

1963

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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Other recognition received by newspapers, and their reporters, published in the Fifth District included third place for the Maryland Independent for community service; third place to Jack O'Brien of the Evening Capital for spot news writing; third place to Helen de Zayas of the Evening Capital for social news writing; second place to Sue Miller of the Maryland Gazette for spot news writing; first place to Gertrude L. Poe of the News Leader for feature writing; and first place to Robert Grauel of the News Leader for news photography on a weekly.

Independence of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today Israel celebrates the 15th anniversary of her independence. On this memorable occasion, I wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency, the Acting President of Israel, Kadish Loz; and His Excellency, the Israel Ambassador to the United States, Avraham Harman.

For 15 years the nations of the world have witnessed the growth of the independent State of Israel. Ever since its establishment on May 14, 1948, we in the United States have been amazed at the industry and perseverance of the people of this country in their desire for progress and success in the world community. From a nation wracked by war and pillage, Israel has now become the shining example for the other newly independent states striving for status and stability.

The internal development of Israel progressed rapidly from the beginning. A succession of extraordinary achievements entitles the Israelis to call themselves citizens of the most progressive, most modern, most developed and most stable nation in the Middle East. In the Negev Desert, new cities are being constructed to house the ever-increasing immigrants who come to Israel seeking a new life. Eilat on the Red Sea has become a bustling port of approximately 7,500 inhabitants. In addition to its harbor facilities, the city now boasts numerous tourist accommodations. Within 5 years, the city planners will have enlarged these facilities so that it will rival the resort towns on the Sea of Galilee.

The Negev has also become important as the center for natural resources. Development within its confines of copper, iron, manganese, and phosphates has enabled Israel to be self-sufficient in these minerals.

Oil, the largest single item of expenditure in imports, has received a priority for development. Recent strikes have permitted the country to eliminate the import of certain crude oils while explorations are now being conducted in the Negev for the possibility of finding

sufficient oil to enable Israel to become totally self-sufficient.

As a part of the government's planning, there has been inaugurated a program of technical aid to help requesting nations to achieve development. Begun in 1964, the program now has 83 recipient States and territories. Examples of such aid would include citrus and agricultural development in Liberia, the development of Port Harcourt in Nigeria, salt extraction methods for Ceylon, and the combatting of sand flies in Ethiopia. Additional requests are continually being received. Recently the Congolese government has asked for help in training its army. Furthermore, the head of the nuclear chemistry branch of the nuclear energy laboratories has been requested by the United Nations to give advice to nuclear research institutes in Thailand and the Philippines.

For these remarkable achievements, one must pay tribute to the people of Israel, the worker as well as the government official. The guidance of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, the representation abroad of Presidents Weizmann and Ben-Zvi, the molding by General Dayan of young Israelis into a unified army, have contributed to the strengthening of their country. Yet it is the laborer who builds the roads and constructs the towns, who mines the rich ores and phosphates, and who plants and harvests the grains and fruits—he is the lifeblood of Israel. His dedication to his country, and his single purpose of advancing his nation have made Israel what it is today. Nowhere, save in the United States, have so many different people come to live and to build for their children a permanent home, free from the persecutions and horrors of anti-Semitism.

We salute the people of Israel on their 15 fruitful years. We express, too, the hope that their nation will continue to progress as it has, and that the friendship between America and Israel will grow in peace and prosperity.

Cuto
 Another Kennedy Cuban Pearl Harbor
 in the Making?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, we all recall how, last mid-October, President Kennedy confessed to the world that he knew nothing about Russian missiles in Cuba until a few days before his talk to the American people. A very disturbing article by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott in the Long Island Press of May 9 indicates how we have let down our guard in Cuba. If this be true, we can foresee, perhaps in mid-October of 1964, the President making another talk to the American people on how he just found out that Russia was building up to no good.

The article follows:

J.F.K.'S CUBA POLICY BARS CHECKUP ON
 RED FORCES

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON.—A potentially highly dangerous intelligence gap—strikingly similar to that immediately preceding the war-fraught missile crisis last October—is again developing in Cuba.

Following is what is transpiring there— with the full knowledge and approval of President Kennedy:

Low-level reconnaissance flights have been suspended since February 9. It was such sorties that produced the irrefutable aerial photos of the medium-range ballistic missiles and IL-28 bombers on the Red-ruled island. The halting of low-level reconnaissance flights since February is on direct orders of the President. No reconnaissance flights of any kind can be made over Cuba without his approval.

High-level U-2 reconnaissance flights are being kept to a minimum, and the aerial photos they produce are raising more questions than they answer.

In recent weeks, at least four wide-hatched Russian freighters have docked in Cuban ports and unloaded their cargoes under cover or darkness and the same kind of drum-tight secrecy that prevailed last year when the nuclear-armed missiles and IL-28 bombers were shipped there.

Several of these wide-hatched Soviet freighters were armed with 3-inch guns. These are the first armed Communist cargo vessels to appear in the Caribbean.

The administration's iron-handed crack-down on refugee raids is seriously impairing the flow of information from Cuba, particularly from the anti-Castro underground that has been an important source of military information. That has been valuable in planning U-2 reconnaissance flights; providing them with specific targets and missions. Intelligence men have worked closely with the raiders and the underground.

Inside explanation for this extraordinary backstage policy is the President's determination that nothing be done to "rock the boat" in Cuba.

That's the reason given congressional leaders who have been appraised of this undisclosed intelligence gap and are greatly disturbed. They have been told the President believes his conciliatory course will lead to the withdrawal of more Russian troops from Cuba.

The congressional leaders have been informed that the President and Premier Khrushchev have exchanged a number of letters on this thorny issue.

The intelligence gap is causing particular concern among U.S. military authorities because of three baffling developments in Cuba.

These showed up in recent high-level photos, but beyond bringing the disturbing discoveries to light no detailed information has been obtained—due to the lack of low-level reconnaissance flights, the drastic curbs on raiders and the adverse effect that has had on contacts with, and the operations of, the underground.

The three disturbing mysteries are as follows:

The appearance of large numbers of Russian tents, some of them big enough to enclose missiles and their launchers.

Heavy transport traffic to and from areas where large caves are known to be. It has long been reported, by refugees and other sources, that the Reds are storing missiles and arms in caves.

Construction of a rail line to a major Soviet camp area. Apparently this camp is to undergo extensive development of some kind.

Intelligence authorities are divided on the reason for the appearance of the armed Russian freighters.

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One group is of the opinion the Red's intent is to ward off refugee attacks. Another group sees a great deal more behind this move. It contends the armed cargo ships are Khrushchev's warning to the United States that another naval blockade will not be tolerated. Also that these armed vessels are being used to transport Castro agents to Latin American countries.

Members of the U.S. Intelligence Board, headed by Central Intelligence Director John McCone, are privately making no secret of their uneasiness over this backstage situation.

Let Us Improve Solidarity in the Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, recently a young man named Nicholas B. Haley wrote me enclosing a paper which he wished to have considered for publication. My first impulse was to write a form reply without even reading the paper. But I glanced over the first paragraphs and immediately changed my mind, for this young man showed a remarkable grasp of a most complex problem—inter-American solidarity.

I would not go so far as to say that everything in this manuscript is correct, but I do want to say that it shows a remarkable maturity of thought and expression involving perhaps our most perplexing problems.

If we have very many young men of Mr. Haley's caliber in our high schools, we need not fear for the future.

The article follows:

LET US IMPROVE SOLIDARITY IN THE AMERICAS
(By Nicholas B. Haley, San Antonio, Tex.,
Texas Military Institute)

The problem of uniting the Americas is not new. In the early days of our country, a wise President foresaw the imperative need of mutual friendship and understanding between the countries in the Americas. The Monroe Doctrine was designed for the specific purpose of fostering unity among the American nations, and keeping out other countries who dreamed of conquest. Since then, we have, in some form or other, been faced with the problem of better harmony between our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. President Kennedy realizes the importance of solidarity.

President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress means the same thing. It is to the mutual advantage of each nation concerned, economically and spiritually, to foster understanding, peace, and friendship. Why should it be impossible for nations to be friendly and kind toward one another? The Dark Ages are gone forever. The light of education has been shining with greater brilliance in the past decades. Ignorance can be wiped out. It is a recognized fact that in the small unit of society known as the family, education plays a tremendously important part in helping its members live with one another in comparative understanding and happiness. We can extend the same principles to apply to nations just as well.

We are consciously aware of several ways to improve our relations with our neighboring countries. We have, and still are trying

one method, that of using our dollars to help and improve the situation. Let us see what our dollars have done in four strategic South American countries. Huge amounts of American money are being used in these countries to assist their national economies and to promote social and economic reforms. We see the need for economic aid and we are dishing out the dollars. Alliance for Progress, Aid for International Development, the Peace Corps; all these organizations have one object and purpose: That of improving relations with our neighbors.

Venezuela was scheduled to receive \$116 million in 1961. Of this amount, \$1,500,000 went for rural housing; \$5 million went for aqueducts; \$80 million was used to refinance and readjust the complex procedure of repayment. President Romulo Betancourt and his people are friendly toward us. In Venezuela, there is no organized resistance to American help. The Venezuelan president has resettled some 63,000 families under an agrarian reform program started before the Alliance came into effect. There is a great housing shortage, constantly increasing.

In Colombia, the allocated funds have been used to plug the economic gap brought about by the falling of coffee prices. Low-income workers allege that there is too much red-tape involved in getting into the new housing projects near the capital city of Bogotá. An effort is being made by our agency to alleviate the situation.

In Peru, the Peace Corps feeds some 182,000 Peruvian children. This has created a favorable impression. Aid to Peru was suspended during the suspension of United States-Peruvian relations in July of last year. However, it was resumed as soon as the suspension was terminated. Plans are underway to develop the Communist-infiltrated Convencion Valley. The Peruvian military government approves American aid.

In Ecuador, of the \$64 million made available, a third was used to build hospitals and schools. They have a great housing shortage that is bordering on the acute stage. Plans are not yet available to correct this situation, though a loan has been granted to open the jungles in the interior of the country; \$4 million will be used to build 2,000 classrooms and living quarters for approximately 700 teachers.

The United States is pouring millions of dollars into these South American countries. What is the result? In the first place, many of these peoples are not very happy about American aid. They feel that the ultimate purpose of our help is to subjugate them into submission to our will. They should not feel that way. But the majority of them do, even though we have proved to the world that we are not imperialists as we have often been accused by the Communists, and that we are not after territorial expansion, neither by bribery nor by the use of force. All we want is their cooperation and friendship to be able to work together toward a common goal. We would like all peoples of our hemisphere to be free to enjoy the blessings of democracy. We would like to eliminate poverty and ignorance. We would like to elevate the standard of living of the average man. We would like progress to replace medieval civilization.

In the second place, the people on the home front do not relish the idea of helping our neighbors as much as we are doing, in view of the fact that some of these peoples are not happy about our help. Many Americans believe that we should help ourselves and not worry about other countries because other countries are not our business. Recent events in Cuba have proved that it is our business to be concerned about our neighboring countries. Certainly, it is better to have friendly neighbors than hostile ones. A great number of people in the United States have the erroneous

idea that we pay high taxes in order to help our neighbors who do not appreciate our help, do not like to be helped, and who do not like us. It is true that sometimes, some of our neighbors act as if they would rather be engulfed by the slaying arm of communism than be assisted in removing the shackles of poverty and ignorance, in order to live in freedom and enjoy the blessings of liberty.

It is obvious that we need to know why our neighbors do not like us. What should we do in this case? We know they need us, they need our help, and we do want to be their friends in word and deed. We need friends who believe in freedom as we do. Someday, perhaps, they will be glad they were our friends. We should try to change our approach. If our present method does not work, it is clear that we should try another way. Let us remember that "Nothing is so strong as gentleness, nothing so gentle as real strength."

I am sincerely convinced that our neighbors want our friendship much more than they want our dollars, even if our dollars are a great help to them. It is time we get off our high horse and stop thinking that the almighty dollar can buy us anything we desire. Friendship has never been bought successfully. Trust and confidence must be earned, not purchased. If we want a friendship that is sincere, genuine, and lasting. Though we are all solid and true Americans with kind and generous hearts, we are all descendants of various racial and cultural backgrounds. We should possess that priceless and invaluable asset of understanding not only ourselves, but other peoples with culture, civilization, and background other than our own. Unfortunately, it is not so, in spite of the very high percentage of educated citizens we claim to have. We should know how to understand other peoples. If we do not, we should be taught.

It is certain that one step toward our goal of firm solidarity among our neighbors in the American Hemisphere is to foster in ourselves and in our children a humanitarian love of people, an understanding of their nature, their way of life, and their process of thinking. We should be taught, and this with great emphasis, from the first grade on up, in all schools, public and private, to respect, like, and understand all peoples. We should learn about their history; their past is a clue to their present way of behavior. Many of us think that only we know how to eat; only we know how to dress; only we know how to do things properly; and only we know how to live. It is not so. Other peoples know how to eat, dress, do things properly, and to live, even though they may not have as many dollars as we have, and even though they may do so differently. We should be taught to blot out arrogance and to accept other peoples as human beings, just as we are.

We are proud of our democracy, earned with the lives and blood of our forefathers; we should make it real and true to be effective. We should not only be tolerant, which is only a form of condescension, we should genuinely believe that other peoples are like we are. When we travel in other countries, it should be in us not to look down on others, laugh at them, belittle them, or brag about what we have. I have personally seen the tragic results of such an attitude. This recalls to mind, an anecdote I once read about the commander in chief of the Japanese Fleet in World War II. In his youth, while he was a student in one of our universities, he was teased, despised, and held in contempt by fellow students for no special reason other than he was different in his physical appearance as well as in his way of thinking. It was then that the seed of hatred and hostility was born in this young man's heart. Silently, he vowed revenge and vengeance against the Americans who thought

bar participation. An outgrowth of the British colonial administration which has been Africanized, its present functions are economic but may form the basis for some type of political federation following Kenya and Zanzibar's independence, expected by the end of the year.

5. Equatorial states: Members are Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon. The group has an effective common market with a common external tariff.

6. Inter-African and Malagasy Organization: The charter was initiated in December and is expected to be signed at Addis Ababa on May 23. However, some observers believe it might never come into being if a Pan-African charter is signed in the Ethiopian capital. Member nations are Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo, Upper Volta. The original Monrovia group included Libya, Sudan, and Tunisia, both of which attended the initial May 1961 meeting in Liberia. Congo (Leopoldville), then in a state of turmoil, did not attend the Monrovia meeting.

7. Pan African Freedom Movement for east, central and southern Africa (Paf-mecsa). Membership: Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanganyika, Uganda, Congo (Leopoldville) and major African nationalist political parties in non-self-governing territories.

As the name implies, this body is devoted to the struggle for independence of the remaining African territories by assisting the organization of freedom parties, giving financial aid, and recommending policies such as economic sanctions against south Africa and Portugal and an appeal to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization powers against supplying arms to Portugal and providing scholarships to African political refugees.

CLAUDE BARNETT'S COMMENTS

Mr. Speaker, I am further extending my remarks to include the following article by Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, which he founded at Chicago in 1919. He has maintained close personal relationships with African leaders since his first trip to the continent in 1947. In all he has made 12 African tours, the most recent in 1962 following attendance at the Lagos Conference of African heads of state. His article follows:

Thirty-two African countries, which during the past score of years have won their freedom from colonization and white European domination, are scheduled to have their leaders gather together at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 23 to 25. A week earlier, the foreign ministers and their staffs of experts met in the same city to decide on the issues to be discussed and to draw up an agenda.

The title of "Summit Meeting" is being tossed at the gathering. Although, to call it a conference, where the various leaders with their differing personalities, backgrounds and languages can get better acquainted and find a basis upon which to thrash out the main problems facing all African nations today, might be more appropriate.

Efforts to bring these leaders together are not new. There have been half a dozen more or less formal attempts of this sort.

Among these were:

The Casablanca Conference, with five countries attending, was held in Morocco, January 1961, at which the Arab influence was felt; the Monrovia Conference, called by President William V. S. Tubman, of Liberia, in May 1961, and attended by 21 states; and the Lagos Conference, a followup meeting

of the Monrovia gathering, in January 1962, with 19 nations represented.

Perhaps one of the first such meetings was the First Conference of Independent African States, held at Accra in April 1958, and attended by eight nations. The Second Conference of Independent African States was held at Addis Ababa, in June 1960, attended by 11 independent African States.

Another Accra Conference, in November 1958, launched President Kwame Nkrumah's idea of a Union of African States. Ghana and Guinea proclaimed their union and were later joined by Mali. The three states approved a charter in May 1961.

There have been meetings which were regional or based on common language. For example, there was an East African Conference, attended by those states and territories which avail themselves of the Common Services Organization, a group which seeks to find common ground because it served the various countries with common technical skills needed by all of the areas represented. Other meetings have been held by the French-speaking countries, which have been functioning as a "community"; the African and Malagasy Union; and the Equatorial States Group, which contains some of the more recently recognized countries which have won their freedom.

Most of these groups have been seeking a formula which will enable them to form some sort of alliance which would permit a degree of cooperative economic effort while remaining separate from a purely governmental standpoint.

Dr. Nkrumah has carried the idea a step farther. It was his bold break from the dominance of England, in 1957, which sparked many of the efforts toward freedom and from his beginning, he has sought an all-African organization which might be tied together in some kind of federation.

Most of the countries have seemed to shy away from any really definite bond along rigid political lines. Even Guinea and Mali, which formed for a while a sort of triumvirate with Ghana, are gradually seeking less binding relationships.

It has been interesting to observe the leadership which has emerged from Ethiopia and from which Emperor Haile Selassie has issued the invitation to the current meeting. Selassie has been an outstanding leader at three of the conferences, serving as host at two. The Ethiopian Emperor commands the respect of all the nations. After all, his is the oldest of all African countries.

I observed at the gathering of heads of states at Lagos, 16 months ago, the almost worshipful respect that was held for him by other participants. He gave the keynote address, speaking in Amharic which had to be translated into English and French—an exercise which consumed most of the morning.

The Emperor's views undoubtedly laid a platform for the younger nations to stand upon. In his first word, the Ethiopian leader laid down the premise that he was first, last and foremost an African and dedicated to the advancement of all the nations on the continent of Africa.

The United States, Europe, Asia, the United Nations, and indeed, the rest of the world, will be watching this African Conference at Addis Ababa as an indication of what is going to happen to the peoples of the world's second largest continent and the part they may be expected to play in the affairs of the world in the foreseeable future.

STATISTICS ON AFRICAN STATES

Here is a table showing the area and population of the 32 African states attending the Addis Ababa summit, as given in the release of the Associated Negro Press:

Country	Area (square miles)	Population
Algeria.....	852,600	10,360,000
Burundi.....	11,000	3,000,000
Cameroun.....	183,381	4,907,000
Central African Republic.....	241,000	1,227,000
Chad.....	613,000	2,750,000
Congo (Brazzaville).....	132,546	1,400,000
Congo (Leopoldville).....	905,978	14,250,000
Dahomey.....	44,695	1,934,000
Ethiopia.....	443,350	23,000,000
Gabon.....	103,000	4,400,000
Ghana.....	91,943	6,601,000
Guinea.....	96,865	3,000,000
Ivory Coast.....	127,520	3,300,000
Liberia.....	43,000	2,760,000
Libya.....	679,400	1,400,000
Malagasy Republic (Madagascar).....	228,000	5,487,000
Mali.....	465,000	4,900,000
Mauritania.....	419,000	727,000
Morocco.....	172,100	11,600,000
Niger.....	494,000	2,870,000
Nigeria.....	355,669	42,000,000
Rwanda.....	11,000	2,500,000
Senegal.....	80,600	3,300,000
Sierra Leone.....	27,925	2,600,000
Somalia.....	246,000	2,000,000
Sudan.....	967,600	12,100,000
Tanganyika.....	362,688	9,404,000
Togo.....	21,850	1,444,000
Tunisia.....	48,332	4,168,000
Uganda.....	93,981	6,506,000
United Arab Republic.....	386,198	28,069,000
Upper Volta.....	105,900	3,635,000

Cuba THREATENED COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN HAITI

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. PILLION] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, the present policies of the United States, directed toward Haiti, are following the same pattern that proved to be so self-defeating in Cuba. Our fumbling diplomacy aided Castro and abetted the Communist movement to produce the existing shameful and dangerous Soviet-Cuban military-political threat to this Nation.

The Soviet-Communist forces are pursuing the same pattern in Haiti that assured the Communist takeover of Cuba. The Communist officials in the Duvalier Cabinet are planning, encouraging, and diabolically carrying out a campaign of bloody terrorism in Haiti.

At the same time, the Communists in Cuba, in the United States, and in Latin America are building a hostile image of Duvalier as a bloody-vooodoo dictator. This propaganda is intended to create a world opinion for the liquidation of Duvalier.

A political vacuum would thus be created. And, only the Communists are prepared to fill this political vacuum and seize political control of Haiti.

This was the exact pattern used to destroy Batista and to create Castro's Communist Cuba.

The State Department and our Government are fiddling and finagling while the international Soviet-Communist forces are calculatingly coverting Haiti into a second Soviet satellite at our back door.

In contrast to the realistic plans and actions of the Communist Party, the U.S. State Department has followed its normal pollyanna policies.

The present Communist influences around Duvalier are concrete proof of the success of the Communist policies

Negro Press, of Chicago, and I am extending my remarks to include from the material in this release an article by David A. Talbot.

TALBOT'S LONG AND RICH BACKGROUND

Mr. Talbot is a veteran of nearly 30 years as correspondent on the African scene.

Born in British Guiana, Talbot took his B.A. and M.A. degrees at New York University, then traveled extensively throughout Europe and Africa. After serving as editor of the African, monthly devoted to African thought and opinion, he joined the War Labor Board as a junior economist before taking up overseas work in Ethiopia, where he has performed notably in several capacities.

Talbot first went to Ethiopia in 1934, with the late Colonel John C. Robinson, American Negro air ace who served as pilot to Haile Selassie, taking the Emperor on trips to the Ethiopian front after the Italian invasion in 1936. Talbot has maintained residence in Ethiopia since the middle 1930's.

In 1946, Talbot founded the American Institute, which he continues to direct. Under his editorship, the Ethiopian Herald has become the leading English-language daily. Formerly press consultant to the Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, he is now adviser on English publications. He has secured 50 scholarships enabling Ethiopian students to study abroad, and 30 of these students, now returned, are filling important posts in government and national life.

Mr. Talbot's article follows:

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE'S VIEWS

(By David A. Talbot)

ADDIS ABABA.—What are some of the aims of the historic 32-nation African summit meeting which will be held here May 22-25?

Many people in all parts of the world, filled with anticipation as to what will be the nature of the summit, are asking this question.

Emperor Haile Selassie, in his official role as host, has thrown a great deal of light on the approaching African heads of states conference. In a timely intervention during a recent press conference, His Imperial Majesty declared that the purpose of the conference could be reduced to three salient points:

First, to speed independence for territories still in a subservient position; secondly, to exchange views on joint problems, such as raising the peoples' living standards and improving conditions in the fields of economy, culture and politics; thirdly, drawing of an African charter for unity.

That the impending summit is historic is surely beyond question. Although called on the Government level, it is certain that many other levels of African corporate organizations will be represented. True, observers from dependent Africa will have carte blanche, because, as His Majesty the Emperor clearly stated, one of the many objectives of the May summit will be concerned with the complete emancipation of the continent.

It was not coincidental that the Emperor placed first on the list the subject of decolonization. "To speed the attainment of independence of those areas in the continent that are still in a state of dependency," was the categorical statement made to the press. All too evident, if the African summit is to achieve the broad aims that are pertinent to its terms of reference, the stamping out

of colonialism must be one of the vital plans in its platform.

The Emperor and many other leading African statesmen have repeatedly voiced the idea that no independent state in Africa could feel secure in its independence while other areas of the continent remain in a colonialist status. For the summit to be worth the effort, ways and means must be elaborated to assist the African freedom fighters in their struggle for independence.

By and large, the mere meeting of all the independent African States is a bold stroke in the field of African unity. If a sign were needed to indicate the purposefulness of the African heads of states, surely the May summit is clear and unequivocal.

In his statement to the press, in which the Emperor gave a broad outline of why such a meeting has been called, he said:

"For the first time in the continent's history, one of the points in the purpose of the summit is to lay basic foundations for unity, to exchange views that will help to resolve common problems so that the standard of living of our peoples could be raised and so that ways and means of improving the economic, cultural, and political aspects of life of the continent could be provided."

The May summit, constituting as it will, the most important conclave of its kind in the history of the continent, will bring together ideas, problems, plans, and aspirations of more than 200 million persons. The heads of states also represent the various sections and areas of the continent. As such, it will provide a springboard for practical and forthright proposals concerning the problems that face the 32 nations and the continent as a whole.

Beyond question, these problems are many; without doubt, many of them strike at the very heart of the nations' existence as sovereign states. And since each nation cannot but cherish and safeguard its hard-won independence, it is readily obvious that they must use the unique opportunity afforded by the summit to their best advantage.

Africa has had a slow start and must double its efforts to gain the time lost.

There are, therefore, frontiers in every field of human progress that must be conquered. How to do this will be one of the principal challenges facing the meeting. Africa is, as it were, engaged in a series of crusades, none of which could be carried on successfully singlehandedly.

This points to the stubborn fact that after independence the next step is interdependence. And for this to be more than a mere slogan, as the Emperor told the press conference, foundations for the prosecution of common beneficial aims must be laid down. The summit will therefore strive to initiate a modus operandi as a guideline to effective continental cooperation in all major fields.

A universal charter for Africa is therefore envisioned. The story of the search for unified and effective action is now well known. The Casablanca, Monrovia, and Malagasy trials have been proven fragmentary. In them all, however, are to be found proposals and principles that could be woven into an acceptable pattern. This, I believe, is the reason why the date for the beginning of the Foreign Ministers Conference was advanced.

In moving toward an enlarged community there are problems, some known and others unforeseen. A universal African charter could act as a compass to meet some problems and to avoid others. Close consultation and collaboration will be necessary.

As his Majesty the Emperor said: "To construct the necessary machinery for contacts among heads of states" would be one of the positive results of the May summit.

It seems to me that with sobriety and healthy give and take the African heads of states could expect to lay the groundwork for a period of constructive cooperation on

a continental level in several basic areas. They are expected "to elaborate procedures by which the independent African States could advance toward mutually beneficial goals and to safeguard their security."

Matters not from what angle the May summit is viewed, it is clear that it will mark a significant turning point in the history of Africa. There is work to be done, and the African leaders, by this meeting, have shown their awareness of the complex tasks ahead and the need for concerted action.

The challenge calls for dedication, for it comes from a cause on which hangs the future not only of Africa but that of the whole world. "A united Africa," declared the Emperor, "will not only win her deserved place in world councils, it will contribute remarkably to world peace and security."

Mr. Speaker, I am further extending my remarks to include another article from the release of the Associated Negro Press, as follows:

PONDERING OUTCOME OF ADDIS ABABA SUMMIT

WASHINGTON.—Aware of the seven major regional groups in Africa with several states having interlocking membership, observers here in the U.S. Capital hold the impression that the Addis Ababa conferees will place high on their list the question: How will the 32 independent African nations organize themselves?

The trend toward regionalism, as noted by these observers, resulted in two rival blocs with different concepts of relations to the former metropolises—the Casablanca states and the Monrovia states. However, it is further noted that while these differences may continue to some degree, the emphasis on continentwide unity is winning ground. This trend is evident since both the Casablanca and Monrovia groups are meeting under one roof—Ethiopia's Africa Hall. All the states headed Emperor Haile Selassie's early bid for 100-percent attendance at the May summit talks.

With regard to organization of the African States there are at least three types of proposals:

1. The Lagos Charter of December 22, which looks toward a grouping of African nations similar to the Organization of American States.

2. Taking as a model of the Casablanca Charter of 1961: A far closer unification of states than envisaged by the Lagos Charter—approaching a federation.

3. The reported recent proposal of Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah for an all-African organization involving a legislature (parliament) and other federal institutions.

Most students of African affairs in the U.S. Capital feel it is too early to guess exactly what will emerge from the Addis Ababa Conference in terms of an approach to organization.

The seven regional groupings, listed alphabetically, are:

1. The African and Malagasy Union. The 13 members are Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, and Upper Volta. All were formerly under French rule except Rwanda, which with Burundi formed the Belgian-administered United Nations trusteeship of Ruanda-Urundi. The UAM (the organization's French initials) maintains a permanent Secretariat at the United Nations.

2. Casablanca charter states: The six member nations are Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, and the United Arab Republic.

3. Council of the Entente: Members are Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger, and Upper Volta.

4. The East African Common Services Organization: The three members are Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika with partial Zanzibi-

and the utter failure of the U.S. State Department's policies, programs, and diplomacy.

The U.S. military mission, military assistance, economic, and technical aid have been a failure in Haiti, just as they proved to be a failure in Cuba.

The State Department has withdrawn military and economic aid from Haiti. This cutoff of funds drove Duvalier to seek Communist assistance. The U.S. decision to withdraw aid was based upon the misuse of these funds.

The State Department knew so little about Haiti, that they did not and do not today realize that U.S. aid has been purposely with malice aforethought sabotaged by the Communist officials in the Haiti Government.

Mr. Speaker, the United States can no longer permit our State Department to act as the general manager for the delivery of the free world to Soviet-Communist forces on the installment plan.

Mr. Speaker, I have read recent American newspaper attacks upon President Duvalier. Haiti accuses the U.S. State Department of inspiring this campaign. I agree with Haiti. These articles and editorials follow the State Department's mistaken hope that if President Duvalier is removed from office, our problems with Haiti will be solved.

Now, the issue in Haiti is not whether President Duvalier believes in voodooism. The security of the United States is not directly threatened by the murders and the terrorism reported in Haiti, as shocking as they are to us.

The anti-Duvalier press campaign in the United States and around the world does not reveal but, in fact, conceals the actual issue.

The fundamental issue posed by Haiti is that the Communist forces in Haiti, aided and abetted by the Communist parties of Cuba, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet, are now in the process of seizing and consolidating de facto political power in Haiti.

The Communist control in Haiti will first bring into Haiti, Czechoslovak, and Polish technicians, to be followed by Soviet troops, armaments and nuclear missiles.

Mr. Speaker, President Duvalier is a sick man.

He is surrounded by a cunningly organized network of Communist agents. They have isolated him from non-Communist contacts.

Who are these Communist agents?

Clovis Desnor was the former secretary to Duvalier. He is a confirmed Communist. He is the No. 1 Communist in respect to influence over Duvalier. He is now a member of the Cabinet, the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

Dr. Herve Boyer was brought into the Government by Desnor. Boyer is a French-trained Communist. His wife is also a French Communist Party member. Boyer is also a member of the Duvalier Cabinet, Minister of Finance.

Luckner Chambronne is another Communist member of the Duvalier Cabinet. He is Minister for Public Works. He is also the personal financial adviser and secretary to President Duvalier.

Jules Blanchet is another French-trained Communist. He is the representative of the Haitian Government in Europe. He is charged with maintaining contacts, and with bringing foreign military and economic assistance to Haiti from France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet.

Dr. Jacques Fourcand is a well-known Communist. He is the personal physician to President Duvalier. He is also Director of Social Welfare Bureau of the Department of Labor and Welfare.

Lucien Montas, another Communist, is Director of the Political Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

These men, backed and supported by Castro in Cuba, and the Communist Parties of Europe, are the brains and brawn behind the Communist influence over President Duvalier. These are the men who are now in the process of delivering Haiti into the Soviet-Communist camp.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PILLION. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, without meaning to anticipate the remarks of the gentleman, who has done an excellent job of outlining the detail in which the Communist web has been formed around Haiti and neighboring states, could the gentleman tell us if he will be able to give any alternative or plans that our State Department might have to combat this development?

Mr. PILLION. The State Department has no plans to fill this vacuum that has been in effect, I think, since last August. There is a complete vacuum of thought in the CIA and the State Department as to how effectively to deal with the Haitian question.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Would I be erroneous, in the gentleman's opinion, if I stated that the State Department policy seems to be to minimize the situation in Haiti, hoping for the better?

Mr. PILLION. They are completely impractical in their approach to the Haitian problem. That is my confirmed judgment after talking with a number of representatives of our Government.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I certainly hope as a result of the gentleman's discussion this afternoon we can prod the State Department into either developing a program or demonstrating that they are at least thinking about it.

Mr. PILLION. I am afraid the time is gone for the State Department to be able to take effective action. The situation in Haiti has deteriorated to a point where action must be taken far beyond the capabilities of the State Department.

Now, I address myself to you, President Duvalier:

The Communist Parties are planning and are prepared to remove you from the Presidency of Haiti either by execution or exile. Your days are numbered. Your fate is already sealed.

Thus, for the sake of your Haitian people, I ask you, Mr. President, to officially request U.S. military intervention in Haiti for the purpose of restoring and maintaining order, and for the further purpose of assisting you to get rid of the

Communists who seek to destroy you and your country.

Mr. President Duvalier, Haiti and the United States have a mutual interest to be attained by our military assistance for intervention in Haiti.

You can prevent the Communists from stealing your country, from converting Haiti into a Soviet puppet and satellite.

The United States is not interested in permanently occupying Haiti. But, the United States is vitally interested in preventing Haiti from becoming a second Cuba-Soviet military and political base for Communist operations that would threaten the security and independence of the United States and all of Latin America.

The further consolidation of Communist power in Haiti would be a tragedy for the people of Haiti. It would constitute another major and political disaster for the United States.

Mr. Speaker, Communist domination of Haiti would greatly increase the Soviet-Communist threat to both our naval base in Guantanamo and to the Panama Canal.

A Communist government in Haiti would exert constant Communist pressures, threatening the independent status of the Dominican Republic.

If our Government now permits Cuban-Soviet-Haitian Communist forces to consolidate their power in Haiti, then worldwide distrust of our leadership, and further disintegration of our resistance to communism will be accelerated.

Mr. Speaker, this Nation can no longer afford to wholly entrust the security and survival of this Nation to the State Department.

If we continue to watch and wait while the international Communist forces work and win, Haiti will soon become a second Soviet offensive military base.

If we wait any longer, we will be confronted not by Haitian Communist forces, but by Soviet troops, armament, and missiles in Haiti.

Our Government, today, is hopefully looking toward the Organization of American States or to the Dominican Republic to provide an all-encompassing solution to the Haiti problem.

We must keep in mind that President Bosch's charges made to the United Nations did not deal with the penetration and consolidation of Soviet-Communist power in Haiti.

Therefore, the referral of this question by the United Nations to the OAS excludes the consideration of this vital question from their agenda.

Mr. Speaker, this Nation cannot rely upon the Dominican Republic or upon the OAS to pull our chestnuts out of the Haitian fire.

The OAS lacks the organization, the military capabilities, the finances, and the leadership to take effective action for the protection of the vital interests of the United States in Haiti.

Mr. Speaker, there is only one practical alternative left to the United States: I call upon our President to immediately land sufficient military forces in Haiti to occupy for the purpose of protecting the vital security interests of both this Nation and this hemisphere.

I call upon the President at the same time to invite all members of the Organization of American States to participate in this military occupancy, designed, not to overthrow any legitimate chief of state; but to prevent a new Communist seizure of power in the Western Hemisphere.

I further call upon the President to warn Cuban, Russian, Czechoslovakia, Polish, and Red Chinese Communists to keep their hands off Haiti.

Mr. Speaker, defeat of this Communist scheme to seize power, will free the people of Haiti to develop an independent government of their choosing, and our forces can and must then be withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker, our Government has many justifications for taking this necessary action.

There is ample precedents for this action in international law.

The Monroe Doctrine, long a firm cornerstone of our foreign policy, declares, in effect, that the United States will consider it hostile and dangerous to the United States if any foreign power establishes any form of absolutist government in the Western Hemisphere, directly or through third parties. This is what Communists have done in Cuba, and what they now intend to do in Haiti.

The Caracas Declaration of Solidarity of 1954 declared:

The domination of control of the political institutions of any American state by the international Communist movement, extending to this hemisphere the political system of an extracontinental power would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American states, endangering the peace of America.

Mr. Speaker, the justification for immediate action can be found in our landing of forces in Lebanon in 1958 in order to assure the stability of the Government of Lebanon.

But, above all, our justification is the necessity of defending the national security of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, permit me to reemphasize the fact that the failure of the policies of our Government toward Haiti have left us with no practical alternative except that of military intervention.

International Communist forces are waging a war against us. They have declared this war. Their aim is to seize political power in one country after another until they rule the world.

The Communist strategists say that in this war, the political power of the enemy must be destroyed. The will of the people must be overcome, manipulated, and exploited to back Communist power seizures.

The State Department has been unable or unwilling to accept the fact that Communists are waging war against all free peoples for the political control of the world.

On October 2, 1962, I warned the President and the Nation that Haiti was in imminent danger of duplicating the path of Communist Cuba.

My statement at that time underscored the fact that the State Department's indecisive and do-nothing policies of "don't rock the boat" and "we can't lose if we do nothing" were opening

the doors of the Western Hemisphere to rapid Communist conquest.

On March 15, 1963, I wrote to Secretary of State Dean Rusk warning that President Duvalier of Haiti was surrounded by Communists and that Haiti was in imminent danger of being captured by Communist forces.

In that letter I urged the State Department to formulate policies implementing the resolution of Congress of October 1962 to "prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of the hemisphere."

The answers of the State Department were evasive, and completely lacking in a practical approach to effectively deal with the Communist takeover in Haiti.

Any further delay in dealing with the Haitian crisis may put Haiti beyond our help. History will not forgive us another delay and another defeat.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the Members of this House to support this call upon the President for an immediate military occupancy of Haiti to protect the peace and security of this Nation and this hemisphere.

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PILLION. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman's remarks with reference to the Communist takeover in Haiti. I should like to ask him if, to carry out his doctrine, if a Communist regime is established, this Government should do all within its power short of war to see that that Communist regime does not survive?

Mr. PILLION. I agree with the gentleman, but I do believe in this case an ounce of prevention is worth of a ton of cure. Now is the time to prevent the complete takeover of Haiti. There is a de facto occupancy by the Communist Party of Haiti, but they still have Duvalier to deal with. We could walk into Haiti, I am quite sure, and get rid of the Communists around Duvalier by military occupancy. And that is the only way we can do it.

Mr. UTT. If we do not do this, is it the gentleman's opinion that their next move is to go into Santo Domingo?

Mr. PILLION. Yes, because right now they are in touch with Czechoslovakians. They have had a mission there. They have negotiated with the Poles. Communists have gone to Europe and gotten money for Duvalier from Iron Curtain countries. It is a progressive situation. Once a Communist government is firmly established in Haiti it is bound to flow over into the Dominican Republic. And the next in line is our own Puerto Rico. That is the next island that is going to go. It is just one step after another. As I say, an ounce of prevention is worth a ton of cure. If we are going to do anything about Haiti we had better do it now, because a year or 2 years from now we will be confronted, not with the Haitian Ton Ton Macout forces or with the shattered army that he has there

today, but we will be confronted with Soviet tanks and nuclear missiles.

Mr. UTT. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PILLION. I thank the gentleman for his interest. I know of his deep concern with this same problem.

Mr. STINSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PILLION. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. STINSON. I certainly want to commend the gentleman for exposing the Communist threat in Haiti. I should like to ask a question. Does the gentleman have any idea as to what individual the Communists will try to put in power in Haiti instead of President Duvalier?

Mr. PILLION. I would judge it would possibly be this chap Dupress who is now the top Haitian adviser of Castro in Cuba. That is my best judgment. He is a very active, very clever person. He is now in Cuba carrying on radio broadcasts to Haiti. I judge it might be he.

Mr. STINSON. I thank the gentleman.

A TRIBUTE TO EMANUEL CELLER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, kind words of tribute to the Congressman from my State's 10th District have been articulated in this great Chamber on the event of his 75th birthday anniversary. I should like to join in that refrain of appreciation by my congressional brethren and say that to this speaker it has indeed been a source of inspiration and good fortune to have been able to serve with such a congressional giant as the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER.

It has been some 23 years now since MANNY first befriended me. During the course of those 23 years I have been particularly impressed by his fervency, his cordiality, his incomparable ability, his genuine humility, and his tremendous political acumen.

For me, his continuing congressional career serves as an indispensable inspiration. Whenever I come face to face with a crucial decision, I like to think of how MANNY CELLER would act given the same problem. Then the issue and the resolve somehow come into proper perspective.

The increasing majorities by which MANNY has been returned to the Federal City are more than tributes to his ability. They are also votes of confidence for his evinced courage of conviction and his dedication to the prosecution of man's inhumanity to his fellow man.

For 40 years he has been a leading congressional friend of civil rights and a foe of cant and bias in all forms. The Cellerman contempt for bigotry was perhaps best characterized by the words of MANNY himself when he wrote in his autobiography:

I have no room in my heart for any temperance toward the degradation or despoiling of human dignity.

MANNY's legislative accomplishment has had an everlasting impact on the American political scene, especially in

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marginal in such roles: their loiter time in the intercept area is short, and they only have the fuel to accelerate to supersonic speeds for a very brief period and usually to make only one pass on incoming aircraft.

Fighter ground attack operations present an even more serious situation today. Improvements in radar and aircraft missiles make it necessary to attack defended targets at very low altitudes and high speeds. Under these conditions the range and time in the air of any jet fighter, with even the smallest wing, is extremely limited.

The new variable-sweep wing on the F-111 is intended to overcome these critical deficiencies in current fighters. It allows the wingspan to be adjusted for maximum efficiency in all flight regimes. The wings will be tucked back with minimum span during on-the-deck supersonic attack. They will be swept back about forty-five degrees during supersonic action against other aircraft at high altitude. And they will be extended straight out to their widest span for loiter, high subsonic speed cruise to a battle area, or for ferry, and for landing and takeoff.

Without the variable-sweep wing there would be no chance for the F-111's performance to be significantly better than that of current fighters. However, the mere inclusion of this device in the design does not guarantee that its maximum benefits will be realized.

The main additional requirement is for a high fineness ratio fuselage—long and thin. During supersonic attack at low altitude, wave drag is extremely critical, as shown on the curve at right. An aircraft with low wave drag must have a long fuselage if it is to have enough internal volume and fuel for long range and loiter time.

Originally the Air Force called for an aircraft about 80 feet long with a fineness ratio about 12. The Navy insisted on a maximum length of 55 feet so the airplane would fit on every elevator in the carrier force. An F-111 the size of the operational A3J Vigilante (now called the A-5), some 70 feet long and weighing 72,000 pounds, was not acceptable. The Navy's F-111 design (fineness ratio between eight and nine), would have had about three times the wave drag and considerably less fuel capacity than the Air Force's and was practically without range on the deck at Mach 1.2.

The compromise F-111 is around 63 feet long, weighs about 60,000 pounds, and has nearly double the wave drag, and much less range at either low or high altitudes than the Air Force proposal.

It is difficult at this juncture to understand why the Secretary of Defense did not exert his leadership in this area. Increasing the F-111 length to nearly 80 feet would not only have met the Air Force needs, but would also have made it possible to meet and in most cases exceed the Navy's major requirements for high loiter time, a large radar dish, and large equipment and armament loads. And it is possible, if not ideal, to move aircraft 80 feet long on the slide-deck elevators of most U.S. carriers.

Papa Will Fix**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF****HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, those of us in Congress who believe in fiscal responsibility know that increasing re-

quirements of ever-enlarging programs must be met from our economic growth—not at its expense. Efficient, social legislation to serve all the people can be realized on a pay-as-you-go basis. A rational approach to spending is necessary to alleviate the burden of indebtedness to future generations and ultimate ruinous inflation.

I wish to commend to the Congress the following editorial from the Salisbury Times, Salisbury, Md., which aptly discusses Federal spending:

PAPA WILL FIX

Efforts by budget cutting Republicans to hold down authorizations for Federal spending were blocked twice by Democrats last week.

The Senate Appropriations Committee restored \$50 million of \$69.3 million sliced off the Post Office budget by the House of Representatives. This followed a preview by Postmaster General Day of what he intended to do if his Department was deprived of any of its funds.

Previously, the Senate had rejected a cut in the Kennedy administration's public works program. The House had taken out \$200 million of a \$450 million request, which was restored in a party line showdown that saw Southern conservatives lining up with Northern spenders.

That is the issue—between spenders and cutters. The Democratic Party is committed to unrestrained spending. The Republican Party has taken the position that spending must be checked. Democrats in the Senate are taking it on themselves to kiss and make well all Republican cuts.

Prospects for Republican success are dim. But far dimmer are prospects for national survival if spending cannot be held in a realistic ratio to Federal income. The ultimate issue is whether to go into national bankruptcy, which would take place under the equally frightening title, "runaway inflation."

Rollcall on Foreign Aid**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, soon we will be called upon again to appropriate funds for the so-called foreign aid program. Many persons have come to the realization that the program is not effective as its proponents purport it to be. On May 8, 1963, my friend, Mr. William Rynerson, publisher and editor of the Winter Haven News-Chief, printed an editorial entitled, "Rollcall on Foreign Aid."

I have asked permission to place this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I hope that each of my colleagues will read this rollcall and be enlightened as to how ineffective this program has been in bringing freedom and stability to the 14 nations cited in the article.

The editorial follows:

ROLLCALL ON FOREIGN AID

President Kennedy, in agreeing with the poet Milton in his foreign aid message to Congress last month that: "Peace hath her victories. No less renowned than war," added: "And no peacetime victory in history has

been as far reaching in its impact, nor served the cause of freedom so well as the victories scored in the last 17 years by this Nation's mutual defense and assistance programs."

Well, let's see—and before Congress votes that bargain-basement figure of only \$4.5 billion. The survey that follows, compiled by Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, national chairman of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (to aid American taxpayers), forms another message that every Congressman and Senator should read. We quote:

"Western Europe has prospered with Marshall plan aid. But after 17 years and \$41 billion in U.S. aid, Western Europe meets only a fraction of its defense obligation; except for commercial loans, its aid to less developed countries is negligible.

"Argentina (\$640 million aid), under indirect military domination, suffers from inflationary chaos.

"Brazil (\$1.9 billion aid) is on the brink of communism.

"Cuba (\$52 billion aid) once enjoyed immense sugar subsidy, has stolen \$1 billion in U.S. private investments; her Red satellite status is now guaranteed.

"Haiti (\$100 million aid) writhes under a murderous tyranny.

"Indonesia (\$670 million aid), her economy wrecked, is an armed dictatorship bent on conquest.

"India (\$3.9 billion aid) probably faces Red Chinese attack.

"Iran (\$1.3 billion aid) is a monarchy without a parliament.

"Laos (\$460 million aid) may soon fall to Communists.

"Poland (\$522 million aid) is Communist with all freedom gone.

"South Korea (\$5.4 billion aid) is ruled by its third military junta.

"South Vietnam (\$2.4 billion aid), ruled by a puppet dictator, propped up by the United States, is racked by a Red guerrilla war.

"Turkey (\$3.8 billion aid) is politically unstable and is economically weaker than before aid began.

"Venezuela (\$274 million aid), despite prodigious oil wealth, is a major target of the Russo-Cuban fifth column.

"Yugoslavia (\$2.4 billion aid) is Communist with all freedom gone.

"General Fellers noted that these add up to \$65 billion and that the glowing reports to Congress and the dismal facts were never in sharper contrast. National self-respect, fully as much as budget balancing, demands healthy cuts in foreign aid.—U.S.P.A."

**President Kennedy Wants More Open
Windows in Red China****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago, I placed in the RECORD an article by Victor Lasky about the Committee for the Review of our China Policy.

In a letter to me, dated May 9, former Representative Charles O. Porter, who is the cochairman of this committee, pointed out in a release that "in 1960 President Kennedy, then Senator Kennedy, called for more open windows between the peoples of China and the peoples of the Western Nations" and that his committee wants "to help the Presi-

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dent open these windows." In order to be fair, and at the request of Mr. Porter, I include his letter to me of May 9.

I am overwhelmingly convinced that any recognition of Red China would be a tragic mistake, the President's personal feelings to the contrary notwithstanding. The letter follows:

THE COMMITTEE FOR A REVIEW OF
OUR CHINA POLICY,
Eugene, Oreg., May 9, 1963.

Hon. STEVEN B. DEROUINIAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR STEVE: I just was sent a copy of the April 23, 1963, Record, page A2395, with your insertion of Victor Lasky's article about this committee.

Lasky errs in several of his statements and, if you want to keep the records straight, perhaps you would insert this letter in the Appendix.

Some of Lasky's errors:

1. He says that this committee which I've helped to establish, namely, the Committee for a Review of Our China Policy, is seeking "to make U.S. policy more tolerant of Red China." We seek more discussion of our China policy. If that leads to what Mr. Lasky calls "tolerance," we have to know what Mr. Lasky means by that word.

2. Mr. Lasky says that I told him that I was the one who first proposed the show trials that Castro staged. He is wrong. It was I who told Castro, as we sat together at dinner in February, 1959, to cancel the circus type trials which he did on the next day.

3. Mr. Lasky says that mainland China is now in very difficult straits, whereas, in fact, the harvest this year is better than for a long time. People like Mr. Lasky who have looked forward to China dying on the vine or collapsing internally are not facing plain facts.

For your information and, hopefully, inclusion in the Appendix, I'm enclosing a copy of our first press release [not printed in Record.]

I assure you that the purpose of our committee is not to brainwash anybody into being more tolerant toward China but rather to encourage discussion inside our Government and outside our Government.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES O. PORTER.

Clarifying the Issue of Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the San Francisco Examiner of May 5, 1963:

CLARIFYING THE ISSUE OF CUBA
(By Eric Sevaried)

Cuba may well be, as now predicted, the prime issue in the national politics of 1964. But unless the issue is clarified far beyond its present state it will be a rhetorical question, not a question for true debate. Alternative policies are required for true debate and all we have on either side, so far, is attitudes.

With justice, the President has insisted that his critics show more precision in their prescriptions for handling Cuba; but with

equal justice his critics can insist on more precision from the administration. What we are now witnessing is a collision of two fog banks. This never clears the air, in nature or in politics; it merely produces fog of double thickness.

How uncertain the future course, there can be little uncertainty about what the immediate past has produced:

1. The Russians now possess a military, political and propaganda base in the heart of our area of security and influence.

2. Their troops in Cuba constitute a "trip wire," paralyzing to American action, as our troops in Berlin constitute a trip wire there.

3. Cities and installations of the U.S. mainland are now open to damage by conventional weapons, and have become, therefore, in some degree hostage to Communist purposes. Theoretically, at least, the Russians could damage us by proxy, their method elsewhere, without themselves being directly involved.

4. Castro's physical hold on the island is complete, with the underground movement facing probable extinction.

5. The mass of Cuban manpower in exile is now a blown instrument, a handicap and thorn in our side, not a weapon for our uses.

6. A foreign policy quarrel of serious proportions is engulfing an administration which has not yet found its feet in the area of its domestic policies and programs.

7. Once again, world communism has succeeded in choosing the point of conflict and crisis in the cold war, and once again, as with South Korea or South Vietnam or West Berlin or Laos, the locus of contention is inside the realm of the free world, not in the Communist realm.

Whatever the precise degrees of blame to be placed on American administrations, past and present, or on Cubans, past and present, the net result is as described above; and in spite of the trade restrictions and the partial efforts of the OAS at diplomatic isolation of Cuba, no persuasive evidence has yet developed to justify optimistic assumptions about the future effects of Castroism in the Caribbean and in continental South America.

At the moment Guatemala is holding and in Venezuela the local Communists have been weakened and disorganized. But quick reversals have been a hallmark of the volatile politics of Latin America, and it strains credulity to assume that a general era of stability is now beginning. For countries like Peru and possibly Brazil, it is hard to convince oneself that the fundamental forces for integration are stronger than the fundamental forces for disintegration. Latin American Communists believe the contrary, and are relatively quiescent right now only as a matter of strategy, waiting for the time when the United States will relax about Cuba.

Wise and good men are reminding us that a Communist Cuba is not a mortal threat to our vital interests. In and of itself, of course, it is not. But that opens, it does not close, the argument.

A Communist Vietnam, or a Communist Laos, or Indonesia, or Venezuela, or West Berlin would not be mortal threats, either—in and of themselves and separately considered. But the Communist world strategy of protracted conflict is a strategy of the piecemeal advance. There are only so many pieces on the board. With the capture of Cuba they have taken a tremendously important piece. Dozens of Russian ships would not be plying the Cuban trade and thousands of Russian citizens would not be turned out to cheer Castro, if the Kremlin didn't think so.

Northampton-Smith Summer School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, this year will mark the third successive summer of the Northampton, Mass., venture in summer education with Smith College. At a time when admission to college is so difficult, a school of this caliber offers the young student an opportunity to probe deeply into subjects of special interest. It is an important and meaningful school and one which pioneered in summer enrichment programs. It is ably coordinated by Prof. Clifford R. Bragdon of Smith College, one of the Nation's outstanding educational authorities and Mark S. Rand, a distinguished Government teacher at Northampton High School, who acts as principal of the summer school. I would like to include an editorial from the Daily Hampshire Gazette, Northampton, Mass., May 10, in the Appendix.

NORTHAMPTON-SMITH SUMMER SCHOOL

One of the undertakings sponsored jointly by the city and Smith College which has enjoyed great success is the Northampton-Smith Summer School, about to enter its third year.

Many young people in grades 6 through 12 have benefited from this carefully developed plan to provide assistance for those in need of it, and an opportunity for academic exploration for the more talented students.

The deadline for the submission of applications to the principal of summer school is May 15, a scant week from now. The subject of attendance at the summer school has been discussed in many homes. It is now time for a decision on the part of parents.

What does the school offer? That question can be best answered by direct quotations from the pamphlet published for prospective students. "Enrichment courses give you a chance to explore a new field, go deeper into a subject of special interest, add to your grasp of a subject taken during the regular school year," explains the brochure. The remedial courses are described this way: "Remedial courses offer you a chance to make up ground you lost this year or a chance to review a subject you need to strengthen in order to move ahead successfully this coming year."

Under the guidance of Prof. Clifford R. Bragdon as coordinator, and Mark S. Rand as principal, the Smith-Northampton Summer School offers to young people interested in devoting 6 weeks to scholastic improvement an opportunity not so readily available in some communities.

Never have students found competition so keen for admission to colleges, particularly those which are the first choice of the applicant. There are students who will benefit from a vacation from the books. But many others, while not necessarily enthusiastic over giving up 6 weeks of leisure or work, will find that the investment may pay rich dividends in the not too distant future.

It is a well-conducted school taught by highly skilled instructors. Northampton is fortunate to be able to present such an opportunity to her students.

gress did not intend, by operation of law, to deprive cancer victims of a drug to keep them alive. In tests by competent medical men Krebiozen has either prolonged life or gave relief from pain to hundreds such victims condemned to death.

I am transmitting to the Congress, with the utmost sincerity of purpose, the plea of these fellow Americans, that we intercede in behalf of the victims of cancer and their relatives, and that these victims be permitted to continue to receive Krebiozen, after the deadline of June 6, 1963, under the provisions of the recent law, and that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare proceed to test Krebiozen, toward the determination of the issuance of a license for its manufacture and its use for experimental purposes.

The following telegram was received by me last Saturday from Mr. Booth, of New York City:

At 4 p.m. Tuesday, cancer survivors on Krebiozen will bring their medical records to a reception in the Senate Office Building. All Congressmen are invited to attend. May I respectfully ask you to be sure this invitation is extended to the House of Representatives at their next meeting.

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

THE COMPETENCE OF LOCAL LAW OFFICIALS IN BIRMINGHAM

(Mr. HUDDLESTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, despite protestations of professional racial demagogues and despite certain horror pictures circulated in the news media, I believe a majority of the citizens of this country are aware of the fact that, during the recent, unfortunate incidents in Birmingham, the local police force has acted in a consistently commendable and competent manner. Fake charges of brutality were uncovered in a story in the Washington Star last Friday when one of the many comedians who flew into Birmingham to capitalize on the situation was asked to show the results of having his arm twisted and punneled, which he reported had been done by the Birmingham police. He rolled up his left sleeve and was searching for the mark when the reporter who asked the question reminded him he had originally indicated it was his right arm which had been hurt. Similar reports of brutality have proved to be equally untrue.

As a matter of fact, I have been hearing from citizens from around the country who recognize the truth of the situation and who have commended the law enforcement officers on the scene in Birmingham for the outstanding job they are doing. I would like to read just one of the communications I have received from a citizen of this city, Washington, D.C., whose praising assessment of the situation is shared, I know, by many other citizens from every part of the United States. The letter, from Mr.

Bolling B. Flood, of 2740 34th Street NW., Washington, is as follows:

Hon. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,
 House of Representatives,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As a citizen of the District of Columbia, I look with great admiration on the law-enforcement officers in Birmingham. The fact that no fatalities or serious injuries have resulted from the current racial unrest is something any city in the world could be justly proud of. If such a situation existed here I would only hope that our law-enforcement officers could do as well as these gallant men in Birmingham, Ala.

Sincerely,

BOLLING B. FLOOD.

Mr. Speaker, throughout the past days, in the face of the worst sort of provocation, including, as I reported to the House last week, threats, epithets, spitting, bricks, and all the rest, the local law-enforcement officers have proved themselves capable not only of keeping order where potential chaos looms, but also capable of an admirable restraint, sense of duty, and emotional balance.

It is precisely because the local law-enforcement officers have, since the outset, been able to keep control of the situation from those who, with their so-called peaceful demonstrations have attempted to incite discord and lawlessness, that it was, in my opinion, totally unnecessary for the President to order troops to be sent to certain points in our State. I urged the President, in my telegram to him yesterday, to reverse his decision and I did so on two bases. One, because I believe he lacks the constitutional authority to employ Federal troops under the circumstances, and, two, because, to reiterate, the local law-enforcement officers in Birmingham have proved their unquestioned ability to preserve order under the most trying circumstances.

I simply want the role of the Birmingham police force and the other local law officials to be made perfectly clear and I want to publicly commend them one and all.

POLITICAL CRISIS IN HAITI

(Mr. SELDEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, it must surely be a source of Kremlin satisfaction that a U.S. Government quick to move Federal troops into Alabama has been slow to react to the growing political crisis in Haiti.

The crisis in Haiti now has reached a dangerous climax. If our policy planners have indeed anticipated developments in Haiti, then the time has arrived for our policy to be quickly implemented by action. In short, we have reached a time of decision unless the tragedy of Cuba is to be repeated.

There is evidence—ominous evidence—that forces are at work to convert Haiti into the second Communist base in the Caribbean. Certainly the conditions in that unsettled country are ripe for Communist purposes. And let there be no doubt that Fidel Castro and the Kremlin's agents are ready, willing and ca-

pable of moving into any power vacuum left open by indecision and inaction on the part of the free nations of the hemisphere.

Immediate and firm action must be taken by the hemisphere to fill the vacuum that will be left in Haiti by the anticipated collapse of the Duvalier government. If the Organization of American States does not respond effectively to this need for action, the United States cannot be bound by that Organization's failure to meet its hemispheric responsibilities.

It was failure of hemispheric leadership that resulted in the establishment of Castro's Cuba as the first Communist base in the Americas. A similar failure regarding Haiti will all but convert the Caribbean into a Red Sea of the Western Hemisphere.

To prevent this, the U.S. Government must prepare to move, in force if necessary, to seal off Haiti from Communist designs. This means we must give unequivocal warning to the Kremlin and its Castro agents that any attempt to send arms, agents, or equipment into Haiti will result in a U.S. naval blockade, not only of Haiti, but of all the Caribbean area. We are bound under hemispheric agreement, as well as the interests of our own national security, to take whatever action is necessary to maintain Haiti as a member of the inter-American system.

Nor can we overlook the menace of a Communist takeover in Haiti from within, on the Cuban pattern. Our policy planners gravely misjudged Fidel Castro and miscalculated the true meaning of Castroism. Let bitter experience be our guide now in calculating the intentions of so-called Haitian agrarian reformers.

The hour of decision has struck for Haiti. We must act quickly and firmly so that future historians do not mark this hour as one in which the free nations of the hemisphere faltered and thus allowed Haiti to become the second Communist satellite of the Americas.

DOMESTIC LEAD-ZINC MINING INDUSTRY MUST BE KEPT ALIVE

(Mr. ASPINALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the body of the Record and to include certain tables and statistics.)

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, once again a group of my colleagues and I have embarked on a major and concerted effort to save the domestic lead-zinc mining industries from extinction. I hope that the approximately 40 Congressmen representing lead-zinc-producing districts will support our effort at the outset and that subsequently a majority of the House will do likewise.

We have come to this body in the past; and I think you know the basic facts revolving around the deterioration of the lead-zinc mining industry as a result of imports of ores and metal in excess of that which we think is the reasonable share of the market that should be available to foreign production. Stated another way, our case rests on the simple proposition that if lead and zinc are essential in time of emergency or possi-

ble war—and I think everybody agrees that they are—then it is imperative that as a matter of national policy we keep the domestic lead-zinc mining industry alive during peacetime by assuring it a fair share of the domestic market. We then do not say that foreign trade should be cut off and imports excluded; on the contrary, we recognize the place in foreign trade of lead-zinc imports but ask

for equitable treatment of our domestic mining industry.

If this simple proposition is accepted, the remaining question merely concerns the determination of how the domestic market should be apportioned and the means most feasible by which to do so. We think that the bill that we have co-sponsored today presents a reasonable solution by readjusting the existing

quotas covering imports of lead and zinc to make them both realistic and flexible, the flexibility being built in to guarantee against undue restraints on foreign trade.

In order to provide for Members generally necessary background that brings us to this point, I am including, under permission previously granted, tables of pertinent statistical data.

Summary of lead-zinc statistics since 1950

LEAD

[In short tons of lead content]

Period	Production			Stocks end period		Dutiable imports	Industrial Consumption	Employees at lead and zinc mines and mills	Total employees at primary smelting and refining	Average price per pound
	Mine output	Secondary lead	Total lead metal	Producers	Consumers ¹					
1950	430,827	482,275	900,589	137,869	139,384	514,954	1,237,981			13.200
1951	388,164	518,110	935,803	124,060	102,760	191,649	1,184,793			17.500
1952	390,161	471,294	844,146	149,778	122,530	1,044,217	1,130,795	24,282	17,889	16.467
1953	342,644	489,737	874,528	196,340	113,783	409,004	1,201,604			13.489
1954	326,419	480,925	867,527	201,850	124,641	460,197	1,094,871	17,016		14.054
1955	338,025	502,051	881,208	150,822	117,468	424,413	1,212,644			15.138
1956	332,848	489,755	1,049,063	189,250	123,995	420,005	1,209,717	16,845	17,166	16.014
1957	338,216	489,229	1,022,762	207,912	129,310	512,289	1,138,115			14.688
1958	297,377	401,787	871,943	303,316	122,900	581,263	986,387	10,500	13,641	12.102
1959	285,589	451,387	792,318	230,328	126,496	347,117	1,091,149	9,893	13,308	12.211
1960	248,609	469,903	852,379	305,841	97,258	354,211	1,021,172	9,430	13,303	11.948
1961	261,921	452,792	902,357	312,402	99,140	354,714	1,027,216	9,312	13,335	10.871
1962 ²	237,380	440,000	820,200	238,547	90,695	340,191	1,080,700	(³)	(³)	9.63

ZINC

[In short tons of zinc content]

Period	Production			Stocks end period		Dutiable imports	Zinc consumption			Average price per pound
	Mine output	Secondary zinc	Total zinc metal	Producers ¹	Consumers ¹		Slab zinc	Ores consumed and secondary	Total	
1950	623,376	66,070	910,437	8,884	64,206	394,153	967,134	383,367	1,350,501	13.866
1951	681,189	48,057	930,290	21,901	60,071	60,071	933,971	392,111	1,326,082	18.000
1952	666,001	55,111	959,590	87,100	92,579	1,699,435	852,783	358,865	1,211,648	18.215
1953	547,430	52,875	968,980	180,843	84,863	653,832	985,927	358,462	1,342,389	10.855
1954	473,471	68,013	870,438	124,277	100,981	630,488	884,299	296,393	1,180,692	10.681
1955	514,671	66,042	1,029,546	40,979	123,544	569,639	1,119,812	349,268	1,469,080	12.299
1956	542,340	72,127	1,055,737	68,622	104,094	627,071	1,008,790	314,232	1,323,022	13.494
1957	531,785	72,481	1,058,277	100,660	88,342	281,953	935,620	295,593	1,231,593	11.399
1958	412,006	46,006	827,551	190,237	93,009	687,189	808,527	273,638	1,082,165	10.309
1959	425,263	57,818	856,484	154,419	102,428	514,112	950,197	322,179	1,272,518	11.448
1960	435,427	68,731	868,247	190,810	68,871	501,899	877,884	281,054	1,158,938	12.946
1961	466,576	55,237	902,032	173,686	93,782	479,024	931,213	276,266	1,207,469	11.542
1962 ²	605,048	54,906	940,623	181,513	75,914	810,121	1,013,949	332,360	1,346,309	11.5

¹ Import duties suspended Feb. 12, 1952, to June 24, 1952. The dutiable import figure includes 464,617 tons of lead and 599,435 tons of zinc on the free list.
² Quotas effective Oct. 1, 1958, permit maximum annual imports for consumption of 354,720 tons of lead and 520,960 tons of zinc.
³ Preliminary.
⁴ Not available.

The foregoing statistics illustrate a few things. For one thing, it is readily seen that domestic consumption has not made significant inroads in our stocks. Coupled with this we have the fact that domestic mines are capable of supplying the quantity of ore necessary to produce between 35 and 40 percent of the lead metal and between 55 and 60 percent of the zinc metal utilized annually within the United States. Therefore, the industry and its friends in Congress readily recognize and acknowledge that the balance of the supply for both lead and zinc must come from either reprocessed or secondary metal or from foreign sources.

Approximately 40 percent of our domestic consumption of lead metal and approximately 5 percent of our domestic consumption of zinc metal is provided from reprocessed or secondary sources. This leaves a need to import approximately 20 percent of the lead metal con-

sumed in the United States and approximately 40 percent of the zinc.

The problem arises from the fact that in addition to the stocks that I mentioned a moment ago, our imports since 1950 have been sufficient to meet approximately 38 percent of our lead metal requirements and approximately 60 percent of our zinc metal consumption thereby contributing to the buildup of additional excessive stocks which in turn lead to lowered prices, decreased domestic production, and closed domestic mines. Parenthetically, I should like to call the Members' attention at this time to the fact that the assistance provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 are not capable of being used readily by domestic labor and industry with the ease that some of you might expect.

A demonstration of this fact arises from the closing of a zinc mine at Hanover, N. Mex., by New Jersey Zinc Co. The union representing the workers at

the mine petitioned the U.S. Tariff Commission for assistance on the grounds that, as announced by the company, the mine had been closed because of import competition. The Tariff Commission rejected the petition of the union for its workers on the grounds that it had not been demonstrated that import competition was the major cause of the mine closure. Under permission previously granted to extend my remarks, I include at this point the Tariff Commission's decision:

TARIFF COMMISSION REPORTS TO THE PRESIDENT ON ZINC WORKERS' PETITION FOR ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE

The Tariff Commission today reported to the President the results of its investigation No. TEA-W-1, conducted under section 301 (c) (2) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. The investigation was made in response to a workers' petition for determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance. The petition was filed with the Commission on January 9, 1963, by the International

tional issue, and there is little time to remedy the damage done.

THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY GROWS LONGER; MUCH WORK REMAINS TO LINK ALASKA WITH THIS INTERCONTINENTAL ARTERY

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, earlier this year delegates to the Pan American Highway Congress drove from Panama to the District of Columbia. This historic event culminated with the first meeting of the Congress in the Nation's Capital.

On Monday, May 13, members of the Senate Committee on Public Works and members of the House Committee on Public Works met in joint session in the New Senate Office Building with delegates to the Pan American Highway Congress.

The near completion of the highway uniting South, Central, and part of North America comes as a result of cooperative venture of the United States and other nations through which the road crosses, the U.S. investment being two-thirds of the cost. I consider the investment necessary and suggest that there is much remaining to be done.

The Darien Gap in southern Panama must be conquered and that program will be funded as has the rest of the development. There also is urgent need to complete all of the highway. Alaska is a part of the United States and the Pan American Highway, properly, should extend from the north of the 49th State to the southernmost extremity of Argentina, thereby linking all of the Americas. To do this there must be expansion through Canada so that the North as well as the South can merge and there must be highway development within the State of Alaska.

I was, therefore, gratified and pleased to hear the remarks concerning the important work ahead made by the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, the Honorable JENNINGS RANDOLPH, who is chairman of the Public Roads Subcommittee on which I have the honor to serve.

Senator RANDOLPH said, in part:

We can already perceive the time, as my distinguished colleague, Representative FAL-LOW, mentioned, of the final closing of the Darien Gap. We can, Senator GRUENING, look forward to the time when the Alaska Highway will be completed; and all of us, I am sure, can anticipate when certain national systems will be joined with the Inter-American Highway. This monumental undertaking will then connect Fairbanks in Alaska with Tierra del Fuego at the southern extremity.

Senator RANDOLPH termed the Pan American Highway "a symbolic monument of our efforts to turn the technology of modern civilization to the peaceful arts of trade and commerce; and these will bind our national identities together—together in friendship, together in security, and together in progress, and together in faith."

During the joint session the Honorable Tomas Guardia, Jr., of Panama, dele-

gate of his nation to the Pan American Highway Congress, delivered the response of Pan American Highway Congress to the two congressional committees. Speaking in English, he too, in a message of friendship, noted the need to complete the highway. Senor Guardia said, in part:

However, the subject of paramount importance for all of us in this meeting is the discussion of the completion, the final completion, of the great Pan American Highway which as you know when terminated will go from the top of Alaska down to the tip of South America at Tierra del Fuego, a distance of some 20,000 miles.

An earlier speaker at the session was Representative JIM WRIGHT, of Fort Worth who recently inspected the work underway on the Darien Gap and elsewhere along the highway in Central America. Representative WRIGHT, distinguished Texan, spoke to the delegates in Spanish. He pointed out that highway development must be a mutual program if it is to work. Because of the importance of his speech I asked Congressman WRIGHT for an English translation which could be shared by all of the Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that portions of the remarks by Senator RANDOLPH and Delegate Guardia and the full text of the address by Representative WRIGHT be reprinted in the Record at the close of my speech.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BREWSTER in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, there were many highlights at the Monday session.

Senator CARL HAYDEN was honored by the Pan American Highway Congress for his wonderful and continuing support of highway development, and special comment on Senator HAYDEN's efforts in this important area was made by Senator SPRESSARD HOLLAND, of Florida, who has served on the Public Works Committee and now is a member of the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. President, I will not attempt to describe fully the program on Monday over which the chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, the Honorable PAT McNAMARA, of Michigan, so ably presided. We are making great strides in linking the nations of the Western Hemisphere. We will build on this strong foundation an economy and friendship which will, I trust, inspire other areas in our world to emulate.

EXHIBIT 1

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE JENNINGS RANDOLPH, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA, AT THE U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS JOINT MEETING WITH THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY CONGRESS, MONDAY, MAY 13, 1963

Mr. Chairman and delegates to the Ninth Pan American Highway Congress, this is indeed a high moment for all of us. There are many reasons for such feeling. One would be that this is the first time that the Pan American Congress has held its sessions in the Capital City of the United States. Those of us in this room who have recently

completed the tour of the highway from Panama to Washington know that this 4,500 miles of road through seven countries is giving reality to the long-desired aim of hemispheric solidarity. Perhaps more than the protocols and the conferences of diplomats, this link between our countries and our peoples will aid in the establishment in a true sense of a community of respect and understanding, to which we all subscribe and, more importantly I think, to which we aspire.

We can already perceive the time, as my distinguished colleague, Representative FAL-LOW, mentioned, of the final closing of the Darien Gap. We can, Senator GRUENING, look forward to the time when the Alaska Highway will be completed; and all of us, I am sure, can anticipate when certain national systems will be joined with the Inter-American Highway. This monumental undertaking will then connect Fairbanks in Alaska with Tierra del Fuego at the southern extremity.

So, the Pan American Highway is a monument in the most fundamental sense of the word. It is a symbolic monument of our efforts to turn the technology of modern civilization to the peaceful arts of trade and commerce; and these will bind our national identities together—together in friendship, together in security, and together in progress and together in faith.

REMARKS BY HON. TOMAS GUARDIA, JR., DELEGATE OF PANAMA, ON BEHALF OF THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY CONGRESS

Mr. Chairman and Members of Congress of the Joint Public Works Committee, and members present of the Appropriations Committee, fellow delegates and ladies and gentlemen, in following the precedent of Congressman WRIGHT, I shall endeavor to speak to you in the rich, forceful, ever-growing English language, which I have been trying very hard for many years to master. I humbly hope that I do as well as he did.

Mr. Chairman, I am deeply honored to have been chosen by my fellow delegates to the Ninth Pan American Highway Congress to address this august chamber on this important occasion. We bring you our warm greetings and those of our Governments and people. We also bring you our best wishes for the success of your delicate legislative efforts, and for your personal well-being.

We have been meeting here in this beautiful city of Washington for the past week and will be meeting for a few more days in connection with the sessions of the Ninth Pan American Highway Congress. Many important subjects pertaining to the highway development in all its phases, and its allied subjects, such as tourism, transit, and others, are being discussed by the leading authorities which have been set by their respective Governments to represent them at this meeting.

However, the subject of paramount importance for all of us in this meeting is the discussion of the completion, the final completion, of the great Pan American Highway which as you know when terminated will go from the top of Alaska down to the tip of South America at Tierra del Fuego, a distance of some 20,000 miles. The deliberations will be resolved, and resolutions will be transmitted as recommendations to the Governments of the member countries to the Congress, and many good things will come of it.

As far as the Pan American Highway is concerned, it may be well to make a short review of its present status. All of us in this room are familiar with its development through the 40 long years since that date in 1925 when men of great vision met at Santiago, Chile, and proposed the construction of an international highway to join the countries of the Americas.

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REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE JIM WRIGHT, OF TEXAS, BEFORE A JOINT MEETING OF THE U.S. SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE, MAY 13, 1963

Our esteemed friends, fellow laborers in the sometimes thorny vineyards of democracy, fellow citizens of the new world, and builders of roads to progress, it is indeed a great pleasure for us to welcome you to Washington and to this historic capital we regard as a citadel of freedom for all men, and to this committee room of the Congress where upon the anvils of debate and mutual agreement have been forged links in the chain of our Nation's progress.

It is a high endeavor which you pursue in your meetings here. The Pan American Highway stands as a towering monument to the ability of freemen to work together. When finally it shall be completed and one ribbon of concrete will connect our hemisphere from the ice-locked tundra of Alaska to the southernmost tip of the Americas, it will rate in historical significance with the communications network by which Alexander the Great connected Asia Minor in his day, and as a feat of engineering magnitude will surpass the elaborate system of trails by which the Roman Empire first connected Europe.

Solomon said, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." When a highway for the Americas first was proposed, many met the proposal with scorn and derision and said that it could never be done. For more than 30 years men of vision, of good will, and of good work have been proving them wrong. They have overcome barriers, both physical and economic, to push construction of this highway to its present state of near completion. Mile by tortuous mile, through mountains, jungles, rock, mud, water, and desert, this work has progressed until today the goal of a completed Pan American Highway is within sight. Those of you whose dreams, whose toil, whose sweat have gone into the planning, design, and building of this road deserve our heartiest congratulations.

Still, it is not a time to pause for idle and self-flattery of complacent self-congratulation. Both obstacles and opportunities remain to be conquered. To make this project fulfill its total purpose will challenge the best that is in us.

For one thing, our nations jointly need to be assured beyond doubt that our mutual investment will be protected. My Nation has invested approximately \$178 million in that portion of the highway known as the Inter-American Highway between the Texas border and Chepo in Panama. Your nations have given unstintingly of their treasure to assist in this effort. Just as no man would invest in a home for his family only to let it deteriorate and fall apart for want of maintenance, no intelligent people would put its wealth into a highway only to see it deteriorate.

Secondly, the great unrivaled potential for good to the people of your nations which this highway represents can never be adequately realized until it forms the basis for a national network of roads in each of your countries.

The time must come when no longer will entire communities of people be condemned to live their lives in isolation from their neighbors and fellow countrymen, separated by distance and geography from the benefits of civilization. They too have a destiny to fulfill and great contributions to make to the culture and economy of every country in our hemisphere. Roads alone can bring to them the 20th century with its new opportunities for development, friendship, economic sufficiency and self-realization. Secondary roads must one day connect with the Inter-American Highway like blood vessels with the main artery. The Inter-American

Highway is like the spinal column. It serves its principal purpose only when it forms the basis for the ribs and arms and legs that make a complete person. It is like the trunk of a tree which bears fruit only when limbs and branches have sprouted from it.

It is encouraging to observe that you have made progress in exploring the means for assuring continuous maintenance through some Inter-American institution. Ultimately it may be necessary to create a uniform system of revenues paid by those who use and profit from the road. Perhaps ultimately a system of road user taxes can be derived from gasoline and fuel and from those businesses which provide tourist accommodations, and a portion of this could remain in each country for the building of needed secondary roads, and a portion devoted to a system of uniform maintenance and preservation of the Inter-American Highway.

The last link in this highway remains to be forged. The brooding jungles of the Darien will one day be crossed, and the nations of our hemisphere connected. It will cost money and time and effort, but the Darien is a treasure house of opportunity and a new frontier which can yield both land and resources for the teeming populations of the central section of our hemisphere.

It is not an easy matter for the Congress to levy heavy taxes upon our own people to finance needed expenditures in other countries. Each of us in the Congress must satisfy his own conscience that such expenditures are wisely directed in necessary and useful pursuits. But our people are deeply interested in the future of your countries. We believe that the future of this hemisphere is indivisible. We believe that your future and the realization of your aspirations are inseparably connected with our own future and with the future of free men everywhere.

The future of democracy itself depends upon all of us in this hemisphere to demonstrate that free men, working together in human dignity and individual liberty, can accomplish more than slavemen under the whip of an authoritarian and autocratic government. Ours is the mutual tradition of men who would rather die on their feet than live on their knees.

Our heritage in this New World, is a common heritage. The legacy of Miguel Hidalgo, Simon Bolivar, Jose San Martin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt is the same. They dreamed the same dreams. They thought the same thoughts. They worked for the same things, fought for the same things, lived and died for the same ideals.

The Alliance for Progress has raised hopes throughout the whole hemisphere. But it remains for us, working together, to give flesh and blood to the skeleton program for it to live and breathe. Unless it is a mutual program, yours as well as ours, it will not work. The amount of money which my country will be able to devote to loans and grants will not be nearly enough unless it stimulates other private investments and public reforms. It is like a small seed which the forester plants in the ground, and from it can grow a huge tree. But the tender sapling must be watered and cultivated, and only your countries can do that.

We hope that the progress which we are attempting to help create will be that in which all of the nations of a united hemisphere can participate. We hope that its good will be shared not only with the few, but with the many. We hope that it will reach to the most humble homes and warm the hearts of the most humble citizens of our hemisphere with realized aspirations. We hope that this mutual progress can be achieved in harmony and peace, with individual liberty and national self-determina-

tion. Laboring together toward a common goal, we extend our hand and offer to you our hearts.

OFFSHORE RUSSIAN FISHERMEN OUTNUMBER RUSSIANS IN CUBA

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, up to 1 year ago, the United States had become accustomed to seeing Soviet fishing vessels in the North Atlantic and Bering Sea. This Soviet fishing activity dated back several years. But Russian fishing activity off our coast has increased dramatically month by month during the past year. It began last summer, at approximately the same time Russia was moving into Cuba. At that time Soviet vessels entered the Gulf of Alaska for the first time with well over 100 Russian vessels sighted—some engaged, intentionally or otherwise, in destroying our crab gear close to Kodiak Island. They approached within 30 miles of Cordova, Alaska. An advance exploratory guard of several vessels was sighted later off the coasts of Oregon and Washington State.

During the same time a parallel advance was being made in the Atlantic. As many as 160 Soviet vessels were sighted off the North Atlantic coast last year. Last fall, after the Oregon and Washington State sightings, Soviet vessels were reported off the mid-Atlantic States and several moved along the coast of the Carolinas as far south as Florida. This development coincided with the Soviet announcement that a fishing base was being established for Soviet fishing operations off Cuba. Our consulate in Veracruz reported in January of this year that several Soviet vessels have been operating in the Gulf of Mexico, using the port of Veracruz for supplies.

This advance across the Gulf of Mexico early this year completed the encirclement—all intentionally or otherwise timed with the dangerous and daring move to Cuba.

Estimates have varied as to the number of Russians immediately off our coast in Cuba, which lies approximately 90 miles off the tip of Florida. The official estimate has been that there are approximately 17,500 in Cuba, including troops and technicians.

Estimates vary also as to the number of Russians in fishing vessels off our coast. The most conservative estimates would place the number of Russians in fishing vessels immediately off our coast at a figure comparable to the 17,500 estimate regarding Russians in Cuba. But, Mr. President, it is agreed that the figure is likely to far exceed the number of Russians in Cuba and could be as high as 30,000. It is estimated that at least 360 Russian fishing vessels have been off our coast during the past year. Some of the new Soviet fishing vessels, such as their floating cannery mother ships, range between 12,000 and 16,000 tons and carry up to a complement of 640 men. This exceeds the size of our World War II heavy cruiser. However, Russian trawlers are usually of the 2,000 to 3,000 ton class, comparable to our World War II destroyers.

Incidentally, we have no fishing vessels of the size of the smaller Russian vessels, to which I have referred.

Mr. President, we know that the Soviet Union requires no sharp distinction between its military and its economic activities. In fact, an effort is made by the Soviets to make its aggressive economic and military actions complement each other—we are faced with both an economic and military engagement. Soviet military submarines help the Soviet fishing fleet by identifying fish concentrations. We cannot but expect the Soviet fishing fleet has as at least part of its mission something other than that of catching fish. I relate this not for the purpose of warning that the presence of Russian fishing vessels in international waters off our coast present an immediate and serious military threat. Those responsible for our defense undoubtedly are aware of this major shift of emphasis and realize the military significance of having Soviet operational units of this magnitude deployed at all times immediately off the strategic coastline of the United States. I might add this deployment of fishing vessels is frequently considerably closer than the 90 mile Cuban stretch, and is at times within 20 to 30 miles off our coast.

I do believe that the day may come when our military and defense interests may require a reconsideration of extending our territorial waters in respect to international fishing rights. I know that some action similar to this may be required to protect our economic fishing interests. From the joint communique issued by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Lester Pearson, I gather that Canada may soon come to the same position. From reports, I gather that an extension of the territorial waters of a number of European countries may come from the recently proposed meeting between members of the Common Market, the European Free Trade countries, Iceland, the Irish Republic and Spain.

I wish I could forecast a brighter day, or a withdrawal of this Soviet threat, but this would be misleading. I actually anticipate an acceleration of Soviet fishing activity immediately off our shores.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, will my colleague from Alaska yield?

Mr. BARTLETT. I am glad to yield to my colleague from the great sovereign State of Alaska.

Mr. GRUENING. First, I commend my colleague for his calling attention—and it is not the first time he has done so—to the encircling menace of Russia—encirclement in the military sense, and I think I may say, since they have gone into deep sea fishing, their offensive in depth. This is a very serious problem, both militarily and economically.

I wonder whether the Senator does not share the view that the Department of Defense should recognize the presence of Russian ships in Alaskan waters by the permanent stationing of an American vessel or vessels, there, merely to reassure the people of Alaska that they are a part of the United States, so that they will see not only the flags of Russian fishing vessels and of other nations, and

will be reminded that their Government is not wholly forgetful of their interests.

Mr. BARTLETT. The Senator knows that there is a separate naval district within Alaska—the 17th Naval District, based at Kodiak. He likewise knows that the entire Navy available to the admiral commanding consists of one landing barge.

So I would wholeheartedly agree with him that it would not be out of order for a fighting ship of the Navy to serve in those waters now and then.

Mr. GRUENING. The fact is that the admiral who is stationed there has the pretentious titles of Commandant of the Alaska Sea Frontier, in addition to the title of Commandant of the Seventeenth Naval District. However, actually, judging by the vessels under his command, his naval forces are scarcely greater than those of an "admiral of the Swiss Navy."

Mr. BARTLETT. Yes; that is certainly a fair description of what his duties are and have been for a number of years, in terms of the availability of Navy fighting ships.

Mr. GRUENING. The senior Senator from Alaska has introduced a very excellent bill which is designed to give a little assistance to our fisheries, in line with the things he has pointed out, in whatever way each recipient State deems best, particularly as a result of the Russian fishing activities. It is a rather striking fact, a pathetic paradox, is it not, that while we are helping 18 foreign countries—with our taxpayers' dollars—rehabilitate their fisheries, there may be some difficulty in getting this desirable bill passed by the Congress. Can my colleague explain the strange disparity and the strange dual standard which seems to exist in that respect?

Mr. BARTLETT. No. It exists in reference to the situation described by my colleague, and also in reference to another situation. Let me say that this afternoon I attended a hearing conducted under the leadership of our good friend, the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], on matters having to do with the National Institutes of Health, to which the Government of the United States is now making available, every year, hundreds of millions of dollars for research. In my judgment, this money has been well spent. In fact, this afternoon some thrilling testimony was received, from doctors associated with the universities and doctors in private practice, illustrating how much good has been accomplished by the expenditure of these Federal grants, and relating to the progress which has been made in eliminating diseases in certain cases, and in curbing the devastation wrought by others.

Although since this morning I have come to the conclusion that the views of my colleague and my views on this matter do not reflect the unanimous viewpoint of this body, I would think our country could well spend the comparatively small sum requested in this bill for research for the fisheries all over the country—only between \$5 million and \$6 million a year, and to continue

for only 5 years, with the Federal Government contributing 75 percent of the needed research funds, some of which would go into physical facilities, and the States would make available 25 percent. That would be an extension of the cooperative effort between the Federal Government and the State governments, which has proved practical and useful in ever so many fields.

Mr. GRUENING. Is it not also a fact that since these great advances in the technical aspects of fishing have occurred in other nations, notably in Russia, the position of the United States among the great fisheries nations has dropped very sharply?

Mr. BARTLETT. Certainly that is true—and lamentably so. For example, last year our country, which used to have one of the prime fishing efforts of the world, was in a sad fifth position, and was outranked not only by Japan, which always has been a leading fishing nation, but also by Peru, Red China, and Soviet Russia. So our country is now in a sad fifth place. However, that is not the worst of this situation: Unless we do something soon—not in the next decade, but right away—we shall not be able even to brag that we are in fifth position. Instead, we shall be so far down the list that those who compile it will not even bother to include the United States in the statistical figures which are compiled at the close of each fishing year.

Mr. GRUENING. Is not there something of a paradox also in the fact that our country is preparing to spend millions of dollars to send a man to the moon before Russia does, if we can, whereas our country overlooks the present necessity of doing something right on this earth and in the waters of the earth to enable our country to compete with nations such as Russia which now are moving ahead of us?

Mr. BARTLETT. I think so. I had three interesting hearings on this bill to provide a relatively small amount for fisheries research. We had scientists come from all over the country to beseech that the bill be passed. They told of the need for it. We had wonderful testimony from my colleague from Alaska, who now is engaging in this debate with me, and also from the Senators from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL and Mr. KENNEDY], and from Governor Peabody, of Massachusetts, who came to the hearing to make a special plea that Congress do something about this matter, not next year or later on, but right now.

Personally, I believe this is when it must be done, if it is to be effective. But this alone will not be sufficient. We must also take other steps, simultaneously, if we are to be restored to our former position, and if we are to make protein available on a continuing basis to our people, and if we are to occupy the place in reference to the fishing industry that we are entitled to occupy for very good reasons.

In this connection, I should like to add that tomorrow morning, at 11 o'clock, there will be shown in the auditorium of the New Senate Office Building a motion picture showing the presence of foreign

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fishing fleets off the North Atlantic coast, and with—as I understand—special emphasis on the presence there of Russian fishing vessels. The film is being made available by the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY]; and the Chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], has already sent to all Members of the Senate a letter inviting them to be present at the showing of the film at 11 a.m. tomorrow. That invitation is also extended to the members of Senators' staffs and to the attachés of the Senate.

Mr. GRUENING. I hope nearly everyone in the Senate will attend. I have seen a graphic demonstration of the highly technical development of the Russian freezer ships, and it is both an impressive and a frightening demonstration.

In speaking of some of these paradoxes which alarm and puzzle us and make us wonder why we do not do certain things which obviously seem to be desirable, I wish to point out the strange contrast between the expenditures our country has made and continues to make in behalf of those who produce food from the land—and I have no objection to such expenditures—and the paucity of the funds our Government provides to those who produce food from the sea—a vast, untapped reservoir, although it will not remain vast and untapped, so far as we are concerned, if we allow other nations to get ahead of us.

Mr. BARTLETT. Furthermore, I believe it imperatively necessary that we do something about these food resources of the oceans. As has already been stated here a day or two ago by our friend, the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], a very great forward step was taken when the President appointed former Senator Benjamin A. Smith, of Massachusetts, to represent the United States at the forthcoming negotiations with Japan and Canada concerning the North Pacific Fisheries Treaty. It is my understanding that Senator Smith will hold the rank of Ambassador, and will report directly to the White House. We could not have a more skilled or more able or more knowledgeable man heading our negotiating team, and I am sure that the word of his appointment has brought cheer and comfort to scores of thousands of fishermen throughout the land.

Mr. GRUENING. I agree with my colleague; it is a wonderful appointment. If Senator Smith had done nothing else during his devoted service in the Senate but deliver his great speech on the problems of our fisheries and on the things which need to be done to solve those problems, that speech alone would have made his Senate service notable and unforgettable.

Mr. BARTLETT. I agree.

Mr. GRUENING. I would say further, in connection with my colleague's statement that earlier in the day he appeared before a committee headed by the distinguished senior Senator from Alabama. Tomorrow morning I intend to appear before a subcommittee on that

same committee in behalf of the President's education bill.

It is a rather depressing fact to realize that when the President sent up his magnificent omnibus bill, pointing to the various needs in the field of education—including elementary education, secondary education, vocational education, and university education and assistance of all kinds—all needed for education—probably only a small part of that package will be enacted, and yet we see all those activities which he prescribed for the American people being carried on with our taxpayers' dollars in more than 60 foreign countries.

Does not my friend think that is something the Congress should awake to, and provide at least equality of treatment and opportunity to American citizens compared with what we are assuring to those in foreign countries?

Mr. BARTLETT. I do, of course. I remember a few years ago being in Seaward, Alaska, where great new discoveries of shrimp had recently been made. The people involved desired very much to have a biologist who was technically competent on such problems to come to Alaska, and not one could be sent because they were all abroad on loan to foreign countries.

Mr. GRUENING. That is a very common experience. I remember when I appeared before the Committee on Public Works trying to get an expert to help us on our road situation. We found that the man desired had been sent to Burma to build the road to Mandalay made famous by Kipling's verse and song.

Mr. BARTLETT. Attractive as Mandalay might be to someone who had read the poem and who had been inspired by it, still duty here might necessarily come first. There is a pressing need for more biologists concerned with the fisheries. They are coming from the schools in very small numbers.

The Senator referred to the educational program of the President. That fits in with that situation exactly, because we must have skilled technicians in every walk of life if we are to compete in these perilous days.

Mr. GRUENING. In connection with the shrimp industry, it is a depressing fact that we are, instead, spending large sums of money abroad in promoting the shrimp fisheries of foreign countries. In many cases we are building up foreign industries with lower labor costs than ours, and which then compete disastrously with ours. That is happening in many fields increasingly. I consider it folly.

Mr. BARTLETT. I assure my friend from Alaska that I, as a member of the Committee on Commerce, having listened to thousands of words of testimony on that vital subject, could not be more convinced that we must act affirmatively, and that we must act soon in the national interest.

Mr. GRUENING. I hope that the Senator's modest but important fishing bill—modest because of the Senator's knowledge of the fact that it is always difficult to get something through for the United States, but easy to get something for those abroad—I hope will be the be-

ginning of a larger program which will help us to catch up with the great growth of fisheries in Russia, Red China, Japan, and elsewhere.

Mr. BARTLETT. I hope so, too, but my optimism is not at the same height as it was 24 hours ago.

I appreciate the expression of concern by the Senator from Alaska over this urgent problem. Working together, those of us who know of it can do something about it.

I see in the Chamber the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. The bill to which we are referring would fit exactly the perilous straits into which the Great Lakes fishery finds itself, because the sea lamprey has devastated the whitefish and the trout. We need more money for research so that that great fishery can be revived. Admittedly, the bill under consideration would not make available all the money that is needed. It would provide a start and help. For that reason, as well as for many other reasons, I hope that before the present session is over, the bill will become law so the State governments and the Federal Government can work together in that area.

RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, I move that the Senate stand in recess until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess, under the order previously entered, until tomorrow, Wednesday, May 15, 1963, at 10 o'clock a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 14 (legislative day of May 13), 1963:

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officer to be placed on the retired list in the grade indicated under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3962:

To be general

Gen. Guy Stanley Meloy, Jr., O16892, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

The following-named officers under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grades as follows:

Lt. Gen. Hamilton Hawkins Howze, O18088, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army), in the grade of general.
Maj. Gen. William Childs Westmoreland, O20223, Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army), in the grade of lieutenant general.

The following-named officers for temporary appointment in the Army of the United States to the grades indicated, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3442 and 3447:

To be major generals

Brig. Gen. John Farnsworth Smoller, O19416, U.S. Army.

Brig. Gen. George Vernon Underwood, Jr., O20679, Army of the United States (colonel, U.S. Army).

Brig. Gen. Beverley Evans Powell, O20237, U.S. Army.

This 86th anniversary of Rumanian national independence presents an appropriate opportunity to review U.S. policy toward the captive nations and to raise several pertinent questions about it.

To begin with it appears as though we have two policies toward the captive nations.

The first is that enunciated by President Kennedy in numerous public statements of policy—at the United Nations, in reply to a Russian ultimatum on Berlin and Germany, in his state of the Union messages and in numerous other ways. That policy, briefly stated, is support for the universal application of the principle of national self-determination and opposition to all forms of colonialism and imperialism. President Kennedy, in his address before the United Nations, called for free and unfettered plebiscites in all quarters of the globe. He challenged the Russian imperialists to a debate in full on the issues involved. The Russians of course backed down from the challenge because their position as the world's leading imperialists is well known to all informed people. Nevertheless, President Kennedy has continued to stand up for justice and freedom for all nations and peoples. The public record is clear on this point.

The second policy is that being manipulated by the Department of State, rather I should say certain people in the Department. That policy is the same old bankrupt containment concept, dressed up in the fancy new phrase of political evolution. That policy holds that any action taken by the United States to support the aspirations of the now Russian nations behind the Iron Curtain for freedom and national independence will cause world war III. They argue the Russians will not give up any of their colonies without a fight. This leads to the obvious conclusion there is nothing we can do but accept as permanent the enslavement of Rumania and the other captive non-Russian nations. And that conclusion has led to an acceptance of a status quo with the Russian Empire—which the Russians refuse to accept because they have set upon a course to conquer the world. The evidence of failure of that constant and covert policy of the "Russian experts" in the Department of State are to be seen on all sides—in Laos, in India, in the Middle East, in Tito's Yugoslavia, and more lately in Cuba. The Russian imperialists cannot be "contained" and they will not evolve into civilized people.

I have long maintained that the covert Russian beach head on American foreign policy established in the Department of State is a greater threat to the security of the United States than is imperial Russia. That entrenched group of Russia firsters have tied a Gordian Knot on our moral and political principles—paralyzing our Government from taking any meaningful political action against imperial Russia. They are more dangerous to our survival than 200 Red military divisions. The war in which we are engaged is not being fought by classical military methods—it is a political fight, an ideological fight in which all the powerful weapons in our American political arsenal are either outlawed or made inoperative.

Permit me to point out that Congress as the direct voice of the people has made its position clear with regard to the captive nations. That position is set forth in Public Law 86-90, the Captive Nations Week resolution. As is well known, that resolution makes crystal clear the political realities of the war in which we are engaged. It names imperial Russia as the enslaver of nations and the only threat to world peace. It finds that the aspirations of the people in the captive nations for freedom and independence is the most powerful deterrent to world war III and our best hopes for a just and lasting peace. That is why Congress called upon the President to proclaim Captive Nations Week each July and urged all our people to support the aspirations of

the people in the captive nations. Congress thus put itself on record as opposed to a status quo with despotism and rejected the bankrupt concept of containment and its fancy dressed cousin political evolution.

It is fair to question who makes U.S. policy toward the Russian Empire. Is it President Kennedy or the Russian beachhead in the Department of State? Our Constitution says President Kennedy is responsible for setting that policy—that is the reason the American people decide every 4 years who will be and who will not be President for each 4-year term. Otherwise why have an election? Yet, the evidence is conclusive that President Kennedy's public statements of policy toward the Russian Empire have been put under the "Gordian Knot" in the Department of State.

It is equally fair to question whether the opinion of Congress, as expressed in a resolution enacted by that body, has any weight in law or practice. The Russian experts in the State Department have not only ignored the expressed wishes of Congress on this vital question, but they express a contemptuous disregard for the political principles and realistic findings of that law. Do those Russian experts in the State Department expect Congress to rubber stamp their defeatist notions and proven failures of the past as the basis for victory of freedom's cause? I say to you that as far as I am concerned, as a Member of Congress, the only stamp proper for them is exposure and dismissal from the Government.

Let me make this equally clear. There is no conflict between the public statements of policy made by President Kennedy and the findings of Congress in Public Law 86-90. The facts are, they are in harmony—like two peas in a pod, they move toward the same objective, both reflect a desire to use to the fullest all the weapons in the political arsenal of American democracy.

The final question is—in language all of us understand—who is boss of American policy toward the Russian Empire?

Until we get a clear and unqualified answer to that question the cause of human freedom will be delayed and the peril to our security as a Nation will grow more serious.

I am sure you will agree with me that until the issue of who makes and directs our policy toward the Russian Empire is settled, the return of freedom and national independence to Rumania remains in a dark shadow. You and I know that Rumania's independence depends upon concerted, coordinated action by the peoples of all the captive non-Russian nations, supported by the moral and political power of the United States. No one nation can escape from the Russian prison house of nations—but all of them working together against the common enemy possess a power many times more powerful than all the atomic weapons in the world. It is true to say that 90 million Russians cannot maintain their Empire without the acquiescence of the leaders of the free world. That truism stands as a challenge on this 86th anniversary of Rumanian independence.

I join with you in looking forward to the early emancipation of Rumania and all the captive non-Russian nations. You have my assurance that I shall continue to do all in my power to hasten that inevitable day.

The Kennedy Cuba Failure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, a very fine and discerning article by William

V. Shannon, of the New York Post, appeared in the April 11, 1963, issue. I think it deserves the attention of the Members of the House, and therefore include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CUBA FAILURE

(By William V. Shannon)

The Kennedy administration's rupture with Jose Miro Cardona, coming on the second anniversary of the mismanaged Bay of Pigs invasion, brings to a close a cycle of defeat, political ignorance, and moral confusion in America's relations with the Cuban revolution. Everything has now been surrendered, including honor, and we have no policy nor recourse save to wait for whatever good or bad tidings the future may bring. Events have passed out of our hands.

It is instructive to recall the state of affairs when Mr. Kennedy took office. Castro, having been in power for 2 years, had already aligned himself with the Communists, broken with the liberal elements in the revolutionary coalition, and was far advanced in transforming an indigenous radical uprising into a self-shackled Communist dependency.

A brave and active underground movement against the dictator was spreading. Exiles in Florida were alive with hope for his early overthrow. The United States, which had encouraged Batista to depart and which had originally extended a sympathetic tolerance to the Castro government, was in a strong position to influence the course of events, both in its own national interest and in the interest of the freedom of the Cuban people. There were then no Soviet troops and no short-range Soviet missiles in Cuba.

The Kennedy administration took office seemingly committed to a clear and sound policy that this country would not permit a Communist Cuba. Since the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, the United States had taken the consistent position that we would not allow foreign countries to establish new colonies or export alien systems of government to this hemisphere. Since Castro had turned out to be only a stalking horse for the Communists, we had no alternatives except to force his departure or compromise our historical position.

There were only two ways to get rid of Castro. One was to organize a mixed invasion of Cubans and Americans under the aegis of a government-in-exile which we would recognize. The other was to organize sabotage, political subversion and economic pressure. This program could only have succeeded if the administration had been willing to make bold political decisions. In a revolutionary situation, the most effective alternative is usually a group only a shade less radical than the faction one is trying to overthrow. What was wanted was a political leadership for the Cuban underground-and-exile movement that shared most of Castro's original radical social and economic program but disavowed his terrorism and his links to Moscow. We shall never know if a left-of-center alternative, properly supported by the United States, could have brought Castro down. The President and his brother Robert and their CIA and State Department advisers lacked the political sophistication and imagination to attempt it.

President Kennedy chose the more direct alternative of an invasion. Since the Cuban exiles ranged from radicals to reactionaries, a temporary coalition was pasted together under the presidency of Miro Cardona, an honorable man of centrist sympathies. But this coalition was not recognized as a government-in-exile. The administration also held back from providing the U.S. troops and planes necessary to bolster the exile force. Moreover, the CIA, with extraordinary political obtuseness, placed most of its reliance on the sons of the wealthy and on the supporters of the fallen Batista. In short, the White House policymakers avoided the politi-

the harsh realities of international political affairs. His tragedy is that he was born too late because his political outlook corresponds to that common during the era of empires, when the concert of monarchs maintained a balance of power and a precarious peace in Europe. His outlook is hardly in tune with the global spirit of national independence which is rapidly reforming both political life and geography on all continents. Let us hope that his passing from the diplomatic scene will open wide the doors for a complete and realistic revision of our policy toward Imperial Russia.

Looking to the new spirit which is reforming international political life we observe that morality in international life is now returning to the forefront. That morality is based upon a growing recognition of the nature of man, an increasing acceptance of the dignity which attaches to all human beings and a striving for civil order which corresponds with the nature of the human family. Pope John XXIII, in his great encyclical "Pacem in Terris," calls out for a new order among men and nations based upon morality common to all men by their nature as children of God. Defining the rights and duties of man, the encyclical then prophesies the universal blessings of national independence for all peoples. This quote from "Peace on Earth" is most pertinent to this 22d anniversary of Croatian national independence:

"Finally, the modern world, as compared with the recent past, has taken on an entirely new appearance in the field of social and political life. For since all nations have either achieved or are on the way to achieving independence, there will soon no longer exist a world divided into nations that rule others and nations that are subject to others.

"Men all over the world have today—or will soon have—the rank of citizens in independent nations. No one wants to feel subject to political powers located outside his own country or ethnical group. Thus in very many human beings the inferiority complex which endured for hundreds and thousands of years is disappearing, while in others there is an attenuation and gradual fading of the corresponding superiority complex which had its roots in socioeconomic privileges, sex or political standing."

These words add new hope and vigor to the cause of the many nations held in bondage by Imperial Russia and its colonial system—including the Imperial Yugoslav appendage. Those who have claimed that Croatia has no right to national independence or who have turned their backs on the struggle of the Croatian people would do well to reflect upon these words of Pope John. As surely as day follows night this moral prophecy will be fulfilled. Let us, together, redouble our efforts to hasten that happy day. In so doing we advance the cause of genuine peace on earth.

Long live Croatia and her gallant people who struggle ever onward toward the goal of national independence.

Twelfth Annual Congress of the American Latvian Association of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the 12th Annual Congress of the American Latvian Association of the United States

was held in New York City on April 26, 1963. It was my pleasure to send a message of greeting to the delegates gathered for that congress from various parts of the United States. My message was as follows:

I am pleased to send warm greetings and best wishes for success to all the delegates attending the 12th Annual Congress of the American Latvian Association of the United States.

Your congress will, I am confident, turn a major part of its deliberations to the central issue of ways and means whereby Latvia may regain its freedom and national independence. It is natural that you should do this because the future of freedom throughout the world, including the United States, is in large measure dependent on the future of freedom in Latvia and the other captive nations. This imperatively underscores the importance of your deliberations as well as the need for concerted and united action by all who share the responsibilities for freedom's cause. I need not point out to you that every American citizen is duty bound to assume his or her full responsibilities in this cause. Some of us are privileged to assume a larger share of this responsibility by virtue of our position, training, or special knowledge of the issues. I would point out here that delegates to your congress have a greater citizen responsibility because so many of them have a firsthand knowledge and experience with the basic issues, which requires them to assume a leadership role in pointing up ways and means to return Latvia to her rightful place in the community of free nations.

It is in this spirit that my remarks are presented to your congress meeting.

I am confident you will agree with me that the prospects of liberating Latvia alone from the grip of Russian Imperialism are small if not entirely lacking. To look at the present plight of Latvia as an isolated or singular problem of our time would deny the realities of contemporary international political affairs as well as condemn the people of Latvia to perpetual slavery. Obviously, no rational person would fall into this trap.

I am confident you will agree that liberation of the three Baltic Republics—Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania—is equally improbable if we restrict our thinking and plans to this limited area of the overall problem. It is true that the Baltic States have much in common, that they suffered a common aggression at the hands of Imperial Russia in 1939, and that there is need for a strong regional cohesion among the peoples of these nations. But more than this is necessary to bring a return of freedom and national independence to these nations.

Looking further, we observe that in recent years the Baltic States have been grouped with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria in many, if not most, of the nongovernmental actions calculated to advance the freedom of all those nations. In particular I have reference to the Assembly of Captive European Nations. While this grouping reflects a degree of unity, it nevertheless tends to obscure the total problem of captive nations. Moreover, this arrangement, whatever its origin or motivation, puts a false limit on the historical meaning of Europe by excluding other European nations which are no less a captive of Imperial Russia. I have particular reference to Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and several other nations. The result of this false and arbitrary division of Europe is to divide and weaken the cause of all the captive nations. Nowhere are evidences of this dangerous division of freedom's cause more evident than in the confusion which attends the present efforts to establish a House Committee on Captive Nations. This confusion serves no other purpose but to prolong the agony of

the captive nations and provide comfort for Imperial Russia.

It is my opinion that none of the captive nations will regain their freedom and national independence until all of them do. This judgment corresponds with a practical appraisal of the Imperial system which holds them in captivity. That system must be broken, not one chain at a time, or several chains in isolated action, but all the chains in one concerted and unified program of international political action. I am confident that history provides adequate testimony for this judgment. We need only to look at the lessons learned in East Germany or Hungary. For those who are weighted down with continuing doubts or may be persuaded that a privileged few will be able to escape from the Russian prison house of nations, I would ask these questions:

1. How secure would Latvia and her sister Republics of the Baltic region be if regaining their national independence they were required to coexist with the U.S.S.R.?
2. How secure would the Baltic States and the Central European nations—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria be if regaining their national independence they were required to coexist with the U.S.S.R.?
3. Can peace with freedom be secure for any nation so long as Imperial Russia is allowed to maintain its despotic rule over other nations?

I have other reasons for raising these questions before your congress delegates. I am convinced that an objective examination of these questions will serve to identify the source of the captive nations problem and underscore the urgent need for unity among all the non-Russian nations now held in captivity by Moscow. The human power in all these non-Russian nations, taken as a collective force for freedoms cause, is much more powerful than all the nuclear bombs and missiles possessed on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Once this human power is fully unified and harnessed in the cause of freedom and independence for all nations, all threats of war will pass and peace will prevail on earth.

I know your congress meeting will make a significant contribution to this objective.

Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD my remarks on the occasion marking the 86th anniversary of Rumanian national independence held in Cleveland on May 11:

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Today we again observe Rumanian independence day as a tribute to the Rumanian people and their dedication to the cause of liberty, freedom, and self-government. This day has great meaning to the people of Rumania because it signifies three epics in their centuries long struggle against foreign occupation culminating in victory. All these epics remind us that the present foreign occupation of Rumania is transitory because no foreign power has ever been able to conquer the spirit of the Rumanian people. It is the people and not governments which make up a nation. Governments come and go, but the people live on forever.

cal choices and the CIA made the wrong ones.

There was nothing wrong, in my judgment, with a mixed Cuban and American military intervention to throw out Castro except that once embarked upon, it could not be allowed to fail. President Kennedy did allow it to fail.

But there was no reason, after that single defeat, for panic or despair. The political alternative could still be attempted, although now under less favorable circumstances, or a second successful invasion could be properly planned and carried out. Instead, the administration did nothing. The 18 wasted months from April 1961 to October 1962, are in my opinion, a worse offense on the administration's record than the defeat of the Bay of Pigs invasion. What had appeared to be a firm resolve to get rid of Castro proved, after only one setback, to be made of jelly.

The only conclusion drawn from the events of April 1961 was that clandestine operations are impossible in a democracy. The exiles and the underground were simply written off as too divided and unmanageable. Micawberism—"maybe something will turn up"—reigned.

What turned up were the Russian missiles. Khrushchev had not wasted those 18 months. Mr. Kennedy was able to force the Russians to withdraw the missiles by going to the edge of nuclear war. We are all grateful to him that his resolute firmness in October succeeded, but he is scarcely entitled to any credit for handling Cuban affairs in such a way that they produced a nuclear crisis. The introduction of the Soviet missiles completely exposed the shallowness of those, in the administration and in the general public, who thought we could happily coexist with a Communist Cuba. Because we permitted Castro to stay in power, Khrushchev very nearly outflanked us on our defenseless southern border.

The long-range missiles are presumably gone, but Cuba is far stronger militarily than it was 2 years ago. We cannot get rid of Castro because his safety has now become linked with Khrushchev's prestige. Cuba has become like Berlin, a hostage in the cold war. The suppression of the Cuban raiders and the dropping of poor Miro Cardona constitute the final admission that we have met total defeat on the Cuban front. The Cuban people have been left to the mercies of their bearded tyrant.

Dogs Versus Human Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the Detroit (Mich.) Chronicle of Saturday, May 11, 1963 entitled "Dogs Versus Human Rights."

This shows the feelings of people throughout the United States about the denial of fundamental human rights and the uniquely difficult situation which our Negro citizens find themselves in in Birmingham.

The time is late for a settlement of our problems of racial discrimination in this

country and unless vigorous action is taken the future presages more rather than less difficulty with citizens uniting to achieve their legitimate rights under the laws of the Constitution.

The editorial follows:

DOGS VERSUS HUMAN RIGHTS

The use of fire hoses and police dogs on Negro children, women and students protesting racial segregation in Birmingham, Ala., can best be described as bestiality at its worst. Some of the demonstrators were so seriously bitten that they had to be hospitalized.

This monstrous exhibition of raw racialism has inflicted deep wounds that will not soon heal. It is beyond human understanding that white Southerners who trumpet their racial superiority have to resort to brute force rather than cold logic to uphold their supremacy.

In their blind prejudice, they under-rate the march of history. They misread the mentality and the will of the new Negro. He registers his impatience by demonstrating against the snail's pace of desegregation.

So far, the demonstrations have been peaceful and orderly. There have been no instances of serious physical resistance to local police, even in the face of provocation and insufferable molestation.

Unceasing exhortation of fearless Negro leaders such as Reverends King and Shuttlesworth, and equally fearless community supporters have swollen the ranks of the prayer-marchers and increased the frequency of their demonstrations.

How long the peaceful demonstrators will remain passive when fire hoses and vicious police dogs are turned on them, is problematical. Tempers are getting short, and we predict that force will meet force in the next confrontation.

In the Birmingham fray, women were kicked in the stomach, children sustained head wounds that caused their blood to mix with their tears. And all were carted away in police wagons and school buses like dead deer.

There are limits to human endurance and forbearance. Patience ceases to be a virtue and becomes a crime when human dignity and human rights are violated at will. There'll be much mental anguish, and much blood spilled until the social denials and the economic wrongs are redressed.

This is the moment of truth. All those who believe in social justice and equal opportunity wherever they may be and whosoever they may be, must join hands with our brothers in the struggle for liberation and recognition. As Franklin D. Roosevelt used to say: "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead."

Federal-State Partnership in the Growth of Eastern Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of an address I delivered on Monday, May 13, 1963, before the Greater Middletown Real Estate Board of Middletown, Conn., on the subject "Federal-State Partnership in the Growth of Eastern Connecticut." The address reads as follows:

FEDERAL-STATE PARTNERSHIP IN THE GROWTH OF EASTERN CONNECTICUT

(An address by Congressman WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE, of Connecticut, before the Greater Middletown Real Estate Board, May 13, 1963)

Many years have now passed since the professors and the social workers realized that large centers of population in the urban areas provided our free society with problems which are not easy of solution and not solvable by themselves. In the largest cities of the Nation families crowded together in slum conditions were proof positive that the American way of life was but an empty dream for too many hundreds of thousands of youngsters.

Since our children are the greatest asset which this country has, because they are the ones who will carry on when our generation leaves off, it became imperative that something be done to alleviate at least the worst conditions in order to give all families an opportunity at life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. City blight was first seriously attacked in the Housing Act of 1949. The years that have intervened have given us an opportunity to assess the progress that has been made and a chance to look forward into the future to see whether steps already taken have headed us in the proper direction.

Let us, therefore, examine the Federal-State partnership in dealing with these conditions particularly how it is helping in the growth of eastern Connecticut. First, a look at the local picture.

The State of Connecticut has once again proven to be a leader in this nationwide fight to improve living conditions. As we review renewal activities in Connecticut, we are impressed by several facts which emphasize the success of the renewal effort in our State:

1. By the end of 1962, there were 7 completed projects and 31 projects in execution, covering nearly 2,000 acres of land. An additional 1,500 acres of land in 23 projects were in the planning and preplanning stage of the renewal process.
2. During 1962, six renewal projects were completed and at least another six were approaching virtual completion.
3. A total of 235 acres of land in redevelopment areas have been disposed of by sale, lease or dedication.
4. Commercial and industrial reconstruction now underway or completed in renewal areas approaches 4 million square feet.
5. A total of 850 housing units have been provided or are under current construction in renewal areas.
6. Investment in reconstruction in redevelopment areas—mostly of a private nature—currently totals \$100 million, and this investment may well reach \$1 billion within the next decade.
7. Over 6,000 families from predominantly substandard housing have been relocated in renewal areas.
8. Redevelopment in Connecticut involves the expenditure or commitment of public funds totaling nearly \$300 million, of which the Federal Government is providing \$200 million, the State \$43 million and the local governments \$55 million.

The success of urban renewal as a means of revitalizing our communities was established in 1962. As I mentioned earlier, 6 urban renewal projects were completed in that year and, of the 31 projects in execution, several were approaching completion. Substantial rebuilding was underway in Ansonia, Hartford, New Haven, Putnam, Seymour and Torrington.

There is a multiplier effect in urban renewal which serves as a significant factor in promoting economic activity. Statistics developed by the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency indicate that the expenditure of \$1 of public funds for redevelopment pur-

poses generates an expenditure of over \$3 of private capital. Since the net costs of renewal projects in Connecticut approximate \$300 million of Federal, State, and local funds, private investment in urban growth resulting from these renewal projects will probably approach \$1 billion in the next 10 years.

The value on completion of current construction in Connecticut's urban renewal areas is now approximately \$100 million. New buildings valued in excess of \$3 million have been erected in four of Connecticut's seven completed projects. Buildings valued at nearly \$97 million are under construction or have been completed in 11 projects still in execution, in many of which more new construction will be undertaken in future months. In addition to 850 housing units, this investment involves the financing of approximately 4.5 million square feet of new commercial, industrial, and public floor space. This reconstruction exerts a significant impact on the economy of the State in terms of employment, production and business activity.

The revitalizing influence of urban renewal extends, however, much beyond the limits of the project areas themselves. Land, near or adjacent to the project areas from which the blight has been eliminated often provides choice sites for new commercial enterprises and new realty developments. This is sometimes described as peripheral redevelopment, and I am sure you know of many examples of such development which had a beneficial effect on the community and on private enterprise.

Unless large parts of redevelopment areas are used for nontaxable public purposes, there usually are substantial tax increments for the municipality when blighted land with substandard buildings is redeveloped and new residential, commercial, or industrial buildings are erected.

Business relocations, of course, have many ramifications in terms of loss of ethnic trade in the older neighborhoods, in difficulties in securing financing for new ventures, and in reluctance on the part of older business people to start anew in different surroundings. However, while marginal companies encounter such difficulties in adjustment, most business firms can adjust fairly readily and many of them grow and expand markedly after they relocate from blighted areas.

Let me cite just one example. As a result of urban renewal in Hartford's Front street and Windsor street areas, 260 commercial and industrial firms were assisted in successful relocations; and an additional 190 firms were relocated by reason of the East-West highway, which in some instances overlaps these project areas. Only 56 firms went out of business during these operations. That's about 10 percent of all firms in the area, and many of these went out of business because of the age of the owners.

The 61 redevelopment projects in Connecticut, which I listed earlier as either completed, in execution or in planning, involve public funds in the amount of some \$300 million. Of this total, I pointed out that the Federal Government provides \$200 million, the State \$43 million, and the local governments \$55 million. By the end of 1962, the State had advanced to the communities grants totaling \$12.5 million as its share of the cost of renewal. The balance of State participation consists in contracts for further assistance in the amount of \$7.5 million, and in reservations for projects not yet covered by assistance agreements in the amount of \$21.8 million.

The basic principle of the urban renewal process is that slums and blighted areas must be eliminated from the American scene. An underlying feature of this concept is that safe and sanitary housing should be available to all. In Connecticut we have over

3,500 acres of blighted land under renewal treatment. By now, more than 6,000 families have been assisted in relocating from predominantly substandard housing in redevelopment areas.

By the elimination of slums, and particularly slum housing, urban renewal makes possible the attainment of a higher standard of living for those who live, work, and seek rest and recreation in our urban areas. To the slum child, born in squalor and reared under the degrading influence of the slum environment, integration into a new community may do much more than provide standard housing. It brings him into contact with a way of life to which he had previously never been exposed. It helps to do away with the influence of the slum and, in its place, implants those standards which are the birthright of most Americans. Meaningful exposure to these standards is not possible for those living in slum conditions.

Many of our citizens in the blighted areas not only live but often work and seek recreation within the depressing confines of the slum. This confinement creates a dangerous condition involving not only fire and health hazards, but also social unrest and crime requiring continuing surveillance by municipal agencies. These social problems can be overcome only by the elimination of the slum and giving these people an opportunity to rebuild their lives in a new environment.

Integration of slum residents into standard neighborhoods may involve many problems, but the social gains to be realized through this integration will eventually justify the effort. Solution to the problems relative to this transition may be a lengthy process. State and local social organizations should take an active role in assisting the residents of blighted areas to become adjusted to their new environments.

While the elimination of blight is the basic and ultimate objective of urban renewal, there are a number of social goals which go beyond the leveling of slum buildings and the relocation of their inhabitants. These goals include also the establishment of parks, schools, and cultural and recreational facilities which will benefit the whole community. This aspect of renewal helps to create a living environment conducive to healthy growth and to the establishment of strong moral and spiritual values for all.

Smaller communities will encounter difficulties in financing these facilities. While tax increments resulting from the revitalization of business districts are not the major objective of renewal, they sometimes become an important factor since they help to provide the resources by which overall community renewal may be achieved.

As renewal programs progress toward the elimination of blight in our State, large tracts of land are being made available for industrial and commercial use. Land proposed for industrial and commercial use now totals 900 acres and if present patterns are continued and maximum redevelopment is achieved, industrial and commercial acreage opened for new use may total over 8,700 acres. The existence of this land with all essential utilities readily available throughout urbanized areas in the State will be a significant factor in the continuing growth and development of our economy and in the financial stability of our communities.

Although rehabilitation and conservation are considered essential to the renewal process, they have not been given as much recognition as has been accorded clearance and reconstruction. One example, however, is New Haven's Wooster Square project which has won national recognition for its rehabilitation work. As the most blighted areas are cleared and rebuilt, there is a growing awareness of the benefits of rehabilitation. A larger number of our communities are taking steps to insure against the recurrence of

blight by establishing and enforcing sound housing and building codes and zoning regulations.

We now have over 3,500 acres of land under treatment for urban renewal in Connecticut, but estimates made by the Connecticut Development Commission indicate that there are nearly 15,000 acres of blight where no action toward renewal has been undertaken. Of this total, 2,400 acres are located in 29 communities which to date have shown no great amount of interest in urban renewal.

The existence of this blight is a challenge to the State and to its municipalities. While a limited amount of renewal may be undertaken by private interests, such as those who carry out peripheral projects, the vast bulk of this renewal must be carried out by public agencies if the needs are to be met. The Development Commission's studies point out that, if renewal is to continue at the present rate, by 1980, the blight may be reduced to between 6,000 and 8,000 acres, provided steps are taken to prevent the incidence of new blight.

This review of renewal achievements shows that during the 7 years since Connecticut first participated with the Federal Government and the local municipalities in the financing of urban renewal, much has been accomplished toward eliminating slums and revitalizing Connecticut's cities. At the same time, let us not ignore the fact that much blight still exists and much remains to be done if we are to achieve complete renewal. The need and the challenge are clear.

This need and challenge can be met by even closer cooperation on the three levels—local, State, and Federal. I am very happy that my background and experience in urban renewal are proving most helpful to me in Washington in discussions which I have had and continue to have with the administrators of urban renewal and public housing.

In this connection, I was very happy to vote last month in favor of the amendment to restore the sum of \$450 million for the accelerated public works program for projects which are not a waste or boondoggle, but on the contrary, give to our communities, especially the small- and medium-size towns and cities, an opportunity to construct sanitation facilities, water systems, roads, harbor facilities, city streets, bridges, and municipal buildings. It is quite clear that without this Federal assistance the communities involved could not undertake such projects. These expenditures by the communities and the Federal Government later will pay for themselves over and over through more employment, improved services, better health, better living conditions, and happier communities.

The State of Connecticut, which, until the end of January of this year, received a total of \$3,963,000 for various projects under the accelerated public works program, is vitally interested in legislation of this sort.

During the few months that I have been in Washington, I am happy that I have been able to intercede with the Administrators and the Commissioners of the Public Housing Administration, the Community Facilities Administration, the Urban Renewal Administration, the Area Redevelopment Administration, Department of Agriculture, the Corps of Engineers of the Department of the Army, and the Small Business Administration on behalf of our communities, our industries, and farmers, to furnish the necessary liaison and help between our National Capital and the communities of the Second District.

Probably the best example to be cited is the case of the city of Norwich, where 6 lives were lost and \$3 million property damage done in the disastrous flood in March of this year. As a result of this type of interven-

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Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, funds were made available to organizations in our cities to plan for the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

The city of Boston has received such a planning grant. Its community organization—Action for Boston Community Development—has undertaken the enormous task of developing plans to prevent our young people from heading in the direction of crime. Rather than researching the causes of juvenile delinquency, the focus of their efforts has been on developing long-range community plans that will prevent juvenile delinquency in the future.

An article recently appeared in the Sunday edition of the Boston Herald concerning the progress that Action for Boston Community Development has made in its study of juvenile delinquency prevention. The plans that have been formulated to date are very encouraging and I believe offer substantial hope of meeting this problem in the future. Action for Boston Community Development's program for prevention stresses the need for job and educational opportunities for our young people between the age of 13 and 18 years.

In the near future, Boston will be ready to move into the action stage of its program—a program that I believe is well thought out and offers great promise of success.

Under unanimous consent I include feature story from the Boston Herald at this point in the Record in order that my colleagues may read what my city is doing to combat the spread of juvenile delinquency:

FIVE THOUSAND YOUNGSTERS IN POLICE HANDS YEARLY—ACTION FOR BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TO STUDY WHY, WHEREFORES OF DELINQUENCY

Every year, 5,000 Boston youngsters fall into the hands of police, 1,700 go to court and 200 are committed to the Youth Service Board.

Why has a city with such a proliferation of public and private resources failed its young so spectacularly?

FROM 3½ TO 21

A fledgling organization, Action for Boston Community Development, has taken on the outsized job of trying to find out, and then of trying to find out what to do about it.

In the process, ABCD will work with tots of 3½ years and young men and women of 21. It will, perhaps, step on the toes of some of our most revered agencies. It will profile the potential and full-fledged delinquent, and in doing so will profile the neighborhood in which he lives, studies, and plays.

The youth program of ABCD, an agency conceived to attack the major social problems of urban life, was outlined this week by Daniel I. Cronin, youth program director; Robert Perlman, program development chief; and Clarence C. Sherwood, research director.

Starting on a \$159,400 shoestring provided by the President's juvenile delinquency control program—and with financial help to be sought from the Ford Foundation and a variety of other agencies—ABCD will create no bureaucracy of its own, but will work with existing agencies. It will be supported

by specialists from virtually every phase of youth activity in the city.

Target areas—low income, high in delinquency and property deterioration—will be Roxbury, Charlestown and the South End. Here will be concentrated the ABCD's programs, which will be tailored to prevent delinquency rather than to cure its symptoms.

ABCD's definition of a delinquent, Perlman said, is a youth who has had contact with the law for offenses that would be considered criminal if he were adult.

WIDE RANGE

"Many look on a delinquent as somebody who is out of step with society and has to be returned to the mold," he said. "Our idea is to change the institution to handle the youth, without necessarily bringing about any deep fundamental changes in the person."

The range of the ABCD plans is extremely wide; it will work in the school, the home, the welfare agency, with the courts and police. The program is in the earliest planning stages. Statistics and surveys will come first, new ideas and action later. The first version of the planning should be completed by fall.

"We're trying to pull together existing data," Sherwood said, "In any given agency you find a number of different kinds of kids. Some are fine, some are not. And it isn't just the agencies. Little is being done to study parental control. We want to find out what a neighborhood as a whole is doing."

The end product, the ABCD leaders suggested, may be recommendations involving where stress should be placed and money spent, where effort is being stunted and where wasted.

In the delinquency study, specific youngsters will be used; it will not be all statistics. "If we can get a sample of kids on their way to trouble, and find out what agencies have contact with them, who spotted them, who's trying to help and who isn't and should, that should be useful," Perlman said. "A lot of them slip through the community service net. We want to try to plug the holes."

JOBLESS YOUTH

Because the jobless youth is trouble-prone, ABCD expects to spend considerable effort in this area, working with Federal and State labor departments.

"We'd like to learn what spots can use more young people and how; and we expect to do this with the help of the State employment service," Perlman said. "We hope for funds to help set up centers to get hold of kids out of work, determine their capabilities and provide training and other services."

ABCD will study, too, the question of whether the young are being trained for jobs from which automation and other factors will remove them; and whether unemployment among the young is a matter of job shortages or a variance between skills and available jobs.

In this region, the delinquency program is expected to dovetail to some extent with a school program sought by the Boston school system but not yet approved by ABCD's board. Should the anticipated board approval be given, Ford Foundation funds will be sought to put the program in action.

The Boston school committee recently voted \$23,000 as its share of a start on several programs—none new, but each a little different from anything now being done here.

No Federal funds will be used for the school program if it is approved, Cronin said.

Effort is contemplated in five directions on the school level.

Starting at the bottom, the school department wants to see created prekindergarten schools for youngsters 3½ to 4½ years old in disadvantage areas. Service agencies and the schools would choose children with demonstrated learning problems. The object is to get them off to an even start with their young peers at kindergarten time.

At the junior high school level, the demonstration program would use full-time guidance advisers, Cronin said, with a particular view to preventing dropouts "through the use of such community resources as youth counseling and employment centers where special testing and help may be obtained."

ABCD pointed out that today's school dropouts are tomorrow's unemployables and potential sources of trouble.

PROBLEM YOUTHS

Problem youngsters would be handled with school adjustment counseling, chiefly on the elementary level. The schools would like to see several full-time specialists with teaching and social work backgrounds enlisted for this.

These experts would work not only in the school but also with the family. One function would be to establish criteria for the youngsters most likely to get into real trouble later. Boston schools have such a program but it is spread very thinly, and educational leaders are eager to learn if a saturation effort would make a difference.

In the belief that school dropouts, and to some extent delinquency, may have their beginnings in a simple inability to read well, the school department has asked ABCD to generate two programs in this field.

Remedial reading. There are now about 50 teachers, but they are few compared to the need. Authorities want to test the idea that intensive remedial reading teaching can reach those with lower intelligence quotients than is possible with present resources.

Developmental reading. Up to now, reading has been generally considered a "subject" only to the sixth grade. In this program, it would be actively taught at the junior high level with all teachers participating, and it would extend into all areas of study.

Free Labor Menaced by Government Intervention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the strength of the American labor movement has been in the protection of its freedom. Now, along with all other segments of our society, labor is faced with the inevitable result of looking to the Federal Government for special consideration—the inevitable result is dictatorship.

Short-sighted labor leaders, spurred by a lust for power, have not hesitated to use the Federal Government to shift the balance in collective bargaining to their side. It is true that they can make gains in this way, but only at the expense of their freedom.

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The final result of the road we are following in labor relations—the "Road to Futility"—is summed up in an editorial from the Wall Street Journal which I include at this point in my remarks:

ROAD TO FUTILITY

"Neither the traditional collective bargaining procedures nor the present labor dispute laws are working to the public's satisfaction, at least so far as major labor controversies are concerned. . . . If collective bargaining can't produce peaceful settlements of these controversies, the public will."

Thus does Labor Secretary Wirtz, writing in the newspaper of the Masters, Mates, and Pilots Union, sum up a problem confronting not only the maritime industry but others as well. Already, several of the public's representatives in Congress are urging, as a solution for maritime disputes, a system of compulsory arbitration by Government-appointed boards—in effect, Federal dictation of settlements.

Mr. Wirtz, together with union leaders and most management officials, rightly opposes this proposal. But few people seem to pay much attention to the roots of the current muddled situation.

In the maritime and other industries, labor contract negotiations once were a matter for a single employer and representatives of his workers, both sides deeply interested in the preservation of the enterprise that provided jobs and profits. But unions, with Government encouragement and governmental exemption from antitrust laws, soon grew so big that they acquired power to close down whole industries. So it is that strikes, once matters of limited local concern, can become national emergencies.

In its efforts to deal with such emergencies, the Government has been stepping in ever earlier. Both labor and management now expect such intervention and have far less incentive to freely settle their own disputes. This is especially true of unions, since the Government's proposals of late—as in the east coast dock strike—tend to lean heavily toward labor's side.

If it is impossible to get back to realistic bargaining on a local basis, then more Government intervention is inevitable. But at least everyone ought to see where the road is leading and why. And they should also see the futility of trying to solve a problem largely caused by Government involvement by embracing outright Government dictation.

Cuba
Is the Kennedy Administration Going To Sell Out to Castro Further by Abandoning Guantanamo?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, recent events give rise to the question, is the Kennedy administration going to sell out further to Castro and the Communists by abandoning Guantanamo?

This question might seem improbable, but all signs point in that direction. Why did Castro after making this as one of his demands on October 28, 1962,

when the blockade was barely withdrawn, secure from Khrushchev recently a restatement of this demand by Khrushchev on his recent visit to Russia if it was not their intention to press for this removal?

Why did the Jackson killing of the Cuban spy incident come to light at this specific time?

Why are the Cuban Communist border patrols around Guantanamo suddenly causing incidents of rock throwing, without provocation?

Why is the administration asking for \$18 million to further improve Roosevelt Roads in Puerto Rico which would be able to house the facilities presently at Guantanamo?

If we gave in on Castro's demand for stopping all exile raids on his country, which was made at the same time as the demands to remove Guantanamo, what reason do we have to believe that the second demand will not be given in to in that the first was conceded?

These are all startlingly and alarmingly important questions and they all point to the conclusion that the foundation is being laid for the surrender of Guantanamo to Castro. This would be one of the blackest days in the history of our country.

This is a view shared by many and I cite the following editorial from the Dallas Morning News as proof thereof:
HAS DEAL FOR GUANTANAMO BEEN MADE?

The report that the Pentagon is requesting \$18 million to expand Navy facilities in Puerto Rico has touched off speculation that the United States may be preparing to withdraw from Guantanamo. It is claimed that President Kennedy may have agreed to pull U.S. forces out of the Cuban base in his correspondence with Soviet Premier Khrushchev last October, or that U.S. military authorities are merely preparing an alternative site in the event that Castro should force us out of Guantanamo.

Whatever the actual facts on the Cuban base, it does seem strange that such a large increase in our Puerto Rico naval facilities is being asked at this time. Several Members of Congress insist that there is no indicated need for this increase—unless we are preparing to move Navy and Marine forces from Guantanamo.

Legally, of course, the United States cannot be forced out of the Cuban base. In 1903—after the Spanish-American War—we were granted a 99-year lease on "Gitmo." The original treaty set an annual rent of only \$2,000 for the base, an exceptionally low figure that was indicative of Cuban gratitude to the United States for its help in winning Cuba's independence from Spain.

In 1934, this treaty was renewed and expanded, granting the United States a perpetual lease on Guantanamo which could be nullified only by the consent of both Cuba and the United States or if we voluntarily abandoned the site.

Considering the value of the base and its strategic location, it would be sheer stupidity to abandon it. An old installation, Guantanamo today is one of the most modern American naval bases in the world. Its facilities are valued at approximately \$78 million. It is regarded as an ideal fair-weather training center for the Atlantic Fleet. Its harbor is well fortified and extensive enough to accommodate 50 of this

country's largest warships. The mere presence of American forces on Cuban soil, of course, is of important psychological value and a tremendous embarrassment to Castro.

That is why Fidel listed U.S. withdrawal from Guantanamo as one of his five major demands last October 28. The ultimatum, however, was primarily a face-saving maneuver and designed for local consumption in Cuba. There is good reason to suspect that Castro is not really that anxious to see the United States pull out of "Gitmo."

Castro badly needs the American dollars he receives for our occupation of the base. Every year Fidel makes a big point of refusing to cash the annual rent checks—now about \$3,400. But he never fails to cash the much larger check we give him for our water supply—amounting to about \$178,000. Much more important to him, of course, are the dollars he receives from the 3,400 Cubans employed on the base. The annual payroll comes to about \$7,500,000.

If it were not for his desperate need of these dollars, Castro naturally would be anxious to see us leave Guantanamo. He may, in fact, feel that our departure would be more valuable than this revenue. And we can be sure of one thing. If and when we do leave the base, Castro will blow up the move into one of the biggest propaganda victories in history.

That is why we cannot, under any circumstances, even entertain the idea of allowing our forces to be pushed off the base, much less giving up the facility voluntarily.

Huck Finn Not for Educational Bureaucrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 14, 1963

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, Samuel Clemens was one of America's greatest authors and his Huckleberry Finn has become a classic not only in this country but around the world. No book gives a better picture of the steamboat era of our own Mississippi River, and a character study of its inhabitants.

In a manner so ridiculous it would be funny if it were not tragic, Philadelphia school bureaucrats have decided that they can improve upon Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn.

The St. Louis Post Dispatch published this editorial on April 30:

MONKEYSHINES WITH HUCK FINN

Literary vandalism seems to be as endless as the making of books itself, as witness the Philadelphia school officials' rewriting of Mark Twain's "Huckleberry Finn," along with other classics, with the avowed intentions of toning down violence, simplifying the dialect and eliminating unfavorable references to Negroes.

Sam Clemens would have written a scorching philippic about that one. He would have been even more amazed to learn that he was considered unfriendly to Negroes than he would have been to hear that Philadelphians considered themselves authorities on southern speech.

One is reminded of James Thurber's reply to a publisher's invitation for him to draw