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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE
Special Subcommittee of the
**COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES
IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington, D. C.

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Volume 1

FUNCTIONS OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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FUNCTIONS OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Subcommittee of the Committee
on Expenditures in the Executive Departments
House of Representatives

I N D E X

Statement of Rear Admiral R. K. Hillenkoetter,
Director of Central Intelligence,
Central Intelligence Agency

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FUNCTIONS OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1948

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House of Representatives,

Special Subcommittee of the
Committee on Expenditures in the
Executive Departments,

Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 4 p.m., pursuant to notice, in room 1401 of the House Office Building, Hon. Clarence J. Brown, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Those present were: Representatives Brown (presiding), Hoffman (chairman of the Committee) and McCormack.

Mr. Brown. The committee will be in order.

This is a meeting of a special subcommittee of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, of which I am Chairman and Congressman Hoffman and Congressman McCormack are the other members. This subcommittee is authorized to launch an investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency and learn whether the Secretary of State and other high officials were promptly warned that a revolution was impending in Colombia, and that their attendance at the Bogota conference might endanger their lives and bring embarrassment to the United States.

I think that I should point out at this time that the Central Intelligence Agency was created through the enactment of the Unification Bill, Public Law No. 253, at the first session of the 80th Congress, or about ten months ago, and that the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments handled that legislation.

The Central Intelligence Agency was created for the exact purpose of keeping top American officials advised as to activities in foreign countries which might in any way affect or endanger the welfare of this nation.

The head of this Central Intelligence Agency is Admiral R. K. Hillenkoetter, and he will be the first witness.

STATEMENT OF REAR ADMIRAL R. K. HILLENKOETTER,
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, CENTRAL
INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Admiral Hillenkoetter. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I am appearing before you to explain our performance of duty regarding the outbreak in Bogota, Colombia, and, of course, to attempt to answer any other questions you may have about the CIA.

From time to time in the past two years, this Agency, and its predecessor group, have been the object of attack in the press. Some of these attacks have been in the nature of inspired fishing expeditions in the hope of drawing some public answer from us which might indicate the scope of our

operations. To all press dispatches and magazine articles I have made it my invariable rule to answer "no comment." I have felt that the public prints are no place to discuss the operations of an intelligence organization if it is to achieve effectiveness and maturity. Public controversy inevitably tends to blow such cover of our personnel as has been painstakingly developed.

I was, therefore, somewhat disturbed by certain unfounded charges made against us in the Wisconsin primary, and the subsequent charges made in the Nebraska primary that we had failed in our mission in Latin America by not informing the State Department of impending outbreaks in Colombia. These charges, both verbal and in the press, have unanimously taken the position of stating that the Central Intelligence Agency did not inform the State Department of the possible outbreaks in Columbia -- that we allowed the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Commerce and other high Government officials to endanger themselves and the lives of other members of our delegation because we had not informed them of possible troubles.

No one, however, until your Committee was convened, has seemed to want to ask what to us appears to be the \$64 question, namely, did the Central Intelligence Agency know of the situation in Colombia and did they inform responsible officials of the State Department?

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Mr. McCormack. I concur on that general observation, that we expected cooperation but the Central Intelligence Agency has an unusual mission to perform and we recognized that, and we wanted to give the Central Intelligence Agency independence of action and put it in a status where it could employ dynamic action for the national security.

Mr. Hoffman. I want to go one step further after agreeing with all of that, and I want to call attention to Public Law 253 of the 80th Congress, the first session, page 4, Section 102, subdivision (d), and the subsections under (d), which impose in no uncertain terms a duty upon this Agency to turn this information which it collects over to the Security Council, which is created by Section 101. The members of that Security Council are the President of the United States and these various secretaries.

This statute was passed subsequent to any other statute

to which the Admiral referred in his testimony and his statement to us, and would by implication under a familiar rule of law repeal that previous statute, so that any directive issued by any other agency of the government contrary to this is void and without effect.

Mr. McCormack. I think we all agree in substance, anyway.

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Our proposals were then put before the United Nations. Unhappily, they were not seized upon with faith. Had they been, they would have provided safe, international control of the entire development of atomic energy all the way back to the mines where the ores of the fissionable elements were produced. The sword which now hangs over the heads of all men would have become a universal plowshare for peace. But Soviet negotiators employed every parliamentary tactic to block the adoption of the Baruch program and for reasons we could not then fathom. Later these reasons emerged.

Diplomacy failed in 1946 in spite of the fact that we had offered to give up our atomic advantage, indeed, it was a monopoly, if nations would only agree to a safe, inspected plan of international control of this great new force. As a matter of fact, the nations did agree except Russia and its satellites. Diplomacy, compelled to accept the defeat of the Baruch plan, has since accepted many other rebuffs, without wavering in the hope that eventually reason would prevail.

In the 15 years since the Baruch proposal, there have been a procession of diplomatic negotiations; negotiations for total atomic control, for atomic weapon disarmament, for general disarmament, for the cessation of nuclear weapons testing, and for the founding of an international agency to deal with the peaceful atom. The statesmen have been kept busy. Their meetings on this subject have taken place, usually, in Geneva where they have become almost institutionalized. Our consulate general at Geneva is staffed about as completely as are some of our embassies. There is entertaining back and forth between the delegations. There is protocol, rotating chairmanship, agendas, and proposals which, after a few months, no one apparently ever looks at again. For instance, the recent Russian offer of three on-site inspections has been described as "new" and a "breakthrough." It had been proposed and rejected as inadequate back in 1960.

Meanwhile, certain events have occurred that are irreversible. First, our monopoly has been lost. Gone forever is the opportunity to state, as President Truman did within a week of Hiroshima, "The atom bomb is too dangerous to be loose in a lawless world. We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force—to prevent its misuse and to turn it into the channels of service to mankind. It is an awful responsibility which has come to us." It was indeed. We can no longer demand, as then we could, that other nations join us in shackling this terrible threat by internationalizing its control. We are no longer able to insist upon that aim for the salvation of humanity. Second: Our wartime ally in the East began a series of attempts to deceive us as to his intentions. Vyshinsky, the principal Soviet representative at the United Nations, said that the Soviet nuclear program, in contrast to our own, was solely concerned to remove mountains and alter the channels of rivers. The fact was that Russia had been engaged in developing atomic weapons clandestinely for months before her first test. Fortunately, we had uncovered this deception by detecting the test and, since 1949, we have known beyond any doubt what the assurances of the Soviet Government were worth.

But though the Russians have not always succeeded in deceiving us, our capacity for self-deception has been monumental. We were beguiled into a moratorium on testing—that is to say, on discontinuing improvement of our nuclear weapons. We ceased our tests for 3 years in good faith, while the Soviets, in total disdain of such a bourgeois convention as good faith, contin-

ued to produce test explosions underground. When they had reached the point where tests in the atmosphere were essential to their program, they violated the moratorium—without even so much as a diplomatic blush—and staged the longest test series including the largest explosions ever detonated. It took us more than 6 months to recover from that shock to our credulity, even to resume our own tests.

We continued negotiating in Geneva on nuclear test suspension even after that and are about to begin a new round of talks. Presumably, we are again prepared carefully to consider the next round of Soviet assurances that this time they mean it, all based upon mutual good faith. I sincerely hope we will not be trapped into another mutual accord which will again prove to be unilateral. But that is not the way to bet.

You will recall the statement by President Kennedy on October 22, that Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko had called on him at the White House and had made statements to him which were false. Yet we still negotiate for an agreement on nuclear weapon test cessation to be based upon veracity.

The whole idea of suspending nuclear weapon tests is prejudicial to us. I might digress for a moment to try and explain this. Tests are conducted to see whether new inventions will work. These new ideas are not only new weapons but new weapons systems, that is, the weapon together with its carrier. We have to know whether they will work together. As we have voluntarily forewarned aggression, we will be the defenders if, may God forbid, a nuclear war ever comes. The weapons of the defender must be more numerous and specialized than the weapons of the aggressor. They must be more numerous because many may not survive a surprise attack. They must be more sophisticated and specialized for they can be launched only after the attacker's weapons are on the way and they, accordingly, must be far more accurate for, initially, we must hope that our weapons will intercept and blunt the attack. The aggressor will be aiming at cities. By comparison, our targets will be pinpoints. They must be as clean of fallout as possible for they will be detonated high above our own territory. Thus, if we do not continually improve our weapons systems, our position as defenders would place us at a marked, perhaps a fatal, disadvantage even if a fool-proof test moratorium could be arranged, for there are stockpiles of aggressor-type weapons in existence.

There is, of course, a public demand for a suspension of nuclear weapon testing. The demand was generated by a campaign over several years and supported by propaganda employing statements, some of which were half-true or not true at all. These dealt with the effects of fallout. The effects were pictured as: (1) lethal and as (2) genetically horrible. This would be all too true of the effect of fallout from a nuclear war, but false as applied to the experienced fallout from nuclear tests at the rate they have been conducted. Our weapon tests are designed to maintain us in a posture which will discourage a nuclear war. If we stop improving our military devices, our chances of discouraging a nuclear war begin to slide from that moment.

President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace plan took this fact into account as well as the absence of good faith. It did not postulate that virtue. It was based upon conditions which would require no demonstration of mutual confidence. Among those conditions was the fact to which I earlier referred, that in 1953, uranium was believed to be a very rare element. Though widely dispersed in the crust of the earth, its concentrations were generally in parts per mil-

lion except in a very few, known deposits. The greatest of these was in the Belgian Congo and, but for it and the friendly reasonableness of the Belgians, we could not have achieved atomic superiority as early as we did. Furthermore, of the known rich deposits, all but one were in the possession of the free world. The Eisenhower atoms-for-peace plan accordingly was a proposal that we would match the rest of the world in contributing uranium to a peaceful stockpile, that stockpile to be administered by the United Nations for the purpose of bringing the blessings of cheap electrical energy to the newly developing countries.

As in every other move we made, the Russians and their satellites dragged their feet so successfully that 3½ years elapsed between the President's inspiring speech to the General Assembly in December 1953 and the date in September 1957 when the International Atomic Energy Agency at last was organized. In the meanwhile, as a result of worldwide prospecting efforts, uranium has been found to be far less rare than earlier had been believed.

I once deplored the failure to reach a point of understanding so that these large amounts of uranium would be placed in the hands of the United Nations where they would be secure forever from use by men to kill other men. Today, one might view that failure as an intervention of Providence. For now, with the United Nations employing planes, cannon, tanks, and bombs in the hands of military contingents commanded by officers who, not long ago launched an unauthorized attack in Katanga, it is well that the means to conduct nuclear warfare is not in their hands.

Like many Americans, I am a supporter of the basic concept of the United Nations, but I am grieved by the events in the Congo-Katanga tragedy where our policy, so eloquently enunciated as being "self-determination, not coercion," is at such variance with our actions. It may not be inexplicable but certainly it has not been explained to the American people.

I have come to the disillusioned conclusion that diplomacy, though well intentioned, seems incapable of exorcising the demonic threat of nuclear war within a hopeful time span. If diplomacy has failed, or should one say, has not succeeded, ought we not turn to science? It was science which led mankind into the nuclear age; science which fissioned the atom, which warned that our Nazi enemies might make nuclear weapons, before we did, and which then initiated our weapon program. It was science which successfully solved the great problem of separating uranium 235 from uranium 238; it was science that made the dread weapons; and it was science that confirmed the selection of the doomed cities in Japan. With so much of responsibility and so much of competence, it seemed reasonable to look to science for the answer.

In furtherance of the atoms-for-peace plan and speaking at a meeting of your sister organization, the World Affairs Council in Los Angeles in 1954, I proposed convening a world congress of scientists to promote peace through atomic energy. The following year we had that congress in Switzerland. It was the largest scientific gathering ever to take place. It was attended by many hundreds of scientists from all over the world, and they came together for the first time since before World War II. It was an inspiring and useful meeting, so successful that it was repeated in 1958. While as a result, scores of volumes of scientific papers were published and millions of words were spoken, nothing came of the conferences in the shape of any idea for easing the tensions of the world, no plan for removing the threat of a war which, if ever it comes, will

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be fought with truly apocalyptic weapons. Both conferences were staged with great formality in the ornate palace of the old League of Nations. There were daily sessions for 2 weeks, and many scholarly papers were presented. Peace, however, was not on the agenda.

Only last June, some 700 people, most of them professional scientists, came together in New York in a meeting styled, "The congress of scientists on survival." Many of us looked with hope to what might evolve from that meeting. In scientific publications which reviewed its results, the congress was described as a great disappointment. It suffered, one reviewer wrote, from "a dearth of hard thought."

Leaving aside for the moment the failure of direct steps to secure peace, there are some who find hope in what is described as a "thaw" in the attitude of the Soviets, ascribable, perhaps, to the rift between Moscow and Peking. Some profess to see Soviet designs on the free world as lessening. I wish I could agree with this wishful thinking. At the very time the Russians were making a great show of removing their rockets and bombers from Cuba, they were testing new multi-million-ton nuclear bombs in Siberia. Which event is of most significance to us? Obviously, the latter, although it passed almost unnoticed in the flood of euphoria which filled the dispatches about the "retreat from Cuba." Parenthetically, 3 months later there are reliably reported to be 15,000 Soviet troops still there as good neighbors, although this report may be false. At any rate, our Government as of this morning has not confirmed it.

On the other side of the world, Peking may or may not be at odds with Moscow which are irreconcilable, and Khrushchev may give Mao no bombs. But experience has taught us, or should have, that a dictatorship can sharply focus its scientific and technical capabilities to a single objective at the expense of others and, in this manner, accomplish more than might be expected. In consequence, regardless of whether a rapprochement between the two great foes of Communist ideology occurs, I should not be surprised to see the Chinese testing their own atomic weapons at a date much closer at hand than has been predicted—perhaps within a year or two.

Uranium may very well have been found in the great landmass controlled by China. It would be surprising if this were not so. There is enough in open literature about atomic weapons to inform the Chinese of the early designs of bombs. Such primitive models may not even limit them, for there are Chinese scientists who have been educated in the universities of England, Germany, Russia—and in our own country—and who are highly competent.

In consequence, the threat of atomic war may soon be visible across the frontiers of a number of nations whose ambition to achieve prestige and status by becoming members of the "nuclear club" is persuading them to spend a large part of their resources on such weapons.

As the danger grows, one is inclined to brood in the night hours and to ponder whether there is anything which might be done, but as yet untried. Is there not some course we may take to avert the coming of a day when, through error, through accident, through misjudgment, through some failure, mechanical or human, forces will be unleashed impossible to recall, nullify, or abort?

At the International Scientific Conferences on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy to which I have referred, there were representatives from every country in the fields of physics, chemistry, medicine, biology, engineering, metallurgy, agriculture, geology, and all the other disciplines. There was no representation from the humanities however,

save in those few unusual instances where some individual provided, in himself, an ambivalence of interest, accidental to the overall design. And though the aim of the conferences was the exchange of data and of ideas for future achievement which would advance the whole world toward the goal of the fullest use of the benign possibilities of the atom, there was lurking behind the scenes the certain knowledge that the destructive possibilities of the atom, unless curbed, could cancel every peaceful prospect in an obliterative holocaust.

Has same stone been left unturned? Is there something that might yet be done to discover whether somewhere in human ingenuity there is a key? Surely, the great majority of all men and women in every land must desire, passionately, a sure way to peace.

Dr. Paul Tillich, the venerable theologian, taking as his text verses from the 4th chapter of Jeremiah and the 24th and 54th chapters of Isaiah, sees the world as now arrived upon the threshold of that apocalyptic moment foreseen by the prophets there, having found the secret to unlock the fiery forces bound by Divine Providence within the atom—so that life could develop—man has begun to subject these forces to his will, and his will, initially, being the will to destruction. In his homily, "The Shaking of the Foundations," Dr. Tillich points to the crying need to discover something more than natural laws, something more than diplomacy or than science, some means of equating man's progress in the use of nature with his progress in education and the development of moral forces.

But short of a religious revival for the whole world, which seems too much to count upon, is there anything that we can do? I think there is. Before it is too late, I would like to see one more conference among the nations, different from the Conferences on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy about which I spoke a moment ago, different from the gathering of statesmen and diplomats in San Francisco in 1945 which created the United Nations. What I have in mind is a conference in which men might consider what we will lose if an atomic war should come, all the accumulated treasure of art and culture and civilization, a conference that may kindle a light to show the way out of the deep darkness that shrouds the years into which we are heading.

What do you think would be the effect if our Government were to announce that we proposed to convoke a great world congress in the area of the humanities; that to it would be invited the outstanding figures from all nations in sociology, in philosophy, in economics, in history, in ethics, in the humanistic studies generally, men of the stature of Albert Schweitzer, of Paul Tillich, of Father John LaFarge, of Louis Finkelstein, of Reinhold Niebuhr and Theodore Hesburgh, that they would come together to consider whether some plan might not be formulated for the peoples of the earth by which man's international morality could be kept abreast of his discoveries in the physical universe?

I realize that this suggestion can be scoffed at, laughed out of court as visionary. It will be asserted that the men invited to such a gathering, by their backgrounds, their education and their habits of thought, all would be impractical people, called upon to deal with a situation which demands pragmatism, that, in any case, they will have nothing more to contribute as a body than they have been able to give as separate individuals.

In rebuttal to this, I would submit an analogy from the area of physics. A single atom of uranium 235 is, by itself, ineffective, but a sufficiently large number of these atoms become what is now known to science

as a "critical mass." In that condition, a chain reaction can originate, transforming all of them.

So it may be that in such a conference of humanists, an idea born of an inspiration, which we cannot now even imagine, may produce a new phenomenon. And if such a conference accomplished nothing, it would at least be an attempt by rational human beings to leave no available human resource untried in the effort to save humanity.

The event in any case, having done our utmost, is in the hand of God.

RECENT CRITICISMS OF U.S. CUBAN POLICY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RYAN of Michigan). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. GALLAGHER] is recognized for 15 minutes.

(Mr. GALLAGHER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal said about Cuba and the intelligence reports emanating or not emanating from Cuba. However, I should like to point out to my colleagues on the other side that this might be a time to be very careful in making a political issue out of Cuba, and those less interested in our Nation's security than in partisan politics should weigh well the fact that the preponderance of evidence clearly demonstrates that Cuba was a problem that President Kennedy inherited from the last administration. It is about time that we looked to the future rather than pointing out mistakes of the past.

Mr. Speaker, a recent talk on the floor of the House regarding "soft heads" and "hard heads" recalls to mind the President's statement of September 13, 1962, when he recognized that rash talk was cheap particularly on the part of those who did not have the responsibility and expressed the hope that the American people "will keep both their nerve and their heads." I cannot help but feel that this statement is as applicable today as it was then.

No one in this Congress can look back on those fateful days late last October and not recall with admiration the President's cool judgment and outstanding leadership at a time of crisis. As a result of this administration's ability to keep its head and its nerve, the United States has gained immeasurably in prestige and stature throughout the world, to the detriment of the Communist bloc. The Monroe Doctrine still remains the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere. It cannot be the intention of Members of Congress, some of whom seem to be showing signs of "hot heads" and "unsteady nerves," to see our heightened prestige dissipated by headline hunting.

The numbers game being played by a few irresponsible individuals is a dangerous way to handle national security problems.

This type of irresponsible criticism without factual presentation is misleading to our allies and our adversaries and tends to diminish the great prestige our country enjoys since the masterful han-

inferences from them. "A sense of outrage" is proper for a "moral point of departure," but statistics are the appropriate factual point of departure, as in the writings of Marx and Engels on the agony of the 19th-century English working class—writings that are by no means lacking in a sense of moral outrage, either.

These objections, however, do not affect Mr. Harrington's two main contentions: that mass poverty still exists in the United States, and that it is disappearing more slowly than is commonly thought. Two recent dry, graceless, and technical reports bear him out. One is that Commerce Department study, already mentioned. More important is "Poverty and Deprivation in the United States," a bulky pamphlet issued by the Conference on Economic Progress, in Washington, whose national committee includes Thurman Arnold, Leon H. Keyserling (said to be the principal author of the pamphlet), and Walter P. Reuther.

In the last year we seem to have suddenly awakened, rubbing our eyes like Rip van Winkle, to the fact that mass poverty persists, and that it is one of our two gravest social problems. The other is related: While only 11 percent of our population is nonwhite, 25 percent of our poor are. Two other current books confirm Mr. Harrington's thesis: "Wealth and Power in America" (Praeger), by Dr. Gabriel Kolko, a social historian who has recently been at Harvard and the University of Melbourne, Australia, and "Income and Welfare in the United States" (McGraw-Hill), compiled by an imposing battery of four socio-economists headed by Dr. James N. Morgan, who rejoices in the title of program director of the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

Doctor Kolko's book resembles Mr. Harrington's in several ways: It is short, it is based on earlier studies, and it is liberally inclined. It is less readable, because it is written in an academic jargon that is merely a vehicle for the clinching statistic. Although it is impossible to write seriously about poverty without a copious use of statistics—as this review will demonstrate—it is possible to bring thought and feeling to bear on such raw material. Mr. Harrington does this more successfully than Doctor Kolko, whose prose is afflicted not only with academic blight but also with creeping ideology. Doctor Kolko leans so far to the socialist side that he sometimes falls on his nose, as when he clinches the inequality of wealth in the United States with a statistic: "In 1959, 23 percent of those earning less than \$1,000 [a year] owned a car, compared to 95 percent of those earning more than \$10,000."

The real point is just the opposite, as any citizen of Iran, Ghana, Yemen, or the U.S.S.R. would appreciate—not that the rich have cars but that almost a quarter of the extremely poor do. Similarly, although Dr. Kolko has two chapters on poverty that confirm Mr. Harrington's argument, his main point is a different and more vulnerable one: "The basic distribution of income and wealth in the United States is essentially the same now as it was in 1939, or even 1910." This is a half fact. The rich are almost as rich as ever and the poor are even poorer, in the percentage of the national income they receive. Yet, as will become apparent later, there have been major changes in the distribution of wealth, and there has been a general improvement in living standards, so that the poor are much fewer today than they were in 1939. "Most low-income groups live substantially better today," Dr. Kolko admits. "But even though their real wages have mounted, their percentage of the national income has not changed." That in the last half century the rich have kept their riches and the poor their poverty is indeed

a scandal. But it is theoretically possible, assuming enough general increase in wealth, that the relatively poor might by now have achieved a decent standard of living, no matter how inferior to that of the rich. As the books under consideration show, however, this theoretical possibility has not been realized.

Inequality of wealth is not necessarily a major social problem per se. Poverty is. The late French philosopher Charles Péguy remarks, in his classic essay on poverty, "The duty of tearing the destitute from their destitution and the duty of distributing goods equitably are not of the same order. The first is an urgent duty, the second is a duty of convenience. When all men are provided with the necessities what do we care about the distribution of luxury?" What indeed? Envy and emulation are the motives—and not very good ones—for the equalization of wealth. The problem of poverty goes much deeper.

"Income and Welfare in the United States" differs from the other works reviewed here in length (531 big pages) and in being the result of original research; 2,800 families were interviewed "in depth." I must confess that, aside from a few interesting bits of data, I got almost nothing out of it. I assume the authors think poverty is still an important social problem, else why would they have gone to all this labor, but I'm not at all sure what their general conclusions are; maybe there aren't supposed to be any, in the best tradition of American scholarship. Their book is one of those behemoths of collective research financed by a foundation (in this case, largely by Ford) that daunt the stoutest hearted lay reader (in this case, me). Based on "a multistage area probability sample that gives equal chance of selection to all noninstitutional dwelling units in the coterminous United States [and that] was clustered geographically at each stage and stratified with interlaced controls," it is a specimen of what Charles Lamb called *biblia biblia*—things that have the outward appearance of books but are not books, since they cannot be read. Methodologically, it employs something called the "multivariate analysis," which is explained in appendix E. Typographically, appendix E looks like language, but it turns out to be strewn with boobytraps, all doubtless well known in the trade, like "dummy variables," "F ratios," "regression coefficients," "beta coefficients" (and "partial beta coefficients"), and two kinds of "standard deviations"—"of explanatory variable A" and "of the dependent variable."

My experience with such works may be summarized as follows: (alpha) the coefficient of comprehensibility decreases in direct ratio to the increase in length, or the longer the incomprehensible, a notion that is illustrated here by the fact that Dr. Kolko's short work is more understandable than Dr. Morgan and others long one; (beta) the standard deviation from truism is inversely related to the magnitude of the generalization, or the bigger the statement the more obvious. (Beta) is illustrated by the authors' five general proposals for action ("Implications for Public Policy"). The second of these is: "Fuller employment and the elimination of discrimination based on prejudice would contribute greatly to the independence of non-white persons, women, teenagers, and some of the aged." That is, if Negroes and the rest had jobs and were not discriminated against, they would be better off—a point that doesn't need to be argued or, for that matter, stated. The authors have achieved such a mastery of truism that they sometimes achieve the same monumental effect even in nonmagnitudinous statements, as: "table 28-1 shows that the proportion of parents who indicated that their children will attend private colleges is approximately twice as large for those with incomes over

\$10,000 as for those with incomes under \$3,000." Could be.

What is "poverty"? It is a historical relative concept, first of all. "There are no definitions [in America] of what man can achieve, of what a human standard of life should be," Mr. Harrington writes. "The who suffer levels of life well below those that are possible, even though they live better than medieval knights or Asian peasants, a poor. Poverty should be defined in terms of those who are denied the minimal level of health, housing, food, and education that our present stage of scientific knowledge specifies as necessary for life as it is now lived in the United States." His dividing line follows that proposed in recent studies of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics: \$4.0 a year for a family of four and \$2,000 for individual living alone. (All kinds of income are included, such as food grown and consumed on farms.) This is the cutoff line generally drawn today.

Mr. Harrington estimates that between 40 and 50 million Americans, or about fourth of the population, are now living in poverty. Not just below the level of comfortable living, but real poverty, in the old-fashioned sense of the word, that they a hard put to it to get the mere necessities beginning with enough to eat. This is difficult to believe in the United States of 1960 but one has to make the effort, and it is not being made. The extent of our poverty has suddenly become visible. The same thing has happened in England, where working class gains as a result of the Labor Party post-1945 welfare state blinded almost everybody to the continued existence of mass poverty. It was not until Prof. Richard M. Titmuss, of the London School of Economic published a series of articles in the *New Statesman* last fall, based on his new book "Income Distribution and Social Change" (Allen & Unwin), that even the liberal public in England became aware that the problem still persists on a scale that is "statistically significant," as the economists put it.

Statistics on poverty are even trickier than most. For example, age and geography make a difference. There is a distinction, which cannot be rendered arithmetically, between poverty and low income. A childless young couple with \$3,000 a year is not poor in the way an elderly couple might be with the same income. The young couple's statistic poverty may be a temporary inconvenience if the husband is a graduate student or skilled worker, there are prospects of later affluence or at least comfort. But the old couple can look forward only to diminishing earnings and increasing medical expense. So also geographically: A family of four in small town with \$4,000 a year may be better off than a like family in a city—lower rent no bus fares to get to work, fewer occasions (or temptations) to spend money.

Even more so with a rural family. Although allowance is made for the value of the vegetables they may raise to feed themselves, it is impossible to calculate how much money they don't spend on clothes, say, or furniture, because they don't have to keep up with the Joneses. Lurking in the vicinity of a city, like piranha fish in a Brazilian stream, are numerous tempting opportunities for expenditure, small but voracious which can strip a budget to its bones in surprisingly short time. The subtlety and complexity of poverty statistics may be discovered by a look at Dr. Kolko's statement that in 1959 "23 percent of those earning less than \$1,000 owned a car." Does this include college students, or are they included in the families' statistics? If the first is true, then Dr. Kolko's figure loses much of its meaning. If the second is, then it is almost meaningless, since it says that one-fourth of those earning less than \$20 a week are able to afford a car. Which it is, dependent sayers not.

dling by our President of the October confrontation. It is inexcusable that some people would jeopardize our Nation's interest in a desire to find a non-existent issue with which to belittle our great President.

Some of our Republican friends are very unimpressed by Mr. McNamara, by Mr. McCone and President Kennedy, but they are very impressed by every statement ever made by Moise Tshombe. Is it too much to ask that they place at least the same faith and confidence in their own government as they do in Moise Tshombe in Katanga?

I believe any Member of the U.S. Congress possessing such intelligence has not only a duty but a very grave obligation to present such evidence instead of keeping it under a paper cloak and a pointless dagger. I am sure the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee will give all the time necessary to anyone possessing such vital information.

In the meantime I prefer to look to more informed authorities.

This business of everyone running around with a do-it-yourself CIA kit might be all right, but such pseudo super-spies certainly should not take precedence over the hard intelligence of professional experts. If such evidence really exists it should be produced and properly evaluated by the proper authorities.

Yesterday two of the most able men in our Government, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and CIA Director, John A. McCone—who, by the way, served very effectively under the Eisenhower administration—effectively laid to rest the wild speculations concerning the continued presence of offensive weapons in Cuba.

Able assisted by John Hughes, special assistant to the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Secretary McNamara conclusively showed that, in his own words:

There are no offensive weapons systems in Cuba and I am satisfied of this beyond any reasonable doubt.

I respectfully remind those armchair strategists who have not presented their intelligence to the proper agencies that Robert S. McNamara is the man chosen by President Kennedy and confirmed by the Congress to administer the defense policies of this Nation.

CIA Director, McCone, in testimony before the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, stated that all rumors and reports of the continued presence of offensive weapons in Cuba have been meticulously checked. He asserted that so far these findings have been negative.

Mr. McCone concluded his statement with a reminder with which all responsible Members of Congress will agree. He said:

The U.S. Government must be provided the most accurate, responsible, and balanced evaluation of the Soviet military presence in Cuba. Significant information concerning conditions in Cuba received by citizens or Government officials should be transmitted to the intelligence community promptly for evaluation in our continuing close scrutiny of this grave situation.

I am confident that President Kennedy will take every necessary step to protect this country and its neighbors from any offensive threat to our security from Cuba. The President will not be provoked into hasty or ill-considered action, nor do I believe it is the desire of responsible Members of Congress to so provoke the administration. The continued leadership and wisdom of President Kennedy and his cabinet will see the achievement of our long-range goal—a free Cuba, restored to and welcomed into the American family of nations.

POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RYAN of Michigan). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, a new book, entitled "The Other America: Poverty in the United States," published by Macmillan, makes the point that mass poverty still exists in the United States, and that it is disappearing more slowly than is commonly thought.

In this connection two recent reports are of especial interest. The first is by the Department of Commerce which showed that, while the average family income increased from \$2,340 in 1929 to \$7,020 in 1961, almost all of the substantial recent advances were made by families with incomes over \$7,500 and that the rate at which real poverty is being eliminated in this country has slowed down greatly since 1953.

The second report titled "Poverty and Deprivation in the United States," was issued by the Conference on Economic Progress.

Because I consider that the problem of mass poverty is of significant national interest, and believe it should be widely discussed in order that steps can be taken to come to grips with it, I include as part of my remarks an article by Dwight MacDonal which appeared in the January 19, 1963, issue of the New Yorker magazine:

OUR INVISIBLE POOR

(By Dwight Macdonald)

In his significantly titled "The Affluent Society" (1958) Prof. J. K. Galbraith states that poverty in this country is no longer "a massive affliction [but] more nearly an afterthought." Dr. Galbraith is a humane critic of the American capitalist system, and he is generously indignant about the continued existence of even this nonmassive and afterthoughtist poverty. But the interesting thing about his pronouncement, aside from the fact that it is inaccurate, is that it was generally accepted as obvious. For a long time now, almost everybody has assumed that, because of the New Deal's social legislation and—more important—the prosperity we have enjoyed since 1940, mass poverty no longer exists in this country.

Dr. Galbraith states that our poor have dwindled to two hard-core categories. One is the "insular poverty" of those who live in the rural South or in depressed areas like West Virginia. The other category is "case poverty," which he says is "commonly and properly related to [such] characteristics of the individuals so afflicted [as] mental deficiency, bad health, inability to adapt to

the discipline of modern economic life, excessive procreation, alcohol, insufficient education." He reasons that such poverty must be due to individual defects, since "nearly everyone else has mastered his environment; this proves that it is not intractable." Without pressing the similarity of this concept to the "social Darwinism" whose fallacies Dr. Galbraith easily disposes of elsewhere in his book, one may observe that most of these characteristics are as much the result of poverty as its cause.

Dr. Galbraith's error is understandable, and common. Last April the newspapers reported some exhilarating statistics in a Department of Commerce study: The average family income increased from \$2,340 in 1929 to \$7,020 in 1961. (These figures are calculated in current dollars, as are all the others I shall cite.) But the papers did not report the fine type, so to speak, which showed that almost all the recent gain was made by families with incomes of over \$7,500, and that the rate at which poverty is being eliminated has slowed down alarmingly since 1953. Only the specialists and the statisticians read the fine type, which is why illusions continue to exist about American poverty.

Now Michael Harrington, an alumnus of the Catholic Worker and the Fund for the Republic who is at present a contributing editor of Dissent and the chief editor of the Socialist Party biweekly, New America, has written "The Other America: Poverty in the United States" (Macmillan). In the admirably short space of under 200 pages, he outlines the problem, describes in imaginative detail what it means to be poor in this country today, summarizes the findings of recent studies by economists and sociologists, and analyzes the reasons for the persistence of mass poverty in the midst of general prosperity. It is an excellent book—and a most important one.

My only serious criticism is that Mr. Harrington has popularized the treatment a bit too much. Not in the writing, which is on a decent level, but in a certain vagueness. There are no index, no bibliography, no reference footnotes. In our overspecialized culture, books like this tend to fall into two categories: Popular (no scholarly "apparatus") and academic (too much). I favor something intermediate—why should the academics have all the footnotes? The lack of references means that the book is of limited use to future researchers and writers. A pity, since the author has brought together a great range of material.

I must also object that Mr. Harrington's treatment of statistics is more than a little impressionistic. His appendix, which he calls a coming to grips with the professional material, doesn't live up to its billing. "If my interpretation is bleak and grim," he writes, "and even if it overstates the case slightly, that is intentional. My moral point of departure is a sense of outrage. In such a discussion it is inevitable that one gets mixed up with dry, graceless, technical matters. That should not conceal the crucial fact that these numbers represent people and that any tendency toward understatement is an intellectual way of acquiescing in suffering." But a fact is a fact, and Mr. Harrington confuses the issue when he writes that "these numbers represent people." They do—and one virtue of his book is that he never forgets it—but in dealing with statistics, this truism must be firmly repressed lest one begin to think from the heart rather than from the head, as he seems to do when he charges those statisticians who "understate" the numbers of the poor with having found "an intellectual way of acquiescing in suffering." This is moral bullying, and it reminds me, toutes proportions gardées, of the habitual confusion in Communist thinking between facts and political

7 February 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Houston

SUBJECT: Taxability of Award for Article in Studies in Intelligence

1. Section 74 of the Internal Revenue Code states that with certain exceptions prizes and awards are includable in gross income. The exception made is where the prize or award is presented primarily in recognition of religious, charitable, scientific, educational, artistic, literary, or civic achievements. The exception pertains only if: (1) the recipient was selected without any action on his part to enter the contest or proceedings; and (2) the recipient is not required to render substantial future services as a condition to receiving the prize or award.

2. An example of an excludable prize or award would be the Pulitzer prize since it recognizes past achievement and constitutes a gift rather than taxable income (Rev. Rul. 54-110, 1954-1 CB 28). On the other hand, an essay prize won by a participant in a contest is includable in gross income (U. S. v. Arsham Amirikian, (CA-4) 52-1 USTC §9366, 197 F. 2d 442). The prize is taxable even though the contest is sponsored by a nontaxable organization (F. V. Waugh, 9 TCM 309, Dec. 17, 595 (M)).

3. An award for an article in Studies in Intelligence is presented for a past contribution to the publication and does not require the recipient actively to pursue the award or to perform substantial future services. Therefore, the award would be exempt from income tax and considered a gift.

S/

[Redacted Signature Box]

STAT

OGC/JBU:cdk (7 Feb 62)

Orig & 1 - Mr. Houston

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his family and many friends present at the services.

"Sincerely,

"HUGH SCOTT."

(Telegram received from Edward H. Cushman, as follows:)

"Regret inability to attend McGranery memorial service. Please convey our sincere condolences to Regina.

"EDWARD H. CUSHMAN."

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

INCREASE OF CRIME IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

(Mr. WINSTEAD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include a newsletter by the Honorable THOMAS G. ABERNETHY, of Mississippi.)

Mr. WINSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, much has been said in recent weeks about lawlessness and crime in our Nation's Capital. In this connection, I am inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a newsletter by my very able friend and distinguished colleague, Congressman THOMAS G. ABERNETHY, Democrat, of Mississippi. I am sure you will find it most interesting and enlightening.

In addition, I am including a brief statistical report which appeared in the February 18, 1963, issue of U.S. News & World Report, entitled "Crime and Immorality—Some Hard Facts About Washington, D.C."

IN THE NEWS

(By Congressman ABERNETHY)

Washington, your Capital, capital of the free world, city beautiful, and said to be the citadel of democracy, is now more often referred to as a jungle. Gripped in a reign of lawlessness, Washingtonians dare not frequent most sections after dark. Even behind barred windows and bolted doors a restful night is difficult.

Among its 22,675 crimes last year—increase of almost 7,000 in 5 years—were the stabbing of a Congressman's secretary as she knelt alone and prayed in a Capitol Hill church. In the same neighborhood another secretary was mugged, thrown to earth, beaten and robbed; a Congresswoman escaped a hoodlum's attack but was robbed; and a marauder broke into and entered a former Congressman's home, abused his wife, left her with a broken arm and robbed. Two years ago one of my own page boys was attacked and robbed within 4 blocks of the Capitol. Offenses are high, convictions few and executions for murder or rape are negligible—only two in 10 years. Police are hindered by local court decisions which make it quite easy for criminals to beat the rap. This situation has been compounded by a recent order of the city Commissioners, denying police the right to hold a suspect for investigation which makes it much easier for the guilty to escape.

Local papers at long last are reporting a lack of discipline in the public schools, a situation existent for years but which school administrators, city fathers, and local press have either denied or refused to admit. The big race riot of last fall, which caused them to emerge from stoic silence, broke out following the city championship game when an all Negro football team lost to an all white team. Future championship contests were promptly canceled, leaving the Nation's Capital, the exemplary city, to be the only city in America which cannot with safety risk the staging of a championship high school football game.

One Washington newspaper has just referred to the crime situation as a "tawdry story." These are nothing more than just nice words but at least they portend a bit of progress on the part of a few to speak out and face up. The Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, Senate Chaplain and prominent Protestant minister, has just said, "Terrorism grips all sections of the most prominent city in the world." He said, "Cringing fear has invaded the streets * * * no woman dare walk alone after dark * * * the time has come to bear down." A high State Department official said he had "lived in foreign cities" but none "as lawless as Washington." He said he would respond to a knock at night only after "looking through a crack." He plead for another 1,000 policemen. Good for him.

Washington is not only a leader in crime. From its 400 liquor store outlets and several thousand taverns and cocktail bars the city leads the Nation in per capita consumption of alcohol. On the Holy Sabbath many sections bear evidence of a rowdy Saturday night—streets littered with trash, bottles and broken glass; jails filled with punks and drunks; and hospital waiting rooms filled with victims of the switchblade. Yes, all of this as the elite and would-be elite parade through the National Gallery of Art for a cultural view of Leonardo da Vinci's Mona Lisa.

In the midst of this state of high crime, race riots and littered mess, whites are fleeing to the environs of nearby Maryland and Virginia, fast restoring this city to a segregated status. The Department of Justice has not yet resorted to a means of forcing these white folks to stay put and live in this integrated mess. No civil rights suits have been filed, no citations for contempt, there is no military occupation, no helicopters checking from above, no aerial mapping, and not much law enforcement. They are as quiet as can be down in the Department of Justice. In fact, most of the higher-ups down there have fled to Virginia, too.

There is, however, a move on foot to enlarge the Police Department, to shore up its Canine Squad, to tighten antiloitering laws, curb gun totin', impose a curfew on juveniles, loosen court decisions which "hog-tie" the Police Department and some other curative steps. At long last there is some genuine recognition of the lawless cesspool which exists in this Capital City. Of course, there are still many who refuse to face up, who contend the situation is only a social problem. And, they lay it all on the Congress for not having given the city more money.

Oh yes, there are a few streets which have not yet been enveloped into the jungle, but given time at the present pace it won't be long.

One need not wear an armor of steel on visiting Washington; but if he ventures an after dark stroll this mode of dress is recommended.

[From U.S. News & World Report, Feb. 18, 1963]

CRIME AND IMMORALITY—SOME HARD FACTS ABOUT WASHINGTON, D.C.

CRIME: ON THE RISE

Among the 16 U.S. cities with 500,000 to 1 million population, Washington last year ranked: First in aggravated assaults; second in robberies; fourth in murders; and sixth in housebreaking.

In terms of the increase in crime—1961 over the 1958-60 average, the record shows this: United States as a whole up 14 percent, Washington, D.C., up 41 percent.

Of all persons arrested in Washington for serious crimes last year, 84.6 percent were Negroes.

In the total population of Washington, 54.8 percent are Negroes.

BABIES: 1 OUT OF 5 ILLEGITIMATE

Washington leads all other big cities in the rate of illegitimate births. The Washington rate: 210 out of every 1,000 live births in 1961.

Few other cities show a rate even half that high. Of 4,251 illegitimate children born in Washington in 1961, 3,893 were non-white, 358 white.

Girls in Washington public schools, ages 12 to 15, gave birth to 265 illegitimate babies during the last school year—250 nonwhite, 15 white. The count, by ages of the mothers: 12-year-olds, 5 babies; 13-year-olds, 35 babies; 14-year-olds, 112 babies; 15-year-olds, 113 babies.

VENEREAL DISEASE: A MAJOR PROBLEM

Even among schoolchildren, venereal disease has become widespread in Washington. In the age group 15 to 19, the venereal rate is 5,728 per 100,000 population. National average: 416 per 100,000 in this age group.

AGRICULTURAL AID GRANTED TO CUBA

(Mr. FASCELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the announcement that the United Nations decided yesterday to grant agricultural aid to Cuba is an extremely unwelcome and discordant action. It puts the United Nations and the United States at odds over policy toward Cuba.

The U.S. official position is that it has been and is opposed to the granting of the funds for this particular project even though it was originally approved in May, 1961. I support fully the U.S. position. The United States must continue to oppose this and similar projects and use its influence within the United Nations to achieve our objectives.

The United States did not push for a vote on this issue with the Governing Council because obviously it did not have the votes to stop the allocation of funds based on earlier approval of the project.

The U.S. position in opposition to the project is understandable. What is difficult to understand, however, is the position of the other nations who favor the granting of the funds for this project to Cuba. The Communist Government of Cuba refused to cooperate with the United Nations in the recent crisis concerning the on-site inspection for the determination that all offensive missiles have been removed. In view of this fact, and since the unresolved issue of determination can only be solved by on-site inspection, a big question mark on the threat to peace and security remains; the possibility of this threat is in direct conflict with the efforts of the United States and the United Nations and, accordingly, while this condition persists, there does not seem to be much logic to the positions of the other nations who seek to improve Cuban economic conditions by providing the funds on a 6-month test basis for a Cuban crop diversification program.

I fully support the investigation of this and related issues which has been undertaken in the other body and announced by Senator CHURCH. This is a matter in which all of us—the Foreign Affairs Committee which has jurisdiction and

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He was a man of unquestioned integrity and not only great energy but very great industry, because he really went to work when he became a judge of this court. He had a great deal of work to do, and he turned it out, so I can second everything that has been said. I didn't know him as well as Judge Bolger or some of the others, but I knew him quite well in connection with our official position, and I did form a very, very high opinion of him and I certainly felt very badly when I heard of his recent death.

Judge CLARY. Thank you, Judge Kirkpatrick.

There is a circuit judge here who likewise was one of the finest judges ever to sit on any court in the country. He was supposed to be up here with us but was delayed, and I am going to ask whether Judge Ganey will not say a few words.

Judge GANEY. Chief Judge Clary and my former colleagues, I really had no knowledge that the chief was going to call on me, or I should have sat down for a few moments and recorded some of the very happy recollections I had of former Judge McGranery. He occupied a chamber next to mine, and on many occasions we traded opinions, and we sometimes didn't agree, but with all our differences of opinion with respect to some things, we agreed in most. We had a very, very happy association together.

I could go on and laud Jim McGranery, but were I to do this I think it would dim the luster of those beautiful tributes that have been paid to him by those who have just preceded me. However, I should be ungracious if not remiss if I did not extend to Mrs. McGranery, Regina Clark McGranery, and her lovely children the generous sympathy and deepest regrets from the court of appeals at his passing.

Thank you.

Judge CLARY. Thank you very much, Judge Ganey.

One part of Judge McGranery's distinguished life has not been touched upon, and that is his membership in the Caveat Club and the fun he had at the inner meetings of the Caveat Club.

It certainly is a real tribute to the memory of Judge McGranery that we have here today the president judge of the Orphans Court of Philadelphia and vice chancellor of the Caveat Club, Judge Charles Klein, the chairman of the board, Walter Gibbons, Judge Winnet, Mr. Barton, Mr. Wobensmith, Jerry Walker, Jim Mallie, and others. A lot of fun was had together and work was done together at those meetings, and I thank all of you gentlemen for attending this memorial service to our late colleague.

Judge Wood has already expressed his deep sorrow to Mrs. McGranery for his inability to be here, and Judge Body has also asked me to express his regrets that he can't be with us today, Mrs. McGranery. Judge Grim, however, did drop me a note. Judge Grim was unable to be here, and he wrote as follows:

"Since I shall be unable to be present at the court session this Friday in honor of Judge McGranery, I am taking this opportunity to write to you about it.

"Please express to Mrs. McGranery and the fine McGranery children my condolences for their great loss and my regret at my inability to attend the special court session.

"Judge McGranery was a very fine and vigorous judge and a thorough gentleman. His presence on this court brought honor to it. It was a real pleasure and honor to me to have served with him.

"Sincerely,

"ALLAN."

Of the judges nearest to Judge McGranery, one had adjoining chambers the other way from Judge Ganey's, and I refer to our beloved colleague Judge Welsh. Judge Welsh on his departure from Philadelphia handed me this letter:

"The date for the memorial to Judge McGranery has not been fixed as yet. As you know I will not be able to be present due to my visit to my home in Bermuda. As you will be presiding on the bench I am asking you to explain to the family and the friends of Jim why the judge, senior, in age, is not present. It would be the last worldly tribute that I could extend to him.

"Jim filled a very unique place in my own life's history and experience. The difference of some 20 years in tenure was never a gap nor a bar to our mutual respect and affection.

"There will be many present in the courtroom who will go on record as to his qualifications, attainments and performances in his numerous activities. You knew him before I did and as a younger man; I knew him after he had matured and was writing his life's history by his deeds. Between the two of us we span his career from the cradle to the grave. He and I had some of the strongest ties that can join two mature active spirits together in harmony and friendship. I like to think of the day he came into our court family. We had both served in the Congress, but at different times; we had adjoining chambers; we had many experiences in the political world on opposite sides, it is true, but of the same general character and purpose; we had mutual friends and some not so friendly toward either of us. But I particularly enjoyed his alert mind; his grasp on the realities of life; his freedom from bunk and hypocrisy. He never mouthed virtue to slay it on the altar of fake performance. In my long career at the bar and my close association with judges as prosecutor and associates, I can truly say I never knew a judge to be more dedicated to securing justice, although at times I felt that his zeal for justice, as he understood it, was such as would have been moderated if circumstances and public currents were different. I always felt that that was one of the reasons why he was willing to give up the judicial duties, for the battle in the area was not subject to the ethics and limitations imposed on a judge. Perhaps my own nature and weakness enables me to understand this characteristic in him.

"But now he has gone from our midst. But, Tom, the word 'gone' is a relative term. It is true, his physical presence is gone; no more shall we see his sprightly form or hear his cheery speech. That is due to his change from the mortal to the immortal. But the real Jim, the Jim that we saw, heard and loved, is not the Jim that lies in Arlington. That shall molder away to dust. And it is no fantasy of the imagination to say to you that on account of the lessons brought about by the sorrows of life, its heartbreaks of the natural and the intense joys of the spiritual, that I feel that what left Jim when his spirit took its flight, is the Jim I shall see with my own spiritual eyes in a very few years, and perhaps less. There is neither time nor space in the realm of heartbeats and as I say goodbye to Jim today, in a very short time I will say hello and we will not be strangers to each other and I would not write this way to you, Tom, if I thought you did not understand. My heart goes out to Regina and the family and we remember them in our prayers. May the darkness of the Christmas of 1962 be but the prelude to the spiritual illumination of 1963 and the future years for them all.

"Best wishes to you, Tom.

"Sincerely yours,

"GEORGE A. WELSH."

We have also been honored today by the presence of Mrs. McGranery, her three children, and Judge McGranery's family.

I see here many of the lawyers who knew him, Jim Masterson is here. The Register of Wills of Philadelphia I see is here, and on

the bench with us today we have two distinguished visitors from other districts, the chief judge of New Jersey, who sits on my left, and the distinguished judge from the southern district of New York, Judge Wilfred Feinberg, who served early in Judge McGranery's career on the bench as his law clerk, and I am sure that it gave Judge McGranery just as much pleasure when Bill Feinberg was appointed to the bench as I had when Judge Luongo was appointed, who now honors the bench of this court.

I have been asked by all my colleagues who are here today to express to Mrs. McGranery and the family their sincere regret at the passing of a gentleman who was a colleague of ours for a number of years.

The eastern district of Pennsylvania came into being by reason of the act of Congress of September 24, 1789. The first judge was appointed on September 30, 1789, Francis Hopkinson. The 19th in succession to Francis Hopkinson was appointed a judge on the 7th of August, 1946, James P. McGranery. We understand, of course, that the District Court of the United States in its earlier days and until the Judiciary Act of 1912 was concerned primarily with admiralty, criminal, and bankruptcy. We do know, however, that every one of the district court judges sat in the circuit and heard, in addition to those, all of the civil cases which were filed in the district.

Judge McGranery, as has been said, has served this court and served it well. It has a long and honorable history, and he added luster to the history of this court. It was a pleasure for me and to all of us to have served with him. He was a fine gentleman of complete integrity, and I can echo everything that Judge Welsh has said in that beautiful tribute to him, that he hated humbug and hypocrisy. He left us on a challenging assignment, and while many years ago, over 10 years ago, we ceased hearing his booming hello and his wonderful sense of humor at our meetings, we have been in contact from time to time, and we rejoiced in his success in his practice in Washington and we were delighted every Christmas to receive that wonderful card that Mr. Gray spoke about showing his growing and wonderful family.

Jim has gone, but his memory will live long in the annals of this court and everywhere that Jim served in public life.

We are taught early that there are four reasons for existence and only four in this world: To know God, to love Him, and to serve Him. That, Judge James P. McGranery did to the utmost. The ultimate aim of life, we are taught, is to be happy with God forever in heaven. That he is now fulfilling that destiny is our fond hope and prayer, and as we come to the close of this ceremony, on behalf of all the judges here assembled, Regina and children, I extend our deepest sympathy, and I know that you, the children, and Jim will have our prayers.

I direct that a transcript of this proceeding be made, filed of record in the court, and copies furnished the family of the late Judge McGranery. The original letters which I have here, one also from Senator Scott, who called to express his deep regret that he couldn't be here, I direct be attached to the copy to be furnished Mrs. McGranery.

The court will now stand adjourned.

(Adjourned at 12:45 p.m.)

(The letter received from Senator HUGH SCOTT reads as follows:)

"DEAR TOM: I regret so much that my Senate business commitments in Washington will prevent me from attending the memorial services for our longtime friend, James P. McGranery.

"We all miss him greatly, and it is most fitting that his memory be observed in these proceedings. I extend my warm sympathy to

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of technical and professional experts who could impartially evaluate the various programs as they come up for consideration. The overburdened appropriations committees would thus be better informed and would be in a better position to make recommendations for the elimination of wasteful practices and for the cutting back of those programs where such may be possible without endangering our national security and domestic welfare.

In studying and evaluating all phases of the budget process, such a committee would be in a better position to consider the budget as a whole rather than in piecemeal fashion as is now the current practice. It could develop a fiscal program aimed at keeping expenditures within the bounds of anticipated revenues.

Congress already has benefited from services provided by joint committees in the fields of atomic energy, taxation, economic policy, and so forth. Just as there is now a joint tax committee to study revenue questions under consideration, the creation of a similar joint committee to study the programs for which billions of dollars must be appropriated annually would bring about greater efficiency and economies in this area and would render an invaluable service to our Nation's taxpayers.

I am persuaded also that such a committee will accomplish much in bringing about more harmonious working relationships between the appropriations committees of both Houses.

Enactment of H.R. 1120 is now long overdue. I am convinced that its passage will contribute much toward better management of our taxpayer's money. It will enable the Congress to find many areas where waste and extravagance can be eliminated and will return to this body a measure of the control over the national purse strings which it has lost. I, therefore, urge your early consideration and affirmative action on this bill.

CORRECTION OF RECORD

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, the RECORD of February 7 contains several minor typographical errors in my remarks which appear on pages 1874-1879. I ask unanimous consent that the permanent RECORD may be corrected as follows:

Page 1877, column 3, line 49, for "minimum" read "medium".

Page 1878, column 1, 22d line from the bottom, insert a period after the word "gravel" and capitalize the "o" in "of".

Page 1878, column 1, 21st line from the bottom, delete the quotation marks and the period after "course", and insert a comma, and substitute a lower case "t" in "The".

Page 1878, column 1, 15th line from the bottom, insert quotation marks after the word "it".

Page 1878, column 2, line 8, for "subject" read "subsequent".

Page 1878, column 2, line 12, at the end of the line, delete the question mark and insert a period.

Page 1878, column 2, line 38, before "concrete" insert "word".

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

INVESTIGATION OF TV PROGRAMS

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

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I have received complaints from many citizens with regard to the "Today" show, which was presented on February 8 by the National Broadcasting Co. Although I did not see this television program myself, detailed descriptions have been forwarded to me.

According to those who contacted me, this program was not merely in poor taste but reflected upon the character and integrity of the Governors of two States and a former Member of this body, now deceased, who saved the Un-American Activities Committee from oblivion and who rendered outstanding services not only in the development of our Nation but in pointing out the dangers which were building up, many of which have come to pass.

Further, it is my information this program ridiculed the Lord's Prayer and was an affront to the religious beliefs of God-fearing Americans.

Certainly, the privilege of going into the homes of the American people through the medium of television is one which should carry with it full responsibility for decency, which this program did not have. The right and privilege of television broadcasts should be extended or permitted to continue only upon acceptance of responsibility to see that such programs are educational, wholesome, and not destructive.

I have joined with others of my colleagues in a request for a full investigation and appropriate action by the Federal Communications Commission at the earliest possible moment.

PROTECTION OF LABOR UNION MEMBERS

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

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the growth of our national economy and the welfare of our citizens depend on the continued strength of American productivity.

During the past few years we have seen our economy weakened, our defense effort hobbled, and our access to a free press denied, by repeated and lengthy strikes, many of them contrary to the wishes of a majority of the members of the striking union.

The right of labor union members to arbitrate, and, if necessary, to strike, for better working conditions or benefits, is an essential and important part of American freedom. I will always defend that basic right.

But it is time that the individual rights of union members be strengthened. They must be guaranteed a voice in determining whether or not to strike.

It is time to protect employers from needless production losses arising out of strikes called without majority vote by union workers.

It is time to minimize industrial strife interfering with the flow of commerce.

It is time—past time—to guarantee every American labor union member the right to an impartial secret strike ballot.

Toward that end I am today introducing a bill to protect all labor union members as well as all other Americans, from economic penalties imposed by strikes called without the majority consent of the union workers involved.

A majority vote by secret ballot is all that my bill provides.

THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE

(Mr. OSTERTAG asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, it is highly fitting and appropriate that today's opening prayer was given by a Lithuanian priest in observance of the 45th anniversary of Lithuania's independence this coming Saturday.

When the Lithuanian nation declared its independence on February 16, 1918, the people of that little nation reached a goal they had been seeking for many years. For 120 years, from 1795 to 1915, they had been under Russian domination; then during World War I, they finally gained freedom. But this freedom lasted only to World War II, when the nation was overrun by the Red army and again fell under Russian domination.

The United States recognized independent Lithuania on July 27, 1922, and has never given any recognition to the incorporation of this brave nation into the Soviet Union. We continue to maintain diplomatic relations with the former independent Government which has a legation in Washington, D.C. Lithuania and all the Baltic States have had their sovereignty violated and their freedom suppressed by the Soviet Union. The aggression and tyranny which the Baltic States have suffered is a sharp contrast to the freedom of the United States and the Western nations.

On Saturday, the free world will observe this anniversary of Lithuanian independence, and Lithuanians all over the world will join in prayerful observance of this commemorative date. Though the Lithuanians have again been living under the bondage and tyranny of the Soviet Union for more than 20 years, they have never lost hope of freedom. This 45th anniversary of Lithuanian independence should be honored by every American who holds sacred the ideals of liberty and independence. We of the free world remain steadfast in our dedication to extend freedom to all the en-

the Members of this House—will continue to be vitally interested. It would appear timely to have a complete reassessment of the U.S. positions in the specialized programs of the United Nations.

This recent act by the Governing Council of the 18-nation United Nations Special Fund is symbolical of the difficulty of the U.S. position in the world of today. We cannot control the direction or the destiny of all sovereign nations; while we exercise tremendous influence in the United Nations, and should do so, we certainly by no means positively control the direction and the decisions of the United Nations. This control issue is symbolical of the daily and continual paradox of the necessity to exist with other nations on one hand and win the obvious struggle in which we are engaged on the other.

The difficulty will not be resolved, nor the paradox removed, however, if the United States, as some people suggest, were to withdraw into complete isolation or to withdraw from the United Nations. Walking out or walking away is no way to win this struggle or any other. So, while we do not like what has happened and have every right to be angered, disgusted, and frustrated, we must resolve not to let this cloud our judgment as to what is best in the eventual long-range interest for the United States and the free world.

It could very well be that we should withdraw, or limit, or make conditional our participation in the special funds or specialized agencies in the United Nations. It may be that we should propose and undertake definite new policy positions. There may be other alternatives. All our participation is on a continuing, flowing, moving, day-to-day basis, requiring constant reexamination and reassessment. We must do this if our ultimate objective is worthy and is ever to be reached.

Therefore, this particular issue and the general problem must always be placed in the perspective and in the context of the achievement of the U.S. ultimate objective—the settlement of disputes among nations without war, but with honor; the victory of freedom over slavery in a peaceful world composed of sovereign and independent countries, politically stable and economically viable.

AGRICULTURAL AID TO CUBA

(Mr. SELDEN (at the request of Mr. FASCELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, United Nations plans to provide economic project aid to the Castro regime constitute flagrant contempt for the inter-American policy laid down at Punta del Este.

The United States and other nations of the Western Hemisphere are committed to a policy of economic sanction against Castro. The United Nations, by its proposed Food and Agriculture Organization project, will undermine and nullify the policies of the Organization of American States.

There has been much talk in recent months concerning the United Nations venturing into policy areas where it does not belong. This is just such an instance. I feel that we should now seriously reappraise our financial role in supporting U.N. policies which run counter to our own solemn hemispheric commitments.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

(Mr. RODINO asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of this session of Congress I introduced H.R. 1120, a bill to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for more effective evaluation of the fiscal requirements of the executive agencies of the Government of the United States.

Basically, this bill provides for the creation of a Joint Committee on the Budget, to be composed of 16 members as follows: 9 members of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and 7 members of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate.

This joint committee would have authority to inform itself on all matters relating to the annual budget of the agencies of the Federal Government. Its functions would include study and analysis of the details of individual program operations and of the actual administration of these programs to insure that current practice conforms with legislative authorization. The committee would make its findings available to the Appropriations Committees and other committees of both Houses as well as to individual Members of Congress. Along with this, it would recommend such changes in existing laws which might be instituted to bring about greater efficiency and economy in Government. Furthermore, it would report to the Appropriations Committees its findings relative to total budget requirements which would meet our defense and civilian needs and yet be consistent with sound fiscal policy. It could also recommend that joint hearings be held by the two Appropriations Committees without affecting the independence of committee deliberations and decision.

This measure is not a new one. Repeated unsuccessful attempts have been made during the past 12 years to secure legislation setting up a Joint Committee on the Budget. Provision for the creation of such a committee was embodied in section 138 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. This act authorized the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, the Senate Committee on Finance, and the Appropriations Committees of both Houses "to meet jointly at the beginning of each regular session of Congress and after study and consultation, giving due consideration to the budget recommendations of the President, report to their respective Houses a legislative budget for the ensuing fiscal year." This provision has never been

carried out, due primarily to the impracticality of having such a large number of persons from these four committees serve on this committee. Since the passage of this act attempts have been made to amend it by providing for a Joint Committee on the Budget which would be composed of a limited number of members from the appropriations committees of the two Houses. The Senate has on a number of occasions given its sanction to such proposals, but the House has withheld its support in every instance.

The objective of my bill is to bring about an improvement in appropriations procedures which will produce real savings and economies in Federal spending programs.

The need for such economies is imperative in these days of rising Federal costs when deficits are mounting and our national debt has reached an unprecedented height. The most recent budget presented by President Kennedy for the fiscal year 1964 calls for programs which will cost \$98.8 billion—exceeding expenditures made in any previous year, even the peak years of World War II. By far the largest area of expenditure—\$55.4 billion—of course, will go to maintain a strong national defense. Defense needs, however, which are so urgent in these days of world crises must be met, and we cannot afford to risk our priceless freedom for the sake of a balanced budget. Similarly, there are many essential domestic programs which are expanding to meet growing needs of our citizens for housing, education and health services.

The necessity of finding ways and means of economizing is all the more urgent in view of the President's recent proposals for tax reduction and revision which are aimed at providing additional stimulus to our sluggish economy. If such proposals are enacted into law they will cost the Government some \$10 billion in revenues annually and will thus widen the growing gap between revenues and expenditures and will add to the burden of our national debt which today stands at \$304 billion. Enactment of my bill will constitute an important step toward bringing spending more in line with revenues and eliminating annually recurring deficits.

The vastness and complexity of budgetary operations make it impossible for the two appropriations committees adequately to study and scrutinize individual programs. With a mere handful of employees as contrasted with the staff of nearly 500 employed by the Bureau of the Budget and thousands more of fiscal and technical specialists employed by the executive agencies, these two committees are severely handicapped in analyzing the thousands of programs for which funds must be approved each year. They are forced to rely for the most part on reports and testimony presented by the executive agencies whose primary objective is commonly obtaining larger sums each year to promote their own particular programs. The creation of a Joint Committee on the Budget would provide a permanent nonpolitical corps

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Submitted to Mr. John Adams, Chief Clerk,
Senate Armed Services Committee, 24 May
1948, at the request and for the use of
Sen. Saltonstall.

Following the outbreaks and rioting at the time of the Pan American Conference at Bogota, charges were made that this Government did not receive adequate intelligence in connection with the situation generally in Colombia at that time.

It was alleged that intelligence had failed to inform the State Department and high officials of the Government concerning the possibilities of uprisings, anti-American sentiment and similar disturbances at Bogota early in April.

Because of these charges, a sub-committee of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, consisting of Representative Clarence Brown (R., Ohio), as sub-committee Chairman, and Representative Clare Hoffman (R., Mich.) and John McCormack (D., Mass.) as its members, conducted an investigation of these charges with the Director of Central Intelligence, Rear Adm. R. H. Hillenkoetter as the main witness.

The sub-committee learned that, commencing on 2 January 1948, many messages were transmitted by CIA to the Department of State in Washington regarding the situation in Colombia.

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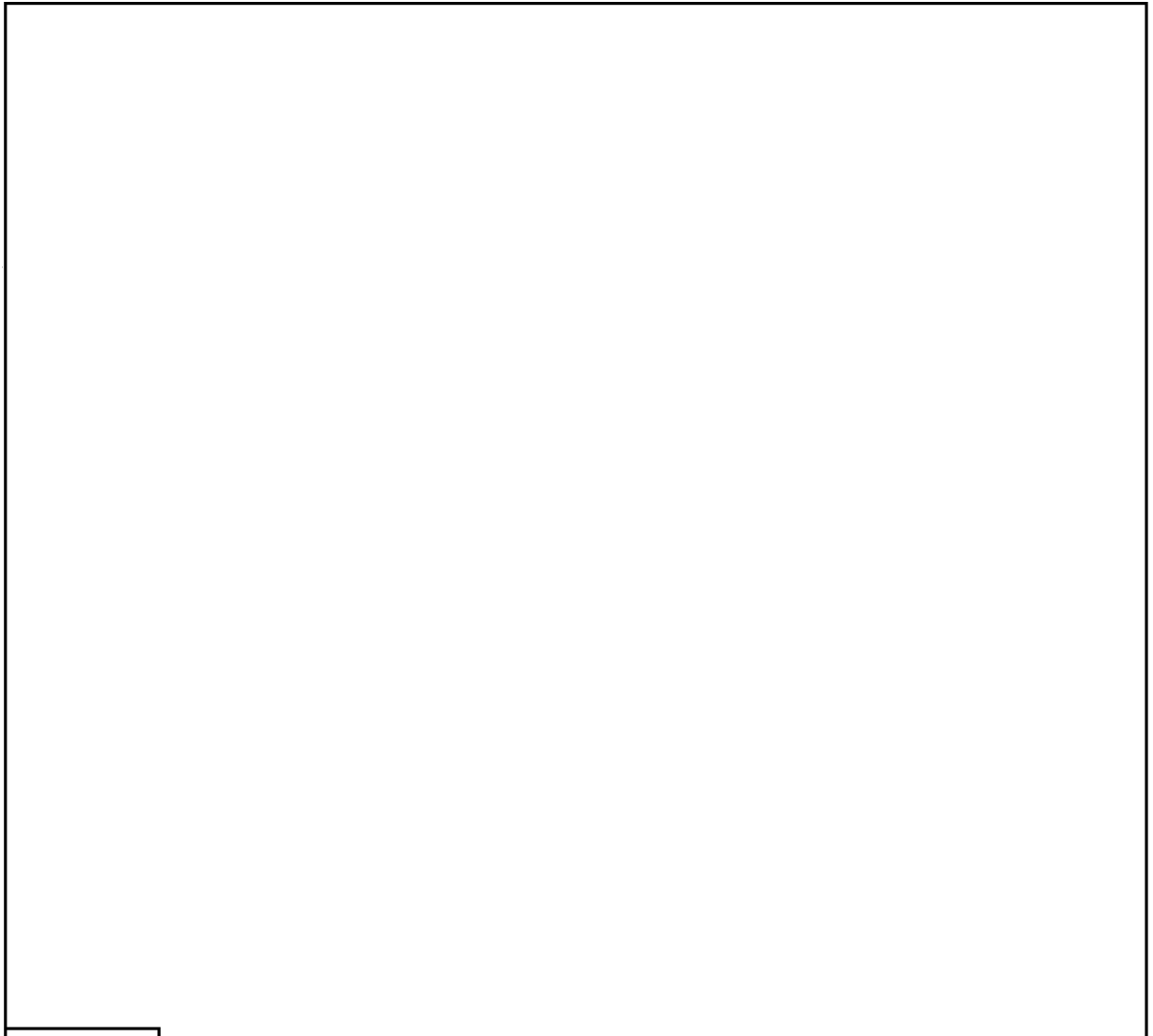
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Subsequent thoughtful editorials and articles in the press have proved that the charges against Central Intelligence were in fact groundless, and that the Agency had been on the alert in Bogota and had supplied the State Department with sufficient information for them to have been on the alert against any possibility.