the nation's number one domestic problem. Why have prices risen so far and so fast?

A. The plain, unassailable facts are these:

-- We are suffering now from the effects of a Democratic inflation.

-- It is a Republican Administration which is fighting the hard fight to control that inflation.

-- It is the Democrats, in Congress and elsewhere, who are making it difficult to fight that fight successfully.

Is there any doubt that the nation is suffering from an inflation caused by ill-conceived Democratic policies? Look at the record.

It was the Democrats who controlled this Government for the first eight years of the 1960's. That is when inflation was set in motion.

Early in the 1960's, a great deal was heard about the "new economics." It provided Democrats with an intellectual respectability for a gorgeous political doctrine which said we should have lower taxes and more Federal spending because it was good for us.

The Democrats pursued the "new economics" as long as it called for lower taxes and more spending, and they did so with excellent political results, winning the election of 1964 and continuing their large majorities in the House and Senate.

This inflationary policy was pursued even when expenditures for Viet Nam began to mount. It was a simple policy: we could have both guns and butter and jam, as well.

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But, when unmistakable signs of overheating in the economy occurred in 1966, as the deficits from lower taxes and higher spending rose, they gave up on the "new economics" when its logic called for budget surpluses either through higher taxes or lower spending, or both. Spending was not cut: it was increased; only reluctantly were minor tax increases provided. As a result, our Government ran a string of deficits totalling almost $64 billion from 1961 to 1968, culminating in the record-breaking $25 billion deficit in 1968.

> The result of big Federal deficits and too rapid an expansion in the nation's money supply is old-fashioned inflation: Too much money chasing too few goods, and a rapid escalation in the cost-of-living.

Q. Why have interest rates risen so much?

A. Because of the red-ink budgets and the resulting inflation.

Interest is simply the price paid for borrowed money. In an inflationary boom, all types of borrowers -- businesses, farmers, individuals, State and local governments -- are anxious to borrow. When added to the Government's borrowing to meet red-ink spending, the demand pressures simply pull interest rates up.

Q. Why do budget deficits cause the cost-of-living to rise?

A. Because the Federal government puts more money into the economy through spending than it takes out in the form of taxes. The situation is aggravated if, as in the late 1960's, the Federal Reserve System indirectly helps to finance the Federal deficits through rapid expansion of the money supply.

Q. Does this explain why interest rates rose to historic highs in 1969?

A. Not entirely. Such rates are also affected by the monetary policies of the Federal Reserve System. These policies were appropriately tight last year as one vital part of the effort to stop inflation. Recently monetary policy has loosened up somewhat.

But the real force that jacked interest rates to ultra-high levels last year was widespread expectations of unending inflation in the United States. When inflation is allowed

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to run on too long, as in the late 1960's, expectations of additional inflation take hold. This causes borrowers to rush in to borrow today in order to beat tomorrow's price increase. Lenders become reluctant to make loans which they think will be repaid with dollars of reduced purchasing power.

Q. Just exactly what has President Nixon done to stop inflation?

A. He has struck at its basic cause by sharply slowing the upward spiral of Federal spending.

From fiscal 1965 to 1969, the average annual increase in Federal spending was over 13 percent. In fiscal 1970, that rise was cut to 7 1/2 percent. In the coming fiscal year that spending momentum will be further cut in half -- to 3.7 percent.

Q. If the Administration's battle against inflation is being won, why do prices continue to rise?

A. You can't reverse overnight the deeply ingrained pressures stemming from four years of economic overheating -- at least, you cannot do so quickly without knocking the economy into a deep, old-fashioned recession with sky-high unemployment. This is why the President refused to jam on the brakes, but instead insisted on firm but pervasive restraint.

Unfortunately, even though the forces of "demand-pull inflation ("too much money chasing too few goods") have been pretty much brought under control -- the "real" economy has been level or declining moderately for the past six months -- the pressures of "cost-push" will continue to escalate prices for some months to come.

This period of adjustment, through which we must navigate back to wage-price stability, is painful but necessary. Anyone who goes on a 4-day bender is going to have a long and painful hangover. An economy that's been on a 4-year inflationary binge also must go through an uncomfortable period of decompression.

Q. What are the methods used to fight inflation?

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A. Government has only two real tools to use against inflation. They are monetary restraint and fiscal restraint. The Nixon Administration is using these two tools in a very delicate operation designed to bring inflation under control while still avoiding economic distress. The more leeway it has in using the fiscal restraint tool -- which means holding government spending in line -- the less it has to use the monetary restraint tool with the economic hardships it imposes.

The Democrats fight the use of either tool. They make it difficult to achieve surpluses by their control of Congress and their predeliction for spending, spending, spending. They snipe at high interest rates brought on by the monetary restraint necessary when the fiscal tool cannot be used to its fullest extent. They make difficult the unified support for the kind of national program required to stop the inflation they began.

Instead, they advance tired old panaceas; they want the President to jawbone inflation away, as if that were possible, or they urge price and wage controls which, as they ought to know best of all, never have solved the underlying causes of high prices.

Q. Some economists and politicans claim that the Administration abandoned the wage-price guideposts introduced in the early 1960's and which, according to them, were very effective in controlling inflation.

Why has President Nixon refused to use the prestige of his office to get labor to make reasonable settlements and business to hold prices down?

A. This Administration didn't jettison the wage-price guideposts. They were dropped by the Johnson Administration in 1966 when it was clear they were not working and continued reliance on them would have done more harm than good.

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The hard fact is that the record for this type of "incomes policy" is poor both here and abroad. During the early 1960's, when some say they worked in this country, unemployment averaged more than 5 percent.

Q. If "jawboning" won't work, why not set up wage and price controls?

A. Because they won't work either, unless there are strong patriotic motives which support them, such as a situation like World War II. And even in World War II, about a quarter of a million volunteer and Federal workers were used to administer and enforce the program.

There are plenty of indications that we're on the road to wage-price stability. Erecting a control network at this late stage would do little good and a great deal of harm.

Q. You say that the Administration intends to stop inflation without causing a recession. "Real" gross national product -- adjusted for inflation -- is believed to have declined for two quarters running.

Isn't that the definition of a recession adopted by the non-partisan National Bureau of Economic Research?

A. No. To qualify as a recession, an economic slackening must be both broad and pervasive. A whole host of indicators must be headed downward, and this is not the case today.

There is as yet no reason at all for the Administration to back away from our official forecast of a slack in the first half and some expansion in the last half of 1970.

Q. Production is down, unemployment is up, and the stock market is collapsing. Doesn't this mean we're in for another 1929?

A. No. The contrasts between 1929 and 1970 are striking.

In 1929, investors could buy stock by putting up 10 cents on the dollar. During 1969 and until recently 80 cents on the dollar has been required under Federal laws.

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In 1929, the international monetary system put together after World War I was drawing its last gasps. It collapsed shortly thereafter, helping to pull all industrial nations into depression.

Today, the international monetary system is the strongest it has ever been.

In 1929, the bank failures that had occurred throughout the 1920's (some 5,500) were a prelude to another 6,700 failures in the next four years. These failures paralyzed the economy.

Today, the banking system is strong, regulation is strict, and deposit insurance of $20,000 per account protects millions of Americans against the ravages of a financial crisis. This means that a crisis in the banking system won't occur.

After 1929, because of the bank failures, and an inappropriate monetary policy, the money supply had halved by 1934.

This is what really knocked the economy out of bed and pushed our nation into deep depression.

Today we have deposit insurance to protect the banks against devastating runs, and a monetary policy which is now increasing the supply of money, as guarantees against another 1929-34 fiasco.

Anyone who compares today's economic situation and problems with 1929 is doing a disservice to the facts and to the nation.

oOo

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE
PR 7-1/W *
PR 5-1/W *
PP.

MEETING WITH
DR. HAROLD WALKER

Friday, April 10, 1970

12:15 P.M.

The President's Office

THE PRESIDENT:

PURPOSE: On the basis of personal friendship

Dr. Harold Walker was formerly Pastor of East Whittier Friends Church and the Whittier Friends Church. He is presently Executive Vice President of Fresno State College.

You were advised by Hubert C. Perry, Vice President and Manager of the Bank of America in Whittier, through Rose Woods that Dr. Walker would be in Washington on April 9 and 10 attending an education meeting. On the basis of that information you directed that Dr. Walker be invited in for a brief 10-minute visit.

Ollie Atkins will be present to make a souvenir photograph of you and Dr. Walker. Additionally, you might wish to present him with a spinning medallion.

Alex Butterfield will sit in on this meeting.

Stephen Bull

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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WASHINGTON

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– barely audible to those of us

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

standing

~~Quite pitiful~~ Then.

Her
For ~~a~~ brief moment ~~it~~ she was
a pitiful sight, but then as
~~President spoke up~~
the speech ended, the
President ~~thanked~~ Pat
asked about her petticoats.
& she lighted ~~from the hem~~ of her
smiled & curtsied and
said Dear ~~Mr~~ Mr. President.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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and might do fit in
very well

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As the staff entered the Oval Office the President got up from his desk, came forward to greet them.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dr. — Taylor

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH MRS. NGUYEN THI KHANG, DR. CLYDE W. TAYLOR AND DR. EVERETT S. GRAFFAM

Wednesday, April 22, 1970

12:15 P.M.

The President's Office

THE PRESIDENT:

BACKGROUND

Mrs. Khang volunteered her services as a nurse's assistant five years ago when the Marines established a tent "clinic" near Saigon. She is now head nurse of what has since become a 120-bed children's hospital near Danang. The hospital was built at a cost of $300,000 from Marine voluntary donations of cash, labor, and equipment, with the assistance of some private organizations. With vietnamization, it is being turned over to the World Relief Commission of the National Association of Evangelicals.

Mrs. Khang is being brought to Washington to receive a Citation from Marine Corps General Lewis Walt on behalf of the Marine Corps.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

12:15 p.m. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Khang, director of nurses at the hospital in Danang, will be brought into your office accompanied by the following:

Dr. Clyde W. Taylor, General Director of the National Association of Evangelicals
Dr. Everett S. Graffam, Director of the World Relief Commission

You and your guests will pose in front of the flags for a press photo.

Dr. Taylor will then present you with a 24-minute film produced by the World Relief Commission entitled "The Many Faces of Vietnam".

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Meeting with
Mrs. Nguyen Thi Khang,
Dr. Clyde W. Taylor and
Dr. Everett S. Graffam
Wednesday, April 22, 1970

In addition to the photograph taken by Ollie Atkins that will eventually be given to them, you may wish to give the two gentlemen Presidential signing pens and Mrs. Khang a Marriott Medal.

This event should not exceed five minutes.

Alex Butterfield will be in attendance.

Stephen Bull

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 29, 1970

ACTION

Decision on dam for Congressman Bill Scott (R-Va.)

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

One Congressman's pet dam project is not the "benign detachment" that you would want from your staff, but in this case your credibility is involved.

BACKGROUND

Returning on Air Force I from a Virginia rally for Linwood Holton last fall, Bill Scott talked to you about approving the Salem Church Dam on the Rappahannock River in his District. Scott quotes you as saying, "Bill, you will get your dam, you have come to the top".

The dam is authorized by Congress and preconstruction funds are being spent in the 1970 budget and have been appropriated for the 1971 budget. Meanwhile, Secretary Hickel has published a study on the use of the Rappahannock River as a possible wilderness area, thus, clouding the issue of whether the dam will ever be built. Whitaker has told Hickel to do as he sees fit and Hickel intends to complete further studies. Hickel will see Scott next week. Scott is threatening to make a public issue of this and even went so far as to say he would publicly quote his conversation with you. The dam was originally authorized under Udall and Scott is saying "now that the Republicans are in, I can't get my dam".

RECOMMENDATION

If you can recall that you actually committed to Scott, have Hickel say to Scott that you want to keep your word.

Approved P Disapproved _____ See Me _____

I can't recall — but he is a stubborn jerk — Don't get into a fight now — Next page

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If you distinctly recall that you did not say this to Scott, then he should be told that you did not say this to him by a White House Staffer.

Approved_____ Disapproved_____ See Me_____

JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN

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THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1970

Dear Mr. President:

I believe this Administration finds itself, today, embracing a philosophy which appears to lack appropriate concern for the attitude of a great mass of Americans--our young people.

Addressed either politically or philosophically, I believe we are in error if we set out consciously to alienate those who could be our friends.

Today, our young people, or at least a vast segment of them, believe they have no opportunity to communicate with Government, regardless of Administration, other than through violent confrontation. But I am convinced we--and they--have the capacity, if we will but have the willingness, to learn from history.

During the great depression, our youth lost their ability to communicate with the Republican Party. And we saw the young people of the 1930s become the predominant leaders of the 40s and 50s--associated not with our party, but rather with those with whom they felt they could communicate. What is happening today is not unrelated to what happened in the 30s. Now being unable to communicate with either Party, they are apparently heading down the road to anarchy. And regardless of how I, or any American, might feel individually, we have an obligation as leaders to communicate with our youth and listen to their ideas and problems.

About 200 years ago there was emerging a great nation in the British Empire, and it found itself with a colony in violent protest by its youth--men such as Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, to name a few. Their protests fell on deaf ears, and finally led to war. The outcome is history. My point is, if we read history, it clearly shows that youth in its protest must be heard.

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Let us give America an optimistic outlook and optimistic leadership. Let us show them we can solve our problems in an enlightened and positive manner.

As an example, last December 16, I wrote to you suggesting that April 22, Earth Day, be declared a national holiday. Believing this would have been a good decision, we were active on university campuses over the Christmas holidays with a program called SCOPE (Student Councils on Pollution and the Environment). It was moderately successful, and it showed that it was possible to communicate with youth. I am gratified that on April 22, I, and approximately 1,000 Interior employees, participated in Earth Day commemorative activities all over the United States.

I felt, after these meetings, that we had crossed a bridge; that communication was possible and acceptable. Likewise, I suggest in this same vein that you meet with college presidents, to talk about the very situation that is erupting, because before we can face and conquer our enemies, we must identify them, whether those enemies take physical or philosophical form. And we must win over our philosophical enemies by convincing them of the wisdom of the path we have chosen, rather than ignoring the path they propose.

In this regard, I believe the Vice President initially has answered a deep-seated mood of America in his public statements. However, a continued attack on the young--not on their attitudes so much as their motives, can serve little purpose other than to further cement those attitudes to a solidity impossible to penetrate with reason.

Finally, Mr. President, permit me to suggest that you consider meeting, on an individual and conversational basis, with members of your Cabinet. Perhaps through such conversations, we can gain greater insight into the problems confronting us all, and most important, into the solutions of these problems.

Faithfully yours,

Walter J. Hickel
Secretary of the Interior

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

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BELOIT COLLEGE

BELOIT, WISCONSIN
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 11, 1970

An Open Letter to President Richard M. Nixon

Dear Mr. President:

As a college president, a past scholar-teacher, and one who has consciously devoted his whole life to the cause of higher education in the conviction that it offers the greatest hope for social progress and the elevation of man to his highest potential, I wish to apologize to you and the nation for the grotesque failure of the academic community at this hour of national trial and turmoil.

I am fully aware of how extremely presumptuous it is for one to represent himself to apologize for the many, but I am constrained to do so nonetheless for the shame I feel for the community with which I have been so intimately related for so long and in which I have placed so much confidence in the past. Those who do not agree with me will, of course, be able and willing to speak for themselves.

Let me establish a point about myself at the outset so that my position can be more accurately interpreted. I was a conscientious objector during World War II, and were I of draft age now I would be a conscientious objector again. But my moral opposition to war, however deeply and conscientiously held, does not entitle me on any ethical or moral grounds to take violent action against those who disagree. I must bear witness to truth as I see it, but I must also respect the right of the other person to do the same. Certainly, I must never hurt or demean another simply because he won't go along with my own conviction.

This commitment to respect for the individual, intellectual openness, and freedom of inquiry is the transcendent value to which an academic community must be subservient. In fact, it is the only value to which the academy can pledge allegiance if it is to be consistent with itself. To elevate any other value is to break faith with this transcendent value and it is at this point that we have violated our public trust as professional educators: we have given in to violence and threats of violence in support of a particular point of view, and in doing so we have allowed the academic integrity of our individual institutions and the academic community at large to be violated.

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Being a conscientious objector to war and one who would issue such an open letter as this, I clearly am not opposed to dissent and protest. But I am vigorously opposed to violence in any form and for any reason, and most of all I am opposed to would-be leaders capitulating to intimidation and violence. Those who respect violence when used against them will inevitably employ violence when it suits their cause.

We in the colleges and universities have tolerated unspeakable intimidation and thought control on the part of radical students, faculty and others, and yet when Vice President Agnew speaks out forcefully against such the only voices that are heard from the academy are those who castigate him and you for repressing dissent. There are few college campuses, if any, where Vice President Agnew, or any member of your cabinet for that matter, could speak without disruption and even physical abuse and intimidation. But a convicted murderer, dope peddler, or one committed to the forceful overthrow of the government will receive not only a respectful hearing, but will be paid a handsome honorarium in addition. In the light of his high position, I have been embarrassed by some of the Vice President's intemperate language. But surely he has as much right to dissent and to be given a respectful hearing as any of the criminal element of our society.

Much of the academic community is now telling you how to settle the war in Vietnam and being critical of your effort to protect lives and shorten the war by moving troops into Cambodia. I find it highly unbecoming of us to presume to tell you how to fight the war in Vietnam when we aren't even able to settle the wars on our own campuses. Nor do I use the word war in this context lightly. The throwing of missiles to do physical harm, the throwing of firebombs to burn buildings, the use of guerrilla tactics via arson and vandalism, the shooting and killing of combatants and noncombatants is every bit as much war as that which prevails in Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Near East. I have often wondered sardonically how many protestors of napalm have themselves thrown fire bombs or engaged in arson.

I have also been appalled by a certain arrogance and inconsistency on our part with regard to the way we are free to tell you and others how to handle your jobs but become deeply resentful, insulted, and even hostile when there is any suggestion of your intrusion into "our" domain. I am quite sure that I am able to run Beloit College better than you, but by the same token I am sure that you are able to deal with the issues of the Presidency of the United States, including fighting the war in Vietnam, better than I. The widespread propensity of members of the "intellectual" community to make judgments without benefit of facts is one of my greatest disillusionments and embarrassments.

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As a matter of fact, my early naivete led me to embrace the academic life because of my belief that members therein were committed to intellectual honesty, rational behavior and humanistic concern and compassion. Recent incidents have merely confirmed all the more what my life's experiences have suggested. Academic man is as much motivated by vested interest, is as much controlled by base emotion, and reasons as much from prejudice as any other mortal. My readings of Ecclesiastes, the New Testament and the life of Mahatma Gandhi should have prepared me for this, but they didn't.

We who work closely with young people and should know and understand them best have not been very helpful to them or to you and others of the adult community in serving as a vehicle of communication. We have too often taken sides ourselves and been critical of one group or the other and not been sufficiently discriminating in our communicative role.

Maybe we can be forgiven on the grounds that the task is such a difficult one. I know that the great bulk of college students are genuinely concerned about the inhumanity and futility of war and deeply question the legitimacy of a life that sanctions and even glorifies indiscriminate killing and maiming. I also know that the great bulk of adults and members of the establishment are sincere, dedicated individuals with the same hopes and aspirations as the young. But I also know that in each group there are examples that support the worst stereotype of each. The great frustration of the day is that despite this great community of interest and concern there is a growing separation based upon the sinful tendency to judge by stereotype and preconception. We in the academic community are frequently party to this sin even though our training should particularly help us to know better.

Although my own sentiments are basically with the young people, I must admit that there is a general pandering to the young at the present time that is both disgusting and irresponsible. Disgusting because it prostitutes normal respect and affection. Irresponsible because it is creating an unrealistic cleavage between age groups.

Of course, young people on the whole are wonderful, but what's new about that? The great reward of college work is the opportunity it affords to associate regularly with this age group. The idealism, absolutism, intellectual honesty and great aspiration of the young are the eternal attributes of this age group upon which society is dependent to preserve its vital, dynamic quality. These attributes are the standards of behavior to be expected, not glorified as unique in any narrow time span of human history.

Young people are first and foremost people. Those who are young today will be old tomorrow and having to relate to those who are younger then. As people they represent all types, some taller than others, some fatter

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than others, some with higher IQs than others, some more criminally inclined than others, some more saintly than others, some more hostile than others, some more vocal than others, etc. There is no general virtue attributable to youth any more than there is general evil. We have done all young people a great disservice in recent years by suggesting to them that they are of a different breed from the rest of us and beyond reproach. They are nothing more than the fresh blood being pumped into the human society, just as we were in the past and their children will be in the future. We in Academe should have known this better than anyone else and not have failed them and you in your common need for understanding.

We have been quick to tell you that you are alienating the youth of America, but we seem to pay little attention to the way we are alienating our own constituencies by our failure to protect the authentic academic integrity of our institutions. Implicitly we are also alienating the youth of America over the long run by our failure to be faithful to our leadership responsibilities.

The pain that hurts most of all is the realization that I bear partial responsibility for the unnecessary deaths of four young people on the campus of Kent State University. The National Guard troops should never have been there in the first place, because we should never have permitted the conditions to develop which necessitated the presence of troops. Once this die was cast, it was simply a matter of time before tragedy would strike. If fault lies anywhere for the Kent State deaths it lies not with you and the Vietnam War but with the radical acts and excesses we have tolerated in the name of dissent.

I am sure you know, Mr. President, that I do not say these things with tongue in cheek to placate others, to curry favor, to advance partisan interest, or to defend your war policies. Last fall I joined with a number of other college presidents to urge your rapid withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. I reaffirm this plea. But when I consider the whole matter fully and objectively, I have to concede that you have been more faithful to your leadership responsibilities than we in Academe have been to our own.

With respect for the tremendous burdens you must bear for the rest of us and the conscientious way you are bearing them and with apology for the cruel injustices that have been foisted upon you by the professional community of which I am a part, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

Miller Upton

President Richard M. Nixon
The White House
Washington, D. C.

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