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was in the subcommittee, and no one followed up on the request.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I renew my motion to table; and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] to table the amendment of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY].

The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], are absent on official business.

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

I further announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON] is necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] is detained on official business.

The result was announced—yeas 68, nays 25, as follows:

[No. 542 Leg.]

YEAS—68

Bayh	Hill	Nelson
Beall	Holland	Neuberger
Bennett	Hruska	Pastore
Bible	Humphrey	Pell
Brewster	Inouye	Proxmire
Burdick	Jackson	Ribicoff
Byrd, Va.	Johnston	Robertson
Clark	Jordan, N.C.	Russell
Cooper	Jordan, Idaho	Salinger
Cotton	Kuchel	Saltostall
Curtis	Long, Mo.	Simpson
Dirksen	Magnuson	Smathers
Dominick	Mansfield	Smith
Douglas	McCarthy	Stennis
Eastland	McClellan	Symington
Edmondson	McGee	Talmadge
Ellender	McIntyre	Thurmond
Ervin	McNamara	Tower
Gore	Monroney	Walters
Hart	Morse	Williams, Del.
Hartke	Morton	Yarborough
Hayden	Moss	Young, Ohio
Hickenlooper	Muskie	

NAYS—25

Aiken	Fong	Pearson
Allott	Gruening	Prouty
Bartlett	Javits	Randolph
Boggs	Keating	Scott
Byrd, W. Va.	McGovern	Sparkman
Carlson	Mechem	Williams, N.J.
Case	Metcalf	Young, N. Dak.
Church	Miller	
Dodd	Mundt	

NOT VOTING—7

Anderson	Goldwater	Long, La.
Cannon	Kennedy	
Fulbright	Lausche	

So Mr. MANSFIELD's motion to table the amendment offered by Mr. PROUTY was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution. The resolution was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

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.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending amendment be temporarily laid aside so that I may call up my amendment No. 1214.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment offered by the Senator from Texas will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 12, between lines 15 and 16, insert the following:

"(g) Amend section 620(j) to read as follows:

"(j) In light of the actions of Indonesia in alining itself with North Vietnam, a nation which has aggressively attacked United States naval vessels, and the actions of Indonesia in threatening the peace and security of the nation of Malaysia—

"(1) No further United States assistance shall be furnished to Indonesia under this Act or any other provision of law; and

"(2) All Indonesian nationals now receiving training at United States military schools or bases or at any other United States Government facilities, or under any United States Government contract with any private institution or facility, shall be notified of the immediate termination of such training, and no other training of Indonesian nationals shall be initiated."

On page 12, redesignate succeeding subsections.

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, at the outset, I may say to the distinguished majority leader that I am prepared to agree to a controlled time situation, if the majority leader prefers to have one.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I appreciate the suggestion of the Senator from Texas. I wish I could comply with his suggestion, but I am under an inhibition or restriction as to limitation of time so far as this bill is concerned.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, foreign aid is perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon of our times.

We have suffered through the Economic Cooperation Administration, the Mutual Security Agency, the Technical Cooperation Administration, and Foreign Operations Administration, the International Cooperation Administration, the Development Loan Fund, and now the euphonious AID—Agency for International Development.

We have appropriated more than \$30 billion over the last 9 years; \$18 billion for economic assistance and some \$12 billion for military assistance.

This money, provided by a well-intentioned and trusting American public, has accomplished some good works. It also has bought such vital items as:

TV sets for bush country natives.

Wives.

Yachts, castles, and cloverleaves for backwoods potentates.

Roads that go nowhere.

Hydroelectric plants without transmission lines.

Irrigation systems with no water.

Massive religious monuments.

Now, this is not to say that all foreign aid is bad. In general our military aid programs have been helpful. In general our economic aid programs have been fragmented, expensive, and wasteful.

Dollars from the foreign aid pipeline now are dispersed in tiny, often useless, spurts to some 108 nations and territories. There seems to be no one at AID with a sense of priorities. Or perhaps they just cannot say "No."

It is time for the Congress to say "No."

Already we have said, "Go slow."

Already available in holdover funds from past appropriations are more than \$7 billion—or exactly twice what the Agency wants to spend this year.

AID's system of first obligating, then deobligating, the reobligating, and its habit of funding projects in excess of the cost needed to complete them have resulted in the surplus of funds from past appropriations. Juggling and overfunding have been so rampant that AID has deobligated funds from 232 projects in just the last 2 months.

In achieving these dubious goals, the Agency for International Development has felt it necessary to call upon the efforts of 71,416 employees. That is more people than live in the entire city of Galveston in my State.

I am tempted to ask what all those people do. But the answer stumbles upon the heels of my question. They are spending taxpayer dollars. They are progressively building up a nice cushion of unspent appropriations, and they are busily coming back for more.

I think it is time to call a halt.

Almost everybody agrees that the present administration of foreign aid can be improved. The Marshall plan gave us evidence that a carefully conceived and directed assistance program can reap benefits for the United States and the world.

Let the Congress, then, call upon the administration to revise and to revitalize foreign aid. Let us set priorities. Let us do away with the scattergun sweep and place our aid fire directly upon carefully chosen targets.

And, while these revisions are being made and justified to the Congress, let us let AID struggle along on that \$7 billion it has piled up for emergencies. It is past time for an emergency to be declared over AID, and that \$7 billion fund should enable the Agency to operate for at least 2 years while American foreign aid is reoriented and put in order.

Mr. President, American foreign aid funds have been misspent in many ways. One of our worst faults is our continuing failure to distinguish between friends and enemies. I want to detail what I regard to be just one of those instances.

Let us take note of Indonesia and Sukarno.

The United States now is spending money to train Indonesian military and

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police personnel. Meantime, Indonesian is killing and wounding troops of our British allies and threatening the freedom and peace of Malaysia—a nation which we support and which I believe proved to be one of the most stable of the emerging new nations of Africa and Asia. The British are to be commended for bringing the Malaysian Federation into existence. It is a tribute to the ability of the British to impart to other people their experience in the art of self-government.

As recently as the last week of June some 100 Indonesian terrorists drove across the Malaysian border killing and looting. Some of them may have been trained here, or have gotten instruction from men trained here.

I think the Senate must face the fact that Mr. Sukarno is no friend of the United States. We also must face the fact that he is walking in lockstep with the Communist Party of his nation, the PKI. It is, indeed, likely that he can do nothing not approved by the Communists. Sukarno and the Reds are identified with the same goals.

As one Western diplomat has said:

If President Sukarno didn't exist, the Communists would have to invent him.

Two Communist Party leaders, Chairman D. N. Aidit and First Deputy M. H. Lukman, already hold the rank of minister in Sukarno's state advisory council. Their ties with Red China are close.

Sukarno continues to state publicly that he is out to crush our ally, Malaysia. He clearly demonstrated his peaceful neutrality when he torpedoed the cease-fire arranged in the area last January. He continues to send his volunteer troops against British Commonwealth forces in Sarawak and Sabah. Informed sources say there probably are 600 well-equipped Indonesian soldiers inside Malaysian territory—an increase of 450 in this year alone.

Yet, the gullible United States continues to train Sukarno's forces.

As of late April there were 187 Indonesian armed forces personnel training in the United States, plus 38 police personnel, a total of 225.

Here is a breakdown of the U.S. folly:

Under the Army, 94 Indonesian trainees are at work. Sixty-one of them are scattered among such regular military career courses as engineering, adjutant general, finance, ordnance, armor, signal, medical, infantry, women's army corps, military police, chaplain, supply, quartermaster, transport, artillery and the U.S. Command and General Staff School. Thirty-three others are in what our State Department calls civic action courses which somehow includes infantry training.

Until this year Indonesian trainees here were given guerrilla and counterinsurgency courses.

Under the supervision of our Navy, 68 Indonesian trainees are assigned to various U.S. military schools in such career courses as naval aviation, oceanography, supply, electronics, engineering, motor transport, and the Navy command course. Another seven are in those elusive civic action courses.

Under the Air Force, there are 18 Indonesian trainees; 10 in air force career courses, and 8 in civic action.

In addition 38 Indonesian police are training in this Nation. Thirteen are taking police management and internal security courses at AID's International Police Academy right here in Washington. They get special instruction in traffic, patrolling, and railroad security—all handy things to know in a dictatorship.

Eighteen more Indonesian policemen are at U.S. military schools working in telecommunications maintenance, weapons and ammunition repair, Coast Guard organizations, maintenance and operation, search, rescue, maritime law enforcement, and military police organization and operations.

Three others are studying at private institutions in the field of telecommunications. One is studying police administration at the University of Southern California; three are taking courses here in Washington under that catch-all civic action heading.

While this U.S.-financed training goes on, our ally Malaysia is being invaded and British troops in the area killed by Indonesian military forces.

This would seem a good place for the Johnson administration to make a start at getting our foreign assistance programs out of the realm of the ridiculous and back to the realm of reason.

Of particular interest is the police training program administered by the Agency for International Development since 1954 and upon which, to date, American taxpayers have spent more than \$16 million.

AID blithely admits that the training is designed to increase the competence of the 110,000-man national police of Leftist-Dictator Sukarno. We are to help train the police officers, modernize their radio communications, update their transport facilities, and improve their supply system.

American taxpayers are footing the bill for this so that Sukarno will not lose control of his island nation. That is a priority set by our foreign assistance program. It could use some prompt rethinking.

Among the major items of equipment we have sent to Indonesia are 1,800 vehicles of all types, 53 small patrol craft for sea police, 5 small aircraft for air police, laboratory equipment in the amount of \$206,000, records and identification equipment in the amount of \$130,000, and investigative equipment to the tune of \$25,000.

Approximately \$2 million have been expended to provide a radio, teletype and telephone communication network giving Sukarno's police comprehensive coverage throughout the widespread nation.

Nothing quite appeals to a dictator like being able to keep in touch with his lieutenants throughout his oppressed nation.

Now Mr. President, I have been detailing here the folly of U.S. foreign assistance in but 1 of the 108 nations and territories which would get bits and pieces of our money under this year's program. Other Senators have mentioned other

places where shortcomings are equally obvious.

I hope the Senate will take this occasion to call for a reappraisal of foreign aid. This year's appropriation could be entirely cut out without affecting in the least the \$7 billion already available to AID. At the very least this year's appropriation can be cut by the 21 percent which has been the average yearly reduction by Congress over the 9 years of the program.

American foreign aid must be curtailed, then revised, then reapplied with reason. Unless it is, the Sukarnos will come home to haunt us.

In fact, Mr. Sukarno established diplomatic relations with North Vietnam on August 10 thus alining himself with the aggressor nation which so recently attacked our destroyers. This act alone should be enough to exclude him from any U.S. foreign aid and to eliminate from our military schools any of his officers and policemen.

Since it is unlikely that we shall undertake a reappraisal of foreign aid, we should adopt the amendment cutting off aid to Sukarno, who is engaging in hostile activity against a friendly ally.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD at this point two supporting letters.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., May 12, 1964.

HON. JOHN G. TOWER,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR TOWER: Thank you for your letter of April 28, requesting details and statistics on the training of Indonesian military and police personnel in the United States.

As of late April there were 187 Indonesian armed forces personnel training in the United States plus 40 police personnel, a total of 227 trainees. This figure differs from the figure of 280 recently cited by the Department. The latter figure was based on an earlier tabulation, subsequent to which there have been various course completions, withdrawals, and other personnel changes. The following is a breakdown of these trainees by branch of service and the type of training they are undergoing:

Army: A total of 94 trainees, of whom 33 are taking civilian management courses related to the Indonesian armed forces civic action program. The remaining 61 are scattered among a variety of regular military career courses, including engineering, adjutant general, finance, ordnance, armor, signal, medical, infantry, Woman's Army Corps, military police, chaplain, supply, quartermaster, transport, artillery, and Command and General Staff School. Aside from the 33 in the civic action program, the largest single number (8) is in various phases of infantry training. None of the trainees have been assigned to counterinsurgency courses since 1963.

Navy: A total of 75 trainees, of whom 7 are taking civic action courses. The remainder are assigned to various career courses such as naval aviation, oceanography, supply, electronics, engineering, motor transport, General Line School, Navy Command Course, etc. The Navy contingent includes both officers and enlisted men of the Indonesian Navy and Marine Corps.

Air Force: A total of 18 trainees, with 8 in civic action courses and the remainder taking various Air Force career courses.

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Police: Of the Indonesian National Police personnel now training in the United States, 13 are studying police management, operations, and internal security at AID's International Police Academy in Washington, D.C., with specialized training in traffic, instructor training, patrol operations in railroad security. Eighteen are taking training at U.S. military schools and installations in telecommunications maintenance; weapons/ammunition and repair; coast guard organizations, maintenance, and operation (search, rescue, and maritime law enforcement); and military police organization and operations.

These are studying at private institutions in the field of telecommunications. One is studying police administration at the University of Southern California. Three others are taking management courses in Washington, D.C., relating to Indonesia's civic action program.

None is being trained in guerrilla warfare or ranger tactics.

If I can be of further assistance to you in this matter, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. LEE,
Acting Assistant Secretary,
for Congressional Relations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
Washington, D.C., May 28, 1964.

HON. JOHN G. TOWER,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR TOWER: Mr. Frederick G. Dutton, Assistant Secretary, Department of State, informed you in his letter of April 27 that the Agency for International Development would reply to you regarding your request of April 20 on U.S. assistance to the National Police of Indonesia.

Following is a summary of the program: The program which began in fiscal year 1954 is now scheduled to terminate in fiscal year 1968. Project activities past and present have been to increase the competence of the 110,000-man national police in order that they can assume the principal role within the Government of Indonesia in maintaining internal security and preserving law and order.

This project is specifically designed to:

- (a) Increase civil police ability to control civil disturbances.
- (b) Continue improvement of faculty and staff for several police training schools; supply additional training aids; upgrade training facilities.
- (c) Develop a nationwide police telecommunications complex through increased training of management, operator, and maintenance personnel; construct additional building space to house equipment; provide limited commodity and spare parts support.
- (d) Improve transportation capability (air, sea, and land) through continued training of personnel, construction of supporting facilities, and providing limited commodity and spare parts support.
- (e) Continue assisting in the development of an efficient supply system necessary for proper support of police units throughout the archipelago. This will be accomplished by constructing a subdepot at Surabaya, and continuing emphasis on training in supply management.
- (f) Analyze police requests for assistance in the improvement of police-community relations and police capability in rural areas of Java and the outer islands. This particular project now has first priority in GOI police development plans and involves the allocation of GOI funds for police civil activities through the construction of rural police stations, provincial police schools, and housing facilities for police personnel.
- (g) Improve control of traffic and degree of police service to the population in major

urban areas and on principal highways of the country in terms of continued training, improved techniques, better personnel management, and providing vehicles and communications commodity support.

(h) Improve capability of police in maintenance of records, identification, and scientific crime detection by better management, continued training, and limited commodity support.

The foregoing activities have been selected for U.S. support since public order and internal security, including the prevention or the defeat of renewed Communist or other insurgency, are prerequisites to political stability and economic growth.

Generally viewed, the project is 60 percent complete. There are 15 U.S. Public Safety technicians in Indonesia at present.

Approximately 460 Indonesian participants have completed training in the United States, Philippines and Japan to date and there are 51 participants presently in training, 38 in the United States, and 13 in the Philippines. I believe the nature of this training has been furnished to you in another letter.

Through our U.S. advisers stationed in Indonesia, the United States has directly participated in course curriculums in in-country training programs involving 62,000 Indonesian policemen in 20 police training schools at the national and provincial levels. These courses involved training in supply, logistics, motor maintenance, equipment salvage and rehabilitation, telecommunication operation and repair, management practices, criminal identification and police records, public relations, control of juvenile delinquency, criminalistics, etc.

Major commodity items furnished to the police include 1,800 vehicles of all types, 53 patrol craft for the sea police, 5 small aircraft for the air police, crime laboratory equipment in the amount of \$206,000, records and identification equipment in the amount of \$130,000, and investigative equipment in the amount of \$25,000.

Approximately \$1,900,000 has been expended to provide a police telecommunication network giving comprehensive coverage throughout Indonesia. This communication system, through the base station in Djakarta, connects the national police headquarters with its provincial units via radio and teletype. In addition, a police radio patrol car system has been established in Djakarta and a highway patrol is in operation between the major cities of Java.

Another major accomplishment has been the development by the police with the help of U.S. advisers of a police supply and maintenance system which is considered to be one of the most efficient in use in southeast Asia. This has contributed to a continuing acceptable level of care and utilization of U.S.-furnished commodities.

Due to the present confrontation with Malaysia, commodity assistance has been sharply curtailed, including suspension of delivery of weapons and ammunition since October 5, 1963.

The cost to the United States from the beginning of the program in fiscal year 1954 through fiscal year 1963 is \$16,474,000, which includes \$2,700,000 currently suspended.

If I can be of further assistance to you in this matter, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

CRAIG RAUPE,
Director, Congressional Liaison Staff.

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

Mr. TOWER. I yield.

Mr. KEATING. As the Senator from Texas has stated, this has been a matter of interest to me for a long time. I have had rather extensive and somewhat unsatisfactory correspondence with the Department of State on this subject.

Mr. TOWER. I am well aware of a Senator's activities in this field, and I am grateful to him for the groundwork he has done on it.

Mr. KEATING. I thank the Senator. It seems to me it makes no sense whatever for us to be training Indonesian soldiers in this country to enable them to be ready to fight against Malaysia, which is a friendly country and is using American taxpayers' dollars for this purpose.

Every Member of the Senate knows that I have been a supporter of the foreign aid program over the years. The distinguished Senator from Texas and I have some differences of opinion as to the program generally. But I am not sure that we should cut off all aid to Indonesia. I believe some Indonesian students are studying in the United States. Perhaps that is desirable. It is the training of military personnel that seems to me absolutely indefensible.

The American people should know about this. I had a hard time getting information from the Department of State on this subject. I received much double-talk in their first replies.

I first learned from a constituent that the United States was training Indonesian soldiers in this country. I could not believe it, so I asked the State Department whether we were. They replied, in effect, that we are trying to maintain good relations with all countries. Their reply was in 2 pages.

I wrote back, saying, "I agree with that purpose, but I want to know whether the United States is training Indonesian soldiers in this country at taxpayers' expense, to the tune of 270 persons.

The State Department replied and said the number was not 270; it was 280; and that several of them were being trained in counterinsurgency. The Department calls it counterinsurgency, which is a fancy word for guerrilla warfare.

Mr. President, such a program makes no sense. It is completely indefensible. I am sure that that has been recognized now, because I have received more recently a letter from the Department of Defense dated July 22, 1964, signed by Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester. In his letter, Mr. Sylvester wrote:

As of the end of April 1964, there were 187 Indonesian armed forces personnel training in the United States, plus 40 police personnel, a total of 227 trainees. This figure was reduced to a total of 103 trainees by June 15.

I am happy to note the reduction.

Thereafter, a question about the 103 trainees was raised on the floor of the Senate.

If I might make a suggestion to the distinguished Senator from Texas, I believe that his amendment would be strengthened if wherever the phrase "Indonesian nationals" appears it were changed to "Indonesian military or police personnel." So far as I am aware, they are the only ones who are receiving training at U.S. military schools or bases, or any other U.S. Government facilities.

I understand that some civilians are receiving training under contract with private institutions or facilities. As to

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them, I should say there is a greater question about cutting off assistance.

I wonder if the argument of the Senator from Texas is not directed primarily to what I have been fighting; namely, military and police personnel.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I am grateful to the Senator from New York for offering this modification. I think it will enhance the amendment. I am pleased to accept the modification suggested by him. I ask unanimous consent that my amendment may be so modified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is modified.

Mr. KEATING. I thank the Senator from Texas. I believe his amendment is not open to any possible criticism. If our foreign aid program is to be used to advance the interests of our foreign policy, it should certainly not be used, even though only a relatively small amount is involved, for the purpose of training soldiers who, we know, will be engaged in activities against our allies and who, we now know, are threatening aggression against a neighbor—Malaysia.

I sincerely hope that the amendment as modified will be adopted.

There are some inconsistencies in our foreign policy that cannot be tolerated—specifically, providing aid to an active aggressor, Indonesia, with our left hand, while assisting its victims, Malaysia, with our right. Such action violates the anti-aggression provision of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1963, which specifically provides that:

No assistance shall be provided under this or any other act, and no sales shall be made under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, to any country which the President determines is engaging in or preparing for aggressive military efforts directed against * * * any country receiving assistance under this or any other act.

Unfortunately this language has been totally ignored by the executive agencies of our Government.

Last September, when President Sukarno, of Indonesia, unleashed his guerrilla and regular troops against the new Federation of Malaysia, the United States found itself in the embarrassing and irresponsible position of betting on both sides.

While Indonesian guerrillas were killing the defenders of Malaysia's borders at the rate of 30 per month, the United States continued to train Indonesian military and police officials in our military training centers. The Department of State reluctantly admitted this to me after a lengthy exchange of correspondence this spring.

I asked about this training of aggressors in several letters to the State Department, and in mid-April received a reply which indicated that 178 of the 280 Indonesian military and police personnel being trained in the United States were indeed taking military courses; 7 of these had recently completed counterinsurgency courses at Fort Bragg. "The course they attended," I was assured by the Department of State, "was not guerrilla warfare, but counterinsurgency." Frankly, the distinction between counterinsurgency and guerrilla train-

ing is pretty thin. For in order to train Indonesians to counter guerrilla warfare, we obviously had to teach them the methods of guerrillas. What was to prevent Sukarno from enlisting the counterinsurgency know-how of his soldiers recently graduated from Fort Bragg in his aggression against Malaysia?

In response to continued pressure on my part, the Defense Department has recently informed me that only 103 of the original 280 Indonesian Armed Forces and police personnel remained in the United States as of June 15. However, despite this improvement, our position is untenable as long as a single Indonesian military man receives American training in military activities or organization. I request unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks the text of the letter be printed in the RECORD.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, more than 400 Indonesians have been killed or captured by Malaysian defenders of North Borneo and Sarawak since the start of 1964. Captured Indonesian documents leave no doubt about the fact that this subversive campaign is directed by Indonesian Regular Army officers, acting on the directives of President Sukarno. Sukarno stated on May 1 his intention to step up guerrilla activities aimed at crushing the Federation of Malaysia. And on June 25, the Soviet Union's troubleshooter, First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, announced that the U.S.S.R. was supplying Sukarno with modern weapons and Soviet personnel to train his troops to use them in the struggle with their "neocolonialist" neighbor, Malaysia.

Nevertheless, \$9.8 million is requested for AID's technical assistance program for Indonesia in fiscal year 1965's program, plus an unspecified sum of military assistance in the form of training. The program for use of military assistance funds has not been divulged.

The United States should not support the army of a government that commits aggression against its neighbors. Sukarno's excuse for his vow to crush Malaysia is that the Malaysian Federation of 10 million people threatens his nation of 100 million; his real reason for aggression is the traditional mad ambition characteristic of dictators like Mussolini, Hitler, and now Nasser, to distract a poverty-ridden, badly governed people's attention from their own plight—and to keep happy the well-fed army of 350,000 that comprises the armed support of the Sukarno regime.

Both supporters and opponents of the foreign aid program realize that we cannot make friends everywhere, but we must also realize that we can actually do great damage by helping to shore up regimes fundamentally opposed to the principles of international peace and order. To provide aid to the military and police personnel of a nation actively committed to the destruction of a free nation cannot possibly be reconciled either with our own principles or those of the United Nations.

Moreover, to think that \$9.8 million or \$43 million or \$150 million will convert the men on Sukarno's payroll to democracy is mere illusion. The current program of aid to Indonesia is admittedly a small effort; but of what value is it at all? Could not these funds slated for Indonesia's militarists under the military assistance program, be put to better use in a peace-loving nation that would use it for the benefit of the people, rather than the dictators?

Mr. President, I support the Senator's amendment if it is modified to apply only to Indonesian military and police personnel and not to bona fide civilian students, doctors, engineers and so on. I think it is a fine idea to expose Indonesian civilians to U.S. life and ideas, but I can see no justification for U.S. aid to train the Indonesian military or police forces in more efficient forms of aggression or repression.

EXHIBIT 1

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., July 22, 1964.

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KEATING: This is in reference to your recent communication in behalf of a constituent who raises a number of questions concerning the training of Indonesian military personnel in the United States and Exercise Desert Strike.

As of the end of April 1964, there were 187 Indonesian armed forces personnel training in the United States, plus 40 police personnel, a total of 227 trainees. This figure was reduced to a total of 103 trainees by June 15.

A number of these trainees have been taking civilian management courses relating to the Indonesian armed forces civic action program. The remaining personnel have been scattered among a variety of regular military career courses, including engineering, adjutant general, finance, ordnance, medical, chaplain, women's army corps, quartermaster, transport, etc. None of the Indonesian military trainees have been assigned to counterinsurgency courses (including guerrilla warfare training at Fort Bragg) since 1963.

The provision of military training for Indonesian military personnel has been of mutual benefit to the United States and Indonesia. It has provided both countries an opportunity to remain in close contact and is a vehicle for the exchange of ideas.

With respect to Exercise Desert Strike, only a small number of foreign observers were present at the exercise and they represented friendly allied nations.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR SYLVESTER.

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

Mr. TOWER. I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to support the amendment as modified. I have been actively critical of Mr. Sukarno in particular for some time, having delivered a speech on the floor of the Senate on this subject on November 1, 1963. Almost immediately thereafter, I made another speech about him on November 15, following a protest by the Ambassador from Indonesia about my verbiage in connection with Mr. Sukarno in my first speech. I did not withdraw the comments I had made.

Mr. Sukarno is an interesting person. His background is not often outlined for

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us. It is most difficult for me to understand why the United States is supporting Mr. Sukarno and his Government. I should like to detail a little of his background, so that we will know what we are talking about. A fuller explanation is contained in my speech of November 15, 1963, at page 20850 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

At the time most of us were fighting the Japanese and the Nazis in World War II, Mr. Sukarno was holding down the important post of general political adviser to the Japanese Military Government, in Indonesia. He is a fine type of person to have immediately picked up as a supporter.

While he was engaged in that work, he turned 2 million of his own countrymen over to the Japanese to be treated, in the words of Major General Willoughby, who was then chief of our intelligence in that area, like "coolie slaves."

One of Sukarno's chief tasks was to try to get the Indonesians engaged in a greater war effort against the free world. In this effort, one of his slogans was: "We shall flatten out America." Another was: "We shall overturn England."

In 1944, Sukarno organized a really big anti-American rally in Djakarta. A caption under photographs of pictures being burned by Sukarno read: "Roosevelt, Churchill Condemned."

In 1945, Sukarno decided he was not on the winning side, so he jumped over and joined the Russians. This man is not a great idealistic leader. He is an opportunist of the first order, one who tries to keep himself in power. He jumped over and asked Stalin for support.

In 1949, when he became President of Indonesia, he was awarded the Order of Lenin by the Russians. According to his own statement, he said, "This means I am a Communist of the highest order." It is reported that he said this with a chortle. Whether that was meant as entertainment or as self-satisfaction, I am not certain.

Sukarno has, of course, endorsed the Communist Party in Indonesia as a major participant in his Government. The Communist Party in Indonesia at the present time is the largest Communist Party outside the all-Communist nations.

It is interesting, strategically speaking, to look at that section of the world and see what is happening. We are engaged in an effort to assist the people of South Vietnam to control their own Government and to be able to control their own lives.

From the north, with the aid and assistance of Red China and the North Vietnamese, come guerrillas moving down through the peninsula onto the great land mass of Asia. While they are doing that, in come the Russians from the other side.

Those who are supposed to be friendly to us are moving into Indonesia. They supply armaments to Indonesia to make the country strong in its military forces in the entire Asian area. Indonesia, in turn, is moving against Malaysia, so there is a vast pincer movement coming

in from both sides, one supported by the Red Chinese, and the other supported by the Russian Communists.

Both sides are trying to gain control of the area of southeast Asia which, if effective, would effectively cut us off from any opportunity to save that portion of the world for the free world, and would substantially place in danger our perennial and longtime allies, New Zealand and Australia.

So I would say to the Senate that from a purely strategic military position, we are dealing with a crucial area of the world. To have us give money or training to the military forces of Indonesia, which are largely using Russian weapons in order to continue their aggressive efforts, so far as I am concerned, is nothing but a complete denial of our own purpose and principle in Asia.

Last year, when the amendment was before the Senate, we were well assured that only a modicum of aid would be continued to Indonesia, that in fact no new programs were being authorized, and we really did not have to worry about it. Yet, I am told, the President of the United States has publicly stated that it is in the interest of the United States to continue giving aid to the Indonesian people.

Apparently, we are trying to use the "carrot on the stick" approach, because from time to time our Ambassador, in an effort to do something over there, has indicated that perhaps our aid should not be continued.

Mr. President, I hold in my hand an article published in the Washington Post of March 26, 1964, entitled "Go to Hell With Your Aid," Sukarno Tells United States."

If Sukarno wishes to tell us that, so far as I am concerned, there is no reason to conclude that his island is any worse than where he is telling us to send our aid—or any better, for that matter. I would as soon keep our money in the United States.

Mr. TOWER. We might get a greater return from it if we sent the money to the place Mr. Sukarno recommends.

Mr. DOMINICK. I agree with the Senator from Texas.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD.

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

"GO TO HELL WITH YOUR AID," SUKARNO TELLS UNITED STATES

DJAKARTA, March 25.—President Sukarno, of Indonesia, today told the United States to "go to hell with your aid" and said his country would not collapse without foreign assistance.

Sukarno, speaking at the laying of a stone for a 14-story building here, pointed to American Ambassador Howard P. Jones, laughed and said:

"There is one country threatening to stop its foreign aid to Indonesia. That country thinks it can scare Indonesia. I say go to hell with your aid."

Sukarno said "Indonesia is rich in natural resources. Indonesia is rich in manpower with its 103 million inhabitants—not like Malaysia with 10 million."

Sukarno's reference to Malaysia drew a sharp burst of applause from an estimated 2,000 persons who attended the ceremony.

Sukarno's speech followed by 1 day a statement by U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk in Washington that the United States would not give any new aid to Indonesia until the Malaysia dispute was settled.

Sukarno interrupted his speech to ask Jones in a loud voice, "When was that you wanted to stop your aid?"

Jones did not answer the President's question and only smiled and nodded his head.

(In Bangkok, Thailand, Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio today said his government has accepted with certain conditions a formula by the Philippines to settle the Malaysian dispute. He said the reply was communicated to the Filipinos and it was up to them to publish it.)

(The original formula called for the phased withdrawal of Indonesian guerrillas from Malaysian Borneo, the simultaneous opening of political discussions at the ministerial level, and a heads of government summit meeting between Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines.)

Mr. DOMINICK. Page 184 of the hearings on the list under technical assistance program, indicates that fairly substantial projects are still under construction or still in process of being completed in Indonesia, to the total, so far as the RECORD shows, of \$24 million.

It reports that in fiscal 1964, under the proposal mutual defense and development program, there will be a continuation of limited technical assistance activity in the amount of \$9.5 million.

In addition, there is, of course, the military program. Unfortunately, the hearings do not reveal what the particular programs are, because for some reason or other, a security angle seems to be involved. I have a hard time seeing what it is, in view of what has already been said on the floor of the Senate. At any rate, the hearing record, on page 515, on the bottom of the page, clearly shows that we are continuing training programs with regard to the military in Indonesia.

It seems difficult for me, or for any normal American citizen, to see any valid reason for the United States deliberately to spend U.S. taxpayer funds to support a dictator with a large Communist backing who is aggressively attacking one of our pro-Western neutral countries in that area—namely, Malaysia.

It seems almost more difficult to understand this, when he has already told us what we can do with our aid.

Mr. TOWER. Does it not seem to be inconsistent to the Senator from Colorado that very often the United States supports far rightwing dictators as well as leftwing dictatorships?

Mr. DOMINICK. I agree that it has seemed to be governed that way during the past few years, and perhaps even before that. I cannot understand why we support any dictatorship of the right or the left which is actively trying to impose its power on people outside its geographical boundaries. It seems to me that that is just so wholly wrong that it is ridiculous to support them with taxpayers' money.

Mr. TOWER. Does the Senator feel that there is any valid claim that Indonesia could lay to the territory of Malaysia?

Mr. DOMINICK. None at all, so far as I know. I understand that they are doing it on the basis that Malaysia is an extension of British imperialism. What

they are really in effect saying is that they are using the word "imperialism" as a method to eliminate self-government and to impose their will on a neighboring people.

There are some more instances which I believe are quite interesting. A good portion of the record should be laid before the Senate. The idea with respect to Malaysia, of course, is well known. I do not believe that anyone would dispute the validity of it at this point, in view of the fact that the British have had to put a number of support troops into Malaysia to keep the Indonesians out.

The interesting thing about some of our aid programs is that we give economic aid, over the protests of many Senators to Indonesia, in order to try to prevent inflation.

What happens?

Immediately, Sukarno comes in and buys 3 Convairs and flies all over the world, telling everyone what a great fellow he is, taking his girl friends and his advisers with him. Why he does it, he does not say, so far as any sensible program is concerned, designed to be of assistance either to the self-determination of peoples or to free world ideals. Yet we continue to spend American taxpayers' funds in order to support a dictator of this kind.

I thoroughly and wholeheartedly support the amendment of the Senator from Texas.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

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

Mr. DOMINICK. I have yielded the floor. The Senator can obtain the floor in his own right.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

Mr. MORSE. Let me say to the Senator from Texas that I shall support his amendment. For years, I have opposed foreign aid to any dictatorship, either right or left. I have opposed giving support to the so-called presidential escape clause in the foreign aid bill. I happen to believe that Congress has the duty, under our checks and balances system, to appropriate money or not appropriate money without giving to a President arbitrary, discretionary power to give foreign aid to dictatorships because he might decide it to be in our national interest to do so.

In case of any emergency, the President can always lay his case before Congress and secure enactment of legislation, if in the wisdom of Congress it should be granted to him. There is the great danger which I have argued for so many years on the floor of the Senate, of weakening our system of coordinate and coequal branches of government by building up, step by step, more and more of a government by executive supremacy.

If we do not stop it, we shall jeopardize the freedoms and liberties of the American people, because if we develop a system of government by executive supremacy we will lose the effectiveness of legislative checks and controls. We need to be on guard, from the standpoint of

the abstract principle of our Government, without reference to any given President to stop this trend toward government by presidential supremacy. My objection has nothing to do with the particular individual who occupies the White House. It is bad from the standpoint of protecting our constitutional system.

Therefore, I shall support the amendment of the Senator from Texas. Sukarno is a corrupt and dangerous dictator. Not 1 cent of taxpayers' dollar should be made available to him. The President should be denied any discretion to grant Sukarno a dollar unless each dollar is specifically approved by Congress. This amendment seeks to cut Sukarno off from all foreign aid. I have urged that action for 3 years and I am glad to vote for the Tower amendment.

Mr. JAVITS subsequently said: Mr. President, I wish to state my reasons for voting "no" on the amendment on aid to Indonesia. I am very well aware of the activities of the Sukarno regime and disapprove as fully as anyone in this Chamber of the continued inspired guerrilla activities against Malaysia and any identity of interest with the North Vietnamese. I join with my colleagues in condemning unreservedly any support extended by the Sukarno regime to the enemies of freedom in south and southeast Asia. It is for these very reasons that I do not wish to see an absolute cut-off of any hope of saving Indonesia from being devoured by the Communists. It certainly may be personally gratifying to be able to denounce activities I consider so inimical to the free world by voting for this amendment. But it is too high a price to pay to contribute to cutting off any hope that Indonesia can be saved from the Communists by tying the President's hands as this amendment would do in respect of any operation in Indonesia no matter how it might appeal to the U.S. Government as being helpful in in checkmating Communist influences there—this is most unwise in my judgment. We should aid, not cut off whatever effort we may be able to make to maintain our free world position which is so critically important. By cutting off this aid completely, we are denied any such opportunity. I would not wish wittingly to do that, as I believe that is against our interest in the struggle for freedom and peace in the world.

I thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I hope it will be possible to come to the vote requested by the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] very shortly.

The present amendment provides, as has been brought out in the debate so far:

No assistance under this Act shall be furnished to Indonesia unless the President determines that the furnishing of such assistance is essential to the national interests of the United States. The President shall keep the Foreign Relations Committee, and the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives fully and currently informed of any assistance furnished to Indonesia under this Act.

There is not much more that I can say. The amendment was brought for-

ward largely, I believe, through the efforts of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Proxmire] and other Senators. The issue is drawn. The distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] wants to go a good deal further and drop everything absolutely and completely.

It is my belief that the President should have a small degree of flexibility, at least.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, there is one reason why I believe the amendment of my distinguished friend from Texas ought not to be defeated.

It is now roughly two months since the distinguished leader in Indonesia, Mr. Sukarno, stated publicly to all the world—and it was carried by every wire service—that, "The United States can go to hell with its aid."

What was in my mind at the time was that probably that was the only country that was not receiving aid. But if Sukarno does not want it, and if he wants us to go to hell with our aid, I shall be the last one under any circumstance to force it on him, or to even put in the hands of the President the authority to force it on him.

Sukarno left no doubt as to where he stood. All the world knows it. And this is one time that we can be exceptionally selective and take the leader at his word when he tells us to go to hell with our foreign aid.

I shall take him at his word. I shall vote for the amendment of the distinguished Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower].

The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Byrd], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Walters], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Anderson], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], are absent because of illness.

I further announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon], is necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Goldwater] is detained on official business.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson] is detained on official committee business, and, if present and voting, would vote "yea."

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Saltonstall] is necessarily absent, and, if present and voting, would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 62, nays 28, as follows:

[No. 543 Leg.]
YEAS—62

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| Aiken | Fong | Moss |
| Allott | Gruening | Mundt |
| Bayh | Hartke | Nelson |
| Beall | Hickenlooper | Pearson |
| Bennett | Hill | Prouty |
| Bible | Hruska | Proxmire |
| Boggs | Jackson | Randolph |
| Burdick | Johnston | Ribicoff |
| Byrd, W. Va. | Jordan, N.C. | Robertson |
| Case | Jordan, Idaho | Russell |
| Church | Keating | Scott |
| Cooper | Kuchel | Simpson |
| Cotton | Long, Mo. | Smith |
| Curtis | Long, La. | Stennis |
| Dirksen | Magnuson | Symington |
| Dodd | McClellan | Talmadge |
| Dominick | McIntyre | Thurmond |
| Douglas | Mechem | Tower |
| Eastland | Miller | Williams, Del. |
| Ellender | Morse | Young, N. Dak. |
| Ervin | Morton | |

NAYS—28

- | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Bartlett | Inouye | Neuberger |
| Brewster | Javits | Pastore |
| Clark | Mansfield | Pell |
| Edmondson | McCarthy | Salinger |
| Fulbright | McGee | Sparkman |
| Gore | McGovern | Williams, N.J. |
| Hart | McNamara | Yarborough |
| Hayden | Metcalf | Young, Ohio |
| Holland | Monroney | |
| Humphrey | Muskie | |

NOT VOTING—10

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------|
| Anderson | Goldwater | Smathers |
| Byrd, Va. | Kennedy | Walters |
| Cannon | Lausche | |
| Carlson | Saltonstall | |

So Mr. Tower's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I move

to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending business is the bill itself, which is open to amendment. The amendment of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] is pending.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment for printing—

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the pending business is the amendment of the Senator from Illinois. I would like, with the permission of the Senate, to call up certain measures on the calendar to which there is no objection, and dispose of them.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield for that purpose.

THE CALENDAR

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the following measures on the calendar were considered and acted upon, as indicated:

ELFRIEDE UNTERHOLZER SHARBLE

The bill (H.R. 1174) for the relief of Elfriede Unterholzer Sharble was con-

sidered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate consider the measures on the calendar beginning with Calendar No. 1306, Senate bill 2981, and the remaining measures in sequence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE AND FIREMEN'S SALARY ACT OF 1958

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2981) to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958, as amended, to increase salaries, to adjust pay alignment, and for other purposes, which has been reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

TITLE I—SALARY INCREASES FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICEMEN AND FIREMEN

Sec. 101. Section 101 of the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958 (72 Stat. 481), as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 101. The annual rates of basic compensation of the officers and members of the Metropolitan Police force and the Fire Department of the District of Columbia shall be fixed in accordance with the following schedule of rates:

"SALARY SCHEDULE

"Salary class and title	Service step						Longevity step		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Class 1:									
Subclass (a).....	\$6,010	\$6,330	\$6,650	\$6,970	\$7,290	\$7,610	\$7,930	\$8,250	\$8,570
Fire private.									
Police private.									
Subclass (b).....	6,300	6,620	6,940	7,260	7,580	7,900	8,220	8,540	8,860
Private assigned as:									
Technician I.									
Plainclothesman. ¹									
Subclass (c).....	6,500	6,910	7,230	7,550	7,870	8,190	8,510	8,830	9,150
Private assigned as:									
Technician II.									
Station clerk.									
Motorcycle officer.									
Class 2:									
Subclass (a).....	7,290	7,610	7,930	8,250			8,570	8,890	9,210
Fire inspector.									
Subclass (b).....	7,580	7,900	8,220	8,540			8,860	9,180	9,500
Fire inspector assigned as:									
Technician I.									
Subclass (c).....	7,870	8,190	8,510	8,830			9,150	9,470	9,790
Fire inspector assigned as:									
Technician II.									
Class 3.....	7,900	8,220	8,540	8,860			9,180	9,500	9,820
Assistant marine engineer.									
Assistant pilot.									
Detective.									
Class 4:									
Subclass (a).....	8,185	8,505	8,825	9,145			9,465	9,785	10,105
Fire sergeant.									
Police sergeant.									
Subclass (b).....	8,655	8,975	9,295	9,615			9,935	10,255	10,575
Detective sergeant.									
Subclass (c).....	8,765	9,085	9,405	9,725			10,045	10,365	10,685
Police sergeant assigned as:									
Motorcycle officer.									
Class 5.....	10,000	10,400	10,800	11,200			11,600	12,000	
Fire lieutenant.									
Police lieutenant.									
Detective lieutenant.									
Class 6.....	11,000	11,400	11,800	12,200			12,600	13,000	
Marine engineer.									
Pilot.									
Class 7.....	12,000	12,500	13,000	13,500			14,000	14,500	
Fire captain.									
Police captain.									
Detective captain.									
Class 8.....	14,000	14,500	15,000	15,500			16,000	16,500	
Assistant superintendent of machinery.									
Battalion fire chief.									
Deputy fire marshal.									
Police inspector.									

Footnote at end of table.