

the Atlantic powers. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development aims include economic expansion, rising standards of living, financial stability, and expanded trade for member nations of the Organization and the world as a whole.

Youth Employment Opportunities Act: Authorizes \$241 million over 3 years to provide useful employment opportunities to young people (16-21) through a Youth Conservation Corps and Public Service program (stuck in Rules Committee since March 1962).

Medical school construction: Authorizes \$75 million annually for 10-year program of Federal matching grants for construction of medical schools; \$72.5 million for 5-year loan program for medical students (stuck in Rules Committee).

Higher education: Grants of \$180 million annually for 5 years, and loans of \$120 million annually for 5 years for construction of higher education academic facilities. (Conferees deadlocked.) Senate bill contains provision for 212,500 4-year scholarships.

Accelerated Public Works: Authorizing President to allocate \$900 million for job creating public works projects in areas with heavy unemployment. In conference with Senate bill authorizing \$750 million to be immediately committed and \$750 million in standby program.

Trade bill: President given unprecedented tariff-cutting authority—general authority to reduce tariffs by 50 percent, special authority to reduce tariffs by as much as 100 percent on goods on which United States and European Common Market together accounted for 80 percent of free world trade, to eliminate tariffs on certain tropical commodities and on goods on which existing tariff was 5 percent or less. Provided procedures for raising tariffs on goods where cut found to have injured an entire industry; also authorized alternative of Government aid to injured businesses and workers. (Awaiting Senate action, has passed House.)

U.N. bond issue: As reported from House Committee—authorizes President to lend the United Nations up to \$100 million on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis with other nations to assist the UN in a financial crisis brought about by its special peacekeeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. (Passed Senate, awaiting House action.)

Drug controls: Tighten controls over the manufacture and distribution of drugs. (Passed Senate, awaits House action.)

Mass transportation: Authorizes Federal matching grants for development of comprehensive and coordinated mass transportation systems in urban areas. (Awaits action, both Houses.)

Wilderness system: Establishes a National Wilderness Preservation System. (Passed Senate in 1961, awaits House action.)

Elderly housing: Raised to \$225 million the revolving loan funds for construction of rental housing for the elderly in urban areas, and established new housing aids for the elderly in rural areas. (Passed House, awaits Senate action.)

1962 tax revision: An important step in overhauling our Federal tax structure, providing investment credit up to 7 percent of price of newly purchased business equipment, tightens entertainment and travel expenses as well as tax treatment of earnings of overseas personal income and foreign corporation earnings, among many needed reforms.

Equal pay for women: Provides that in certain industries equal pay must be given for equal work, without regard to the worker's sex. (Passed House, awaits Senate action.)

BUREAUCRACY IN ROME

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Bureaucracy-Hating 'Phantom' Strikes Third Time at Rome."

Perhaps the article may give some consolation to those who are concerned about the extension of bureaucracy. I hope that many bureaucrats may read the article, since what happened in Rome could happen here.

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

BUREAUCRACY-HATING "PHANTOM" STRIKES THIRD TIME AT ROME

ROME, April 13.—Rome's phantom "enemy of bureaucracy" struck again last night.

He struck first a month ago in the night-darkened offices of Rome's city registry. He stole nothing and broke nothing, but he pulled thousands of vital statistics records from out of the files and strewed them through the building. Clerks still are trying to get them back in order.

Three weeks ago he made a similar raid at the offices of the Rome Automobile Club. After he scattered the records there he telephoned police and told them about it.

"I just don't like bureaucracy," he said. Last night he hit a municipal branch office in the Garbatella section of the city. This time he worked with patient care.

Varied-colored paper files were laid out on the floors in geometric and abstract designs. Some documents were folded into paper airplanes and sailed into inaccessible nooks. Other records were strewn through the halls.

He took a bundle of papers with him and laid a trail down the street to show police the way he had gone. Then the trail faded out—and so did the phantom.

Cuba
IS CASTRO AN OBSESSION WITH US?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to a perceptive article by my good friend, the distinguished junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN], which was published in yesterday's New York Sunday Times magazine. In an article entitled "Is Castro an Obsession With Us," Senator McGOVERN has pointed out that while the problem of Castro's tyranny in Cuba continues to be an important and urgent one, it should not prevent us from recognizing that there are other major world problems which also require our urgent attention—in Latin America, in Berlin, in India, to mention but a few.

Because the problem of Cuba has plagued two administrations, it remains a subject inviting partisan controversy. This controversy has often led to a distorted view in the American mind about the importance of the Cuban problem, magnifying it all out of proportion.

Our colleague has demonstrated with admirable clarity that the need for fundamental reforms required for the success of the Alliance for Progress existed long before Castro came to power and will remain as a challenge to the United States long after Castro has left the scene. In the long run, the success or failure of the Alliance for Progress in

such a vast, wealthy country as Brazil will be far more important in shaping the course of events in the Western Hemisphere than the current actions of a Fidel Castro in Cuba. Our determination to restore freedom in Cuba should not deflect us from the equally urgent task of pressing ahead with the political, economic, and social reforms required for the success of the Alliance for Progress in all of Latin America.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

IS CASTRO AN OBSESSION WITH US?

(By George S. McGovern)

Writing to his friend Henry White on September 13, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt confided: "Just at the moment, I am so angry with that infernal little Cuban Republic that I would like to wipe its people off the face of the earth. All that we wanted from them was that they would behave themselves and be prosperous and happy so that we would not have to interfere. And now, lo and behold, they have started an utterly unjustifiable and pointless revolution and may get things into such a snarl that we have no alternative save to intervene—which will at once convince the suspicious idiots in South America that we do wish to interfere after all."

The stormy hero of San Juan Hill may have expressed his irritation over Cuba more forcefully than other White House occupants, but he was not the first, or the last, to become preoccupied with "that infernal little Cuban Republic."

Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams were among those convinced that Cuba was so essential to the security of the United States that we would someday annex it.

When, in 1823, President Monroe warned the European powers that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety," he was spelling out U.S. determination that Cuba should never be acquired by a major foreign power.

President Kennedy thus was drawing on an accepted principle of American diplomacy during the Cuban missile crisis of last October when he said that the "build-up of Communist missiles in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States * * * is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country." Yet, historical precedents notwithstanding, one wonders if historians of the future will not be amazed at the apparent obsession of the United States in the 1960's with Fidel Castro and his Cuban regime.

Few Americans now question President Kennedy's decisive action in forcing Mr. Khrushchev to withdraw his missiles from Cuba. But how can one account for the fact that, long before the installation of offensive missiles and long after their removal, Castro has appeared to be at the center of American political and diplomatic efforts? He not only occupies the time and energy of many of our top State Department, White House, and the CIA officials, but absorbs the attention of Congress and threatens to be a central issue in the 1964 presidential election. Those of us who were congressional candidates last fall can testify to the explosive nature of the Castro issue in that campaign. One need

only leaf through the files of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or any American newspaper or any Congressman's mail to realize that no other issue in recent years has provoked such an immense outcry.

This animated national debate, considering the comparative weakness of Cuba, scarcely does justice to the dignity of the United States as a great world power charged with global leadership. It was one thing for a struggling infant republic in the days of John Quincy Adams to assert boldly a central interest in Cuba. It is quite another thing for the mightiest nation of the 20th century to permit an inflammatory Cuban revolutionist to dominate its politics and heavily influence its posture in the international community. One wonders if we have forgotten the Biblical warning against straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

Cuba—an island of natural beauty, fertile valleys, mountainous ridges, and sandy beaches—has a population about the size of New Jersey and an area equal to Ohio. The economy has been based on the growing and processing of sugar. By no stretch of the imagination can Cuba be considered a significant world power. It has barely enough food, even with its imports, to keep its tiny population alive. It has neither the natural resources nor the organization to maintain a strong industrial or agricultural economy.

As for the contention that Cuba is a special danger because it is only 90 miles off our shore, one wonders whether people seriously expect a Cuban invasion of Florida. Its military force, even with the help of 17,000 Russian soldiers, cannot be considered a serious threat. Indeed, some observers believe that the presence of seasoned Russian officers and technicians may serve as a restraining influence on the more emotional Cuban revolutionists. If Castro should completely lose his mind, however, and launch an attack against Miami, the United States has enough firepower floating off Cuba to pulverize the island in minutes.

It remains true, of course, that while Castro may not be a direct military threat to the United States, he is a subversive danger to the hemisphere and to the Alliance for Progress. His agents and propagandists are spreading communism and opposing democratic reform in other Latin-American countries.

Even so, while the existence of the Castro regime in Cuba clearly reinforces the efforts of the Communist apparatus, it is obvious that the Communists would be fanning the flames of revolution in Latin America with or without Dr. Castro. Does anyone seriously believe that Castro introduced communism to the hemisphere or that it would die out if he were to disappear? There have been revolutions and Marxists in Latin America for generations, and neither Moscow nor Peking depends upon Castro to supply the revolutionary forces which serve their purposes to the south of us.

Why, then, our obsession with Castro? One reason is that we are an impatient people who react strongly to anyone who defies us. It is especially galling to be reviled and insulted by an impetuous nuisance from a little island we could destroy any time we wanted to flex the muscle of our Strategic Air Command. We are made the more resentful when we remember that Castro has shown no gratitude for our ending military aid to Batista in 1958, for our prompt recognition of his government in 1959, and for his generally friendly reception in the United States.

The American press once treated Castro as a conquering hero, and his triumph over Batista was widely acclaimed. Not until July 6, 1960, after repeated confiscations of American property, after bitter propaganda attacks on the United States, and after the communization of Cuban politics and labor did our Government take its first punitive action

against Castro—a sharp reduction in the sugar quota.

One can only speculate as to the motivations of American mass psychology in a situation like this. Why has the importance of Castro—and I do not mean to deny that he and his Moscow-dominated regime do have some importance—been blown up so unwarrantedly? Perhaps, one might suggest, he is a sort of substitute target for our national frustration and annoyance with Moscow and the whole Communist conspiracy.

Castro is close to home. He is visible. He has taunted us and our most fundamental beliefs with his drumhead trials, his arrogant seizures of private property, his double-cross in openly espousing Marxism after receiving American support and enthusiastic approval at the beginning of his democratic revolution.

The American reaction, it seems to me, is something like the reflex reaction of respectable citizens to the neighborhood bully. He may be a weak person, striking out at others from his own sense of frustration and insecurity, but it is instinctive to want to get back at him. But isn't a bully better handled by isolation than by reacting violently?

This is easier said than done, however. First, there is the American habit of seeing issues in black and white terms, to be handled by all-or-nothing methods. But, as any politician knows, this is often the worst way to win an objective. And secondly, there is the clear fact that the whole Castro problem has become a domestic political issue—of the kind where it is easier to release emotions than propose solutions.

Just as the Korean conflict was exploited for political purposes in the early nineteen-fifties, so has Cuba been a tempting issue in the nineteen-sixties. The presence in Miami of thousands of Cuban refugees and the sizable number of Americans across the country with relatives in Cuba is an added emotional dimension.

Although the Kennedy administration has been on the receiving end of most of the political charges, it has not itself been guiltless of "politicking."

As a presidential candidate, Mr. Kennedy injected the issue into the campaign in such a manner as to draw the most indignant rebukes from candidate Nixon. "Mr. Nixon hasn't mentioned Cuba very prominently in this campaign," said Mr. Kennedy on October 15, 1960. "He talks about . . . standing up to Khrushchev, but he never mentioned standing firm in Cuba—and if you can't stand up to Castro, how can you be expected to stand up to Khrushchev? While we cannot violate international law, we must recognize that these exiles and rebels represent the real voice of Cuba and should not be constantly handicapped by our Immigration and Justice Department authorities."

As if to make good on the implications of his campaign utterances, the President, early in his Administration, gave his sanction to the unfortunate Bay of Pigs invasion. This clumsy failure, the embarrassment, the humiliation, the sense of guilt—all these combined to produce a traumatic national experience for the United States. Some were ashamed that we should have participated in such a highly questionable piece of international intrigue and violence. Others burned with rage that we had permitted a rag-tag Cuban militia to thwart the United States.

This is the source of much of the political fire leveled at our subsequent Cuba policy. At a time when the administration urges caution and restraint, it is perhaps not surprising that political opponents equate such a policy with weakness, timidity, cowardice or appeasement. While such vocal innuendoes offer no plan for removing Castro, they feed our obsession with him.

But regardless of its origins, does the Castro obsession serve our interests, or does it better serve the interests of Mr. Khrushchev?

I have often wondered why the wily Soviet Premier has invested so heavily in the kind of risky enterprise which Fidel Castro is frantically trying to establish. If his purpose was to enhance the influence of Castroism in the hemisphere, he must be bitterly disappointed with the results, for the Castro-Khrushchev embrace has had the opposite effect. By tying his revolution to Moscow, Castro has sacrificed much of his appeal to other nationalistic Latin-American states. No thoughtful Observer of Latin-American affairs has failed to note the decline of the Cuban dictator's influence since his marriage to the Kremlin.

But if Mr. Khrushchev's purpose was to create in Castro a gadfly designed to divert the attention of the United States from the real dangers and challenges of Latin America—to say nothing of Asia, Africa, or the Middle East—then he must, indeed, feel that his investment has paid off handsomely.

For while we are gripped by the Castro fixation, the basic dangers to security in the hemisphere—the economic, political and social ills of Latin America—continue to fester.

We have a smoldering blockbuster in our backyard which dwarfs Castro. I refer to the 200 million people of Latin America who occupy a vast land that is potentially rich and fruitful but actually beset by misery, sickness, injustice, illiteracy, malnutrition and misrule. These millions live under a social system that tends to concentrate enormous wealth in the hands of the few and to consign the many to lives of desperate poverty. Make no mistake about it—powerful social forces are stirring to the south. Latin America is, as one observer put it, "dynamite on our doorstep."

Neither Fidel Castro nor Nikita Khrushchev nor international communism is at the base of this explosive situation. They are the would-be beneficiaries of the tensions and illness which threaten the security of the hemisphere, but they are not the fundamental factors. They are effects rather than causes.

Castro climbed to power over the carcass of a decadent political and social system which he shrewdly exploited, but which he did not create. Unfortunately, the United States image in Cuba prior to Castro rested on the American-financed night clubs, gambling casinos, racketeering and prostitution of Havana, combined with the investments of our oil and sugar corporations. Until 1958, American arms and money bolstered the Batista regime. Castroism elsewhere now feeds on the same kind of corruption and social injustice that made the revolt against Batista inevitable.

The real bombshells of Latin America are fused from the following conditions:

1. Two percent of the people of the continent own more than half its wealth and land, while most of the rest live in hopeless poverty.
2. Eighty percent of the people dwell in miserable shacks or huts.
3. Illiteracy grips well over half the population.
4. More than 50 percent of the people suffer from hunger and disease, and most of them will never in their lifetimes see a doctor, nurse, dentist, or pharmacist.
5. Most of the peasants live under primitive feudal conditions with no hope for land-ownership, reasonable credit or escape to a better life.
6. Several key countries depend on one-crop economies afflicted by depressed commodity prices.
7. Most governments are weakened by unjust tax structures, excessive military ex-

penditure, designed to keep the people under control, bad landownership and utilization, and indifference to social injustice.

8. A population growth rate several times higher than the production rate of goods and services exists in several Latin American countries.

In the long view of history, it may very well be that Castro, for all his mischief and violence, will have indirectly performed some service in prompting us to give closer attention to our neighbors to the south. In the same way, he has confronted the ruling classes of Latin America with a stern choice between accepting long overdue reforms or seeing themselves swept aside in a series of violent Castro-type revolutions. Sometimes the hand of providence moves in strange ways. There can be no mistaking the fact that much of Castro's appeal to the oppressed rests on the knowledge that his presence has forced every government in the hemisphere to take a new and more searching look at crying human needs.

The real issue turns on whether the people can reconstruct an unjust social order through peaceful democratic revolution or whether they will do it by a violent Communist upheaval. How, then, can we encourage the proper response?

We can first of all break loose from our fixation on Castro and assign him the lower priority of attention he merits. Khrushchev has deflated Castro by revealing him as a puppet not even worthy of consultation during the missile withdrawal last October.

Moscow's recent splashy reception of the Cuban leader was a thinly disguised Soviet recognition of its need to bolster the fading Castro image. We can best diminish Castro's prestige, therefore, if we will cease acting as though he were the chief object of our concern and the major source of our fear. Quiet economic and diplomatic pressures have already substantially isolated Cuba in the hemisphere and weakened Castro's hold on his people.

At the same time, we must help fill up the swamplands in which Castroism breeds. This is the hope of the Alliance for Progress—a mutual effort to raise standards of living through the painstaking, often frustrating method of self-help, democratic reform and economic development.

The Alliance will test the patience and toughness of all who believe in its promise. It envisions nothing less than a continent-wide social revolution, including land and tax reform, improved agriculture, and better housing, health and education. These are lofty goals, enormously difficult of attainment, that will take a generation to achieve at best. They do not appeal, therefore, to those who want a quick headline and a fast answer. It is far easier to make loud speeches against an irritable, bearded dictator than to face the tough task of making the Alliance for Progress work.

We have too many who call for decisive but unjustified measures to overthrow Castro, and not enough who give attention to the real problems confronting the Alliance. We have too many self-appointed experts telling the President the inside dope from their private intelligence sources, and not enough expert analysis of depressed commodity prices, rural credit problems, land reform, and population pressures.

We have had too many postmortems over the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion. Originally conceived in the previous administration, it was a tragic mistake both in conception and execution for which President Kennedy bravely took the blame. Why now compound the error by probing the ruins and calling for a repeat performance?

President Kennedy's policy since the Bay of Pigs fiasco has been steady and sound, both morally and politically. In the October crisis, he measured his actions with precision to meet the needs of a situation where a

single mistep might have led to disaster. By producing positive proof of the Soviet-Cuban offensive missile threat before invoking a carefully limited naval sanction, the President won unanimous support for his action from our Western Allies and the countries of Latin America. He forced Khrushchev to back down, and he did so without war. He has since resisted those who have shouted for the kind of action that could lead to world war III.

As the President said recently: "I think the big dangers to Latin America * * * are the very difficult, and in some cases, desperate conditions in the countries themselves—unrelated to Cuba." These are problems which must be faced and solved in the main by the people of Latin America; but we have proclaimed our willingness to help.

Hence, the hopeful and inspiring promise of the Alliance for Progress.

Hence, the Peace Corps units which, through the dedication and idealism of American youth, are bringing new hope and pride to the villages of Latin America.

Hence, an expanded food-for-peace program which, among other accomplishments, is now providing a nutritious meal daily to 8,500,000 Latin American schoolchildren and to 5,500,000 babies and pregnant mothers.

Hence, the U.S. medical teams that are combating disease in Central America.

Hence, the growing exchange of students and teachers between the universities of North and South America.

These are the tools of hope and life and strength with which America is fighting the truly significant battles of the hemisphere. This is our best longrun answer to Castro.

It is not yet clear that the ruling groups of Latin America are aroused sufficiently to their responsibilities to make the Alliance succeed on a broad scale. Nor is it clear that we have grasped fully the nature and scope of the leadership demands that are upon us as a great and powerful nation.

I earnestly hope that we will not dissipate our energies in a senseless obsession with Castro. Our mission is to point the way to a better life for the hemisphere, and indeed for all mankind.

COMMENDATION OF UNITED STATES STEEL FOUNDATION'S PROGRAM FOR AID TO EDUCATION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I wish to commend the United States Steel Foundation for its continued support of higher education. Mr. Roger Blough, chairman of the board, recently announced grants to 766 institutions of higher education and 26 organizations totaling \$2,480,000, to mark the 10th anniversary of the foundation's program of aid to education.

Approximately one-third of this amount is for unrestricted operating grants; nearly half is for major-purpose capital grants; with the remainder for graduate study fellowships and aid to organizations and projects for the improvement of educational methods and administration. Particularly noteworthy is the freedom of the institutions to exercise freedom of choice and control over particular recipients and specifics within the broad categories provided for by this program. It is easy for large contributors to inhibit the freedom of educational institutions which are the recipients of such aid and the foundation is to be particularly commended for avoiding this.

Emphasis on financial help for Negro students, for seminars on international affairs, peaceful uses of nuclear energy, conferences on world peace, international student exchange, and other programs deserve special commendation and are a testimony to the altruism of the foundation. The voluntary acceptance by the United States Steel Foundation of responsibility for helping with the major financial problems of education is most deserving of our thanks and our recognition.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an announcement of this program be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

A \$2,480,000 program of aid to education, with grants to 766 liberal arts colleges, universities, and institutes, and to 26 organizations dedicated to raising the quality of teaching and learning in America, was announced today by Roger M. Blough, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of United States Steel Foundation, Inc.

"The Foundation's 10th anniversary program of aid to education," said Mr. Blough, "marks a decade of effort by the trustees to enhance the quality and service potential of a broad segment of educational institutions, organizations, and special programs and projects."

The Foundation's grants fall into four major categories: (1) about 33 percent of the total, \$820,000, is for unrestricted operating grants to colleges, universities and institutes; (2) about 48 percent, \$1,160,000, is for major-purpose or capital grants; (3) about 9 percent, \$245,000, is for aid to organizations and projects for improvement of educational methods and administration; and (4) the balance of about 10 percent, \$255,000, is for graduate-study fellowship grants for university-chosen doctoral candidates.

Operating grants—\$820,000: Operating aid in the amount of \$488,000 is afforded to all 465 accredited 4-year institutional members of all the 41 State and regional liberal arts college associations, which have benefited since 1954 to the extent of about \$3.4 million. Additionally, \$41,000 of operating aid goes to predominantly Negro colleges, including all members of the United Negro College Fund, bringing support to such institutions since 1954 to almost \$490,000. Aid channeled through the National Fund for Medical Education for the general operating needs of all 86 member institutions is at the level of \$85,000 for the year, and Foundation grants to the Fund have totaled \$720,000 since 1954.

In addition to support of group-affiliated institutions, the 1963 program provides \$112,000 of operating assistance to nongroup institutions, as well as \$96,000 for the current operating needs of selected universities, science and engineering institutes not otherwise assisted.

The trustees anticipate that the recipient institutions will apply most of the unrestricted operating funds to faculty and staff salary needs and to improved educational offerings.

"During the 10-year period paralleling the existence of the United States Steel Foundation," commented Mr. Blough, "more than \$70 million have been obtained through the State and regional fundraising movement from about 12,000 corporate and foundation donors directly. It is estimated that these efforts have generated an even larger sum indirectly for these valued institutions. All such sums provide for significant advancement of their separate efforts and demon-

strate the validity of their unifying movement for self-help and academic growth."

Major-purpose or capital grants—\$1,180,000: After designating \$430,000 of the assistance program for installments on prior commitments, the foundation is making new major-purpose or capital grants amounting to \$730,000. Of this total, the sum of \$445,000 for 26 one-time grants—ranging from \$5,000 to \$40,000—goes to the following liberal arts and science colleges, women's colleges, regional colleges, and universities; Aurora College, Illinois; Austin College, Texas; Boston College, Massachusetts; Boston University, Massachusetts; Brandeis University, Massachusetts; Carleton College, Minnesota; Converse College, South Carolina; Furman University, South Carolina; Haverford College, Pennsylvania; Hiram College, Ohio; Hofstra College, New York; Hope College, Michigan; Indiana Central University, Indiana; Johnstown College, Pennsylvania; Mary Baldwin College, Virginia; Millsaps College, Mississippi; St. John's College, Maryland; College of St. Thomas, Minnesota; St. Xavier College, Illinois; Sloux Falls College, South Dakota; Stetson University, Florida; Susquehanna University of Pennsylvania; Texas Christian University, Texas; Union College, Kentucky; Uniontown Campus of Waynesburg College, Pennsylvania; Wells College, New York. With the inclusion of these grants, 211 liberal arts and science institutions have been aided since 1954 for a total of \$4.8 million. Included in this total are 28 women's colleges, which have received an aggregate of \$600,000 in capital grants.

Of the \$285,000 balance, \$100,000 covers grants of \$20,000 each to five private institutions—Caltech, Cornell, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and MIT—as continued participants under the leadership institution aid plan, although no post-1963 commitments are made to them as to support in later years. Heretofore the plan has provided for a 5-year forward commitment, payable in equal annual installments, subject to periodic review by the trustees. The other current university participants in the plan, to whom typical commitments were earlier made, will receive payments of \$20,000 in 1963. These universities are Brown, Catholic, Chicago, Columbia, Duke, New York, Northwestern, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Rochester, Stanford, Tulane, Vanderbilt, Washington (Mo.), and Yale. The leadership institution aid plan replaces, with respect to the participating institutions, consideration of the separate requirements of school, department, division, and institute needs for particular capital or other major-purpose outlays, by providing, in lieu thereof, unrestricted sums for recipient use determination and best allocation. Such a plan of assistance is consonant with the approach urged by the national Committee for Corporate Support of American Universities.

The remaining \$185,000 relates to major institutional development grants. They include initial installments for new commitments aggregating \$750,000, payable over a 2- to 5-year period to selected universities including Denver, Duquesne, Southern California, and Stanford. Such major one-time grants, as with earlier commitments in prior years to Lehigh, MIT, Notre Dame, Princeton, and Yale, afford special help to once-in-a-generation development programs of selected institutions.

In commenting on all the foundation's major-purpose or capital grants, Mr. Blough said, "Our times require that many donors come forward with reasonably sustained unrestricted aid in dollar volume sufficient to insure that ever higher standards of excellence may be pursued, that creativity be encouraged, and that academic freedom be strengthened."

Organization support and educational research—\$123,000. Recognizing the mounting need to broaden further the base of educational finance, grants are made to selected educational associations importantly concerned with extending acceptance of the financing responsibility. Based upon the useful utilization of prior grants, renewed support is given to the American Alumni Council for its general program and the foundation-initiated alumni giving incentive award plan. This plan is open to participation by hundreds of private and public educational institutions and recognizes successful operation of alumni supported programs. Thus far nearly \$270,000 has been made available for such stimulation of alumni giving, chiefly through awards to about 150 institutional winners. The Independent College Fund of America—the national body for the liberal arts college State associations—is again aided, as is the Council for Financial Aid to Education. Support is also provided to the American College Public Relations Association for its development work in behalf of all the Nation's colleges.

Grants also are continued to the Association of American Colleges, the American Council on Education, the Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, the American Association of Junior Colleges, the American Association of University Women, the Board for Fundamental Education, and the Council for Independent School Aid—such grants in support of their national educational research or general programs. A grant to the American Personnel and Guidance Association recognizes the importance of student guidance development, and aid to the National Science Teachers Association of the National Education Association assists that organization's work of encouraging youth to pursue scientific careers. Assistance is also provided for the current program of the National Home Study Council and to the Associated Colleges of Illinois for its ConSery plan.

Academic and educational quality aid—\$122,000: Support is again provided toward improved library service and bettered facilities through a further grant to the Association of College and Research Libraries to assist many college libraries. Since the start of the foundation's program, about \$298,000 has been provided for such needs. Support is renewed to the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges—a nationwide group of several score institutions seeking to improve their community services. The National Commission on Accrediting receives a grant to forward its activities in support of academic standards.

Grants also are made to the American Council of Learned Societies toward the cost of publishing scholarly works. Special project aid to the Commission on Faculty and Staff Benefits of the Association of American Colleges toward a full-scale study of the utility of scores of diverse types of special financial and nonfinancial benefits to college and university faculties, other than salaries and pensions, is completed with a current grant. Grants also are made to the American Council of Emigrés in the Professions, Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania, and International Association of Economics and Business Students. Additional grants go toward establishment of the new Gen. Douglas MacArthur chair in American history at Columbia University and to support of the United States Churchill Foundation.

Fellowships—\$255,000: The foundation's doctoral-level graduate-study fellowship plan is maintained at the established level of 80, with the current renewal of 35 such fellowships. Dispersed among 37 States, the fellowships are about evenly divided between private and public institutions. Each car-

ries a maximum benefit of \$7,200, inclusive of marital supplemental allotment and institutional cost-gap grant, over the 2-year study period. The fellowships are administered and awarded by the respective institutions with 42 percent placed in the physical and natural sciences and engineering, 42 percent in the social sciences, and 16 percent in the humanities. Thus far, the foundation has provided about \$1.7 million for graduate-study fellowships, aiding over 250 gifted persons.

Other educational grants: Beyond, the foregoing program, the foundation annually assists education directly and indirectly through grants in its other programs. For example, funds are provided for oceanographic, polar, and other resource investigations, frontier work in varied disciplines comprehending mathematics, biology, psychology, and other natural, physical, and social sciences. Research scholars, commonly identified with universities, benefit in other foundation programs through such grants as those made to the New England Institute for Medical Research, the Institute for Medical Communication, the Sloan-Kettering Institute, the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, the Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, the History of Science Society, and the American Geographical Society.

Academic centers also benefit from foundation grants for seminars on international affairs, peaceful uses of nuclear energy, conferences on world peace and diplomacy, international student exchange and similar undertakings. Channeled through a selected organization, a special grant has been directed toward helping Negro students of unusually high intellectual promise to reach advanced graduate training through an experimental program of interim supplemental education. Other examples of aid have been assistance for development of teaching materials, including the application of television to education, the training of social welfare career personnel, and national and international conferences on social work education and health education. Substantial one-time aid also has been provided from time to time for university-related hospitals for medical teaching, training, and research.

No additional 1963 grants by the foundation in the field of institutional aid to education are contemplated, and formal notification will be given shortly to all participants.

MINNEAPOLIS BEYOND BROADWAY

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the opening of a new modern theater for the legitimate drama more than a thousand miles west of Broadway marks an important pioneering effort in the cultural history of the United States. Especially where it is hailed as such first rate theater as that of Minneapolis. The \$2 million theater which Minneapolis has built under the creative inspiration of producer Tyrone Guthrie offers a guide and a pattern which I hope will be emulated in cities throughout the country. Much of the problem of cultural development which the Nation faces exists in the fact that only a relatively small percentage of the rich cultural activity centered in New York and other big cities manages to get out into the other areas of the country. The United States Arts Foundation which I have proposed would make it possible for the visual and performing arts to make their impact on the rest of the country. Tyrone Guthrie's new Minneapolis theater is a first step in the direction of providing first-

communism. Indeed, the ugly labors they perform are a service to the Kremlin itself."

To which we say, "Amen." The Senator said this slander and abuse reveals an essential disloyalty on the part of those who deal in it. They have no confidence either in their fellow Americans or even in the democratic life or its strong appeal to others.

Do they really believe all they say, he asked.

"If they do, the only reasonable reply I can give to them which they will understand is the honorable, 100 percent, red, white, and blue expression: Nuts."

And to that we say "Amen" also.

EXTREMIST RIGHTWING ACTIVITIES—A WASTE OF MONEY AND HUMAN EFFORT

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, as a freshman Member of Congress I have become seriously concerned about the need for militant action to counter a seemingly growing movement to propagandize our citizenry with extreme super-patriot views. My daily mailbag is just full of letters from people who appear to be expressing the same views as if by rote. The volume in number of these letters has grown spectacularly within recent weeks.

It takes a member of my staff a full hour just to open them.

There is a recurring theme of hatred running through these letters and literature frequently enclosed. The Supreme Court, the President of the United States, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, Jews, the colored people, foreigners in general, labor unions, the National Council of Churches, and the United Nations seem to be the favorite objects of attack.

In attacking the United Nations, these letterwriters accuse Americans in government service of being Communists, perhaps not realizing that they are voicing the familiar refrain of the Communists themselves—"get the United Nations out of the United States." In this cause the extreme rightwing has an ally in Nikita Khrushchev, for he too has advocated getting the United Nations out of the United States.

A great part of this extremist rightwing mail comes from cynical persons who obviously have a very low regard for the congressional mentality. For example, in the so-called Operation Water Moccasin letters to Congress, it was asserted that thousands of African soldiers were being trained in Georgia by the U.S. Army to take over the Government of the United States in behalf of the United Nations. Other letters solemnly warn the Congressmen of "The Destroying Angels," a subversive organization which is engaged in the wholesale murder of Americans through use of imported drugs. The grand conclusion of these letters is:

There is only one answer to this operation—all liquids—regardless of what they appear to be, must be confiscated. The loyal American, the law-abiding citizen, will have no objection.

Some of the contents of the extreme rightwing letters and publications which I have received are plainly subversive. Most of it is too ridiculous to be dignified by any congressional attention. The tragedy of it all is that some of the letter-

writers no doubt are honest, hard-working Americans who have been obviously misled and are sincere in their protestations and who have been literally scared out of their wits by such allegations as that the United States is bankrupt; that the President and the Department of State are planning to turn the country over to the Communists; or that the Communists have a target date only a few years away for a complete takeover of the United States, toward which they are making steady progress.

The names of citizens who should know better frequently appear in these baseless attacks on everything from the United Nations to the Department of Agriculture. Our retired military personnel and other prominent citizens should step back and take a second look to see the kind of scurrilous literature to which they have lent their honored names.

Mr. Speaker, there appears to be a need for a concerted educational effort on our part to straighten out some of our citizens who believe the sort of propaganda we have been receiving by mail, ridiculous as it is. We ought to call upon our enlightened citizens to become as militant as these extremists and obtain the assistance of the presently misused millionaires and other wealthy citizens to spend their money in more useful ways. We should help our people to recognize the false fearmonger, for these activities of the rightwing extremists are a waste of money and human effort.

[Mr. VAN DEERLIN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, we should all be extremely grateful to the gentleman from California [Mr. CAMERON] for his courageous speech entitled "Who's Doing the Devil's Work," which furnishes us with such carefully documented information regarding the roots of the organization which calls itself Americans for Constitutional Action.

I would like to point out at this time that another tie between Americans for Constitutional Action and the John Birch Society is through Reed Benson, who recently went to work for the John Birch Society as its coordinator in several Mountain States. As some of you know, Reed Benson ran for Congress from the Salt Lake City district in the 1962 Republican primary and was defeated, but I doubt that many knew that his campaign literature boasted that he had been a researcher for the Americans for Constitutional Action.

The Washington Post, May 20, 1963, contains an article describing the current activities of Reed Benson, which follows:

BENSON'S SON CLAIMS HE HAS TRIPLED UTAH BIRCH MEMBERSHIP

(By Julius Duschka)

SALT LAKE CITY.—Reed Benson had an automatic smile and a quick handshake for each of the well-dressed men and women as they arrived at the John Birch Society meeting.

Young and old, middle-aged couples and college students filed past tables covered with copies of the blue book, the politician, and other Birch Society literature for sale at reasonable prices.

The literature was just inside the door to the ornate mahogany and gold Empire Room in the Hotel Utah, where Slobodan M. Draskovich, billed as "one of the world's greatest authorities on communism" and a member of the Birch Society council, was to speak.

Among the late arrivals was Reed's father, former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, who has called the Birch Society the most effective nonchurch organization in our fight against creeping socialism and godless communism.

ACTIVITIES CRITICIZED

Young Benson's appointment last October as Utah coordinator for the Birch Society and his activities since then have been widely criticized in Utah, where right-wing radicals are extremely active.

The elder Benson is an apostle and a member of the ruling council of 12 of the Mormon Church. When young Reed ran unsuccessfully last year for the Republican congressional nomination in Salt Lake, he spoke in many Mormon churches.

Reed Benson's efforts to place around his activities the aura of the powerful Mormon Church, to which 70 percent of the people of Utah belong, caused the principal church officers to issue a statement last January saying:

"We deplore the presumption of some politicians, especially officers, coordinators, and members of the John Birch Society, who undertake to align the church or its leadership with their partisan views."

POLITICAL PULPITS ENDED

But the church's statement, which was plainly aimed at Reed Benson's activities, has not resulted in any relaxation in his efforts to recruit Birch Society members. He does, however, no longer use Mormon churches as a political pulpit.

Young Benson claims that John Birch Society membership in Utah has tripled since he became State coordinator, but the figures are secret.

In addition to recruiting members Benson speaks frequently at secret Birch Society meetings in Utah. The meetings are usually held in comfortable homes in fashionable areas of Salt Lake and other cities. Twenty to 25 well-to-do persons attend typical Birch Society chapter meetings, which are generally convened twice a month.

At a recent meeting of a Salt Lake chapter Benson was reported to have talked for nearly 2 hours. He devoted practically all of his talk to explaining why Chief Justice Earl Warren should be impeached, a major goal of the society.

The Hotel Utah meeting where Reed Benson presided and Draskovich, a Yugoslav refugee who has become an American citizen, spoke, was typical of the public meetings being sponsored by the Birch Society with increasing frequency throughout the Mountain States.

The meeting opened with the pledge of allegiance to a huge American flag on the stage, the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and an invocation which was followed by "amens" from the audience.

Then Draskovich spoke in a thick accent for more than an hour as women with big notebooks eagerly recorded his remarks.

He derided a statement by Walt W. Rostow, chief of the State Department planning staff that the choices before the United States are total war or total peace.

"If you wage total peace," Draskovich declared, "this means you must surrender."

He also said that "the United Nations and the United States cannot coexist. It's either or. The United Nations has only one aim—to promote communism."

"Unless you wake up," he warned his audience, which enthusiastically applauded him, "you will end up in a slave-labor camp in Siberia."

In answer to a question Draskovich said "the brainwashing of America is going on through education" but, he added, "the youth of America are fighting back."

He told of an incident where a high school student challenged a teacher who had discussed peace by asking the teacher: "What is the difference between your concept of peace and appeasement?"

The Birchers and other right-wing radicals encourage students to "spy" on their teachers and report any "suspicious" activity to their parents.

When Draskovich finished speaking, Reed Benson urged the more than 300 persons in the audience to join the Birch Society and buy its literature.

He noted that a person can become "a home society member" who receives literature but does not attend chapter meetings so that "no one will know."

In discussing the literature young Benson called particular attention to "the impeachment package" which he said contains a report from the Senate Internal Security subcommittee as well as details on "the Supreme Court plan for global conquest."

Reed Benson also mentioned "the conspiracy," a favorite Birch Society phrase to describe everyone and everything with which the society disagrees.

After young Benson finished appealing for membership applications and the purchase of literature, many in the audience lingered at the tables in the back of the room and bought books and pamphlets before they went out into the brisk night to return in their new cars to their comfortable homes.

OVERFLIGHTS OF THE UNITED STATES BY CUBAN AIRLINES REVEALED AND APPROVED BY NEW FRONTIER FAA REGULATIONS

(Mr. CRAMER asked and was given permission to address the House for 5 minutes, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to inform the House that Cuban airlines, nonscheduled and scheduled, have been overflying the United States, apparently with no protest and no action to prevent this. It was called to my attention that on Saturday, May 18 of this year, there was printed in the Federal Register a regulation from the Federal Aviation Agency, part 60, and it appears on page 5018:

Air Traffic Rules—Special Civil Air Regulation; Civil Aircraft of Cuban Registry engaged in Overflight Across U.S. Territory.

This regulation follows:

PART 60—AIR TRAFFIC RULES

SPECIAL CIVIL AIR REGULATION; CIVIL AIRCRAFT OF CUBAN REGISTRY ENGAGED IN OVERFLIGHT ACROSS U.S. TERRITORY

Civil aircraft of Cuban registry operate in overflights across U.S. territory, subject, however, to the right of the United States to designate the routes to be followed and to require landing in the case of nonscheduled flights.

In accordance with section 1302 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 (49 U.S.C. 1522), I have determined that civil aircraft of Cuban registry engaged in overflights across U.S. territory shall be operated in controlled airspace and in accordance with clearances and instructions issued by Federal Aviation Agency air traffic control facilities. The instructions issued by the Agency will provide for the coordinated routing of the aircraft and, in the case of nonscheduled flights, will

include instructions to land at an international airport so that a search of the aircraft may be conducted by U.S. authorities. The Agency aeronautical publications will include information on the international airports at which landings will be required and the airway routings to be employed for these operations.

This action is taken consistent with applicable International Conventions and Agreements. In accordance with section 4 of the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. 1003, I find that notice and public procedure hereon are impracticable, and that good cause exists for making this regulation effective upon its issuance.

In consideration of the foregoing, the following Special Civil Air Regulation is adopted:

No person may operate a civil aircraft of Cuban registry within the United States except in controlled airspace and in accordance with air traffic clearances or air traffic control instructions which may require use of specific airways or routes and landings at specific airports.

This regulation becomes effective immediately.

(Secs. 306, 307, 1202, 49 U.S.C. 1347, 1348, 1522; 61 Stat. 1180; 59 Stat. 1693.)

Issued in Washington, D.C., on May 17, 1963.

N. E. HALABY,
Administrator.

(F.R. Doc. 63 5454; Filed, May 17, 1963; 6:14 p.m.)

This regulation without any advance notice, without any opportunity for anyone to be heard became immediately effective as of the date of its printing, and permits Cuban overflights in the United States, without any restriction as it relates to scheduled Cuban airlines. I am talking about Cuban-owned and Cuban-registered airlines, and with only certain restrictions as it relates to non-scheduled airlines.

On inquiring of the FAA about this published regulation dealing with non-scheduled Cuban registered plane flights, I was told by an FAA official that three overflights of nonscheduled Cuban registered planes took place in the last couple of months, and that others were known to have taken place recently.

These flights take place from Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa, and include passenger as well as freight cargo planes. Numerous times the scheduled Cubana Airlines—this is the scheduled airline—overflies the eastern part of the United States on its return trip from Communist Prague to Havana by way of Newfoundland when, because of bad weather, it is diverted to Montreal. This happened 2 weeks ago, but it has happened a number of other times in the recent past. The notice of the regulation sent to the airmen, that is, the people involved in air industries, permits continued overflights of scheduled Cuban airlines without any restriction or objection whatsoever. It also provides that nonscheduled Cuban air flights will be required to follow a designated corridor and stop for search at either Idlewild or, as the first alternative, Logan Airport in Boston, or, as a second alternative, Dulles Airport outside Washington, D.C. Thus the administration is not even protesting or restricting in any manner the overflights of commercial flights from behind the Iron Curtain

to Havana, which is behind the Cactus Curtain, but is inviting their continuance. Overflights of nonscheduled planes of Cuban registry are being condoned so long as a specific corridor is followed and search is permitted.

This is typical of the pussyfooting of the New Frontier in dealing effectively with Castro's Communist Cuba. Economic and political quarantining of Cuba is our announced policy which we are supposedly trying to get other Latin nations to enforce, but in contravention of that basic policy we now announce to the world that we are willing to let Cuba continue trading with Canada and even overfly the United States to do it. We are announcing to the world that we do not mind Cuban registered Communist planes coming from behind the Iron Curtain to overfly the United States, thus facilitating trade between Communist Cuba and the Communist satellites.

All air routes over the United States should be closed to anyone trading with Cuba, let alone all such routes to planes owned and operated by Castro's Communist government that are trading with other countries, and particularly when they are trading and transporting passengers from behind the Iron Curtain.

How can we justify issuing regulations favoring the Communist government of Fidel Castro by permitting its own planes to overfly the United States when we are supposedly not recognizing Castro's Communist government?

How silly do we look to our Latin neighbors whom we are trying to encourage to stop doing business with Castro, when we issue regulations permitting Castro's Communist planes to overfly the United States?

Is this another step toward coexistence with Castro? Is this part of the "softening up of the American people" process that will eventually lead to negotiating other grievances with Castro thus giving him indirect if not direct recognition?

Where did the demand for such trade corridors favoring Castro's communism come from and who is responsible for negotiating them? Are not the American people entitled to know who is doing this negotiating? Is this another of the deals negotiated by Mr. James Donovan on behalf of Castro?

Who in the State Department and the Defense Department agreed to this overflight permission? The FAA advised me that both Departments were consulted.

Who is responsible for permitting the airspace over the United States to be violated by Castro's planes? By what possible philosophy can the New Frontier justify permitting continued overflights—let alone not stopping previous ones?

How can the security of the United States be adequately protected when Communist planes to and from Cuba are permitted to overfly the United States?

These are all questions that must be answered by the administration. This "sneak" regulation which was effective when published on Saturday is further evidence of our "soft" attitude toward Cuba.