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SENDER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM
 UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
 OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP**

TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	INITIALS	DATE
1	IG 211 Admin	<i>LPM</i>	<i>18 May 61</i>
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Remarks:

Colonel Grogan is including these
 items in the Director's clipping book.

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FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.	DATE
Assistant Legislative Counsel, 221 East	17 May 61

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to pick itself off the floor on the morning after. It failed utterly and dangerously to do its own job of consulting with Congress.

As a result, the Secretary, Dean Rusk, was required to go before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs, headed by the aggressive WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, a man who knows a Senator's right when he sees it. And Allen W. Dulles of the CIA, who would rather not attend meetings of that kind, was likewise compelled to spend several hours with the full Foreign Relations Committee the following day.

As it happened, both Mr. Rusk, the amateur, and Mr. Dulles, the pro, acquitted themselves well, but either might easily have slipped during his long question-and-answer session with the most powerful committee of Congress. And if they had, the administration might then have come face to face with a full-scale investigation of the kind that the Democrats forced on former President Eisenhower last year when the U-2 fiasco torpedoed the summit conference.

LEADS TO TROUBLE

Consultation, or sharing part of the secret, with the proud and prerogative-conscious Senate is a vital aspect of the political game. Failure to know this and act upon it is to open a Pandora's box of unwanted and unnecessary troubles, and to exacerbate the very difficulties that need curing.

The Cuban invasion was launched on Sunday night, April 16. The State Department did not make an effort to get in touch with Senator MORSE, the chairman of the subcommittee that is directly responsible for Latin-American affairs, until April 26, more than a week later—and then only in response to Senator MORSE's second urgent telegram asking for information.

The first MORSE message, a telegram to Secretary Rusk asking for a briefing "in keeping with the spirit of the advice and consent clause" of the Constitution, was not even acknowledged, so far as can be determined. And yet it never should have had to be sent. Mr. Rusk and his lieutenants should have reacted automatically to the automatic need to tell the top men of Congress what was going on. The reaction should have been reflex, not forced by a telegram asking for news of what happened.

Senator MORSE dispatched his first appeal for information on April 24. When no reply came, he sent his second on April 26, this one asking Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles to come up and talk to the subcommittee on April 28. But Mr. Bowles replied that he couldn't make it.

Until that moment, Senator MORSE was punctilious in refraining from anything resembling pressure tactics. He knew that Messrs. Rusk and Bowles had a major crisis on their hands. He did not want to obstruct or confuse or get in the way.

ALMOST BLEW TOP

But when he got Mr. Bowles' refusal, he almost blew his top—and for a very interesting reason. He knew that high officials in the administration, including Mr. Bowles and Chip Bohlen and MacGeorge Bundy and others, had been briefing large numbers of editors in the State Department auditorium on the inside story of Cuba. He also knew that some of his Senate colleagues were seriously embarrassed when they were asked by these same editors to give their assessment of the scene behind the scene—and had to beg off because they had never been shown a glimpse of it.

This was not touching Senate pride, but trampling on it. With a couple of exceptions, the Foreign Relations Committee was angry. The exceptions were the chairman, Senator FULBRIGHT, who was the only Member of Congress let in on the secret of the invasion before it happened; and the Democratic leaders, Senator MANSFIELD, and Sena-

tor HUMPHREY, who had gotten the word at their regular legislative breakfast with President Kennedy on April 18.

Under these circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that Senator MORSE made his speech in the Senate condemning the whole enterprise (the first Member to raise the issue on the floor of either House): Nor is it surprising that he then demanded the presence of Mr. Dulles.

MOST IMPORTANT

The Cuban affair was the most important event ever to happen within the jurisdiction of the Morse subcommittee. Except for what they picked up in the newspapers, neither the Morse subcommittee nor the full committee had heard a word about it.

A good argument can be made, and often has been, against consulting Members of Congress before an undertaking as risky and as clandestine as the Cuban invasion.

What is not accepted, and should not be acceptable in a government that divides its powers among separate branches, is failure to consult after the event, and particularly at a time when every visiting editor, and every enterprising reporter, were getting selected versions of the inside story from the top.

Relationships between the competing power blocs in Washington are sometimes decided irrevocably by errors of no larger dimension than this one, and the result can be mean for the offending party. This time, no damage was done. But, next time, it may be different.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, it is my sincere hope that every responsible official of this Government, starting with the President of the United States, and including his White House advisers; the Secretary of State and the advisers in the State Department; Mr. Dulles, the head of the CIA, and all the advisers of the CIA; the Secretary of Defense, and all his advisers in the Pentagon Building, will read and take careful note of the very wise observations Mr. Evans has made in the article which I have asked to have printed in the RECORD.

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE UNITED STATES

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the distinguished senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER] has earned a reputation as a man of a commandingly sound judgment in the field of finance. Grounded in the twin principles of fiscal responsibility and a balanced economy, my esteemed colleague has untiringly supported the free competitive enterprise system responsible for the preeminence of this Nation.

Last Thursday, before the Delaware Bankers Association in Wilmington, the Senator discussed, "The Financial Problem Confronting Us." As he forthrightly declared:

It is the task of our generation to see that Western civilization is preserved in the clash that was foreseen so clearly by De Tocqueville. Sound monetary policy and fiscal responsibility are all-important for the preservation of the heritage we cherish and would pass on to our sons and daughters.

Mr. President, I recommend the analysis by the Senator from Maryland of our financial status to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle. They will find it, as with all statements of the Senator from Maryland, based on fact, statistics, and commonsense. I therefore ask

unanimous consent that the speech entitled, "The Financial Problem Confronting Us," by the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER], be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objections, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM CONFRONTING US

As a Senator from a neighboring State, I take great pleasure in accepting your invitation to participate in the convention of the Delaware Bankers Association.

I have a particularly warm feeling for Delaware inasmuch as it was the first State to ratify the Constitution on December 7, 1787. My own State of Maryland was not far behind. It was the seventh, and ratified the Constitution on April 28, 1788.

I know that you expect me to discuss issues of finance and economics inasmuch as I have been honored by my colleagues by being appointed a member of the Finance Committee and the Joint Economic Committee. Discussion is certainly needed these days when so many of our young people in our schools receive only one point of view.

Furthermore, there are far too many individuals today who are attempting to make economics an exact science. Their efforts are doomed to failure because economics by its very nature must respond to the wishes of the people. All economic decisions involving taxes, money, and banking are the ultimate result of the legislative process. If that endeavor is sound, then our economy will move forward; otherwise we will regress and, in due course, might lose our position of world leadership.

One of the most influential private organizations upon which legislators like myself depend is the American Economic Association, which was founded by Francis A. Walker, who was president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1881.

Unlike those who presently claim to be economists, President Walker realized that economics and politics in the best sense of that word were inextricably entwined. Hence, until very recent times students in many institutions took courses in political economy rather than in economics.

I would like to touch briefly on the mode of teaching economics at MIT because so many of those who are the financial and industrial leaders of your State receive their education at that institution.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is now celebrating its centennial. An article in the Boston Sunday Herald, rotogravure section, in its issue of October 30, 1960, stated, and I quote:

"The social sciences made their first appearance as a byproduct of the appointment in 1881 of a distinguished economist, Francis A. Walker, as president of the institute. Despite his administrative duties and many outside activities, President Walker found time to give a popular lecture course in political economy and to write a textbook that became the most widely used one in the country."

Although MIT was a new school with many problems, President Walker found time to organize the American Economic Association and was its president from 1886 to 1892. I have emphasized this quotation because you will note that the original course which President Walker gave was known as one in political economy and not economics.

Many of the principles that have been espoused by the Democratic Party, which has been charged by the people of the United States with their economic destiny for the next 4 years, were supposedly formulated by Thomas Jefferson. There may be those who believe that he was opposed to those ideas and ideals which you and I hold so dear. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Soviet Union's 8,000-mile-range T-3 missile, which carries a thermonuclear warhead.

It then states:

The United States has determined the location of 14 Russian missile and rocket factories.

The article then says that this information appeared in the May issue of *Military Review*, a magazine published by the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

The article goes on to present various Russian capabilities in this field, including Soviet missile production capacity. The article closes by giving further rather precise information as to missile launching locations, including one in Poland.

If the information in this article is correct, then information given the Senate by the Central Intelligence Agency is incorrect.

But that is not the point I wish to make in these brief comments. Secretary of Defense McNamara and members of the Senate Armed Services Committee joined recently in criticizing the dissemination of too much military information. But today we have an article, whether right or wrong, emanating from the Department of Defense itself; an article presenting information about missile production and launching pad locations which is the most detailed that I have ever seen.

I am particularly interested this morning, because recently testimony was deleted by the Department of Defense from the gallery proof of Senate hearings after the transcript of these hearings had been edited for security; and I have protested the deletion.

Based on the contents on the lengthy passage deleted, it was obvious this was done for public relations reasons only.

We keep from the American people information about broad important policy problems they have the right to know about, at the same time the Department of Defense itself releases detailed information about Russian military contrary to that presented the Senate by the CIA in classified hearings.

I suggest to Secretary McNamara, for whom I have the greatest respect, that before there is further criticism from his Department in this field, he examine his own shop.

Again, let me present a simple fact, further illustrated by this recent unfortunate article out of Leavenworth. Regardless of the amount of money spent by the American taxpayer on our security, we will never handle our defenses either efficiently or effectively unless we reorganize the Pentagon building in recognition of progress, instead of continuing to let it drift in tradition.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article in question by Mr. Bem Price of the Associated Press be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

THIRTY-SEVEN PADS FOR SOVIET MISSILES
(By Bem Price)

WASHINGTON, May 15.—U.S. military leaders believe they know the locations of 37

Soviet missile-launching pads, including one less than 500 miles from Alaska.

And they figure the Russians have 35 to 50 long-range war rockets ready to shoot.

At least 10 of the reported missile pads have been identified as launch sites for the Soviet Union's 8,000-mile-range T-3 missile, which carries a thermonuclear warhead.

Further, the United States has determined the location of 14 Russian missile and rocket factories.

All of this information appears in the May issue of *Military Review*, a magazine published by the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

The magazine noted that the data have been compiled from unclassified sources and added, "Because of a tight Soviet control over military information, this data is derived from sources which are not necessarily accurate or complete."

In addition to estimating that the Russians have between 35 and 50 long-range missiles ready to shoot, the *Military Review* figures the Soviet Union is capable of producing up to 200 strategic missiles by the winter of 1961-62.

At latest count, the United States had an estimated 59 ready-to-shoot missiles, including 32 of the submarine-launched Polaris rockets.

Further, said the magazine, "there is some evidence that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to fire strategic missiles from mobile launchers mounted on rail cars."

The rail-mounted missile is believed to be a boost-glide weapon, known as the T-4A. This missile is boosted upward by a rocket engine, then glides to its target like an aircraft. It carries a 3,100-pound payload. The range is not known, but since it is regarded as a strategic weapon it presumably can travel 1,500 miles or more.

In spotting the launching pads, the magazine noted that all are located within the Soviet Union with the exception of one at Seroc, 20 miles north of Warsaw, Poland.

Most of the Russian launch pads appear to be located west of the Ural Mountains, though there is a launch site at Anadyr in Siberia across the Bering Sea from Alaska.

There is, additionally, a concentration on the Siberian mainland just to the northwest of Japan, and on the Sakhalin Islands, due north of Japan.

The sites near Japan are identified by the magazine as Komsomolsk and Nikolaev, in Siberia, and Okha, Terpeniye and Korsakov in the Sakhalins.

There is a heavy concentration of missile launch sites in northern Russia at Kuresaarem, Sovetsk, Luga, Minsk, Kalinin, Brobrusk, Rostavl, Kiev, and Kola.

In general, however, the launch sites appear to be widely dispersed, including three intercontinental-range launch sites along the extreme southern borders—at Murghab, Alma-Ata and Irkutsk.

VIOLENCE IN ALABAMA

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I think the whole country must be deeply shocked, appalled, and indeed ashamed by the evidence of violence which we see again with respect to the so-called freedom riders in the buses in the South.

Mr. President, it seems to me that, whatever one may think about the undertaking of the mission, these are American citizens, and we have a great tradition of law and order in our country. I know government can only do what it can do consistent with realities, but this principle does not extend to a failure to prosecute those who are guilty of crimes. I hope very much, even if

the State of Alabama does not feel it can or should give police protection to these people who are riding in buses in accordance with the laws and the Constitution of the United States, who are entitled to every protection—if the State of Alabama feels the mob is overwhelming its authority and the State cannot exercise it—that the United States will enforce the laws of the United States. We have express criminal laws in this regard.

I think the Attorney General of the United States is showing a commendable initiative in stepping into the situation and I, for one, wish to express my support of him.

Mr. President, I have sent the following telegram to the Attorney General of the United States:

I am deeply shocked and concerned by reports of violence, injury to persons and destruction of property in Alabama involving burning of an interstate bus and attacks on persons in the Birmingham bus terminal. These reported actions constitute clear violation of the civil rights of American citizens and violation of Federal law, including 18 U.S.C. 33 dealing with destruction of interstate motor vehicles, and 18 U.S.C. 241 involving conspiracies against the rights of citizens. There may well be other specific Federal statutes, as well as possible need for further legislation, involved in these situations. I trust no effort will be spared to bring to justice those who took part in these incidents. I would deeply appreciate your advising me as to the plans of the Department of Justice for taking action in these cases.

Mr. President, I hope very much that those who are guilty of violations of the law will be prosecuted. I hope very much the country will take note of what these struggles mean and how they are attended by violence, by personal injury, and by disgrace to the good name of the United States throughout the world. I hope very much these ideas may also have their effect upon the decent citizens of the States in which these terrible acts are taking place.

STATE DEPARTMENT BLUNDER IN CUBAN CRISIS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, there was published in the May 14, 1961, issue of the *Herald Tribune* an article written by a highly respected journalist, Rowland Evans, Jr., entitled, "State Department Blundered in Cuban Crisis."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATE DEPARTMENT BLUNDERED IN CUBAN CRISIS—FAILURE TO BRIEF CONGRESS COULD HAVE HAD SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES

(By Rowland Evans, Jr.)

WASHINGTON.—President Kennedy did his part to consolidate the Nation, and a good deal more, in the gloomy aftermath of the Cuba fiasco. He consulted more high-level Republicans than you could shake a stick at, and he stamped out the wildfire of partisan attack before it could be started in earnest.

But the State Department was mesmerized, or something close to it, and couldn't seem

legislative proposals which would attain the desirable objectives of the reorganization plan without jeopardizing the rights and obligations of those who deal with the agency.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The resolution (S. Res. 148) was referred to the Committee on Government Operations, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate does not favor the Reorganization Plan Numbered 1 of 1961 transmitted to Congress by the President on April 27, 1961.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I understand that hearings will be promptly held and that we shall have an opportunity to consider the question.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION— AMENDMENTS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I submit amendments, intended to be proposed by me to Senate bill 1021, the aid-to-education bill, which I ask to have printed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendments will be received, printed, and lie on the table.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The amendment would change the method of allocation of Federal funds from a grant system to a system of sharing Federal income taxes with the States. The amendment in no way would disturb the distribution which has been arrived at, very painfully, by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The amendment would provide a very real and definite philosophical basis for State control over education.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I submit an amendment to the pending measure, Senate bill 1021, and I ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be received, printed, and will lie on the table.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I submit the amendment, under the rule, for myself and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER]. This is the so-called Cooper-Javits amendment, to change the allocation formula in the bill. Senator COOPER, who is unavoidably absent from the Senate, has telephoned me to insist that I submit the amendment today so that Members of the Senate may read it. In view of his unavoidable absence, he has asked me to put my name on the amendment as its sponsor, with his name added to it.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to Senate bill 1021, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

Mr. GOLDWATER submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him to Senate bill 1021, supra, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. COTTON (for himself and Mr. MILLER) submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to Senate bill 1021, supra, which was or-

dered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. PROUTY submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him to Senate bill 1021, supra, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

STABILIZATION OF MINING OF LEAD AND ZINC—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] be added as a cosponsor to S. 1747, a bill to stabilize the mining of lead and zinc in the United States and for other purposes, and that at the next printing of the bill his name be listed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON CERTAIN NOMINATIONS BY COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that yesterday the Senate received the nomination of Ben S. Stephansky, of Illinois, to be U.S. Ambassador to Bolivia, and that today it also received the nominations of Thomas S. Estes, of Maine, to be our Ambassador to the Republic of Upper Volta, Parker T. Hart, of Illinois, to be U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the Kingdom of Yemen, and John S. Badeau, of New York, to be Ambassador to the United Arab Republic.

In accordance with the committee rule, these pending nominations may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of their receipt in the Senate.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON REOR- GANIZATION PLAN NO. 1 OF 1961— SEC

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, on behalf of the Subcommittee on Securities of the Committee on Banking and Currency, I desire to give notice that open hearings will be held, by that subcommittee, beginning May 22, 1961, at 10 a.m., in room 5302, New Senate Office Building, on Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1961, which would effect a reorganization of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The chairman of the Committee on Government Operations, the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], to whose committee the reorganization plan was referred under the Reorganization Act, has requested the comments of the Banking and Currency Committee on the plan. The hearing of which I am giving notice will be a preliminary hearing, designed to elicit information on the basis of which the Banking and Currency Committee can respond to the request of the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations.

These hearings have been scheduled after consultation with the chairman of

the Committee on Government Operations. The members of the Committee on Government Operations are being invited to attend, and also all the members of the full Committee on Banking and Currency.

All persons who desire to appear and testify at the hearings are requested to notify Mr. Matthew Hale, chief of staff, Committee on Banking and Currency, room 5304, New Senate Office Building, telephone Capitol 4-3121, extension 3921, not later than Friday, May 19, 1961.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTI- CLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. KUCHEL:

Remarks made by him on the California wine industry.

Editorial dealing with the proposed repeal of the \$50 dividend credit, published in the Santa Paula (Calif.) Chronicle of April 24, 1961.

Article entitled "President Urged To Push Reform That He Advocated as a Senator," dealing with budgetary reforms, written by Raymond Moley, and published in the Los Angeles Times of April 25, 1961.

Editorial entitled "Forest Shield," published in the Los Angeles Examiner of May 11, 1961, which will appear hereafter in the Appendix.

By Mr. MONRONEY:

Address entitled "Zeal for Freedom," delivered by him in Tulsa, Okla., at an American Day rally of Northeastern Oklahoma Junior and Senior High School students.

Article entitled "Bound for Oklahoma," written by Glen R. Ames and published in the spring issue of American Scene, describing the history of the use of the Arkansas River for navigational purposes.

By Mr. BUSH:

House bill 6705 and editorial entitled "Unsolved Problem," published in the Westport (Conn.) Town Crier of May 11, 1961, relating to improvement of commuter and other passenger service on the New Haven Railroad.

By Mr. HUMPHREY:

Editorial entitled "A Place for the Cities," published in the Minneapolis (Minn.) Morning Tribune of April 20, 1961, dealing with urban problems.

Article entitled "Welcome to U.S.A.," published in the Minneapolis (Minn.) Star and Tribune of April 20, 1961, on the subject of encouraging travel to the United States.

Advertisement published in the Fairmont (Minn.) Sentinel, issue of April 28, 1961, entitled "The Emergency Feed Grain Program."

By Mr. ENGLE:

Editorial entitled "A Major Service," publishing in the San Francisco Examiner of May 3, 1961, dealing with the service rendered by Representative JOHN F. SHELLEY, of California, in connection with the relocation of the right-of-way for the Canyon power project tunnel aqueduct, California.

By Mr. MUNDT:

Article entitled "How Our 'Experts' Almost Ruined Bonn," written by Lawrence Fertig and published in the New York World Telegram and Sun of recent date.

Article entitled "Woman Editor Can Take Cussin'," written by Chuck Cecil and published in the Watertown (S. Dak.), Public Opinion, dealing with the career of Mrs. Jane Black, longtime editor-publisher of the Waubay Clipper.

By Mrs. NEUBERGER:

Excerpts from article entitled "Housing for the Elderly—A New Problem and New Market for Mortgage Bankers," written by Robert J. Beran, associate editor of the Mortgage Banker, and published in the April 1961, issue of that publication.

Article written by Anthony Netboy, and published in the Oregon Journal of March 24, 1961, dealing with the proposed establishment of a national seashore park.

Article written by George Taylor, and published in the April 1961, issue of the American Federationist, official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, dealing with the development of the Columbia River, which will appear hereafter in the Appendix.

By Mr. SCOTT:

Article entitled "Vending Marks Anniversary," published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of April 21, 1961, dealing with the observance of the 75th anniversary of the vending machine industry.

By Mr. WILEY:

Article entitled "Community Development Key to Economic Progress," written by himself and published in the County Officer of recent date.

Article entitled "The County Official," published in a recent issue of the County Officer, official publication of the National Association of County Officials.

By Mr. BYRD of West Virginia:

Presentation by Joseph E. Moody, president, National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., Washington, D.C., before the 15th annual meeting of Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association, Midland, Tex., on May 15, 1961.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER ABOUT SACRIFICES FOR THE UNITED STATES

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, some time prior to May 15, Mrs. Alicia Patterson, editor and publisher of the newspaper Newsday, in New York, addressed to the President of the United States a letter in which she asked him to specify the sacrifices he was asking Americans to make.

On May 15, the President addressed a letter to Mrs. Patterson; and it is reproduced in the New York Times of today, May 16. I think the letter is of sufficient importance to merit wider currency; and, for that reason, I ask that the letter be printed in the body of the RECORD, as a part of my remarks.

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

TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S LETTER ABOUT SACRIFICING FOR UNITED STATES

GARDEN CITY, LONG ISLAND, May 15.—Many thanks for your wire of May 4. I appreciate your interest in our Nation's needs and the spirit that motivates your telegram.

Apparently the demands of the cold war are not as dramatic, and thus not as well identified, as the demands of the traditional shooting war—such as rationing (which we do not need), a doubling of draft quotas (which would not help), or an increase in personal income taxes (which would only impede the recovery of our economic strength).

But that does not mean that nothing is being asked of our citizens. The facts of the matter are that all the programs I am seeking to strengthen our economy, our defenses, our image abroad, our balance-of-payments position and our foreign policy tools—all make demands upon one or more

groups of Americans, and most often upon all Americans jointly. All of them involve some effort, some inconvenience, or some sacrifice—and, indeed, they are being opposed in some quarters on that basis.

SEEKS CUTS FOR DEFENSE

For example: I have asked that we provide a leaner, more efficient defense establishment by terminating certain projects and closing a good many bases, although there are many protests from those who want economy practiced in someone else's community. I have asked that a major effort in foreign aid to other nations be maintained for many years to come, as burdensome as some regard it. I have asked young Americans to serve without pay or comfort in a Peace Corps for underdeveloped countries; I have asked many talented individuals to give up a higher income to serve their country in public office (and not all have been willing to do so); and I have asked all Government officials to give up any incompatible financial interest.

I have asked that our excise and corporation tax rate not be permitted to fall as scheduled by law—that trucking companies and jet airline companies pay a higher tax for the highways and always they use—that our business corporations pay a higher payroll tax for improved Social Security, unemployment compensation and health insurance—and that certain taxpayers give up their privileges of expense account living in yachts, hunting lodges, night clubs, and all the rest. I have asked all Americans to help meet our deficit through higher postal rates.

These requests for sacrifice are being strongly resisted by some unwilling to pay the price of national greatness.

ECONOMIC APPEALS NOTED

I have asked other Americans to contribute to the strengthening of our economy by paying a decent minimum wage—or to give up their rights to purchase as many duty-free goods when they are traveling abroad—or, if they are farmers, to accept the limitations of our feed grain program. I have asked our businessmen and labor leaders, through my advisory committee, to adopt price and wage levels consistent with our economic goals and need to compete; and, more directly, I have asked them to take steps that will avoid harmful work stoppages in our missile and space effort.

I have asked the newspaper industry, without much success, to exercise more self-restraint in publishing intelligence data helpful to any enemy. My messages on education, urban affairs and natural resources have all stressed the role the local community must assume if we are to make the most of our schools, our cities and our water and other resources. We have made clear our very strong request to employers, labor unions, and indeed all citizens for an end to racial discrimination.

EXCELLENCE THE THEME

I have tried to make the whole tone and thrust of this office and this administration one that will demand a higher standard of excellence from every individual in his private life—in his education, his physical fitness, his attitudes toward foreign visitors, his obligations as a citizen, and all the rest.

And finally, each time we make any move or commitment in foreign affairs, I am in need of the support of the American people, their understanding, their patience, their willingness to endure setbacks, and risks and hardships in order that this country can regain leadership and initiative.

So I have asked quite a lot of the American people—and I have been gratified at their response. There is much more to be done. But I do not wish to be misinterpreted. I think we have the will as well as the resources to prevail. And I think we will.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business, to consider the nominations on the Executive Calendar, beginning with those in the Public Health Service.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no reports of committees, the nominations in the Public Health Service will be stated.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Public Health Service.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations in the Public Health Service be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations in the Public Health Service will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PUBLICATION OF MILITARY INFORMATION

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, in the papers this morning an Associated Press article gives detailed information about the location of Russian missile-launching pads, including one less than 500 miles from Alaska.

Information is also presented about the number of long-range rockets now available to the Soviet Communists.

The article goes on to say:

At least 10 of the reported missile pads have been identified as launch sites for the

to pick itself off the floor on the morning after. It failed utterly and dangerously to do its own job of consulting with Congress.

As a result, the Secretary, Dean Rusk, was required to go before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs, headed by the aggressive WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, a man who knows a Senator's right when he sees it. And Allen W. Dulles of the CIA, who would rather not attend meetings of that kind, was likewise compelled to spend several hours with the full Foreign Relations Committee the following day.

As it happened, both Mr. Rusk, the amateur, and Mr. Dulles, the pro, acquitted themselves well, but either might easily have slipped during his long question-and-answer session with the most powerful committee of Congress. And if they had, the administration might then have come face to face with a full-scale investigation of the kind that the Democrats forced on former President Eisenhower last year when the U-2 fiasco torpedoed the summit conference.

LEADS TO TROUBLE

Consultation, or sharing part of the secret, with the proud and prerogative-conscious Senate is a vital aspect of the political game. Failure to know this and act upon it is to open a Pandora's box of unwanted and unnecessary troubles, and to exacerbate the very difficulties that need curing.

The Cuban invasion was launched on Sunday night, April 16. The State Department did not make an effort to get in touch with Senator MORSE, the chairman of the subcommittee that is directly responsible for Latin-American affairs, until April 26, more than a week later—and then only in response to Senator MORSE's second urgent telegram asking for information.

The first MORSE message, a telegram to Secretary Rusk asking for a briefing "in keeping with the spirit of the advice and consent clause" of the Constitution, was not even acknowledged, so far as can be determined. And yet it never should have had to be sent. Mr. Rusk and his lieutenants should have reacted automatically to the automatic need to tell the top men of Congress what was going on. The reaction should have been reflex, not forced by a telegram asking for news of what happened.

Senator MORSE dispatched his first appeal for information on April 24. When no reply came, he sent his second on April 26, this one asking Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles to come up and talk to the subcommittee on April 28. But Mr. Bowles replied that he couldn't make it.

Until that moment, Senator MORSE was punctilious in refraining from anything resembling pressure tactics. He knew that Messrs. Rusk and Bowles had a major crisis on their hands. He did not want to obstruct or confuse or get in the way.

ALMOST BLEW TOP

But when he got Mr. Bowles' refusal, he almost blew his top—and for a very interesting reason. He knew that high officials in the administration, including Mr. Bowles and Chip Bohlen and MacGeorge Bundy and others, had been briefing large numbers of editors in the State Department auditorium on the inside story of Cuba. He also knew that some of his Senate colleagues were seriously embarrassed when they were asked by these same editors to give their assessment of the scene behind the scene—and had to beg off because they had never been shown a glimpse of it.

This was not touching Senate pride, but trampling on it. With a couple of exceptions, the Foreign Relations Committee was angry. The exceptions were the chairman, Senator FULBRIGHT, who was the only Member of Congress let in on the secret of the invasion before it happened; and the Democratic leaders, Senator MANSFIELD, and Sena-

tor HUMPHREY, who had gotten the word at their regular legislative breakfast with President Kennedy on April 18.

Under these circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that Senator MORSE made his speech in the Senate condemning the whole enterprise (the first Member to raise the issue on the floor of either House): Nor is it surprising that he then demanded the presence of Mr. Dulles.

MOST IMPORTANT

The Cuban affair was the most important event ever to happen within the jurisdiction of the Morse subcommittee. Except for what they picked up in the newspapers, neither the Morse subcommittee nor the full committee had heard a word about it.

A good argument can be made, and often has been, against consulting Members of Congress before an undertaking as risky and as clandestine as the Cuban invasion.

What is not accepted, and should not be acceptable in a government that divides its powers among separate branches, is failure to consult after the event, and particularly at a time when every visiting editor, and every enterprising reporter, were getting selected versions of the inside story from the top.

Relationships between the competing power blocs in Washington are sometimes decided irrevocably by errors of no larger dimension than this one, and the result can be mean for the offending party. This time, no damage was done. But, next time, it may be different.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, it is my sincere hope that every responsible official of this Government, starting with the President of the United States, and including his White House advisers; the Secretary of State and the advisers in the State Department; Mr. Dulles, the head of the CIA, and all the advisers of the CIA; the Secretary of Defense, and all his advisers in the Pentagon Building, will read and take careful note of the very wise observations Mr. Evans has made in the article which I have asked to have printed in the RECORD.

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE UNITED STATES

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the distinguished senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER] has earned a reputation as a man of a commandingly sound judgment in the field of finance. Grounded in the twin principles of fiscal responsibility and a balanced economy, my esteemed colleague has untiringly supported the free competitive enterprise system responsible for the preeminence of this Nation.

Last Thursday, before the Delaware Bankers Association in Wilmington, the Senator discussed, "The Financial Problem Confronting Us." As he forthrightly declared:

It is the task of our generation to see that Western civilization is preserved in the clash that was foreseen so clearly by De Tocqueville. Sound monetary policy and fiscal responsibility are all-important for the preservation of the heritage we cherish and would pass on to our sons and daughters.

Mr. President, I recommend the analysis by the Senator from Maryland of our financial status to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle. They will find it, as with all statements of the Senator from Maryland, based on fact, statistics, and commonsense. I therefore ask

unanimous consent that the speech entitled, "The Financial Problem Confronting Us," by the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER], be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objections, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM CONFRONTING US

As a Senator from a neighboring State, I take great pleasure in accepting your invitation to participate in the convention of the Delaware Bankers Association.

I have a particularly warm feeling for Delaware inasmuch as it was the first State to ratify the Constitution on December 7, 1787. My own State of Maryland was not far behind. It was the seventh, and ratified the Constitution on April 28, 1788.

I know that you expect me to discuss issues of finance and economics inasmuch as I have been honored by my colleagues by being appointed a member of the Finance Committee and the Joint Economic Committee. Discussion is certainly needed these days when so many of our young people in our schools receive only one point of view.

Furthermore, there are far too many individuals today who are attempting to make economics an exact science. Their efforts are doomed to failure because economics by its very nature must respond to the wishes of the people. All economic decisions involving taxes, money, and banking are the ultimate result of the legislative process. If that endeavor is sound, then our economy will move forward; otherwise we will retrogress and, in due course, might lose our position of world leadership.

One of the most influential private organizations upon which legislators like myself depend is the American Economic Association, which was founded by Francis A. Walker, who was president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1881.

Unlike those who presently claim to be economists, President Walker realized that economics and politics in the best sense of that word were inextricably entwined. Hence, until very recent times students in many institutions took courses in political economy rather than in economics.

I would like to touch briefly on the mode of teaching economics at MIT because so many of those who are the financial and industrial leaders of your State receive their education at that institution.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is now celebrating its centennial. An article in the Boston Sunday Herald, rotogravure section, in its issue of October 30, 1960, stated, and I quote:

"The social sciences made their first appearance as a byproduct of the appointment in 1881 of a distinguished economist, Francis A. Walker, as president of the institute. Despite his administrative duties and many outside activities, President Walker found time to give a popular lecture course in political economy and to write a textbook that became the most widely used one in the country."

Although MIT was a new school with many problems, President Walker found time to organize the American Economic Association and was its president from 1886 to 1892. I have emphasized this quotation because you will note that the original course which President Walker gave was known as one in political economy and not economics.

Many of the principles that have been espoused by the Democratic Party, which has been charged by the people of the United States with their economic destiny for the next 4 years, were supposedly formulated by Thomas Jefferson. There may be those who believe that he was opposed to those ideas and ideals which you and I hold so dear. Nothing could be further from the truth.

1961

Soviet Union's 8,000-mile-range T-3 missile, which carries a thermonuclear warhead.

It then states:

The United States has determined the location of 14 Russian missile and rocket factories.

The article then says that this information appeared in the May issue of *Military Review*, a magazine published by the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

The article goes on to present various Russian capabilities in this field, including Soviet missile production capacity. The article closes by giving further rather precise information as to missile launching locations, including one in Poland.

If the information in this article is correct, then information given the Senate by the Central Intelligence Agency is incorrect.

But that is not the point I wish to make in these brief comments. Secretary of Defense McNamara and members of the Senate Armed Services Committee joined recently in criticizing the dissemination of too much military information. But today we have an article, whether right or wrong, emanating from the Department of Defense itself; an article presenting information about missile production and launching pad locations which is the most detailed that I have ever seen.

I am particularly interested this morning, because recently testimony was deleted by the Department of Defense from the gallery proof of Senate hearings after the transcript of these hearings had been edited for security; and I have protested the deletion.

Based on the contents on the lengthy passage deleted, it was obvious this was done for public relations reasons only.

We keep from the American people information about broad important policy problems they have the right to know about, at the same time the Department of Defense itself releases detailed information about Russian military contrary to that presented the Senate by the CIA in classified hearings.

I suggest to Secretary McNamara, for whom I have the greatest respect, that before there is further criticism from his Department in this field, he examine his own shop.

Again, let me present a simple fact, further illustrated by this recent unfortunate article out of Leavenworth. Regardless of the amount of money spent by the American taxpayer on our security, we will never handle our defenses either efficiently or effectively unless we reorganize the Pentagon building in recognition of progress, instead of continuing to let it drift in tradition.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article in question by Mr. Bem Price of the Associated Press be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

THIRTY-SEVEN PADS FOR SOVIET MISSILES
(By Bem Price)

WASHINGTON, May 15.—U.S. military leaders believe they know the locations of 37

Soviet missile-launching pads, including one less than 500 miles from Alaska.

And they figure the Russians have 35 to 50 long-range war rockets ready to shoot.

At least 10 of the reported missile pads have been identified as launch sites for the Soviet Union's 8,000-mile-range T-3 missile, which carries a thermonuclear warhead.

Further, the United States has determined the location of 14 Russian missile and rocket factories.

All of this information appears in the May issue of *Military Review*, a magazine published by the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

The magazine noted that the data have been compiled from unclassified sources and added, "Because of a tight Soviet control over military information, this data is derived from sources which are not necessarily accurate or complete."

In addition to estimating that the Russians have between 35 and 50 long-range missiles ready to shoot, the *Military Review* figures the Soviet Union is capable of producing up to 200 strategic missiles by the winter of 1961-62.

At latest count, the United States had an estimated 59 ready-to-shoot missiles, including 32 of the submarine-launched Polaris rockets.

Further, said the magazine, "there is some evidence that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to fire strategic missiles from mobile launchers mounted on rail cars."

The rail-mounted missile is believed to be a boost-glide weapon, known as the T-4A. This missile is boosted upward by a rocket engine, then glides to its target like an aircraft. It carries a 3,100-pound payload. The range is not known, but since it is regarded as a strategic weapon it presumably can travel 1,500 miles or more.

In spotting the launching pads, the magazine noted that all are located within the Soviet Union with the exception of one at Seroc, 20 miles north of Warsaw, Poland.

Most of the Russian launch pads appear to be located west of the Ural Mountains, though there is a launch site at Anadyr in Siberia across the Bering Sea from Alaska.

There is, additionally, a concentration on the Siberian mainland just to the northwest of Japan, and on the Sakhalin Islands, due north of Japan.

The sites near Japan are identified by the magazine as Komsomolsk and Nikolaev, in Siberia, and Okha, Terpeniye and Korsakov in the Sakhalins.

There is a heavy concentration of missile launch sites in northern Russia at Kuresaarem Sovetck, Luga, Minsk, Kallnin, Brobruisk, Roslavi, Kiev, and Kola.

In general, however, the launch sites appear to be widely dispersed, including three intercontinental-range launch sites along the extreme southern borders—at Murghab, Alma-Ata and Irkutsk.

VIOLENCE IN ALABAMA

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I think the whole country must be deeply shocked, appalled, and indeed ashamed by the evidence of violence which we see again with respect to the so-called freedom riders in the buses in the South.

Mr. President, it seems to me that, whatever one may think about the undertaking of the mission, these are American citizens, and we have a great tradition of law and order in our country. I know government can only do what it can do consistent with realities, but this principle does not extend to a failure to prosecute those who are guilty of crimes. I hope very much, even if

the State of Alabama does not feel it can or should give police protection to these people who are riding in buses in accordance with the laws and the Constitution of the United States, who are entitled to every protection—if the State of Alabama feels the mob is overwhelming its authority and the State cannot exercise it—that the United States will enforce the laws of the United States. We have express criminal laws in this regard.

I think the Attorney General of the United States is showing a commendable initiative in stepping into the situation and I, for one, wish to express my support of him.

Mr. President, I have sent the following telegram to the Attorney General of the United States:

I am deeply shocked and concerned by reports of violence, injury to persons and destruction of property in Alabama involving burning of an interstate bus and attacks on persons in the Birmingham bus terminal. These reported actions constitute clear violation of the civil rights of American citizens and violation of Federal law, including 18 U.S.C. 33 dealing with destruction of interstate motor vehicles, and 18 U.S.C. 241 involving conspiracies against the rights of citizens. There may well be other specific Federal statutes, as well as possible need for further legislation, involved in these situations. I trust no effort will be spared to bring to justice those who took part in these incidents. I would deeply appreciate your advising me as to the plans of the Department of Justice for taking action in these cases.

Mr. President, I hope very much that those who are guilty of violations of the law will be prosecuted. I hope very much the country will take note of what these struggles mean and how they are attended by violence, by personal injury, and by disgrace to the good name of the United States throughout the world. I hope very much these ideas may also have their effect upon the decent citizens of the States in which these terrible acts are taking place.

STATE DEPARTMENT BLUNDER IN CUBAN CRISIS

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, there was published in the May 14, 1961, issue of the *Herald Tribune* an article written by a highly respected journalist, Rowland Evans, Jr., entitled, "State Department Blundered in Cuban Crisis."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATE DEPARTMENT BLUNDERED IN CUBAN CRISIS—FAILURE TO BRIEF CONGRESS COULD HAVE HAD SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES

(By Rowland Evans, Jr.)

WASHINGTON.—President Kennedy did his part to consolidate the Nation, and a good deal more, in the gloomy aftermath of the Cuba fiasco. He consulted more high-level Republicans than you could shake a stick at, and he stamped out the wildfire of partisan attack before it could be started in earnest.

But the State Department was mesmerized, or something close to it, and couldn't seem