

Southeast Asia—Continued	
Laotians in Cambodia and Laos.....	35, 000
Koreans from North Korea.....	1, 000, 000
India, <sup>1</sup> Tibetan refugees.....	*45, 000
Nepal, Tibetan refugees.....	*20, 000
Bhutan and Sikkim, Tibetan refugees.....	*5, 000
Pakistan, refugees from India.....	3, 000, 000
Africa: <sup>2</sup>	
From Angola in the Congo.....	*200, 000
From Ruanda in Burundi, Congo, Tanganyika.....	*160, 000
In Togo from Ghana, Ivory Coast.....	*5, 000
Europe:	
UNHCR mandate still in camp (profiting from camp clearance program).....	*9, 000
UNHCR mandate out of camp profiting from resettlement programs).....	*70, 000
From East Germany <sup>3</sup> .....	4, 000, 000
Refugees in Europe not benefiting from international programs, who may receive help from voluntary agencies.....	*150, 000
Spanish Republican refugees in France.....	*30, 000
Europeans fleeing Algeria, mostly in France.....	750, 000
Jewish refugees from Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and Egypt, mostly in France (most of these have French nationality).....	180, 000
Algerian Moslems in France.....	37, 000
Ethnic Greeks.....	*3, 500
Cuban refugees in Spain.....	5, 000
Belgian returnees from the Congo.....	5, 000
Dutch from Indonesia.....	60, 000
Italians from Egypt and Tunisia.....	15, 000
Middle East:	
Palestinian Arabs in Jordan, Syria*, Lebanon*, and Gaza*.....	1, 100, 000
Russians in Turkey.....	*1, 800
Armenians and Europeans in Lebanon.....	*1, 250
Turkic refugees in Iran.....	5, 000
Western Hemisphere: Cuban refugees, of whom more than 150,000 in the United States; the remainder scattered throughout Latin America.....	
	195, 000
Total.....	13, 510, 050

\*Stateless refugees. The others, although uprooted, at least have the protection of a nationality.  
<sup>1</sup> Approximately 3,000,000 refugees who fled Pakistan to India have now—14½ years later—been almost completely resettled, according to the Indian Government.  
<sup>2</sup> More than 250,000 Algerian refugees from Tunisia and Morocco have been repatriated but their situation—like that of some 2 million Algerians who had been interned during the civil war—remains bleak; homes destroyed, fields strewn with mines.  
<sup>3</sup> The first anniversary of the Berlin Wall fell on Aug. 19, 1962. On that date 11,200 refugees from East Germany had escaped to West Berlin despite the wall, 100 were killed trying.

TRIBUTE TO REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Mr. HART. Madam President, a few weeks ago the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church issued a forthright letter to the members of that church indicating what he conceived to be their duty as Christians and as Americans in

these troubled days of racial strife. Only last Sunday, the Episcopal bishop of Detroit, Bishop Emrich, writing in the Detroit News, made an equally forthright statement "in praise of Martin Luther King." The points made by Dr. Emrich are excellent, and ones which we should all ponder deeply.

Madam President for this reason I ask unanimous consent to insert Bishop Emrich's column in the RECORD.

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

BISHOP EMRICH IN PRAISE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING

(By the Rt. Rev. Richard S. Emrich)

It is common knowledge that not only some white people, but also some Negroes are highly critical of the work of Rev. Martin Luther King. The critical whites dislike him because he is "disturbing the peace," and the critical Negroes dislike him because of his nonviolent methods, because he is not disturbing the peace enough. When a man is attacked by both sides, it well may be that he stands at a level of truth from which both sides can learn. This column approves of his methods, and believes that he will go down in history as a great American. Why?

First, it is inevitable that his white opponents in the South accuse him of "disturbing the peace," because every man who struggles for justice and a new order always has that charge leveled against him. The Boston Tea Party and George Washington disturbed the peace in a considerable manner, as did also the original organizers of the labor movement.

If a man or group does not protest loudly, things remain, of course, as they are. If they protest effectively, they are accused of "disturbing the peace." But the "peace" they disturb is to them no peace, and the "order" they disturb is to them an unjust order. Martin Luther King is wise enough to recognize that men do not voluntarily relinquish unjust power, but that only real disturbance and a ground swell of public opinion can change some of our Nation's unjust ways.

Second, while I am not a pacifist, it is clear to me that Dr. King is right in his nonviolent methods, and his critics among some Negroes wrong in their advocacy of violence. Consider the reasons.

1. Dr. King's methods keep the moral issue completely clear, and help everyone to see the justice of the Negro cause.

When I see three Negroes sitting patiently at a counter and a jeering crowd pouring salt and catsup on their heads, I am disgusted with the whites and admire the quiet strength of the Negroes. Why, in the name of God, should not any American be allowed to eat a hamburger where he wishes? And the behavior of the whites is not brave or just, but contemptible. The issue is completely clear.

But if a riot starts and innocent people on both sides are killed, then the issue becomes more confused and the endless re-criminations begin. It would be a catastrophe if the headlines were to read, "20 Whites and 20 Negroes Killed in Alabama Riot." Dr. King is right. It requires far more moral power to sit still while catsup is poured on your head than to be violent. And the methods used by the Negroes could destroy the end desired, which is, of course, a Nation in which we live together in justice and brotherhood. If the whites are stupid and unjust, and the Negroes wise and restrained, let that be written on the national record.

2. Every general should use the proper tactics for a battle, and the tactics are de-

termined by the situation. The fact is that the Negroes are a minority in America (one-tenth of the population), and that, while they are rising in position, the whites still have in Alabama and elsewhere the economic, political, and police power in their hands.

If the Negroes resorted to violence, they would not only confuse the issue but head for sure defeat. Some whites, therefore, hate Dr. King, because, as a good tactician, he is using the only proper and effective plan of battle. He is appealing to America's conscience and to the Constitution. He is not bucking the line against impossible odds, but pulling a wide and sweep where the opposition is most vulnerable—the conscience of the Nation. Malcolm X's opinions are as blind and as stupid as those of all men who hate; and Dr. King, following the instructions of his Lord, is as "wise as a serpent and as innocent as a dove."

3. Dr. King knows that if a man hates, he destroys himself inwardly, and that only the method of love can build the unified Nation we desire. After a trip to India, where he studied Gandhi's methods, he wrote: "The aftermath of hatred and bitterness that usually follows a violent campaign was found nowhere in India, and a mutual friendship, based on complete equality, existed between the Indian and British people within the Commonwealth."

He knows with realism that many hate him and that the struggle is long, but he writes: "The nonviolent approach does something to the hearts and souls of those committed to it. It gives them new self-respect. It calls up resources of strength and courage they did not know they had. Finally, it so stirs the conscience of the opponent that reconciliation becomes a reality."

He has been in jail 12 times ("daddy, why do you have to go to jail so much?"); his house has been bombed twice, and he has been stabbed once. He could react bitterly, but does not. He just keeps coming, saying "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." There is no stopping the Negroes if, under his leadership, they continue their extraordinary display of moral power.

After all, their position is unanswerable. Why should not any American be permitted to vote, or eat a hamburger where he wishes, or enjoy any of the other privileges of a free nation? So, he disturbs the peace, and appeals to the conscience of the Nation. He will not be quiet, and he will not hate.

If you wish to know more about this great man from the inside, read his "Strength To Love," published by Harper & Row.

SENATOR FULBRIGHT APPEARS ON ISSUES AND ANSWERS

Mr. ENGLE. Madam President, Sunday before last I had the pleasure of listening to the distinguished Senator from Arkansas, Senator FULBRIGHT, on ABC's "Issues and Answers" program.

The program dealt with the President's trip to Europe, the Atlantic Alliance, and the cold war. It was a stimulating experience to listen to Senator FULBRIGHT's straightforward answers to the questions raised. He handled the program with his usual clarity and good sense.

I was surprised when the two leading daily newspapers in Washington editorialized regarding Senator FULBRIGHT's remarks. One of them called him an amateur psychiatrist because he undertook to explain why, in his opinion, France has been so hard to get along with.

I thought his statements were sensible and fair. He referred to General de

gerian refugees have received over 150,000 tons of food via Food for Peace shipments.

Recent world wide events have demonstrated the continuing part that refugees and escapees play in political upheavals. The construction of the wall in Berlin, the tremendous influx of over 60,000 Chinese from Red China into Hong Kong in May 1962, point up problems of immense interest and significance to the United States and the whole Free World. In addition to the Cuban refugees in the United States and in Latin America, the Government has responded to other developing refugee situations in Laos, in the Congo and elsewhere—either directly or in cooperation with international organizations, providing funds, food and other supplies, as appropriate.

#### 5. WORK OF THE VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

(NOTE.—The information which follows is largely summarized from reports to USCR by the voluntary agencies concerned.)

##### *American Council for Emigres in the Professions (ACEP)*

During the year 1961-62 1,719 academically trained refugees registered with ACEP for vocational counselling and job placement. About three-quarters, or 1,158, were Cuban. During the year ACEP made 304 direct job placements, about 300 indirect placements and 300 interim placements.

##### *American Council for Nationalities Service (ACNS)*

ACNS and its member agencies have become increasingly involved in the Cuban resettlement program throughout the United States. In cities where Cubans have been resettled the local agency, or International Institute, has helped. At present the agencies most heavily involved are those in Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Lowell and Lawrence, Mass.

##### *American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Inc. (AFCR)*

AFCR has a caseload of more than 4,000 refugees in Germany, Austria and other European countries. Its program is largely concerned with resettlement, local integration and special assistance.

##### *American Korean Foundation*

Officially the 4 million North Koreans who fled to South Korea have been integrated. However, approximately 1 million of these refugees are still unemployed, live in shacks made of cardboard and tin cans. The foundation has been assisting housing developments in refugee settlements.

##### *American National Red Cross*

Since June 30, 1961, the American Red Cross, working through the League of Red Cross Societies and/or the International Red Cross Committee has participated in refugee relief actions for Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco, refugees in Togo, Tibetan refugees in Nepal and displaced persons in Laos. Food, clothing and medical care have been provided. The Red Cross continues its relief operation for Algerian refugees during repatriation and resettlement. Medical teams checked the health of returning refugees at crossing points. Food was provided for the return journey, tents were made available for temporary shelter. In Togo, farming tools and seed were provided refugees resettled on farm land. The Red Cross has helped establish handicraft and work centers and schools in Nepal.

##### *CARE, Inc.*

CARE's expenditures for assistance to refugees for the fiscal year 1961-62 approximated \$1,098,420. The larger portion of this aid (about \$774,040) went in the form of surplus food commodities to refugee assimilation, rehabilitation or resettlement centers in West Berlin, Hong Kong and

Korea. Through donations and "gifts-in-kind," CARE provided \$324,380 worth of self-help equipment, school supplies, agricultural tools, vocational kits, clothing, medical supplies and livestock to refugees in several countries. Areas of concentration have been West Berlin, Gaza, Hong Kong, India, Korea and Vietnam.

##### *Catholic Relief Services (CRS)*

As of July 1, 1962 CRS handed over the implementation of its refugee projects in Europe to various indigenous and national Catholic charitable organizations on the continent. In North Africa CRS cooperated with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the repatriation of Algerian refugees from Tunisia and Morocco. In the Far East assistance provided to refugees in Hong Kong, Macao, Korea and North Vietnam included local integration, food distribution, vocational training courses, housing projects, provision of emergency supplies, conducting of agricultural and work projects, schools and dispensaries. Of Cuban refugees, as of mid-February, 1963, 108,204 were registered with Catholic Relief Services in Miami. CRS has found homes and jobs for 31,908 throughout the United States.

##### *Church World Service (CWS)*

A grant of money has been made available by CWS to purchase supplies for recently arrived Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. Clothing, shoes and blankets are being sent to Taiwan for Chinese refugees expected there. A steady flow of blankets, clothing and vitamins continues to go to Algeria. In the Congo, where CWS works through the Congo Protestant Relief Agency, Angolan refugees have received food, clothing and medicine.

##### *Direct Relief Foundation*

Direct Relief Foundation has reduced or discontinued help to refugees in Europe in order to expand its activities in Hong Kong and other areas in the Far East. It continues its aid to old and new desperate cases in Greece. Help is also being given refugees from Honduras in Nicaragua.

##### *International Rescue Committee (IRC)*

During 1961 about 1,025 refugees arrived in the United States under IRC auspices. Included in this group were Indonesian refugees from the Netherlands, Iron Curtain refugees from Europe, Cuban refugees from Spain and Jamaica, Dominican refugees from Curacao and Brazil and Chinese refugees from Hong Kong. IRC has continued its ongoing program of resettlement, financial aid, job placement, medical care, clothing, education, language and vocational training to Cuban refugees in Miami and Chinese refugees in Hong Kong.

##### *International Social Service (ISS)*

At the request of the United States Government for aid in the Hong Kong crisis, ISS brought a special airlift of 48 orphans from Hong Kong to the United States in June 1962.

##### *Lutheran Immigration Service Committee (LIS)*

The Lutheran Immigration Service Committee, an agency of the National Lutheran Council and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, in cooperation with the Lutheran World Federation continued its program of help and assistance to refugees. Areas of special activity include assistance to individual refugees remaining in Europe, particularly in the reuniting of families, difficult-to-resettle cases.

##### *Meals for Millions Foundation*

Meals for Millions Foundation, dedicated to the relief and prevention of starvation, has continued in 1961-62 its policy of making shipments of multipurpose food to areas where disaster has struck, emergencies have

arisen or where there are refugees who must be fed.

Shipments of multipurpose food to 15 major areas in 1961-62 total 60,621 pounds.

##### *Polish American Immigration and Relief Committee (PAIRC)*

PAIRC's continuing program for Polish post-war refugees in Western Europe and newly arrived escapees (now averaging 350 per year) including immigration and integration help for new escapees, registration and documentation of cases of "old" refugees under special immigration schemes, provision of sponsorships for regular immigration cases, financial assistance to needy refugees and assistance in implementing regular UNHCR integration programs.

##### *Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc.*

During the past year the Foyer Pablo Casals was opened in Montauban, France. It is now providing 181 individual Spanish Republican refugees over 60 years old with a community center in addition to food packages, clothing and a special cash Christmas gift. Spanish Refugee Aid also continued to provide financial aid, food packages and clothing. In the past year it has assisted 1,441 cases.

##### *Tolstoy Foundation*

The Tolstoy Foundation continued to help find employment, solve housing problems, provide supplementary food and clothing and to provide other material assistance for about 10,000 Russian and other refugees registered with them in Europe.

##### *United HIAS*

United HIAS continued to assist Jewish refugees and migrants from Europe, Egypt, Cuba, and North Africa to resettle in the United States, Latin America, Canada, and Australia. During 1961 the total number of refugees helped to resettle was 7,156. Of this total, 3,733 came to the United States, 942 to Latin America, 563 to Australia, 486 to Canada.

##### *United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America*

About 9,500 Lithuanian refugees in West Germany receive aid from the United Lithuanian Relief Fund. During the past fiscal year a few of this group came to the United States. This was balanced out, however, by new arrivals.

##### *Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.*

During 1961, 5,874 Spanish Republican refugees received help from the Unitarian Service Committee, which maintains a center in Toulouse, France.

##### *World University Service (WUS)*

The Hong Kong Chinese refugee student program, begun with the 1959-60 academic year, is administered with U.S. Department of State earmarked funds. Initially, five Chinese refugee students were awarded WUS scholarships to supplement awards made to them by U.S. colleges and universities. The college staff training fellowship program, offering graduate fellowships to Chinese refugees who are members of the teaching staffs of post-secondary colleges in Hong Kong, was begun in the 1961-62 academic year.

#### 6. THE WORLD'S REFUGEES

(NOTE.—This table has been compiled from the best available sources. Inevitably, where accurate census taking is not feasible, estimates of refugee populations vary.)

Hong Kong and Macao, from mainland China.....	*1,270,000
Mainland China, Europeans still awaiting immigration.....	*2,500
Southeast Asia:	
Chinese, 50,000 in North Burma .....	250,000
Vietnamese .....	900,000

Footnote at end of table.

Gaulle as a "great patriot." He referred to France as a "great nation." He said that France had "suffered a greater shock to her national pride than any other country." But he told the truth.

The other editorial brought up the chicken problem. The President has written two letters to Chancellor Adenauer about chickens and Secretary Rusk has discussed the matter with leaders in West Germany on several occasions. The point is that chickens just happened to be an example of the very major problem we face in getting our agricultural imports into the Common Market area. These imports today amount to over \$1 billion. Our current dollar deficit—because of expenditures in the European area—is \$2.7 billion. If the offset of our agricultural exports is canceled out, instead of having a net loss of \$1.7 billion, we will have a net loss of \$2.7 billion.

Everyone who has studied the problem knows that the question of agriculture in the Common Market is the stickiest we have. Senator FULBRIGHT just put his finger on one illustration.

I think his remarks were broad enough to make it plain the he was talking about the whole panorama of our problems that could result from the loss of our agricultural exports to the Common Market.

I commend the entire transcript to my colleagues who may have missed the broadcast and I wish to say again that I think Senator FULBRIGHT answered the questions raised with truth, fairness, and moderation. I believe that few Members of this body would disagree with my view that we are fortunate indeed to have a man of Senator FULBRIGHT's intelligence, experience, ability, and detachment handling the crucial area of foreign relations for the U.S. Senate.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the program "Issues and Answers" of June 23, 1963, be printed in the RECORD.

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

"ISSUES AND ANSWERS," SUNDAY, JUNE 23, 1963

Guest: Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas. Interviewed by: John Rolfson, ABC Capitol Hill correspondent, and John Scall, ABC State Department correspondent.

The ANNOUNCER. From Washington, the American Broadcasting Co. brings you "Issues and Answers."

Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, here are the issues: Will the President's trip do any good? What can we do about General de Gaulle? Is the time right for an end to the cold war? You have heard the issues. Now for the answers from Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Here to interview Senator FULBRIGHT, ABC Capitol Hill correspondent, John Rolfson, and with the first question, ABC State Department correspondent, John Scall.

Mr. SCALL. Senator, welcome to "Issues and Answers."

Senator FULBRIGHT. I am glad to be here again.

Mr. SCALL. President Kennedy's trip seems off to a fairly good start with hundreds of thousands of Germans cheering him at every stop. Yet there are those who say that cheers and applause are about all the President will get during this trip.

Do you agree?

Senator FULBRIGHT. No; I don't agree with these criticisms that it is not a timely trip. I think it may be very well—you have some changes going on, you have a new, although a caretaker government that is set in Italy, you have the prospects of a new government in England and in Germany. I think an examination, getting acquainted with these situations and the forces that are at work may be very timely.

Mr. SCALL. Well, do you get anything more than except a psychological showing of the American flag at a time such as this?

Senator FULBRIGHT. Well, these great turn-outs of people—I didn't mean that, that that is particularly significant, but he will undoubtedly have serious talks with the incoming people and those that are already prospects in the next go-round in these various governments and I think he ought to feel his way and to get acquainted with them and to make known to all of them our serious concern about the recent developments in the so-called Atlantic Alliance and the seriousness of the effect of General de Gaulle's actions in January.

Mr. ROLFSON. Senator FULBRIGHT, do you think a trip of this kind can do any good as a counterattack on the De Gaulle policies, for example?

Senator FULBRIGHT. I certainly do. I don't like to put it in military terms as a counterattack and so on. This is a matter of I think the most delicate diplomacy and I think our objective is to bring back into focus the importance of the Atlantic Alliance, or the Atlantic partnership, if you like.

I have not abandoned that yet, although if Mr. de Gaulle or General de Gaulle has his way I think it will be a very serious matter and he himself I think may be able to change his mind if he is given the proper opportunity with proper face-saving mechanisms built in.

I don't quite think that General de Gaulle wishes to return completely to the 18th century.

Mr. ROLFSON. Senator, what kind of a policy would it take, what do you think we should do specifically to encourage General de Gaulle to change his mind?

Senator FULBRIGHT. I think we ought to persuade all of the other countries of the importance of it, the Italians, the Germans, the Dutch, the Belgians. I think they are interested in building a much greater unity and cooperation among the Atlantic Community or all the members of the free world. This is the hope. It has been the basic theme of our policy for years and I think General de Gaulle's action has very severely shaken the confidence that all these nations can work closely together.

I think that is the greatest damage he has done. He has at least temporarily shaken the confidence that we can do it and I think the President may well restore this. These are intangible things. I don't expect him to have a great treaty or to solve any of these problems on this trip, but I think he is a very astute political animal and I think he understands many of these issues and I hope he can do some good.

I don't think there is anything wrong with the timing of this trip.

Mr. SCALL. Isn't what you are saying, Senator, adding up to a policy on our part of seeking to isolate and outflank General de Gaulle at the moment?

Senator FULBRIGHT. I don't like to put it in such brutal terms. However, if you choose, I would say that is one way to put it, but I don't wish to mount quite as bluntly this kind of a contest. The general is a great patriot. I think France suffered a greater shock to their national pride than any other country. The performance of France as we all know in the Second World War was not very creditable. It deeply wounded their pride and she is a great nation and I think this is a kind of a reaction to

that and I think you have to handle people who have been severely wounded in this way with kid gloves, so to speak. Although I think there is a limit to what we can do, we certainly have done a lot for France.

Mr. SCALL. Do you think perhaps the general is trying to compensate then for a bad performance in World War II?

Senator FULBRIGHT. I think he is over-compensating, I think he is overcompensating and I think he has to make some allowances for this and have some patience.

I don't want to understate how serious I think what he has done is. I think it is very serious and I don't know that we can—I am still hopeful that we can overcome this and bring back into, as I say, focus, all of these countries working closely together.

Mr. ROLFSON. Well, Senator, do you think this is purely De Gaulle or is this the attitude of France which will outlast De Gaulle?

Senator FULBRIGHT. I think the latter, if I may say so. I don't think it is purely De Gaulle, because it wasn't just De Gaulle who was wounded by this performance. In fact, he performed better than France did during that period. But I think the whole French people were and they had a great history and it is not only the way they acted then during the war, but their failure to operate a self-governing democracy throughout the period until De Gaulle—that is, operate it satisfactorily, with this constant changing of governments.

It was a reflection of this restlessness and internal dissension. They could not generate any consensus within their country. These are signs of this same thing and I do think it goes beyond just De Gaulle.

Mr. ROLFSON. Of course, one of the justifications for the De Gaulle policy is that the United States is not necessarily permanently committed to Europe, to staying there, and one reaction in this country has been, one part of the resentment at De Gaulle has been the demand that we do pull out of Europe and let De Gaulle and France and the Europeans stew in their own juice.

Doesn't this sort of justify the De Gaulle policy, their attitude in this country?

Senator FULBRIGHT. Well, De Gaulle does things such as in the trade area, and the way he speaks about us and so on, that tends to bring about his own prophesy. In other words, he creates conditions that may make it impossible for us to stay, in force. For example, if they insist upon this policy of excluding our agriculture, if they treat all of agriculture as they have treated poultry, then it makes it impossible for us to sustain an Army in Europe at the cost of \$1 billion because we already have a deficit in our balance of payments. And it is possible for him, if he has his way, and all of Europe cooperates with him, to make it impossible for us to stay, which will make come true his prophesy, but he will be the architect of that.

Mr. SCALL. Well, do you think then that we should consider withdrawing the troops even as a threat to force De Gaulle to change his policy?

Senator FULBRIGHT. I don't like to use threats of that kind. I think we have already stated—I have, at least—I say "we." I don't know that the President has, I am a little freer agent than he is—it is quite obvious we will have to cut down our troops if they persist in the trade policies that they have started in.

I think that is just a matter of financial necessity.

Mr. SCALL. Senator, you mentioned the Common Market, Congressman REUSS, among others, has written that in backing the Common Market, the U.S. Government is primarily, or at least partially to blame because what we have done is encourage formation of what is a Frankenstein monster, an organization which it now develops is inward-looking, which discriminates against American tariffs, whereas our focus should

have been on encouraging formation of a broader grouping of free world countries. Do you subscribe to that?

Senator FULBRIGHT. Well, I think there is something to that. I don't know that we could have controlled it. I don't wish to always bring it up and say "I told you so," but it is a fact that when the Marshall plan was first introduced, I and some of my colleagues attempted to have incorporated in that as a policy, the unification of Europe at that time as a part of the Marshall plan, on a broader scale than just the Six, and I think this would have been preferable, and I think it would have been a very wise thing to do.

The Secretary of State at that time, Dean Acheson, was opposed to this policy. I think this is a question of timing. He thought it was too much to ask of them at that time in 1948 to make great political changes as well as economic adjustments and therefore our Government didn't support it.

I think it was a mistake and I agree with you that it should have been done that way. Nevertheless, I think that in view of the fact that the two last World Wars were generated by the frictions among these very countries, that some kind of cooperative unification of Europe was called for.

Now the fact that it is presently inward-looking is too bad. Our job is to try to make it outward-looking, but I wouldn't regret the fact that they are moving toward unity in Europe.

Mr. ROLFSON. I think perhaps this idea goes a little beyond that, though. That in the past and possibly still now, what we should have done and should be doing is not only encouraging a united Europe, independent of us, but making a greater commitment ourselves in this organization, economically—

Senator FULBRIGHT. I didn't get that point. I agree with that. Yes, we should. But there is a great resistance here in our country to do it, but I would favor that and I think we ought to do it.

Mr. ROLFSON. What would you do? How would you start?

Senator FULBRIGHT. What I recently suggested was a very minor thing, the creation of what we call an Atlantic Consultative Assembly, to make the step of bringing their people and ours together in a regular institutionalized manner, the representatives of all of these countries, going beyond the six, including Scandinavia.

Mr. ROLFSON. For law-making purposes? Senator FULBRIGHT. No, I say consultative assembly. I think that is the first step. I don't think you could get that step. You know, as Erick Hoffer puts it, the ordeal of change is a very serious matter and to get anyone to adjust to a new idea is a major undertaking and I just think you would fail.

I think they would allow perhaps a consultative assembly which has been recommended, as a result of the meeting, as you will remember, that Herter and Will Clayton sponsored, or were our principal representatives. I think this is a step in that direction. It is consistent with the OECD. The OECD is demanding a parliamentarians' conference and if we could merge that in a way with the NATO parliamentarians' conference, maybe we can get a conference including more than the Six and then we could move toward consultative bodies and then later perhaps something stronger. We cannot foresee how it would develop but that is one thing we could do.

Mr. SCALI. Senator, if we can turn to the broader East-West picture for a moment, do you see any real opportunity in the days ahead of an accommodation between the United States and Russia which might flow out of the speech that the President made June 10 where he called for a re-examination of the cold war concept?

Senator FULBRIGHT. Well, I approve of the speech. I don't think there is going to be any great sudden change in this business. I favor the gradual change as being the only realistic one.

I do think there are various circumstances that are moving now in a direction which might make it possible to alleviate the tensions of the cold war. The Chinese-Russian discussion is one of them. The vast cost of these armaments programs, which must affect Russia as it affects us, and the, I think, general settling down of their activities. I notice they are curbing their foreign aid program. I think they are disillusioned with their experience in Iraq, Indonesia, and other places. I think the prospects that we are going to do it for different reasons than theirs, but some of the same reasons. I think there is a possibility here. They haven't been too offensive about Berlin lately, and so on.

Therefore I think it is timely and I think an expression by the President of this kind leads to a discussion. I would hope such discussions can take place and small, tentative agreements made. Tentative in the sense that they don't solve the problem, but honestly I think when you examine the great problems that we are having internally and that they are having with China, it creates further matters which we have in common.

Mr. ROLFSON. You listed the Russian-Chinese conference as one of the things that might alleviate it. Does that mean you see out of this conference coming a softer Chinese line rather than a harder Russian line?

Senator FULBRIGHT. No; I would hope it would confirm in the Russian's mind that they have more in common with the Western peoples, the Europeans as well as ourselves, than they do with the Chinese, because the Chinese, if I interpret what they are saying, it is that they do not accept the concept of coexistence; they demand the continuation of violence, the violent revolution wherever it can be had and promoted and I think the Russians recognize the dangers themselves if we have a nuclear war.

The Russians are more conscious of the destruction of a possible nuclear war. They have more to lose in another sense, having accomplished a good deal in the rebuilding of their country. There are many reasons of this nature which I think might lead the Russians to take a different view from the Chinese. The Chinese give every evidence of having very little fear of a nuclear war. Furthermore, the Chinese are much closer to the Russians than they are to us. We get excited about Cuba. Well, what if you had 600 million people right on your border, as the Russians have, why wouldn't you be excited about that? We have only 6 million down here, 90 miles from our coast.

All of these things go together. I think it is worth examining, anyway. I thought his statement there was worthwhile.

Mr. SCALI. Senator, you mentioned the possibility of some tentative agreements in limited areas. Do you think that these should be explored and pursued at the diplomatic working level or perhaps elevated to the point of a summit conference?

Senator FULBRIGHT. No, I think the first. That is where they should be explored, at the lower level, diplomatic and at most a ministerial before you get—I am not an advocate of summit meetings before you get anywhere.

Mr. SCALI. In that connection, as you know, Averell Harriman is flying to Moscow in mid-July.

Senator FULBRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. SCALI. Do you see this as perhaps one of the wedges that could open this whole area?

Senator FULBRIGHT. Well, this is the sort of thing that ought to be going on all the time, to discuss these matters. Now they have

apparently agreed on the so-called hot line. I wouldn't overemphasize its significance, but it is something.

I think they are still hopeful that maybe something in the test ban area might be developed. Nothing concrete has yet come out. I don't know that it will, but I think we ought to keep plugging on these matters. After all, you are still faced with the alternative of this finally escalating into a nuclear war if we don't do something.

Mr. ROLFSON. Senator, the Republican leadership in Congress was extremely scornful of this whole American University speech, the nuclear test and all the rest, and the idea that our policy should try to encourage the Russians toward a more enlightened policy and so forth.

Senator FULBRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. ROLFSON. They have complained that the President was shooting from the hip without consulting with them. Do you think there is some big error here in the administration in not bringing the Republicans in more at the beginning of such policies as these?

Senator FULBRIGHT. Well, I rather think it would be wise to consult more with them, although I am not personally aware of just how little he has consulted. Naturally if he consults with them, I don't always know it, and I am not always there. I think on the other hand everybody is beginning, I think prematurely, to become interested in the 1964 election and I think that colors this a little bit.

There is a tremendous ad in this morning's paper, a whole full-page ad, with a great national rally for Mr. GOLDWATER, already within a week or two.

I think it is going to make it a long campaign, but I do think that it is wise to consult the opposition, any government that is in power.

Mr. SCALI. Of course, the opponents of this new Presidential approach characterize it as a sign that the accommodators have taken over the direction of our foreign policy. They don't answer when they say "Well, do you mean appeasers?" They say "No, we will let the word 'accommodator' stand."

Senator FULBRIGHT. I guess there is a revival. This is what they emphasized in the early fifties under McCarthy and they have always thought this was pay dirt, that this was politically profitable. I think they have overworked Cuba for this same reason, seeking to say that the Democrats are soft on communism. I think it is too bad. This is a very bad thing to restrict the freedom of action of our Government, whatever government it is, whether it is the Republicans under Eisenhower or under Kennedy, he ought to be free in this area to try to do what he can to avoid a nuclear war. I think this is dangerous politics, but it is not new. It is a continuation of it. We have had it in Cuba and I regret it.

Mr. ROLFSON. Let me ask about Cuba. Premier Castro has come back from Russia feeling very confident about his position and powers. Do you think we are going to have to live with him for a long time in Cuba?

Senator FULBRIGHT. I rather think so, unless he does something very foolish. I think there was a time, of course, when we might have invaded, at the time when we had a real excuse back last October. We didn't. We chose another route. At the time I think that was generally applauded, but anyway I see no excuse now to mount an offensive.

Mr. ROLFSON. How about the Russians? Do we have to live with them too, in Cuba? Their troops?

Senator FULBRIGHT. I think so, unless you wish to take—unless you wish to mount an invasion and go to war about it. I don't think it is sufficiently important to warrant a full-scale invasion and this is what I think you are talking about. What I object to of

those who criticize it so vigorously is they go right up to the point and you say "Do you advocate an invasion," and they say "No." But everything said prior to that would lead to no other conclusion.

Now I think either you invade or you don't. I think what they are doing is everything short of an invasion to isolate this man, I think.

Now that reminds me of another item which I would like to mention in this connection, allied with Cuba, and it is this developing situation in British Guinea.

Now Mrs. Jagan down there, whom as you know is generally believed to be a full-fledged Communist—she came from Chicago and is very bright and very aggressive, is now the Home Secretary, and she recently made a statement thanking Fidel Castro for his assistance when they were stuck, meaning they have received food, rice and other materials to keep the government going during this very, very bad period of a long strike and internal chaos practically.

Now I think it would be a great mistake, and I hope the British do not pursue this policy of withdrawal and independence under these conditions. I know it is out of character for us to say not to withdraw, but I think these conditions warrant us at least doing what we can to persuade the British not to give up their control.

Their Coldstream Guards have been protecting the unloading of these Cuban supplies and the loading of the Russian ship and I would not like to see an extension, another Communist country in Latin America, on the mainland.

Mr. SCALL. If the British feel because of various things that they have to withdraw and Premier Jagan sets up a full-fledged Communist government there, do you think there is anything the United States could and should do?

Senator FULBRIGHT. Well, I would certainly try to think of something I could do. I believe there are things we could do. But I would hope the British wouldn't. They are in there legally and the conditions are not of their creation. I think there is every justification for them delaying at least their withdrawal.

Mr. ROLFSON. I am sorry, Senator, I am going to have to interrupt. Our time is up. Thank you very much, Senator FULBRIGHT, for being with us on "Issues and Answers."

Senator FULBRIGHT. Thank you for inviting me.

The ANNOUNCER. This concludes this week's "Issues and Answers" with Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT.

Next week at this time our guest will be the former Director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, Mr. Allen W. Dulles. We hope you will be with us.

### SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN NEW YORK

Mr. JAVITS. Madam President, the great debate on civil rights which is sweeping the Nation at this time is quite properly directed to the problems of segregation and discrimination in all parts of the Nation, not merely in the South. Much remains to be done in all sections, but it must be recognized that the problems differ from region to region and from city to city. One of the major points of difference is the degree to which the public and governmental climate of the particular area is dedicated to eliminating the discriminatory practices which still plague its institutions. I have always been proud of the leadership which the State of New York has exerted in this field and I bring to the at-

tention of my colleagues a most interesting recent Federal district court decision in New York in the celebrated New Rochelle school desegregation case, which was the pilot suit involving school desegregation in the North. This decision, by the Honorable Irving R. Kaufman, judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, describing the excellent efforts being made by the governmental structure of New Rochelle and of the State of New York, as well as by the entire community in New Rochelle in order to comply with the 1954 Supreme Court decision, is a landmark of goodwill which I hope will be repeated throughout the country.

I ask unanimous consent that the most important and learned opinion of the court be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

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

[U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York—60 Civ. 4098]

LESLIE TAYLOR AND KEVIN TAYLOR, MINORS, BY WILBERT TAYLOR AND HALLIE TAYLOR, THEIR PARENTS AND NEXT FRIENDS, AND MARJORIE WILLIAMS AND ROSLYN WILLIAMS, MINORS, BY RUDOLPH WILLIAMS AND MARJORIE WILLIAMS, THEIR PARENTS AND NEXT FRIENDS, AND CHERYL ANN WILLIAMS, A MINOR, BY ULA WILLIAMS, HER MOTHER AND NEXT FRIEND, AND LYNN GARLAND, A MINOR, BY THOMAS GARLAND, HER FATHER AND NEXT FRIEND, AND BENJAMIN HALL, LONNIE HALL, MICHELEE HALL AND YELMA HALL, MINORS, BY BARBARA HALL, THEIR MOTHER AND NEXT FRIEND, AND MARILENE MURPHY, A MINOR, BY WALTER MURPHY AND WILLENE MURPHY, HER PARENTS AND NEXT FRIENDS, AND FOR THESE AND ALL OTHERS SIMILARLY SITUATED AND WHO MAY BECOME PARTIES TO THIS ACTION, PLAINTIFFS, VS. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF NEW ROCHELLE, AND HERBERT C. CLISH, AS SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS OF THE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF NEW ROCHELLE, DEFENDANTS

Appearances: Paul Zuber, attorney for plaintiffs; Murray C. Fuerst, attorney for board of education; Robert M. Morgenthau, U.S. Attorney, by Eugene R. Anderson and David R. Hyde.

Irving R. Kaufman, J. (delivered from the bench): I have been pleased to hear from Dr. Frank F. Marino, chairman of the Board of Education of the City of New Rochelle, and other members of the board, as well as Dr. David G. Salter, superintendent of schools, who addressed the court this morning.

This is a most gratifying day for this court, for in 2 years we have come full circle from a period in which national attention was focused upon New Rochelle as a northern community condoning segregation to a period in which the Nation will view New Rochelle as a trailblazer in solving the problem of providing truly equal educational opportunity for all. I want publicly to thank Messrs. Fuerst and Zuber who, as counsel for the respective parties, have performed a great service not only to the community and to this court, but to the entire Nation as well.

In less than 10 years, the legal and social complexion of our Nation has undergone a dramatic change. The epochal decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*, 349 U.S. 294 (1954), has worked a revolution in American race relations. The tempo of that revolution is ever quickening and its reverberations have not been confined to any one part of our Nation. Indeed, the President of the United States has recently

noted that the problem of equal opportunity regardless of race is "not a sectional problem—it is nationwide."

The truth of this statement is confirmed by the case history of New Rochelle's Lincoln School integration litigation, the judicial phases of which are, hopefully, drawing to a close. In order that the application now before this court may be set in context, a brief statement of that history will be undertaken.

New Rochelle, a suburb of New York City is, as we know, located in southeastern Westchester County. In late 1960, a class action was initiated in this court by several Negro children enrolled in the Lincoln School, a public elementary school operated by the Board of Education of the City of New Rochelle, which was named as one of the defendants. In this action, the plaintiffs charged that Lincoln School, situated in central New Rochelle, then with an enrollment of approximately 94 percent Negroes, had been deliberately created and maintained by the board as a racially segregated school in violation of the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution. After a trial, this court found, 191 F. Supp. 231 (S.D.N.Y. 1961), that the school board, in 1930, had gerrymandered the district in which the Lincoln School was located in order that a large portion of its white students would be excluded and permitted to attend the nearby Webster and Mayflower schools; that within the 4 years following, the boundaries of the Lincoln district were manipulated so as to incorporate the ever-increasing Negro population; that until 1949, the board assured the continuance of Lincoln School as a Negro school by permitting white students resident within the district to transfer to schools outside the district; and that after 1949, when further transfers were forbidden, the school board did nothing to alter the status quo or to ameliorate the serious racial imbalance in the Lincoln School which it had caused to be brought about.

It followed, therefore, that this court was constrained to find that the deliberate efforts to maintain the Lincoln School as a segregated educational institution worked a deprivation of the equal protection of the laws constitutionally proscribed by the 14th amendment as interpreted by the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*, supra. As I noted at that time, "The conduct of responsible school officials has operated to deny to Negro children the opportunities for a full and meaningful educational experience guaranteed to them by the 14th amendment." 191 F. Supp. at 22-23.

In order to cure this social illness, this court directed the board to present a plan to remedy the illegality. The board proposed such a plan which, with considerable modification, was adopted as the decree of the court, in May 1961, 205 F. Supp. 231 (S.D.N.Y. 1961). In essence the decree provided for a completely optional transfer of all Lincoln students to any schools having sufficient room to receive them without the imposition of any requirements for minimal academic achievement or emotional adjustment. Further provisions were incorporated in order fully to effectuate the spirit of the optional transfer plan; but, the decree provided that the board was under no obligation to furnish transportation to pupils transferring under the terms of the decree. The decree concluded with the provision that "The court shall retain jurisdiction over this case to assure full compliance with this decree." This court, then, is still seized of jurisdiction over this case and over the administration of the terms of the decree.

I now have before me an application by the present school board—whose composition is substantially different from that of the board at the time of the original decree—seeking certain amendments and modifications of that decree.

It is clear that this application has been precipitated by the changing circumstances in New Rochelle which have followed upon the board's efforts to comply with this court's order. On the date of the commencement of this litigation, Lincoln School had an enrollment of 483 students, of whom 454, or 94 percent, were Negro. As a result of the transfer of Lincoln students to the city's 11 other elementary schools, the percentage of Negro students dropped immediately to approximately 89 percent. A year and a half later, in April 1963, the entire student population at Lincoln School was less than half what it was when this court entered its decree; only 210 pupils had chosen to remain enrolled at this antiquated school, constructed 65 years ago.

The economic and social impact of this mass exodus has been perceptively analyzed and extrapolated by the present forward-looking school board. The operation of Lincoln School has become economically unfeasible due to the greatly diminished size of the student body; as of April of this year, although the average annual per capita cost of education in all the New Rochelle elementary schools was approximately \$877 per student, the cost of educating a student at Lincoln was somewhat more than \$1,057. As the student body will continue to decrease the cost per Lincoln School student will increase. It has become obvious to the present board that the Lincoln School must be closed and permanently shut down.

But more at the heart of this proceeding is the school board's fear—grounded in a sincere desire to conform not only with the letter but with the spirit of this court's decree—a fear that the continuation of the plan of free optional transfer, pursuant to the terms of the decree, will result in an unbalance racial population in schools adjacent to the Lincoln district. The board in effect urges that strict compliance with the original decree, now that Lincoln School is being closed down, will pose a serious threat of de facto racial segregation in those contiguous schools, if the remaining students at Lincoln are permitted to exercise a free choice of school to be attended.

The school board and its enlightened superintendent of schools, Dr. David G. Salten, a nationally recognized educator—after holding two public hearings in May of this year, at which 1,300 and 900 citizens, respectively, were in attendance and 98 speakers heard; after attending many meetings of P-TA groups, and civic and neighborhood associations; and after consulting with experts in the field and with those representing the interests of the Negro population of the Lincoln district—therefore asks this court to amend and modify the letter of the decree in order that its spirit may best be perpetuated.

In my original opinion in this litigation, I expressed my sincere belief in the proposition that the desegregation problem in the Lincoln district could be solved by "men of good will, wisdom and integrity," 191 F. Supp. at 193. It is gratifying that, among the membership of the present school board, New Rochelle has found such men. It is obvious that these are men of heart and of broad vision. They have taken a most commendable and far-sighted step in projecting the philosophy which underlay the original decree—and by their action will minimize or perhaps avoid the problem, plaguing so many other communities, of racial imbalance in their system of education. This reaffirmation of respect for man and law is gratifying and timely, for it is an antidote to those familiar instances where Federal court decrees have been flouted by high officials sworn to uphold the law.

Obstruction, delay, and unrest have characterized much of our national struggle against educational and racial inequality. But this small northern community—

whose population, composed of various races and religions, might represent our Nation in microclism—has provided this Nation with an example and a model of sound public leadership.

Indeed, the immediate and energetic efforts of the school board to comply with this court's mandate might well be viewed as a precursor of the widely acclaimed position taken only last week by James E. Allen, Jr., Commissioner of Education for the State of New York.

The President of the United States, a few short days ago, registered a plea for an end to racial strife, mass picketing and protest meetings which almost inevitably trigger violence. He urged that the forum for solving the racial question be shifted from the streets to the courts. Certainly, that is the first step. But, as I noted in my original opinion: "Litigation is an unsatisfactory way to resolve issues such as have been presented here. It is costly, time consuming—causing further delays in the implementation of constitutional rights—and further inflames the emotions of the partisans," 191 F. Supp. at 197. In short, our legal system can only go so far in inculcating morality. Today, in light of the school board's appearance before this court, I feel even more strongly that the task of securing full equality of educational opportunity among the races is best achieved not by a court which is ill-equipped to control day-to-day problems of educational policy, but by private citizens, men of good will, prepared to act affirmatively in pursuance of our basic law and with a devotion to community betterment.

Thus, in the instant case, the New Rochelle School Board has taken the initiative and, after investigation and consultation, has proposed several modifications in the May 1961 decree of this court.

With the closing of the Lincoln School and the accompanying need for enlightened placement of the students living within the Lincoln district, the board proposes to provide bus transportation to these students on a basis identical to that provided throughout New Rochelle—that is, transportation to any school destination within 1½ and 10 miles of the student's home. As the school board has stated in its report on its proposed plan to the citizens of New Rochelle: "Transportation will be a key factor in our efforts to maintain an ethnic balance in our elementary schools and to prevent the emergence of segregated schools." This report further states: "Any solution for the problems at Lincoln must be resolved on the basis of what is good for the school system and the community as a whole. Closing the school and transporting its students to outlying areas fulfills this criterion because it avoids tipping contiguous schools and enables students in outlying areas as well as in the central schools to attend an integrated school."

I have been advised that the additional cost to each of the residents of New Rochelle once the benefits of bus transportation are extended to the students in question will be insignificant. It must also be noted that, pursuant to State law, 90 percent of the transportation costs incurred in the city of New Rochelle will be borne by New York State in the 1963-64 and successive school years, and only 10 percent by the city. In short, the burdens resulting from the implementation of the proposed transportation plan are infinitesimal when compared to its benefits.

I am convinced that the closing of Lincoln School, conjoined with free bus transportation for former pupils there to other schools within the city will have a salutary influence in securing true equality of educational opportunity for all parties before this court. This proposed modification, which would eliminate paragraph 7 of the original order decreeing that Lincoln trans-

portation, is therefore adopted by this court.

The more fundamental modification of the decree proposed by the school board is the deletion of paragraphs 1 and 2 which deal with the optional transfer plan and the substitution therefor of a provision designed to permit the board to assign students residing within the Lincoln district where necessary to secure or maintain racial balance within the elementary school system. Such a provision would repose, in the board's discretion in the assignment of pupils in order best to effectuate the principles announced in the original opinion of this court. Viewing this proposed modification in light of the school board's demonstrated genuine support for those principles, this court has decided to so modify its decree. Compliance therewith will be insured, if ever necessary, by this court's continued retention of jurisdiction over the case, in pursuance to the final paragraph of the decree and to the general principles of equity.

The decree is modified as provided for in the amended decree entered this day.

And so, as the board in its "Comprehensive Plan for Educational Excellence—A Report to All Citizens of New Rochelle," dated May 14, 1963, stated: "The eyes of the entire Nation are fixed upon our community and received national attention." The Nation Our special difficulties have received national will now observe how men of compassion and foresight have acted up to the racial problem of their community and with courage undertaken the task of solving it.

IRVING R. KAUFMAN,  
U.S. Circuit Judge.

JUNE 24, 1963.

#### SHIPWORK CHEAPER IN PRIVATE YARDS

Mr. BREWSTER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record an article which appeared in the Boston Globe, June 9, 1963, and which was entitled "Shipwork Cheaper in Private Yards."

The author, Allen M. Smythe, is a reputable financial writer. His article explains the efforts made to change the congressional mandate requiring that private shipbuilding firms handle 35 percent of naval vessel repairs and thus save 20 to 30 percent in cost to the taxpayers.

Madam President, the private shipbuilding industry of this Nation is in a slump; yet our defense officials, rather than aid our hard-pressed private yards, prefer to have all work done in naval shipyards operated by the Government.

I hope that my colleagues will examine this problem carefully and give thought to the necessity of maintaining and protecting private industry against expensive Federal competition.

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

[From the Boston Globe, June 9, 1963]

SHIPWORK CHEAPER IN PRIVATE YARDS

(By Allen M. Smythe)

The Navy, disturbed by some aspects of a survey made to determine comparative costs between naval shipyards and private shipbuilding plants, adopted a news management plan that has backfired.

The survey, made under a \$197,000 Navy contract issued to Arthur Anderson & Co., a New York auditing firm, was expected to furnish cost data to influence congressional legislation. The Navy wants Congress to eliminate a proviso in the appropriation bill that