

Equal time and minority parties

Midwestern Democratic Senator: "I feel I must express some concern about the tendency to ignore completely the candidates of minor parties. I am fully aware of the problems which radio and television networks face in giving equal time to minor as well as major candidates. However, I do not think we can let our concern for their economic problems overshadow the basic American principle that all sides have a right to be heard."

Western Democratic Senator: "I am mindful it is claimed by minority parties that suspension of equal time would deprive them of their campaign opportunities and rights. This is unwarranted. The broadcasters proved to us in 1960 they could operate under the suspension with appropriate responsibility."

Illinois Republican Representative: "If networks provide free time for debates between the Republican and Democratic candidates, they should be required to do the same for each national candidate for the Presidency. Lifting the equal time requirement to benefit the two major parties gives them an advantage which they neither need nor deserve. This action tends to give the two parties a favored, quasi-official position. Although I believe firmly in the two-party system, I am equally firm in believing the two parties must themselves provide the system with virility. Today's Republican Party began a third party in 1858, built on a splinter from the Whig Party. Other third party movements have contributed significant ideas to our national life, and frequently have influenced mightily the principles of the two major parties."

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CUBA

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, recently a series of articles appeared in the Montreal Star on the recent history of Cuba and life under the Castro regime today. They were written by Bruce Taylor and accompanied by pictures taken by Adrian Lunny.

They are an excellent analysis of recent developments in Cuba. Mr. Taylor lived in the country prior to the Castro takeover, so he is well qualified to compare the life there today with the conditions under the oppressive Batista regime.

Taylor maintains a high standard of reporting on economic conditions, the U.S. trade blockade, the agricultural situation, the educational system, Castro's personal history, and a concluding article on what we may expect from this island in the next few years. I call particular attention to Mr. Taylor's observations on Cuban activities which are directed toward the subversion of Cuba's neighbors.

Castro is dedicated to the concept of "the liberation of all Latin America." By liberation he means bringing communism with its onerous state control to every country south of our borders. Castro's attempts to indoctrinate Cuban children are particularly disturbing. Taylor's articles describe in detail the "rewriting of history" which is part of the educational program of filling young people's minds with the doctrines of Stalin and Lenin. If Castro is successful in his educational practices, in 15 years all Cuba's younger generation will have closed minds.

These articles point out to all Americans the oppression of the Castro regime in Cuba today. Castro will stop at nothing to destroy freedom in our hemisphere and bring communism to all the peoples of Latin America. Mr. Taylor has performed a great service in describing so vividly the situation in Cuba today. I am sure that many people will read these fascinating articles with great interest. It is a lesson and warning for Americans and Canadians alike.

I ask unanimous consent to have this series printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Montreal Star, June 15, 1964]

CASTRO WIELDS IRON FIST—CUBA EXILES FACE FAILURE

(By Bruce Taylor)

The Cuban exiles who have begun to infiltrate their homeland to organize a revolt against the dictatorship of Fidel Castro face almost certain failure.

Cuba is coming apart at the seams. Its economy is shattered. Conditions overall are far worse now than at the time of Castro's ascendancy 5 years ago, and are deteriorating relentlessly. But there will be no widespread civilian uprising on the island now.

Cuba is totally a police state. Castro is its supreme ruler, and his incredibly efficient internal security network has the nation's 7 million people—who are overwhelmingly dissatisfied with his system of government—tightly in control.

If Castro can keep his island alive for another 15 years—and his only hope of doing so is continuing commerce with Canada and other NATO partners of the United States which have elected to ignore the U.S. trade embargo—Cuba will be irrevocably Communist.

He needs that length of time to imbue Cuba's schoolchildren with a thorough hatred of "Yankee imperialism," and to prepare them to carry his political philosophy through all of Latin America. His program of indoctrination is similar to that used by prewar Germany to rear its fire-eating Hitler Youth.

The adult population, meanwhile, is being restrained by terror, helpless to prevent the brainwashing of its children.

Castro is not endangered by the returning exiles. It would take major military action to destroy what he has built. He stands ready today to resist even the full-scale invasion he believes is imminent.

His army of 200,000 fit, well trained, and dedicated soldiers is equipped with the best weapons in the Russian arsenal. There is no reason to believe it would not fight, or that it could be beaten by anything less than a force of comparable size.

Anti-Castro leaders in Cuba, who hope rather than fear that an invasion is inevitable, are concerned that the United States underestimates Castro's real strength. And they have little but prayer and pity to offer the exiles who are landing in Cuba.

The exiles are scattering into the Sierra Mestra and Escambray mountain ranges of the 700-mile-long island, where they hope to set up guerrilla bases from which to rally open resistance to Castro.

WELL ISOLATED

They are finding themselves almost entirely without help.

Castro is isolating them. He does not intend to give them the kind of toehold he grasped—and held—in his own revolution against Fulgencio Batista, the dictator he deposed in 1959.

Batista didn't understand guerrilla warfare; he merely tried to keep Castro's rebels bottled up in the hills. He lost Cuba in 3 years.

Castro, on the other hand, probably knows more about guerrilla fighting—and certainly more about the mountains—than the exiles who have come back to overthrow him.

He is going into the hills after them. He is using 20,000 and 30,000 soldiers at a time to encircle individual mountains and root out pockets of as few as four or five of them.

The civilians are too frightened to move. They are waiting for "the invasion." Their first question to me often was a despairing "When are the Americans coming?" But even if a major invasion is launched, few

civilians will attempt to support it until they are convinced it is succeeding.

They feel there is good reason for their reticence. They say they were taught a bitter and bloody lesson by the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs 3 years ago.

They learned then that Castro's omniscient secret police had far greater knowledge of the then substantial underground than was suspected, and knew where to find its leaders before they could organize an uprising to coincide with the attack. They were rounded up within hours of the landings at the Bay of Pigs, and were butchered or imprisoned.

The underground has never regained even a semblance of its former strength.

And the Cubans dread a repetition of the military blunders that caused the attack to abort when it showed every indication of success, and left them wide open to repercussion.

It can be stated for the first time now that the assault on the island was within inches of victory. It failed only because early advantages were not pressed, and because there was no real air support for the invaders.

Castro's immediate subordinates admit now they were almost powerless to stop the invaders, and that if the latter had been given even minimal support the island would have fallen.

"We had no air strength then," a ranking Cuban army officer concedes. "A few American F-104 (supersonic) jet fighters would have knocked down anything we sent up."

SUPPORT LACKING

"We were using obsolete jet trainers and just about anything else that would fly.

"The B-26 bombers which attacked us came from so far away they had fuel for only a few minutes over Cuba. We were able to send troops and armor unhindered over open roads to the Bay of Pigs.

"Even so, we ran into trouble immediately and probably would have been destroyed if there had been support for the invasion. The mercenaries (the Cuban Government's epithet for the anti-Castro forces it claims were in the pay of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency) shot up the first three tanks we sent in against them."

(These were Russian tanks. However, Cuba later released photographs of them lying useless on the beach and claimed they were American tanks which had come ashore with the invaders and which had been stopped by Castro's army.)

"We were so weak that only stupidity prevented us from being beaten," the officer says. "But the situation has changed considerably since then."

Castro, realizing how close he'd come to being toppled by an invasion he hadn't expected, set out at once to build the army he now boasts is second only to that of the United States in the Americas.

He has modern Mig fighters and the men to fly them (both Cuban and Russian), a fleet of fast Russian motor torpedo boats, the best arms and ammunition the Soviet has to offer, and a thoroughly communistic-indoctrinated army that is Russian-trained.

And all over the island there are Russian surface-to-air missiles capable of bringing down even the high-flying U-2 reconnaissance planes which make daily sorties over Cuba from Florida, just 90 miles away.

(The Russians say they have removed their intercontinental atomic missiles from Cuba, but underground leaders there insist that some remain, that they have seen them, and that they are well hidden from the prying cameras of the U-2's.)

Cuba is expanding its armed forces. It has begun compulsory military training for all men between the ages of 17 and 45. Those it deems too solidly entrenched in their opposition to Castro to be converted

are being used, literally, as slave labor where manpower is short, such as in sugar cane cutting; the others are being given full political indoctrination and are being trained as fighters.

TASK FORCE

Augmenting the armed forces are 100,000 militia men and women, all volunteers. They are used to guard nonstrategic civilian sites which could be targets for sabotage: department stores, hotels, banks, theaters, government buildings.

Half the milicianos have been given military training—many are ex-servicemen—and can be counted on to fight.

Not so the other half. It is comprised of clerks, secretaries, stenographers, bookkeepers, ushers. They take turns guarding the buildings in which they work. Each puts in 6 to 8 hours of duty a week. The women are used mainly in daylight hours.

Most have volunteered only to show that, on the surface at least, they are with the Government.

They have had little or no military training—many have never even fired the rifles issued to them—and might reasonably be counted on to run for their lives at the sight of an aircraft carrier off Havana.

So Cuba has at least a quarter of a million people under arms it can depend on in an emergency. It is clearly alert.

We are not worried about the exiles who are coming ashore, says a Castro aid. We are well able to cope with internal trouble.

Even the chaos that might be created by assassination of Castro would be short-lived. We are prepared for that eventuality.

"Our main concern is a military invasion.

"We have every reason to expect one. The United States already has supported one invasion. It has blockaded us. It is flying U-2's over us. It had stated publicly it considers the present situation intolerable. Many of its leaders have called for a new attack.

"But we are going to give the United States one hell of a surprise if it thinks it can take us with its famous 'handful of marines.'"

Cuban underground leaders agree. "Any new exterior action against Cuba must not be another Bay of Pigs," one told me. "It must be a full-scale invasion, or it will fall horribly.

"The invaders must not count on an internal uprising to help them. There would not be one.

"Most of Cuba wants desperately to be rid of Castro's communism. But all it can do is wait and hope.

"And if it has to wait too long, there will be nothing that can be done for it.

"It will be too late."

[From the Montreal Star, June 16, 1964]

ECONOMY RUNNING DOWN—CUBA BEING CHOKED BY U.S. TRADE CURB

(By Bruce Taylor)

Cuba is being strangled by the U.S. trade embargo.

It cannot survive at its current rate of import and technical assistance from the Soviet bloc nations. It would perish, slowly but certainly, but for its expanding commerce with Canada and other NATO partners of the United States.

Even that may not be sufficient to keep it alive.

Its sugar production—the core of its economy—will be the lowest in history this year. Its agriculture and livestock programs are falling. Its internal transportation system is about to collapse. Its factories—when they operate at all—are turning out products that cost two and three times more to manufacture than to import. Its major construction schedules have been jettisoned.

Soviet industrial and farm replacements for the U.S. machinery that is breaking down through misuse and old age are proving woefully inadequate, both in quantity and in caliber.

Most serious of all, Cuba's 7 million people are fed up with the Government that has been promising them pie in the sky since 1959, and are growing increasingly loath to cooperate with it.

Resentment toward Castro is rising. Deliberate work slowdowns are reaching critical proportions.

Castro, nonetheless, continues to make grandiose claims of progress. Rigid press censorship in Cuba prevents the escape of editorial comment to the contrary. And most visiting correspondents—confined to Havana or taken on carefully guided tours of the 700-mile-long island—have little way of investigating the truth of his assertions.

But Staff Photographer Adrian Lunny and I have just ended 2,200 miles of travel within Cuba—the freest movement ever accorded North American newsmen behind Castro's Palm Tree Curtain—and have seen at first hand the tragedy that has been wreaked by communism.

Many correspondents who are permitted to go there now have little with which to compare conditions than the standards of their own countries, and that isn't fair. I lived there in 1957, however, and am able to make comparison with Cuba then and today.

CANADA A SAVIOR

Foreign correspondents must acquire official authorization to travel outside Havana. Lunny and I were approved for our extensive movement because Castro is going a long way these days to curry favor with Canadians. He sees Canada as a savior.

It is one of the few countries able to supply him with essential material no longer available to him from the United States, and he claims he will do about \$60 million worth of business with it this year. (Official figures are far less than that amount, but it is acknowledged that many Cuban purchases, made for cash, are not recorded as such.)

Even so, there were numerous restrictions on our travel and there was a not entirely subtle warning that an unfavorable report by us would mean detention and deportation from Cuba if we later attempted to return.

Cubans, generally, were delighted to see us, and would go to great pains to talk to us privately. Sometimes, it wasn't easy.

The state of terror in which Cuba is held is not readily apparent in Havana, where movement is reasonably unhindered. Havana still is one of the world's most beautiful cities, although Castro has done his best to blight its esthetic attraction by draping it with building-sized propaganda signs, and this is the Cuba that most visitors to the island see.

It is only when you go into the interior that you are made very much aware of the real nature of Castro's reign.

VIRTUAL SLAVERY

The people there are in virtual slavery. Everything they do, down to the simplest action, is known to the secret police. They speak to strangers only where they cannot be overheard, and then only after looking over their shoulders.

Some of our travel among them was closely escorted by secret police or members of the Cuban Communist party (Partido Unido de la Revolucion Socialistica) who were charged with preventing us from speaking to anyone other than government officials, or seeing anything other than that which previously had been designated acceptable.

Escort was particularly close in Oriente Province, biggest of Cuba's six, at the eastern end of the island. There were three men—one of them armed—to meet us when we

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stepped from the Russian Ilyushin-18 airliner that brought us to Santiago from Havana. They were with us until we left that province 4 days and several hundred miles later.

It wasn't too difficult to elude them late at night—usually through a back door somewhere—and getting away from them to talk to people became somewhat of a game. One night, however, when Lunny remained in our room to give the impression we both still were there I got into animated political conversation with what I thought was an ordinary Cuban—who turned out to be chief of the area's secret police.

We were not surprised by the close escort in Oriente. There was a report of impending trouble in the province the day we arrived. The day after we left, the big sugar mill at Pilon was blown up.

Some of our travel in other provinces was in the company of a driver selected for us by the government. He spent a great deal of time at the outset attempting to convince us he was a "gusano"—a worm—Castro's word for Cubans who are opposed to him. But he gave up in disgust eventually and lapsed into long, daily propaganda orations.

When necessary, however, as in Oriente, we generally were able to slip away from the various agents entrusted with keeping an eye on us. We met and talked to a wide cross section of the population. And it soon became evident that Cuba today is in far more terrible condition, materially, than when I lived there during the dictatorship of Fulgencia Batista.

Batista was a venal man. His government, devoid of ideology, was unbelievably corrupt. As opposition to him mounted, he took increasingly severe measures to repress it. At length he gave his secret police, comprised in the main of sadists, a free hand. They tortured and killed. It became commonplace to find the children of his opponents dead in the streets. There was no sense of predictability then; a man could be arrested for anything.

Probably more than 80 percent of the population was opposed to him, and would have supported any man who could topple him. Castro was given overwhelming support because he promised reform and a high standard of living. He even promised free elections.

He appeared to be blessed relief from the long line of dictators who successively had bled the Cuban treasury. Batista, for example, is said to have banked \$600 million in other countries before he fled.

And if you understand Cubans, you know that politics are of secondary if even of any, importance to most of them. They wouldn't have cared whether Castro was Communist, Fascist, or Democratic, so long as he gave them enough to eat, enough to wear, and enough to spend on simple luxuries.

But he didn't. He imposed a dictatorship that Batista's could not even begin to match for the manner in which it holds its people in subservience. Castro has held no elections, and doesn't intend to. He has failed in every promise to make Cuba a better place to live, and the Cubans say they are worse off than ever, that hardship is more widespread now than in the days of Batista.

There is no question but that poverty existed in some sections of Cuba, particularly among the sugar workers, before 1959.

IDLE BOAST

But even then the country as a whole was far better off. Castro has slightly improved the welfare of the sugar workers, but greatly decreased that of almost everyone else.

He boasts that no one in Cuba goes hungry today, despite the gigantic failure of his nationalized farm system. That is true, but only because of the vast black market in food

that exists. All legal food purchases are rationed. The meat quota, for example, is three-quarters of a pound per person per week in Havana, less in the interior. A Cuban may legally buy six eggs a month.

Eggs are 6 cents each in the grocery stores. They are \$2 each on the black market.

The government makes no real attempt to stamp it out. It knows if it did the many small farmers who keep it going would cut down production altogether, rather than sell at government prices. Then, there would be no food at all.

There is a black market for everything. Automobile parts are particularly precious. Only government-approved people can purchase new East European cars which come to Cuba in extremely limited quantity. All other cars are American, and all are of 1959 vintage or older. Most are barely hanging together. A 1957 Chrysler in bare running order, for instance, can be sold for the equivalent of \$7,000.

Clothing—what little there is of it—is rationed, and new consumer goods are non-existent. Cubans take you aside to ask in whispers if you can smuggle something-or-other to them from Canada.

You expect them to ask for luxuries, and are startled to hear that what they want, as in the case of one tearful young mother, are items such as baby pacifiers.

The cost of living in Cuba is particularly hard on foreigners because the Government there insists the peso is at par with the American dollar. It relieves you of your dollars immediately on arrival at Havana airport, and replaces them with pesos—one for one.

OMELET COSTS \$6

That makes the price of eating, for instance, enormous. Soup is 2 pesos; \$2. Tomato juice is 1½ pesos. An omelet is 6 pesos.

Hotel rates, are unexpectedly low, about \$6 to \$8 per person per room, and service in the major hotels is good. But if you plan to do business around the city you must hire a taxi by the day because you seldom can find one away from the downtown area.

In Cuba, there is a huge black market in American dollars. You are offered 7 and 8 pesos for 1. All of Cuba, it seems, is hoarding U.S. money for "the great escape."

The story of what communism has done to Cuba is written in the frantic desire of its people to get away.

Four hundred thousand already have left. Tens of thousands more have applied for the permission to leave that takes up to 2 years, if at all, to acquire. Most will not get it. Many will. Spain's Iberia Airline, which maintains service between Havana and Madrid, is completely booked for the next 3 years.

Hardly a night passes but that a small boat does not set out from some obscure cove for Key West or Jamaica or the Bahamas. Most are discovered before they get far. Their occupants are shot.

Castro, like his counterparts in East Germany who built the Berlin wall, knows he has lost his bid to convert the adult population to his system of government. He is missing no bets to insure he does not lose it entirely.

A young soldier with a machinegun is the last person to board any domestic Cuban airline flight—to prevent it from becoming an unscheduled international flight.

He comes through the doorway after all passengers are seated and the crew is in the cockpit. He backs all the way up the aisle to the cockpit door, his gun at the ready. Then, he lets himself into the cockpit and bolts the door behind him.

He remains in there until the flight is completed.

[From the Montreal Star, June 17, 1964]

CASTRO HAS TALENT—FOR RUINING THE ECONOMY

(By Bruce Taylor)

It is not despite Fidel Castro's best efforts that Cuba is grievously ill. It is because of them. There is no realism in his programs to make the country self-sufficient.

He establishes himself as the ultimate authority in a project, becomes entirely engrossed in it, sets unattainable goals for it, makes mistakes, loses interest, leaves all of it to be puzzled out by subordinates who know less about it than he does, and moves on to something else.

The results are disastrous.

Cuba's economic welfare is determined almost wholly by its ability to produce sugar. It is Cuba's only real currency. Last year's production was 3.8 million tons, the lowest in the nation's recent history. Premier Castro is talking about 10 million tons by 1970, but this year's production will be even lower than last year's.

FORCED TO BUY SUGAR

He is committed for 3.84 million tons, and has admitted in speeches he has been forced to buy sugar on the open market to meet that commitment.

Mr. Castro is unable to plan ahead.

Last year's low production was caused by the shortage of experienced canecutters he created by bringing them into the cities after the previous season to work in industry. He was unable to free them to return to the fields at harvest time.

Wielding a machete is backbreaking work, and it is definitely an art. Amateurs not only can ruin the current crop, but the succeeding one.

IMPORTS CANECUTTERS

This year, Mr. Castro thought he had the problem beaten by importing new, specially designed Russian mechanical canecutters. They did not prove effective. So he ordered practically all of his army into the fields. This improved the situation to some extent—although we saw thousands upon thousands of acres of cane that could never be cut in time—but this year there was a new problem: transportation.

Where it was relatively good last year, it broke down this year. The old American trucks he has been using were another year older. There are not nearly enough Soviet vehicles in Cuba to replace them. He used oxen.

Next year, he doubtlessly will be plagued by the increasing malfunction of the machinery in the American-built sugar mills. All of it is at least 5 years old, and no replacement parts for it are available to him.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT

This second successive sugar crop failure has had a tremendous psychological effect on the Cubans. It has heightened anti-Castro emotion everywhere on the island, but most particularly in the agricultural areas where his main strength originally lay.

It is not generally known that Mr. Castro last year carried out a second agrarian reform. It nationalized the farms of the very people who had given him his most solid support.

His first agrarian reform law was enacted in 1960, a year after he became dictator, and was the one which he had promised. It took over for the state all farms of more than 30 "cavallerias." There are 33 acres to a cavalleria.

Most of these farms and plantations belonged to absentee United States and Cuban landlords, and there was little general sympathy for them. The land was not turned over to individuals, however; the individuals were turned onto it, to work it for the state.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

REPORTS START TO FLY

Last year, reports began to fly that Mr. Castro was contemplating further agrarian measures.

ANAP, an association of owners of small private farms, was worried. It called a convention last summer to ask Mr. Castro what, if any, plans he had. Mr. Castro assured the association he was satisfied to take no more than 70 percent of all land under cultivation and to leave the balance to the ANAP.

Less than 2 months later he quietly enacted his second agrarian reform law. It nationalized all farms of more than five cavallerias.

ANAP was destroyed, but if that wasn't bad enough, Mr. Castro had more bad news.

TOOK ALL OF LAND

The state took every last acre of every farm of more than five cavallerias. It also took all buildings on the farms, and turned out their owners with nothing more than the clothes on their backs.

Compensation varied, from a minimum of 100 pesos a month to a maximum of 250 pesos a month for 10 years, according to the size of the farm.

A farmer with even one or two children could not survive. To maintain a stable diet he would have to buy food on the black market, and he would now have to pay rent—if he was lucky enough to find a place to live.

Premier Castro's typical lack of foresight compounded their troubles even further. He had neglected the mechanics of a system by which the compensation payments could be made. A great number of the evicted farmers received no money at all for several months.

CONSCRIPTION RESENTED

The reasons for their mounting antagonism toward Mr. Castro do not end even there. He has begun compulsory military service for all able-bodied men between 17 and 45. His method of conscription is to go into small towns, seemingly at random and strip them of all men who fit the bill.

Mr. Castro began his reign with a great rash of construction. He had reasonable success putting up homes for laborers and farmers in the interior, but his project in East Havana—across the bay from the city proper—was a flop.

MEANT AS SHOWPLACE

It was to have been a showplace. He put up beautiful seven- and eight-story apartment buildings. They are impressive, and government officials delight in pointing them out to you.

But when you get away from the officials and talk to the people who live there, you find the buildings are anything but practical.

You learn that Mr. Castro couldn't get elevators for them, so no one on the upper floors is happy. All transportation to the city is so unpredictable the people can't comfortably get to and from their jobs. Most of them would move—if there was somewhere else to go.

BUILDS POWERPLANTS

Cuba is in the process of constructing two thermoelectric powerplants, one at each end of the island. These, however, are being built by Russians, and are progressing well.

To the very bare credit side of Mr. Castro's construction ledger must be inscribed his fishermen's cooperative at Manzanillo, on the Caribbean coast of Oriente Province. Almost 600 fishermen and their families live in small but very attractive prefabricated concrete homes. They pay no rent.

The development has a barber shop, a hospital a pharmacy and other such services. All are free.

RUSH GIVES OUT

The fishermen earn up to 400 pesos a month, three to four times the national average.

Mr. Castro's early gush of construction has petered out now. There is a sign in Havana that tells people who can't get past the city to see for themselves that 70 percent of the population lived in "bohios"—huts made of palm leaves thatched over wood frames—when Castro came to power, and implies this condition no longer exists.

It is an outrageous lie. The bohios still are there. So are the mud-floor hovels that line every roadway through the interior.

Castro is attempting to inject some reality into his planning now, but without notable achievement.

LECTURES ON LIVESTOCK

Currently, he is an expert on livestock, and lectures at great length on the subject in speeches and in private conversation. He wants to export beef, and says he is experimenting with natural feeds that will enable him to raise cattle without having to import the fertilizers of which he is so desperately short.

At the moment there is not enough good beef in Cuba for his own people.

Cuba's climate is such that it should be a prolific producer of food. Properly tended, its soil can be induced to give three crops of corn a year, for instance. But the island's agriculture is in a mess. The Russian and Red Chinese technicians brought there to straighten it out do not appear to be making much headway.

CANADIANS' FARM SUCCESS

They are being shown to great disadvantage by several Ontario tobacco farmers working on contract in Cuba. Their success has been spectacular. They have introduced Canadian seed and methods to Cuban tobacco farming in Pinar del Rio Province, and have increased production there in the past year by 300 percent.

Mr. Castro's own inadequacies are largely responsible for the failure of his programs and, accordingly, the condition in which Cuba finds itself today.

But he also is handicapped by the fact that the only people he can trust are the people who fought with him in his revolution, and they are the ones he has had to install in positions of wide authority. Most are totally unfit to hold them.

AVOID DECISIONS

It is seldom that the head of one department or ministry knows what his counterpart in another is doing; it is even more seldom that one of them will make a decision.

Cubans have always been famous for getting things done "mañana"—tomorrow.

With the addition of inept Communist bureaucracy, you're extremely fortunate in Cuba today if you can get things done by "la semana proxima"—next week.

[From the Montreal Star, June 18, 1964]

CASTRO ATTACKS ILLITERACY—VICTORY IN EDUCATION

(By Bruce Taylor)

Of all the programs Fidel Castro has initiated in his 5-year dictatorship in Cuba, only one has been entirely successful. It is in the field of education.

No other program will do more to solidify his brand of communism in Cuba, or to spread it through Latin America.

He has swept the island of illiteracy—almost 1 million adults in a total population of 7 million could not read or write when he came to power—and he has made all education, up to and including university, free.

Schooling is compulsory now through

grade six, for children and adults alike. Only a shortage of teachers prevents him from making it compulsory through high school. He has begun an intensive teacher-training program, but the process admittedly is slow.

Meanwhile, university undergraduates are tutoring high school students; high school students are teaching grade school students; grade school students are helping in kindergartens.

ALL STATE SCHOOLS

Education is totally a state affair. But Castro is compensating for shutting down all private schools and colleges—such as those operated by the Jesuits—by spending millions of dollars for new school construction, even in the remotest areas of the interior.

There was only one state university in Cuba 5 years ago, at Havana. Others since have been built at Santa Clara, in mid-island Las Villas Province, and at Santiago de Cuba in Oriente Province, at the eastern end of the island.

Cuba boasts that it is the first country in Latin America to rid itself of illiteracy, and the first to launch a widespread program of training in technical fields.

"In the area of education," says a Castro aid, "even our enemies must acknowledge what we have accomplished."

The huge fortresses former Dictator Batista maintained as barracks for his troops within the limits of Cuba's biggest cities have been converted to schools.

Largest of these at the moment is Ciudad Libertad (Liberty City) on the site of the old Camp Columbia. It is on the outskirts of Havana, and used to house 30,000 of Batista's soldiers.

The buildings have been renovated "to rid them of the barracks look" and 7,000 children go to school there. More than 2,000 of them are boarders; the others live in Havana. Construction is being carried out to increase high school and technical school facilities.

It eventually will handle 10,000 children. It serves as the model for other such centers.

Biggest of them all will be the still uncompleted Ciudad Escolar Camilo Cienfuegos, high in the Sierra Maestra Mountains near Manzanillo, in Oriente Province, birthplace of Castro's revolution.

Officials at the school say Castro conceived it one day while he was still in the mountains, brooding down over the squalor he hoped to eradicate.

The squalor still is there. But right in the middle of it is the incongruous, architecturally attractive concrete-and-glass complex that has been named for one of Castro's closest aids in the revolution. Camilo Cienfuegos disappeared on a fight over the interior not long after he helped Castro take Cuba. His body has never been found. Castro is enshrining him; a tremendous number of state projects have been named for him, and his image adorns the 50-peso note.

There are 2,700 students at the school now. It is being built to accommodate 20,000 by 1974. All of them will be "becados"—special scholarship students in science and technical courses—and all will board there from the time they enter first grade until they are ready to enter university.

The "becados"—there and in other scholarship schools—are Cuba's elite. They are the children upon whom Castro is building communism for his nation, and all treatment of them is directed to that end. The method of indoctrination for them is the same as that utilized to instill nazism in the Hitler youth of prewar Germany.

There are 125,000 of them at present. Plans are being formulated to triple and quadruple their number.

All Cuban schoolchildren are given political indoctrination. The "becados" are saturated with it.

They are taken from their parents, and are permitted to visit them only for short periods. Their school year is 11 months long, but even during vacation periods most of them are kept busy in enterprises of value to the state.

They attend class from 8 o'clock in the morning until 4 in the afternoon. About one-quarter of their time in the classroom is taken up by Marxism, Leninism, Castrolism, and anti-Americanism. They are given 6 hours of homework 6 nights a week.

The "becados," unlike regular schoolchildren who live with their families, are housed in large dormitories or in groups of 40 to 45 in slogan-adorned homes which once belonged to the wealthy. They are subjected to further political indoctrination every evening.

They are completely regimented, but they are pampered like no other children in Cuba.

When food is scarce, as it often is, and the mothers of other children hunt frantically for sustenance, the "becados" have the best of everything. They are dressed well, they receive the finest medical and dental services available, and are kept in excellent physical trim by wide-ranging sports activities. Even entertainment—most of it politically slanted—is arranged for them.

And it doesn't take them long to learn that their first duty is not to their parents, but to the fatherland. Good students are "rewarded," for example, by being allowed to "volunteer" to go out into the mountains under the broiling sun to pick coffee beans on their summer vacation, instead of spending the time with their families.

Most of the "becados" are selected from among farming and laboring classes. The scholarships, a Ministry of Education official told me, are awarded for "merit, aptitude, and discipline."

"What kind of discipline?" I asked. "Party discipline?"

He shrugged. "Of course."

HISTORIES REWRITTEN

The emphasis in all Cuban schools today, scholarship and otherwise, is on political economy. And Cuba's history books have been rewritten to conform.

For instance:

"Our history books used to teach that Cuba was a free and independent republic," says the principal of the Karl Marx scholarship school at Habana's Ciudad Libertad. "But that wasn't true. It was only half a republic before Fidel destroyed the capitalists. The other half was under the control of the United States.

"All we had was a flag and an anthem. The riches of Cuba were owned by reactionaries and American imperialists. Our history books now teach the truth."

They also teach that history previously had been falsified to create the impression that the United States helped Cuba gain independence from Spain. And that it is a lie to credit Briton Sir Donald Ross with the discovery that malaria is transmitted by mosquitoes; Cuban textbooks now assert that the real discoverer was Carlos J. Finlay, a Cuban.

English is the official second language of the Cuban school system. It is taught from the fourth grade onward, mainly because English is the international language in the technical fields, and most textbooks and manuals are published in English.

There are about 800 English teachers in Cuba now. Other languages are taught at advanced school levels.

Cuba is in desperate need of physicians. Most fled the country when Castro came to power. There are 2,000 medical students in the universities now, but even some government officials fear they are being rushed through too quickly.

TRAIN TECHNICIANS

Of even more pressing importance to Cuba's chances of survival as a Communist country is its need to develop skilled technicians. Thousands of boys and girls are being sent to school to learn how to operate the toolmaking and other industrial machines imported from the Soviet bloc nations.

But Cubans are by no means inherently inclined toward things mechanical—the country previously had imported almost all of its manufactured goods—and the youngsters are driving their Russian and Czechoslovakian instructors to distraction.

What they learn one day they are apt to forget the next. And if they aren't disappearing half a dozen times a lesson for coffee, they are wandering off for a siesta.

But, on the whole, Fidel Castro's education factories are turning out the kind of product he needs. He knows, and makes no bones about the fact, that if he can retain control of the country for another 15 years, Cuba will be solidly Communist; he is twisting the children's minds to assure it.

It is interesting to note, therefore, that in every classroom of every school in Cuba today there are emblazoned the words of José Martí, the Cuban who led his country's fight for independence from Spain:

"Ninos nacen para ser felices."

They mean: "Children are born to be happy."

[From the Montreal Star, June 19, 1964]

CASTRO NOW TACKLING FRANCO—A LIFE OF STRUGGLE

(By Bruce Taylor)

Fidel Castro is preparing to extend his sphere of subversion to Spain.

He has agreed to train Spanish Communists in guerrilla warfare, and will supply them with arms for a revolt against the regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

The plan, until now, has been top-secret. Cuba enjoys good relations with Spain and is, in fact, negotiating to increase its trade with the European nation.

But Communist members of the Spanish underground now in Cuba have been assured by Castro he will support them in an attempted overthrow of Franco.

Subversion has become Cuba's No. 1 export. The chaos it has created in Latin America already has ruptured diplomatic relations with all but four members of the Organization of American States.

Latest to cut ties was Brazil. Diplomats in Cuba believe Uruguay may be next. Mexico, Chile, and Bolivia would be the only OAS members with ambassadors in Cuba.

Opinion is fairly unanimous in Havana that the continuing deterioration of relations between Cuba and the OAS indicates an invasion of the island may be in the works.

Brazil, prior to the coup which deposed the Goulart government, had—like Mexico, Chile, Bolivia, and Uruguay—resisted all efforts to be pressured into adopting a hard line against Cuba.

But now that Brazil has severed relations, and with Uruguay expected to follow suit, tremendous pressure is being applied to the three other OAS members still in Cuba to reappraise their policies. Eventual armed action against Castro is considered a distinct possibility.

It is generally believed that such action would come under the guise of the combined OAS. The excuse would be Castro's continuing export of subversion.

Castro is aware of the risk he is running. But he has dedicated himself, he says, "to the liberation of all of Latin America," and he can't stop now.

Who is this man who can create such turmoil?

He is, first and foremost, the absolute ruler of his nation. Recurring, and widely accepted, reports that he is merely the puppet

of the other men about him are just so much hokum. Castro's word is law.

TOP AIDS

The task of keeping his police state in order falls to two highly trusted subordinates. Their names are little known outside Cuba, but they are becoming tremendously powerful there. They are responsible only to Castro, and are acknowledged to be second only to him in succession of strength, even ahead of the brilliant, ubiquitous Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

They are Ramiro Valdes, Minister of the Interior, and José Matar, chief of the dreaded Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR).

The Ministry of the Interior includes G-2, the counterintelligence department. Not even Castro can free a prisoner held by G-2 until the prisoner's guilt or innocence has been determined. G-2 is concerned mainly with espionage and armed insurrection.

The CDR is the organization charged with keeping the civilian population in line, and the one which most effects the lives of everyday Cubans. It is a pyramid which descends from Havana into each province, each city, each town, each village, each hamlet, each block, each street, each house. No one makes a move, no matter how inconsequential, that is not known to the CDR.

CDR members cannot make an arrest, but they can order one by the simple expedient of denouncing the person they want picked up. People are denounced for all manner of things.

Raul Castro, Fidel's younger brother and his Minister of Defense, is fairly strong in his own right, but has nowhere near the power of Valdes and Matar. Raul is known in Cuba as something of a sadist.

He also is a fanatical believer in the Communist philosophy of fatherland above all else. He demanded in a recent Havana speech that Cubans inform on members of their own families who are opposed to the government. He said mothers must turn in sons, daughters, their fathers, sisters, their brothers, "for the good of the country."

NOT AFRAID

Guevara, Castro's Minister of Industry, remains at the top of the hierarchy and is generally considered to possess one of its keenest minds. He is one of the very few men in key posts who really knows what he is doing. His speeches, unlike the propaganda drivel spouted by the others, including Castro, are intelligent and always interesting to listen to.

Guevara is the one government leader who is not afraid to lay the facts of life squarely on the line. Castro and the others tell the Cubans Utopia is on the way. Guevara tells them they will get nothing without hard work.

He is intensely loyal to Castro.

Castro has botched the job of giving Cuba the Utopia he talks about. And instead of contenting himself with attempting to rectify the situation, he has embarked on his dangerous scheme to spread Communism through Latin America. He is a fanatic, but he is also a sincere and courageous man, and his desire to improve the lot of his people was not always touched with madness. It began before he was 12 years old.

(Much of the following information about Castro's youth and the early days of his revolution was hitherto unknown. It was obtained in Havana from his sister Angelita, 49, who did not realize she was being interviewed. The accompanying photograph of her and Fidel and Raul—previously unpublished—was indirectly obtained from her.)

Castro was born August 13, 1927, although the world believes he is a year older. His father, a Spaniard from Galicia, had been married previously and had sired two children, Lydia and Pedro Emile. He was 30

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years older than Castro's mother, Lina Ruz, a Cuban. They had seven children, in this order: Angelita, Ramon, Fidel, Raul, Quena, Emma, and Augustina.

Emma married a Mexican engineer and has three children. They live in Mexico City. Augustina, now 22, became a Protestant while studying in Zurich. She married a Cuban pianist and they live in Moscow. They have a daughter.

Castro was married and divorced. He claimed he discovered his wife was a relative of Fulgencia Batista, the dictator he deposed in 1959. Castro's son, nicknamed Fidelito (Little Fidel), is 14 and lives in Havana. Castro doesn't often see the boy, but has lunch with him on occasion.

Castro grew up near Santiago, in Oriente Province, at the eastern end of the island. It was there he would launch his revolution.

His father, a wealthy plantation owner, was a conservative. His mother was a fiery revolutionist, and from her he inherited much of his zeal.

Before he was 12, his sister recalls, he announced to his family one day after returning from a trip through the slum section of Santiago: "When I am a man, I will buy shoes and clothes for all the world."

From that moment on, she says, he became interested in the problems of the poor, and in his teens plunged into campus politics. His father warned him: "You must be calm in a country like this. Don't get mixed up in public affairs."

MOTHER'S SUPPORT

His mother, however, urged him on.

Castro went to Havana to win his degree in law at the Catholic university there. He since has nationalized the school and exiled its rector, Monsignor Masvidal, auxiliary bishop of Havana.

The church plays no important role in the general affairs of Cuba now.

Castro could have begun practice in the wealthy section of the city. Instead, he and two other young men opened an office in the Compostela slum area. They often handled cases without charge.

Outraged beyond endurance by the mounting atrocities of the Batista regime, he returned to Santiago in 1953 to rally support for a revolution.

On July 26, 1953—the day for which he named his revolt—he and 149 other young men, divided into two bands of 75 each, left a farmhouse 7 miles outside Santiago, where they had stored arms, and attacked the Batista fortress of Moncado in the heart of the city. It was the second largest stronghold in Cuba, and Castro's men were routed, but only after they had made their way over its walls and very nearly captured the machinegun that stopped their assault.

Castro and his brother Raul, who had accompanied him on the raid, were found in the mountains not long after and brought to Santiago for trial. There was no death penalty in Cuba then. They were each sentenced to 15 years. But Batista wanted them killed. He organized a plot to do so.

Several men, pretending to be Castro followers, would smuggle him out of prison, then shoot him for attempting to escape. But a priest, Msgr. Perez Serantes, bishop of Santiago, learned of the plot from a prison guard. He convinced Batista not to go through with it.

AMNESTY DECLARED

Two years later, in 1955, Batista declared amnesty for all political prisoners as the prelude to a rigged election, and exiled them. Fidel and Raul went to Mexico, where they met Guevara, an Argentine Communist and professional bombthrower. They rounded up all the other Cuban exiles they could find, and began to learn about guerrilla warfare.

On October 21, 1958, Castro's father died on his Cuban plantation at the age of 82.

Two months later, Fidel, Raul, Che Guevara and 79 others, all armed to the teeth, set sail for Cuba aboard a pleasure cruiser called the *Granma*.

Their plan was to land at Colorado Beach on Oriente Province's south coast, where the Sierra Maestra mountains are closest (about 15 miles) to the water. The *Granma* was spotted by a Cuban patrol boat just 2 miles from its target, and was turned at once into shore. The spot where Castro landed was an incredible tangle of tropical growth and waist-deep marsh, alive with crabs.

Batista's commanders, alerted to the landing by the patrol boat, sent troops and aircraft into the area. The planes bombed and strafed the rebels. Of the 82 who came ashore, only 12—including Fidel, Raul, and Guevara—reached the mountains.

The 12 set out to take on Batista's 50,000 soldiers.

Batista was ignorant of guerrilla fighting, and never could launch an effective assault on the rebels. Castro's will-o'-the-wisp band, often near starvation, was constantly on the move, never more than a few hours in any one place.

The revolution would have ended one night in 1957, but for one of those miracles which always seem to save the Hitlers and the Mussolinis—and the Castros—for bigger things.

A small patrol led by a Batista captain found Castro and several others, exhausted after a long day's march, asleep in a shelter made of branches.

The captain, completely unaware he had discovered the rebel leader, woke the men. Castro stood and faced him, and put his hand on the captain's shoulder. "I am the man you are looking for," he said. "I am Fidel."

The captain marveled at Castro's candor. He stared silently at the unkempt, fiery-eyed rebel for several moments. Then he asked, "Don't you know that it is my duty to kill you?"

"Yes."

"And you are not afraid?"

"No."

"Nor the others who are scattered throughout the mountains?"

"No."

LET THEM GO

The captain shook his head. He turned to his soldiers and told them, "Let these men go. It will do no good to kill them. It is impossible to kill an ideal."

A month later the captain defected from Batista's army and joined Castro in the mountains. Today he is aide-de-camp to Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos.

Castro's band grew. If one member of a family joined him, the others went too for fear of being tortured or shot. Children of 14 and 15, both boys and girls, became guerrillas.

Whenever an unarmed person—and most were unarmed—showed up to offer his services, Castro would take him to the edge of a clearing near a Batista patrol post and point to it.

"Those soldiers have guns," he would say. "Go and get one. Then you can join us."

Men and women who fought with Castro say his revolution was dedicated entirely to social reform and the reversion of large, private land-holding to the state, but they insist he was in no way a Communist then, or that he gave communism even serious consideration.

They blame his embrace of communism on the hatred he developed for the United States when that Nation refused point-blank to help him when he went there to seek financial assistance shortly after he came to power.

In 1958, Fidel and Raul came down out of the mountains to spend part of Christmas with their family. They made their way past the soldiers guarding the plantation, spent several hours with their mother, their grandmother and sister Angelita.

Exactly 1 year and 1 week later, on New Year's Day, 1959, Batista, still in command of 30,000 soldiers in Havana who had never been sent into battle, fled Cuba.

Castro's mother, who had inspired him to revolution, lived to see his victory. She died last September at the age of 57.

Castro held a family reunion shortly after he came to power. An uncle who traveled to it from Buenos Aires made a speech. He said: "I am happy my family produced a man who will liberate his people from discrimination, corruption and bad government."

Castro nodded.

"Ours was a revolution not to change a man," he said, "but a system. I will begin to make that change now. My system will be one such as no Latin American nation has ever had."

[From the Montreal Star, June 20, 1964]

INCREDIBLE HEARTBREAK—NO CHA-CHA-CHA IN CUBAN LIFE

(By Bruce Taylor)

The people who run Cuba tell you that what is happening there today is "socialism with a cha-cha-cha." The inference, of course, is that life on the island is a gay affair.

It is difficult to conceive of anything more removed from the truth. Cuba is a nation of despair.

You see it in the incredible scenes of heart-break when one or more members of a family who finally have been given authorization to leave the island are being sent off at Havana Airport by those who must stay behind. They know they may never see each other again.

A Santa Clara man and his 4-year-old son, the only members of a family of seven who have been allowed to leave, have been waiting more than 2 years to get the exit visas for which the entire family applied. They must go now because it will be their only chance. They can only hope the others will be permitted to follow in time.

They are stripped of everything but the clothes on their backs. A pin of no value that belonged to the man's grandmother is taken from him, as is his tie bar. His watch is demanded. So is every last centavo in his pocket.

The little boy is afraid of the guard who is searching him. His only possession is a pocket comb and he cries when the guard takes it from him. He tries to retrieve it. The guard shoves him away.

The man says nothing. He has heard of people getting all the way to the plane, only to be dragged from their seats at the last moment. Nor does he say anything to anyone other than the boy while the plane is in flight.

He walks stiffly from the aircraft at Mexico City, holding his son close to him. The man is crying when he comes into the immigration area.

Two people near him are talking. One is a self-described freelance writer from Canada's west coast. The other is a Belgian woman. They have come over from Cuba on the same flight, and are discussing Castro in glowing terms.

The man looks at them in disbelief. "You are Communists?" he asks in heavy accents.

The woman smiles condescendingly. "Socialists."

"You are fools," the Cuban says. "Crazy fools." He takes his son to the other side of the room.

CASTRO HATER

And you see despair in the eyes of the beautiful young mother of 22 who has be-

come a prostitute in Havana in order to feed and clothe her 2-year-old daughter.

She knows she will go to jail if she is caught. Prostitution once was a flourishing industry in Cuba, but is outlawed now.

She comes from a family which was wealthy before the revolution, and is well educated. She was married in her teens to a prosperous businessman from another Latin American country and went there to live with him. He died while she was pregnant. She wasn't really aware of what had happened to Cuba in her absence, and returned to Havana to be with her family when she gave birth. Now, she can't leave.

She has been able to buy only two pairs of shoes for her baby. She cut the toes out of them as the child grew. She says she has difficulty buying enough milk for her daughter, even on the black market. Twice the baby was sick, and she couldn't get a doctor.

Is prostitution the only answer?

She shrugs. "They know I am a gusano (a worm, someone opposed to the government) and will give me a menial job at the minimum pay of 85 pesos a month. It cost me more than that for food."

She, like most other Cubans, cherishes a dream of escape. She says she belongs to a group which is planning to steal an airplane. She knows the penalty for even plotting such a scheme, but says she is not afraid.

"My daughter and I would be better off dead than have to live here," she says. "I will kill her before they can take her from me for one of their schools."

QUIET SINCERITY

She speaks with such quiet sincerity you believe her.

Cuba is controlled by a minority which has created the means of maintaining control. It performed a very necessary task 5 years ago, and set off on a path of noble intentions. Along the way it went awry.

It wallows now in the eminence of its position. It takes for itself the best of whatever is available: the good cars, the good food, the good clothes, the good homes.

Photographer Adrian Lunny and I spent 2 days and a night in Manzanillo at the home maintained for visiting party leaders. It was the very epitome of opulence. It had a swimming pool and huge, immaculately kept gardens. Its table setting would have done justice to a maharajah.

At our final dinner, one of our party leader hosts pushed away the remains of one of the finest meals I had ever shared, and leaned forward to wipe his mouth on the hem of the exquisite damask table cloth.

"Well now," he asked, interrupting himself with a belch, "do you still believe the lies of the Yankee imperialists that there is a food shortage in Cuba?"

Across the street, other Cubans were coming home to their palm-thatched huts with their meager quota of rationed foodstuffs.

The "Yankee imperialists" are the convenient scapegoat for everything that goes wrong on the island. Castro runs his country like a crooked labor leader runs a union; he talks about all the wonderful things that are going to happen, uses force to beat down opposition, and tries to take his people's minds off what he is doing by keeping them angry at someone else.

In Castro's case, the target is the United States. It has been blamed for everything imaginable, including last year's failure of the tomatoes to grow.

Oddly enough, the Stars and Stripes are carried in all Cuban parades, and Cuban soldiers on the far side of the 3-mile-wide no man's land salute the flag when it is lowered every evening at the U.S. Guantanamo Naval Base.

Why?

"Because we aren't mad at the American people," explains an official in the Cuban Foreign Ministry. "We hate only their government."

But it is the American people who elect the government, he is told.

"That's a lie," he retorts. "The government is elected by the capitalists and the monopolists. The people have no voice."

He believes it. Everyone who is close to Castro believes it. The entire population of Cuba is coming to believe it. Their propaganda tells them so.

It blares night and day from radios and sound trucks. Television is one continuous political harangue. Every available space on homes and buildings and streets is taken up by signs and banners. The country's newspapers are no more than propaganda sheets. They are subscribers to Tass news service and to Prensa Latina, a service which does little more than rewrite United Press International and Associated Press to conform with Cuba's political line.

We ran into two outstanding examples of this.

One was a story carried on the front pages of all newspapers in Cuba to the effect that Prime Minister Pearson virtually had told President Johnson to go fly a kite in the matter of Canada's continuing trade with Cuba. The stories indicated there had been a great deal of vituperation in Pearson's remarks, and quoted him at great length.

We were in Pinar del Rio at the time. A copy of a newspaper containing the story was shown to us by a government official who was very pleased. "Good for Canada," he said.

We learned from the Canadian Embassy when we returned to Havana, however, that all Pearson had done was answer "no" to a question by Opposition Leader Diefenbaker whether Canada was planning changes in its trade with Socialist countries. There had been no mention of Cuba. The whole thing had been made up by an imaginative Prensa Latina hack on orders of the Cuban Government.

The second example concerned me directly. Lunny and I were photographed when we arrived by air in Santiago. I told the reporter who interviewed me that we were on a tour of the country to see what changes had come about since I lived there in 1957, prior to the revolution. That was all.

The next day we were on the front page of the newspaper Sierra Maestra. Among other things, I was "quoted" about how impressed I had been by the May Day celebrations in Havana. And to top it off, the newspaper called me "El Compañero Taylor"—Comrade Taylor.

Castro's May Day parade does more to impress foreigners than the Cubans. Propaganda ordering Habaneros to the parade begins to build up about 6 weeks before the event. It is intense in the week just prior to it.

Few dare shun it. As the marchers pass Castro's reviewing stand at the base of the towering monument to José Martí, the man who led Cuba's fight for independence from Spain, they shout: "Fidel! Fidel!"

If you don't listen too closely, it sounds like: "Steg Hell! Steg Hell!"

The Cuban propaganda machine is aimed now at Havana's next big parade, July 26, to mark the 11th anniversary of the start of Castro's revolution.

The third big parade of the year is January 2. It commemorates the fall of the Batista government on New Year's Day, 1959. It is held a day late to give the Cubans time to recover from their New Year's celebrations. This is the one in which Castro shows off his military strength.

Castro spends untold fortunes on internal propaganda. Cubans have learned to live

with most of it, but some of it causes great bitterness.

WOMEN BITTER

Cuban women are unable to buy linen and other white wear. There is little available in the stores. Yet, every time there is a parade or special event, tens of thousands of banners and streamers made of white wear flutter out all over the country.

Women, in fact, are among Castro's most dissatisfied subjects. They cannot buy things to make themselves pretty, as in the days of Batista.

The only stockings available to them are from East Europe, and are heavy and unattractive. Lipstick is hard to come by, and a \$2 cake of mascara sells for \$25 on the black market. Brassieres are sturdy, but hardly flattering. There is an acute shortage of razor blades, and the women are horrified by the prospect of being unable to control the growth of hair on their legs. Castro now wants them to stop wearing scanty bathing suits and the form-fitting sheath dresses that are their trademark.

Cuban women are among the most beautiful in the world, and are aware of it. They will abide all manner of shortages and inconvenience. But their pride is severely hurt now; and that is the one thing they will not accept.

It is the small things, far too numerous to chronicle in detail, which, piled upon the continuing failures of Castro's major programs, have produced the great resentment toward, and growing lack of cooperation with, his government.

He now is preparing to nationalize the taxi industry, one of the very few remaining fields of free enterprise on the island. Almost all Cubans now will be working directly for the state.

DIFFERENT VIEW

Cubans are not by nature self-sacrificing people. They are not at all pleased by the growing awareness they will never again revert to the overall material well-being of pre-Castro days, and that everything now is projected in terms of succeeding generations.

"That was all right for the Russians and the Chinese," says a disgruntled former member of the Castro government still living, but precariously, in Havana. "They had nothing to begin with when they adopted communism.

"We had plenty. Now we have less." He went into the bathroom of my Capri Hotel room for a glass of water, and spewed it into the sink. It was sea water. The fresh water plumbing had broken down.

If there are two positive points of Castro's revolution, they are the education he has made available, and the increased sense of dignity he has brought to such people as the sugar workers who had been so cruelly exploited by the U.S. companies. They are no better off materially now, but at least they feel they no longer are serfs of foreigners.

All others are opposed to him, including a proportionate number of the Negro third of the population, against whom official discrimination has been ended and to whom most miracles have been promised.

Castro is making ever louder threats against the United States. He warns now he will shoot down the U-2 reconnaissance planes which are of such great annoyance to him as soon as the Russians fulfill their promise to turn over control of their surface-to-air missiles to him.

His opponents in Cuba hope he will, indeed, shoot one down and that the action will trigger armed repercussion by the United States.

However, for all his threats, Castro so far has stopped short of anything that might be considered an act of aggression. An example was his threat to take over the U.S.

Embassy building in Havana, now occupied by Swiss diplomats. The Swiss warned him of possible consequences, and he relented.

In total, the Cubans are in a quandary. Most hate Castro's system, and want it destroyed. But they know that the only way it can be destroyed is by a full-scale invasion supported by the United States.

And they certainly do not want to revert to unrestricted U.S. exploitation.

Somewhere, they hope, is an answer.

ECONOMIES AT BROOKLYN NAVY YARD

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, through the years the Brooklyn Navy Yard has exhibited a spirit and maintained high standards which are most impressive. Recently the Navy's Bureau of Ships has announced that the Brooklyn Navy Yard has reduced its operating expenses during the last fiscal year \$11.2 million.

This is indeed an impressive figure and is yet another example of the teamwork which that yard has exhibited for years. The Brooklyn Navy Yard has a tradition of doing work that can be nowhere else in the world; this tradition is being maintained today and I have seen it in action on my several visits to the yard.

Mr. President, this pride and spirit can never be duplicated. It would be a serious mistake to close the Brooklyn yard when its employees continue to exhibit a desire and an ability to perform some of the best shipbuilding work in the world.

I ask unanimous consent that the article describing the savings in operating costs realized at the Brooklyn Navy Yard this past fiscal year be printed in the RECORD.

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

CITE NAVY YARD FOR AXING COSTS

Employees at the Brooklyn Navy Yard were cheered this week by praise from the Navy's Bureau of Ships for effecting an appreciable reduction in operating costs.

The cost-cutting kudos came from the Chief of the Bureau, Rear Adm. William A. Brockett.

In a letter to Rear Adm. Ernest C. Holtzworth, Commander of the Brooklyn yard, Admiral Brockett reported:

"It has been easily recognized by the Bureau's staff that the employees of the New York Naval Shipyard at all levels have been constantly alert to the need to effect reductions in shipyard costs.

"Please extend my thanks to the shipyard personnel responsible for this superior performance."

The Brooklyn Navy Yard is one of two of the Navy's 11 shipyards to have attained savings of over \$10 million in fiscal year 1964. The Navy's fiscal year runs from July 1 to June 30 of the following year. Brooklyn's savings, as validated by Navy auditors, amounted to an impressive \$11.2 million for the 12-month period.

CLEVELAND HILL NORTH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL EDITORIAL CONTEST

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, there are to be no more guns, or tobacco in the schoolrooms of the Cleveland Hill schools in Cheektowaga, N.Y., a suburb of Buf-

falo. That decree was given by the school board to its students 127 years ago and was discovered by one of the students at the Cleveland Hill North Elementary School during her search into the history of her school. It was considered quite an improvement back in the days when Buffalo was the wild West.

The students have decided that the United States has made great progress since the days when a teacher made \$52 for 4 weeks' work. What impressed me the most, however, in reading the elementary school paper, the Reporter, was the students' knowledge of the type of men who made this country great as well as of the major problems that face our country today.

This elementary school paper sponsored an editorial contest in American history and current Communist activities affecting our Nation. This was done under the sponsorship of Mrs. Eve Allis, a fifth grade teacher who has recently won an award for her article on teaching of Americanism through newspaper work. I was very interested in these editorials from the Cleveland Hill North Elementary School Reporter and think they set unusually high standards for elementary school journalism. I therefore ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD articles by Daniel Johnston, Kevin Bradley, and Peter Dunge.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Cleveland Hill North Elementary School Reporter]

GUNS, TOBACCO FORBIDDEN, SCHOOL BOARD DECREES

(By Daniel Johnston)

"What, no more tobacco and guns in school?" Parents and children in district 3 are astonished at the new directive passed by the board of education.

No, you are not reading a story found in the attic. This is part of district 3's history told from scratch in a program presented during Education Week.

History and facts presented in the play were discovered after much research by Mrs. Catherine Gunning and Mrs. Marie Morgan, third-grade teachers.

Cleveland Hill's \$5.5 million school system, containing two elementary schools and one high school, had its beginnings as a 20-by-25-foot schoolhouse built of the "finest materials" for \$150, 127 years ago.

The name of our community has also changed from the Indian "Ji-ik-do-wah-gah" to the modern "Cheektowaga."

Teachers have changed quite a bit also. The first teacher in 1836 earned a salary of \$52 for 4 months, and was obligated to arrive much earlier than the pupils to start the fire in the potbellied stove.

She had to teach all grades and all subjects. In 1885 the salary jumped to \$288 for the school year.

The primitive school mentioned here is a far cry from the 167-teacher, 2,380-pupil school system that exists today.

Other comparisons include: the boy of long ago walking many miles barefoot to school to save his shoes; one pail and one dipper for water, used by everyone; lunch buckets with cold lunches.

Arbor Day was an important celebration. A tree was planted along with jars containing names of all the children in that class.

Every child's education was affected by the cat-o'-nine-tails. If a child's attention

was distracted, the teacher and the cat-o'-nine-tails would "help him along the path of learning."

Information used in the play was taken from conversations with Mrs. Pauline Tauriello, who is the most experienced teacher in the district and Mrs. Morgan's mother, Mrs. John Hofmann.

Mr. Walter J. Heffley's thesis, written for his master's degree, was very helpful because its topic was the "History of Our District."

[From the Cleveland Hill North Elementary School Reporter]

KEEP INFORMED TO KEEP FREE

(By Kevin Bradley, age 12)

For the past 18 or more years, the prime danger to our democracy has been communism. This menace, however, cannot be defeated if we, as Americans, all sit back in our easy chairs and watch television.

One of the best ways to combat this challenge is to keep informed. People who are informed are less likely to believe communistic propaganda and lies.

We must take the responsibility of a good, active American citizen. What is a good, active American citizen? A good American takes interest in his or her government, whether it's in the community, county, State, or Nation.

Even at our young age it is our duty to have knowledge of the numerous advantages of a democracy and the many disadvantages of communism.

Urge your parents to take an interest in our government. Help to strengthen your family's knowledge of the Communist threat.

Try to make your friends and neighbors aware of this constant danger to our freedom. Point out that for them, for our country, and for our flag the blood of many patriots has been shed.

Let's be a good example for other nations. And remember, it's our choice between freedom and communism. Which will you pick?

[From the Cleveland Hill North Elementary School Reporter]

BOYS AMERICANISM ESSAY: AMERICANISM AND THOMAS JEFFERSON

(By Peter Dunge)

When we say the name of Thomas Jefferson, what do we think of? Most people regard him as an American President who wrote the Declaration of Independence.

Of course, he did write our "great declaration" but that wasn't all. He did many more things.

Jefferson was always wealthy. In his boyhood, his home was on the Piedmont Plateau. He grew up with the Piedmont farmers and their families. Thus, Jefferson had a better understanding of the common people.

Because of this understanding of common people they are now allowed to hold political office.

During Revolutionary times, Jefferson made many statements that aroused the people. His ideas are still used today as inspirations.

For example, he said "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."

In his day, the tyrants were the English. Today we can use the same thoughts, but the tyrants of today are the Communists.

We schoolchildren can benefit by Mr. Jefferson's boyhood statements. Once while studying, he was about to get upset, but he calmly said to himself, "While I am still young, I am supposed to stick to my studies, and not contradict. There will be enough time for that later."

Most people give Lincoln credit for saying "All men are created equal," but actually Jefferson said that. In his home at Monticello, he had slaves but he treated each and every one of them like one of the family.

Today, Congress is trying to pass a civil rights bill, based on the fact that all men are created equal.

Now you can see that this great statesman deserves more credit for his contributions every day.

Don't you think so?

[From the Cleveland Hill North Elementary School Reporter]

GIRLS AMERICANISM ESSAY: AMERICANISM AND THOMAS JEFFERSON
 (By Nancy Umfreville)

Thomas Jefferson, more than any other man, has formed and molded the American mind and spirit. Every later generation has turned to his mementos and writings for inspiration and never in vain.

"I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man," he declared.

Through 60 years of public service he was faithful to this vow.

Jefferson was not merely a theorist, but a very practical man. He held that all men are created equal, and did more than any man of his time to bring about equality of opportunity among Americans.

Thomas Jefferson cherished liberty in every form and was largely responsible for the guarantees of freedom of speech, press, and religion in the Federal Constitution and in several State constitutions.

Just as Abraham Lincoln did, he wanted to abolish slavery. His family had slaves, but they were treated like members of the family. Although he was very rich, he understood how the common man felt and wanted to do something for him. He believed all men are endowed with inalienable rights.

His writings have stood as a torch to the defenders of individual freedom. His plans for the future helped America grow. Jefferson's beliefs have been the foundation for many of our beliefs today.

"Give the people light, and they will find their own way," he declared.

THE RIOTS IN HARLEM

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to three perceptive and thoughtful editorials which appeared in the New York Times and the Washington Post this morning. I am sure there are many similar editorials in the Nation's press which express the same thoughts. Both relate to the violence, the disorder, the troubles, and the difficulties which have taken place during last weekend's rioting in Harlem.

These editorials do not seek to castigate or chastise; nor do they seek to arouse further the emotions of our people. They seek, rather, to bring the searchlight of truth and understanding upon some of the most difficult social problems which exist in certain areas of our country, problems of race relations, social relations, economic opportunity, and education.

As one who is not a resident of the city of New York, I believe the great city of New York oftentimes receives more than its share of blows and blackeyes in terms of public relations. These stories do not portray the other face of New York, for it is truly a magnificent city. Basically, it is well governed. It is the cultural and financial capital of America. However, it is the largest metropolitan area in our Nation, and therefore it poses for us problems which go along with

metropolitan, urban, and industrialized living. New York is a big city and therefore its problems cannot be small. Let us recognize the full dimensions of the problem facing the governing officials and law enforcement officials in a city the size of New York. It is a stupendous challenge.

If we learn nothing else from these troubled days and from these most unfortunate circumstances, it is that we have not yet come to grips with the problems of urban life. We believe in law enforcement. Essentially it is the responsibility of State and local governments. I hope that we will not grow up with the idea that it is necessary to have a national police take over law enforcement on every occasion. The responsibility, essentially, is local. If we truly value freedom in America, it should remain local.

Having spoken about law enforcement, let us also remember there is no substitute for social and environmental conditions which contribute to a peaceful and tranquil community.

As the editorials point out so vividly, such serious social and economic problems exist in this area that it is no wonder there are moments of disturbance and troubled times. I do not wish to be misunderstood. Many good citizens in this area have made it clear that these acts of violence are committed by a limited number of citizens, some of whom have had records, and some of whom are nothing but hoodlums.

However, there is tension. There is trouble. There is frustration. There is a sense of being cut off from the freedoms and opportunities of white America. We should not be too surprised that trouble will break out in these conditions. It is a truly tragic situation.

I believe that the New York Times editorial states the situation quite well when it says:

Harlem at the moment is a sick community. Many thousands of decent, law-abiding people, jammed into its miserable housing and suffering from its high incidence of crime and delinquency, its lack of job opportunities and discriminations of many kinds, are being drawn into emotional turmoil. New York City owes Harlem the duty of treating it with firmness, with kindness, and with understanding.

Harlem is in great need of the long-range program that the Federal and city governments are planning for it in the war against poverty. But riots will not help the people of Harlem in the long run.

As I have said before, civil wrongs do not make civil rights; disobedience does not make for law enforcement and law observance.

The 86th Congress must do its job in these times of domestic turmoil. Soon we shall have before us a bill to do something about this situation. We must do something about poverty in Harlem and in other sections of America. The New York Times appropriately refers to this subject in its next editorial entitled "Debate Over Poverty." It indicates that something needs to be done of a constructive nature. Some of our cities need to be completely rebuilt in their tenement areas in a way which does not displace thousands of residents. We can-

not have happy living and good economic conditions in crowded tenement conditions. We must expect a sense of growing bitterness, and the frustration that comes over a person living in such circumstances. The potential for an explosion is indeed high.

If we were to pass the poverty bill, we would be able to provide many thousands of jobs for young people who are drop-outs and potential delinquents and potential troublemakers. It would give them a constructive outlet.

Since the 85th Congress, I have been the author of legislation to establish a Youth Conservation Corps. Twice this legislation has passed the Senate. It is nothing short of tragic that we have not done something along this line.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the two editorials published in the New York Times and the editorial published in the Washington Post.

I stand here as one citizen who once served as a mayor of a great city, responsible for a police department. I know that the law must be enforced and that law and order must be preserved. I realize that violence cannot be condoned, and that the ransacking and destruction of private property cannot be permitted. I also say that there are not enough policemen in the world to hold down a section of a city or of a nation that lives in misery and poverty, frustration, hopelessness, sickness, and illiteracy.

What we see here in our local areas is what has been taking place around the world. I have visited such cities as Caracas; I have been in the cities of Lima, Peru, and Santiago, Chile, and I have seen the filth and dirt of those slums.

As I insist that the law be enforced, I also insist that we fulfill our social responsibilities. It is a rotten shame that America, the land of the free and the home of the brave, the richest nation on the face of the earth, should condone conditions of poverty and despair which are a disgrace to humankind.

The press of our country and the other news media have brought out some of the sordid facts. The coverage of this situation has been nothing short of miraculous in its completeness and fairness. I hope that we finally will be shocked into doing something constructive, something which can stand as a bold beginning to these despartely serious problems of poverty and urban life.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, July 21, 1964]

HARLEM AND THE POLICE

When the spokesmen for the Negro community met with Acting Mayor Scavone at city hall yesterday to discuss the recent horrifying riots, they advanced four principal demands which, in their judgment at least, would allay the bitter resentment against the police department that pervades Harlem. One of them frankly warned that unless better relations could be established between the Negro community and the department, there would be more riots.

The first of these was for the immediate suspension and arrest on suspicion of homicide of the police lieutenant who killed a 15-year-old Negro boy last week, asserting that the boy had attacked him with a knife.