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security which results from the establishment of a Communist base so near our shores, I insert, under unanimous consent, an editorial which appeared in the Union City, N.J., Hudson Dispatch, on September 13, 1962, in the Appendix.

This forceful editorial sets forth, in language that anyone can understand, the urgent need for the United States to demand that its allies do not aggravate the present Cuban situation by allowing the shipment of arms to Cuba in their ships to continue.

The editorial follows:

IT'S TIME FOR FOREIGN AID TO UNITED STATES

An insupportable anomaly in the Communist buildup of military supplies in Castro's Cuba which cries for elimination is the spectacle of a number of our NATO Allies permitting their commercial ships to carry cargoes of Soviet goods to the Red island bastion which is becoming an ever-greater threat to the United States and our Latin American allies.

NATO, which gets the largest part of its manpower as well as its financial support from the United States, was set up for the purpose of keeping the free world free, yet our partners in this allied defense organization are ignoring a vital phase of their overall commitments in that direction by providing more than half the shipping carrying arms and strategic materials to the Red-bloc satellite.

The United States has the means and unquestionably should act to bring about a speedy cessation to the practice of allowing Russia to charter private vessels of our allies to haul food, consumer goods, and arms, including missiles, to the Communist puppet regime only 90 miles off our shores. Even before Soviet Premier Khrushchev had the supreme gall to threaten this country with nuclear war over Cuba, American appeals to NATO Allies to discourage this aid to the Moscow stooge in Havana were voiced.

The United States brought up the Cuban question at North Atlantic Treaty Organization Council meetings in Paris last month. On August 31, when Washington revealed that the appeals had met with a limited but generally satisfactory response, it was stated that further insistence on the part of this country was certain.

Following President Kennedy's remark at his first September news conference that NATO countries should consider what steps they could take to prevent usage of their ships for Russia's Cuban trade and arms buildup, our request were officially repeated.

Since mid-July through the end of the week of the current month, our State Department reveals that about 60 ships have left Soviet bloc ports for Cuba. Of these, 25 were said to be Soviet-owned while most of the rest were chartered from free world countries.

American officials are continuing talks with European countries on whether their trade with Cuba hampers the U.S. policy of trying to isolate the Castro regime economically and whether goods embargoed to Cuba by the United States might have been transhipped through Europe.

Countries approached on the charter question included Greece, Norway, Britain, and West Germany. These are said to be the NATO nations whose vessels most frequently are chartered by Russia. Yesterday, Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, assistant Democratic leader in the upper Chamber, speaking against the backdrop of Soviet threats over Cuba, urged that stronger pressure be applied on our allies to halt military and strategic shipments to the Communist outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. HUMPHREY was joined by Senator KENNETH B. KEATING, Republican of New

York, in urging some plain talking with U.S. allies. The Empire State Senator said he had been urging such a course for some time. We, too, join in this call for action that will get results. All the billions we have spent on foreign aid certainly entitle us to this kind of foreign aid.

Cuba
Part III: Cuba's Soviet Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 19, 1962

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the third article on Cuba, an eyewitness report by Anthony Burton, appears in the September 19 issue of the New York Daily News:

CASTRO'S CUBA IS BEING SOLD DOWN THE VOLGA

(By Anthony Burton)

(NOTE.—This is the third and final eyewitness report on Sovietized Cuba by News Staffer Anthony Burton, the last reporter for a U.S. newspaper to get out of the island. He describes Castro's secret police at work and Soviet penetration.)

MIAMI, September 18.—At first when you discover that agents are shadowing you in a police state like Cuba the reaction is one of amusement, even flattery, that you should be considered so important.

Then, gradually, you find a tautness overtaking you, a tugging at nerve ends. You can't help looking over your shoulder.

It was a taxidriver who first tipped me off that the Castro government was taking more than a friendly interest in my visit to the Sovietized island.

"D'you know you're being followed?" he asked, looking into his rearview mirror. About 100 yards behind was a green and white Chevrolet carrying three men.

HAVING SOME FUN WITH THE SHADOWERS

Wherever I went that day I never lost them. The three, in the casual dress of ordinary Cubans, became as familiar as friends.

The only light moments in the grim tugging came when they rammed another car in their eagerness to keep up with my taxi.

And, while driving with two other newsmen, we deliberately tucked ourselves behind a stopped bus, leaving the Chevrolet in the mainstream of rush-hour traffic. Refusing to move ahead and so lose us, the shadowers stubbornly halted in the middle of the road.

Traffic backed up behind them for blocks until the bus drove off and the chase resumed.

The secret police, called G-2, are not funny, however, as the many people who have been picked up and taken to their headquarters will testify.

There is still no news of two Cuban nationals, Raul Casanes and his wife, Sarita, who work for U.S. news mediums. They disappeared into G-2 headquarters more than a week ago.

So far, there has been no talk of torture by the secret police as there was in the days of Dictator Batista. The worst is the cold room treatment in which a prisoner in light clothes is put in a room at 45° temperature for hours. He is later told it was a mistake and returned to his cell.

A government official told me while boasting of improvements since the revolution: "We kill them better now. A clean death with no torture. It is better."

There are still a few good things to be found in the island. The color bar is absent and people of every shade, from deepest black to European white, mix freely.

GUITARS, DRUMS PLAY AND REDS CONSOLIDATE

The tropical weather makes the lack of good clothes less noticeable. Nearly every ordinary Cuban wears an open-neck shirt and slacks.

The pretty girls, once among the most elegant in Latin America, still retain some of their former smartness as well as their love of wiggling to the "Cha-cha."

The Russians, with their prudish background, must have tightened their lips when they first encountered the exotic walk of well-built Cuban girls and the happy-go-lucky attitude of the ordinary Cuban.

"They're being sold down the Volga and they don't care so long as they can still have their music," said one disgusted Westerner.

While the guitars and drums play on, the Russians consolidate their hold on the island. When they found that mismanagement of the Castro regime was dissipating their economic aid, they demanded control of the projects in which they were involved.

SOVIET ECONOMIC CZAR ORDERED SHIPMENTS

The Soviet economic czar in Cuba is Said Usamanov, who made a reputation in Khrushchev's virgin lands project. Only when Castro had agreed to fall in with his plans did Usamanov authorize shipments of Russian economic aid.

All military items are carried in Soviet ships. Economic aid comes in Greek, Liberian, Italian, and West German ships.

Tractors that have broken down through misuse are seen all over Cuba. Usamanov vetoed further tractor shipments until those already in Cuba were repaired and set to work.

His job is to revive the staggering Cuban economy and his method is the stark austerity which the island is now suffering.

Time will tell whether the Russians, having used Castro and his men, will move them aside.

SEEMS CASTRO STILL RUNS THE MILITARY

The issuance of cards to workers is a sign of tightening discipline. If you don't work you don't get a card. The card is needed for everything, even renting a cabin at hotel swimming pools.

Military control, however, still seems to be in the hands of the regime. Castro, backed now by Russian guns, radar, patrol boats, tanks, armored cars, and trucks, would have little trouble dealing with a repeat of the small-scale Bay of Pigs invasion.

The Cuban threat will be to Central American nations.

The official line now is that the Cuban revolution is not for export, that the Cubans are not interested in encouraging communism to spread in Latin America. They just want to be left alone to rebuild their country.

A Western diplomat told me: "It's the classic Communist procedure. The Russians want quiet so that they can consolidate their gains here, like the snake digesting its prey."

"When they are completely in control they will set about fomenting trouble in other countries. They are very anxious for all this fuss to die down until then."

SOVIET TECHNOLOGISTS BUILDING AND TEACHING

To that extent, it may be the truth when Cuba says that the Russians arriving there are helping with defenses.

The present emphasis is on defense. Bridges are being mined, military roads built, antiaircraft guns, and rockets point skyward alongside radar installations.

Russians train the Cubans in their use and oversee the construction of factories. The Russian camps I saw could well have

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held the equivalent of U.S. Signal Corps troops.

Castro is setting up a network of communications so that he can get speedy warnings of any invasion attempt.

But the question is: When does a defensive position become so powerful that it becomes offensive? The United States will have to decide.

THE HAPPY MOMENT WHEN FREEDOM CAME

For me, the 8 days in Cuba were intensely depressing, relieved at the end by some heart-warming moments.

There was the time when the Pan American plane swept into Havana airport to pick up fleeing refugees. It was a needed reminder of another world where guns do not swing at everybody's hip.

There was the moment on board the plane, packed with 108 men, women, and children, when the pilot quietly welcomed them aboard in Spanish—a nice touch by Pan Am—and even raised a laugh.

And there was the moment when the plane touched down at Miami and the refugees burst into spontaneous applause. I found myself clapping too.

On the Myths and Realities of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 31, 1962

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James Reston's column in the September 19 New York Times is particularly deserving of attention, and I most heartily recommend that each and every one of my colleagues not only read it carefully but give thoughtful consideration to Mr. Reston's arguments in behalf of the administration's foreign aid appropriation request.

The article is as follows:

ON THE MYTHS AND REALITIES OF FOREIGN AID

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, September 18.—Every year the administration's foreign aid gets in more trouble. The House Appropriations Committee has now cut President Kennedy's request by over \$1,124 million—the deepest slash in the 15 years of the program—and it is important to analyze why.

The popular explanation within the administration is that the man who presides over the program in the House of Representatives, OTTO E. PASSMAN, of Louisiana, is a narrow and spiteful man, hostile to everything outside his own parish. This is a hard charge to disprove, but it is certainly not the true explanation.

THE BASIC COMPLAINTS

There is, for example, a growing feeling here, not only on Capitol Hill but within the administration, that the United States is carrying an undue share of the burden of helping the developing countries. President Kennedy himself has called on the increasingly prosperous industrial countries of Western Europe to do more.

Over the last few months, Congressmen have been told that the administration was sending officials to Europe to study why the European economies are growing so much faster than ours, why they are so prosperous with so little unemployment. Yet the same Congressmen are asked to vote more funds to carry the foreign aid load, as if Europe were still recovering from the war.

After 15 years of foreign aid, there was some expectation here that more countries would be phased out of the program. Instead, new countries come into being each year, and each assumes, usually correctly, that it will get an independence grant from Washington, followed by substantial payments to keep the new state going.

Under Secretary of State George Ball, for example, was warning the underdeveloped nations at the World Bank meeting here this week about this "What have you done for us lately?" attitude.

"It may be thought by some," he said, "that a developing country should be able to look with confidence to a perpetual inflow of public funds to supplement its internal savings and thus feel free to discourage private investment."

The foreign aid cut in the Appropriations Committee, therefore, is not merely the action of a willful minority of provincial Congressmen. The truth is that the administration is getting the votes of devoted internationalists like Senators FULBRIGHT and MANFIELD, but not their enthusiastic support.

Increasingly, they complain that the administration is trying to do too much in too many places, that it is going the easy way of attempting to buy friends, and that it is administering the program very badly.

Accordingly, the atmosphere has been charged here this week with demands for a new appraisal of Washington's relations with its allies and the underdeveloped countries.

Eugene Black, the President of the World Bank, told the 17th annual meeting of the Bank today, for example, that aid must be offered economically and effectively "if it is not to become an intolerable burden on the lenders."

Earlier he had wondered out loud whether the starting rise in population of these underdeveloped countries was not outrunning the capacity of even the richest countries to maintain even the present low standards of living in many areas. And today he suggested that foreign aid from one country to another be replaced increasingly by international aid programs.

"My most serious criticism of bilateral aid programs," he said, "is their susceptibility to political influences, whether overt or otherwise. Even at best there is always the risk that political influences may misdirect development aid * * *. I have known cases where, as a result, a splendid new sports stadium has been built while the highway system remains primitive, or where the national airport has acquired a strikingly modern terminal building while parched but fertile land is left without irrigation."

The attitude of the prosperous Western allies to America's expenditures for defense was, meanwhile, the topic of a solemn article by McGeorge Bundy, the President's foreign policy adviser, in this week's issue of Foreign Affairs. He called for a greater degree of "reciprocity" on the part of the Allies and complained that Washington's power and responsibility in the world were now so evident, that they were taken for granted in many quarters.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BLOCK

All these things help illustrate the growing opposition to the foreign aid program. When President Kennedy went to Yale University to make his now famous speech on economic policy, he complained about being trapped in the mythology of the past and called for an end to stereotype thinking and the substitution of reality for myth.

Essentially, this is what the Congress and even many of his friends and associates are now saying about foreign aid: that (to use his own words) "mythology distracts us everywhere * * *. We must move on from the reassuring repetition of stale phrases to a new, difficult but essential confrontation with reality."

Cuba: Watchful Waiting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 19, 1962

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, we, in this Congress, and Americans across our country have become greatly, and justifiably concerned about recent developments in Cuba.

Along with other of our colleagues I have joined in introducing a resolution supporting the President in his announced determination to prevent the Castro regime from exporting its aggressive purposes to any part of this hemisphere by force or the threat of force; to prevent in Cuba the establishment of an externally supported military base capable of endangering the security of the United States; and, to work with other free citizens of this hemisphere in support of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Cuba for a return to self-determination.

Mr. Speaker, in this context, I believe the editorials by the distinguished columnist, Walter Lippmann, which appeared in the Washington Post, on September 18, goes to the heart of the problem and I commend its thoughtful analysis to our colleagues' attention:

CUBA: WATCHFUL WAITING

(By Walter Lippmann)

Although there are some who say that we are doing nothing about Cuba, the fact is that we are doing just about everything that can be done short of going to war.

Beside the economic embargo, we are keeping the island under "surveillance." We are watching every ship that comes to and goes from the island, and we are keeping a close watch on the loading and unloading of these ships. We have accurate and current records of building operations and the deployment of aircraft and tanks and artillery.

There may be some doubt whether we have located every missile site in the vastness of the Soviet Union. But in Cuba, unless our cameras are failing us, we are completely informed.

As a result, we are quite able to know about the development of anything like a Soviet missile base directed against the United States, and what may be more realistic, we are able to spot anything like an expeditionary force against Cuba's neighbors in the islands and in the Caribbean.

Our policy at the present is to keep ourselves completely informed, and to wait and see whether Castro and his Soviet helpers do any overt act, against the United States or its neighbors. Beyond this, there is no serious action the United States can take to remove him that would not be an act of war.

The United States, is, of course, able easily to blockade Cuba. But stopping ships under threat of seizure or sinking would be an act of war not only against Cuba but against the Soviet Union. For we would be seizing or sinking Soviet ships.

The invasion of Cuba would, of course, be an act of war against Cuba. To be sure, the United States could easily win a war against Cuba. We could close the Cuban ports within a few hours and we could occupy very quickly Havana and a few big cities. The countryside might be another story.

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But what we could not be sure of doing is to prevent the retaliatory moves to which we would have laid ourselves wide open, moves against Berlin or against Turkey, or against Iran.

For we would have acted on the rule that a possible threat against our security or our interests justifies us in going to war.

We would be saying that because Cuba, which is only 90 miles away, is in the grip of an unfriendly European power, we have a right to blockade or occupy the island; we would be saying too that the Soviet Union has no such right to act against the American military positions in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, right on her own frontier.

Let us not fool ourselves. Such an argument will not wash. It would be rejected, probably even laughed at, not only by all neutrals but by powerful elements among our closest allies.

There are some who think foreign opinion doesn't matter. But when it comes to war, it means a great deal to the belligerent who is for him and who is against him. We could go to war if Castro injures us. But we cannot go to war, even against Castro, because of what he may conceivably do in the future.

We cannot wage a preventive war against Castro without establishing the rule that a preventive war is legitimate against our military position in Berlin, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Thailand, South Vietnam, Taiwan, Okinawa, South Korea, and Japan.

It is true, of course, that the Soviet lodgment in Cuba is a gross violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Yet we cannot invoke the Monroe Doctrine. Why not?

The Monroe Doctrine declares that "any interposition" by a European power in this hemisphere would be "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

But, and this is the crucial point, the American claim for the isolation of the Western Hemisphere was coupled with a renunciation of American interest in the Eastern Hemisphere: "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do."

This fundamental passage in Monroe's message is, of course, a restatement of the principle laid down by Washington in his farewell address: "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation."

This basis of the Monroe Doctrine disappeared in the 20th century, in the two World Wars, the Korean war, and the cold war. We cannot invoke the Monroe Doctrine without meeting the question of what we are doing all over Europe and Asia.

Our right to put Cuba under surveillance, and if necessary to blockade and invade it, rests not on the Monroe Doctrine but on the elementary right of a people to insure its own security.

For two centuries the British felt that way about the occupation of Belgium by an unfriendly power. The Russians felt that way about Turkey. This right can, however, be exercised only when there is a clear and present danger.

Castro is an insulting nuisance but is not, and is not now remotely capable of becoming a clear and present danger to the United States. So we must practice watchful waiting, and hold ourselves in readiness, never for a moment forgetting the vastly greater dangers elsewhere.

In a time of watchful waiting, Congress and the newspapers are compelled to remember that the President is conducting a delicate and dangerous operation, and that he is seriously interfered with if he is forced to do every thing in advance of a decision.

The President should not be asked to say whether he will go to war. He should not be driven to say that he won't go to war.

A certain mystery and uncertainty are desirable, and will be deterrent to our adversaries.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy's Address to the Polish Roman Catholic Union Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 11, 1962

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Monday, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy addressed the Polish Roman Catholic Union convention in Baltimore. I should like to call his inspiring remarks to the attention of my colleagues.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union is the oldest Polish American fraternal organization in America. In its 89 years of existence, this dedicated organization, which has chapters in virtually every State in the Union, has written an impressive record of contributions toward helping Americans of Polish descent become better versed on the strength of the democratic process and also to become better American citizens.

It is most reassuring to know that the Attorney General of the United States would take time out from his very busy schedule to meet with this very worthwhile organization and discuss with them the problems which confront freedom-loving people throughout the world. I might add, Mr. Speaker, that Attorney General Kennedy was given one of the greatest ovations ever accorded a guest of the Polish Roman Catholic Union Convention in its 89 years of existence.

Attorney General Kennedy's eloquent message follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE POLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC UNION CONVENTION, LORD BALTIMORE HOTEL, BALTIMORE, MD., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Reverend Fathers, officers, and delegates to the Polish Roman Catholic Union Convention, the one characteristic which distinguishes us as Americans in the world today is that in the United States we have a land of 180 million people whose cultures and background come from virtually every nation in the world, and yet we live virtually as one people.

I am particularly happy to be with you here today to participate in the opening session of your convention because Americans, regardless of ethnic background, will agree that the Polish Roman Catholic Union, through its 89 years of existence, has made an indelible contribution to the growth of America.

Over the years you have assisted Polish immigrants make an orderly transition from the customs of the Old World to those of our country. Your efforts have helped these people become dedicated Americans and made your communities across the country better places in which to live.

Although Poland is a much older nation than the United States, our destinies have been closely and profitably intertwined.

A few years after its founding, Jamestown, the first permanent settlement in America, was in trouble. The gentlemen adventurers who formed Capt. John Smith's company had little taste for the hard task of building a colony in a hostile wilderness. They were more interested in vain searches for gold than in clearing stubborn forests or plowing fields.

Smith sent to London for help. He asked for men who would work and who had the skills necessary to create a civilization in the wilderness.

The next ship brought help, not more gentlemen seeking quick fortune, but six skilled craftsmen—Puck, Stefanski, Mata, Bogdan, Zrenca, and Sadoski.

These first six Poles in the new world went to work. They established a glass furnace—the first industry in America—and helped the Colony to start a soap works and a sawmill. John Smith credited their example of skill and industry with saving Jamestown.

A few years later, when the Colony was to elect the first representative legislature in America, the Governor ruled that only those born in England could vote. The Poles promptly put down their tools and proclaimed "No vote, no work." The Governor relented and the annals of the Jamestown Colony for 1619 note that Poles were extended the full rights accorded other settlers.

It is not surprising that this first strike in America was by Poles and that it was staged in the name of freedom.

The Polish love of freedom served this Nation well then and in the Revolution. The names of Pulaski and Kosciusko brighten the pages of our history.

Pulaski died in an attack on the British at Savannah after distinguished service at the Battle of Brandywine and at Valley Forge. But Kosciusko lived to serve the cause of freedom both here and in Poland long after the war.

A large cash award and a valuable tract of land were bestowed upon him by a grateful Congress, but he never used this bounty for himself. Before leaving to fight again for Polish freedom in 1794, he placed his will in the hands of Thomas Jefferson.

That last testament, as did his entire life, struck a blow for freedom and human dignity. It directed that his estate be used to buy Negro slaves and set them free.

Down through the years, Americans and Poles have shared the burden of fighting for freedom. Several years ago, I climbed that steep, rocky Italian hillside where Polish troops, under General Wladyslaw Anders, took Monte Cassino from the Nazis, climaxing some of the hardest fighting of the Second World War.

I shall never forget the inscription on the memorial to the Polish soldiers buried there: "We Polish soldiers, for our freedom and yours, have given our souls to God, our bodies to the soil of Italy, and our hearts to Poland."

On the day the Poles captured Monte Cassino, American GI's were moving forward through the hills on their left and the Americans who died in that battle are buried a few miles from their Polish brothers.

This has been the theme of the relationship between the Polish and the American peoples—working and fighting together in the cause of freedom.

Time after time, Americans have been inspired by the stubborn courage of the Poles. We cannot forget that at the outset of the Second World War, Polish cavalrymen charged their horses against Nazi tanks.

Nor can we forget General Bor's uprising against the Germans in Warsaw, holding out for 63 days against the might of the German occupation force.

We have been able to make partial payment on the debt we owe to the sons of Pulaski and Kosciusko.

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Nor have we forgotten our friend in the troubled days since the Second World War. We welcome and support the advances that have taken place in recent years.

We will continue to be concerned for the welfare of the Polish people and to maintain our traditional close ties of friendship with them.

I am happy that this Government has been able to extend over a half billion dollars in assistance to the Polish people in the past 5 years, and I am happy that this program is going to continue. This aid has been supplemented by the fine work of private organizations and citizens who have been sending generous assistance since the war.

American private and Government aid and assistance joined to build the new children's hospital which is nearing completion in Krakow.

We have invited leaders of the Polish Government and leaders of thought and opinion in Poland to visit America and see this land for themselves.

Cultural exchanges are continuing to increase. The Warsaw philharmonic and the Polish folk dance groups have toured this country. A band from Warsaw played at the Washington, D.C., and Newport jazz festivals this summer.

Our program of exchanging students, teachers, and technicians is continuing and I hope it will grow as both nations can benefit from it.

Each year, more and more American tourists are going to Poland. I hope that trend will increase and will flow both ways so that more Poles will visit us and see America.

These exchanges are but tangible evidence of the close bond between the people of Poland and the people of the United States.

Today, more than ever before, we need the courage and dedication to freedom which have made Americans and Poles such good friends through their history.

We face a resourceful foe who seeks to impose his totalitarian way on free men everywhere. The threat takes many forms. It may be a wall in Berlin, occupied domination of proud old nations, guerrilla warfare in southeast Asia, military aid to Cuba, or espionage in our own country.

We are alert to this threat and as President Kennedy said last week, we intend to do everything within our power to meet it—and our power is very great.

We are making a consistent, carefully planned effort to turn the arms race into a peace race to spread respect for the rule of law, and dedication to man's God-given right to be free.

We are convinced that a supreme effort must be made to halt the arms race, but until some progress is made, we are and will remain prepared to do what is necessary to protect our own interests and the security of our friends and allies.

As we face this challenge through the difficult years ahead, another of the great attributes of the Polish people—their loyalty and devotion to the Roman Catholic Church—will serve us well.

Poles are now celebrating their 1,000th anniversary as a Christian people. Think of it—40 generations of faith.

Ten centuries of Christianity have given the Polish people a collective dynamism and a sense of great continuing national purpose. Indeed, the birth of Poland as a nation is closely tied to the arrival of Christianity and its long and proud history has continued this close bond to the church.

We have a rich heritage of our own—revolution, toughness, industry, and unswerving belief in the fundamental rights of the individual—but we are a young nation. We look back to many lands for our basic beliefs and traditions.

The Poles brought to this country strength, courage, faith, and perseverance—and Amer-

ica is indebted to its Polish citizens for helping to forge our national character with this steel.

A thousand years of history shows beyond a doubt that the spirit of freedom and human dignity is so ingrained in the Polish soul that no tyrant will ever succeed in destroying them.

I know from my own experience, for on the same trip that I saw the monument at Monte Cassino, I also visited Poland. I came there from the Soviet Union, and it was inspiring to enter a country where the people yearn for the principles of freedom and meaningful democracy. It was like emerging from darkness into the sunshine.

During those thousand years, Poland has been conquered and partitioned six times. Yet Poland has never lost its concept as a nation. Stubbornly and passionately, the Poles have clung to their determination to be free. They have refused to quit. They have always come back.

This is the strength and tradition of the Polish character. This is your heritage.

So, it is a privilege to be here for not only do I feel a close bond with the Polish people, but the President shares this regard and feeling. His sister-in-law is married to a Pole. The President has visited Poland as has my mother, my brother, Ted, and my sisters. With virtually no other group has my family had a closer affiliation.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, speaking on Memorial Day, 1884, in Keene, N.H., said:

"It is required of a man that he should share the passions and actions of his time at the peril of being judged not to have lived."

I can think of no other people who have shared the passions and actions of their time as have the Poles.

I hope you will have a successful conference and that you will return to your homes with renewed dedication to our common ideals of freedom and human dignity.

And I know you share with me the conviction that Poles everywhere are dedicated to these ideals and that they will triumph, for imbedded throughout the pages of Polish history and our own is the slogan which is apt today—"Polak nie sluga"—a Pole—and I might add an American—will never be a serf.

Farmer-Elected ASC Committeemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 14, 1962

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, keeping farmers and the public informed is a major responsibility of USDA's county Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation committees known throughout rural America as the ASC committees.

Because of the millions of farmers and the billions of dollars involved, I think a little explanation of the work of key people involved is in order here today as we consider the 1962 farm legislation. We all know what a tremendous success the wheat and feed grain programs are which we enacted in 1961 and again this year. Much of the credit for the success of these two congressional actions, I firmly believe, should be directed at the system of farmer-elected ASC committeemen. They have the ultimate responsibility. How they primarily meet

that responsibility is through effective communication.

They are responsible for seeing that farmers and others are informed about the agricultural programs that are available and the requirements for eligibility to participate in those programs.

In every State there are usually three county committeemen, and the local extension service county agent usually is an ex officio member.

Day-to-day contacts with other farmers by committeemen and county office employees are a necessity in order to achieve the most effective distribution of information on farm programs enacted by the Congress. It is the committee's responsibility to see that the programs are carried out fairly and in full accordance with official regulations. Thus the committee could be described as a board of directors, with the county office manager responsible for carrying out the committee's policies and decisions and serving as a focal point for information activities.

So it was this year of 1962 that nearly 2 million farmers are signed up to participate in the wheat and feed grain programs. However, hundreds of thousands of other farmers also are participating in congressionally enacted programs for cotton, peanuts, tobacco, wool, soybeans, sugar, rice, beans, dairy products and others. Additionally there are the conservation programs and the soil bank. All are a part of the work of the ASC. They all add up to a formidable task for the county ASC committeemen.

So I think we owe the ASC committees a vote of thanks today as we take action on still another farm program effective for 1963 and the years beyond.

Real Estate in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 17, 1962

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, one of my distinguished constituents is Alexander Summer, of Teaneck, N.J., who is a past president of the New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards as well as the National Association of Real Estate Boards. He is regarded throughout the country as one of the real leaders in the real estate, construction, and property management fields.

Earlier this year, Mr. Summer was one of a group which made a housing study in Europe. A report by him on this study appeared in the August 1962, edition of the New Jersey Realtor, the official publication of the New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards. There is much for us to learn in this interesting and thought provoking article.

Under unanimous consent I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

REAL ESTATE IN EUROPE

Earlier this year I was fortunate to be included in a group interested in housing,

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to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, two important bills before the House today deal with security administration. One, H.R. 12082 would give the Secretary of Defense power to discharge any employee of the National Security Agency with no hearing whenever the Secretary deems it "in the interest of the United States." The other, H.R. 11363 would establish an industrial security program. Though it would provide for hearing procedures, nevertheless, confrontation and cross-examination procedures could be eliminated "for reasons determined by the Secretary to be good and sufficient."

Though I have many doubts about the wisdom of H.R. 12082, I have voted for this legislation in the belief that the National Security Agency is what might be termed a "hypersensitive" Government agency. Its subject matter is extremely delicate and men who work in the NSA take on special obligations. I feel it is fair to provide procedures comparable to the CIA and AEC in this Agency, although it could be argued that in all of these agencies some reforms might be in order. Since no one is obliged to take work in this specialized Agency, and since it is best to err on the side of caution in this area of national security, I believe the bill should be supported.

However, H.R. 11363 is another matter. This bill does not affect Government agencies. It is not concerned with a specialized group of security experts. Rather it deals with the daily work of 5 million private employees. It would permit the Secretary of Defense to effectively wipe out due process rights of all the employees in industry and education who come under this program.

If this bill were passed access to information could be denied to millions of men because of an informer's testimony. They would have no way to prove they are above suspicion. The stigma of not being allowed to use information is very great. In many cases it determines whether a man work or not. No man should be put into a position where another may wreck his career or cost him his job without allowing him the right of cross-examination.

I realize that this bill is brought before us in order to protect secret informers. However, the committee report on this bill indicates that in 800 plant-security cases since 1960, it has only been necessary to conceal the informer 11 times. In my opinion the right of the individual to a fair procedure is more important than the loss of anonymity of a few informers whose names would be made public if the right to cross examination is clear in any future case. I cannot see that we lose anything of importance in terms of national security, but we preserve much that is important to our free way of life in sharp distinction to practices in police states which this legislation would, in this respect, seek to emulate.

I believe that measures which deny the individual the rights that are his guarantee to freedom should be opposed. To approve legislation which bends over backward to preserve the secrecy of a

few informers at the expense of the job security and freedom of millions of workers is to move away from the traditions of American democracy which have distinguished us from Communist states and, in deed, all totalitarian societies.

Cuba
REPLY TO KHRUSHCHEV ON CUBA—
A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE ON
CAPTIVE NATIONS

(Mr. FLOOD (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in all the comments made about Cuba today it is strange, indeed, that few characterize it for what it has been for some time—a captive nation. In both the 1961 and 1962 Captive Nations Week observances the captive status of Cuba was emphasized, and many in this country thought this was a gross exaggeration. Americans of Cuban background participated in these observances in Chicago, New York, Washington, and elsewhere, and many could not understand the meaning of their presence. Last year and this, calls for specific and positive action toward Cuba were sounded during these observances—calls for a complete blockade, recognition of a government-in-exile, and the formation of a free Cuban liberation army—but logic and foresight have had to await the pressures of reality and the gradual takeover of Cuba by imperialist Moscow.

A SOLID REPLY TO KHRUSHCHEV

Cuba is indeed a captive nation. This we are witnessing daily now. The resources of other captive nations in Eastern Europe and Asia are being steadily employed to buttress Cuba's captivity and, as so often in the past, to consolidate a base for Moscow's expansion in the rest of Latin America. Moscow has succeeded in bringing the reality of a captive nation to our very doorstep. Cuba, situated close to the bastion of the free world, has become an integral part of the captive world—a truth that many Americans are just now beginning to recognize.

Mr. Speaker, there is one solid reply that this Chamber can make to Khrushchev's threats about Cuba, and that is to create now and quickly a Special House Committee on Captive Nations. Moscow would want us to continue to think in piecemeal fashion, to fail to understand Cuba as a member of the growing family of captive nations, and to overlook the enormous cold war possibilities suggested by a truthful linking of Cuba with the captive nations in Europe and Asia. We can circumvent this Soviet Russian objective by establishing this special committee.

Since Congress legislated the Captive Nations Week resolution in 1959, there has been a mushroom growth of evidence that clearly proves how sensitive and fearful Moscow is to any free-world concentration on the captive nations. We do not need to counter-threaten Moscow; all that is required at this stage is to launch a serious full-scale investigation into all of the captive nations under

Moscow's direct or indirect domination. This alone would mirror the predominant weakness of Moscow's empire. This alone would be capable of demonstrating to the world Moscow's profound weakness and insecurity.

THE 1962 WEEK AND A SPECIAL COMMITTEE

The 1962 Captive Nations Week observance highlighted the necessity for a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations. Many of my colleagues, both Democratic and Republican, have introduced into the Record much data about this highly successful event. I wish to augment this evidence by inserting the proclamation issued by Governor Lawrence, of Pennsylvania, the proclamation of the commissioners of the county of Allegheny, Pa., the Pittsburgh program of Captive Nations Week, the fine resolutions passed by the Pittsburgh assembly, and the report in the July 16 issue of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette on "U.S.S.R. Called a G'ant With Feet of Clay."

With fitting tribute paid to Commissioner John E. McGrady and Mr. Michael Komichak, respective chairman and secretary of the Captive Nations Committee of Allegheny County, whose leadership and work made the Pittsburgh observance one of the best in the country, I request that this material be printed in the Record.

In addition, for those who think we cannot place Moscow under heavy cold war pressure, I need just cite one example for the Record, that of the cruel and prolonged imprisonment of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy of the genocided Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S.S.R. I request that the sermon delivered by Richard Cardinal Cushing on "A Prelate Under Red Coexistence," as published in the June 7 issue of America and the Pastoral Letter of the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy of the free world also be printed in the Record in support of my remarks:

PROCLAMATION: CAPTIVE NATION'S WEEK—
JULY 15 THROUGH 21, 1962

Whereas the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America has, by resolution, requested and States to designate the week of July 15 through 21, 1962, as Captive Nations Week; and

Whereas the President of the United States has, by such proclamation, invited the people of the United States to observe such week with the appropriate ceremonies and activities; and

Whereas the citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania are fully aware and grieve of the plight of those made captive under the heavy yoke of Russian communism; and

Whereas it is deemed appropriate to call for a public observance of this occasion so that our knowledge and sympathies may be declared: Now, therefore,

I, David L. Lawrence, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, do hereby designate the week beginning July 15, 1962, as Captive Nations Week. I invite all Pennsylvanians to observe this occasion with appropriate activity so that all may be made aware of the unfortunate status of those enslaved behind the Iron Curtain and to reaffirm our determination to keep our Nation free to help others obtain equal freedom.

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Given under my hand and the great seal of the State, at the city of Harrisburg, this 9th day of July 1962, and of the Commonwealth the 187th.

DAVID L. LAWRENCE,
Governor.

By the Governor.

E. JAMES TRUMARCHI, Jr.,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

PROCLAMATION

"Whereas by a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States the third week of July has been designated as 'Captive Nations Week'; and

"Whereas the people of the county of Allegheny are linked to the captive nations through bonds of family, religion and the belief in democratic principles; and

"Whereas these nations have been made captive by the imperialistic, aggressive and heartless policies of Soviet Russia, which have deprived them of their national independence and individual liberties; and

"Whereas it is in the American tradition to advocate the dignity of man, his freedom from tyranny and his right to self-determination of the form of government he prefers,

"Now, therefore, we, the commissioners of the county of Allegheny, do hereby designate the week beginning July 15, 1962, as 'Captive Nations Week.'

"We urge the people of Allegheny County to join with the Captive Nations Committee of Allegheny County in observing the plight of the Communist-dominated nations and in the support of the just aspirations of the people of the captive nations.

"We especially encourage everyone to manifest his or her interest in the people imprisoned in the captive nations by their attendance at the civic observance of the Captive Nations Week to be held at Kennywood Park on Sunday afternoon, July 15, 1962, at 5 p.m., eastern daylight saving time."

I, Murray W. Snyder, chief clerk for the Board of County Commissioners of the County of Allegheny, Pa., do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true and correct copy of a certain proclamation duly adopted by said board at a special meeting thereof duly held on the 11th day of July, 1962, as the same appears in the minutes of said meeting duly recorded in said board's minute book volume 43.

Witness my hand and the seal of said county of Allegheny hereto affixed this 11th day of July 1962.

MURRAY W. SNYDER,
Chief Clerk.

CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE
OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

CAPTIVE NATIONS' OBSERVANCE, KENNYWOOD PARK, SUNDAY, JULY 15, 1962, 5 P.M.

Parade, park to stage, 4:50 p.m.: U.S. Marine Corps; color guard and captive nations flags.

"Star-Spangled Banner": Robert Spikula; accompanist, Michael E. Darkoch.

Pledge of Allegiance: Laszlo Pastor, former Hungarian freedom fighter.

Invocation: Bishop John J. Wright.

Introduction of Michael Komichak: Master of ceremonies, Commissioner John E. McGrady.

Reading of proclamations: Judge Ruggero J. Aldisert.

Address: Gov. David L. Lawrence.

Introduction of honored guests.

Main address: Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky.

Reading of resolutions: Judge John G. Brosky.

Remarks: State Senator Leonard C. Stalsey, Benediction: Rev. Basil Gregory, Folk songs and dances.

STATEMENTS

Yugoslavs: State Senator Leonard C. Stalsey.

Hungarians: Attorney Bill Karlowitz, Mrs. Louis Smith.

Lithuanians: Attorney Stanley Simon.

Polish: Wence Dolegowski.

Slovaks: Paul C. Kazlmer.

Ukrainians: Dr. Peter Stercho, St. Vincent's College.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—RESOLUTION I

Whereas the 1 billion captives in the Eurasian empire of Moscow and Peiping are suffering from undernourishment, and in some instances starvation, because of the inability of the so-called Communist economies to feed adequately the captive peoples; and

Whereas the food capability of the U.S. economy exceeds that of all "Communist economies" combined: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, therefore, That the U.S. Government offer food to any of the captive peoples, both within and outside the U.S.S.R. and China, provided it is stamped "Food for Freedom" and is distributed by the International Red Cross.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—RESOLUTION II

Whereas the Allied nations, through their representatives, adopted the Atlantic Charter in which they proclaimed that they "desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned;" and

Whereas the signatory nations to the Atlantic Charter "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;" and

Whereas the Atlantic Charter guaranteed the four freedoms to all populations of the world; and

Whereas Russia was one of the nations accepting the Atlantic Charter, but has since repudiated her commitments and enslaved over a score of nations against the wishes of their peoples: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the representatives of the captive nations here assembled, That the principles of the Atlantic Charter be reaffirmed, and that the Government of the United States be respectfully requested to repronounce its adherence to the Atlantic Charter and thus give hope and confidence to the peoples of the captive nations for their peaceful liberation from Communist tyranny.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—RESOLUTION III

Whereas the captive nations, including those once independent nations in the so-called U.S.S.R., were suppressed by fraud, violence, and brute military force of Soviet Russian imperialism and are being denied their freedom and independence, and

Whereas since 1920 Soviet Russia has extended its control over 18 countries, while since 1945 over 40 nations have won their independence from Western colonial control: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United Nations General Assembly debate the issue of Soviet Russian colonialism which, through such deceiving entities as "constituent republics" and "peoples' democracies", is waging a policy of ruthless colonialism; be it further

Resolved, That the United Nations insist on the withdrawal of Soviet Russian troops from all occupied territories to within the ethnographic boundaries of Russia proper and that free and unfettered elections be held in all the captive nations.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK—RESOLUTION IV

Whereas the greatest fear held by the leaders of international communism is that the people of the free world will awaken to the true nature of the vast empire which they have established by subversion, terror, and armed aggression; and

Whereas it is imperative that the African and Latin American countries be made aware of the traditional imperialism and colonialism of Moscow; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a permanent Committee on the Captive Nations be established in the House of Representatives to study the plight of the captive nations and thus bring to the attention of the uncommitted nations, and those on the verge of committing themselves in favor of communism, the consequences of Communist alignment.

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, July 16, 1962]

U.S.S.R. CALLED A GIANT WITH FEET OF CLAY—CAPTIVE NATIONS COMMITTEE LEADER, HERE FOR FREEDOM RALLY, HITS RED MYTH

The U.S.S.R. is a giant with feet of clay that will crumble through truth, an expert on communism and the Soviet Union said here yesterday.

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of National Captive Nations Committee and originator of the Captive Nations Week resolution passed by Congress, gave his views in an interview before speaking at a freedom rally in Kennywood Park.

Dr. Dobriansky said that one of the chief deceits about Russia is "the myth of Soviet unity." Within the U.S.S.R., he said, are 15 non-Russian "captive" nations with a population of 114 million.

NINETY-SIX MILLION POPULATION

Russia itself, according to Dr. Dobriansky has a population of only 96 million.

These captive nations are not the ones Americans usually think of as being captive—Yugoslavia, Hungary or Bulgaria.

Instead they bear the exotic and relatively unknown names of Kazakh (9.3 million), Idel-Ural (15 million) or Uzbek (8.1 million).

One of Dr. Dobriansky's purposes is to make these and the other names household words.

MUST EXPLODE MYTH

"We must build up the image of the United States and explode the myth of Soviet unity," he said.

One way he attempted to do this was through the formation of the National Captive Nations Committee.

"This and the Captive Nations Week resolution are the structural apparatus," he said. The next step, he believes will come with the establishment of a Freedom Committee in Congress.

The Freedom Committee, which is now being studied by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, could be the forerunner of a Freedom Academy.

SIMILAR TO WAR COLLEGE

The Academy, Dr. Dobriansky said, would be similar to the War College, where men from different levels and fields would train for a year in psychopolitical warfare.

Dr. Dobriansky also remarked that the Captive Nations Week being observed in this country this week is having a counterpart observance in Formosa and the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

Dr. Dobriansky spoke on Quemoy Island last January in answer to an invitation by Chiang Kai-shek. In addition to his work with captive nations, Dr. Dobriansky is an associate professor of economics at George-

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town University and a staff member of Georgetown's Institute of Ethnic Studies.

LAWRENCE SPEAKS

Governor Lawrence also spoke at the Kennywood rally, which was sponsored by the Captive Nations Committee of Allegheny County.

Lawrence, in speaking of countries who are not free, said:

"It is to these people that we turn our hearts and our hands today; it is to them that we offer our hope; it is for them that we offer our prayers and our pledge to our own country."

[From America, June 7, 1962]

A PRELATE UNDER RED COEXISTENCE

(Sermon delivered by Richard Cardinal Cushing at a Solemn Pontifical Mass of the Byzantine Rite in the Basilica of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Mission Church, Roxbury, Mass., on May 6, in honor of the 70th birthday of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy.)

The native land of the Ukrainians is located in southeastern Europe. Centuries ago it was a powerful state, rich in history and traditions with a population of about 50 million. Constant wars of aggression by foreign enemies weakened the nation but never killed the spirit of patriotism that inspired its people.

Before the year 1000 Christianity under the Byzantine rite was embraced by the Ukrainians. The schism of the 11th century that divided the East from the West separated the church from the Holy See. Five hundred years later, in the year 1595, some of the Ukrainian bishops and priests and a large group of the laity were reunited with the Holy See. Retaining their liturgy and religious customs they became a stronghold of the faith of their forefathers and one of the most precious jewels of the universal church.

The faith of the people prospered. The nation eventually became independent but lost its freedom 2 years later, in the year 1920. Within 20 years the church of this great nation suffered religious persecution at the bloody hands of the Soviet power. By the year 1945 all the bishops and priests were arrested, moved to Moscow and subjected to persecution until some 7 million Ukrainian Catholics were forced into the Russian Orthodox Church to be used as tools for the conquests of communism. But doomed to death—the Ukrainian Church was fated not to die.

Even today amid the shadow of the Iron Curtain priests secretly serve their people who amidst constant threats of persecution and death cherish and practice to the best of their ability, the faith of their fathers. Priests are being ordained and bishops consecrated. Thus the Ukrainian Church still lives although it is a "church in silence" awaiting the day when the Iron Curtain will be lifted and freedom of speech, assembly, and religion will once again be possible. When that day dawns, and sooner or later it will dawn, for injustice and slavery, persecution and treachery can last for awhile and only awhile—in the end truth, justice—God will prevail—then the hundreds of thousands of Catholics of Ukrainian origin now worshipping in almost 200 parishes, in 3 dioceses, with about 300 priests will extend their aid to their persecuted brethren and the Catholic Church of Ukraine shall arise from the tomb and enjoy a triumphant resurrection.

Symbolic of the passiontide and crucifixion of the church in his country is the living martyr of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, whose 70th birthday we are commemorating this afternoon.

What manner of churchman is this man of God? He is a scholar of great renown. He is one of the great confessors of the faith in modern times. Born of comparatively

wealthy parents, he distinguished himself as a seminarian and a priest for scholarship and piety. Linguist, theologian, editor, rector of a seminary, lecturer, authority on art and literature, he became the pride and joy of his people. It was no surprise, therefore, that, when Metropolitan Sheptitsky, as he advanced in years and ill health, requested the Holy See to appoint Father Slipy as his coadjutor bishop with the right to succeed him. On November 25, 1939, he became an archbishop and later succeeded his metropolitan. Before long his long "way of the cross" began. In the war between Germany and Russia he suffered a foretaste of what was to come.

He was marked for death which he awaited with patience after suffering one humiliation after another. But his choice of suffering was to be filled with greater and more severe persecution. In 1944, on All Saints Day, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptitsky died and his faithful coadjutor archbishop succeeded him. A few months of peace followed and then the Bolshevik forces began the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. They first assailed in booklet form the character of the former metropolitan. But the late Pope Pius XII put the lie on that document when in later years he wrote: "The memory of Metropolitan Sheptitsky is forever a blessing for the Catholic Church. It will safeguard the memory of his fervent zeal for souls and of his constant courage in the defense of his country."

In 1945 shortly after the blasphemous attack on the former metropolitan, the Soviets arrested Archbishop Slipy and many other Ukrainian bishops. That was the beginning of a cruel passiontide in his life which has continued to the present day. Hard labor was assigned to him in a Siberian prison and sentence after sentence was pronounced against him on false charges save one—he refused again and again to break relations with the Holy See and to subject the Ukrainian Catholics to the allegiance to the Soviet State.

In 1957 while still a helpless, emaciated prisoner he commemorated his 40th anniversary in the holy priesthood. The event was observed throughout the world from the Pope to the humblest member of his flock. His anniversary, however, was celebrated without external manifestation lest the aging archbishop would be subjected to greater suffering. Seventeen of those 40 years in the priesthood have been spent in prison.

In the long history of the church there are few if any confessors and martyrs of the faith who can surpass that record. In the early church Christians were thrown to the lions, tortured, starved, crucified and burned at the stake. But these tortures were of brief duration, in comparison to the prolonged imprisonment with its accompanying tortures of mind and body to which Archbishop Slipy has been subjected, for almost one-half of his entire priesthood of 40 years.

In our day we can recall Cardinal Stepinac of Yugoslavia and Cardinal Mindzenty of Hungary with other priests, prelates and lay Catholics who suffered from the cruel torture of communism. But few, if any, survived the long imprisonment of Archbishop Slipy.

Stepinac was released from prison shortly before his death and died a free man. Mindzenty is now in protective custody of the American consulate in Budapest. But the great archbishop of the Ukrainians still survives as prisoner of the Communist regime that since 1945 has reduced the Ukrainian Catholic Church to the sorrowful plight of the "Church of the Catacombs." More than 2,000 diocesan priests and religious have been arrested and deported to slave labor camps because they refused to acknowledge the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church

as their supreme head in place of the vicar of Christ, the bishop of Rome, the sovereign pontiff of the universal church. The once-flourishing dioceses of the Ukrainian Catholic Church have been liquidated. Almost 5,000 churches and chapels and 200 religious houses have been desecrated. The bishops that once inspired, instructed and guided the Catholic people have been exiled or imprisoned. Only one remains as a living symbol of the Ukrainian unit of the mystical body of Christ, that was doomed to death by communism, but fated not to die.

Behold the Man of God. Another Christ, still erect, still persevering in his divine vocation, still carrying on although worn and wasted at the age of 70, more than 17 years in prison, subsisting on little nourishment, suffering all kinds of indignities, praying and uniting his agony with that of Christ Himself—and all because he would not deny the faith of his fathers, of his priests, and people and their fidelity to the Apostolic See.

Saddened though we are by the pitiable state to which this spiritual giant has been reduced, we are forced out of our complacency and apathy by his extraordinary example to cry out to all those who follow the communistic line or who think we can co-exist with an atheistic plot to dominate the world: Behold the Ukrainians of whom Archbishop Slipy is a symbol, behold Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, China, Russia itself and learn at last that we cannot trust a regime rooted in atheism, propagating a false economic, social, and political order bent on the conquest of the world. Unless and until the Ukrainian people and their shepherd, Archbishop Slipy, are permitted their God-given right to worship God in truth and in charity and unless all people behind the curtains of communism can regain the freedom to do likewise, then communism remains what it has always been—an intrinsic evil that by prayer, sacrifice, and dedication to the supernatural order must be wiped from the face of this earth. Meanwhile, we pray today for Archbishop Slipy, one of the greatest confessors of faith since the dawn of Christianity, and for all others, crushed by the tyranny of communism, of whom he is the symbol.

PASTORAL LETTER OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY OF THE FREE WORLD, ON THE OCCASION OF THE 70TH BIRTHDAY OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MOST REVEREND JOSEPH SLIPY, METROPOLITAN OF HALYCH AND ARCHBISHOP OF LVIV

(Maxime Hermaniuk, CSSR, D.D., archbishop of Winnipeg and metropolitan of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada; Ambrose Senyshyn, OSBM, D.D., archbishop of Philadelphia and metropolitan of Ukrainian Catholics in the United States; John Buczek, D.D., archbishop of Leucadia and apostolic visitor for Ukrainians of Western Europe; Nell Savaryn, OSBM, D.D., bishop of Edmonton, Canada; Isidore Borecky, D.D., bishop of Toronto, Canada; Andrew Roborecki, D.D., bishop of Saskatoon, Canada; Joseph M. Schmondiuk, D.D., bishop of Stamford, United States; Jaroslav Gabro, D.D., bishop of Chicago, United States; John Frashko, D.D., apostolic exarch for Ukrainian Catholics in Australia; Platon Kornyljak, D.D., apostolic exarch for Ukrainian Catholics in Germany; Volodimir Malanchuk, CSSR, D.D., apostolic exarch for Ukrainian Catholics in France; Joseph Martinets, OSBM, D.D., auxiliary for Ukrainian Catholics in Brazil; Andrew Sapelak, SDB, D.D., apostolic visitor for Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina; Augustine Hornyak, OSBM, D.D., auxiliary for Ukrainian Catholics in England.)

To the very reverend and reverend clergy, the venerable members of the religious communities, and the faithful, peace in the Lord and episcopal blessings. "I am the good

shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep"—John 10: 11.

Very reverend and reverend fathers, religious, and dear brethren in Christ who reside in the free world, a very significant anniversary in the history of our church is the occasion for this jointly issued pastoral letter to you, dearly beloved in Christ. On the 17th day of February of this year, 1962, occurs the 70th birthday of our metropolitan and head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine—the Most Reverend Joseph Slipy. The anniversary cannot be observed by him in his own Cathedral of Saint George in Lwiw. It will not be noted in liberty, but rather in exile in a cold Siberian dungeon. Our hearts are pained when we dwell upon the great tragedy which our Ukrainian nation suffers with our church in Europe and with its highest ecclesiastic, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy. The soul of every Ukrainian cannot help but be profoundly moved by the personal misfortune of Metropolitan Slipy as an individual deprived unjustly by a godless government of his ecclesiastical dignity, of personal freedom, of the rights fundamental to each human being, and as an individual who in no way has committed an act contrary to the discipline of the law. Metropolitan Joseph Slipy suffers simply because he has remained steadfast to his God, to his church, and to its Supreme Pontiff, the successor to Saint Peter, the Holy Father, Pope of Rome; and because of his immeasurable love for his people. This very loyalty to the most high, to the Apostolic See, to church and country, and this sacrifice on his part become for us a sacred trust and a source of great pride, pride in the fact that our church is headed by such a godly man who has not surrendered to the power of evil, but who has remained faithful with the help of divine grace to the holy ideals for which he dedicated himself in his youth, and for which he offers himself to Christ every day he lives. Verily can Metropolitan Slipy repeat the words of Saint Paul in his epistle to the Galatians: "With Christ I am nailed to the cross. And I live, now not I; but Christ liveth in me. And that I live now in the flesh: I live in the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and delivered himself for me" (Galatians 2: 19-20).

METROPOLITAN JOSEPH SLIPY—PREPARATION FOR AND DEDICATION TO GOD, CHURCH, AND PEOPLE

As early as in his youth, Joseph Slipy, the son of wealthy parents of the Podliya region (Western Ukraine), distinguished himself with his outstanding abilities, industry and piety. Though he had the opportunity to study any secular profession, after completing his gymnasium studies at Ternopil in 1911 with honors, the youth enrolled in theological courses at the seminary in Lwiw in order that he might serve the Lord. Perceiving the very desirable characteristics of spirit and intellect in the young student, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitsky sent him for advanced studies to Innsbruck, from which in 1918 he received a doctorate in theology. In the same university, he wrote in German in 1923 a thesis on "The Teachings of the Byzantine Patriarch Photius on the Holy Trinity." Besides theological studies, the Reverend Slipy broadened his studies in philosophy, philology and art on the university level. From 1920 and on he matriculated at these universities: Gregorianum, Angelicum, Oriental Institute in Rome. After completing a dissertation in Latin about the Holy Trinity, he received from Gregorianum the degree of "magister agregatus." During the course of his education he perfected his knowledge of the classical languages and learned German, French,

Italian, Russian and English. All these subjects were attended to with diligence and proved to be a suitable preparation for his labors in Christ's vineyard, particularly in those departments in which the Church had most need—in the training of as many as possible highly educated candidates for the priesthood and the development of theological studies, especially in those branches which were important for better mutual understanding between East and West.

METROPOLITAN SLIPY—THEOLOGIAN, ORGANIZER, AND AUTHOR

After this thorough preparation, the young scholar returned to his archdiocese where he was assigned in 1922 by Metropolitan Sheptitsky to be professor of dogmatics at the theological branch of the Seminary of Lwiw. In the following year he became one of the organizers of the Scientific Theological Society, founded the theological quarterly "Bohosloviya" (theology), and became its chief editor—an office he kept until the publication was liquidated by the bolsheviks. The society and publication as well as his teaching became his principal occupations; and in great measure these contributed to the progress of the theological studies of our priesthood, as well as to the Catholic Church in general.

In 1926 Metropolitan Sheptitsky appointed the eminent theologian and outstanding organizer, Father Slipy, to be the rector of the seminary; and the Scientific Theological Society chose him to be their presiding officer. In both positions he proved to be truly a man of great learning as well as an indefatigable laborer for the welfare of his church and people. For his distinguished services in education, the oldest Ukrainian intellectual organization, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, selected him in 1930 to become a member. Meanwhile in 1928 he was assigned by Metropolitan Sheptitsky the task of organizing a theological academy along the lines of the universities of Western Europe; and he was appointed by the Metropolitan to be its first rector, an office which still more manifested his tremendous pedagogical and organizational skills. Both prior to this new post and during it he also undertook frequent journeys to Western European countries where he visited Catholic educational institutions, observed their procedures and systems, and then introduced their strongest points into the theological academy. His last such trip was to England in 1935.

In addition, from 1929 and on, he was the coeditor of Niva (the Soil), a monthly organ for clergy. Besides that he was cowriter of the Velehrad Acts plus other domestic and foreign publications which dealt with theology and unity problems.

Church unity was always a subject that interested him and his predecessor, Metropolitan Sheptitsky. Father Rector Slipy continually participated in unity meetings such as those held at Velehrad, Prague, and Pinsk. There he delivered his lectures. In addition he organized and presided over a similar gathering held at Lwiw. Following the example of Metropolitan Sheptitsky he maintained friendly relations with our orthodox brethren who in a similar manner were interested in the return to unity and who studied the causes of church disharmony.

Another interest that Father Slipy had was that of looking for and collecting old specimens of liturgical art, decoration, and print. Frequently such precious articles were to be found in the churches and homes of Halychyna (western Ukraine). He acquired many such treasures and presented them for permanence and safekeeping to the museum at the seminary of Lwiw. The museum was established and supervised by him.

In the midst of his energetic labors, widespread interests, and great plans for the expansion of the theological academy into a full Catholic university came World War II.

METROPOLITAN SLIPY AS CONFESSOR

In 1939 during the Bolshevik occupation, Metropolitan Sheptitsky, poor in health and advanced in years, requested that the Holy See grant him an auxiliary bishop with coadjutor rights. For this office he suggested Rev. Rector Slipy to be the best candidate, for Metropolitan Sheptitsky highly regarded his close coworker for his deep piety, arduous labors, organizational ability, and broad erudition. On November 25, 1939, the apostolic see nominated Father Rector Slipy archbishop with the right to succession of the archdiocese and metropolitan see of Halych.

The archepiscopal consecration was observed secretly in the metropolitan's private chapel on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (according to the Julian Calendar), December 22, 1939. The consecrators were their excellencies, Metropolitan Sheptitsky, Bishop Nicetas Budka, and Bishop Nicholas Charnetsky. The circumstances of this event were indicative of the great cross divine providence was placing upon the shoulders of Archbishop Slipy. Of this he was fully aware. The road to Calvary began for him with the very first occupation of Halychyna and almost ended with the retreat of the Bolsheviks during the German-Russian battles. Miraculously he was rescued from being shot. "The NKVD's tore off my cassock. We made an act of contrition and awaited death," wrote the archbishop.

The Lord, however, had prepared for him a full chance which was not to be drained then and which brims over to the present day. After the death of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitsky on November 1, 1944, Archbishop Joseph Slipy assumed his duties in the Metropolitan See of Halych with the consent of the Apostolic See. For a few months it was a time of waiting; but quickly the godless forces began their attacks upon the Ukrainian Catholic Church. They were set off with a disgraceful brochure which maligned the late Metropolitan Sheptitsky whose memory was highly regarded and about whom Pope Pius XII said in 1952: "His memory will become forever a blessing in Christ's Church, which will safeguard the memory of his fervent zeal for the salvation of souls and of his constant courage in the defense of this nation." (A.A.S. v. XLIV 1952, p. 877.)

Shortly after the appearance of this printed slander (April 6, 1945), the Soviets arrested Metropolitan Slipy on April 11, 1945 together with all the other bishops of the Province of Halych: Bishop Gregory Khromyshyn, Bishop John Latyshevsky, Bishop Nicholas Charnetsky, C.S.S.R., and Bishop Nykyta Budka. After on Bishop Josaphat Kocylowsky, O.S.B.M. and Bishop Gregory Lakota were also imprisoned. Of these incidents the supreme pontiff, Pope Pius XII wrote in his encyclical, "Orientales Ecclesias" of December 15, 1952: "We sadly turn our thoughts and affection to another people, truly dear to us; namely, to the people of Ukraine, among whom are not a few of the faithful, who look toward Rome with immense desire and earnest love, and venerate this Apostolic See as the center of Christianity, and as the infallible teacher of Christian truth by reason of the mandate of Jesus Christ. This people, nevertheless, as we have learned with overwhelming grief, are oppressed in no smaller degree with persecution and find themselves already for some time in a situation no less grave than the other peoples. In a special way we would recall the memory of those bishops

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of the oriental rite, who were among the first in the defense of their religion to endure hardship, affliction and outrage; who, transported to the city of Kiev, were there tried and condemned to various punishments—in the city of Kiev, we say, whence once shone forth throughout all those regions the light of Christian doctrine, and whence Christian worship was propagated. Some of these have already met a glorious death, and so, as one may hope, from the abode of heavenly blessedness, which they enjoy, lovingly look down upon their sons and their companions in their unarmed struggle, and implore for them the all-powerful protection of God." In March 1946 at Kiev Metropolitan Slipy was sentenced for a term of 8 years to a prison in the Siberian wastelands.

GOLGOTHA OF METROPOLITAN SLIPY

We do not know in detail what trials and terrors Metropolitan Slipy has had to endure. For many years nothing was heard of or from him. About 10 years ago there was a rumor—most likely one released by the Soviet regime itself—that he had died. But later this was learned to be false; and information came that he was alive, had been sent to hard labor, yet maintained a spirit of fortitude and even uplifted those suffering with him. It was hoped that after serving his 8-year sentence he would be released from prison in 1954. But this did not come to pass. News came of his being tried again, in Moscow, then later in Kiev where he was tried and sentenced anew for so-called crimes against the Muscovite government. The government demanded that he make a public break from the Holy See of Rome and transfer his allegiance to Soviet Orthodoxy. In fact he was diabolically tempted—as was Jesus Christ tempted by diabolical cunning—with various high positions, on condition that he merely reject his Catholic Church. Neither tortures, a triple sentence, nor imprisonment have forced him to deny his faith—an act which would very much please the Soviet regime. As did Saint Paul and the early martyrs and confessors, so does he bear all: "In all things we suffer tribulation, but are not distressed. We are straightened; but are not destitute. We suffer persecution; but are not forsaken. We are cast down; but we perish not. For we who live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake: that the life also of Jesus may be manifest in our mortal flesh" (2 Corinthians 4: 8-9, 11).

During the next 7-year term in imprisonment in Siberia, specifically in 1957, the 40th anniversary of Metropolitan Slipy's priesthood occurred. The Ukrainian Catholic faithful in the free world decided to keep from public notice their feelings lest any demonstration or statement increase the trials he had to bear in slavery. The event was observed in quiet prayer for his intention. However, the Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, desired to express his paternal solicitude and regard for the metropolitan-martyr.

On Christmas of 1957 His Holiness released an apostolic statement with greetings, good wishes, and blessing to "venerable brother, Joseph Slipy, metropolitan of Halych, archbishop of Lviv, bishop of Kamyanets from Pope Pius XII, venerable brother, greetings and apostolic blessings.

"The 40th anniversary of your priesthood which recently occurred gives us the opportunity to express to you our love and respect and our concern to comfort you in exile in

the midst of your suffering. We know that upon the completion of 18 years of the priesthood you accepted and zealously fulfilled your pastoral service in the Lviv Eparchy, first as auxiliary coadjutor with rights of succession with the consent of the archbishop ordinary. Because of your fidelity to this Apostolic See you were sentenced to imprisonment and thus forced to leave your faithful flock. Then you were imprisoned in various prisons and finally carried off to Siberia where you now are in a faraway place, Makiakovo, laboring as a servant and guard at a home for the handicapped. Therefore, we express our heartfelt gratitude to you, venerable brother, for the zealous fulfillment of your priestly and pastoral office at the cost of freedom; and because you chose to carry disgrace for the name of Jesus,¹ we arduously implore the Divine Infant Jesus to graciously comfort and strengthen your soul in the midst of many discomforts and unpleasantness. Meanwhile as a sign of certain heavenly protection and our particular affection we bestow upon you, venerable brother, with our wholehearted our apostolic benediction.

"Given in Rome at Saint Peter's, on the 25th day of the month of December on the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year 1957, during the 19th year of our reign as supreme pontiff.

"POPE PIUS XII."

(Uryadoviy Veesnyk A. V. 1959, Nos. 1-3, pp. 38-40.)

We regret that we do not have any answer from the most eminent addressee about receiving this papal letter although we can guess that he received it, and that it was a great joy to him in his sad state.

METROPOLITAN SLIPY AS THE GOOD SHEPHERD

Great are the courage and the constancy in holy faith of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, who as the "Good Shepherd gives His life for His flock" (John 10:11). He did not surrender before the godless government, did not deny his Catholic Church and did not betray his sheep. He was not afraid of suffering and with repugnance discharged the sly and treacherous promises of the atheistic government. He is aware that the eyes of his unfortunate faithful in the Ukraine, who are also persecuted because of their faith, are turned to him. Not only are they gazing upon him as their suffering bishop, but also those whom he would want to win for Christ and for church unity. For this reason, he carries the burdensome chains of imprisonment, and these chains, according to the words of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, will surely speak louder to the faithful and the unfaithful than the living word (Pro Ecc.).

Although he is physically weak, he is always spiritually strong. He looks to the crucified Christ and is enraptured with the limitless love that God has for us; and from this he obtains new strength for endurance and immunity for all discomforts, and physical and moral suffering. Patiently, resigning himself to the will of God, he endures everything. It is appropriate, therefore, to quote St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians: "In all things we suffer tribulation, but are not distressed; we are sore pressed, but are not destitute; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken; we are cast down, but we perish not. For we who live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake; that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our mortal flesh" (2 Corinthians 4:8).

And Christ, our Divine High Priest, certainly assists generously His faithful servant in order that he would emerge from this difficult battle crying out the words of St. Paul in his second epistle to Timothy: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord the Just Judge will render to me" (4: 7-8).

And all of us, dearly beloved, having greeted our most venerable jubilarian on his 70th anniversary with best wishes, let us unite with him in those heartfelt feelings and let us thank the merciful God that He gave us such an illustrious archbishop. Let us give thanks for all those graces which were granted to him by our Lord throughout his life until now and let us ask Him so that He would keep him for us and present him with the richest love for many years to come, until the triumph of Christ's kingdom in our native Ukraine and in the whole world.

On this day on which we commemorate the birth of our suffering archbishop, let us increase our humble petitions, so that these lofty Christ-like ideals for which he suffers and offers himself as a supreme sacrifice, would bloom sooner. Let his fervent wish to see the Ukrainian nation united in one, holy Catholic and apostolic church, under the infallible guidance of the highest supreme pastor, come true.

Exalting the heroic efforts of our metropolitan confessor before God and before the world, let us repeat, dearly beloved, our ardent prayer crusade, so that God may grant a better future for our holy church and for our Ukrainian nation. Let us bring to the attention of other nations the injustice which is perpetrated in our native land and let us ask their participation in our prayer crusade for God-given and human rights for our church and our nation. Let our voice also be heard by the mighty nations of this world that often talk so much about the rights of man and liberty of nations and hardly any of them have the courage to stand up and defend these rights for our nation. Let our voice also be heard by those that have put the chains of bondage on our people, so that they realize and do penance for their evils. We turn to them together with our bishop-jubilarian with the words of Isaias the prophet: "Mighty ones humble yourselves, because God is with us" (8: 9).

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God and the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all"—II Corinthians 13: 13.

Given in Winnipeg, Philadelphia, Rome, Edmonton, Toronto, Saskatoon, Stamford, Chicago, Melbourne, Munich, Paris, Curitiba, Buenos Aires, London, on the 17th day of February in the year of our Lord 1962.

Maxime, Metropolitan-Archbishop; John Archbishop; Isidore, Bishop; Joseph, Bishop; John, Bishop; Volodimir, Bishop; Andrew, Bishop; Ambrose, Metropolitan-Archbishop; Neil, Bishop; Andrew, Bishop Jaroslav, Bishop; Platon, Bishop; Joseph, Bishop; Augustine, Bishop.

(It is requested that all the Very Reverend and Reverend Fathers offer the Divine Liturgy on the birthday of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy for the intention of His Excellency, and that the faithful be exhorted to do works of penance, offer prayers, and receive the Holy Sacraments for the intention of our church and for its Prime Hierarchy, the Most Revend Joseph Slipy).

SOVIET BID TO DOMINATE THE SEAS

(Mr. HAGEN of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, I invite the Members attention to the following review of the growing threat of the Soviet merchant marine fleet:

Much has been said in recent days about the degree of Russia's accomplishments in outer space. But, little notice

¹ Regarding additional bishops: in 1947 the Communists murdered Bishop Theodore Romza of Uzhorod, Carpathian Ukraine; in 1950 Bishops Paul Gojdich, O.S.B.M. and Basil Hopko of Pryashiv, Czechoslovakia, were imprisoned. In 1951 Bishop Gojdich was condemned to forced labor for life; Bishop Hopko is in a concentration camp.

has been taken of the Kremlin's accelerated program to overtake us on the high seas.

While we are bogged down in quibbling over whether or not a partial maritime subsidy is proper, the Soviets, with a 100-percent subsidized effort will in the not too distant future have many more merchant vessels on the oceans than we do. These, of course, are for trade, economic, political, and propaganda purposes. Likewise, the Soviet Navy, with reportedly 400 submarines now in operation, is not being neglected.

All of this adds up to a "Soviet Bid To Dominate the Seas," the title of an excellent review, of recent date, by the distinguished journalist and writer, Fletcher Knebel, which I am inserting at this point in the RECORD:

SOVIET BID TO DOMINATE THE SEAS
(By Fletcher Knebel)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Red flag streams from masts over the seven seas as Soviet Russia bids to become one of the world's great maritime powers.

Landlocked for centuries, Russia has burst out to sea and now raises a menacing challenge to the naval and merchant fleets of the free world.

GIANT STRIDES

In the last decade, largely unnoticed except by intelligence and marine technicians in the West, Russia has made giant strides in all phases of ocean commerce with these results:

Soviet trawlers are now actually outfitting American fishermen in Atlantic and Pacific waters off the U.S. coasts which, until 1955, saw only an occasional Soviet commercial fishing boat. As many as 400 Red trawlers appeared this year, about half on Georges Bank off Cape Cod and about half in the Bering Sea near Alaska.

The Soviet Navy, now manned by 750,000 officers and men, has grown swiftly and numbers more than 400 submarines, 25 cruisers, 165 destroyers, 275 frigates, and hundreds of smaller fighting craft and auxiliaries.

The Soviet merchant marine is swelling rapidly at the same time that the U.S. merchant fleet is contracting. In 6 years, Russia has almost doubled her merchant marine, now has almost 1,000 freighters and tankers with a total of about 5,500,000 deadweight tons. Twenty-first in world trade volume only 4 years ago, Russia is now sixth.

In shipbuilding, Russia is ordering vessels at a dizzy pace, outbuilding the United States two for one. This year, according to the authoritative Marine Engineering Log, Russia is building 2,086,000 tons of merchant shipping as contrasted with 1,084,000 by the United States. Russia has 169 freighters, 40 tankers, and 17 passenger-cargo vessels under construction in shipyards located in Russia, East Germany, Finland, Yugoslavia, Japan, Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and West Germany.

In marine design and gadgetry, Russia is going in for the most modern improvements. Her trawler fleets have great mother ships which process, package, and freeze the fish as caught.

She is experimenting with hydrofoil passenger ships, has built nuclear subs and icebreakers and has automated to the point where one man at a console can unload a ship. Six Russian tankers being built in Japan will have racy Yankee clipper lines with closed-circuit TV for loading operations.

In oceanography, Russia has vastly ex-

panded its research facilities. Our Bureau of Commercial Fisheries estimates that "thousands of Soviet scientists, technologists and other workers are engaged in marine research activities," with headquarters at big research institutes at Murmansk and Vladivostok. The Soviets have a research ship in the Indian Ocean, have built an oceanography school in Indonesia and are teaching new fishing techniques to the Vietnamese, among other projects.

WORRIES UNITED STATES

This outburst of Soviet energy on the high seas worries marine specialists in Washington. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Kenneth E. Belieu warned in a San Francisco speech of "the challenge of the emerging Communist-bloc maritime power" and foresaw an epic battle for control of the waves.

He said the Soviet merchant fleet "is young, vigorous, and growing rapidly" and said her active cargo carriers increased 30 times as fast as the American fleet last year.

"Will we," he asked, "allow ourselves to be driven from the seas commercially for the first time in our history while we try to take comfort in possession of the world's greatest Navy?"

Senators WARREN MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, and BENJAMIN SMITH, Democrat, of Massachusetts, warned in the Senate that Russia's modern fishing fleets were out-catching the "small and ancient" American fishing ships off both coasts.

BIG PROGRAM

Whether the United States will take steps to counteract the Russian maritime surge remains to be seen. The U.S. naval building program this year is a huge one, but there has been no comparable drive in the merchant marine and fishing fleets.

In the non-Government area of seapower, high wages, and costs have driven shipbuilding abroad and many U.S. merchant vessels to the haven of foreign-flag operation. In reverse, many American-flag operators have sought the shelter of government subsidies. Meanwhile Russia, her merchant marine spliced to the total state of the Kremlin, challenges for dominance of the high seas.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey (at the request of Mr. BOLLING), for today, on account of business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. MAGNUSON (at the request of Mr. WICKERSHAM), for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida, for 30 minutes, tomorrow.

Mr. HALPERN (at the request of Mr. MILLIKEN), for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. FLOOD (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ), for 30 minutes, tomorrow, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. GROSS, for 10 minutes on Monday, September 24.

Mr. CRAWMER, for 30 minutes, September 20.

Mr. McDOWELL (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ), for 20 minutes, today, and to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. ROOSEVELT in three instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SANTANGELO in three instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. FEIGHAN in four instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MONTOYA and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. LANE in five instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. COHELAN in five instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. STEED to extend his remarks following the vote on the legislative appropriation bill.

Mr. HAGEN of California in three instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. HECHLER (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ) was granted permission to extend his remarks in the body of the RECORD immediately prior to the passage of House Resolution 800.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MILLIKEN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ELLSWORTH in two instances.

Mr. DEROUNIAN in six instances.

Mr. FINDLEY.

Mr. MOORE in two instances.

Mr. HALL.

Mr. SCHWENDEL in three instances.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN.

Mr. HOSMER in two instances.

Mr. MATHIAS in two instances.

Mr. COLLIER in four instances.

Mr. NORBLAD in four instances.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ALBERT.

Mr. ROONEY in two instances.

Mr. TOLL in two instances.

Mr. FLOOD in two instances.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina in two instances.

Mr. HEMPHILL in two instances.

Mr. DULSKI.

Mrs. KELLY.

Mrs. HANSEN.

Mr. CAREY in two instances.

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin in 15 instances.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 2292. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to issue certificates of honorable service in lieu of certificates of disenrollment to certain persons who served as temporary members of the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve during World War II;

H.R. 9914. An act for the relief of San-Man Inn of Manning, Inc.;

H.R. 11974. An act to authorize appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic