

September 13, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

22623

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"(4) The expenses of the sale of the residence (or the settlement of an unexpired lease) of the officer or employee at the old official station and purchase of a home at the new official station required to be paid by him when the old and new official stations are located within the United States (including the District of Columbia), its territories and possessions, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the Canal Zone, but reimbursement for brokerage fees on the sale of the residence shall not exceed such fees as are customarily charged in the locality where the residence is located and no reimbursement shall be made for losses on the sale of the residence. This provision applies regardless of whether the title to the residence or the unexpired lease is in the name of the officer or employee alone, in the joint names of the officer or employee and a member of his immediate family, or in the name of a member of his immediate family alone.

"Sec. 24. Under such regulations as the President may prescribe and to the extent deemed necessary and appropriate, as provided therein, and notwithstanding other reimbursement authorized under this Act, an officer or employee who is reimbursed under section 1(a) or section 23 of this Act shall, if he has an immediate family, receive an amount equal to two weeks' basic compensation, or, if he does not have an immediate family, an amount equal to one week's basic compensation: *Provided*, That such amounts shall not exceed amounts determined from the maximum rate of grade GS-13 in the General Schedule of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended.

"Sec. 25. Under such regulations as the President may prescribe—

"(a) Whenever any civilian officer or employee (including any new appointee in accordance with section 7(b) of this Act, as amended) is assigned to a permanent duty station at an isolated location in the continental United States, excluding Alaska, to which he cannot take or at which he is unable to use his household goods and personal effects because of the absence of residence quarters at such location, nontemporary storage expenses or storage at Government expense in Government-owned facilities (including related transportation and other expenses), whichever is more economical, may be allowed such officer or employee under regulations issued by the head of the Executive Department or agency concerned. In no instance shall the weight of the property stored under this subsection, together with the weight transported under section 1 or section 7(b) of this Act, exceed the total maximum weight the officer or employee would be entitled to have moved, and the period of nontemporary storage shall not exceed three years.

"(b) This section does not authorize reimbursement to officers and employees traveling under orders issued more than sixty days prior to the effective date of this section.

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authorized in connection with transfers to foreign countries, and under sections 23 and 24 of this Act may be paid in whole or in part by the department from which the officer or employee is transferred or by the department to which he is transferred, as may be agreed upon by the heads of the departments concerned.

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"Sec. 28. Notwithstanding the provisions of subsections (a) and (b) of section 1, and of sections 23, 24, 25, and 27 of this Act, the travel and transportation expenses, including storage of household goods and personal effects, and other relocation allowances shall not be allowed thereunder when a civilian officer or employee is transferred within the continental United States, excluding Alaska, unless and until such officer or employee shall agree in writing to remain in the Government service for twelve months following his transfer, unless separated for reasons beyond his control and acceptable to the department or agency concerned. In case of violation of such agreement, any moneys expended by the United States under said sections of this Act on account of such officer or employee shall be recoverable from him as a debt due the United States."

Sec. 3. Regulations under this Act shall be prescribed within ninety days following the date of enactment but shall be retroactive to such date.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes under the bill to the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

### NEO-NAZISM 20 YEARS AFTER HITLER

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, 20 years have now passed since Hitler's suicide and Mussolini's sordid end. Yet their ghosts continue to roam the world and even haunt us in the flesh in the persons of literally hundreds of neo-Nazi and other extremist groups whose racist ideas and political themes recurrently gain currency and apparent respectability. A whole new generation has grown up since the end of World War II—a generation which never knew Hitler and has no personal experience of the horror and holocaust that Nazi ideas brought to Europe and the world. And if, as has been said, each generation must win its freedom anew, then it is not untimely to remind this new generation—as well as the old, again that those who claim the tragic tradition of the murder of liberty and of freemen are still abroad in the world and are still circulating their poisons of hate and fear and violence with strong determination and sometimes widening acceptability in many areas of the world.

Mr. President, the American Jewish Committee has just published an extensive report on neo-Nazi activities in Europe on the 20th anniversary of the end of Hitlerism. It concludes that the

hundreds of neo-Nazi parties and splinter groups organized throughout Europe in the late 1940's and early 1950's may have lost members and strength during the past decade but their racist ideas and political views recently have been gaining "currency and prestige."

The report describes two major anti-Semitic campaigns carried on by these groups—one undercover and one open. The former, often in alliance with Arab league groups, seeks to prevent adoption by the Ecumenical Council of any declaration making clear the opposition of the Catholic Church to anti-Semitism and repudiating charges of Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus. The open campaign is a constant drive to establish that the Nazi murder of 6 million Jews is only "a fable," and that the casualties are exaggerated.

Mr. President, this report deserves wide currency and careful reading by all who love liberty and who understand that its price is eternal vigilance—against the forces of extremism, whether of the left or of the right, that preach hate instead of love, violence instead of justice, fear instead of courage, and war instead of peace. The American Jewish Committee, its author, has pioneered in the protection of Jewish and other rights throughout the world and has done many other illuminating studies of human relations and extremism. I ask unanimous consent that the report entitled "Neo-Nazism Twenty Years After Hitler" be printed in the RECORD.

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

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Twenty years after Hitler's suicide in a Berlin bunker and Mussolini's ignoble end, a spate of small fry Fuehrers and would-be Duces still strive to promote new European orders patterned on the Nazi and Fascist regimes.

In Austria and Germany, Belgium and Scandinavia, Italy, France and Great Britain, dozens of leaders avidly seek primacy among the scores of neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist organizations, cultural societies, bands, fronts, and internationals that have sprung up, splintered, merged, dissolved, disappeared and reemerged in postwar Europe since World War II. Some have achieved international notoriety; others are virtually unknown. Some brazenly sport brown shirts and swastikas; others are more subtle. Some openly spout their racist and totalitarian ideologies; others seek the cover of respectability. Almost all prophesy disaster—tragedy for their nation or ethnic group, or submergence of the white race by black or yellow hordes—unless their programs are adopted.

Perhaps their most significant accomplishment has been the ability of these groups to survive. Despite the revulsion against them in once-occupied lands, the continuing search for war criminals and bans on anti-democratic organizations in Germany, Austria, and Italy, these elements have managed to continue functioning and to develop ways of cooperating with one another.

#### THE NEO-NAZI WORLD SURVIVES

In West Germany, according to a Government report, there were 119 Nazi-like organizations at the end of 1964.<sup>1</sup> In Austria, over 40 such groups were formed in the late

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*Anti-Semitism*  
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22625

and Israel. UIRD also reports that Gerhard Frey, editor of NZ, was promised financial help from Nasser when they met in 1964; and that Wilhelm Landig, editor of the anti-Semitic Europa Korrespondenz in Austria, also receives support from Nasser.

In 1962, British papers reported an agreement between an Egyptian military attaché in London, Colonel Shazly, and British Nazis, Colin Jordan and John Tyndall, to distribute some 15,000 pounds worth of anti-Semitic materials.

In May 1965, Swedish authorities cracked down on an antigovernment group conducting an espionage network to supply the United Arab Republic with information about the Israel Embassy and Swedish Jewish organizations and personalities. The newspaper, Expressen, whose revelations led to government action, carried a transcript of a tape recording between the so-called fuhrer of the neo-Nazi group, Bjoern Lundahl, and a representative of the United Arab Republic, together with a photostat of Lundahl's membership card in the Ku Klux Klan.

#### TWO ANTI-SEMITIC CAMPAIGNS

During the last few years, Europe's neo-Nazis have concentrated on two major propaganda campaigns, one open, the other covert.

The first drive seeks to minimize the number of Jews murdered by the Hitler regime by insisting that the figure of 6 million Jewish dead is only a fable. Jewish losses for all reasons, it is argued in numerous articles and leaflets, totaled just over 1 million. "By ceaselessly invoking this figure of 6 million of victims," declares France's Rivarol, "they [the Jews] strive to maintain a guilt complex among Germans, so as to profit financially."

For scientific proof, neo-Nazis depend mainly on the writings of Paul Rassinier, a former Socialist deputy later expelled from the party. Himself a camp internee, Rassinier is the author of "Ulysses Betrayed by His Own," published by Henri Coston, a notorious French anti-Semite.

Besides the campaign to blot out the Jewish dead, a far more insidious drive has been waged to prevent the Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church from adopting a proposed declaration eliminating the centuries-old decide cahard against the Jews.

In 1962, during the Council's first session, each of the 2,300 church fathers assembled in Rome found in his personal box a privately printed, 764-page Italian book entitled "Complotto Contro la Chiesa" ("The Plot Against the Church"), by Maurice Pinay, a pseudonym. A lengthy rehash of the anti-Semitic libels in the so-called Protocols of the Elders of Zion, this was a clumsy attempt to develop resistance to any Council statement concerning Jews. Though its very crudeness lessened its effectiveness, the volume was privately reprinted in Spain in the German language, apparently without government authorization, and sent to Austria and Germany. The distribution evoked a Bonn Government protest to Madrid.

Three more anonymous anti-Jewish pamphlets have appeared since the first Council session, one claiming justification in theology for the decide charge, the others asserting that Cardinal Bea, chief of the secretariat for Christian unity, is of Jewish origin, and that the entire secretariat has been infiltrated by Jews.

At its last session, the Ecumenical Council adopted in principle a declaration rejecting the decide accusation against Jews past and present, and enjoining teachers and preachers to spurn ideas that might foster hostility against Jews. Since then, intensive meetings of rightist groups have taken place on this subject in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany. Undoubtedly, new propaganda pieces will be issued in the months ahead.

The Arab League and the Nasser government are known to be exerting strong political pressures to prevent the declaration's final adoption. There are also reports that

European businessmen are being asked to use their influence against the declaration, on the ground that it would hamper trade with the Arab world.

#### THE INTERNATIONALS

Although informal cooperation goes on among right-radical groups in different countries, personal jealousies, overweening egos, and differences about strategy and tactics have thwarted all endeavors to create a single international. Thus, while American neo-Nazi George Rockwell and British neo-Nazi Colin Jordan may lay claim to the title of "fuhrer" of a World Union of National Socialists, there is no evidence that England's Oswald Mosley, Jean Thirart of Belgium's Jeune Europe, Sweden's neo-Nazi theoretician Per Engdahl or others of their ilk pay any attention to these claims.

The first move to set up an international took place in May 1951, at Malmö, Sweden, following a preliminary 1950 gathering in Rome, where the Duce's oldest daughter, Anna Maria Mussolini, was a featured speaker. Initiator of the 1951 meeting was Per Engdahl, a 20-year veteran of totalitarian-oriented movements, and head of the New Movement of the Swedish Opposition.

Both the time and the place seemed propitious. Since Sweden had never been occupied by the Germans it had no legislation barring neo-Nazi activities. Nor was there any intense revulsion against those who had espoused the Nazi cause. The 30-odd neo-Nazis from 14 lands meeting in the pleasant little city across the strait from Copenhagen were also encouraged by signs of a fairly strong, well-directed neo-Nazi party emerging in West Germany, the significant number of votes polled by Italy's Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) and the fact that Petainists in France were reasserting themselves.

Out of the Malmö Conference came the European Social Movement, with plans for a secretariat in Trieste, a press service and youth affiliates. But some participants soon decided that the new organization was not sufficiently anti-Semitic or activist, and the ESM was split. In 1952 the European Liaison Office was launched in Lausanne by Gaston Amandruz of Switzerland and Charles Luca of France.

In 1953, in an attempt to heal the rift, the European People's Movement was founded in Paris to unite all forces fighting to save Christian civilization from Judaism, communism and freemasonry. This effort also failed. In Austria in 1957, another merger was launched under the aegis of the Social Organic Movement of Europe (Sorbe), but Austrian authorities clamped down, and the more extreme elements founded still another group, the European New Order—actually the European Liaison Office under another name.

More recently, new competition has entered the field. In Scotland a Northern League was formed in 1958 to preserve the ethnic and cultural heritage of the North European peoples. In Belgium, the neo-Fascist Jeune Nation sought international status and established itself as Jeune Europe. The Rockwell-Jordan combination, the World Union of International Socialists, first emerged in 1962. The latest body with international pretensions is Paris-based Europe Action, which operates primarily as an information and ideological clearinghouse.

#### TACTICS AND IDEOLOGIES

Since the Malmö meeting, two major approaches have been evident among neo-Nazi ideologists. One group considers it essential to play the parliamentary game and not frighten the public. Its leaders argue that they must first attract a following under cover of vague, general nationalist slogans and later propose concrete rightist programs. The philosophical and scientific bases of its ultranationalist ideology are advanced in intellectual terms, in magazines such as Na-

tion Europa, published by former SS Gen. Arthur Ehrhardt in Coburg, West Germany, and *Défense de l'Occident*, the French monthly of Maurice Bardèche.

The other camp sneers at appeals to the masses and favors the creation of an elite which can take advantage of revolutionary situations. It considers street incidents, swastika smearings, and raids more effective than polite parliamentary maneuverings and stresses a strong racist approach. Vitriolic articles in Belgium's *Révolution Européenne* and Gored Oredsson's *Nordisk Kamp* in Sweden, and leaflets outlining techniques for street fighting and revolutionary takeover express this element's philosophy.

The European social movement with its relatively moderate outlook has managed to survive all splits and probably remains the most important of the "internationals," with sections or contacts in a dozen countries. But it represents an older neo-Nazi generation. Per Engdahl is now 55 and nearly blind. Maurice Bardèche, at 63, is ever busy and looked up to by other authoritarians and right radicals, but he is adviser rather than leader.

The initiative today lies increasingly with younger men, such as Colin Jordan and Europe Action's Dominique Venner. Having no defeat to live down, they reject what they call an artificially created guilt complex about war crimes and seek to capitalize on what they view as youth's tendency to boredom and nihilism.

Attacks on the United States have been a constant component of neo-Nazi literature: "All mistakes since 1945 are due to the pseudodemocratic policies of Roosevelt and his advisers, who drove their country into a war that had nothing to do with U.S. interests." Rightists also scored the Yalta settlement as the division of Europe by non-European powers. A brief break in this persistent anti-Americanism came with the nomination of Barry Goldwater for President by the U.S. Republican Party. Even after Goldwater's defeat, Europe's rightwing felt deeply encouraged by what was construed as an impressive display of American rightist strength.

Rightwing ideologies seem to have a special appeal for one vital and vocal group—the university students. The tendency is strongest in Austria. The Ring Freiheitlicher Studenten, associated with the rightwing Freedom Party, had polled as much as one-third of the vote in student-government elections. In March 1965, rightwing students clashed in the streets with those demonstrating for the dismissal of a Viennese professor, Taras Borodajkewycz, who boasted of his prewar Nazi Party membership and made anti-Semitic statements.

In the last university student elections in Rome, groups affiliated with the neo-Fascist MSI Party won 13 seats of a total of 59. Traditional rightwing student organizations, some quite militant, also continue to exist in France.

#### THE RIGHT-RADICAL POLITICAL PARTIES

Although the ultimate goal of the internationals is to develop a solid base for political operation, they have thus far failed to involve the major rightist parties of Europe in any direct affiliation, despite cross-membership of individuals and attempts at amalgamation.

Where are these rightist parties to be found, and how have they fared in the past two decades? As might be expected, the most prominent are in the former homelands of totalitarianism—Italy, Germany, and Austria.

Italy: The major political voice of Italy's rightist forces is the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI).

In December 1964, when Guisepppe Saragat was finally chosen President of Italy after 20 inconclusive parliamentary ballots, the MSI interrupted the voting with catcalls and boos. Its members sat on their hands dur-

ing Mr. Saragat's acceptance speech. This petulant behavior stemmed less from the MSI's rage at the election of a candidate of the center-left than from realization that it had failed to transform itself into a respectable political party.

Since the end of World War II, two major forces have confronted each other in Italy. The Italian Communist Party, more intelligent and less dogmatic than most, is independent of the Kremlin and thus able to present itself as a homebred Italian phenomenon. The governing Christian Democratic Party contains many disparate tendencies drawn together by fear of Communist gains. The MSI hoped to use its own virulent anticommunism and its ability to supply crucial votes during parliamentary crises to force its way into a governing coalition.

Until 1960, whenever parliamentary bargaining was close, one Italian premier after another declared that he would resign rather than seek MSI votes to stay in office or win passage of disputed bills. But in July 1960, Premier Fernando Tambroni, a Christian Democrat, indicated he was ready to do business with the MSI. The marriage of convenience might have taken place, initiating a new trend in Italian political life, had not the overconfident MSI decided to hold its annual congress that year in Genoa—a stronghold of the Italian resistance movement, whose population had suffered greatly in the war. Outraged public opinion and anti-MSI demonstrations forced cancellation of the congress and toppled Tambroni out of office.

In actual numbers, the MSI has been stagnating for the past decade. To win 1,600,000 votes (about 5 percent of the electorate) and 29 parliamentary seats in the 1953 general elections was a resounding achievement; to poll 1,550,000 votes and 27 seats 10 years later was, in effect, a defeat. In 1951, the MSI chalked up outstanding gains in Sicily, a semiautonomous region. Its 11 strategic seats made it the third largest party on the island. Today it holds seven seats and ranks fifth among Sicilian parties.

MSI ideology is a chaotic catchall with at least three different views on how extreme the party should be. In the early years, control was vested in men like Giorgio Almirante, editor of the Mussolini-regime paper, *Defense of the Race*, and Prince Valerio Borghese, commander of Mussolini's 10th Legion and a supporter of the Salò Republic, the puppet state formed at Hitler's instigation after Italy's surrender to the Allies. The party's founders adopted as guidelines what they called the revolutionary socialist-fascism of 1919.

Another group, led by MSI's present Secretary General, Arturo Michelini, believed that talk of socialism, even of a Fascist kind, would hurt the party. Today the MSI concentrates on anti-Bolshevism and appeals to patriotism. It attacks even the Christian Democrats as Marxists, and criticizes all government attempts at social reform. At first the MSI sought to get into the Church's good graces; later it criticized Pope John XXIII for failing to wage a crusade against communism.

The party also harbors out-and-out extremists who take their inspiration from such men as Julius Evola, author of Mussolini's racial laws. This wing includes the activist organ *Ordine Nuovo* and the *Giovane Italia* student group, both of which boast of being good Nazis and Fascists.

Besides its failure to gain leverage in the parliament, the MSI is now confronted with a new challenge—an Italian-style Gaullism. De Gaulle is cited by the Italian right as a man of authority who knows how to maintain order. The neo-Fascist magazine, *Borghese*, hailed the general's book, "Sword's Edge," as "the political creed of the only chief

of state who has rebelled against the Russian-American atomic dictatorship."

One would-be De Gaulle in Italy is Rinaldo Ossola, a former resistance fighter who broke with the Italian Republican Party. He is now getting support from the FUAN, and Secolo XXX, two of the most activist rightwing groups, as well as from former Republican colleagues and big-business circles in Italy.

Germany: Whatever its weaknesses, the MSI is at least a viable party. The most prominent German neo-Nazi Party, the Deutsche Reichspartei (DRP), polled less than 1 percent of the vote in the 1961 national elections and has continued to slip back in municipal and state contests.

In the early postwar years, Germany's neo-Nazis seemed to be making a significant political impact. The Deutsche Reichspartei began in 1946 as a splinter group seeking to build on small, traditional Lower Saxony political forces such as the century-old German Farmer's and People's Party. In 1949, three men with well-known Nazi records—Dr. Fritz Doris, then a Bundestag deputy, Dr. Gerhard Kruger, and Count Wolf von Westarp—broke away to create the Socialist Reich Party, whose star spokesman and rabble-rouser was Hitler's Maj. Gen. Otto Ernst Bemer. Boasting an imitation storm troop unit called the Reichsfront and a Reichsjugend organized on the lines of Hitler youth, the SRP sponsored Nazi-style rallies, appealing to farmers, civil servants, and other middle-class groups whose privileged social positions had vanished.

The climate in West Germany in the early 1950's seemed to augur further gains. SRP's membership consisted primarily of younger war veterans; its avowed goal was to organize the front generation, a potential of 3 million. At the same time, older veterans' groups were beginning to reform, in spite of laws prohibiting their existence, determined to recover their considerable prewar financial assets and to secure the rehabilitation of SS units. The 11 million German refugees from the east, though they had their own political party, the Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten (BHE), also seemed open to ultranationalist persuasion.

In the past decade, however, many political forces which loomed so large in the 1950's have been absorbed or circumscribed. In 1952, after some hemming and hawing, federal authorities outlawed the SRP as unconstitutional. The economic boom in Germany, coupled with government-sponsored benefits, brought about the rapid absorption of the refugees, and veteran groups such as the SS HIAG have proven circumspect, seeking personal benefits rather than political objectives.

West Germany has been moving steadily toward a two-party system. The requirement that a party must poll at least 5 percent of the popular vote to be represented in the Parliament has hampered not only such outright neo-Nazi parties as the DRP but all smaller parties, including the refugees' BHE and the ultraconservative Deutsche Partei. In 1957 these two groups merged to form the Gesamtdeutsche Block, but the new party polled less than 3 percent in 1961 (compared with a combined total of 9.1 percent in the 1953 elections), and will present no candidates in 1965.

The merger of several neo-Nazi parties last November into a new National Democratic German Party (NDP), with 798 officially registered members, underscores the weakness of all these groups. Head of the NDP is a 42-year-old Bremen cement manufacturer, Fritz Thellen of the Deutsche Partei, who managed to squeeze into the Bremen State Diet with 5 percent of the vote. Vice chairman are BHE member Wilhelm Guttman; Adolf von Thadden of the DRP—who made it clear from the outset

that his party would not fuse with the others but would only provide DRP technical facilities—and former Free Democratic deputy Heinrich Fassbender, whose Deutsche Nationale Volkspartei supported Hitler.

The NDP propaganda line stresses order, the return of the lands in which Germans have grown up for centuries, and the need to protect peasants, workers and the middle class against foreign interests. Peace in Europe and the world, it is emphasized, depends on German unity. Though these sentiments are shared by wide segments of the population, nobody seriously expects the NDP to make an effective showing in the forthcoming national elections.

A brand of Gaullist-style nationalism in West Germany revolves around one of the country's colorful political figures, Franz Josef Strauss, leader of the Bavarian Christian Social Union. One-time Defense Minister and outstanding challenger to Ludwig Erhard for the Chancellorship, Strauss has more than once shown disregard for the democratic process while in office—most notably, his highhandedness in the so-called Spiegel affair\* which forced his resignation from the Cabinet in 1962.

A leading advocate of West German cooperation with General de Gaulle at the expense of Great Britain and the United States, Strauss has taken ultranationalist positions hitherto avoided by responsible Bonn political figures. In the conflict with Nasser over military aid to Israel, however, Strauss took a vigorous pro-Israel position.

Strauss' main strength lies in the fact that CSU support is vital to the government to overcome the challenge of the Socialist Democratic Party. His present appeals to the right may be primarily an election gambit but could nevertheless lend respectability to its cause.

Austria: In Austria, the Freedom Party (formerly the League of Independents) manages to stay within the law, but its neo-Nazi inclinations are clearly evident. The party was founded by Anton Reinthaller, a Nazi as far back as 1923 and a Minister in the wartime Seyss-Inquart quisling regime. Its present head is Friedrich Peter, former Obersturmfuehrer of the infamous Waffen SS.

The Freedom Party's newspapers describe Austria as part of the German cultural and language group. When Adolf Eichmann was caught, these papers at first avoided all mention of the incident; later they complained that his trial was a new scheme to blacken Germany's name while non-German war criminals went unpunished. Nazi war crimes are shrugged off as aberrations, which Austrian Nazis knew nothing about.

Like the MSI in Italy, the League of Independents and the Freedom Party have dreamed of playing a balance-of-power role in the Austrian Parliament. But the People's Party and the Socialists, which run neck-and-neck in elections, have found it more profitable to rule the country in coalition. Both major parties have consistently ignored Austria's role during the Hitler period. Since, out of a population of 7 million, 537,000 Austrians were registered Nazis and 700,000 boys and girls belonged to Hitler youth movements, former Nazis became re-

\* When the editors of Germany's gadfly weekly *Der Spiegel* wrote that military maneuvers had proven the armed forces unready for combat, Strauss ordered them arrested for treason. Without informing the Minister of Justice he requested the Spanish police to pick up one editor vacationing there. These tactics, so reminiscent of Nazi days, aroused a storm of protest. Strauss at first denied his actions, later admitted them. To quiet criticism, Chancellor Adenauer dropped Strauss from the Cabinet.

September 13, 1965

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

22627

spectable again by universal consent within a few years after the war; consequently, they have felt little need for their own party.

In 1949 the Independents took 12 percent of the popular vote and 16 seats in the Parliament; this success has never been matched by the Freedom Party, which polled 315,000 votes and gained 8 seats in the 1962 national elections. In Vienna, in October 1964, the party received fewer than 60,000 of the million votes cast.

Other countries: Outside of Germany, Austria, and Italy, neo-Nazi parties, whatever their national political pretensions, are seldom able to elect candidates. England's Union of British Fascists (Oswald Mosley's party), for instance, had 30 candidates in the latest London municipal elections, in the districts most plagued by racial troubles. They failed to win a single seat. After a disastrous experience some years ago, Scandinavian neo-Nazi parties stopped presenting candidates. Holland, too, has no group worth mentioning.

Belgium's neo-Nazis are also without electoral strength, but wartime collaborators have found a home in the Volksunie, a Flemish Nationalist Party hostile to the present unified national regime and its institutions. Volksunie preaches greater federalism, calls for amnesty for collaborators, and seeks to exacerbate the split between the French-speaking Walloons and the Flemish segment of the country. During the war, the Germans treated the Flemish more favorably than the French-speaking Belgians, and the majority of Belgian collaborationists were Flemish. In 1949, the Flemish nationalists reorganized under the name of the Vlaamse Concentratie, which managed to garner 103,000, or 2 percent, of the national Belgian vote. In 1954, this group changed its name to the Volksunie and won a seat in the Parliament. In 1961, it polled 182,000 votes, electing 5 deputies and 2 senators; and in May 1965, Volksunie more than doubled its 1961 vote, electing 13 deputies and 4 senators.

A new nationalist party may be in the offing in France; the candidate is already at hand. Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancourt is a 57-year-old, bronze-voiced lawyer whose background holds attractions for several rightist groups. He appeals to the Pétainists because he was an Assistant Minister in Pétain's Vichy government; to OAS elements for his legal defense of leaders such as Gen. Raoul Salan; and to the former colons of north Africa and the French repatriates from Algiers, Oran, Tunis, and Casablanca for having defended their cause. He is also acceptable to oldtime French ultras and anti-Semites—the Royalists, Action Française, and the anti-Dreyfusards—and is favored by the "activist" neo-Fascist groups.

## SPREADING RIGHTWING IDEAS

While the organized right has been shrinking and fumbling about for new formulations, the circulation of rightwing newspapers, magazines, and books has been growing.

A recent register of neo-Nazi militarist and nationalist literature in West Germany analyzes some 80 publishers, periodicals, and book clubs dealing in the works of former Nazis, ex-generals, and right radicals. Among the featured authors are the widow of Joachim von Ribbentrop, Panzer SS Gen. Kurt Meyer, Otto Skorzeny, and Oswald Mosley. Owners of the publishing houses include Helmut Suendermann, a former Goebbels deputy and head of the prolific Druffel Verlag publishing house, and Dr. Herbert Grabert, author of "Volk ohne Fuehrung," a book which was declared subversive by the Government in 1954.

One writer frequently quoted by the rightist propagandists is an American historian, Dr. David Hoggan, who taught at San Fran-

cisco State College and was a research fellow at the Hoover Institute. His 898-page book, "The Enforced War," casts the British as the villains who caused World War II, and Hitler as their victim. Despite a price of \$12 per copy, his book reached the national nonfiction bestseller list in Germany, where it is now in its fifth printing. It is also scheduled for publication in France.

The top right-radical weekly paper in Germany is the Deutsche National Zeitung und Soldaten Zeitung (NZ), published by 32-year-old Gerhard Frey, who shows great imagination in handling hackneyed Nazi themes. With emotional appeal, racy language, and innuendo, NZ addresses itself to latent German frustrations and resentments. It calls for return of Germany's lost lands, labels the wartime bombings of Dresden and Hiroshima as Allied war crimes, and repeats Hoggan's thesis of British war responsibility.

## A GROWING CHORUS

In France, as in Germany, the rightwing's most notable achievement has been the growth of its press and publications. In March 1964, several French ultra groups—Poujade's Fraternité Française, Colonel Trinquier's Association for Study of Reform of the State, Europe Action, and the Center of Social Studies—attempted to set up a liaison office. The effort failed because the only point of unity was mutual hatred of De Gaulle. An extreme rightist literary group, the Society of the Friends of Edouard Drummond, formed late in 1963, seems destined for greater durability. The group includes virtually every important ultra-nationalist French writer, among them Maurice Bardèche; Xavier Vallat, former Commissioner for Jewish Affairs under the Vichy regime and editor of Aspects de la France; editor Dominique Venner of Europe Action; Pierre Dominique of Rivarol; and publisher Henri Coston.

France has no outstanding rightwing weekly, such as the NZ in Germany, and the veteran Rivarol and Aspects de la France have dropped slightly in circulation, with a current readership of about 42,000 and 23,000 respectively. But two new and successful publications have appeared since 1963: Europe Action, a monthly magazine with a circulation of about 25,000 in France and Germany which, in addition to its regular publication, issues weekly newsletters and special booklets; and Cahiers Universitaires, a university-student publication of professional caliber. The 3-year-old popular weekly, Minute, with a circulation of about 150,000, often voices rightwing themes.

Rightwing heroes are getting a greater play than at any time during the past two decades. With the 50th anniversary of the start of World War I in 1964, articles about Marshal Pétain, hero of Verdun and later head of the Nazi-controlled Vichy Government, sprouted everywhere. The campaign to transfer his remains to the French military cemetery at Drouamont gained new intensity, and his portrait was featured on the covers of record albums and the front pages of many major weeklies.

An impressive number of rightwing books were published in France in 1963 and 1964, including the notebooks of Charles Maurras, intellectual mentor for many rightists. More than a dozen current record albums glorify French collaborators, the OAS, Salan, and Céline, and revive the songs of the Spanish Falangists and the old German and Nazi armies. One record, quite popular among students, interlards excerpts from speeches by Hitler, Goering, and other Nazi spokesmen among Nazi and German war songs; the blurb on the jacket stresses the fact that Hitler came to power through democratic elections. Jean Marie de Pen, a former Poujade aide, and two Vichy regime collaborators control a lucrative record company that produces these novelty items. The Librairie de

L'Amitié (Friendship Library) in Paris is a busy distribution center for such material.

This renewed interest in World Wars I and II is warmly welcomed by all the right-radical groups, for it offers them another opportunity to impress the youth and to argue for a rewriting of history.

## CONCLUSION

On the surface, the status of neonazism two decades after Hitler's defeat seems to offer its adherents scant encouragement. The number of activists appears to be decreasing, the seasoned leaders are fading, and no unified international movement is in sight.

On the other hand, the themes, slogans, and pseudoscientific arguments of the radical right seem to exert a potent attraction for young people, especially the intellectuals. The rising popularity of publications and recordings ennobling Nazis and nazism could indicate a growing receptivity to their basic ideology.

A new and serious element is the Arab League's secret aid to various groupings of neo-Nazis. Arab resources may well determine the future of many now-obscure conspirators—and their intended victims.

Some observers believe that the neo-Nazis and right radicals are currently in a period of hibernation from which they will one day emerge in force. Others doubt that great numbers of supporters can ever again be rallied to such a cause. There is general agreement, however, that if the relatively stable climate of presentday Europe should be disturbed by social, economic, or political crisis, extremist groups would gain considerably in strength and influence.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield, under the bill, such time as the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] may require.

## SUPERVISION OVER CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I have always been of the belief that some sort of closer supervision should be exercised over the Central Intelligence Agency than is presently the case. For this reason I have cosponsored bills calling for so-called congressional "watchdog" committees.

I will recall during the Bay of Pigs the acceptance of the generally held belief that those individuals and activities connected with intelligence estimates should be separated from those who plan and execute operations. This would mean that intelligence estimates will not be cut to the cloth of those who would like to engage in operations. To the best of my knowledge this has not been done.

While I recognize that the Central Intelligence Agency cannot announce its triumphs, I do believe that from the negative viewpoint the article by Mr. Stanley Karnow in the Providence Journal of September 7, 1965, might be of interest to my colleagues. It outlines various abortive projects of the CIA in the Far East, apparently often the result of the nonseparation of intelligence analysis from the execution of operations. And I believe that the reading of it will emphasize the need for tighter controls.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Karnow be printed in the RECORD.

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

### RECORD OF CIA IN SOUTHEAST ASIA PLACES U.S. NAME IN DISREPUTE

(By Stanley Karnow)

WASHINGTON.—In a petulant mood one day last week, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, unfolded an intriguing glimpse of history. Late in 1960, he disclosed, a Central Intelligence Agency operative had offered him a \$3 million bribe to conceal a bungled American espionage attempt. The shadowy affair involved girls, too—or, as Prime Minister Lee put it, "Like James Bond, only not so good."

A House subcommittee on foreign affairs led by CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, Wisconsin Democrat is scheduled to begin a closed inquiry into what happened in Singapore tomorrow.

But what happened in Singapore, though rather embarrassing, was relatively innocuous compared to a clumsier assortment of other covert American efforts in southeast Asia over the years. For example:

In Burma, more than a decade ago, U.S. secret agents striving to influence Burmese political leanings were somehow sidetracked into the more rewarding pursuit of opium trading.

In Cambodia, U.S. secret agents were indirectly involved in an abortive coup d'etat contrived to overthrow Prince Sihanouk's government.

In Indonesia, U.S. secret agents backed a desultory rebellion aimed at undermining President Sukarno.

In Laos, U.S. secret agents' operations ranged from stuffing ballot boxes to bulwarking a full-scale military offensive by insurgents against the country capital.

None of the operations succeeded in any significant long-range sense. Some served to justify local leaders' doubts or hostility toward the United States and nearly everywhere in southeast Asia, though supposedly clandestine, American covert activities were widely known.

#### INGENUOUS PLAN IS FAILURE

The first of these earnest efforts, back in the 1950's, was focused on the tangled jungles of northwest Burma. Defeated by the Communists in China, bands of Chinese Nationalist troops had retreated into this area, where they became brisk opium traders. It was considered, however, that they might perform a nobler purpose.

As it does now, Burma in those days adhered to a neutralist line. But neutralism, insisted the then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, was not only immoral, but shortsighted. Thus a clever scheme was elaborated to help the Burmese see the light.

The remnant Chinese Nationalists would be inspired to provoke Communist China into attacking Burma, thereby forcing the Burmese to seek salvation in the Western camp. Ingenious as it was, the plan worked poorly.

For one thing, the Americans assigned to supply the Nationalists with weapons and gold enlisted the aid of Gen. Phao Sriyanod, the police chief of neighboring Thailand. But Chief Phao, a leading narcotics dealer, cared little about international politics. He simply wanted to latch on to the Nationalists' opium.

And under his aegis, an operation originally dedicated to saving Burmese souls soon degenerated into a lucrative narcotics traffic. Aircraft mobilized to supply the Nationalists were employed mostly to transport opium, and several American agents, unable to resist temptation, eagerly joined in the smuggling. Finally, in 1953, Gen. "Wild Bill" Donovan went out to Bangkok, ostensibly as U.S. Ambassador, effectively to clean up the mess.

#### CIA REMAINS UNDETERRED

The whole maneuver, dubiously conceived and artlessly executed, had inevitable repercussions. Blaming the United States for

supporting the Chinese Nationalists on their territory, the Burmese renounced American aid and came close to quitting the United Nations. For other motives as well, Burma has since found an accommodation to Communist China more advantageous.

The abortive Burmese experience did not deter further covert efforts, however. In 1958, a somewhat different sort of tactic was initiated against another uncooperative leader, Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

Financed by U.S. funds and equipment, a team of South Vietnamese operatives joined Cambodian rebels in attempting to overthrow Prince Sihanouk and replace him with Dap Chuon, then the Cambodian Minister of Security. The plot fell apart when loyal Cambodian troops invaded the rebel headquarters, killed Dap Chuon, and discovered among the insurgents a U.S. Information Agency employee.

Only a month before, Prince Sihanouk had publicly praised U.S. aid and denied any intention of flirting with communism. After the plot against him, he promptly recognized Red China and rejected a new offer of American assistance, terming it "suspicious."

About the same time, U.S. operatives began to cast an eye toward Indonesia, where local army commanders scattered across the far-flung archipelago were rumbling against President Sukarno's government. Some objected to growing Communist strength, others had growing grievances.

As rebellions spread through Sumatra, East Java, and other outlying areas, Secretary of State Dulles intruded with the opinion that the United States wished for Indonesia a regime that "reflects the real interests and desires of the people." Against the opposition of American diplomats in Jakarta, covert U.S. support for the rebels started to flow south from bases in Formosa and the Philippines. One American pilot, Allan Lawrence Pope, was shot down while on a bombing mission over Indonesia.

#### TURNING POINT FOR SUKARNO?

Undercover United States help to the Indonesian rebels was never extensive, it seems. It was enough, however, to reinforce Sukarno's distrust of the United States. Some analysts believe it was a turning point, after which Indonesian-American relations have steadily slid downhill.

By contrast, CIA operatives fanned out through primitive Laos with the authority of game wardens in a national park. They selected and subsidized local political leaders and actuated uprisings. They so rigged the April 1960, elections that all the contested seats were won by right wingers.

In one constituency their chosen candidate received 18,000 votes, while his pro-Communist opponent polled only 4.

Later in 1960, while a State Department spokesman warned that civil war would only help the Communists, a team of covert American advisers engineered General Phoumi Nosavan's drive against Vientiane, the seat of the neutralist government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma. One effect of the turmoil was to open the way for Soviet intervention in Laos.

After the Bay of Pigs disaster, President Kennedy fortified a watchdog committee to supervise CIA activities, and the day of romantic undercover operations waned, but there is still talk in Washington of putting the CIA under some kind of firm surveillance.

And as Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew reflected in his Singapore charge, the notion still persists that U.S. policy in southeast Asia is planned and activated by characters out of Ian Fleming novels—only not so good. In the popular image, these characters topple governments, subvert leaders and seduce dragon ladies.

But whether the image is always true or sometimes exaggerated, U.S. policy is often a victim of its image.

### FURNISHING OF ARMS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, those of us who have been concerned with the giving of arms to neighboring countries who are hostile to each other, such as India and Pakistan, Greece and Turkey, have the wisdom of our concern confirmed by the present war between India and Pakistan.

While I fully believe in the importance of educational and economic development of the underdeveloped nations of the world, I continue to believe that our encouragement of the military development of these nations is a self-defeating policy on our part. In Latin America we find the military assistance often used as a means of perpetuating the oligarchies, or providing the means for military or nondemocratic groups to perpetuate coups overturning popularly elected governments.

A list of the nations south of the Rio Grande where this has occurred is very long indeed in this regard.

In order to emphasize the importance of exercising restraint when it comes to giving military aid to the underdeveloped nations of the world or to neighboring hostile pairs of nations, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD at this point a table from this week's Newsweek, showing who give what arms to India and Pakistan, and an article by Mr. Stanley Karnow that appeared in this morning's Washington Post.

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

#### Arms: Who supplied what

[From Newsweek, Sept. 20, 1965]

	India	Pakistan
United States:		
F-86 Sabre jets.....	0	100
F-104 Starfighters.....	0	50
B-57 attack bombers.....	0	30
C-130 transports.....	0	4
C-119 transports.....	25	0
Patton tanks.....	0	200
Sherman tanks.....	30	0
Great Britain:		
Hunter jet fighters.....	150	0
Vampire bombers.....	100	0
Gnat jet fighters.....	100	0
Canberra bombers.....	80	50
Canberra photo planes.....	8	0
Viscount transports.....	5	0
Centurion tanks.....	210	0
Stuart tanks.....	80	0
Soviet Union:		
Mig 21 jet fighters.....	6	0
Ilyushin transports.....	2	0
Anonov transports.....	24	0
France:		
Mystere IV jet fighters.....	100	0
AMX 13 tanks.....	40	0

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 13, 1965]

#### A CATALOG OF PAST EMBARRASMENTS— KASHMIR CLASH POINTS UP DILEMMA INVOLVING U.S. WEAPONS AID ABROAD

(By Stanley Karnow)

The angry shots being fired across the Kashmir lowlands and the hot Punjab plains are causing anguished echoes in Washington. For the warring Indians and Pakistanis are both armed with U.S. equipment originally intended not to aggravate old antagonisms, but as protection against Soviet or Chinese Communist aggression.

Thus, the clash currently shaking South Asia indirectly dramatizes an American dilemma—whether the United States can effectively supervise its foreign military aid.