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No. 62

House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, April 6, 1964, at 12 o'clock noon.

Senate

FRIDAY, APRIL 3, 1964

(Legislative day of Monday, March 30, 1964)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

Rev. Lester K. Welch, minister, Christ Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

Amid the perplexities of a changing order, our Father, our hearts instinctively turn to Thee, like weary travelers returning home at eventide. Thou art our refuge in time of trouble; Thou art our strength; Thou art our only hope.

Enable us so to put our trust in Thee that our spirits will grow calm and our hearts be comforted.

Thy word of old hath declared, "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord"; we humbly acknowledge our need of Thee. It is imperative for us today to distinguish truth from error or from the seemingly right; and to have clear insight and perception, instead of listening to the babbling of many voices. May the recognition of this responsibility spur us to accept the admonition of the wisest of the wise who said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Relying upon Thy grace, which is always sufficient, may we transcend our differences and rise to the higher unity of the spirit. Enable us to face this day with courage, and the challenge of our tasks in the good providence that Thou hath called us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request by Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 2, 1964, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES UNDER PUBLIC LAW 480, 83D CONGRESS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am sending to the Congress the 19th semiannual report on activities carried on under Public Law 480, 83d Congress, as amended, outlining operations under the act during the period July 1 through December 31, 1963.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 3, 1964.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be

a morning hour, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair wishes to announce on behalf of the President pro tempore the designation of the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] to serve as an alternate member for the Senate members of the Commission on the Relationship with Puerto Rico established under Public Law 88-271.

The Chair announces the designation of the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] to serve as an alternate member for the Senate members of the Commission on the Relationship with Puerto Rico, established under Public Law 88-271.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT ON VOLUNTARY HOME MORTGAGE CREDIT PROGRAM

A letter from the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the voluntary home mortgage credit program, for the calendar year 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

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AMENDMENT OF CHAPTER 1, TITLE 38, UNITED STATES CODE, RELATING TO AUTHORITY FOR PRESIDENTIAL MEMORIAL CERTIFICATE PROGRAM

A letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend chapter 1 of title 38, United States Code, and incorporate therein specific statutory authority for the Presidential memorial certificate program (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Finance.

EXTENSION OF COVERAGE UNDER FEDERAL OLD-AGE, SURVIVORS, AND DISABILITY INSURANCE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT TO CERTAIN EMPLOYEES OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

A letter from the President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to extend coverage under the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system of the Social Security Act to temporary and intermittent service performed in the employ of the District of Columbia if such service is not covered by a retirement system established by a law of the United States (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Finance.

REPORT ON EXCESSIVE COSTS RESULTING FROM THE OPERATION OF SEPARATE DEPARTMENTAL PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICES

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on excessive costs resulting from the operation of separate departmental public information offices, Department of Defense, dated March 1964 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT ON EXCESSIVE COSTS INCURRED IN TRANSPORTING SATURN LAUNCH VEHICLES

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on excessive costs incurred in transporting Saturn launch vehicles, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, dated March 1964 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT ON INEFFICIENT UTILIZATION OF PERSONNEL TO ADMINISTER THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IN ADVANCED WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a secret report on the inefficient utilization of personnel to administer the military assistance program in advanced western European countries (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT ON INEFFICIENT UTILIZATION OF PERSONNEL TO ADMINISTER THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IN ADVANCED WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the inefficient utilization of personnel to administer the military assistance program in advanced western European countries, Department of Defense, dated March 1964 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

ARMED FORCES DAY

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, informing the Senate of activities in connection with the observance of Armed Forces Day; ordered to lie on the table.

RESOLUTION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague, the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and myself, I present for appropriate reference a copy of a resolution adopted by

the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, memorializing the Congress of the United States to act favorably upon the land and water conservation fund bill.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and, under the rule, ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

H. Res. 1509

Resolution of the general assembly memorializing the Congress of the United States to act favorably upon the land and water conservation fund bill (H.R. 3846) now before it

Whereas land and water conservation are of the utmost importance to the whole of the United States; and

Whereas it is vital that land and water conservation be practiced so that future generations may enjoy the abundance with which we have been blessed: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the general assembly does hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to take favorable action upon H.R. 3846, the land and water conservation fund bill now before it; directing the secretary of state to transmit duly certified copies of this resolution to the Rhode Island congressional delegation.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CASE:

S. 2711. A bill for the relief of Frank S. Chow; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEATING:

S. 2712. A bill for the relief of Sime Dragutin Vulin; and

S. 2713. A bill for the relief of Anthony Peranich; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION**PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF CERTAIN HEARINGS OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY**

Mr. PASTORE submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 73); which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That there be printed for the use of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy two thousand additional copies each of part 2 and part 3 of its hearings on the "AEC Authorizing Legislation, Fiscal Year 1965."

INCREASE OF DOMESTIC BEET SUGAR AND MAINLAND CANE SUGAR TO BE MARKETED DURING 1964, 1965, AND 1966—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Under authority of the order of the Senate of March 19, 1964, the names of Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. CARLSON, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. HART, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. JORDAN of Idaho, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. PEARSON, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. WALTERS, and Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware were added as additional cosponsors of the bill (S. 2657) to in-

crease the amount of domestic beet sugar and mainland cane sugar which may be marketed during 1964, 1965, and 1966, introduced by Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota on March 19, 1964.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. SIMPSON:

Article entitled "The New Canal—Dig It or Atom-Blast It?" written by William C. Daffron, and published in the March 9, 1964, issue of Washington World.

Essay entitled "What Can I Do for Freedom?" written by Wayne Kinney, of Laramie, Wyo., recipient of the George Washington Honor Medal of Freedom's Foundation.

By Mr. MUNDT:

Article on SS. Hope, written by John Beardsley, and published in a recent edition of the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus-Leader.

Article entitled "Help for GOLDWATER," written by George Todt, and published recently.

RELIGION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the increasing concern of the people of the United States, people of all faiths and all national origins, over antireligious manifestations behind the Iron Curtain deserves constant public attention and comment.

While Communist propagandists orate over the glories of the Communist state, the unfortunate people who reside behind the Iron Curtain find themselves deprived and shorn of the basic elements of spiritual life.

Mr. President, 2 years ago there appeared in the Journal of the Central Conference of American Rabbis an excellent article by Dr. S. Adhil Fineberg, community relations consultant for the American Jewish Committee. In the article Dr. Fineberg discussed the broad facts of communism's hostility to religion, particularly to the Jewish faith. Unfortunately, the points made in his fine exposition of 2 years ago are, if anything, more relevant today.

Mr. President, I strongly urge the people of the United States, their representatives, their government, and all the many private associations concerned with individual rights and community welfare to make their voices heard in protest against anti-Semitism as is now being practiced in Communist-bloc countries.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record, following my remarks, the text of the article by Dr. Fineberg.

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

[Reprinted from CCAR Journal, Central Conference American Rabbis]

RELIGION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

(By S. Adhil Fineberg)

In 1930, I told a Communist spokesman who had addressed a favorably impressed audience that, even if his glowing promises

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of affluence for everyone could be fulfilled, I would still oppose communism vigorously.

My chief reason for hostility was Communist contempt for all religions that recognize God's existence. Atheists steeped in dialectical materialism were not likely to tolerate religious organizations indefinitely. In Communist dominated lands there could be only temporary respite, perhaps for a few generations, for beliefs and practices regarded by Karl Marx and all other Communists as opiates used by exploiters to keep the masses in subjection.

Communists born as Jews have been as antireligious as any other Communists. Those who desire Jewish identity in order to retain old friends and influence people of their own background view the Jews merely as a nationality whose culture should be totally irreligious.

Since Jewish culture is essentially a religious culture, it cannot be throttled without strangling some Jews and oppressing many others. The Communist promise to "outlaw anti-Semitism" was a hoax in the 1920's, as it is now. It really meant that, relieved of his religion, the Jew would be treated exactly as all others would be treated. This was equivalent to granting civil rights to any Jew who forsook his parents and abandoned his children. Few Jews could become completely de-Judaized.

In the Soviet Union one born of Jewish parents acquires Jewish nationality at birth. Marriage to a non-Jew does not terminate Jewish identity, nor does conversion to another religion. Only non-Jewish grandparents can alter a Jewish identity. As it was in Hitler's Germany, so it is now in Russia. A Soviet Jew seeking an education, or wanting to change his residence or his job or desiring to travel, must show papers bearing this identification. Can anyone believe for a moment that "outlawing anti-Semitism" is compatible with this practice? Yet, a colleague of mine published a Jewish history book many years ago which contained lavish praise for Stalin's country where anti-Semitism was presumably abolished. He could not understand why I rejected this otherwise admirable volume. Regrettably, actual persecution and immeasurable suffering have uncovered that anti-Semitism is inherent in Communist doctrine.

Treatment of Jews and of religion in the 13 countries under Communist domination is by no means identical, although mistreatment starting in 1 Communist country is likely to be echoed in 1 or several others. After about 6 years of relief from persecution, Jewish religious leaders were arrested in the Soviet Union, Rumania and Bulgaria, charged with crimes that included communicating information treasonably to representatives of Israel and embezzlement of funds. The leaders of the Leningrad synagogue were arrested in secret, tried in secret, condemned in secret and secretly imprisoned—again reminiscent of the Nazis. This news leaked out fully a month after the elderly men were sentenced to long prison terms. How many other Jews have been arrested and sentenced similarly we cannot know, since secret arrests are no novelty in Communist countries, and habeas corpus is nonexistent there. But, without doubt, a resumption of official anti-Jewish activities began in the fall of 1961 and in some, if not all, of the Iron Curtain countries Jews are in jeopardy. If they are religious Jews, their situation is doubly precarious.

Occasionally we get a report from someone who visited an Iron Curtain country and spoke to lackeys of the Communist bureaucracy and to a few authentic Jews who were too frightened and intimidated to tell the truth. The traveler's report may prove nothing but his own gullibility. I doubt that anyone can obtain truth by consulting people who dare not tell a stranger that which might displease their despotic government.

Only official publications of that government, written not for foreign consumption but for that government's own minions and students, are fully reliable.

Here is what one reads about Judaism in the Short Philosophical Dictionary, published by the government and considered a standard guide for Soviet thought:

"Like any other religion, Judaism is uncompromisingly hostile to science, and preaches anti-scientific views on nature and society. The rabbis were always enemies of enlightenment and secular education, and persecutors of progressive thought. Judaism sanctifies social inequality and private ownership; it defies the rule of kings and exploiters. In Judaism the role of spiritual opium is played by the conceptions of life in the hereafter, which have been carefully developed by the rabbis: paradise for those who obediently follow the reactionary instructions of the Jewish religion, and hell for those who reject these instructions and participate in the class struggle"

If this typical Communist description of Judaism appeared in a lunatic fringe paper in the United States we would be outraged. What must it be like to live in a land where this is the customary government-sanctioned view of the Jews' historic faith? What must it be like to want to worship on a high holy day, but not be able to do so because attendance at religious services is not an acceptable excuse for absence from work? What must it be like to desire to participate in congregational worship and to know that your children are being taught in school that all religion is superstition and humbug, a hoax perpetrated by hypocrites for their personal benefit? How much incentive can there be to serve as a rabbi, cantor, or shochet?

Among the myths that softened the attitude toward the Soviet Union of free men, and especially religionists, was the frequently cited claim that religious freedom is guaranteed in the Soviet Union. One can hardly expect honest semantics from the Communists, who call autocratic bureaucracy "democracy," political brigandage "peace" and bondage "freedom." But for internal operations, when writing for their own information, Communists must in some situations state realities in correct terms. The constitution of the U.S.S.R. reads: "Freedom of religious worship and of antireligious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." (That clause should be memorized by everyone who wishes to discuss religion behind the Iron Curtain.) "Worship" is only one aspect of organized religion. Antireligious education is guaranteed; religious education is not. Crippling limitations were placed upon religious institutions by the Soviet decree of religious associations, issued on April 8, 1920, and still in effect.

Forbidden are: "(a) Use of any property in their control for any other purpose except the satisfaction of their religious needs; (b) to assist their fellow members by giving them material support; (c) the organization of special meetings for children, youths, and women for prayer purposes and Biblical, needlework, and other meetings for the teaching of religion; (d) groups, circles, and departments, also the arranging of excursions, to found libraries and reading rooms, to organize sanatoriums and medical assistance. In buildings used for prayer purposes, only such books may be kept which are required in connection with the particular cult."

Thus, libraries, philanthropic work, ladies' auxiliaries, and religious schools and classes are forbidden. Those who wish to worship together must secure rental of a building from the government and pay for it. I do not know whether the government pays for the antireligious museums, but it has given utmost encouragement to societies of the godless.

That religion has survived among Jews be-

hind the Iron Curtain should not surprise those who know how Jews accepted martyrdom throughout 25 centuries to maintain their faith. The Maccabees and the Marranos are two examples of many Jewish groups for whom kiddush hashem was worth any price despots might exact. Christianity and other religions can likewise attest to the unyielding loyalty of the faithful under torment and oppression. Because the religious fervor of Poland's Roman Catholics would lead to open rebellion were the church driven to use excommunication, the Communist rulers of Poland have granted to the priests of Poland privileges far greater than Communists permit where the worshipers are fewer and less well organized. Communists are essentially opportunists and have from time to time cooperated even with capitalists and imperialists while scheming for ultimate triumph.

In the area of religion, they deal most harshly with religious denominations that have few members within their boundaries. Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-day Adventists, and Jews are among those who have suffered the harshest restrictions. The Russian Orthodox Church, on the other hand, has a central organization, publishes periodicals, maintains theological seminaries and, under strict governmental supervision, maintains relations with churches abroad. The Orthodox Church in Russia is a pliable instrument of Communist government policies, as subservient to the Communist regime as it ever was to the czars. Having denounced religion for being a serf of the state in pre-Communist Russia, and in Catholic-dominated countries today, the Communists demand nothing less than a state-controlled church with themselves in the saddle. For the exercise of even the minimal activities in which they are permitted to engage, religious bodies must have the consent of the Ministry of Cults, composed of atheists. Freedom of religion under communism is impossible.

The 2½ million Jews of the Soviet Union have been termed a nationality without being given any of the means accorded other nationalities to preserve their culture. Their culture needs schools, theaters, journals, and since it is a religious culture, theological seminaries. The rabbinical seminaries that existed at the time of the Communist revolution were forcibly closed and for nearly 40 years none have reopened. Sixty aged rabbis now serve all of Russian Jewry, where several thousand rabbis should be functioning. The importation of rabbis was, of course, impossible. This is one reason why I have questioned the possibility of Judaism's survival in the U.S.S.R. where attrition and lack of opportunity for religious education are accomplishing what other tyrants, such as Antiochus Epiphanes and the Spanish monarchs sought to achieve.

Even the most cruel czars permitted the Jews to practice their religion freely, to have plenty of prayerbooks, matzoth, yeshivoh, schochtim, and the like. Moreover, the czars permitted Jews to leave Russia. Now the persecutors will not let them leave, nor maintain their culture, nor transmit their heritage to their children.

In 1956 a delegation of rabbis returned from the U.S.S.R. quite jubilant. They knew, since the Communists had at last admitted it, that there had been dire persecution of Jews under Stalin. Now all would be well. A rabbinical seminary was being planned in Moscow. What more did we need but to send talethim, tefillin, and sidurim? After hearing an optimistic report, I demurred and insisted that what was needed was to expose the dire truth of what was happening to Jews and Judaism under Communist rule. I was censured by the chairman, who said he disagreed thoroughly. It was, he believed, better to cooperate with the Communists, send supplies, and have faith that all would be well with our brethren.

A yeshivah called Eol Jacob was opened in Moscow on January 6, 1957, with 35 students. It is a lamentable affair, shunted into small quarters, with a dwindling student body, all incidentally from the Georgian Republic. There are now only 12 students. On November 17, 1961, reports circulated that the administrative council of the Yeshivah was dissolved. This was denied. But whom should we believe? The denial came from two Communist journalists who wrote reassuring reports. One said that he interviewed people at the synagogue where, near the women's gallery, the yeshivah sessions are held. He was assured that there was no difficulty of any kind and nobody interferes with the affairs of the worshipers and the students except foreigners. Is this a correct report or is the following true?

According to reliable informants, a Russian speaking Orthodox Jew, visiting Moscow, asked one of the students in class about his hometown. The young man responded with a panegyric of praise about the condition of the Jews there. Later, as the visitor was leaving, the student overtook him in a dark corner of the courtyard and apologized for his reply. None of it was true, he whispered, but even among the students there might be a stoolpigeon and he could not therefore say how unbearable conditions really were.

The broad basic facts of communism's hostility to religion are clear and readily discernible. The details vary. Religion and the Jews fare better in the satellite countries than in the Soviet Union but the satellite countries have been Communist only 15 years or less. What on the international scene could be of more importance to clergymen than the antireligious activities of Communists and their ideological war against religion? For Jews the subject is of doubly grave importance, since antireligious motivations enter into anti-Semitic manifestations. Shall we protest or shall we be passive and hope that the Communists will somehow cease to be dialectical materialists, recognize the values of religion and proclaim religious liberty throughout their lands?

I submit that our first obligation is to learn all we can on this subject. What is the relationship between Communist ideology and Communist conduct? What is the ethic of communism and how does it differ from that of Judaism? If courses on comparative religion are appropriate at theological seminaries, surely we should have comparative courses on Judaism and communism in Jewish seminaries, and on Christianity and communism in Christian theological schools. Clergymen should be invited to attend these courses.

During the past several decades there have been many sessions lasting 3, 4, or even 5 days under religious auspices where all manner of current subjects were discussed by clergymen and laymen but where communism was not given an hour of discussion. I am well aware of the thesis that our task is to build a perfect society in our own locales and that we must pursue only affirmative programs. I challenge that theory. On that basis neither religion nor Jews will survive behind the Iron Curtain. Communists are not impressed by our virtues nor moved to emulate our beliefs and practices. The challenge they present to us has its own theories, its own dynamism, and its own unrelenting zeal. It says to mankind, "Organized religion is a fraudulent scheme unhampered by theological notions. You were born to enjoy the material things of the earth. Abandon religion and follow us and you will have more and more of earthly satisfactions."

Our religious institutions with their pulpits and classrooms, sisterhood, and men's club programs, adult study courses, and other facilities have not been adequately used to acquaint our congregations with the most important phase of the Communist

menace—what it does to man's desire and opportunity to worship, to his spirit as a child of God, to his aspiration to be something more than another animal. There are aspects and phases of communism and the cold war which need not concern the clergy. Let others deal with them. But there are areas of responsibility in reference to this atheistic creed which religious leaders should not neglect because they are intertwined with the survival of religion and with the preservation of religious freedom. For the rabbis, knowledge about communism is mandatory for the preservation of Judaism and for the survival of Jews.

EDMUND WILSON AND UNCLE SAM

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, a great many events which normally would be of interest to the American public are necessarily bypassed by the press as it attempts to pack the world into the "A Section" or the 5-minute split. I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues one such omission.

The Presidential Medal of Freedom found its way last December into the outstretched hand of sometimes literary critic, Edmund Wilson, author of an effusion called "The Cold War and the Income Tax: A Protest."

While it is not unusual for authors and critics to receive recognition from the Chief Executive, I do feel there is something questionable in a system which extends such recognition to persons with the predilections of Mr. Wilson.

The first sentence of Mr. Wilson's tax protest reads:

Between the years 1946 and 1955, I did not file any income tax returns.

It would not have taken extensive research for the administration to have been made privy to that surprising revelation, and it is a fact, which in my mind should bear rather strongly on Mr. Wilson's eligibility for the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

However, Mr. Wilson does not limit his activities to the negative—to not paying his income tax. He has some rather caustic and "positive" words for the country in which he lives. Not only that, he expresses a desire, because of the pressures of taxation, to leave the United States for a nation which is less "oppressive."

Richard Kluger, editor of Book Week, published by the New York Herald Tribune and associated papers, summed up the purpose of Wilson's book this way:

Passion-dominated a bitter broadside by Edmund Wilson. In a thin book called "The Cold War and the Income Tax: A Protest," he portrayed America as a bastille bristling with unneeded weaponry, a witless capacity for overkill, and an arsenal that costs the taxpayer unconscionable sums. Why all the billions for arms and a lunge at the moon when the Nation is culturally so undernourished and so many of its citizens are socially deprived?

What undermined the Wilson fusillade, besides its banal, offhand style, was its origin. His corrosive remarks were prompted by a nasty brush with the Internal Revenue Service which reacted with some indignation upon learning Wilson had neglected to pay his income tax for a stretch. Annoyed at the relentlessness of the tax people, Wilson tells us in effect that he decided the money he

owed the United States would have been spent imprudently had he paid it and so his oversight was hardly such a crime—that the crime in fact was the Government's for its power hunger and pandering to the people's unwarranted fears of a benign Soviet Union—the words of Book Week magazine.

Although I cannot recommend the Wilson book for its literary content, I should like to read a few passages from it. On page 41, we find this pithy statement:

It may perhaps be wondered why a former leftist, who in 1932, at the time of the great depression, when the Communist Party was legal, voted for the Communist candidates in the presidential election and who voted for Norman Thomas thereafter up to the time when he ceased to run, should be making so much fuss about State control.

On page 45, Wilson is critical of:

The FBI officials, who, on evidence equally dubious, constructed the case against Alger Hiss.

After some tortured reasoning and 118 pages, Wilson finally arrived at some conclusions:

The truth is that the people of the United States are at the present time dominated and driven by two kinds of officially propagated fear: fear of the Soviet Union and fear of the income tax. These two terrors have been adjusted so as to complement one another and thus to keep the citizen of our free society under the strain of a double pressure from which he finds himself unable to escape. If we fail to accept the tax, the Russian buffalo will butt and trample us, and if we try to defy the tax the Federal bear will crush us (p. 91).

Later:

Tougher members of the population—among upper and lower brackets—have privately taken the stand that they are damned if they are going to lie down and take it when they are persecuted and spied upon and rooked by that son of a bitch Uncle Sam, who pretends that he is saving them from those Russians that live half the world's breadth away (pp. 94, 95).

Still later:

But I am not going to let myself be sent to Leavenworth . . . I have thought of establishing myself in a foreign country as my lawyer friend suggested and as I thought him rather absurd for suggesting. I do feel that I must not violate the agreement I have signed with the Government to surrender for 3 years longer all the income that I take in above a certain taxable amount. My original delinquency was due not to principle but to negligence: but I now grudge every penny of the imposition, and I intend to outmaneuver this agreement, as well as the basic taxes themselves by making as little money as possible and so keeping below taxable levels. I have always thought myself patriotic and have been in the habit in the past of favorably contrasting the United States with Europe and the Soviet Union; but our country has become today a huge blundering power unit controlled more and more by bureaucracies whose rule is making it more and more difficult to carry on the tradition of American individualism; and since I can accept neither this power unit's aims nor the methods it employs to finance them, I have finally come to feel that this country, whether or not I continue to live in it, is no longer any place for me.

So much for the sentiments of author Wilson, who, with 33 other individuals, was given the Presidential Medal of Freedom. The award went posthumously to