

which our representatives failed to sign, stated:

The military demarcation line at the 17th parallel is provisional and should not in any way be considered as constituting a political or territorial boundary.

Then, an International Control Commission was created with representatives from India, Canada, and Poland.

Under the Geneva agreements, an election in Vietnam was scheduled for 1956. That election was never held, and the United States was a party to this failure. President Eisenhower believed that Ho Chi Minh, who was regarded as the George Washington of Vietnam—not the George Washington of North Vietnam and of South Vietnam, but as the hero, the George Washington of Vietnam—would have been elected President had that election been held. Of course, the election was not held because the Central Intelligence Agency and Secretary of State Dulles intervened.

It is true that neither the Senator from Alaska nor the junior Senator from Ohio pretends or presumes to be an expert on southeast Asia. However, I made made some trips to southeast Asia. From last September 28 to October 18, I was in Vietnam, Thailand, Korea, the Philippine Republic, Guam, and Hong Kong. The junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. Cannon] and the junior Senator from Ohio were in those countries on an official mission.

We had gone to Korea as guests of the Korean Government, and at the expense of the Korean Government. Although the Senator from Alaska is likely to say that since American taxpayers' money is spent so lavishly all over the world, even though the Government of Korea paid our expenses, the money, in effect, came from the pockets of American taxpayers.

While I was in Vietnam, I did not spend much time in Saigon. I visited every Air Force base in what is called South Vietnam. I visited the camps and the hospitals; I spoke with many Ohio boys. I spoke with one boy from Cuyahoga County, the area where I live, within 3 hours after his leg had been amputated. I obtained the names and addresses of 180 Ohio GI's. Wherever I went in Vietnam, I spoke with soldiers, whenever I could, in the absence of officers. I would say to the young men from Ohio, "I served for 37 months in World War II. I want you to know that I have been an officer and I have been a private. In time of war, it is much harder to be a private than it is to be an officer. Now I am speaking with you in the absence of any officers. What are your problems? Are there any shortages?" With very few exceptions the answer invariably was, "no problems, sir."

The Senator from Alaska will agree with me, I feel certain, that the cream of our crop of American young men is in Vietnam right now. The 200,000 or more GI's who are fighting in the steaming jungles and rice paddies of South Vietnam are the finest of the youth of America. In addition, 50,000 men are attached to the 7th Fleet, offshore. I was in Thailand for 4 or 5 days, a coun-

try where we have 30,000 fine soldiers. I also traveled throughout Korea, as far up as Panmunjom, at the line of demarcation. Fifty-three thousand of our soldiers are committed in Korea.

It is said that we are likely to have 500,000 boys in Vietnam by next October. If we do, I will state publicly, anywhere, that the next 300,000 will not be any better than the 200,000-plus who are over there now. They are fine Americans. It is a great misfortune that we have involved these fine young men in a civil war in southeast Asia.

When I was over there, in late September and early October, it had been my belief that the Vietcong fighting in South Vietnam were all Communists, that they were all infiltrators from the north. I also had been told that Vietnam was of strategic importance to the defense of the United States.

Mr. GRUENING. May I ask the Senator whether he found that that was not true; that they were not all infiltrators?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Of course it was not true. That is not only my observation. General Westmoreland, the commanding officer in Vietnam, on one of the evenings when I was in Saigon, said that the bulk of the Vietcong fighting us in South Vietnam was born and reared in South Vietnam. Directly after that, when I was in Thailand, Gen. Richard Stilwell, the second in command said—and I remember his exact words:

Senator, 80 percent of the Vietcong fighting us in the Mekong Delta were born and reared in South Vietnam.

As the Senator knows, the Mekong Delta is west and south of Saigon.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. A few minutes ago Gen. Maxwell Taylor was adverted to for the reason that he testified this morning before the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The junior Senator from Ohio will not, today or tomorrow morning, pass up other important things to read what Gen. Maxwell Taylor had to say because of an incident that occurred the last time General Taylor testified before a joint meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services. At that time I asked General Taylor that assuming that the civilian Prime Minister of South Vietnam at the time would be overthrown and that the next Prime Minister would step in and announce, "We want the United States to withdraw its forces from South Vietnam," what would be our position keeping in mind that we are there at the invitation of the Government of South Vietnam?

Instead of answering the question, General Taylor said:

There is no possibility that the present Prime Minister will be overthrown.

That statement is in the record. Within 48 hours after General Taylor had said that there was no possibility that the civilian administration could be overthrown, and before General Taylor could leave the United States, he was proven wrong. Whether the Central Intelligence Agency was to blame for having given him bad intelligence is something that the junior Senator from Ohio does not know. But the stark fact is that within 48 hours of General Taylor's making his positive statement, of General Taylor's posing as an authority because he had been in Vietnam, he was proven wrong. The Senator from Alaska may recall that 10 generals overthrew the civilian government of Prime Minister Quat and shortly afterward installed Air Marshal Ky as Prime Minister; and Ky has been Prime Minister ever since.

I say that although General Taylor was adverted to as an authority, to me he is a poor authority indeed. I do not pay any attention to his statements, and his testimony would not impress me.

But let us return to the facts. Much has been said about the Geneva accords of 1954. Historically, as the Senator from Alaska knows, there are no such countries and there have been no such countries over the years, as North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

Mr. GRUENING. The Senator is correct.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, as the Senator from Alaska knows that the Geneva accords of 1954, which the United States agreed to in effect, but