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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

January 28

ever else you have. If it is possible for anyone to be all things to all people, Uncle Sam is trying hard to be that man.

BRINGS EXPRESSIONS OF HORROR

GOLDWATER, for saying that he would use our present recognition of Russia as a bit of bargaining power with the Reds, has caused expressions of horror from the confused persons who want to be for communism and against communism at one and the same time. If Russia conspires with Cuba, as apparently she is doing to subvert Central and South America, why shouldn't we let it be known that we may withdraw recognition of Russia and stop all the goodies going to the Communists? Even little Panama with no power behind it had the courage to break off diplomatic relations with the United States for what seem to us minor reasons. It is ironical that we fear to do in effect to another what the Panamanians have done to us.

With pacifists, who fear any war, one might be able to go along. But it is pretty hard to go along with those who are both pacifists and war advocates.

U.N.'s Secret Report on Vietnam Revealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 28, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the overthrow of the Diem government in South Vietnam and the assassination of President Diem is a historical fact. Nothing that can now be said or done can change it. Prior to this event, however, the Diem government had been widely accused of religious persecutions. The charges were of such great import that the United Nations sent to South Vietnam a factfinding mission to investigate the charges against the South Vietnamese Government. It appears that the United Nations has decided that the report of its factfinding mission will not be made public on the basis that the Diem government is no longer in existence. Nevertheless, it appears a report of some type was prepared by the factfinding mission of the United Nations and has been and is being circulated. According to press reports, the report shows that the factfinding mission found that the charges made in the United Nations against the Diem government were not sustained. Since it is quite obvious that the charges of religious persecution made against the Diem government were widely accepted both in official and unofficial circles in the United States, the release of the United Nations' factfinding mission's report would surely be to the interest of free peoples, for it would serve as a warning that all of the press reports on conditions in foreign lands cannot be accepted at face value. It would also be instructive as to the proficiency of propaganda campaigns.

I ask unanimous consent that the copy of an article entitled "U.N.'s Secret Report on Vietnam Revealed," which appeared in the Washington Daily News on January 10, 1964, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

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

WHY WAS THIS SUPPRESSED?—U.N. SECRET REPORT ON VIETNAM REVEALED

(By William T. Buckley, Jr.)

Its code number is A/5630; it is dated December 7; it is over 300 pages long; it is titled "The Violation of Human Rights in South Vietnam"; it is issued as Report of the United Nations Factfinding Mission to South Vietnam.

I have no right to a copy of it.

It has never been distributed to the press—because on December 13, 1963, the General Assembly told the mission that "in the light of recent events that took place (in South Vietnam, i.e., the coup d'etat) it would not be useful to discuss the matter (whether the Diem government had been guilty of repressive action against the Buddhists) and no further action by the Assembly was required."

A little bit like saying, it seems to me, that since President Kennedy is dead, there is no need to investigate the reasons why he was killed.

WHAT IT SAID

I take it there are readers of this newspaper with a keener interest in posthumous justice and historical integrity than those who made the decision of the General Assembly to suppress the results of the investigation. Therefore, I am disclosing some of the secrets of the hidden report.

First of all, although that is what the authors themselves called it, it is not exactly a report. What it does contain, however, is the raw material on the basis of which a report would have been written.

And at that, not all the raw material, because it had been understood that responsible members of the Diem government would be given the opportunity to reply to residual allegations against the conduct of the regime before the mission drew its conclusions.

LAST WORD NEVER SAID

But the very day the Diem government was supposed to present its surrebuttal, the Government, so to speak, suffered a violent death.

So now as the report stands, it consists of the allegations against the Diem government, procedures followed by the United Nations mission, preliminary interviews with government officials, the reports of several dozen witnesses, friendly and unfriendly.

ONE CONCLUSION

What, on the basis of the raw material might one conclude?

Here is what the Costa Rican member of the Committee, who had gone to Vietnam predisposed to accept the guilt of the Diem government, has concluded.

"The charges made in the General Assembly against the Diem government were not sustained. * * * There was no religious discrimination or persecution, no encroachment of freedom of religion. * * * There is no other way to see it. The clash between a part—not all—of the Buddhist community and the Diem regime was on political grounds. * * * I have the feeling that the majority of the mission members (Afghanistan, Brazil, Ceylon, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Morocco, and Nepal) considered it a political question, not a religious question."

Witnesses were heard representing every point of view, and the Diem government, in the expressed opinion of the mission, behaved impeccably, cooperating with the mission with the kind of zeal that tends to be shown by men confident of vindication.

POLITICAL ABUSES

The upshot of the witnesses' testimony suggests, as the Costa Rican member stated: "That the root difficulty was political, not religious, but that there had been a cynical

abuse of the presumption in favor of religious liberty for all non-Russian-dominated states of the United Nations—sufficient to manufacture an international cause celebre and undermine a government that had been the key to American policy in southeast Asia.

WHAT ONE MONK SAID

But what about the gruesome self-immolations?

Consider the testimony of witness No. 8, a 19-year-old monk:

While at a pagoda in Saigon "I heard about the atrocities perpetrated by the government against the Buddhists. I heard for example that Buddhist monks and nuns were beaten, that their hands were broken, that they were drowned, that they had their stomachs ripped open."

SELLING A SUICIDE

In due course this young monk was approached by a member of the "suicide promotion group" and asked if he would sacrifice himself.

"I accepted because I felt so upset about the news I had heard earlier about the government's treatment of monks," he said.

The monk was given, on the day before the projected suicide, three letters.

The first, addressed to the President of the Republic, demanded religious freedom, an end to torture, etc., etc.

The second, addressed to a high-ruling opposition monk, charged a progovernment monk with betraying monks, nuns and Buddhists.

The third, addressed to the U.N. mission, gave the reasons why he was committing suicide. "These letters had been prepared ahead of time for me and they asked me to sign them. I did not hesitate."

FRIEND'S TIP SAVES

Fortunately, a friend of the sacrificial victim tipped off the police, who saved him from himself in the nick of time; and, having convinced himself of the falsity of the allegations, he took his story to the U.N. mission.

What is involved here is not merely an academic piece of historical rectification, but essential information we need in order to guard against future such ventures in the hijacking of world opinion.

CHANCE FOR CONGRESS

A congressional committee could look into the evidence amassed by the U.N. mission, and make it available to students of that intriguing episode.

If U Thant refuses to give Members of Congress a copy of the report, I'd be glad to lend them mine.

NO PERSECUTION BY DIEM, 20 TO 5

Following is a verbatim quote from page 248 of the U.N. Factfinding Mission Report (document A/5630, Dec. 7, 1963):

"The (U.N.) mission took note of the names of Buddhist monks, leaders and students who had allegedly been arrested, kidnaped or killed. Later it (the mission) was able to interview Thich Tri Tu, Thich Quang Lien, Thich Tam Giao, and Thich Tien Minh who, in some communications, were said to have been killed."

The mission also took note (pp. 247, 248) of allegations in communications sent to it concerning alleged Diem government persecution of Buddhists and reported objectively on their import. Of a total of 25 communications, the U.N. mission says:

"In five of these communications, the authors allege that such persecutions (of Buddhists) were the result of a deliberate policy of the (Diem) government.

"In four communications, the persecutions were regarded as being essentially the acts of anti-Buddhist elements in the population or of local authorities, and the Central Government is held responsible only for

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be. The tiny shop took on the rosy hue of heaven.

From wrinkled Hebe's conversation, I soon learned that I was not the only appreciative customer. Every Friday night a Boston car stops for coffee, picks up a pie wrapped ready and waiting, and continues on to Vermont for the weekend. Sunday night it is the same routine in reverse. No pie or coffee in Boston or Vermont can match what is served in this gas station shack. Needless to say, I have added the little old lady to my list, along with Susie and Daniel Maurice.

Over my second cup of coffee the lady switched her conversation from her present business to her late husband, and then on to social security. That very morning she had driven 18 miles to Gardner to see about social security and income tax—it being her first year without her husband to handle such matters. She had been all nerved up and afraid that the Government man would be impatient and cross. Why, he was nothing of the kind. He explained everything, took all the time in the world—didn't laugh at my questions. The old lady had decided to write to the Government people to thank them for hiring such a pleasant, capable young man.

By this time I was all attention. Probably no other Government agency is so important to the individual as that of social security. Its redtape, its forms, blanks, files, if stacked together might reach from here to eternity. But machines can handle the smother of statistics, leaving trained men and women free to answer questions, to reassure frightened widows, to explain, explain, explain. No tape recorder could have reassured my restaurant lady. She needed just the right human touch. Tact and patience and kindness plus training—this was a formula we could follow in raising our children. Develop these traits and find their individual bent and we could laugh at automation.

Driving home to Jaffrey I was too busy analyzing job qualifications to worry about unemployment. As my panic about automation subsided, I did what I should have done in the first place. I looked straight at our six children with the cold eyes of a prospective employer.

Our eldest, age 25, will be a full doctor in June with an internship in surgery lined up in St. Louis. As he wrote when he applied to prep school, "Shaking out wet hay I used to hate—but for the past year I have done it to earn tuition for Mount Hermon, so it does not seem so bad anymore."

Our next, a daughter, a B.S. and an RN, combined marriage and pregnancy with education. So it was a race between a diploma and the stork. Although she is not working professionally, her education is making her home a happy one. If the wolf should howl, she could always earn her living.

Our third child, almost 21, might give an employer some uneasy moments because she is dreamy and sometimes a crusader. But if she can survive another 2 years, she will have a teaching certificate in French and Russian to bolster and steady a very generous, friendly personality.

The fourth, a son, is a law unto himself. He became a mechanic by instinct and dedication before he was 4. At 6 he was operating tractors. At 16 he was flying airplanes and earning the money to fly by being a short-order cook at an ice cream stand. No matter how loud the hue and cry from the crowd, he is calmly deaf to all advice about liberal arts education. Luckily, at a Quaker school he has absorbed much history and a lively interest in the world, plus a passion for reading—luckily because this may be the last year of formal education. Out at Northrup Institute, Los Angeles, he will be immersed in his beloved jet engines. Aeronautics maintenance is his obsession. A desk

job removed from grease and whirl of motors is his idea of death by strangulation. We can do nothing—and he may be right. I am quite sure that he will never starve, for he has served as plumber's assistant, as gardener, as well as mechanic and cook.

The last two are daughters, born in New Hampshire with a native's self-assurance. At 14, still a freshman in high school, Carol flew into Ithaca by herself and registered at the Hotel Management School at Cornell. Cooking has been to Carol what airplanes have been to Dan. At 8 she was basting the Christmas turkey at 4 a.m. She asked for cookbooks as gifts, instead of dolls.

My ineptness as a baker apparently inspired her. It has been years since I had to produce a pie or a cake. When and if she is accepted by Cornell in the fall of 1965, it will culminate 10 years of planning. Our good friends own and operate an inn nearby. The Woodbound Inn has been the object of her closest attention. She will be a waitress there this summer, and she has often pinch hit in other capacities.

Finally, there is Frances. From the time she was born she was in complete control of any situation. All the rest of us are inclined toward shyness and introspection. Not Frances. If she is happy, she laughs. If she is sad or disappointed, she howls—then grits her teeth and gets to work. She is so busy making friends that so far she has missed the agonies of self-doubt and loneliness that the rest of us have endured. Inner confidence will steady her all her life.

These six youngsters are indeed employable and so are many of their friends. It is astonishing to see how well the young people are doing. Automation is a fact and a challenge, but there are as many ways to skin a cat as there are cats. There is no one formula to meet automation.

An advanced degree from MIT is one way. George Gordon has another. With Gordon Services, Inc., he is doing any odd job for anybody in the area—from fixing a leaky roof to landscaping a garden. At 24 he has his own business, is hiring every handyman he can muster, and is making a very comfortable living and having the time of his life.

In "The Republic" Plato envisioned an ideal society—but it was based on slavery. The great mass of human beings were doomed to toil endlessly in order that the elite might flower physically, intellectually, spiritually. Sheer drudgery, day after day, month after month, is not ennobling. Just try it to be sure.

Automation could do in the 20th century what slavery did for the men of Athens. For some of the men of Athens. There were plenty then, as always, who could turn liberty into license, leisure into laziness, the cult of beauty into an erotic orgy.

Today more of us have a chance than ever before to lead interesting lives—not easy lives. With plenty of imagination and hard work, almost anything is possible, if we close our minds and hearts to all this chatter about social status, lifelong financial security, the fastest car, and the softest mink coat.

If we are parents, the best thing we can do for our children is to have confidence in them and in their future. They need as much time as we can give them when they are very young, and as much cash as we can scabble together for their education as they grow older. But most of all they need—as children have always needed since the days of poor old Adam and Eve worrying over Cain and Abel—faith, hope, and love. Plus all the hard work and all the laughter a family can gather together. The rest is out of our hands.

Of course there is danger in automation. Danger will keep us lean and on our toes. It is simply the survival of the fittest, and

as parents our job is to make our children as fit as we can—then sit back and let them fly as high and as far as they will. Straight to the moon if they must.

Policy Toward Cuba, Indonesia, etc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1964

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in these days there is a great deal of confusion and, I think, lack of understanding as we try to sort out and place in proper perspective the facts relative to our national policy toward Cuba, Indonesia, and other countries currently in the news. An illuminating column upon this point written by Mr. Clifford B. Ward recently appeared in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel. I include it herewith:

GOOD EVENING

(By Clifford B. Ward)

Bobby Kennedy on behalf of the administration has warned Sukarno, of Indonesia, that the United States will fight if he moves aggressively against Malaysia. To fight in this instance means we will go to war. For suggesting that we fight or go to war, if necessary, to remove Castroism from Cuba, BARRY GOLDWATER and others who share his views, are pictured as reckless advocates of what has been called brinkmanship.

The United States is selling wheat to Russia on credit guaranteed by our Government, but England is rebuked for selling second-hand buses to Cuba. Spain is being rebuked unofficially for considering the sale of ships to Cuba. Is it any wonder that a London newspaper, in reporting our distaste for the English sale of the buses, in the face of our sale of wheat to Russia, published a headline reading, "Oh, for the Love of Pete."

And while we are treating the Panamanians and the Cubans with kid gloves, lest war break out, we are at the very same time waging a war in South Vietnam against the Communists there. Although that war is not costing us thousands of men, it is costing us men, and who can say that the deaths of only a few men in a war is of no consequence, but that the deaths of many more, is consequential? When did we start a quantitative appraisal of either war or death?

PROVIDE REDS WITH FOOD

It is apparent to all who read that Khrushchev and Castro are working together not only in Cuba, but in Zanzibar and Panama. While they work to try burying us, we are providing the Russians with food, which in all likelihood will permit more food supplies to Cuba. The late President Kennedy was murdered by a pro-Castro Communist, and British intelligence suspects a conspiracy, but our Government agencies, long before they had a chance to intelligently study the President's assassination rushed into print denying that any Communist conspiracy was involved. Why the rush?

If any government has shown the unique ability to ride off in all directions simultaneously, our Government has done it. We are for war, we are against war, we are for helping the Communists, we are for not helping them, we are for a strong military defense, we are against a strong military expense, we are for spending profligately, we are for not spending profligately. We are for God, Satan, salvation, damnation, good, evil, and what-

not paying enough attention to Buddhist grievances.

"The authors of 12 communications deny that the Buddhist community was ever the victim of discrimination and persecution by the (Diem) government.

"It is stressed in four communications that, under the Diem government, the Buddhist community had grown larger and that numerous pagodas had been built or repaired with the financial help of the (Diem) government authorities."

Therefore, out of 25 communications to the U.N. factfinding mission, the score was 20 to 5 against the allegation of direct Diem government persecution of Buddhists; concerning Diem government action, the score was 16 to 9 in favor of the government, with 4 adverse opinions critical of the Diem government.

of the Strategic Air Command's top nuclear bomb carriers during the 1960's.

Should either a major or brushfire war break out before 1970, these military advisers claim that all the B-47's in the Air Force's 1,200 inventory would be needed. They stress that the bomber's capabilities for low-level penetration of Soviet defenses are still unsurpassed.

On direct orders from Defense Secretary McNamara, the Joint Chiefs are preparing a report on the number of other arms that will become obsolete within the next 5 years.

The President's military advisers plan to include in their report a warning that any disarmament agreement providing for large-scale destruction of conventional arms will work to the disadvantage of the United States at this time.

That sort of rule might be perfectly hunky-dory for the promoters of Federal meddling in whatever way a President declared important.

But it may be debatable whether Mr. Lippmann has convinced any except himself and Senator CLARK that such a dilution of congressional independence would be hunky-dory for the national interest.

In the thoroughness of his search for faultfinding with Congress, Senator CLARK no more overlooked the New York Times than he overlooked the Louis Harris poll and Walter Lippmann.

In consulting the New York Times, he was rewarded by the discovery of an editorial complaining of a "slow-motion record" in Congress by "nonlegislating legislators."

It would appear that we have arrived at an unheard-of day in American history when there is abroad in the land a school of thought which holds that Congress does not qualify for public respect and confidence unless it enacts, or at least railroads to a vote, every fantastic and forbidding proposal that can be dreamed up to speed up Federal encroachment into the lives and affairs of the people.

Congress could end the do-nothing criticism heaped on it today in tidal wave volume.

It would need only surrender lock, stock, and barrel to the Federal meddling demands of the faultfinders.

But the price of that surrender would be prohibitively high for a people "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," among them "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Nowhere on earth at any time have any people had much opportunity for liberty and the pursuit of happiness in a totalitarian straitjacket.

This should be lesson and warning to the American people every time another Federal meddling bill is introduced in Congress or recommended to it.

The kind of do-nothing criticism being leveled at Congress these days is actually a credit to it.

Gene Dawson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1964

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, the following letter to the editor recently appeared in the Washington Post. Many people like myself who knew Gene Dawson will agree with the sentiments expressed therein and want to pay tribute to his efforts with respect to the prayer amendment:

GENE DAWSON

The tragic and untimely death of Gene Dawson, congressional aid to Representative FRANK J. BECKER, of New York, is a cause of great sadness not only to his many friends in the Capital, but also to many like myself, who never met him personally, but who worked closely with him in an effort to restore prayer and Bible reading to our public schools through discharge petition No. 3.

When the history of the struggle for the prayer amendment is written, no one will merit greater credit for the enactment of said amendment than Gene Dawson. His untiring and selfless dedication to this cause will never be forgotten by his many friends and acquaintances.

ROBERT L. MAURO.

LONG BRANCH, N.J.

Burning of Jets Just the Beginning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of January 17, 1964:

THE ALLEN-SCOTT REPORT: BURNING OF JETS JUST THE BEGINNING

The Johnson administration's skylighting proposal to destroy those B-47 jet bombers is only part of the disarmament package U.S. officials are preparing to offer the Russians.

The controversial plan, which is being vigorously opposed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, calls for the United States and Russia jointly to destroy mortars, tanks, and atomic-firing cannons.

The giant 280-millimeter nuclear field pieces now used by U.S. forces in West Germany and Korea, but considered obsolete, are being added to the disarmament proposal to give it an atomic image.

Still under backstage consideration is whether the package should include a State Department plan providing that the United States offer to dismantle a small number of atomic bombs on a 2-for-1 basis with the Soviet.

This unpublished proposal and the exact number of jet bombers and other military equipment to be destroyed are being hotly debated by President Johnson's military, intelligence, and foreign policy advisers.

Secretary of State Rusk, who hopes to have the new arms control package ready to offer the Russians at the East-West talks that open in Geneva on January 21, favors the big bonfire plan.

He is seeking Presidential approval to propose that a match be put to 200 medium range B-47 bombers and a comparable number of Soviet Badgers—similar to the bombers Premier Khrushchev secretly shipped into Cuba in 1962.

If the Russians agree to this, according to Rusk, the accord will keep these Soviet bombers out of the hands of African and Asian nations seeking Russian arms.

The Joint Chiefs, who have fought the whole idea, have made a counterproposal that the number of bombers to be destroyed be limited to 20 or fewer.

They argue that destruction of more of the B-47's would not be in the national interest. Although the bombers are slowly being phased out by the Air Force, the Joint Chiefs point out that they will continue to be one

Criticism of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 28, 1964

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Mobile (Ala.) Register, entitled, "Do-Nothing Criticism Credit to Congress."

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

DO-NOTHING CRITICISM CREDIT TO CONGRESS

Everything he can rake and scrape together is being used by Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, of Pennsylvania, to give Congress a black eye because it has not thrown caution to the wind and run wild in enacting new left-wing Federal meddling social legislation.

For good measure, the rip-roaring senatorial liberal contributes a few choice pieces of fault-finding of his own: " * * * During the previous session, Congress was quite incapable of attending to the public business. * * * We are a long way from fulfilling our responsibility in Congress."

As seen through the political eyes of Senator CLARK, its enactment of hodge-podge on so-called civil rights, medicare, aid to education and the like is necessary for Congress to fulfill its responsibility.

One thing he has dredged up to downgrade the present Congress is a Louis Harris poll, of which he says: "This poll makes it clear that the rating of the 88th Congress by the people of the United States is very bad, indeed."

Another thing over which the Senator enthused is a Walter Lippmann article he came across in the Washington Post.

Mr. Lippmann, who impresses us as seldom underestimating his own wisdom in national and world affairs, would have Congress dilute its independence as one of the three constitutional branches of the Federal Government.

In the article Senator CLARK introduced in evidence against the existing manner of its functioning, Walter Lippmann wrote of Congress: " * * * If the trouble from which we suffer is that the Legislature [Congress] paralyzes the Executive [the President], then the remedy is * * * clear. It is also simple. Let each House of the Congress pass a rule that any measure proposed by the President and certified as important must be put to a vote by some specified date or within some specified time."

The Pending Tax BillEXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF**HON. JOE SKUBITZ**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1964

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and more has been written on the pending tax bill than I could hope to remember. Each and every day since President Kennedy sent his recommendations to the Congress on January 24, 1963, I have received various articles outlining the pros and cons of this legislation.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I wish to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial written by Mr. Angelo Scott, editor of the Iola (Kans.) Register. I feel this is one article that makes good sense. I hope every Member of this body will take the time to read Mr. Scott's erudite views.

CAN'T HAVE BOTH

It's impossible to keep track of all the items that go in and out of the big tax reduction bill as it continues to work its way through the Senate Finance Committee these days.

Everybody has his own idea of where and how the cuts should be made. Some of them gain committee approval, others bite the dust. But what happened yesterday points up a fact that all of us should keep clearly in mind as we watch these procedures.

Two measures were proposed. One would give tax relief on the costs of college education, the other on facilities built for the purpose of air and water pollution control.

Now everybody is in favor of giving a boost to higher education and we all recognize the pressing need for encouragement to pollution control. Yet both proposals were defeated.

Why? For the simple reason that they would cost the Treasury so much money that in order to keep within the \$11 billion total reduction planned, income tax rate reductions would have to be cut back. In other words, we can have rate reductions or more special exceptions but not both.

We keep forgetting this. And more than anything else, we keep forgetting that the purpose of taxation is to raise money—not subsidize college educations, stimulate pollution control, cut down on alcoholism, share the wealth, or any of the other thousand and one social and economic ideas that keep getting mixed up in our tax bills.

It is true that once the tax money is raised, a thousand and one uses may be found for it, all of them perfectly legitimate. But the taxing is one thing and the spending is another. Ideally they should be kept entirely apart.

We should tax according to ability to pay a just sharing of the total burden among all the people. That and no more. We should spend according to our needs and our income.

It is because we have forgotten or ignored these fundamentals that we have a tax reduction bill in Congress today. We have piled so many of our special exception and reform ideas into our tax structure that both the rate and the structure have become intolerable.

But the main thing that is intolerable is the rate. And we certainly can't reduce it if we keep piling more exceptions into the structure.

That is the whole meaning of the Senate Finance Committee votes yesterday.

We Must Not Turn Our Backs on Guantanamo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1964

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, can there be any doubt that Castro made his sudden trip to Moscow to get Khrushchev's backing for intensifying and stirring up more Communist-style trouble in the Caribbean area at a time when the United States was preoccupied with an explosive situation in Panama?

Castro did not have to wait to discuss the matter with Khrushchev before having his agents take part in the Panama riots. And even our own Government officials have attested to Communist participation in those riots.

What then? Richard Fryklund writing in the January 23 Washington Star presents a logical answer. Attributing the answer to "Government analysts" Mr. Fryklund interprets the analysts' warning to "watch for trouble in Guantanamo" when Castro returns from his Kremlin conference.

To add an important dimension to our study and deliberations of the Panama problem I include Mr. Fryklund's report at this point in the RECORD:

TRIP STIRS GUANTANAMO FEAR

(By Richard Fryklund)

When Fidel Castro returns from Russia, watch for trouble in Guantanamo.

This is the warning from Government analysts who were told to find out why Cuba's leader made his sudden, unscheduled trip to Moscow.

No one except Mr. Castro and Premier Khrushchev can be positive about the reason for the trip. But the analysts say it was not only for sledding, drinking, trade agreements, and the public pledges of undying loyalty.

Rather, it is now believed here, Mr. Castro wanted to clear a proposal with Mr. Khrushchev to take advantage of the Panama riots by creating incidents at Guantanamo, the American naval base on the southeast coast of Cuba.

ESTIMATE OF TRIP

Here is the analysts' estimate of the Castro trip:

Reaction to the Panama riots convinced Mr. Castro that most of Latin America—and much of the world—was on the side of the rioters (egged on by Castro agents) and against the Yankee imperialists.

He decided to attempt to use this wave of emotion to gain sympathy for Cuban harassment of the United States and Guantanamo. Naturally he wanted the backing of his protector, Russia.

The Guantanamo base is under lease to the United States. America is for all practical purposes sovereign on the base, as is the case in the Panama Canal Zone.

Mr. Castro has threatened many times to throw the Yankees out, but he lacks the physical power to try and—so far—the permission of Mr. Khrushchev to start war-risking harassment.

NO WARNING GIVEN

The Panama riots started January 9. Three days later Mr. Castro left for Moscow, reportedly without any advance warning even to the Kremlin.

In Moscow, he is believed to have asked Mr. Khrushchev's moral support for a new anti-Guantanamo campaign. Whether the permission was given is not known.

There are a number of things Mr. Castro could do in Guantanamo short of an armed assault.

He could order sabotage by some of the 3,724 Cuban citizens who work there—or demonstrations on the base against "gringo oppressors." He could stop the Cuban workers from entering the base; cut off the water supply, which comes from Cuban reservoirs, ring the base with snipers or create incidents along the fence.

While stirring up violence, Mr. Castro and the Communist bloc could propagandize the world and appeal to the United Nations.

HOPES FOR SYMPATHY

The Castro hope would be that the excitement over Panama could create sympathy for the Cuban campaign.

If any of these things are done, the United States would call on standby plans to restore order and hold on to the base.

A roster of substitute civilian workers has already been drawn up, and enough men to carry on vital functions could be flown quickly to Guantanamo. Water could be tanked in; the 3,307 American sailors and marines normally on the base could defend it against harassment.

Will any of these things happen? The best bet now is that Mr. Khrushchev would not like to risk war in Cuba during his present peace offensive. Small harassments would not significantly change relations between the United States and Russia; large-scale rioting, carrying with it the threat of war, would.

Goldwater and the ICBM's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Indianapolis News of January 17, 1964:

GOLDWATER AND THE ICBM'S

(By Stan Evans)

Current debate on the dependability of U.S. long-range missiles as a means of national defense features a seemingly ironic reversal of positions.

Four years ago at this time, Democratic spokesmen were in full cry against the Eisenhower administration concerning the so-called missile gap. Among those saying America was behind the Soviet Union in the race for missile defenses were Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, the recently deceased President, and Senator Lyndon Johnson, who succeeded him in the Nation's highest office.

These Senators were joined by numerous others including Senator STUART SYMINGTON, Democratic, of Missouri, and Senator HENRY JACKSON, Democrat, of Washington, in proclaiming the frailties of American defense. We were, it was suggested, virtually at the mercy of the vast Soviet arsenal.

Now the roles are reversed. It is Republican Senator BARRY GOLDWATER who challenges the reliability of American missiles, and Democratic spokesmen who reply that it just isn't so. Most prominently, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, who has occupied his strategic post under both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, says Gold-