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however, the President and the State Department repeatedly ignore the threat that Nasser poses to world peace, I think Congress is obligated to enact into law stronger provisions to insure that American aid is not stuffed into Egyptian cannons.

In view of this, Mr. President, I am gratified to note that the conference report has incorporated into this year's "food for peace" authorization language to the effect that the President shall bar Public Law 480 expenditures in any country if he finds such country is:

(a) an aggressor, in a military sense, against any country having diplomatic relations with the United States; or (b) using funds, of any sort, from the United States for purposes inimical to the foreign policies of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], and the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] are absent because of illness.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] is paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY].

If present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana would vote "yea," and the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senators from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON and Mr. PEARSON], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 54, nays 11, as follows:

[No. 583 Leg.]

YEAS—54

Alken	Javits	Nelson
Allott	Johnston	Prouty
Beall	Jordan, N.C.	Proxmire
Bennett	Jordan, Idaho	Randolph
Bible	Keating	Ribicoff
Boggs	Kuchel	Russell
Byrd, Va.	Lausche	Salinger
Case	Long, La.	Simpson
Cooper	Magnuson	Smith
Dodd	Mansfield	Sparkman
Dominick	McClellan	Stennis
Ervin	McGee	Symington
Fong	McIntyre	Talmadge
Gore	Mechem	Thurmond
Hickenlooper	Miller	Walters
Holland	Morse	Williams, Del.
Hruska	Moss	Yarborough
Inouye	Mundt	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—11

Anderson	Fulbright	Metcalf
Bartlett	Hart	Monroney
Clark	McGovern	Pell
Douglas	McNamara	

NOT VOTING—35

Bayh	Ellender	Muskie
Brewster	Goldwater	Neuberger
Burdick	Gruening	Pastore
Byrd, W. Va.	Hartke	Pearson
Cannon	Hayden	Robertson
Carlson	Hill	Saltonstall
Church	Humphrey	Scott
Cotton	Jackson	Smathers
Curtis	Kennedy	Tower
Dirksen	Long, Mo.	Williams, N.J.
Eastland	McCarthy	Young, Ohio
Edmondson	Morton	

So the conference report was agreed to.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, so that I can inform the Senate what the business will be for the remainder of the week, it is my understanding—and this is subject to correction—that there are three amendments to be considered, none of which under ordinary circumstances would take too long a period of time. If

that assumption proves to be correct, it is hoped that the Senate will be able to vote on final passage of the foreign aid bill this evening.

I had hoped that that could be followed by a bill having to do with the ROTC, which I had promised the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, that I would take up. But circumstances seem to preclude that. Nevertheless, it is intended to bring up the Executive Calendar, to take up the items on the calendar to which there is no objection and to lay before the Senate the Appalachian bill and get started on that.

If all of this proves to be halfway correct, it may be possible to vote on the Appalachian bill tomorrow. I realize that is taking a long trip into the blue yonder. But, that is the program as of now.

AMENDMENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11380) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

(AMENDMENT NO. 1237)

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I send to the desk my amendment No. 1327 and ask for its consideration. I do not intend to take more than 2 or 3 minutes on the amendment. I ask that the reading of the amendment be waived, but that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

The amendment offered by Mr. AIKEN is as follows:

(d) Add at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 639. LOYALTY AFFIDAVITS.—No part of any funds appropriated or otherwise made available for expenditure under authority of this Act shall be used to make payments under any contract, entered into for the purpose of carrying out any provision of this Act, between any department or agency of the Government or any recipient of assistance under this Act and any individual who is a United States citizen or with any corporation, partnership, or other association created under the laws of the United States or of any State or territory or substantially beneficially owned by United States citizens, unless there is executed and filed with the department or agency administering the program under which the assistance is furnished, by such individual, or the principal officers of such corporation, partnership, or association, an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such affidavits."

Mr. AIKEN. The amendment merely calls for the beneficiaries of our foreign aid program—and by that I mean the contractors and those who have their investments guaranteed—to take the same

loyalty oath that is required to be taken by the beneficiaries of the so-called poverty program.

It may be recalled that when the proposal was made to amend the poverty program so as to require all beneficiaries who received even \$500 a year to take a loyalty oath, the Senate overwhelmingly, by a voice vote, approved that amendment. I am sure that the Senate will be equally glad to approve this amendment, which would require the heads of contracting firms and others who receive great benefits from the AID program to take the same oath.

It keeps all people on the same level. Of course, it does not include them all, yet. But, give us time, and perhaps we can get the remainder of them.

I do not know how anyone could legitimately object to accepting this amendment after supporting the loyalty oath in the case of recipients of the poverty program benefits.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Vermont yield back the remainder of his time?

Mr. AIKEN. That depends on whether there will be any discussion in opposition or not.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I believe it is unworkable. Many universities participate in this program on a contract basis. I do not believe that they are beneficiaries. They are beneficial to the program; at the same time, they are in the position of contractors. Many financial institutions participate. If there were an attempt to enforce this provision literally, it would be almost impossible to do so with the many universities and banks in the country which participate in the guarantee programs, the investment guarantee programs, and other programs.

I do not think it could be administered at all. I am not a great advocate of the other loyalty oath that the Senator from Vermont was discussing. So I am certainly not inconsistent in objecting to this amendment.

I shall not support it. I hope the Senate will reject it.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I am sure that the Senator from Arkansas cannot mean that one class of people should take a loyalty oath and another class of people should not. I am sure that if Sarah Jones, walking on her crutches in the Ozarks, is required to take the loyalty oath in order to receive some benefit from the poverty program, the president of the University of Arkansas would be delighted to take the loyalty oath along with her.

I cannot conceive of any Senator voting against this amendment.

If the Senator from Arkansas is willing to yield back the remainder of his time, I am glad to yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Do the Senators yield back the remainder of their time?

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield 2 minutes to me?

Mr. AIKEN. Does the Senator wish to speak on the amendment?

Mr. LAUSCHE. I do not.

Mr. AIKEN. I would appreciate it if the Senator would wait until there has been a vote on the amendment.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

AMENDMENT NO. 1218

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 1218.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Connecticut will be stated.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. RIBICOFF's amendment is as follows:

PART V—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION BY THE SOVIET UNION

SEC. 501. It is the sense of the Congress that the United States deeply believes in freedom of religion for all people and is opposed to infringement of this freedom anywhere in the world. The Congress declares that abundant evidence has made clear that the Government of the Soviet Union is persecuting Jewish citizens by singling them out for extreme punishment for alleged economic offenses, by confiscating synagogues, by closing Jewish cemeteries, by arresting rabbis and lay religious leaders, by curtailing religious observances, by discriminating against Jews in cultural activities and access to higher education, by imposing restrictions that prevent the reuniting of Jews with their families in other lands, and by other acts that oppress Jews in the free exercise of their faith. The Congress further declares that the Soviet Union has a clear opportunity to match the words of its constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion with specific actions so that the world may know whether there is a genuine hope for a new day of better understanding among all people. Accordingly, it is the sense of the Congress that persecution of any persons because of their religion by the Soviet Union be condemned, and that the Soviet Union in the name of decency and humanity cease executing persons for alleged economic offenses, and fully permit the free exercise of religion and the pursuit of culture by Jews and all others within its borders.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 1218 for myself, my colleague from Connecticut [Mr. DONN], the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING]. I ask unanimous consent that the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] also be added as cosponsors of amendment No. 1218.

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

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, this amendment was originally introduced as Senate Resolution 204 on September 25, 1963. It was cosponsored by 64 Members of this body including Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BEALL, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. CANNON, Mr. CASE, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. CLARK, Mr. COOPER, Mr. COTTON, Mr. DODD, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. EDMONDSON, Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HART, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. INOUE, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. JORDAN of Idaho, Mr. KEATING, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. MCNAMARA, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MONRONEY, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MORTON, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. NELSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. PELL, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. SMATHERS, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. TOWER, Mr. WALTERS, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. YARBOROUGH, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio.

I bring it up today so the Senate can go on record promptly against an especially great injustice: the Soviet persecution of the Jewish people. The Senate voicing the conscience of the American people, can call attention to an old problem that has flared up recently in virulent form—religious persecution, especially the persecution of Soviet Jews. It is important that we take an official stand on the Soviet Government's systematic policy of attrition against the 3 million Jewish citizens of the U.S.S.R.

The main components of that policy are:

- First. Deprivation of cultural rights.
- Second. Deprivation of religious rights.
- Third. The anti-Jewish propaganda campaign.

- Fourth. The scapegoating of Jews.
- Fifth. Discrimination in education and employment.

Sixth. Refusal of the right to emigrate. It adds up to a policy of reducing the Jews to second-class citizenship in the U.S.S.R., of breaking their spirit and crushing their pride. It aims to shatter, pulverize, and gradually eliminate Jewish historical consciousness and Jewish identity. This policy works itself out as a whole; but for purposes of examination and evaluation, it can be broken down into the following categories:

I. DEPRIVATION OF CULTURAL RIGHTS

The 3 million Jews of the U.S.S.R. are officially recognized as a nationality. Although Soviet Jews constitute only 1.09 percent of the total Soviet population, they rank 11th numerically among the more than 100 diverse Soviet nationalities.

Soviet ideology, Communist Party directives, the Soviet Constitution and law, and historic Soviet practice all recognize the inherent right of every Soviet nationality to maintain and perpetuate its own cultural identity, through its own cultural institutions in its own language.

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The Jews are the only nationality which is deprived of the basic cultural rights accorded to all the others.

Although the use of Hebrew as a Jewish national language was forbidden soon after the Bolshevik revolution, the Jews were permitted a wide-ranging cultural life in Yiddish.

Until 1940, they were permitted a large network of schools, elementary, middle and higher schools, in the Yiddish language. Until 1948, they were allowed newspapers, publishing houses, thousands of books, a variety of literary journals, professional repertory theaters and dramatic schools, literary and cultural research institutes—all in Yiddish.

In 1948, this whole vast array of institutions was forcibly closed down and liquidated. Hundreds of Jewish writers, artists, and intellectuals were imprisoned or banished. The 24 most distinguished and talented of them were secretly tried on trumped-up charges of espionage, and executed in 1952.

No basic change in this policy of cultural deprivation and discrimination occurred, despite Stalin's death and the gradual easing of conditions generally—until 1959. In 1959 and in 1961, only six Yiddish books were published—all six by writers long since dead. The books were put out in editions of 30,000 copies each, in large part for export. No Yiddish book was published in 1960 or 1962 or 1963 or in 1964 to date. And since 1948—16 years—not one Yiddish book has been published by a living Jewish writer.

The Soviet Yiddish theater, once one of the great prides of Soviet artistic achievement, was forcibly liquidated in 1948 and has never been reopened. In Moscow and Leningrad—the two major centers of Soviet Jewry, together numbering nearly 1 million Jews—there is neither a professional nor an amateur Jewish theater or any other Jewish artistic or cultural group permitted to exist.

Jews are forbidden schools of their own. They are forbidden classes in Yiddish or Hebrew in the general schools. They are even forbidden classes in the Russian language on Jewish history and culture.

II. DEPRIVATION OF RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

In addition to their status as a nationality, the Jews are also regarded as a religious group. Officially, Jewish congregations, synagogues, and rabbis occupy a status more or less comparable to similar religious institutions of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Baptists, the Lutherans, the Roman Catholics, and the Moslems.

But the Jewish religion is subjected to unique discrimination, and religious Jews are subjected to special disabilities which do not affect any other major religious denomination in the U.S.S.R.

Unlike all the other denominations, Jewish congregations are not permitted to maintain nationwide federations or other central organizations through which their religious needs would be serviced and religious contact and communication maintained. Synagogues and rabbis are also forbidden to maintain any kind of officially sanctioned, formal

affiliation or contact with organizations of coreligionists abroad.

No Hebrew Bible has been published since 1917, nor has even a Russian translation of the Jewish Bible been allowed. Not a single Jewish religious book, whether of scholarship or piety, has appeared in print since the early 1920's. There is an extreme shortage of prayer books and religious calendars, and no facilities or authorization for their publication. The decades-old ban on Hebrew prevents Jewish children from understanding or participating in the prayers of their religion. The production of indispensable religious articles is prohibited.

Synagogues have been forcibly closed down in many cities and towns. In these circumstances, Jews frequently try to gather in each others' homes for prayers. But such private prayer meetings (minyans) have been banned, dispersed, or otherwise harassed.

A singular discrimination is practiced against the sole rabbinical seminary in the country, opened in Moscow in 1957. Its student body was never permitted to exceed 14, though a great many applications were received. For the last couple of years, no more than three or four students have been permitted there.

Three of the most ancient and fundamental Jewish religious rites have been subjected to systematic administrative pressures, whose object is to prevent Soviet Jews from practicing them. Soviet Jews have virtually ceased to practice circumcision, for fear of censure or punishment. Also, the authorities, in Moscow, Kiev, and other places in the past year or so, have effectively stopped the burial of Jews in consecrated ground. And in the past few years, they have prohibited the public baking and sale of matzah, the unleavened bread indispensable to the proper observance of the Passover. This year, as in the last 2 years in Moscow and the last 7 years in other parts of the country—religious Jews, and even secular Jews who have a special feeling for Passover and matzah, were forced to do without.

III. THE ANTI-JEWISH PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

The Soviet policy of cultural and religious repression of the Jews is conducted within the charged atmosphere of a virulent press and propaganda campaign against Judaism. In this campaign, Jews are represented in traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes—as unscrupulous, cunning, sly, and mean. Judaism as a religion is vilified. Its clerical and lay leadership is portrayed as a bunch of swindlers, moneygrabbers, and immoralists. The Jewish religion is portrayed as a focus of disloyalty to the U.S.S.R. It should be noted that only with respect to Jews and Judaism has the issue of loyalty been injected into Soviet antireligious propaganda.

Perhaps the most hair-raising example of this sort of thing appears in a full-scale "scientific" volume published in late 1963 by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. It is called "Judaism Without Embellishment" by T. K.

Kychko—and it passes for scholarship and science in the Ukraine.

Even though Soviet authorities belatedly issued tepid and halfhearted criticisms of the book, largely as a result of worldwide indignation and protest, it was never condemned for the vicious anti-Semitic tract that it is, and the authorities failed, as they have so often in the past, to use this incident as the occasion for the initiation of a massive educational campaign against anti-Semitism. Moreover, other such books, containing similar bile, continue to appear in the U.S.S.R.

IV. THE SCAPEGOATING OF JEWS

Alongside this virulent anti-Jewish propaganda in the press and other publications has been the notable pattern of hostility against the Jews in the massive national campaign waged against economic offenses.

Beginning in May 1961, a series of decrees called for capital punishment for such crimes as embezzlement, currency speculation, and bribery.

In the process of seeking to eradicate and prevent such large-scale and widespread economic abuses—in which the majority of the Soviet citizenry is evidently forced by economic necessity to engage—the authorities have made scapegoats of the Jews. Accompanying the draconic measure of capital punishment has been a major, systematic nationwide press campaign that has featured trials resulting in death sentences for the accused. Scores of such trials have been reported from cities throughout the country.

Jews have been used as the scapegoats for the economic ills that plague the country. They are singled out in these trials, which are conducted in a circus atmosphere that is a travesty of justice; singled out in the press campaign, which is a mockery of objective journalism; and singled out, most of all, in the death sentences. For of the 195 people sentenced to death for such crimes, at least 100—and possibly as many as 106—have been Jews.

In general, the Jews are consistently presented as people who are "Slaves of Gold" and "whose only God is gold" and who are "money worshippers"—all traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes which are applied in the Soviet press only to Jews accused of economic crimes.

The ominous significance of this publicity—alongside the anti-Semitic character of the official propaganda against the Jewish religion itself—is unmistakable. It informs the conditioned Soviet reader that the Government and party think the tiny community of Jews, constituting little more than 1 percent of the population, is responsible for 50–55 percent—and in some areas—such as the Ukraine—80–90 percent—of the economic crimes that warrant capital punishment.

All this has just been fully confirmed and analyzed in great detail in the current issue of the scholarly Journal of that distinguished world legal body, the International Commission of Jurists.

This has had two dire results: It has exacerated endemic anti-Semitic. And

it has created an atmosphere of fright and intimidation in many Jewish communities and homes.

V. DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

The proportion of Jews in higher education, science, and the professions has been declining for many years. In many universities and advanced institutes, a *numerus clausus* and sometimes even a *numerus nullus* prevails. Jews have diminished from 13.5 percent of all students in higher education, in 1935, to 3.1 percent today—and this, despite the fact that the Jews are a highly urbanized community whose aspirations toward education have diminished in no discernible way.

Some especially gifted Jews will indeed be found in top positions in various walks of life—a concession by the authorities to the country's needs in those sectors. But Jews have virtually disappeared from the diplomatic service and, with rare exception, from positions of major responsibility in the armed forces. Jews in the middle ranks of economic, industrial, technical, and engineering work know that they cannot aspire to the leading positions in any of those sectors.

VI. REFUSAL OF THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE

East European Jewry, including Soviet Jews, suffered enormously at the hands of the Nazi butchers during the war. Many of the survivors in the U.S.S.R. are the sole remnants of their families on the East European soil that is for them intolerably soaked with Jewish blood, and, in their memories, filled with insufferable nightmares.

Many thousands of Soviet Jews wish to leave the U.S.S.R. to be reunited with the remnants of their broken families who have managed to create a new life for themselves on new soil—in Israel, the United States, and elsewhere.

The Soviet Government has refused these Jews the elementary human right, even on purely humanitarian grounds, to leave their country in order to be reunited with their families—even though the U.S.S.R. has in principle accepted the legitimacy of this right.

In sum Soviet policy places the Jews in an inextricable vise. They cannot assimilate, nor live a full Jewish life, nor can they emigrate to live freely as Jews or rejoin war-scattered families. On the one hand, the authorities want the Jews to assimilate; on the other hand, they fear the full penetration of Soviet life which assimilation implies. So the Jews are formally recognized as a nationality, as a religious group, as equal citizens—but are at the same time deprived of their national and religious rights as a group, and of full equality as individuals.

Soviet policy as a whole, then, amounts to spiritual strangulation—the deprivation of Soviet Jewry's natural right to know the Jewish past and to participate in the Jewish present. And without a past and a present, the future is precarious indeed.

In April of this year, hundreds of representatives of all the major national American Jewish organizations gathered in this city to express their unified concern with the current plight of their

coreligionists in the Soviet Union. I was privileged, among others, to address that conference.

The American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry protested the denial to Soviet Jews of those basic institutions and facilities granted to other religions and nationality groups within the Soviet Union. In an appeal to the conscience of the free world, the conference expressed hope that the Soviet authorities would respond to at least 18 specific demands, as follows:

First. To declare its policy of eradicating anti-Semitism by a vigorous educational effort conducted by government and party.

Second. To permit the free functioning of synagogues and private prayer meetings.

Third. To remove hindrances to the observance of sacred rites such as religious burial and circumcision.

Fourth. To make possible the production and distribution of phylacteries, prayer shawls, mezzuzoth, religious calendars, and other religious articles.

Fifth. To restore all rights and facilities for the production and distribution of matzah and kosher food.

Sixth. To make available facilities to publish Hebrew Bibles, prayer books, and other religious texts in the necessary quantities.

Seventh. To permit the organization of a nationwide federation of synagogues.

Eighth. To sanction the association of such a federation with organizations of coreligionists abroad.

Ninth. To permit Jews to make religious pilgrimages to the Holy places in Israel.

Tenth. To make it possible to allow all qualified applicants to attend the Moscow Yeshivah, to provide facilities for the establishment of additional Yeshivot as needed, and to enable rabbinical students to study at seminaries abroad.

Eleventh. To provide schools and other facilities for the study of Yiddish and Hebrew, and of Jewish history, literature, and culture.

Twelfth. To permit Jewish writers, artists, and other intellectuals to create their own institutions for the encouragement of Jewish cultural and artistic life.

Thirteenth. To reestablish a Yiddish publishing house and to publish books in Yiddish by classical and contemporary Jewish writers.

Fourteenth. To reestablish Yiddish state theaters in major centers of Jewish population and to publish Yiddish language newspapers with national circulation.

Fifteenth. To eliminate discrimination against Jews in all areas of Soviet public life.

Sixteenth. To end all propaganda campaigns which use anti-Semitic stereotypes, implied or overt.

Seventeenth. To halt the discriminatory application of maximum penalties, including the death sentence, against Jews for alleged economic crimes.

Eighteenth. To make possible on humanitarian grounds Soviet Jews who are members of families separated as a result

of the Nazi holocaust to be reunited with their relatives abroad.

The conference appealed for a redress of these and other wrongs and sufferings and for the elimination of discrimination and the full restoration of Jewish rights in the U.S.S.R.

The world has learned from bitter experience of the dangers of persecution of the Jews. We have learned that it is a symptom of a greater sickness, a symptom which, though it hurts the sufferer, is not felt by others until the sickness spreads.

Let us try to curb this sickness, before it spreads. Let us say to the Soviet Union:

If the world is to have new hope, if the cold war is to ease, let the first thaw occur in the icy indifference you have shown to the plaintive cries of those within your borders who seek an end to religious persecution.

Soviet Jews surely have the right to walk in dignity—no less than their fellow citizens of other nationalities and religions. They are deprived of this right—and the Democratic Party of the Nation that is the leader of the free world, has the obligation to protest, in the name of human decency. I urge adoption of the amendment.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Will the Senator be kind enough to add my name as a cosponsor of the amendment?

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Colorado be added as a cosponsor.

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

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield.

Mr. TALMADGE. Will the Senator ask that my name be added as a cosponsor of the amendment?

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Georgia be added as a cosponsor.

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

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 2 minutes?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. I hope very much that the Senate will adopt the amendment, and will do so unanimously. I make that statement for the following reasons: One of the most treasured traditions of the United States is the fact that it has protested violations of human rights throughout the years—ever since its early history—and it had occasion to protest persecution in czarist Russia, to condemn programs against Jews, and other oppressions in the closing decades of the 19th century.

Like many other Members of this body, I have been in the Soviet Union and I can testify personally to the atmosphere which exists there, which is designed directly to repress the practice of the Jewish faith.

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The extraordinary thing is that in the barbaric practice in the Soviet Union of executing people for so-called economic crimes, such as alleged black-marketeering—punishment which is barbaric in terms of the civilized world—though Jews constitute 1½ percent of the population, over 50 percent of the almost 200 people executed for those economic crimes were Jews. The Russian newspapers, which rarely publish the names of those accused of crimes except in the case of a political show trial, regularly publish the names of Jews who are arrested and charged with black-marketeering in synagogues, and other alleged economic offenses. It is almost shameful that we must say it today, but that practice of reporting distinctly Jewish names could not go on without at least the implication that the Soviet Government looked upon it with some favor.

Mr. President, this is a precise case for an expression of emphatic disapproval by the Senate of the United States, and we have the opportunity to do in the fine amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF]. I hope that the Senate will act upon it today, decisively, and unanimously.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HARR], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON] be added as cosponsors.

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

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. DODD. I strongly support the amendment offered by my colleague. The amendment is timely. In fact, it is overdue in time. On several occasions I have spoken on the same subject—the persecution of religion and particularly of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

I remember back as far as 1954, when, as a Member of the House, I was privileged to serve on the Select Committee on Communist Aggression in the 82d Congress. The committee took extensive testimony on the persecution of Jews and other religious and ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union.

I have spoken in this Chamber on this subject before, and particularly in February 1960, when I made an extensive speech on the subject of persecution of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

Great credit is due our colleague from Connecticut for crystallizing this question and for giving it the dramatic setting which is needed for all to understand the situation currently and properly. He has rendered a great public service. And as the Senator from New York has pointed out, this action is essential. I hope that the Senate will act promptly. And I hope the Senate will act with one voice, so that our foes who are engaged in this dreadful and sinful persecution of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union will feel the great moral force and effect of the voice with which the U.S. Senate is speaking. I could not more heartily endorse it.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to add as a cosponsor the name of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE].

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

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield now to the Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING].

Mr. KEATING. I thank the Senator from Connecticut and commend him for offering the amendment. I believe originally I was stated to be a cosponsor. If not, I would like to have my name added.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, the Senator from New York was an original cosponsor of the resolution and the amendment.

Mr. KEATING. I thank the Senator. I shall be brief. I hope we can reach a vote promptly and have a unanimous vote to condemn what is going on in Soviet Russia.

As a longtime exponent of the proposition that America's outrage over the U.S.S.R.'s ruthless persecution of its Jewish subjects must be firmly and formally declared, I am pleased to support this amendment, which expresses the sense of the Congress condemning Soviet persecution of members of the Jewish faith.

During my career in the Senate I have repeatedly taken the position that persecution in all its forms must be exposed and denounced. It is our obligation, Mr. President, to make it clear to the world that this Nation deplores anti-Semitism. I have cited numerous instances of Communist persecution of the Jews within its borders, painfully familiar accounts of vicious propaganda, imprisonment, and execution. World War II taught us the lesson that the world has become too small, and international responsibility too great, for us to ignore oppression wherever it appears.

Mr. President, this statement of principle will undoubtedly be attacked by the Communist world as self-righteous. In anticipation of this habitual criticism, let me say that Americans are all too aware of the wounds of prejudice in their own land, but an objective look at our record over the past decade certainly proves that an overwhelming majority of Americans are dedicated to eradicating the blot of intolerance and hatred. We are blessed with a form of government that allows us to protest and to stamp out injustice, and to work toward complete fulfillment of the ideals we cherish.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, do not enjoy civil rights. If the all-powerful Communist Party decides to make life miserable for a religious or an ethnic group, the object of its hate campaign has no recourse to a court of justice. Neither government or citizenry in the Soviet Union will take up their cause. Therefore, it behooves us, together with all freedom-loving peoples, to make known our unalterable opposition to this crime, and to state our position over and over again until the Soviet Union, under pressure of world opinion, feels shame for its persecutions and takes effective steps to abandon hate and bigotry as an instrument of national policy.

I am grateful to my friend from Con-

necticut and proud to be a cosponsor of the amendment which he has offered.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. WALTERS].

Mr. WALTERS. Mr. President, several months ago I joined with almost two-thirds of the Senate in cosponsoring Senate Resolution 204 condemning religious persecution of Jews and people of other faiths by the Soviet Union.

I did so because I felt we needed to make it clear to the world that we do not in any way condone the continuance of the present policies of religious oppression of the Soviet Union.

I have high hopes that the 88th Congress will add to its already outstanding record by adopting this resolution prior to final adjournment, either through committee action or as an amendment, thereby voicing the concern of the Congress and the people of the United States.

We are living at a time when the Communist concept, fathered by Karl Marx, threatens the way of life of the entire free world. Ours is a system of established law and order under God. The godless system of communism denies freedom to all; it is a system of government which robs the individual of the precious right of worship as he sees fit.

Today the people of the Soviet Union live under what has been characterized as a system of parental law in which people are treated not as independent possessors of rights, but as immature dependent youths who must be trained and disciplined in their consciousness of rights and duties and for whom rights are also gifts. Today the distinctive feature of Soviet law is that it is force law, since all of it is pointed to promote the policy of the Soviet Union without regard to the individual.

The intangible force that makes freedom and progress possible in the free world is of course law that concerns itself with the individual.

We, in America, are a religious people. Our Nation was given its beginning by God-fearing men and on the coin of the Republic we proudly proclaim "In God We Trust."

America has achieved her greatness not primarily because of her great natural wealth, but because the foundation of our form of government and way of life are firmly embedded in the rugged rock of our Christian spiritual heritage. It is a heritage that endured many trials and has successfully withstood the onslaughts of time and would-be conquerors. Ours is a good example of what religious freedom can do for a nation, and it is indeed fitting and proper that we strengthen our defenses against any encroachment of Communist ideology and doctrine by denouncing the Soviet persecution of the Jewish people.

By adopting this resolution we are announcing in clear, loud terms to the free world and to the Soviet Union that we are not now ready and never will be ready to accept the vicious propaganda pattern established in Russia against the Jews and we vigorously condemn its continuance.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I yield now to the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH].

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, widespread evidences of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union have aroused the indignation of men and women throughout the world who believe in justice and freedom. It has been factually demonstrated in instance after instance that the Soviet citizens of Jewish faith are being persecuted because of their beliefs.

The B'nai B'rith International Council has recently issued a special report which documents anti-Semitic activity in every phase of Soviet life. The report specifies denials of Jewish cultural rights, provides a summary of suppression of Judaism in religious practices, and gives evidence of discriminatory action in areas such as education, employment, and political activity. It also points out that there are indications of rising anti-Semitic attitudes on the part of the Soviet people.

The Washington Star, on August 14, 1964, carried an editorial commending the efforts of our distinguished colleague, Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, in focusing public attention on this deplorable situation. Senator RIBICOFF has sponsored Senate Resolution 204 as an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1964, both of which call for a resolution on the part of Congress deploring persecution of the Jews in the Soviet Union. I request unanimous consent that the Star editorial be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

Senator RIBICOFF has made an excellent case for his proposal to have the Senate go on record as condemning religious persecution in the Soviet Union. As he has told the Foreign Relations Committee, there can be no doubt that such persecution exists, and it is especially virulent in the case of the U.S.S.R.'s 3 million Jews.

In the Senator's words, the Kremlin's anti-semitic policy "aims to shatter, pulverize and gradually eliminate Jewish historical consciousness and Jewish identity." To that end, Soviet Jews have been deprived of their cultural rights; have been denied the free exercise of their religion; have been discriminated against in education and employment; have been used as scapegoats for the country's economic ills; have been subjected to a campaign of ceaseless vilification in the press; and have been forbidden to emigrate to other lands. Accordingly, with the sponsorship of 63 other Senators, Mr. RIBICOFF as long ago as last September introduced a resolution calling upon the Senate to declare against this evil.

It is a sound resolution and it should be adopted without further delay. The Soviet leaders, of course, are not going to turn over a new leaf just because of it, but it may help to persuade them to moderate their present policy against the Jews and other minorities. In any case, as Senator JAVRS has declared, affirmative Senate action would help to "expose * * * the hypocrisy behind the Kremlin's denial of anti-Jewish actions."

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, as one of the original cosponsors of Senate Resolution 204, I urge the Senate to unanimously affirm the pending amendment. It is most appropriate that an official branch of Government in the United States go on record opposing the continuation of discriminatory actions

against the Jews of the Soviet Union. I commend the Senator from Connecticut, and join in the advocacy of the amendment.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I send to the desk a substitute for the pending amendment, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas as a substitute for the amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], for himself and other Senators, will be stated.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment in the nature of a substitute, as follows:

On page 1, after line 5, insert the following:

"CHAPTER 1—POLICY

"Sec. 101. Section 101 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to statement of policy, is amended by inserting the following at the end of the first sentence of the sixth paragraph:

"The Congress heartily condemns infringement of religious freedom anywhere in the world. It is the sense of the Congress that persecution of any persons because of their religion and the execution of persons for alleged economic offenses be condemned, and that all persons should be permitted the free exercise of religion and the pursuit of culture."

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

If we are to go into the procedure of condemning religious persecutions, I see no reason why we should limit it to the Soviet Union. It is the practice in many countries of the world.

We have read about these persecutions. Protestants have had difficulties in Spain. In Italy certain sects were maltreated—or thought they were and believed themselves subjected to religious persecution. We know that persecution takes place in varying degrees in many other countries.

I am not sure that the Congress should restrict its condemnation of persecution of religious sects, in this instance Jews, to Soviet Russia. If we condemn religious persecution there, I see no reason why we should not condemn it in other countries. It is not restricted to the Soviet Union.

Therefore, I believe my amendment is germane and is consistent with a condemnation of persecution, such as that of Jews in the Soviet Union. It would also condemn the persecution of Baptists or Methodists or any other sects in the Soviet Union.

I do not see why the Senator from Connecticut could not accept this substitute, because it covers the field he seeks to cover. It extends the same sympathy to other sects being persecuted. I do not know why we should be so exclusive as to restrict the condemnation only to the persecution of the Jews. I hope the Senator agrees to accept the amendment, and I hope the Senate will accept it.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I object very strenuously to the substitute amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas. What the Senator from Arkansas seeks to do is to completely undercut the original resolution and take

the Soviet Union "off the hook." I cannot stand on the floor of the Senate and allow the Senator from Arkansas to accomplish this end.

We are dealing here with an unusual situation. There are 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union. They are the second largest number of Jews in the world. The largest Jewish population is in the United States, 5 million. For the past 20 years there has been an attrition of and an attempt to wipe out the Jews of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union does not encourage any religion, but the difference we have here is that the Soviet Union does not treat the Jews as belonging to a religion, but as a nationality. The Methodists, Baptists, Catholics, Mormons—whatever sect one can think of—are treated as members of a religion in the Soviet Union, but the Jew has stamped on his passport "Jew," representing his nationality. A Russian Methodist does not have stamped on his passport "Methodist." A Roman Catholic does not have stamped on his passport "Roman Catholic." A Baptist does not have stamped on his passport "Baptist." So this is an entirely different situation.

The Soviet Union would like very much to see the adoption of the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas, because it could say, "See; we are not treating the Jews any differently than we treat anyone else." But there are 101 separate nationalities in the Soviet Union, and the Jews are not treated as one of those nationalities. They are singled out from all the other nationalities. Jews cannot have schools of their own. Other nationalities can. The Jews cannot have theaters of their own. The other nationalities can. The Jews cannot have their own religious seminaries. The other nationalities can. The Jews cannot have their own newspapers and magazines. The other nationalities can.

We seek to tell the world that the Soviet Union seeks to grind out 3 million Jews. The whole world stood by when the Nazi regime took over in Germany and started to exterminate the Jews of Germany and of the satellite countries that they had invaded. All we are seeking to do is to raise the conscience of the entire world, not only of the American people, to make sure that what happened to the 6 million Jews in Europe will not happen to the 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union.

I, for one, object to the Senator from Arkansas taking the Soviet Union off the hook. They should be brought to face the public opinion of the world on what the Soviet Union seeks to do to 3 million people. If the Senator from Arkansas is concerned with religious persecution of other people in the world, let him offer a separate amendment. I would support such a separate amendment.

But, the only way in which we can influence the Soviet Union is to bring them up against world opinion. World opinion cannot be better expressed than by action taken in the Senate of the United States by the adoption of my amendment.

Senators represent 50 States. We speak for all the people. We speak for the people of every religion and of every

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faith. If Senators, who represent 184 million people, would accept by unanimous vote the amendment we have offered, it would be a warning to the Soviet Union that the American people are aroused and that the American people will not stand idly by.

I hope the Senate will reject the substitute amendment of the Senator from Arkansas, because it undercuts completely what we seek to do in the amendment that we have offered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. I support my colleague from Connecticut in his position against the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas. I support the Senator from Connecticut on all the grounds that he has stated, plus two additional grounds.

Mr. President, we are dealing within a frame of history in the Soviet Union of anti-Semitism, which the U.S. Government protested many times.

Second, there is no situation comparable with the points made about executions for economic crimes, and the dreadful and terrible suppression that they represent.

Unless we adopt the basic amendment and make the protest which it represents, we shall not be effective, considering the status of our relations with the Soviet Union. Our action would be effective only if the Senate declared itself in favor of the fundamental resolution. I hope the Fulbright amendment will be defeated and that the Ribicoff amendment will be adopted.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I say to the Senator from Connecticut that I associate myself with every argument he has made. His arguments are unanswerable. The persecution of Jews in Russia is an unquestioned fact. The United States should go on record in opposition to this inhumanity of man to man. The opportunity we have as Senators is to adopt the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut and to defeat the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

I appreciate the compliment of Senators in attributing all the opposition to me. As a matter of fact the State Department, which is not known to be opposed to the interests of Israel, and the U.S. Information Agency look with a jaundiced eye on this proposal. The State Department has recommended against the acceptance of the amendment by the committee. It is the same as the resolution which had previously been submitted to the committee. The purpose of it is to help the Jews in the Soviet Union. As so often happens, the overzealous friends of people may do them more harm than do their enemies.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the conclusion of these particular remarks the complete report from the

State Department and from the U.S. Information Agency.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I should like to read from page 2 of the letter from the Department of State:

Specifically, the first clause in the second paragraph of the resolution to the effect that "the Government of the Soviet Union is persecuting Jewish citizens by singling them out for extreme punishment for alleged economic offenses," would be considered by the Soviet Government and the Soviet people as an effort of the American Congress to interfere with the legal processes of the Soviet Union.

All things considered, the Department believes that appeals by private organizations and individuals to the Soviet authorities is the procedure most likely to bring about a change in Soviet policies affecting the situation of Soviet Jews. Such appeals may heighten the Soviet sensitivity on this subject and may encourage a decrease in Soviet activity against these unfortunate people.

Since the fate of Soviet Jewry is of concern to the world community, serious thought might be given to a united appeal of private organizations representing worldwide Jewry and, if possible, other religious groups.

For the foregoing reasons the Department does not recommend adoption of a resolution such as Senate Resolution 204.

The whole letter is concerned with the plight of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union. The question is, What is wise to do about it?

I can understand the appeal of this matter to Members of this body and their enthusiasm for it. However, it is the considered opinion of the Department of State and the U.S. Information Agency that this is not the wise way to serve the purposes of the Senator from Connecticut and of all the other cosponsors of the amendment.

Everyone regrets the persecution of the Jews. I am certain that is the unanimous opinion of all Senators. However, the question is, Is it wise for us to take this means to attack this particular problem?

Let me read a sentence from the U.S. Information Agency's letter:

Impact on Soviet Union official attitudes will more likely result from continued expressions against anti-Semitism by public and private Americans to Soviet officials.

I read further from the letter of the Department of State:

Given the uncertainty of the present situation in the Soviet Union, any such intervention as that proposed by Senate Resolution 204 might be seized upon by the Soviet authorities to show that they are in fact able to act independently and might lead them to take the very action against the Jewish people of the Soviet Union which we are trying to prevent.

Mr. President, I do not wish to prolong this discussion. It is not my resolution. I did not initiate it. I have tried to be helpful to the Senator from Connecticut. I warn against overzealousness, which might result in greater injury to the people we are seeking to help.

The Senator made one other point, namely, about the nationality of the Jews. It has been my impression that, particularly under the leadership of Ben-Gurion, Jews have been considered as

a nation. It is my information that Ben-Gurion regarded the Jews as a nation, and often made such speeches. There was some difference of opinion, of course, but I have understood that the idea of Jews being a nationality was not confined to the Soviet Union.

EXHIBIT 1

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY,

Washington, D.C., March 23, 1964.

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I refer to your letter of September 27, 1963, requesting Agency comments on Senate Resolution 204, submitted by Senator Ribicoff for himself and 60 others, condemning Soviet persecution of Jews and other religious groups.

The proposed Resolution condemns Soviet persecution of any persons because of their religion and specifically calls on the Soviet Union to cease persecuting the Jews. Unhappily, we doubt that the resolution will have any restraining effect on Soviet authorities. Impact on Soviet Union official attitudes will more likely result from continued expressions against antisemitism by public and private Americans to Soviet officials.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that it has no objection to the submission of this report from the standpoint of the administration's program.

Sincerely,

CARL T. ROWAN,
Director.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., April 17, 1964.

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman of the Committee on Foreign
Relations, U.S. Senate.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of September 27, 1963, requesting comment by the Department of State on Senate Resolution 204 as published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 26. The resolution expresses the sense of the Senate that the Soviet Government's persecution of persons because of their religion be condemned, that the Soviet Government cease executing persons for alleged economic offenses, and permit the free exercise of religion and cultural pursuits by Jews and all other persons living in the Soviet Union.

The Department has consistently stressed our Government's belief that the long-term antireligious campaign in the Soviet Union has grown in intensity over the past several years. All religions, including the Jewish religion, are being subjected to increasing restrictions, forms of interference, and negative social pressures.

The Department cannot stress too strongly its disapproval of the pressures which are brought to bear against various religious and minority groups in the Soviet Union. As the Department has frequently pointed out, in the case of the Jews these pressures prevent the normal maintenance and development of Jewish religious and cultural life.

The Department can well appreciate the humanitarian and religious motives which have inspired the drafters of the proposed Senate Resolution 204, intended to relieve the plight of the Jews and other religious people in the Soviet Union. These unfortunate people continue to suffer for their religious convictions as the result of repressive actions initiated by the Soviet Government since its accession to power following World War I. If the Department believed that passage of this resolution offered a reasonable possibility of achieving its purpose, it would urge the resolution's submission for consideration by the Senate. It is the Department's considered opinion that under present circumstances this unfortunately would not be the case.

The Department seriously doubts that Soviet leadership would be influenced favorably by the Senate's adoption of the resolution. In the past, Soviet officials have reacted most unfavorably to outside criticism, particularly that by foreign government organs or official representatives, on matters which the Soviet Government considers to be within the sole purview of Soviet internal interests.

Given the uncertainty of the present situation in the Soviet Union, any such intervention as that proposed by Senate Resolution 204 might be seized upon by the Soviet authorities to show that they are in fact able to act independently and might lead them to take the very action against the Jewish people of the Soviet Union which we are trying to prevent. The resolution might therefore redound seriously to the detriment of Soviet Jews and other religious people of the Soviet Union.

Specifically, the first clause in the second paragraph of the resolution to the effect that "the Government of the Soviet Union is persecuting Jewish citizens by singling them out for extreme punishment for alleged economic offenses," would be considered by the Soviet Government and the Soviet people as an effort of the American Congress to interfere with the legal processes of the Soviet Union.

All things considered, the Department believes that appeals by private organizations and individuals to the Soviet authorities is the procedure most likely to bring about a change in Soviet policies affecting the situation of Soviet Jews. Such appeals may heighten Soviet sensitivity on this subject and may encourage a decrease in Soviet activity against these unfortunate people.

Since the fate of Soviet Jewry is of concern to the world community, serious thought might be given to a united appeal of private organizations representing worldwide Jewry and, if possible, other religious groups.

For the foregoing reasons the Department does not recommend adoption of a resolution such as Senate Resolution 204.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that from the standpoint of the administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK G. DUTTON,
Assistant Secretary.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, the Senator from Arkansas says that the State Department looks on this matter with a jaundiced eye. Mr. President, I have a jaundiced view of the State Department's attitude about problems of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The State Department has no concept of what is going on there in relation to this problem. The State Department's attitude, if we were to follow it, would mean that we would always be behind when we sought to move forward in the field of human rights and human relations.

The State Department never has been sympathetic to these problems. The State Department treats Jews merely as numbers. The State Department seems to be consistently ignorant and uninformed on this problem.

I also disagree with the statement of the Senator from Arkansas that this situation should be handled by private groups. The most august body in the United States is the Senate of the United States. If the Senate of the United States speaks with the unanimous voice, then the Senate of the United States is speaking for the people of the United States.

The Soviet Union is concerned with world opinion, not merely with the statement of one individual or another. For the life of me, I cannot understand why, whenever we come up against a problem on which we seek to speak our conscience, the State Department seeks to throw cold water on the efforts of the American people to speak with spirit and to speak with emotion. I stand on the floor of the Senate condemning the attitude of the State Department in this particular instance, because the State Department shows its ignorance of what is happening to 3 million Jews. It shows its indifference. The State Department has a lot to learn about people as human beings and humanity in general. The time has come for the State Department to get a little education of its own. One way to give the State Department some education is to reject the substitute amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas and let the Senate vote. Sixty-four Senators have joined in cosponsorship of this amendment to condemn the Soviet Union. We who are U.S. Senators understand public opinion and understand better what will move the Soviet Union than do some bureaucrats who sit in the State Department.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, will my colleague yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to yield to the senior Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I join my colleague in opposing the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the Senator from Arkansas.

The first sentence of the amendment offered by my colleague, and of which the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and I are cosponsors, reads:

It is the sense of the Congress that the United States deeply believes in freedom of religion for all people and is opposed to infringement of this freedom anywhere in the world.

The amendment in every instance refers to "all people." So the amendment makes clear what the Senator from Arkansas is trying to obtain; namely, that it is not alone directed to the relief of persecuted Jews in Russia, but as well, is concerned with the persecution of all people within the Soviet Union. It seems to me there is no need for an amendment to include all others.

Second, it is of the greatest importance that, once and for all, we tag the Communists with these acts of persecution. For a long time they have tried to make it appear that they are not people who persecute others because of religion. Time and again, they have pointed to their written constitution, which of course has no meaning, as proof of the fact that they have not been against anybody because of his religion. It took time to discover the true condition, but we are finally agreed that they are persecuting people on religious grounds.

If we pass up the opportunity to do this and, as the Senator from Connecticut has put it, let the Soviets off the hook, we will have missed a great chance for the free world to establish a most important point for the education of the people concerning what is taking

place in the Soviet Union. Once the amendment has been adopted, they will know that the Government of the Soviet Union and Communist governments elsewhere in the world are engaged in one of the most awful things that mankind can stoop to; that is, the persecution of people because of their religious beliefs. Let us not miss this great opportunity.

It will be a tragic day if we neglect this chance by adopting weaker language. I hope the substitute amendment of the Senator from Arkansas will be rejected and that the amendment of the junior Senator from Connecticut will be agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, first, I think we would all agree that there is no feeling on the part of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] other than simply that all of us should condemn persecution wherever it exists. However, we have one difference as to how best to do that.

He has raised a question as to whether what we are doing is really the best for the Jewish community. It is on that point that I should like to remind my colleague, which I think is a supplement with respect to his magnificent statement, that on April 5 and 6, 1964, in Washington, 24 major American Jewish organizations, representing practically all organized American Jewry—I believe they comprise all the leading organizations—convened an emergency conference in Washington—the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry—to deal with the plight and problems of Soviet Jewry. The 24 organizations were:

- American Jewish Committee.
- American Jewish Congress.
- American-Israel Public Affairs Committee.
- American Trade Union Council for Histadrut.
- American Zionist Council.
- B'nai B'rith.
- Central Conference of American Rabbis.
- Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.
- Hadassah.
- Jewish Agency for Israel-American Section.
- Jewish Labor Committee.
- Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America.
- Labor Zionist Movement.
- Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi.
- National Community Relations Advisory Council.
- National Council of Jewish Women.
- National Council of Young Israel.
- Rabbinical Assembly.
- Rabbinical Council of America.
- Synagogue Council of America.
- Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
- The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.
- United Synagogue of America.
- The Zionist Organization of America.

Both the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] and I addressed that meeting. The Senator from Connecticut set forth his resolution, which he has offered in the Senate as an

amendment, for the support of others of us. The action adopted by that conference was in the form of an 18-point plan along the following lines. I read from the report of the conference proceedings:

Protesting "the denial to Soviet Jews of the basic institutions and facilities granted to other religious and ethnic groups of the Soviet Union," the plan urges the Soviet Government to—

1. Eradicate anti-Semitism by a vigorous educational effect conducted by government and party.

2. Permit the free functioning of synagogues and private prayer meetings.

3. Remove hindrances to the observance of sacred rites such as religious burial and circumcision.

4. Permit production and distribution of religious articles and calendars.

5. Restore facilities to produce and distribute matzoh and kosher food.

6. Grant the right to publish Hebrew Bibles, prayer books, and other religious texts.

7. Permit synagogues in the U.S.S.R. to organize a nationwide federation.

8. Sanction the association of such a federation with organizations of their coreligionists abroad.

9. Permit Jews to make religious pilgrimages to Israel.

10. Allow all qualified applicants to attend Moscow holy places and rabbinical seminaries, and to permit rabbinical students to study at seminaries abroad.

11. Provide schools and other facilities for the study of the Yiddish and Hebrew languages, and Jewish history and culture.

12. Permit Jewish writers, artists, and other intellectuals to create their own institutions for the encouragement of Jewish cultural and artistic life.

13. Reestablish a Yiddish publishing house to publish books in Yiddish by classical and contemporary Jewish writers.

14. Reestablish Yiddish state theaters and permit publication of a Yiddish language newspaper with nationwide circulation.

15. Eliminate discrimination against Jews in all areas of Soviet public life.

16. End the anti-Semitic campaign in the press.

17. End the discriminatory applications of the death penalty and other severe sentences imposed against Jews for economic crimes against the state.

18. Make it possible for Soviet Jews separated from their families as a result of Nazism to be reunited with their relatives on humanitarian grounds.

What could better express to the Soviet Union America's official concern than the resolution which is now offered as an amendment by Senator RIBICOFF, zeroing right in on the target, making it the official concern of the people of the Nation, and expressing the unmistakable indignation of the Senate concerning what is occurring in the Soviet Union?

The Senator from Connecticut is exactly correct. I urge that the amendment in the nature of a substitute, offered by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], be rejected.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I thank the Senator from New York. In a previous discussion the Senator from New York did the Senate a great service by presenting a partial list of resolutions adopted by past Congresses condemning persecution of the Jews in Russia. It includes reso-

lutions going back to 1879 and those adopted in 1892, 1906, and 1911. Another resolution condemned the persecution of the Jews by Nazi Germany in 1934.

Other resolutions were adopted by the Senate, protesting the persecution of Armenian children and the abduction of Greek children.

In 1956, Congress adopted a resolution condemning discrimination by Saudi Arabia against American Jews.

So there is a history of the Senate, time and time again, adopting resolutions of this type.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BEALL] be added as cosponsors of the amendment.

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

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I favor what my able friend from Connecticut is trying to do. So do the American people. Religious persecution in the Soviet Union against Jewish people merits the condemnation of mankind. Persecution of any human beings for their faith and creed is a barbaric thing which shocks the sensibilities of every decent person. Today a clear opportunity is afforded Senators to indicate, by the adoption of his amendment, their own revulsion, and that of our country, for all the wanton acts perpetrated against Jews, their temples, their cemeteries, their property, and their lives in the Soviet Union.

We are, this debate makes clear, now on our way to passing a sense-of-Congress resolution, by an overwhelming vote. In my judgment, it ought to be approved in the other body, to indicate clearly and without equivocation, that the legislative branch of the U.S. Government rejects the persecution by the Soviet Government of a people because of their religion. The United States believes in religious freedom and condemns the abuse of that freedom by anyone, against any faith, anywhere.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I thank the Senator from California.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield back the remainder of his time?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to yield back the remainder of my time.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas.

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now recurs on the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF]. The yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, in view of the rejection of my amendment in the nature of a substitute, I am perfectly willing to take the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut to conference, if he wishes to have me do that.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I thank the distinguished Senator from Arkansas, but the yeas and nays have been ordered on my

amendment. The basic purpose of the amendment is to put the Senate of the United States on record, so that the Government of the Soviet Union can see that the Senate speaks with a strong and purposeful voice in condemning the persecution of the Jews of the Soviet Union.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF]. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] are absent an official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], and the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] are absent because of illness.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senators from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON and Mr. PEARSON], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CORTON], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER],

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and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senators from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA and Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 60, nays 1, as follows:

[No. 584 Leg.]

YEAS—60

Alken	Holland	Morse
Allott	Inouye	Mundt
Anderson	Javits	Neelson
Bartlett	Johnston	Pell
Beall	Jordan, N.C.	Prouty
Bennett	Jordan, Idaho	Proxmire
Bible	Keating	Randolph
Boggs	Kuchel	Ribicoff
Byrd, Va.	Lausche	Robertson
Case	Long, La.	Salinger
Clark	Magnuson	Simpson
Cooper	Mansfield	Smathers
Dodd	McClellan	Smith
Dominick	McGee	Sparkman
Douglas	McGovern	Stennis
Ervin	McIntyre	Symington
Fong	McNamara	Talmadge
Gore	Mechem	Walters
Hart	Metcalf	Yarborough
Hickenlooper	Mittler	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—1

Fulbright

NOT VOTING—39

Bayh	Goldwater	Moss
Brewster	Gruening	Muskie
Burdick	Hartke	Neuberger
Byrd, W. Va.	Hayden	Pastore
Cannon	Hill	Pearson
Carlson	Hruska	Russell
Church	Humphrey	Saltonstall
Cotton	Jackson	Scott
Curtis	Kennedy	Thurmond
Dirksen	Long, Mo.	Tower
Eastland	McCarthy	Williams, N.J.
Edmondson	Monroney	Williams, Del.
Elliender	Morton	Young, Ohio

So Mr. RIBICOFF's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. RUSSELL subsequently said: Mr. President, a short time ago the Senate voted on the amendment introduced by Senator RIBICOFF to put the Congress on record as being strongly opposed to the religious persecution practiced by the Soviet Union against the Jewish people living behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. President, unfortunately I was detained on other matters and was unable to come to the Senate for that vote, but I want the RECORD to show that I strongly support that amendment and would have voted for it if I had been here. I also believe it is high time that the Senate and the Congress expressed itself on the matter.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the passage of the foreign aid bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2, lines 18 and 23, it is proposed to strike out the word "manufacturing."

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, it is not a very technical amendment. It merely enlarges the meaning of the language with respect to making used machinery and equipment available to other countries.

The Foreign Relations Committee accepted an amendment I proposed to require a study of the possibilities of expanding our present efforts to send to other countries used machinery and tools, described as manufacturing equipment.

In the Senate, an amendment was added to my proposal to expand this study to include used machinery sold through regular trade channels.

I think that equipment such as trucks, tractors, and nonmanufacturing implements can be useful to the less developed countries, and I hope this refinement of my original amendment will be accepted by the Senate.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I have discussed this amendment with the distinguished Senator from Connecticut. I believe it is a good amendment. It really rectifies the meaning of the amendment that he offered and the Senate adopted some time ago.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DODD. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator may recall that I offered an amendment. Does this amendment in any way affect the amendment which I offered?

Mr. DODD. No.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, at this time I wish to express my opposition to H.R. 11380, the Foreign Assistance bill for the fiscal year 1965, now before the Senate. There was a time, some years ago, when I felt very much alone in criticizing a program of foreign aid; but as far back as 1946, I felt justified in this criticism, and now, some 18 years later, I am completely convinced of the validity of my argument.

During recent years we have seen increased opposition by the people of the United States to the use of so-called American "dollar diplomacy" as a substitute for the traditional means of diplomacy once advocated by our Government. But since World War II, foreign aid has become an all too conspicuous feature of our foreign policy. For too long we have attempted to satisfy the demands of our foreign policy by monetary aid that has done nothing more than cause worldwide resentment toward this great Nation. I recall the words from the farewell address of the founder of our Republic, George Washington, when he said:

It is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; * * * it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character.

Those words are as true today as they were in 1796. However, we have asked no nation to surrender its sovereignty to us upon receiving American assistance, but we do ask these people to honor their

obligations under existing conditions of international law. It shocks my sense of conscience and respect for law and order when I read almost daily the accounts of various belligerent demonstrations against our embassies by people who have accepted our foreign aid. I say it is high time Congress take notice of these appalling events and to restate just what constitutes foreign assistance by our Government.

When we look upon the history of foreign aid during the past few years, it is obvious that the entire program is one of the greatest frauds ever inflicted upon the American people.

Mr. President, do you realize that since World War II, we have spent on foreign aid a total of some \$500 for every man, woman, and child now living in the United States? This total is equal to all Federal Government expenditures of any nature during the first 143 years after the inauguration of George Washington. Incredible as it may seem, this total represents over one-third of the current national debt, which, as we know, is a staggering amount.

Mr. President, I think we should critically examine the premises of aid doctrines, both as to fact and as to value. In this regard, I am especially concerned about the economic assistance rendered in our foreign-aid program. Actually, very little has been written or said about the theory of this aspect of foreign aid. So far as I can determine, the supporters of economic aid tend to justify their position on the basis that such aid is indispensable in increasing the per capita income of less fortunate people, in order to promote their general welfare, which, in turn, leads to the spread of democracy. But this view fails to take into consideration certain factors of international politics; namely, that economic endeavors are substituted for the prime goal of international affairs, the political end. Thus, the ever-changing conditions of economic affairs are substituted for the historically proven methods of well-established legal norms in the area of international affairs.

Another theory, which is erroneous upon its very face, is that foreign assistance tends to enhance American prestige and leads to support for the United States by the uncommitted nations.

Mr. President, to disprove this theory, I have at my disposal many practical examples of worldwide demonstrations against the United States. In Ghana, for example, we have poured \$159 million of the taxpayers' money—into a nation which has, on repeated occasions, severely castigated American officials there, and has directed mobs against the American Embassy. These well-controlled attacks culminated the past February in a scene that Americans residing in Ghana will never forget. A crowd of Ghanaians, led by a Government loud-speaker van, converged on our Embassy. They held signs reading, "Yankee Rogues Go Home." A spokesman for a Government-owned Ghanaian newspaper declared over the loudspeaker, "We are fed up with your imperialist American dollars. We will massacre you as you massacred the people in Korea and Germany, in Cuba, and Panama."

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Another shocking example is the case of India, which has received a total of almost \$5 billion in aid. In return for our generosity, we are plagued with remarks by Government officials, such as a recent one by a prominent member of the Indian Parliament who denounced what he thought to be the attitude of our Government in thinking it had a right to make and impose decisions on the Indian people. This view seems to be somewhat ironic when we cannot even convince India to give us a minimum of support in the United Nations.

But one case which has attracted my attention is that of Indonesia's President, who actually told our Ambassador in Jakarta to "Go to hell with your aid." The pathos of the condition in Indonesia is that we have spent \$881 million in economic and military commitments.

Numerous examples of that sort in the newly emerging nations can be mentioned. But now our traditional allies have begun to heap criticism upon us after their postwar rehabilitation—such as in the case of France. Since World War II, France has actually received \$1½ billion in American aid. In return, we are slapped with De Gaulle's new independent line. It seems that de Gaulle has convinced the French people that the United States does not possess the intellectual or cultural ability to be a world leader. It seems strange to me that this opinion of de Gaulle's comes after \$1½ billion from us and two world wars fought by us to save France. This underscores the futility of attempting to buy friends with foreign aid programs.

I, for one, have grown tired of this lack of gratitude toward the United States by various recipients of our foreign aid. When our Nation is accused by an official in Cairo of considering itself as the shadow of God on earth in imposing American principles, it is high time we took a long look at the more than \$860 million spent in aid to the United Arab Republic. When we see that our foreign aid programs have created keen foreign competition to our farmers and industries, it is time for us to examine the merits of a program under which industrial Japan and Europe have been handed billions of dollars in U.S. economic aid, but have, in turn, purchased mass-production machinery more modern than much of ours. It is quite obvious that foreign wages and taxes are lower than ours, while depreciation allowances are higher. As a consequence, our industrial security is threatened.

Mr. President, foreign aid has not only led to American setbacks in international affairs; this program has also engaged in a shocking number of totally wasteful projects. I was both amused and certainly annoyed to read a part of the House debate on this bill, during which an enterprising Member of the House made a partial list of unnecessary items made available to certain foreign nations. For the benefit of Senators who failed to read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 9, 1964, I shall mention a few of those items.

Turkey, a nation which has failed to achieve economic stability, even after

receiving foreign aid totaling almost \$4,200,000 has listed such interesting items as a bill for \$999.98 for bubble gum. I know very little about bubble gum; but it seems to me that \$1,000 could be directed toward a more sensible endeavor in Turkey. Another item for Turkey, of all things, is a bill for airwick, a household deodorant, for \$10,650.60. But among the most amazing of all were two separate bills for Metrecal, totaling \$17,000 for none other than Cambodia.

Mr. President, this Nation has granted Cambodia \$355 million in foreign aid; but only recently Prince Sihanouk stated that Cambodia's best friend is now Communist China, and all of us are aware of the role being played by Cambodia in the Vietnam situation. Evidently Metrecal is not needed in Cambodia. Nor is another cent of American assistance to that nation. I hold in my hand copies of these bills, some dating as far back as 1961.

Some of the examples I have cited are actually relatively minor, when one considers the whole foreign aid program. The point I stress is that we have let our foreign aid program be channeled in all directions except the right one. How in the world the advocates of foreign aid can say this is necessary to keep communism behind the Iron Curtain is beyond my comprehension. One has only to look at Cuba, to see how completely wrong we have been.

The United States poured over \$50 million in foreign assistance into Cuba, prior to Castro, and nearly \$2 million after Castro. I realize that most of this aid came before Castro, but this point simply emphasizes the futility of foreign aid.

A foreign aid program cannot possibly influence nations throughout the world. As a result of this wasteful spending, the people of our great Nation are being held up as objects of ridicule. It seems paradoxical, to me, that the overburdened American taxpayer is forced to share in his own ridicule. Our American dollars have become the laughingstock of the world. We have become the proverbial money changers of the world. It is high time for the forces of good sense to be applied to foreign aid.

Communism is not going to terminate as a result of giveaway programs. If anything, foreign aid in the past few years has aided the Communist ideology, by turning one set of people against another. For example, the attack by Israel on Egypt was probably made possible by our foreign aid, since economic aid made it possible for Israel to free its foreign exchange, for the purpose of purchasing weapons. The confusing thing is that we also provide Egypt with a means of purchasing armaments, by granting the Egyptians economic or nonmilitary aid. This is also the case with India and Pakistan, where we really have created a bad situation for ourselves.

Mr. President, foreign aid in the form of economic handouts has resulted in increased criticism of the United States by both our traditional allies and the so-called noncommitted nations. I, for one, am sick and tired of this increased hostility toward the people of our great democracy. Now is the time for the Senate

to reject this bill. I sincerely believe that the foreign aid program, in the form of outright economic handouts and assistance, is going to lead to our own undoing. We cannot support the rest of the world financially with the hard-earned money of the American taxpayers.

Now is the time for change. Now is the time for this great body to reject this piece of proposed legislation. Foreign aid proponents owe the American people an explanation of why they have been forced to spend a total of \$104 billion, since 1945, on various foreign projects with which they, themselves, are not concerned. Let us return to a program of foreign policy whereby we are not forced to "buy" our friends. Their resentment and the resentment of the American people are to be reckoned with. We must prove to the world and to ourselves that this country is not the "sugar-daddy" of the world.

Foreign assistance has gone too far. At no point in my career as a U.S. Senator have I regarded this issue as more important than I do today. It is a total farce for anyone to think that freedom and democracy can be purchased with American dollars, or that our money alone can halt international communism.

For the sake of the American people and for the salvation of our free Nation, I urge the Senate to vote against this latest foreign aid bill now before us.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the amendments and third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass? On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. DOMINICK (after having voted in the affirmative). Mr. President, on this vote I have a pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay"; if I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I withdraw my vote.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] are absent on official business.

Also I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], the Senator

from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], and the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] are absent because of illness.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senators from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON and Mr. PEARSON], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER], and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kansas would vote "yea" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] is paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "yea" and the Senator from Kansas would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is paired with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea" and the Senator from New Hampshire would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] is paired with the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Delaware would vote "yea" and the Senator from Texas would vote "nay."

The pair of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] has been previously announced.

The result was announced—yeas 44, nays 16, as follows:

[No. 585 Leg.]

YEAS—44

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Nelson
Allott	Holland	Pell
Anderson	Inouye	Prouty
Bartlett	Javits	Proxmire
Beall	Keating	Randolph
Boggs	Kuchel	Ribicoff
Case	Lausche	Robertson
Clark	Magnuson	Salinger
Cooper	Mansfield	Smathers
Dodd	McGovern	Smith
Douglas	McIntyre	Sparkman
Fong	McNamara	Symington
Fulbright	Metcalf	Walters
Gore	Miller	Yarborough
Hart	Mundt	

NAYS—16

Bennett	Jordan, Idaho	Simpson
Bible	Long, La.	Tennis
Byrd, Va.	McClellan	Talmadge
Ervin	Mechem	Young, N. Dak.
Johnston	Morse	
Jordan, N.C.	Russell	

NOT VOTING—40

Bayh	Goldwater	Moss
Brewster	Gruening	Muskie
Burdick	Hartke	Neuberger
Byrd, W. Va.	Hayden	Pastore
Cannon	Hill	Pearson
Carlson	Hruska	Saltonstall
Church	Humphrey	Scott
Cotton	Jackson	Thurmond
Curtis	Kennedy	Tower
Dirksen	Long, Mo.	Williams, N.J.
Dominick	McCarthy	Williams, Del.
Eastland	McGee	Young, Ohio
Edmondson	Monroney	
Ellender	Morton	

So the bill (H.R. 11380) was passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, and Mr. AIKEN conferees on the part of the Senate.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following routine business was transacted:

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

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

PROPOSED APPROPRIATION, 1965, FOR DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE (D. Doc. No. 103)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a proposed appropriation for the fiscal year 1965, in the amount of \$15,000, for the Department of Commerce (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION, TO PAY JUDGMENTS RENDERED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES (S. Doc. No. 101)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a proposed supplemental appropriation to pay judgments rendered against the United States, in the amount of \$1,024,994 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION, 1965, FOR DEPARTMENT OF STATE (S. Doc. No. 102)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a proposed supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year 1965, in the amount of \$300,000, for the Department of State (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON SHIPMENTS TO YUGOSLAVIA INSURED BY FOREIGN CREDIT INSURANCE ASSOCIATION AND EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, on shipments to Yugoslavia insured by the Foreign Credit Insurance Association and that Bank, for the month of August 1964; to the Committee on Appropriations.

REPORT ON FEDERAL CONTRIBUTIONS PROGRAM—EQUIPMENT AND FACILITIES

A letter from the Director of Civil Defense, Department of the Army, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Federal contributions program-equipment and facilities, for the quarter ended June 30, 1964 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

PUBLICATION OF NOTICE OF PROPOSED DISPOSITION OF CERTAIN SILK

A letter from the Acting Administrator, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a copy of a notice to be published in the Federal Register of a proposed disposition of approximately 113,500 pounds of raw silk and approximately 969,500 pounds of silk noils now held in the national stockpile (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF THE U.S. ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

A letter from the Acting Chairman, the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Commission, dated September 1964 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on unnecessary costs to the Government for commercial long-distance telephone calls made by Federal agencies in the San Francisco region between cities served by the Federal Telecommunications System, General Services Administration, dated September 1964 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on examination of financial statements of the Office of the Treasurer of the United States, Treasury Department, fiscal year 1963 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on unnecessary testing costs included in the prices of Klystron tubes purchased from Radio Engineering Laboratories, Inc., Long Island City, N.Y., Department of the Air Force, dated September 1964 (with