

*Cuba*

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

January 31

Name of student	Address and city	State	Senator	School and principal
Parks, Patricia	2836 Northwest Cornell Rd., Portland	Oregon	Wayne Morse	St. Mary's Academy, Sister Marys, S.N.M.
Paulhart, Judy	2505 Gladstone Terr., Oklahoma City	Oklahoma	Howard Edmondson	John Marshall High School, Robert B. Cheney
Peddleford, Lynna	2820 Sunset Dr., Wamego	Kansas	Frank Carlson	Wamego High School, Thana Martin
Perry, Alan	434 Peach Ave., Philadelphia	Mississippi	John Stennis	Philadelphia High School, George F. Potter
Pfeifer, Ronald	601 South 33d, Lincoln	Nebraska	Carl T. Curtis	Lincoln Southeast High School, Orin Whistey
Rifer, Wayne	2828 Southwest 33d Ave., Fort Lauderdale	Oregon	Maxine Baucus	Woodrow Wilson High School, Dr. Kenneth Kristian
Riley, Rees	200 North Orchard Ave., Farmington	New Mexico	Edward Lehman	Farmington High School, H. A. Williamson
Ripley, Walter	59 Centerwood Rd., Newton	Connecticut	Thomas J. Dodd	E. C. Goodwin Technical School, Kenneth Merrill
Roziland, Karen	1566 West 4th, Williston	North Dakota	Mike Young	Williston Senior High School, Lora Olson
Schellhorn, Daniel	2225 Woodstock Rd., Columbus	New Jersey	H. A. Williams, Jr.	Hunterdon Central High School, Robert D. Reed
Schnefeld, Jeffrey	1419 Dupont Ave., Minneapolis	Ohio	Stephen Young	Upper Arlington High School, Joseph A. Davis
Schuck, Sandra	428 Crook Ave., Henderson	Minnesota	Eugene McCarthy	St. Anthony of Padua High School, Sr. Marie Maas
Scott, Tommy	2825 West 8th, Lakewood	Tennessee	Albert Gore	Chester County High School, James Williams
Seeburger, Froy	48 Perry St., Barre	Colorado	Gordon Allott	Lakewood High School, Vernon Houston
Seely, Michael	4800 18th Ave. South, Minneapolis	Vermont	Wheaton Frosty	Spaulding High School, Anthony G. Fuchs
Selstad, John	508 Peach St., Magnolia	Minnesota	Hubert Humphrey	Roosevelt Senior High School, John O. Walls
Smart, Douglas	6426 Harrison, Stockton	Arkansas	J. W. Fulbright	Magnolia High School, Jack A. Murray
Smith, Norma	826 Fairfield Ave., North Augusta	California	Thomas Kuchel	Lincoln High School, Eric A. Gorman
Strahl, Robert	2203 Powers, San Antonio	South Carolina	Strom Thurmond	North Augusta Senior High School, E. E. Sullivan
Strat, Randy	2400 Fordham Ct., Boulder	Texas	John G. Tower	Harlingen High School, Dr. A. L. Gordon
Swaaby, Jim	7800 Washington, Indianapolis	Colorado	Peter H. Doren	Fairview High School, Wanda L. Green
Tahenick, Alan	2834 Wallis, Overland, St. Louis	Indiana	Birch Bayh	North Central High School, Grant J. Schwick
Taylor, William Morris	1134 East 17th, Casper	Missouri	Edward Long	Stinson High School, George F. Chapman
Thompson, Barbara	Post Office Box 504, Foley	Wyoming	Gale W. McGee	Natrona High School, William D. Rees
Vesey, Kenneth	508 Tyler Rd. NW., Albuquerque	Alabama	John J. Sparkman	Pelley High School, Oscar E. High
Vielhaus, John	653 North Ed., Wapeton	New Mexico	Olliver Anderson	Valley High School, Ralph E. Dixon
Warner, Coralee	1700 Mississippi St., Lawrence	North Dakota	Quentin Anderson	Wapeton High School, Arvin F. Hess
Whitman, Ken	780 Wingate Rd., Glen Ellyn	Kansas	James B. Pearson	Lawrence High School, Noel M. Wherry
Williams, Richard	4700 North Sharon Amity Rd., Charlotte	Illinois	Everett Dirksen	Glenbard West High School, John D. Sheehan
Wilson, Robert	Morrissey Route, New Castle	North Carolina	B. Everett Jordan	East Mecklenburg High School, David Singleton
Wright, Tom	P.O. 588, Elko	Wyoming	Milward Simpson	Newcastle High School, Jack Carpenter
Young, Eric	223 Riverview Ct., Middletown	Nevada	Howard Cannon	Elko High School, Edwin Jensen
Miltone, David J.	18 Bialne St., Fort Fairbaird	West Virginia	Robert C. Byrd	Mountaineer High School, Scott H. Davis
Mitchell, Barbara		Maine	Margaret Smith	Fort Fairfield

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, in conclusion, I hope very much that the program may be one continuing means by which this parliamentary organization may indicate to the youth of America that it wants them to play their part in arriving at the responsibilities of citizenship so that our free government may continue.

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

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 1 additional minute.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. KEATING. I join the Senator from California in saluting the various Senators who have participated in the program. Personally I was thrilled in meeting the young people who were chosen through competition in the various States. I hope they will gain from their contact with Government officials, including Members of the Senate. I am sure that Senators have gained from their contact with the students.

Mr. KUCHEL. I thank my able friend, who has played a very prominent part in the U.S. Senate youth program.

**AIRPOWER IN THE ILL-FATED BAY OF PIGS INVASION OF CUBA**

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Texas (Mr. Tower).

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Attorney General says that U.S. airpower was not involved in the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, in April 1961. The U.S. News & World Report, in its February 4 edition, gives the following excerpts of actual messages from the beachhead during the 3 days, April 17 to 19, as follows:

SAW to air command: "Brigade commander on Blue Beach says he must have jet support. He is under heavy attack by Mig jets and heavy tanks. Pepe."

SAW to air command: "Blue Beach under air attack by four jets and two Sea Furies. Where is our jet cover? Pepe."

SAW to air command: "First battalion under heavy artillery attack. Also Blue Beach from east. Request air knock out artillery as soon as possible. Where is our jet cover gone to? Pepe."

To air command: "Where are F-51's (F-50's—World War II model fighter planes) and transport? Enemy tanks attacking east side of Blue Beach. Pepe."

To base: "Barracuda, Marsopa, and Lou (code names for invasion ships) cannot arrive Blue Beach, discharged and leave by daylight. Request jet cover for us in beach-head area."

To base: "Marsopa proceeding Blue Beach with three Lou's (landing craft). If low jet cover is not furnished at first light, believe we will lose all ships. Request immediate reply. Blue Beach under attack by Mig's and T-33. Request immediately jet support or cannot hold. Pepe."

To base: "Will Blue Beach have jet cover tonight and tomorrow? Request air cover stay lower down as enemy planes come in low. Was attacked by jets after own own cover arrived. Did not receive help from air cover. Pepe."

To air command: "Tell Cuban pilots we are fighting last-ditch stand. Give them gasoline and ammunition. Road north to Govadonga is full of enemy and there is artillery east and west of Blue Beach."

To air command: "Can't you throw something into this vital point in the battle? Anything. Just let pilots loose. Pepe."

To base: "Do you people realize how desperate the situation is? Do you back us or quit? All we want is low jet cover and jet close support. Enemy has this support. I need it badly or cannot survive. Please don't desert us. Out of basooks and tank ammo. Tanks will hit me at dawn."

To air commander: "Blue Beach under attack by B-26. Where is promised air cover? Pepe."

Mr. President, these messages show conclusively that jet cover was expected. The only jets in the area were those based upon a U.S. carrier, standing by just over the horizon during that period.

The only other jets were those based in nearby Florida. It is my fervent hope that we shall soon discover the facts of the situation.

**SOVIET BUILDUP IN CUBA**

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the Soviet buildup in Cuba is mounting anew, and exceedingly serious evidence arrives daily. Not only are the Soviets building up their existing forces and equipment in Cuba into a state of top-notch readiness, but additional material and equipment continues to flow into the island under suspicious circumstances.

In his press conference of last week, the President said that we have had evidence of only one large vessel carrying predominantly military equipment into Cuba since October. The very next day, on Friday, January 25, a second large vessel arrived. Under maximum security conditions, it unloaded a cargo of armaments.

The route followed by these two ships is generally termed a "maximum security route," a passage traveled by the Soviets through areas where the United States is least able to maintain adequate surveillance of ships' contents.

It is also, ominously enough, the identical route followed last summer by the first of the Soviet vessels carrying medium-range, ground-to-ground missiles into Cuba.

While the Soviets continue to ship military equipment under tight security conditions into Cuba and to unload it at docking points where outsiders are rigorously excluded—only Soviets are allowed to handle it—there is also a semi-monthly passenger steamship service between Cuba and Russia and a weekly nonstop Moscow-Havana flight. These provide ample facilities for the Soviets to transport additional equipment to their newest satellite—under conditions that make tight U.S. surveillance impractical, if not impossible.

Furthermore, while evidence mounts of new equipment pouring in from the

1963

Communist bloc, there is continuing, absolutely confirmed and undeniable evidence that the Soviets are maintaining and guarding the medium-range sites they had previously constructed in Cuba. There has been no Soviet move to dismantle these concrete sites or withdraw the launching bases, as one might expect if the Soviets intended in good faith to keep these missiles out of Cuba in the future.

On the contrary, the Soviets' 24-hour maintenance of these sites gives rise to the very real possibility that Russia hopes to return the heavy missiles to the island and get them into commission—or, even more ominous—that they may have missiles left on the island and need only to wheel them out of caves. Let me make clear that I have no confirmed evidence now that there are still ground-to-ground missiles or mobile missile launchers or aimers for these missiles in Cuba, but the Soviet activity around these sites cannot help but raise a number of serious questions. Without onsite inspection, it is hard to see how we will ever know for sure the true missile situation in Cuba.

Finally, I have no idea that the Soviets are planning to attack the United States directly. What they are planning to do—in fact they are already doing it—is mount an increasing wave of sabotage, terrorism, political subversion, and agitation throughout Latin America. Already riots in Venezuela, Peru, Brazil clearly and demonstrably are the work of Communists trained and armed in Cuba.

We can expect this to get worse and worse. Economic progress and development in Latin America, such as that planned under the Alliance for Progress, will become infinitely harder to achieve, if not impossible. Private capital will flee the continent. No amount of U.S. aid will be able to fill the gap. This is in progress, but it will hit a new crescendo, for Castro is now proving that he has survived the latest crisis, that he is able to defy both the United States and the Organization of American States. His supporters in Latin America, cowed in October, are taking heart again.

The time will come when the United States will have to make the hard choice—get rid of this advance Communist arsenal, no matter how, or give up Latin America. The Alliance for Progress could do a lot of good—in a stable political climate—but to invest U.S. funds for long-term, carefully balanced, economic development projects in Latin America while Castro is investing Soviet funds for guns and terrorism, is like trying to cure a cancer patient with vitamin pills. I have nothing against vitamin pills—in fact I take them myself—but we are only fooling ourselves and our friends if we think they will cure the cancer that Castro is injecting in the very bloodstream of Latin America.

It is so much easier, to destroy than to build. The time will come when we will have to abandon Latin America or get rid of this cancer. Furthermore, the Soviets are building Cuba up to the

point where it will be impossible to get them out with conventional weapons. Cuba is becoming an impregnable fortress just as fast as the Soviets can make it so.

One objective may be to make it so difficult for us to use conventional weapons that it will turn out to be an effort to force the United States to use nuclear weapons.

One of the most significant lessons of the October Cuban crisis, in my judgment, was the advantage the United States derived from the fact that we had the shots. We could decide what weapons and tools we wanted to use. The Soviets had only one effective choice—missiles. As a result, they backed down. But when the newest Soviet buildup in Cuba is completed, when all equipment is unloaded, installed, and defended, our positions will be reversed. It will be clearly impossible for any number of native Cuban forces to dislodge the Soviet might. And it may also be impossible for any American forces to dislodge it using conventional weapons. I am very much afraid this may be the long-range Soviet objective. If we permit them to achieve it, then national independence, political stability, and economic development will be forever impossible, not only in Cuba, but throughout South America.

I intend to speak on this subject at greater length next week and offer some definite proposals as to what we can do. But the need right now is for facts. The American people have the right to know how many ships are landing in Cuba, what supplies they are bringing, what the Soviets now in Cuba are doing, and what it means for the long-term security of this entire hemisphere. Cuba's explosive potential in the Western Hemisphere is increasing week by week.

#### THE UNDECLARED WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I share the concern of many people in my state and elsewhere over what amounts to our involvement in an undeclared war in Vietnam. Many brave Americans are losing their lives in Vietnam just as they did in the undeclared war in Korea.

Mr. President, I completely share the feeling regarding this matter as expressed so well in a recent column by David Lawrence, which appeared in the Grand Forks Herald of Grand Forks, N.D., on January 16, 1963; and in another column by David Halberstam which appeared in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of Minneapolis, Minn., on January 26, 1963.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have these two columns printed in the Record as a part of my remarks.

There being no objections, the columns were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Grand Forks (Minn.) Herald, Jan. 16, 1963]

DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON.—For what cause have 50 Americans given their lives in South Vietnam? What is the Government here telling

the unfortunate parents and relatives? It would seem that not only is a persuasive explanation due the families of the men killed, but it is due the American people as well. For other Americans in uniform—about 1 million of them—now are stationed in 41 different lands and may any day be asked to make similar sacrifices. An official explanation as to why the United States is taking the lives of its youth in South Vietnam has not been forthcoming. Yet Congress alone, under the Constitution, has the right to declare war. A President who leads our national safety threatened need not wait for Congress but may in an emergency order our armed services into action because there isn't time to consult Congress. At the earliest practicable moment, nevertheless, a President is morally obligated to ask for a resolution of both Houses of Congress to authorize the continued use of American troops.

When President Wilson suddenly ordered Marines to land in Vera Cruz in 1914, to intercept a shipment of arms from Germany, a request for a joint resolution of authorization was made only a few days later. The request was promptly granted. In 1950, when President Truman overnight ordered our Armed Forces to help the United Nations to repel the invasion of South Korea, he called it a "police action," though it turned into a major war. Congress never authorized it explicitly but later gave the military operation validity by passing the necessary appropriations.

There have been a few cases in which Marines have been landed for brief periods in foreign countries by the United States to protect American lives and property and no resolutions have been sought from Congress. But in no case have such forces been used to carry on any operations involving military action against another country.

Today American troops and equipment—of a cost to American taxpayers of \$1 billion a day—are in South Vietnam, and the official word is that all this is solely to help in defensive operations at the request of the local government.

American troops usually do not engage in any foreign war without the authorization of the people's representatives—the Congress of the United States. It is recognized, of course, that a President may take measures of instant fortification if an attack is made against this country, but it is assumed Congress would even then be asked to authorize any continued warfare. Under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the United States is pledged to regard an attack on any of the member states as being just the same as an attack on the United States. But after the initial steps have been taken, the Congress is supposed to furnish the necessary authority to carry on the war.

Just why the administration has not presented the facts about the situation in South Vietnam to the American people is a mystery. Informal and confidential talks with members of the foreign relations committees of Congress have been held by the Department of State. But these are by no means a substitute for the requirements of the Constitution. American boys have already been killed in action in South Vietnam, and many more of them may be sacrificed in the Congo or other parts of the world to quell local disturbances.

The U.S. Government today has taken the position that, under the assumed authority of the United Nations, American advisers and equipment can be used in the Congo to settle by force an internal war in a state which covers a considerable area in central Africa.

President Eisenhower found himself in a tough spot in the Far East when an attack on Quemoy and Matsu, the islands off the shore of Red China, was threatened in 1954