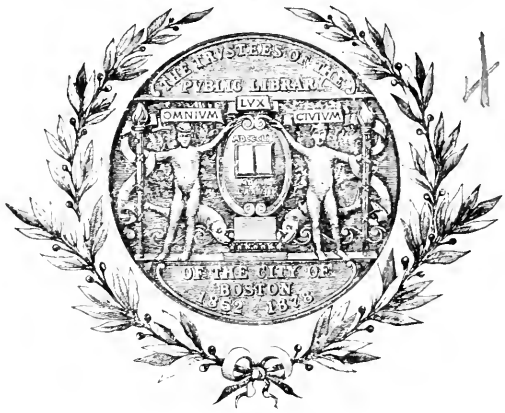


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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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SEPTEMBER 5, 1956

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PART 43

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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## SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL  
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 12 o'clock noon, in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland, chairman, presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and William A. Rusher, administrative counsel.

Chairman EASTLAND. Stand up, please. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JAVITS. I do.

Chairman EASTLAND. Mr. Javits, I want the record to show that this hearing is at your request. That is correct, is it not?

## TESTIMONY OF J. K. JAVITS, ATTORNEY GENERAL, STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. JAVITS. That is correct, Senator. May I express to the committee my greatest appreciation for the courtesy and cooperation that is shown in affording me the hearing which it has this morning, in this public hearing, at the direction of the chairman.

Mr. MORRIS. I think, Mr. Chairman, since this issue has been raised that I would like the record to show the fact that the initial request by Mr. Javits for this hearing was communicated to me as counsel for the committee on August 3. At that time I was not able to reach Senator Eastland—he was fishing off the coast of Florida at that time—until August 6, at which time Senator Eastland expeditiously tried to make this hearing as early as possible.

I think, General Javits, you will recall that between the 16th and the 26th of August it was impossible for you, and up until the 16th of August it was impossible for the Senator, unless you would agree to a very quiet hearing in Chicago—the fact being that there was a political affair on then.

But the point is that Senator Eastland has tried in every way to have this hearing earlier than today.

Mr. JAVITS. Judge Morris—

Mr. MORRIS. Because of the political fact, the overtones of this political affair on then.

Mr. JAVITS. I am completely satisfied that the committee has done its utmost to cooperate. They could have said, "We are not calling you—we won't be bothered." On the contrary, it put itself out to answer my request, and I am very grateful. And if the chairman will allow me, I would like to say that in all my years in the Congress I tried very hard to get to the point where people would not be ashamed to deal with matters of this kind specifically and on the facts. And I must say that in my case this has come to pass today, and I am very appreciative.

Chairman EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman. General Javits, on the 14th of June 1956 we received in executive session testimony from Dr. Bella Dodd, who had earlier been a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, member of the State committee of the Communist Party, and the person in charge of legislative activities in New York State.

She had testified that some time, as she put it, in 1945 or 1946, she had been told by persons in the Communist Party that a Jacob K. Javits had just come from the west coast, where he had seen service in Europe, in the European theater and in the Pacific theater; and that, as she put it, "some of our people"—meaning Communist people, at that time—"were very much interested in Mr. Javits' political future."

And they asked her, if she, in her official capacity, as the person in charge of political activity in New York State, advising and analyzing focal points of Communist support, whether she would have a discussion with Jacob K. Javits. She said that Mr. Javits came to her office, 100 West 42d Street, and they discussed at that time what district in which he might concentrate in carrying out any activities in connection with his political future.

She said they specifically discussed the Washington Heights district, because the Democratic Party was split there. And she said that thereafter the Communists, for whom she was in charge of the State committee, did support Mr. Javits in connection with that forthcoming 1946 campaign.

Now, I have tried to be as careful as possible, General Javits, to discuss this particular testimony and to state it for you. And as you know, we mentioned this in executive session today, and we would like to ask you if you will now testify, as much as possible, about that particular episode.

Mr. JAVITS. I will be glad to, Judge.

Mr. MORRIS. May I begin, General, by asking—as you told us in executive session: Had you been on the west coast prior to this alleged meeting with Dr. Dodd?

Mr. JAVITS. I was on the west coast, according to my best recollection, in 1945, in the period May–June, in round figures, when I was on terminal leave as a lieutenant colonel from the Army, in connection with a visit I was making to observe the U. N. Organization, because I had nothing better to do with my time at that time.

And the time to which you refer, which is the only call I have ever made upon Dr. Dodd—and I will give all of the details of that, of course—is, in round figures, 1 year later.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, did you, as the committee has learned, arrive—as the committee has been told—I do not know whether it is



a fact or not—I do not make any presumption whatever about the fact—did you arrive in San Francisco on April 22, 1945?

Mr. JAVITS. That date would be reasonably correct. I cannot give you the exact date. It was in the spring, and in connection with the U. N. conference there.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go to San Francisco by train?

Mr. JAVITS. My best recollection is that I did.

Mr. MORRIS. You did?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did the train have as its terminal point, Oakland?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. The Oakland station?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you get off the train at Oakland in the company of Frederick V. Field?

Mr. JAVITS. I think I can say flatly that I did not get off the train in the company of Frederick V. Field. My recollection upon that subject as I have stated to the committee—I will repeat—is that I met a young man on the ferry who said something about the scenery or some ordinary expression of that kind, who was a college-boy-looking type of chap and described himself as Fred Field and said he was going to cover the UN conference for some newspaper work. And we exchanged some pleasantries that made no particular impression on me. And then I may have seen him—this I have no distinct recollection on—but I may have seen him around the conference to say, “Hi” to—that is all I know about Fred Field or anything to do with him.

Mr. MORRIS. But you will deny, will you not, General Javits, that you got off the train with Fred Field?

Mr. JAVITS. Well, whether I met Fred Field on the train or not, in the same capacity, I really could not tell you, but I am quite sure that I did not, but in any case, I did not leave New York with Fred Field—I had no business with him—he was not my traveling companion, which I understand to be the purport, the point of the questions.

Chairman EASTLAND. As I understand this voyage on the train, so far as it is concerned, you have no recollection of meeting him on the train?

Mr. JAVITS. That is true.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet Mr. Field subsequently on the Oakland ferry at an early hour of the morning?

Mr. JAVITS. I have no recollection of that whatever, Judge Morris. I do not even remember when I went back to New York or whether I went back by train or by plane.

Mr. MORRIS. And you cannot tell us now whether or not—you cannot recall having a subsequent meeting with Field on the Oakland ferry?

Mr. JAVITS. Well, to stretch it to the uttermost, if I ran into him, it was in the same way—he was another fellow traveling. And if I ran into him, I ran into him, but I have no recollection of it whatever. And as I say, I don't even remember how I went back to New York.

Mr. MORRIS. You have no recollection of making several trips on the ferry while Mr. Field was aboard the ferry?

Mr. JAVITS. I not only have no recollection, but the answer is flatly "No"—decidedly "No." I just went about my traveling, whatever it was, without any business with Field or anybody else of that kind that I can in any—not only cannot recall—the answer is flatly "No."

Mr. MORRIS. Now, we have been told, General Javits, that an individual named Louise Bransten—and Mr. Mandel, I wonder if you have a short outline of who Louise Bransten is. I would like to put this in its proper framework. I might say in connection with Mr. Field, at that time he was entitled "UN editor to the Daily Worker." That was his title at the time.

Mr. JAVITS. I am glad to get that information, Judge, but I can say flatly that that is something I did not know when he encountered me.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, would you put in the record at this time what evidence we have about Louise Bransten, who she was?

Mr. MANDEL. In a previous hearing with Louise Bransten, conducted in October 1953 we placed into the record an FBI memorandum which reads as follows:

During the United Nations Conference on International Organizations held at San Francisco in the spring of 1945 Louise Bransten entertained at her home Dimitri Manuelski, the principal representative of the Ukraine SSR, who was more widely known as a long-time official and spokesman for the Communist International. Bransten is at the present time [November 1945] in New York City where she has established contact with Pavel Mikhailov, acting Soviet consul general, who has been reported to this Bureau and to the RCMP by Igor Gouzenko, mentioned elsewhere in this memorandum, as the head of the Red Army intelligence espionage activity.

Mr. MORRIS. That is all now about Bransten.

Mr. MANDEL. Yes. Gregori Makovich Kheifetz, whose cover name was Mr. Brown, was, until his departure from San Francisco for the Soviet Union, July 6, 1944, the vice consul and Soviet consul at San Francisco, according to the protocol form filed by the Soviet Embassy with the Department of State. Kheifetz was born in Moscow, in 1899. Reportedly, from this protocol form, Kheifetz served as vice president of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

Mr. MORRIS. I think that is enough.

Chairman EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything else, Mr. Mandel, that should be in the record by way of characterizing Louise Bransten?

Mr. MANDEL. I have here a memorandum from the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its hearings conducted in August and September 1950. May I read a portion of it?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, very briefly.

Mr. MANDEL. Louise Berman, formerly Louise Bransten, during the hearings in October 1947 regarding Communist infiltration of the motion picture industry, before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Louise Bransten was identified as a native of Berkeley, Calif. and an heiress to a considerable fortune. The home of Louise Berman, then Bransten, was described as a meeting place of Communists, and Communist sympathizers in the vicinity of San Francisco. Many social affairs were given in her home, also, for the purpose of entertaining and bringing together Communist Party members, including members of Communist espionage rings. She was in contact with several persons who were employed by the Soviet Gov-

ernment, including Vassili Zubelin, of the Soviet Embassy, in Washington, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. Then, it goes on to list more Soviet personnel, does it not?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. General Javits, that is strictly for the purpose of identifying her.

Mr. JAVITS. I understand there is no implication that involves me in that very long and seamy description.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right. Thank you.

We have information and evidence to the effect that you did know Louise Bransten in San Francisco. I was wondering if you would tell us if you met her—when you met her and as many occasions as possible.

Mr. JAVITS. Yes, Judge, I am glad to. And anything I know about her which is of use to the committee is fine with me.

I was introduced to Mrs. Bransten by a friend of mine and a colleague, because he and I represented for many years the same great corporation, the Crown-Zellerbach Corp., of San Francisco. The gentleman is Philips Ehrlich, one of San Francisco's most distinguished lawyers, who told me about Mrs. Bransten, said I ought to meet her. I was a bachelor then on terminal leave as a lieutenant colonel from the Army. Mr. Ehrlich said that he had just settled an estate for her, her mother's estate, which involved the sale of her interest in a company called Rosenberg Bros., and that she had come into a very considerable amount of money, was a very attractive girl, and I ought to meet her. That I remember. And I have refreshed my recollection by talking with Mr. Ehrlich about that.

Now, the only encounter which I recall with Mrs. Bransten, of my own knowledge, is that I met her for cocktails at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, sometime in that period that I was in San Francisco.

You say I got there in April. Then I will assume that it may be the first few days of May, or something like that. I did not stay more than a week or 10 days. I waited for her for about an hour and a half. When I was about to leave, she arrived, which did not make a particularly good impression.

We had a drink. I did not like her particularly, and she did not me. And, from my recollection, that is the last I saw of her until some years ago, 5, 6, 7, when I ran into her in a grocery store on University Place in New York, where I was going to make a phone call, and she was apparently making a purchase.

I said, "Hello." I did not know whether I called her "Louise" or "Mrs. Bransten." "What are you doing here?" She said that she is married, living in that neighborhood.

I said, "Goodby; good luck," or whatever I did, and was on my way.

Now, Mr. Ehrlich, whom I have endeavored to refresh my recollection with, tells me that he arranged a dinner either at his home or at Mrs. Bransten's home—he is not clear which—that is his recollection. It is not my recollection. That is all I know about Louise Bransten.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recall a meeting at Bransten's home at which you and she were present, and engaged in a serious conversation, and there came into the room a gentleman named Dr. Max Yergan?

Mr. JAVITS. Judge Morris, I do not remember being at Mrs. Bransten's home. I have really searched my recollection and recall only a very minor fact which I asked you about, as you remember, that I was in some home in San Francisco as a visitor, which had paneling, but apparently you could not identify it. So I could not tell you. So that I cannot tell you that I did or did not go to her home, or meet Max Yergan, but I do know a Max Yergan, and I will be glad to tell you what I know about him, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. I think it would be wise for you to do so.

Mr. JAVITS. Max Yergan, as I recall, is a fellow I ran into years ago, I cannot tell you where, who was interested in African affairs. I cannot think of any detailed discussions I had with him, but I just think it is logical to assume, with the serious interest I have in these matters of foreign policy, that if he was a fellow interested in African affairs, I had some kind of a parlor discussion with him about what he thought and what I thought, but I had no business or association or closeness of contact or intimacy with Max Yergan.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Yergan at the time was the director of the Council on African Affairs, which was an organization which was then controlled by the Communists. Dr. Yergan, being at that time a person who was involved with the Communists, has told the committee that on this occasion that he joined you and Louise Bransten in a discussion in the home of Louise Bransten; and we asked him particulars about the house. He said a two-story house, which is entered through a front door, through a hallway, off to the left is a living room and a dining room combined, and going through that room you go into a large living room which has a large picture window looking out on San Francisco Bay.

And presumably in that—in the living room, that was where the discussion took place.

Is it your testimony that you do not recall that?

Mr. JAVITS. I wish I could. I asked you to give me a clue, because the only memory I have is of some house with paneling. Other than that, I just cannot recollect. I would not say "No," and I would not say "Yes," because I cannot recollect, but I have given you the circumstances of my encounter with Mrs. Bransten, and with the refreshment of memory which comes from talking with the man who introduced us.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, General Javits, can you recall another occasion, again in Bransten's home, at which were present a man named David Hedley—and, Mr. Mandel, I wonder if you would tell us who David Hedley was at that time?

Mr. MANDEL. According to the record available to the committee, the following is the information about David Hedley:

David Hedley was subpoenaed and testified before the California Committee on Un-American Activities, in Oakland, on November 5, 1947. He stated that he was the assistant director of the California Labor School. He admitted that he had taught a course at the predecessor of the California Labor School, the Communist Tom Mooney School.

Incidentally, I might add that the California Labor School has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

To go on with the California Committee, although not a citizen, he stated that he believed that:

Any kind of a political affiliation or political activity that I may engage in is my right guaranteed under the Constitution—that it is not proper for the committee to place questions of that kind.

David Hedley was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Louis Rosser, a former member of the party in California. Rosser testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on December 1, 1953, pages 3122 and 3123.

Mr. MORRIS. The next name at this meeting about which, General, we would like to ask you a few questions is Nancy Pittman, wife of John Pittman, managing editor at that time of the People's Daily World.

Mr. Mandel, do you have anything describing either John Pittman or Nancy Pittman?

Mr. MANDEL. In testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1947, John Pittman is listed as a committee member of the California district of the Communist Party. In the above testimony he is also listed as a contributor to the Daily Worker and the Daily People's World and Political Affairs, all three Communist publications. John Pittman was a contributor in the issue of August 1950, his article being entitled, "War on Korea, a Point 4 in Action."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, if I may, I would like to make this observation. It is not charged that I had anything to do with these people. And I think that we can assume that those Judge Morris would ask me about have some kind of a Communist record. And yet, in a public hearing it seems to me that as all of this stuff goes in the record, I do not know who might get some impression that I did or did not have anything to do with that. I put that up to the chairman.

Chairman EASTLAND. I agree with you.

Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. The question is, General, did you meet at the home of Louise Bransten in the company of David Hedley, Nancy Pittman, and Louise Bransten sometime during this period?

Mr. JAVITS. I have not the remotest recollection of meeting any of these people. If it were not 11 years ago, and that this was not dredged out of the past, I would say flatly, "No." But how can one who encounters thousands of people, goes to hundreds of homes, attends hundreds of meetings—I just would not do it as a lawyer—I would not be that reckless. I have no recollection whatever of these people or, indeed, being at Louise Bransten's home, except for what Mr. Ehrlich tells me we might have been, but if so, it was certainly not more than once, because, as I say, Mrs. Bransten and I just did not take to each other. That was that.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you at that particular meeting discuss a luncheon that you had with Max Radin that day or the day earlier?

Mr. JAVITS. Again, I answer in the frame of reference I have mentioned before, "No." But I would like to tell you that I have a recollection of a Max Radin that I have met the man some time since 19—since I got out of the Army, because my life in a sense began again at that time in a social way. And as I recall Max Radin, he is the dean of a law school in California. Whether I had lunch with him or not—what I ever said to him or he to me—I just do not know—but again,

this is a man with whom I have no particular association, business connection or anything else.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, General Javits, did you subsequently have a meeting referred to by Dr. Dodd with Dr. Dodd?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes, if you would be good enough to allow me, I would like to state that in some detail, because I guess that is the main point we are really talking about.

In the area of May-June, 1946, when I was in the process of being nominated for Congress, it is my recollection that I got—whether I got it myself or the Liberal Party gave it to me or friends gave it to me—a long list of people that I ought to see, to get educated about what is going on in New York. I had been out of things from about 1941 until I came back in 1945. And this included university presidents, ministers of various faiths, newspaper editors, et cetera. And I went the rounds.

When this Bella Dodd question first came up, or, excuse me, Dr. Dodd, first came up, I had searched my recollection and, remember this, that in that period I went to see Dr. Dodd, it was my recollection, as one of the people on that list to get educated, about teachers with which I was told—with whom I was told she had some connection as a secretary—I have since refreshed my mind on it—of the teachers' union for many years.

Now, my recollection is that I went to see her at her office or at an office as, Judge Morris, you have just identified her office. So I guess it was her office at the southwest corner of 6th Avenue and 41st Street—that I spent a very short time—whatever I did in these visits—10 or 15 minutes—that we talked about teachers and what they wanted. And then I went on my way. And that was that.

Now, in an effort to refresh my recollection on this whole situation about Dr. Dodd, I talked with one of the men who was my political mentor in that period, that is, in the 1946 period, who is Alex Rose, the political head in a sense of the Liberal Party. And Alex tells me the following, which may and may not have any connection with my visit to Dr. Dodd, but I am stating it because I want to give everything which I possibly can think of that could have any connection.

He says that I told him in a meeting when we were talking about the Liberal Party designation—and let me emphasize that it was a designation—not a nomination, because the Liberal Party was not even on the ballot—you had to go out and get 3,000 signatures of citizens in the district that were valid to even get on the ballot—and that was some rough job—but I told him that some friends of mine were talking about the fact that I ought to try to get an ALP designation for Congress, because that would help me get elected in a district which was 2 to 1, 3 to 1 Democratic, the 21st Congressional District. And I have the details here. That many Democratic candidates and some Republican candidates had taken the ALP designation, including the assemblyman who was running with me in the principal part of my district, Samuel Roman, who was running in the 15th Assembly District.

That when I told Alex that, he says—now he refreshes me on this, and I accept it and state it as a fact—he said, “Don't you know Jack, that this ALP crowd, we have just broken off from, and they are Commie dominated.”

And then I said, "I want no part of them. I would rather lose the election. I will not go in for any deals like that."

And that was that.

Mr. MORRIS. Was this in connection with the 1946 campaign?

Mr. JAVITS. My first campaign for Congress. I think it might also be helpful, Mr. Chairman, to detail how I got into trying to run for Congress. And if I may, I will do that as briefly as I can.

Chairman EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. JAVITS. In 1945, when I came back from San Francisco, the logical thing would have been for me to just go back and practice law, as I did before, but like so many people who had served, I was not too happy about that. I wanted to do something else. My brother, who is the senior partner in my law firm, asked whether I thought I might get into politics. He said there might be a chance, at least, and an entry, if I wanted to go to work for John Goldstein, who is the Republican Liberal Fusion candidate for Mayor in New York City, who was a good friend of ours, and whom we all knew as "Johnny."

I said that sounded interesting to me. I would go and see him. He was in the Criminal Courts Building. And I said, "I would like to help you, Johnny, if that is agreeable to you."

And he said it was. And a few days later gave me the job being head of his research division, which I organized and put together.

In connection with that activity I met the managers of the Goldstein campaign, Arthur Schwartz of New York, and Bill Groat of Queens. I also met a number of the Liberal Party leaders, Alex Rose, Dave Dubinski, a man named Davidson, who was their secretary, and many other officials of the Liberal Party.

After the campaign was over, Arthur Schwartz or Bill Groat or both talked with me about whether or not I might like to run for Congress in some district which the Republicans never got anywhere in, anyhow, but which might be interesting to me, if I wanted to break into active political life. I said I would be interested.

They thereupon told me that the opening was, at the moment, in the lower East Side where I was born, where there was a special election. This was, say, December-January, 1945-46. I said I would look into it and let them know.

I went to see Sam Koenig, a very old friend of mine, and a former Republican leader of New York County. And I asked him about running in his district which was the lower East Side District. Sam said, "You were born there, it is true, but I advise you strongly against it. You would not get anywhere."

So I went back and told Bill Groat and Arthur Schwartz, "This doesn't look like a good thing for me. Maybe we could have another."

They then turned up a couple of months later with the idea of possibly doing something on Washington Heights.

Incidentally, when I told them this they asked where had I lived. And I say "them," because I do not know whether it was Arthur Schwartz or Bill Groat or both or mixtures of different kinds—I said I had lived in Brooklyn when I went to Boys High School and finally lived on Washington Heights where I had been in the first graduating class of the local high school, George Washington High School.

A couple of months later, Arthur Schwartz or Bill, I think it was Arthur, suggested the possibility of a candidacy on Washington Heights, where also the Republicans never got anywhere and said he knew a leader up there, Sam Leppler, Republican leader—he would introduce me to Sam, and that they would try to work this out.

He thereupon did that. And in a meeting in his office on Broadway, 1440 or 1441, I met Sam Leppler, and Sam said he liked me, thought it was a good idea. From there we went on trying to get the Republican nomination which I will say immediately was not too tough, because their man had been beaten regularly 2 to 1 up there for more years than I am old.

At the same time, I then told them that I would try for the Liberal Party endorsement, which might give me a chance, and I then went to work with Alex Rose, and everything that has happened to me in a political sense has followed that situation.

Mr. MORRIS. General Javits, may we get back to the encounter with Bella Dodd?

Mr. JAVITS. Certainly.

Mr. MORRIS. At that time, is it your testimony you did not know that she was, you might say, openly and notoriously a member of the national committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. JAVITS. I have no recollection of knowing that, Judge Morris. I do not know what the newspapers showed at the time, either. I can only tell you this: That it is inconceivable to me that I would call, for any reason, on a person who was an open and avowed Communist. That is all I can tell you about it.

But I did make the call, and I have explained everything I remember about it, or can find out by talking to other people who might have known.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, just for the record, may we put in two items here, one being the New York Times article of August 13, 1945, which contains a report by Bella Dodd of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Chairman EASTLAND. I will let it go in.

(The clipping was marked "Exhibit No. 402" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 402

[The New York Times, August 13, 1945]

COMMUNISTS DELAY HAVING OWN TICKET

FOSTER SAYS MAIN AIM NOW IS TO HELP ELECT "PROGRESSIVES," DEFEAT "REACTIONARIES"

An indication of what will happen to the Communist vote, now that the party has been reorganized in this country on active political lines, was given yesterday by William Z. Foster, newly installed party leader, who said the organization would not necessarily put its own ticket in the field in each election.

"Our policy will be based upon securing the election of progressive forces and defeating the reactionaries all over the country," he declared. "We will undertake to work with the labor movement politically and with all other progressive forces."

Asked if that meant that the Communist Party would not put up its own ticket in the State election next year, a necessary prerequisite to attaining legal party status in the State, Mr. Foster replied:

"It hasn't been decided yet whom we will support next year, but there's no question about whom we'll oppose. Dewey, of course."

Since a party must poll 50,000 votes in an election for governor to gain legal party status, Mr. Foster's words seemed to indicate that the party was willing



to forego this objective in the interest of defeating Governor Dewey, should he be a candidate for reelection.

Mr. Foster was interviewed at the final session of the Communist State Convention at Manhattan Center, which adopted bylaws, elected a State Committee of 59 members and discussed veteran, youth, women's, farm, and reconversion problems, as well as discussing the coming city election.

#### CITY ELECTIONS DISCUSSED

A report by Bella V. Dodd, national committee member, showed that the political line sketched by Mr. Foster was being followed by the party in the mayoralty and councilmanic campaign this year. In asking the convention to support the American Labor Party ticket headed by William O'Dwyer, whom she did not mention by name, Miss Dodd declared the election was one in which "issues and not the candidates" were to be emphasized.

She derided the candidacy of Judge Jonah J. Goldstein as one made possible "by a coalition of Dewey Republicans and the Social Democrat Liberal Party." Newbold Morris represents the "Liberal. Republican, middle-class taxpayer group," she asserted, adding that his ticket should be called the "No Deal Yet" slate. She declared it was still too early to say where that party was going, but that it certainly was not affiliated with the labor movement.

With regard to the councilmanic elections, she said the Communist Party's "number one job" was to reelect Benjamin J. Davis Jr. in Manhattan and Peter V. Cacchione in Brooklyn. The party has no candidate in the other boroughs, where it is throwing its support to "progressive forces." In Queens, for example, Paul Crosbie, heretofore a perennial Communist candidate for the council, is not running, and the party is supporting a former council member, Charles Belous, who is now in the Armed Forces.

The convention itself was closed and the report of proceedings was relayed to other newspapermen by a reporter from the Daily Worker, official Communist news organ.

Mr. MORRIS, New York Times of September 19, 1945, and Life Magazine of July 29, 1946, which shows Bella Dodd in a large picture, with all the various Communist leaders.

Chairman EASTLAND. They will be received.

(Times article referred to above was marked exhibit No. 403 and reads as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 403

[The New York Times, September 19, 1945]

#### FOSTER BIDS REDS VOTE FOR O'DWYER

"SUPREME ISSUE" LOCALLY IN WAR ON "IMPERIALISM" DEFINED FOR 12,000 AT PARTY RALLY

William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, told a cheering throng of 12,000 at Madison Square Garden last night that private industry and free enterprise could not achieve full production and employment and that "it will not be very long until the United States will have to begin nationalizing its banks and basic industries, as is now being done throughout Europe."

The chairman took the occasion of a rally commemorating the 26th anniversary of the founding of the party in this country to enunciate for the first time before a gathering of rank-and-file comrades the changed party line—a reversion to the old revolutionary Marxism and the class struggle of the world proletariat.

Hammering at imperialism, Mr. Foster brought the supreme issue down to local cases by advocating support of William O'Dwyer as the American Labor Party candidate for mayor.

#### FAILS TO NAME O'DWYER

He did not mention Mr. O'Dwyer by name nor as the Democratic candidate, but based his appeal on the argument that big business reactionaries and the men of the trusts were determined to strengthen their hold upon the government by striving to take over full control of the great city of New York.

He was enthusiastically applauded when he said: "But they can and must be defeated. The people of New York must give the American Labor Party an overwhelming vote. And as for the Communist candidates, Pete (Peter V.) Cacchione and Ben (Benjamin J.) Davis, they must be returned to the city council with the biggest vote they have ever received."

Mr. O'Dwyer's name, mentioned earlier by Bella V. Dodd, one of the long list of speakers, brought scattered applause at first, followed by a burst of handclaps. The former brigadier general, she declared, had the support of the progressive wing of the Democratic Party, the American Labor Party, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the powerful Political Action Committee of the CIO.

An administration elected by "this combination," Miss Dodd declared, "will afford the best possible assurance for the continuation of New York City as a progressive center."

The crowd in the garden was reported by Bob Thompson, chairman of the New York State Communist Party, who presided, as numbering 18,000. However, there were large patches of empty seats, and the 12,000 figure was considered more accurate by impartial observers.

#### DECORATIONS RED, WHITE, AND BLUE

Red, white, and blue bunting furnished the decorations, with two huge American flags hanging from the rafters behind the speakers' platform. The American colors were used also on four large signs spaced around the auditorium, only one of which bore the name of the Communist Party. This one said: "Build the Communist Party—Fighter for Democracy and Socialism." The others read: "Reelect Davis and Cacchione—Vote Labor"; "Greet the GI's With Jobs"; and "Smash Jim Crow and Anti-Semitism." The crowd took on the aspect of a cheering, whistling, and jeering Communist rally reminiscent of prewar days when Mr. Foster made a telling point or referred to those whose names are anathema to the party.

Mr. Foster disclosed as he entered the hall that he had been served with a subpoena to appear September 26 before the Congressional Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, successor to the Dies committee.

The successor to Earl Browder was introduced as "the father of industrial democracy" and the "outstanding Marxist theoretician."

From the outset of his address, Mr. Foster made it clear that the new line of the Communist Party would be the old cry that all capitalistic governments, including our own, were imperialist. The Truman administration, he declared, "is, like every American capitalist government in this period, inherently imperialist." He said that to the extent that it carried out pledges of the Roosevelt policies of United Nations cooperation with other nations, it would receive the hearty support of the Communist Party.

"We would be blind, however," he said, "if we ignored the various imperialistic foreign policies of the administration."

Among these he mentioned admission of Argentina at San Francisco; acting tough with Russia; active military and diplomatic support of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek government against the Chinese Communists; aggressive American pressure in the Balkans, allegedly in favor of reactionary elements, and the trend toward making the military control of Japan purely an American affair under the ultraconservative General MacArthur.

(The article from Life magazine above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 404" and the accompanying picture of Dr. Dodd and

Communist leaders, appear below :)



Communist leaders stand together at a rally in New York's Madison Square Garden. Left to right: Dr. Bella V. Dodd; Israel Amter, New York committee leader, who is slightly paralyzed and is shown leaning on Dr. Dodd for support; Ben Davis, New York City councilman from Harlem and leading United States Negro Communist; William Z. Foster, national chairman of the United States Communist Party; Peter Cacchione, city councilman from Brooklyn; Robert Thompson, New York State party head; Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the party and member of the national secretariat. Dennis, Foster, Thompson, and John Williamson (not in picture) compose the national secretariat, which sets Communist Party policy. Recently Dennis has been becoming more powerful than Foster. Thompson, who is only 30 years old, won the Distinguished Service Cross for bravery in the Pacific. The other Communist leaders brought him up quickly through the organization, may even be grooming Foster as party chairman.

## EXHIBIT No. 404

THE UNITED STATES COMMUNIST PARTY—SMALL BUT TIGHTLY DISCIPLINED, IT STRIVES WITH FANATIC ZEAL TO PROMOTE THE AIMS OF RUSSIA—BY ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.—AUTHOR OF THE AGE OF JACKSON, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT HARVARD

For better or for worse, the Communist Party of the United States is here to stay. It grew when the U. S. S. R. was still a gamble; it will grow faster as the gamble pays off, and it will persist if repressive legislation forces it underground.

The American Communists never despaired even in the intense and comic days in the twenties, for they were certain they were on the highroad of history. Now the war, transforming the U. S. S. R. from a remote and doubtful experiment into the second mightiest power on earth, has placed upon the CPUSA the historic responsibility of serving as the workers' vanguard in the bastion of capitalism. The Center, as party members call the smoky brick headquarters on 12th Street in New York City, controls an active and disciplined following through the country. With history breathing down their necks, Communists are working overtime to expand party influence, open and covert, in the labor movement, among Negroes, among veterans, among unorganized liberals.

The problem of estimating soberly the extent and nature of Communist influence has been thoroughly confused by the Communists and their sympathizers, who resist any attempt to isolate and identify Communist activity. It has been equally confused by Mr. Dies, Mr. Rankin and their various un-American committees in their wild confidence that practically everybody who opposes Franco or Jim Crow or the un-American committee is a Red.

The American Communist Party originated in 1919 with the split of left-wing groups from the Second, or Socialist, International, following the Russian Revolution. The crash, which the party interpreted as the long-awaited breakdown of capitalism, provided Communists with their first real opportunity. They worked tirelessly among the unemployed, the hungry, and the homeless; among members of the middle class who felt a sense of guilt or confusion over the economic mess, and among intellectuals who feared the worldwide rise of fascism. In 1934 the party claimed 25,000 cardholders; in 1936, 40,000; in 1938, 75,000.

The Moscow trials of 1936-38 and the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939 were body blows, and the party lost heavily. Earl Browder's wartime policy of subordinating everything to national unity brought membership back to 80,000 by 1944, mostly from the middle class; but William Z. Foster's current radical program has lost many of the Browder adherents. The spring membership drive may have raised the total to about 65,000—far short of the 1946 goal of 100,000.

The party has always had a tremendous turnover. Thus you have a hard core of perhaps 10 percent who have been members for 15 years, a fairly solid ring of 30 or 40 percent who have been in from 2 to 10 years and a vaporous penumbra of people who join the party because of some local strike or lynching (or clambake), lose interest and are dropped when they fail to pay dues.

The organization would fill Boss Hague with envy. You must be 18 years old and duly certified by a member before you are admitted into a local club. Cryptic communications bid the 20 to 50 members to regular meetings for instructions and assignments. As a matter of course, you are expected to work as part of the Communist bloc in outside organizations and thereby help increase party influence far beyond its membership. The local clubs are the bottom of a chain of command which extends through county and State, or section and district committees, to the National Committee and the National Secretariat and finally to Moscow.

Party discipline is not, for the most part, a matter of making people do things they do not want to do. The great majority of members, for reasons best understood by psychiatrists and dictators, want to be disciplined. The party fills the lives of lonely and frustrated people, providing them with social, intellectual, even sexual fulfillment they cannot obtain in existing society. It gives a sense of comradeship in a cause guaranteed by history to succor the helpless and to triumph over the wealthy and satisfied. To some it gives opportunities for personal power not to be found elsewhere. Communists are happy to exchange their rights as individuals for these deeper satisfactions; and absorption in the party becomes in time the mainspring of their lives. The appeal is essentially the appeal of a religious sect—small, persecuted, dedicated, stubbornly convinced that it alone knows the path to salvation. To understand

the Communists, you must think of them in terms, not of a normal political party, but in terms of the Jesuits, the Mormons, or Jehovah's Witnesses.

It is hard work being a Communist, which is one reason the turnover is so great. But, once fully committed, the Communist's world becomes totally the world of the party. The clause in the party constitution forbidding "personal or political relations with enemies of the working class" does not have to be invoked often, for most Communists voluntarily cut out their nonparty friendships and activities. One member, explaining why he had made the party the beneficiary of his insurance policy, said, "The reason I did that was, in the first place, I am not married and have nobody to leave anything like that to, and in the second place the Communist Party is more in the world to me than anything else is."

The total assimilation of the individual to the party creates selflessness and consecration. Like a platoon isolated behind enemy lines, the Communists perform marvels of daring at their leaders' word, each acting as if he embodies the impersonal force of history. Their fearlessness has impressed thousands of workers with the invincible determination of the party.

But the price of enjoying such intimate relations with history is an intensive personal supervision which can only be duplicated in a religious order or in a police state. Gossip becomes a form of healthy criticism, and party dossiers go into the minutest detail of private lives. Most members accept this all-encompassing control. In the end, they become so involved socially and psychologically that the threat of expulsion strikes them as excommunication would a devout Catholic. It is enough to keep them in line long after they begin to develop intellectual doubts about the infallibility of Russia.

In its own eyes the party has two main commitments: to support and advance the U. S. S. R., and to promote the establishment of socialism in the United States. The second is necessarily subordinate to the first because Communists regard the preservation of the workers' state in Russia as indispensable to the spread of socialism through the world. The short-term disregard of American working-class needs in the interests of Soviet foreign policy will, they feel, thus be to the long-term benefit of American workers.

Not all American workers see it that way, and the conflict between the requirements of Soviet foreign policy and the requirements of the American domestic scene has weakened the CPUSA. The most impressive part of the Communist record in this country, indeed, has been its courageous activity against local injustice and exploitation, and its least impressive part has been its subservience to Soviet foreign policy. Yet the party leadership has never hesitated to stifle its grassroots initiative and squander its grassroots assets in order to whip up American backing for Soviet adventures abroad. Indeed, the dependence of the functionaries on Moscow for personal power and ultimately for livelihood makes them the unquestioning servants of the Soviet Union. Partly as a cause and partly as a result of this subservience, the top leadership of the party has become essentially bureaucratic. It is in the hands of a small clique in New York. The National Secretariat—consisting of Foster, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson, and Robert Thompson—operates from offices on the ninth floor of the Center, far removed from the rank and file of the party.

The party, for a long time billed as the American section of the Communist International, has always received directives and in the past some funds from the U. S. S. R. via courier. Probably Moscow's most effective control has been through Comintern representatives—the famous "C. I. reps." The American party has never been important enough in Soviet calculations to risk clandestine contacts between the Washington Embassy and the party leaders; and simple skepticism about the party's security explains why no one in Moscow would have dreamed of giving Earl Browder a preview of the pact with Hitler. During the war there had to be greater reliance on conditional reflexes, prodded by Pravda or War and the Working Class or the Moscow radio. Direct contact has undoubtedly been reestablished by now.

The relation of Moscow to the CPUSA may be compared to that of a football coach to his team. The team has its quarterback to run it on the field, its set of plays, and its general instructions. The coach may occasionally send in a substitute with new instructions or a new quarterback or an entire new team, but he is not likely to be giving play-by-play orders. Since the team has complete confidence in the coach, it resents cracks from bystanders about taking orders from outside; after all, are not the interests of the coach and team identical?

Because the party is numerically insignificant, local political realities do not chasten its passion to please Moscow. Consequently it always overinterprets its notion of what Moscow wants. When the invasion of Russia brought on the national unity program, the Americans, for example, developed the Browder doctrine of indefinite collaboration with capitalism and the Harry Bridges doctrine of postwar extension of the no-strike pledge. When the end of the war revived Communist militancy, the Americans, overdoing it as usual, leaped on Browder with hobnailed boots, rubbed his face in the dirt, and kicked him out of the party.

Browder had been leader of the party for 15 years. He had steered it from anti-Roosevelt militancy to pro-Roosevelt popular front to anti-Roosevelt isolationism to pro-Roosevelt war unity, all without a quiver of distaste. But the experience of the wartime coalition gave him the vision of an Americanized Communist Party working with its fellow American parties to solve the urgent questions facing the Nation. To this end he began a policy of naturalizing the party, relaxing its discipline, and moderating its sectarianism. He transformed the wartime tactic of national unity into a postwar strategy and argued the possibility that progressive capitalism, to save itself, would embark on policies favorable to the workers at home and to the Soviet Union abroad.

#### THE OUSTING OF BROWDER

In April 1945, however, Jacques Duclos of the French Communist Party, formerly high in the Comintern, published his celebrated repudiation of Browderism. The Duclos article was probably using the CPUSA as a scapegoat in order to set down a new line for the more important Communist Parties of Britain, France, and Spain, then still flirting with rightists like Churchill, de Gaulle, and Gil Robles. But publication of the attack by the New York World-Telegram panicked the American Communists into more drastic action against Browder than Moscow probably contemplated.

There followed recriminations of intense bitterness. Browder accused the Secretariat of circulating charges against him which "ranged the whole gamut of social and political crimes excepting perhaps that of murder." One member even proposed that Browder be given a job scrubbing floors in the Center. After refusing to give the National Committee the names of all party members to whom he had spoken since the July 1945 convention, Browder was unceremoniously expelled in February 1946. His amazing "Appeal \* \* \* to the members of the CPUSA!" concluded, "All effective interparty democracy has been destroyed." Two months later he was on his way to Moscow.

Browder could argue in Moscow that his policy alone stood a chance of preventing a third war. The "adventurism" and "sectarianism" of the Foster policy, with its projected third party, would only split the American progressives and bring the anti-Soviet reactionaries to power. Even Duclos, for all his tough talk, allows the French Communist Party to join in governments led by Socialists and now by Catholics and indeed recently chided the American Communists as unrealistic. "You have strikes all the time. Here, we Communists are the strongest party in France, and we have no strikes at all. \* \* \* We know the class struggle is real, but we know, too, that this is the time for unity and so we do not strike." Duclos sounds here like an unregenerate Browderite—or maybe the line is changing again. ("They have failed Karl Marx," observed a wit, "but remain faithful to Harpo.")

In any case, Browder's 5-year contract to represent Soviet publishing houses in the United States does more than simply keep him on the payroll in anticipation of a new shift in policy. It provides him with an ideal channel to the Soviet Union and thus gives him a potential whip hand over Foster. For the time being, however, Foster and the party may well pursue one line in the political field while Browder, with unmistakable Soviet approval, pursues another in the field of cultural relations. The U. S. S. R. has kept two divergent lines in operation on other occasions (as toward Germany during the war).

The present Communist Party is thus a throwback to the party of the twenties with both its sectarianism and its intransigence. Its main objective is by policies of disruption and blackmail to avert a war with the Soviet Union or to make sure, if war comes, that the United States is badly prepared to fight it. Eugene Dennis writes, "We Communists are \* \* \* the bitterest opponents of the projected plans of imperialism for a criminal war against the great working class democracy—the U. S. S. R." The party spells this out: defeat the "vast and menacing armaments program"; defeat "the imperialist proposals for uni-

versal and compulsory military training"; "speed demobilization"; internationalize the atomic bomb.

From the start the party's operations have been conspiratorial, its activities largely clandestine. Since it has no mass base in the United States its possibilities of open influence on national policy are limited. Moreover, early persecution, as well as Comintern instructions, confirmed its belief that, as a small and ill-armed band operating in a hostile environment, it was justified in using any methods to advance the cause.

Because clandestine modes of operation are utterly foreign to American political life, many Americans dismiss them as wild fabrications. They are naive to do so. The testimony of Harold Laski on this point is of interest, since Communists can hardly write him off as a red-baiter or reactionary. "The Communist Parties outside Russia act without moral scruples, intrigue without any sense of shame, are utterly careless of truth, sacrifice, without any hesitation, the means they use to the ends they serve. The result is a corruption, both of the mind and of the heart, which is alike contemptuous of reason and careless of truth."

#### SECRET MEMBERS AND FELLOW TRAVELERS

The party works both through secret members and through fellow travelers. The secret members report directly to a representative of the national committee; they have no local affiliations, are exempt from petty party discipline and are unknown to most party members. Their party cards usually are held in aliases, so that in the files they appear as "John Smith" with P. N. (party name) noted beside it. Fellow travelers are those who offer their cooperation but avoid actual membership.

Underground cells under party direction became active in Washington in the thirties; some of their members are still well placed in the administration. Ex party members name several Congressmen as reliable from the party point of view, and well-known Communist sympathizers are on the staffs of some Senators and congressional committees. The Dies-Rankin nonsense has hopelessly obscured the problem of Communists in Government, however, by smearing so many non-Communist liberals as Communist that most such allegations tend to leave Government officials glum and immobile.

The great present field of Communist penetration is the trade unions. The national leadership of certain CIO unions—the National Maritime Union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's, the American Communications Association, the United Office and Professional Workers, the United Electrical Workers, the United Public Workers, the Transport Workers, the Fur and Leather Workers—can be relied upon to follow the line with fidelity. Communists are active in the United Auto Workers in the hope of overthrowing the anti-Communist leadership of Walter Reuther, and they are even boring into Phil Murray's own union, the Steelworkers.

All discussions of this question in the CIO revolve around the ambiguous figure of Lee Pressman, its cagey and capable general counsel, long known as a fellow traveler. Phil Murray has observed irritably that he would not remove Pressman until he was shown proof that Pressman was a party member. No one has ever produced proof convincing to Murray; and Pressman, through his ability and his skill in personal relations, has made himself nearly indispensable to the CIO president. His personal machine through the CIO and through Washington is formidable. Of the Washington legislative representatives of CIO unions, 12 or 14 are believed to be party members; 8 or 10 play the party line, and only about half a dozen are clearly non-Communist. This means that when an issue like the British loan comes up, which the CIO officially endorsed but which the CPUSA opposed, lobbying is half-hearted and ineffective, whereas the question of a Soviet loan would have had the same group working day and night.

The Communists spread their infection of intrigue and deceit wherever they go. The project of a maritime federation, for example, created the interesting problem whether Harry Bridges or Joe Curran would be top dog. The Communists, evidently regarding Bridges as smarter or more dependable, began a quiet campaign to whittle Curran down without quite destroying him. The result has been an atmosphere in the higher level of the N. M. U. in which the Borgias would feel at home.

Second only to the unions is the drive to organize the Negroes. As the most appalling case of social injustice in this country, the Negro problem attracted party interest from the start and, with the Scottsboro case, Communist prestige among the Negroes rose tremendously. In countless ways across the country

Communists performed commendable individual acts against discrimination. The ninth floor, however, continued to view the race problem mainly as a valuable source of propaganda. Angelo Herndon, a Negro, was sentenced to 20 years in a Georgia prison for passing out Communist literature. When he was finally freed, after nationwide agitation, he was rushed to New York. A group of Communist big shots met Herndon, an intelligent, light-skinned Negro, at Penn Station. In the cab on the way to Harlem, Herndon heard Anna Damon, of the International Labor Defense, a top party leader, remark that it was a pity he was not blacker.

With the attack on Russia, the Communists soft-pedaled the race question. The party is currently trying to make up the ground thus lost by exploiting the riot in Columbia, Tenn., as it exploited the Scottsboro affair and by sinking tentacles into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The third objective is what the Communists call "mass organizations"—that is, groups of liberals organized for some benevolent purpose, and because of the innocence, laziness, and stupidity of most of the membership, perfectly designed for control by an alert minority. One method is to take over an existing organization. The Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, for example, began as a brilliant contribution by actors and writers to the Roosevelt campaign in 1944. For various reasons the ICC was kept alive; its celebrities maintained their membership but not their vigilance; and, though most of the local chapters are free from Communist control, the national organization on most outstanding issues of foreign policy has backed the Russians or kept quiet.

The ICC did not, for example, throw its weight into the fight for the British loan, while it has cheerily identified itself with a cause whose chief organized backing in this country comes, for some mysterious reason, from the Communist Party—the national independence of Puerto Rico. In spite of needling by newspapermen, Harold Ickes, ICC's executive chairman, has publicly denied any taint of party influence. But at the New York State Communist convention in August 1945, a member of the cultural section of the party boasted, "We built the Independent Citizens Committee \* \* \* and it was a great political weapon."

An even clearer case is the National Committee to Win-the-Peace. Many admitted Communists and fellow travelers helped sponsor the opening conference last April in Washington, where speeches and resolutions denounced all the failings of Britain and the United States while refraining from even the mildest criticism of Russia. The conference demanded "free access to information" in Indonesia, but not in Eastern Europe. It set impossible conditions for the British loan but came out unconditionally for loans to the U. S. S. R. A hundred other fronts, youth organizations, foreign language groups, and newspapers disseminate bits and pieces of the Communist line.

If you live in New York or Los Angeles, this complex and largely concealed Communist activity may have a considerable impact. A frenzied "popular front" atmosphere has arisen in both cities. The party has played with great success upon the hopes and anxieties of New York's racial groups: it is powerful in the Greater New York Industrial Union Council of the CIO and even has a bridgehead in the New York City Council. In Los Angeles communism flourishes along with the other weird cults. It has made particular headway among the intellectuals of Hollywood, who find in the new faith a means of resolving their own frustration and guilt.

The result is to create a situation where a writer, a speaker, an actor, if he says the correct things, can rely on a united and hysterical response. Many people live upon the roar of the crowd, and the temptation is irresistible to court that roar. College professors are delighted to share a platform with actresses or entertainers from Cafe Society Uptown, and actresses are flattered by appearing on the same platform as college professors.

The question remains whether this activity, anonymous, highly ramified, devoted to the interests of a foreign power, constitutes a fifth-column menace to the United States. No American Communist has publicly gone so far as Luis Carlos Prestes, leader of the Brazilian Communist Party, who promised to start a partisan movement in case of war between Brazil and Russia. Yet Canadian Communists in the Gouzenko spy case stated under oath that they had a loyalty which took precedence over their own country. Herbert Morrison of the British Labor Government, pointing out that Communists had been involved in more than one case of espionage, added, "I personally would not feel comfortable \* \* \* sitting in the same Cabinet where members of the Communist Party were participating in our discussions with access to secret documents."



Any fully logical American Communist is obligated to regard the interests of Soviet Russia, which he has succeeded in identifying with the interests of the international working class, as his highest loyalty. If the issue were ever presented in this form, though, many fellow travelers and some party members would quickly get off the train. A great reason for Communist success has been the party's skill in presenting pro-Russian demands under cover of legitimate domestic issues. While the espionage threat cannot be shrugged off, it cannot be solved by witch hunts or by un-American committees. It can safely be left to the competent hands of the FBI.

Does the Communist Party present a revolutionary threat to this country? This is the specter raised so fervently by Dies and Rankin. It should be said in the first place that there is nothing un-American about revolution. James Wilson, who helped draft the Constitution and was a greater expert on these matters than Dies, wrote, "A revolution principle certainly is, and certainly should be taught as a principle of the Constitution of the United States." The Dies definition of un-Americanism would include George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Scarlett O'Hara—all rebels, disloyalists, and opponents of constituted authority.

A real revolutionary party in this country might be a good thing and, if conditions ever are allowed to develop which would make a revolution successful, we deserve to have one. Jefferson thought one should come about every 20 years. But to call the CPUSA a revolutionary party is an insult to the American revolutionary tradition. Its pseudorevolutionary activities will be turned on and off as the interests of an external power dictate. When American and Soviet policies coincide, the CPUSA will tend toward the right; when they diverge, to the left.

The Communist party is no menace to the right in the United States. It is a great help to the right because of its success in dividing and neutralizing the left. It is to the American left that communism presents the most serious danger.

On the record, Communists have fought other leftists as viciously as they have fought fascists. Their methods are irreconcilable with honest cooperation, as anyone who has tried to work with them has found out the hard way. The left in Europe has known this for a long time, but, by the clandestine character of their operations and by the cynical denial of party affiliation, Communists have succeeded in hiding their true face from American liberals. They have stymied honest discussion of the Communist issue by raising the cry of "red-baiting" and "Rankinism." They have imposed a false "either-or" definition of world issues by which anyone withholding approval from the U. S. S. R. is pronounced pro-Fascist.

In its larger aspects the Communists are engaged in a massive attack on the moral fabric of the American left. The party has sought systematically to enforce the notion that writing must conform, not to the facts, not to the personal vision of the author, but to a political line. The substitution of any external standard for the truth as the writer finds it can result only in confusion and dishonesty—in the destruction of moral clarity and intellectual integrity.

Albert Maltz, the novelist and Hollywood writer, recently wrote a piece suggesting that maybe Communist critics had employed political standards over-mechanically: that the New Masses, for example, had panned *Watch on the Rhine* as a play but praised it as a film because the attack on Russia had intervened, and that writers like James T. Farrell and Richard Wright, even if anti-Stalinist, still might make valuable contributions. Isidor Schneider, literary editor of the New Masses, sent Maltz a note of approval and printed the article.

All hell broke loose. Week after week in the New Masses and Daily Worker Howard Fast, Mike Gold, Robert Thompson, even Foster himself denounced Maltz as a Trotskyite or a Browderite. Maltz's reply casts pathetic light on the Communist psychology of confession. Folding completely before the party discipline, Maltz even castigated his sympathizers who had objected to the abusive tone in which correction had been administered. "What should be clear is that my article made fundamental errors. \* \* \* A serious and sharp discussion was required."

Maltz's protest had been a feeble attempt to free writing from political control. Already the wildly enthusiastic Communist claque for certain types of phony folk art has lowered the standards of many Americans not themselves party members or sympathizers. The vogue of "Ballad for Americans," for example, or the radio plays of Norman Corwin, is a current byproduct of this general corruption of taste.

As a college professor named Frederick L. Schuman recently put it with naive simplicity, "In 1946 all utterances and acts of politicians and publicists \* \* \* will ultimately be weighed \* \* \* in terms of this stark and simple issue: do they contribute to Anglo-American-Soviet unity?" Facts, truth, and honesty become side issues.

It is imperative for the American liberals, if they wish to avoid total bankruptcy, to get back to a sense of moral seriousness and of absolute devotion to the facts. The Union for Democratic Action is one leftwing group which has sought to combat the confusion and corruption coming inevitably in the wake of Communist penetration. Its national chairman, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, once observed, "I do not believe in the slogan, 'My country, right or wrong'—particularly when it isn't even my country." The ablest members of the Washington bureau of the New York newspaper "PM" have resigned, charging that Ralph Ingersoll has "continuously yielded to Communist pressure." The president of the United Furniture Workers, resigning in protest against the capture of his union by Communist invaders, said, "These people are dangerously vicious. Anyone who goes along with them on the theory that this is the liberal thing to do is a fool. I know because I have been one."

The recent fight for control of the American Veterans Committee shows that, when they are alert to the situation, liberals can lick the Communists. But until the left can make the Communists and fellow travelers stand and be counted, its energies will be expended in an exhausting warfare in the dark. The Communists will not be able to maneuver the left into a positively pro-Soviet program. But they may well prevent the left from taking positive action which does not suit the party line. Communist influence immobilizes the United States left.

The Communists are looking to a next depression as their happy hunting ground. The way to defeat them is not to pass repressive legislation or return Martin Dies to public service, but to prevent that depression and to correct the faults and injustices in our present system which make even freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia. If conservatives spent more time doing this and less time smearing other people who are trying to do it as Communists, they would get much further in the job of returning the CPUSA to its proper place beside the Buchmanites and the Holy Rollers.

Mr. JAVITS. I will say, if you will allow me, that I saw Dr. Dodd before that July date. I would think that the nominations, primary, and so forth, were pretty well crystallized along about May-June of 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, or did Murray Baron, the chairman of the Liberal Party in New York County, make clear to you on several occasions that you would not be allowed to take the Liberal Party—retain the Liberal Party designation, if you had an ALP designation?

Mr. JAVITS. This meeting I referred to with Alex Rose, again in an effort to refresh my recollection, I talked with Mr. Baron, who was very active in the Liberal Party at that time. He tells me he attended that meeting, and remembers that I was so told.

I have no doubt that on that occasion and other occasions the Liberal Party made it very clear to me they were completely at war with the ALP. I would assume, Judge, too, that having run on this ticket four times, they looked me over very carefully with X-ray eyes, and were pretty well convinced that I wouldn't be interested in the ALP.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you not tell Murray Baron, in connection with the 1946 election, that you could have either the secret support of the ALP or they would remain neutral, depending on what you wanted? Mr. Baron has told us that.

Mr. JAVITS. I wouldn't challenge Murray Baron because I have the highest regard for him.

I have no such recollection, and I would like to point out to you that the ALP candidate, a man named Connolly, tried to win the Democratic Party nomination in an election, so the facts are not consistent with that proposition. They did their utmost to knock me off in 1946 and 1948, when they ran Paul O'Dwyer, and he almost defeated me.

Mr. MORRIS. Wasn't the problem to keep the ALP and Democratic candidate—the ALP and the Democrats from endorsing the same person, because they together would be an insurmountable block?

Mr. JAVITS. This fellow Connolly ran in the Democratic Party primary. You couldn't do any more than that. He tried to capture that.

Mr. MORRIS. Subsequent to 1946, didn't you again tell Murray Baron that you had word from a man named Louis Merrill who was one of the leaders of one of the Communist-controlled unions, that he would help, if you wanted his assistance, in the forthcoming 1948 campaign?

Mr. JAVITS. Again, the last thing in the world I would want to do is challenge Murray Baron, who is a good friend of mine, and who has been swell.

Incidentally, Murray Baron was one of the principal factors in winning the 1948 campaign for me. He campaigned personally in Inwood, which is a very tough part of my district, as a Liberal Party member. This was almost running a physical risk. I just remember no such conversation.

I am sure I reported to Murray and to Alex Rose every conceivable political fact which came to my attention, because they were the people I looked to to guide and help me.

Mr. MORRIS. He has told us that this particular conversation about Merrill took place in a taxicab. You cannot recall that?

Mr. JAVITS. I am sorry. I wish I could. I can only give you the frame of reference.

May I just add one further word, which my brother just handed me a note of, and I remember it, and I would like to state it for the record:

Another one of the men who helped me get the Liberal Party nomination and support was Eugene Lyons.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, General Javits, in connection with the 1948 campaign, wasn't there a discussion at the time that if the Democrats and the ALP would endorse the same candidate, the combination of the Republican and Liberal votes would be overcome by such a combination, and at that time did you not take up with Baron and with Alex Rose the possibilities of your having ALP support in the 1948 campaign?

Mr. JAVITS. In the 1948 campaign there was unquestionably a conversation about the fact that this was a very tough combination to beat, and that we probably might not be able to beat it, but I recall no discussion about my taking ALP. On the contrary, I am very clear, aside from the muddle I may have been in in the 1946 campaign, when I was new on the job, in a sense, I had no doubts about the ALP thereafter.

By 1948 I had served 2 years in Congress, and I had encountered ALP doctrine in the shape of its Congressmen here.

Mr. MORRIS. It is your testimony that you did not ask to have ALP support?

Mr. JAVITS. I have no such recollection, Judge. The only thing one can do, like myself, who does so many things, is to try to get a recollection in the frame of reference, and this, it seems to me, to be absolutely inconsistent with everything I was doing at the time.

I will tell you this: You can explore any number of things with your political confidants, and what recollection they would have about them, and I would have about them, would be very different, and yet one might not necessarily contradict the other. I would not contradict Murray Baron. I know the man and have the highest regard for him.

Mr. MORRIS. Did the Liberal Party— Does a man, Sam Roman, work for you?

Mr. JAVITS. Sam Roman is the assemblyman of the Fifteenth Assembly District who ran with me four times, the man I referred to before, and he is now one of my executive assistants.

Mr. MORRIS. Did the Liberal Party object through you to a tribute that Sam Roman paid to Rose Russell, the legislative representative of the Teachers' Union, on November 20, 1954.

Mr. JAVITS. Judge, I cannot—

Mr. MORRIS. The protest was presumably because he was your executive assistant and that he should not—

Mr. JAVITS. November, 1954 he was not my executive assistant. I took office as attorney general in January, 1955, and in November, 1954, he was a defeated assemblyman.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there a protest, did they protest to you that a man who was associated with you should publicly commend Rose Russell, was there such a protest?

Mr. JAVITS. I have no recollection of it, but I do recall that I had to relegate Sam Roman to the Liberal Party to work out his own fortunes on occasions for one reason or another, whatever they might be, but I think it would be very unfair to Mr. Roman for me to say anything about that in this context. I just don't know. I don't have any recollection whatever of any such discussion, but he didn't work for me at the time, as I just made clear.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, General Javits, the question was based on the committee evidence and information that we have.

Mr. JAVITS. Of course.

Mr. MORRIS. As you know, as we made clear from the very beginning, we were having this hearing only to afford you an opportunity to give your version of the committee evidence and information.

Mr. JAVITS. Certainly. Thank you, Judge.

Mr. MORRIS. There are many things, Senator, that we could go into, that are not particularly important. We cannot trail this thing out to the very end. But what we have presented to you, General Javits, is for the most part the committee information and evidence which has been accumulated in the record of the committee during the course of our current investigation of Communist penetration into the political parties, and in no sense do we present this in any context other than in connection with your request for a hearing today.

Mr. JAVITS. It is my duty as Attorney General, as a citizen, as a former Congressman, to come to you and do what I am doing here.

I am delighted to see this committee handling matters with such meticulousness and in any way I can contribute information, I want to, and if you feel I have left anything unsaid and you want to question me again, go to it. I will be very pleased to do so.

I would hope that before we are through with the hearings, you will allow me, and I know it is asking a great deal, to introduce into the record something of which I am very proud, my congressional record, which consists of letters and reports entered in the Congressional Record which I wrote twice a year, so that they were not done in preparation for this hearing, to all my constituents, where I stake my political neck, and I think, Mr. Chairman, with all modesty, that it represents an effective anti-Communist struggle, which I put up here as a Congressman and as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of which I am very proud, and I would consider it a great privilege from the Chair if the Chair would allow me to do that.

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes, I will permit you to place that in the record.

Mr. JAVITS. Thank you.

(The reprints from the Congressional Record were marked "Exhibit No. 405" and follow in chronological order:)

[Congressional Record, July 24, 1947, pp. 10085-10087]

#### SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. Javits) is recognized for 10 minutes.

The Chair might state for the information of the House that the minority leader states that his objection will not apply to anyone who has a special order, as these special orders were granted before he announced his position.

#### THE 80TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, RECORD AND FORECAST

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 80th Congress is drawing to a close and it is now well to review what has been done during the session, so that we can best see what remains to be accomplished during the coming momentous legislative year of 1948, before the 80th Congress passes into history. The inscription on the National Archives Building in Washington is "What Is Past Is Prologue." As a Member of Congress I have learned to appreciate the wisdom and significance of those words.

The 80th Congress had innumerable problems, both domestic and foreign, to cope with. It has done many things; much still remains to be accomplished. When I campaigned in 1946 I had as my twin slogans "Peace and Jobs." Looking back on this session, I believe we have been greatly preoccupied with peace, because of our activities in the field of foreign affairs. Much time has been given to appropriations for the costs of Government, to labor legislation, to budget policy and taxes, and to wartime controls of rents, credit, and other commodities; but our hearts have been especially troubled by the problem of peace in a postwar, torn world.

As a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I have been privileged to be intimately concerned with every aspect of the foreign-affairs problems which came before us. I believe that we have already made the greatest of our policy decisions in peacetime, and that though there will be, and should be, much debate on contents and procedure, and on other practical details of enormous significance, the basic issue has been resolved by this Congress. That resolution dedicates the United States to three principles in foreign affairs:

(a) That we will participate in the world's reconstruction with our vast technical and material resources and with our skills and leadership;

(b) That we shall insist from those we aid on self-help first, and on practical judgments and practical solutions equivalent to those we call good business; and

(c) That we will practice applied democracy in our own activities and will encourage it in the nations with whom we deal.

By enacting the Greek-Turkish assistance bill, the foreign relief bill, the resolution to authorize United States participation in the International Refugee Organization, and finally by passing appropriations of almost \$1,500 million to implement these and other foreign-affairs measures, this Congress decided that it was not isolationist, that the United States had a major role to play in the world by which peace and economic stability might be obtained, and that the Congress was determined that the United States should play it.

But these accomplishments of the first session still leave much vital and necessary legislation in the field of foreign affairs to come. The Marshall plan is only a concept now, but by the time the Congress reconvenes on January 6, 1948, it is likely to be a very real thing. For we shall then have in hand the plan for their own economic rehabilitation of the 16 western European nations now meeting in Paris, and the results of the investigations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and of the select committee on the needs of reconstruction overseas and on our capacity to meet them. Incipient in and running through the problems of world reconstruction will be the twin problems of what to do with our defeated enemies, Germany and Japan.

During the next session the Congress will have to deal with more problems involving foreign affairs than ever before in our peacetime history. Much of the work done by various agencies of the United Nations will come before us for approval. The extension of the reciprocal trade agreements program and the role the United States is playing in the International Trade Organization will come up for discussion. We shall be called on to decide on joining the World Health Organization.

Great matters of hemisphere security will also come up for consideration. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs, after extensive hearings, reported favorably on H. R. 3836, a bill providing for inter-American military cooperation through standardization of military equipment and military training among the other American Republics and Canada. It will be brought up and acted upon in the next session. By the time we again convene two momentous inter-American conferences will have been held. The conference at Rio de Janeiro, often postponed and required to be held by the Act of Chapultepec (adopted at the last Inter-American Conference held in Mexico City in March 1945), to consider an inter-American treaty whereby the American states may meet in common, "threats or acts of aggression against any American Republic"; and the conference at Bogotá on inter-American military defense.

If these great challenging problems are not enough we have such issues as Palestine and the ferment in the Middle East to contend with, the problem of civil conflicts in China and of the new governments in India and the whole movement of pan-Asia. In Palestine, especially, the issue between international justice and decadent colonialism are sharply drawn. If in the face of solemn international covenants undertaken to the Jewish people—now martyred and desperate in Europe—the illegal barriers to full immigration into Palestine cannot be made to come down, then the cause of peaceful justice in the world has suffered a mortal blow. The United States is a party to this international covenant and will count heavily in the result, if it demonstrates a willingness to implement the United Nations recommendations on Palestine. We must see that our historic Palestine policy is translated into action. As is well known to this House, I have been working hard to bring this action about.

Important international financial problems will be before us dealing with the operations of the world bank and of our own Export-Import Bank. The question of the St. Lawrence seaway is likely to arise—a matter which has been pending for 10 years and is critically important to the prosperity of millions of people around the Great Lakes and of great significance to Canada and other countries.

Yet our main challenge is likely to be the working out of our relations with Russia and with her satellite countries of Eastern Europe. For unless we can build a peaceful and prosperous world, and that is likely to mean one in which the Soviets are also included, we can have no real security at home; and we must labor under enormous appropriations for our Military Establishment, the utilization of much manpower for this purpose and the uncertainty of living in a dangerous and explosive world. The greatest ingenuity and patience will be called for from us. We must, I am convinced, stand firmly by our principles of individual freedom, respect for human rights, the sanctity of contracts and international agreements, freedom of thought, religion, and communication, the security of private property and of our private economy and opportunity for all nations to develop their own destinies peaceably. But at the

same time, without appeasement or weak compromises, we must be trying to effect measures of cooperation—especially economic—with the Soviets. Our best chance to do this is through the medium of international organization furnished by the United Nations. But in so doing we must be watchful to preserve the national integrity and allow the development of higher standards of living for other peoples. In dealing with all of these problems we must understand and cling tenaciously to our declared and historic policy that men ready for freedom and self-government shall have them. It is a monumental task, yet one which we must successfully perform if we are to have peace. We cannot fear conflict, but we must move heaven and earth to avoid it.

Our problems in the field of domestic affairs have been and will continue to be of enormous importance. They determine the basis of our daily lives and the extent of the strength which will enable us to help keep the peace and contribute to our own and the world's prosperity. In this first session we have still been dealing with many of the economic and social dislocations caused by war, and with the challenge of making a private economy work for the benefit of all the people with a minimum of Government interference, after years under strict Government controls. Congress passed legislation in the first session dealing with labor, taxes, Presidential succession, veterans, civil-service retirement, rent, and continuance of some other wartime controls, and a host of other bills. Congress lifted many wartime regulations and restrictions, such as those on installment credit, reduced the scope and size of many Government agencies, like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, provided for an Army-Navy merger under a single head of national defense, which I strongly supported, and dealt with economy in the operation of Government agencies and departments.

A comprehensive labor bill, the Taft-Hartley bill, was enacted. I voted against it, as I believed that it was punitive and that on the subject of strikes threatening national paralysis—as in the coal scare—it was not effective. I had recommended provisions for permitting seizure by the Federal Government of struck essential national industries, and their operation on the minimal basis required by the public health and safety. The next months should tell us how the Taft-Hartley bill will really work. My attitude on labor legislation may be summed up by a phrase I used in a speech on a labor bill. I said: "I consider it the duty of the Congress in legislation affecting labor to legislate with a scalpel and not a cutlass."

Material reductions were effected in appropriation bills covering the expenses of the Federal Government. I voted for some and against others. On the whole, I would say as appropriations are a 1-year proposition, that whether Congress did the right thing or not—whether it cut too sharply—will be seen from how the departments and agencies operate in the coming fiscal year. The costs of Government had to come down after the war, and the people must be sympathetic to the efforts made to achieve economy by this Congress.

An effort was made by the Republican majority to reduce taxes to help those of modest income to meet the high cost of living. I voted for such tax reduction, but the whole effort failed due to presidential veto. The whole tax structure is being reviewed during the congressional recess and I shall strive to help bring about a more rational tax structure, helping especially those with modest incomes.

Many wartime controls were abandoned, but some like rent and certain import and export controls were continued. I believe that we should have had a rent-control extension to June 30, 1948; but the law that was passed—after considerable doubt that any rent-control bill would pass unless it carried an across-the-board increase—decontrols some types of housing and permits rent increases by agreement between landlord and tenant on the rest—the term of this law is to March 31, 1948. Many problems have already arisen under this law and we shall know in the next months whether the situation can right itself through the action of States and municipalities and the discipline of landlords and tenants, or whether Congress will have to act. Certainly tenants need not be pressured into making ill-advised leases as I am convinced that rent control, State or Federal, must continue as long as the housing shortage remains acute.

On the No. 1 domestic problem, and what I consider to be Congress No. 1 "must"—housing—Congress did relatively little until the close of the session when a resolution passed for a joint House-Senate investigation of the national housing shortage. This was an investigation which I had demanded over a month earlier, by introducing House Resolution 247, when I became convinced that I could not get action at this session on the comprehensive housing bill, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, which I had introduced in the House early in the session, March 12, 1947.

I am confident that this housing investigation will show the catastrophic housing shortage to demand a comprehensive housing bill like the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. Had we passed that bill this session, I am convinced that the next 6 months would have seen an enormous upward surge of housing construction. As it is the whole outlook for a greater number of permanent housing units to be built this year than last year, and for housing for moderate- and low-income families and urban redevelopment and slum clearance is uncertain at the least, unless private builders do miracles. The drive to pass the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill must continue.

The housing investigation will serve a useful purpose as it should lay bare the causes for the vastly increased costs which have so impeded the construction of needed homes. This will require the investigators to proceed with an even hand in the fields of labor, materials, land costs and financial costs, and to expose the archaic municipal building codes, and any monopolies and trusts which have been contributing to the current high costs and the national housing shortage. We all have a right to expect that if, as I am convinced, comprehensive Federal housing legislation is found necessary by the investigation, it will be asked for frankly and at the very earliest day, which if we are not called back in the fall is at the opening of the next session on January 6, 1948. I shall continue to do everything I possibly can to help solve the housing shortage so that millions of our people including thousands in my own district, can live decently and healthfully, at rents that they can afford to pay, and in a manner commensurate with the resources of our country.

Among other problems which should be dealt with at the next session of Congress aside from housing, are the national responsibility for health and for the education of our youth, the improvement and strengthening of the whole social-security system in terms of benefits, duration and types of coverage, and material increases in the level of minimum wages.

The House of Representatives has passed the anti-poll-tax bill which is a measure of justice to millions of our fellow Americans in the Southern States, but much more needs to be done. The antilynching bill must be passed in the next session. The bill for a national Fair Employment Practices Commission must also be passed, to assure all of our citizens regardless of race, creed, religion, or color of equal opportunity and security in employment. I am a cosponsor of the Ives-Fulton FEPC bill now pending in the Congress (H. R. 3034).

One of Congress' first obligations in the next session will be to see that the millions of people who suffer from lack of adequate medical care have an opportunity to share in the benefits of medical science. The state of our national health is one of our principal natural resources, and I believe that we can work out a legislative plan which will neither be socialized medicine nor medical care only for indigents, and yet which will meet the general need for adequate medical care. I was successful during the session in my fight to have expedited the reports on overall research programs for heart disease, cancer, and polio called for from the special commissions to be created under the National Science Foundation bill, which was passed by the Congress. I also introduced a comprehensive bill, H. R. 3762, for a great research program to find causes and cures for heart and cardiovascular diseases, which is sponsored by the American Heart Association, the leading professional agency in the field.

Federal aid to education is also a primary obligation. The educational standards of our democracy will determine the caliber of our citizens, and with the problems which lie ahead it is in the national interest that that caliber be very high.

Veterans' legislation will demand attention. Congress provided at this session for the cashing of terminal-leave bonds, a measure of simple justice for which I voted; but much remains to be done on subsistence allowances for veterans who are studying under the GI bill, on veterans' housing, and on veterans' rehabilitation.

World humanitarian responsibilities will also demand our attention. During the first session of the 80th Congress I joined with Senator Ives, of New York, in introducing legislation to permit war-orphaned children to be admitted into the United States free of our quota laws, for adoption by United States citizens (H. R. 2446). I hope that we shall get action on this bill in the next session. I was also privileged as a member of the subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee to be instrumental in getting House action just before the deadline which enabled the United States to join the International Refugee Organization, the international organization for the care and resettlement of displaced persons and refugees. But the Stratton bill providing for the admission of 400,000



of the displaced and persecuted persons of Europe into the United States over the next 4 years, without changing our permanent basic immigration quota system, failed to be acted on. I called these displaced and persecuted unfortunates the "walking dead" of Europe in advocating the International Refugee Organization resolution. By the next session of Congress the International Refugee Organization will be working on the resettlement of the displaced persons and will be seeking our cooperation in a resettlement plan. Whether through the Stratton bill or other suitable legislation, the most elemental dictates of humanity as well as self-interest demand that we shall cooperate in the prompt resettlement of these unfortunates.

Finally, one of the greatest challenges of our time is in our ability to make our private economy work in the United States, so that individual freedom is preserved and economic security is afforded to our people. Heretofore, we have shown great ability in increasing production, and in establishing high standards of living, but we have been derelict in providing adequate security and continuity for these conditions and have suffered terrible depressions which have shaken our society to its roots.

We should be looking into our whole economic organization in business, industry, finance, agriculture and government to determine how we may stabilize our economy to avoid or at least to cushion major depressions. This will involve herculean efforts to deal with the high cost of living. Our efforts must be to make higher incomes mean more goods and comforts and not higher prices for the same or less goods.

Our greatest domestic threat lies in the present runaway cost of living which is jeopardizing our domestic prosperity and may engulf us in an awful depression.

With all these problems to be dealt with, we must at the same time keep the foundations of our Nation secure, guard ourselves against subversives and totalitarians of the extreme left as in communism, or of the extreme right as in nazism, preserve civil liberties and free institutions and make our Constitution work. In a defense of civil liberties on the floor of the House I said, "There can be a tyranny of the Congress, as there can be a tyranny of the President or of the Supreme Court." It is our solemn duty to guard against all tyrannies.

The glorious history of almost 160 years under the Constitution gives us faith that with God's help we shall deal with our problems effectively and go on to the glorious future which is our destiny.

[Congressional Record, June 15, 1948]

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS SPECIAL AND SECOND SESSION RECORD AND FORECAST, EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS, OF NEW YORK, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 1948

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, many of the problems which we faced on January 3, 1947, when the 80th Congress convened have been dealt with during the past 18 months, but other serious problems will remain unsolved as we adjourn to prepare for the coming Presidential election. A review of the work of this Congress and its record and an assessment of what is likely to face the 81st Congress should prove useful information to all interested citizens.

I campaigned on a platform of international peace through cooperation within the United Nations, and domestic prosperity and stability based on an ever rising standard of living for all of the people of the United States.

#### FIRST SESSION RECAPITULATED

By the time the President summoned the Members of Congress back to Washington on November 17, 1947, the 80th Congress had written a good deal of legislation on the statute books. It had extended Federal rent control, and acted on relief for European countries like Greece, Austria, and Italy, enacted tax reduction, unification of the armed services, Presidential succession, and had passed the important appropriation measures affecting literally thousands of governmental activities. It had laid the groundwork for much of the action that has been taken during the 2d session of the 80th Congress. When the first session recessed on June 26, 1947, the Members dispersed to go home to their own districts to find out how their constituents felt about the momentous national problems confronting us. Other Members, including myself, took up committee assignments either in the United States or abroad. Everyone hoped that it

would be unnecessary to return to Washington until the beginning of the new year.

#### THE SUMMER RECESS

As a member of the Subcommittee on the International Refugee Organization and the International Trade Organization of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I spent 8 weeks in Europe last summer visiting hundreds of DP camps, speaking to thousands of DP's and also to the men and women in the governmental and private agencies responsible for the care and resettlement of these people who had lived through terror and death sustained only by the hope that they would find a new life in a new land as soon as the shooting was over.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS AND THE SPECIAL SESSION

While I was visiting DP camps and studying the ITO, others of my colleagues were making other investigations in Europe, South America, Asia, and other foreign territories, too. More Congressmen went abroad last summer than at any other time in American history. I think this fact is of extreme importance because it highlights the paramount role that foreign affairs plays in our domestic and personal lives. Even before all of the Congressmen had returned to the United States and had analyzed their experiences and reported them to the country, the foreign situation had become so serious in terms of American policy that the President of the United States asked the Members of Congress to reconvene in November of 1947, in a special interim session to take action on a foreign-aid bill. This bill was designed to help the countries of western Europe avoid disaster and reject the grim alternative of the "police state" by providing them with enough food and other basic commodities to see them through until they could rehabilitate themselves economically, socially, and politically, fortify their democracy, and rebuild their resources and trade.

#### THE MARSHALL PLAN

Preliminary work had already been started by what are now known as the 16 Marshall plan countries of Europe (Denmark, Austria, Belgium, France, Greece, Eire, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey). As we all know, they are called the Marshall plan countries because they developed a plan of cooperative economic action as a result of a suggestion made by Secretary of State Marshall at the Harvard commencement in June 1947. Secretary Marshall said at that time if the countries of Europe would cooperate and draw up plans to help themselves in a free and democratic manner, the United States would back them up with money, men, and materials.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which I am a member, started hearings on the program for the Marshall plan early in November and carried on these hearings continuously for approximately 5 months.

For 6 weeks during this time the Congress studied, debated, and finally passed an interim foreign aid program preliminary to Marshall plan aid, to meet the immediate needs of foreign countries faced with starvation and the prospect of fuel shortages during the winter months. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of such a program. As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, responsible for carrying this legislation through the Congress, I played an active part in writing this legislation which was so largely responsible for giving life and hope to the peoples of Europe in time to prevent them from plunging themselves and the United States into a new political and economic upheaval which could have led inevitably to war.

Today the European recovery program which was a blueprint for action only a few months ago, is a reality. The United States is appointing heads of missions to all of the ERP countries and the Economic Cooperation Administration is being built up in the United States, but 3 months ago it faced a hard fight. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I was one of the active participants in the mighty effort to legislatively implement Secretary Marshall's momentous suggestion of June 4, 1947, and the monumental work of the 16 European nations who joined together to work for their mutual economic recovery. The final vote in favor of the European recovery program was gratifyingly large. I believe it will prove to be one of the really great achievements of American foreign policy as significant as the Monroe Doctrine in expressing our determination to have world peace.

## THE UNITED NATIONS AND PALESTINE

The European recovery program is but one example of the action that the United States has taken in the international sphere. The United States must actively work within the framework of the U. N. to achieve world peace, security, and prosperity; much more can be done. For example, as a result of action recently taken by the Congress, the United States is now a member of the World Health Organization, a proposal which we in the Committee on Foreign Affairs worked for and supported for months.

The UN has had to deal with many difficult issues, a very important one of which is Palestine. Last year during the interim session we had good cause for gratification when the United States through the UN adopted the partition plan of the U. N. General Assembly on Palestine on November 29, 1947. It seemed possible then that bloodshed would be averted through this timely and decisive action by the nations of the world. Unfortunately, however, the action of the UN on this issue never was implemented. Almost as soon as the decision was made it was repudiated by the very countries which should have breathed life into it. Both as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and as one who had made a tremendous effort to get justice in Palestine so as to establish the true Jewish national home there, I tried to make a constructive contribution toward the education of the other Members of the House who I knew would inevitably have to become concerned with this situation since it affected the peace and security of the United States as well as of the other members of the U. N.

With 30 of my colleagues, who acted together on this issue, I kept in constant communication with the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the United States representative to the U. N., on the Palestine issue urging that the United States actively work for the realization of the partition plan, the protection of the shrines of Christians, Moslems, and Jews, and peace in the Holy Land. When it became apparent that the UN could not and would not act swiftly enough to prevent the outbreak of war in Palestine, I united with my 30 colleagues in urging the lifting of the United States arms embargo in the Middle East which had been invoked by the President and which in effect was preventing only the Jewish people of Palestine from receiving arms to defend themselves, and not the Arabs, since it was an open secret that the Arabs were receiving arms and money from Britain to carry on a war of aggression for many months. I protested in speech after speech on the floor of Congress against this British double dealing and demanded that it be ended or that the whole United States policy of helping Britain be reconsidered decisively.

When the new State of Israel was proclaimed on May 15, 1948, I introduced legislation authorizing the appropriation of \$100 million so that the people of Israel could purchase military and other supplies to help them end the aggression against their territory, rebuild their shattered economy, and realize the hopes and dreams that had been nurtured by the Jewish people for centuries.

Recognition of the State of Israel by the United States which came almost immediately was the first real break in resolving the problem.

Now that there is a truce in Palestine I have continued to expose Britain's support of Transjordan's Arab Legion in its attack on Jerusalem in the effort to get Britain to atone for her actions by calling off the Arabs, and, second, I have pointed out that the truce cannot be used to appease the Arabs, but that Israel's independence, won by much sacrifice, and the boundaries established by the United Nations partition decision must be respected.

The Palestine situation demonstrated better than any other the present weaknesses of the U. N. as well as its potential power and effectiveness. Ever since its inception the U. N. has been plagued by excessive use of the veto and by vacillation instead of determined action of its member nations. The great tension that exists in the world today, especially between the two great powers of Soviet Russia and the United States (which is considered later in these remarks), had dwarfed and almost paralyzed the functioning of the U. N. But on the Palestine issue both the United States and Soviet Russia were on the same side and still the new world organization was helpless to cope with the very threatening problem involving the peace of the Middle Eastern region.

## REORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The enemies of the U. N. and the skeptics of international cooperation used the Palestine situation as the occasion for condemning the whole organization

and for seeking a reorganization so drastic in character as to have destroyed it in the attempt to rebuild it. They based this demand also on U. N. failure in resolving the problem of control of atom bombs, or in settling the contentions between the United States and the U. S. S. R. As a result of the extensive hearings held by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the testimony presented by members of the State Department, especially Secretary Marshall and other well-informed witnesses, any precipitous action has been forestalled and serious and well-thought-out action will be taken by the Congress.

I contributed to the discussion and resolution of the issue through participation in the Town Hall of the Air program on the reorganization of the U. N. and countless other radio and platform forums, as well as during the open hearings of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

One of the most effective steps taken by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs has been the reporting of a bill on the U. N. providing, in addition to other things, a \$65 million loan to the U. N. so that it can build a permanent home on the site selected in New York City. I introduced the legislation for the loan in the House of Representatives.

#### THE FLIGHT OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS

These are fine people, skillful, productive, and anxious to work, about two-thirds of them from Eastern Europe of Catholic faith, about 10 percent from northern Europe of Protestant, and about 20 percent from many part of Europe, of Jewish faith—but all equally homeless and unhappy. They were faced with the prospect of spending years in almost the same concentration camps that had claimed their friends and families and imprisoned their souls and bodies. Labeled DP camps, they were no less deadly to the morale and spirit of already martyred peoples than when they were known as concentration camps. Armed with the knowledge that this could prove to be one of the worst reflections on the record of our own and the other United Nations, I came back to the United States from our investigation determined to do everything I possibly could to eliminate the problem of the DP's. Swift legislation action by the Congress was indicated to open the gates of the United States to our fair share of the DP's, so that instead of displaced persons they could become productive new citizens in the United States and in other peace-loving, democratic countries.

So far the legislation enacted by the 80th Congress is against certain basic points I had worked for and effects a discrimination against certain groups in the DP camps which I consider fatal to its original purposes. The bill only provides for the admission of 220,000 DP's in 2 years, instead of 400,000 DP's in 4 years, as did the Stratton bill. Also, it picks a date at which eligible DP's should be determined which discriminates most unfairly against the existing population of the DP camps, for it discriminates against deserving Catholics and Jews, and admits, for instance, not the actual percentage in the DP camps of 23 percent but only about 3 percent of the DP's from Poland and eastern Europe of Jewish faith who escaped from the religious persecution of the months immediately following the war which had been left as a heritage by the Nazis. The only comfort we have left is the United States participation in and contribution to the International Refugee Organization, for which I worked so hard, and the inclusion in the DP bill of the substance of the legislation introduced by Senator Ives and myself early in 1947 to allow DP children who became orphans as a result of the war to enter the United States without regard to immigration quotas. The fight to eliminate discrimination in the DP bill must be continued.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION

While in Europe last year I had the opportunity to review at Geneva the beginnings of the International Trade Organization. This organization contains the basis for future world economic cooperation which is the necessary foundation for international peace. Representatives of the United States and 19 other nations sat together at Geneva to catalog the problems that plague international trade and weaken the economic structure of individual peoples. They sought to create machinery capable of dealing with these troublesome problems and promoting international trade through the elimination of artificially created trade barriers.

Three months later as one of the United States delegates to the International Trade Organization conference in Habana, I again met with the draftsmen of

the new ITO in Habana—representing 60 countries—and brought back to the Congress a report of the contribution that the United States delegates were making to the creation of this new organization. Although the United States has not yet formally ratified the new ITO charter, the way has been paved for doing so in the next Congress.

When the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act came up recently I supported and voted for the passage of a straight 3-year extension with no crippling restrictions and testified before the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee to that effect, I also spoke in the House on the debate to warn my colleagues of the dangers to American business if the program were emasculated in favor of protectionism over reciprocity. I am gratified that the Congress has seen fit to continue the RTA program for another year without the congressional veto, although I preferred a straight 3-year extension.

#### DOMESTIC LEGISLATION

I have described at some length the action taken by the Congress in the field of foreign policy because the problems of world peace have lately overshadowed what are too, the pressing needs that our people face in the United States.

#### RENT CONTROL AND HOUSING

Our people have been vitally concerned with the problems of housing and rent control as a result of lack of construction during the war and the increase of families and marriages. The housing shortage became critical during the years when millions of American boys were living in foxholes and jungle huts dreaming of the day when they could return to the United States and live civilian lives in comfortable homes. Instead, when they returned they were confronted with the problem of finding any kind of shelter decent or otherwise, at a price they could afford. The long-dreamed-of privacy that so many veterans had lived for during the war years turned into a cruel joke. Instead of living with his buddies, the veteran found himself living with his in-laws under difficult and overcrowded conditions, or spending much of his income and savings earmarked for other essential commodities and services on providing living accommodations, generally of an inadequate character, for his family.

As a veteran myself I have been very conscious of the problems faced by millions of veterans and their families throughout the country and I have worked diligently and ceaselessly for adequate rent control and housing legislation.

Congress passed a rent-control bill again early this year. It was not as tightly drawn as I should have liked to see it, but we did manage to keep Federal rent control. I fought for better controls to get tenants the painting, decorating, and building maintenance they were entitled to, to prevent unfair evictions of tenants by landlords, and against across-the-board rent increases. I also warned all the people of my district not to be pressured into making the so-called voluntary 15-percent rent increases.

When it comes to housing, however, the story is not encouraging. Millions of Americans cannot afford to buy or rent houses built by private industry under existing costs unless they do so at the price of their standard of living.

The Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Act, which I introduced in the House, was the legislation veterans and citizens looked to as a means to end the drastic housing shortage. It was the only comprehensive long-range housing bill up for consideration. It had been before the Congress for more than 4 years, in one form or another, extensive hearings had been held on it by both the Senate and House Banking and Currency Committees, the Joint Committee on Housing which was created by the 80th Congress to make an exhaustive study of the housing situation, had supported its main provisions, including federally assisted low-rent housing, Government-supported research to reduce housing costs, slum clearance, and farm housing and it had twice been passed by the Senate.

Together with the gentleman from Massachusetts, Congressman Kennedy, and several other veterans representing all of the major veteran organizations, I sponsored a veterans housing conference which was held in Washington on February 29 and March 1 for the purpose of marshaling support and getting action on the TEW bill from the 80th Congress. More than 1,350 veterans from all parts of the country representing all national veterans organizations attended this conference. The response was immediate and encouraging. Many Congressmen who had recognized the need for action in housing and who had not understood the overwhelming interest that the people of the United States have

in the TEW bill had their eyes opened, and it got many signatures on the discharge petition by which the bill could be brought up on the floor of the House.

Despite the drive to bring the TEW bill up for action by discharge petition and the ceaseless efforts of those like myself in the Congress in behalf of the TEW bill, and although the bill was finally reported out by a majority of the House Banking and Currency Committee, it could not get action on the floor of the House. I pledged the House, however, that the fight for the TEW bill would continue and refused to compromise my position in support of this bill in any way.

#### OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES—NATIONAL HEART DISEASE INSTITUTE

Housing is the country's No. 1 domestic issue, but the questions of health, education, social security, minimum wages, civil rights, have also demanded action by the 80th Congress.

Few of these issues have been acted upon, yet it is very gratifying to me that after a year's work the Congress passed the bill H. R. 3792, which I introduced in June 1947, to create a National Heart Disease Institute within the Federal Public Health Service. There is no doubt in my mind but that heart disease, which is the Nation's foremost disease killer, will be dealt a body blow due to the research and clinical work that will be initiated as a result of this legislation.

#### FEDERAL YOUTH ASSISTANCE ACT

During the special session I introduced a bill to provide Federal financial assistance to State and local youth projects. In my own district of Washington Heights and Inwood in New York City, the problems of youth demand immediate attention if they are to be dealt with in time to prevent broken lives. An outstanding citizens' organization, Youth Aid, Inc., has been working there and doing a great job on youth problems, under President Wright, of the College of the City of New York, Anne Lee Jacobs, Professor Shulman, of City College, and other leaders. But it needs financial help. This bill has met with a tremendous amount of enthusiasm among those engaged in the fight against juvenile delinquency because it provides what has been lacking for so long, the funds to carry out the many excellent preventative youth programs which never get beyond the blueprint stage, because of the lack of funds to carry them out. The very crowded schedule of the Committee on Education and Labor has prevented the consideration of this bill during the 80th Congress. From the ever-mounting support that this bill is getting, however, I feel confident that the 81st Congress will pass this or similar legislation.

#### HIGH COST OF LIVING

Ever aware of the burden that the high cost of living has placed upon the people of this country and my constituents, I have been engaged in the effort to stabilize and bring down the cost of living. I have already mentioned the fight to maintain rent control. This was a principal effort in behalf of stabilizing the cost of living since rents normally constitute 20 to 30 percent of the family budget. But the high cost of clothing, food, and taxes as well as shelter demanded attention and I have tried in every way possible to meet these adversaries of a high standard of living head on. I voted against giving special treatment and a subsidy to the wool growers. I campaigned for food-conservation measures and succeeded in getting the House of Representatives to write such a provision in the interim-aid bill passed by the Congress in December 1947. I joined in the fight to eliminate taxes on oleomargarine. Together with Senator Flanders, of Vermont, I sponsored a meat-rationing bill. Although the bill never got out of committee I believe that Senator Flanders and I accomplished a great deal by warning the meat industry against the same squeeze on the public of which they had been guilty in the spring of 1946. This action aroused a great deal of discussion and although the bill did not pass I believe the public opinion created was an important element in preventing a complete runaway of meat prices during the ensuing months.

When the controversial matter of tax reduction came up, I was guided primarily by the needs of the people of middle and low income in my district and all over the country to meet the high cost of living. As I said during the debate, "I voted for the reduction because the need of my constituents for some kind of help to meet the high living costs is so great that I feel as their Representative that I must vote for this bill with its imperfections rather than to accord them

no help at all at this time." It is my conviction that the people of my district will be willing to increase taxes again if necessary, but they want the reduction now while we can afford it in view of the high living costs.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

The problem of safeguarding the cherished American tradition of civil liberties has loomed large on the congressional horizon during the second session of the 80th Congress. The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights touched off a tremendous amount of discussion in this field. Legislation has been introduced to create a Federal FEPC, to abolish the poll tax, to make lynching a Federal offense, and to eliminate segregation in its many forms.

Together with other Members I introduced legislation to create an FEPC during the 1st session of the 80th Congress, but unfortunately no action has been taken on this measure on the House side and from all appearances nothing will be done on it during the rush to adjourn. But this is must legislation and I intend to work for its passage early in the next Congress.

The dilemma of how to cope with the threat of communism in the United States was crystallized during the debate on the Mundt-Nixon Subversive Control Act of 1948. This measure became one of the most thoroughly discussed pieces of legislation to come before the 80th Congress and even was the subject of a great radio debate by two Presidential candidates. I am in accord with those who believe that no stone should be left unturned in dealing decisively with any threat by subversive elements to American political and economic institutions. I had to vote, finally, against this measure because I believed with Governor Dewey and Senator Taft that the Mundt-Nixon bill did not accomplish the purpose we sought, but outlawed the Communist Party, and thereby increased its threat because it would have gone underground. There is sufficient legislation on the books, if vigorously prosecuted, to deal effectively with those dominated by a foreign government who seek to undermine American institutions. The Senate has shown that it agrees, for the Mundt-Nixon bill has died there. To strike a blow at totalitarianism with totalitarian weapons is to put a time bomb under the great American fortress of civil rights.

I have stood against efforts to overthrow the guaranties of our Constitution, realizing that these guaranties must protect all if they are to protect any. I showed my evenhandedness in this by voting to punish those guilty of acts against our laws regardless of their politics, hence I voted to cite for contempt Messrs. Eisler and Josephson who had refused to answer the questions of a congressional committee. Disturbed by the manner in which the Committee on Un-American Activities was handling witnesses where their reputation and character was at stake, I introduced by resolutions a plan to substitute for the House Un-American Activities Committee a new joint committee of the House and Senate to investigate all Communist, Fascist, or other extremist movements in the United States with the understanding that the committee would have rules of procedure which would give people whose character was on trial a fair opportunity to clear themselves.

#### VETERANS' BENEFITS

The whole question of veterans' rights and benefits has also been a major consideration of the 80th Congress. The House Committee on Veterans' Affairs successfully sponsored through the Congress a bill increasing subsistence benefits from \$65 to \$75 for single veterans, \$90 to \$105 for married veterans, and \$90 to \$120 for veterans with more than one dependent.

This Congress took action to authorize the cashing of veterans' terminal-leave bonds.

Legislation has been enacted in connection with the disposal of war housing and to arrange for putting up barracks and other temporary structures for housing students attending schools and colleges under the GI bill of rights. I supported all this legislation and worked for it. I also was able to get some Government buildings put up at 187th Street and Amsterdam Avenue in my own district to help expand the facilities of Yeshiva University.

There was also passed by the House a bill to increase the allowances for dependents of disabled veterans and to help war widows and orphans. Also legislation was enacted to help with homes for paraplegics with Government assistance.

I believe that the 80th Congress has dealt with the most pressing of the veterans matters before it but there is still a tremendous backlog that will have to be taken up in the 81st Congress.

#### FEDERAL AND POST OFFICE PAY RAISES

Another subject which deserves special attention is that of a pay raise for Federal and post office employees. The high cost of living has been especially hard on those who have been receiving incomes fixed by law despite the fact that the cost of living has skyrocketed during the last 2 years. The postal employees have been particularly handicapped because their basic salaries are lower than most other Federal employee pay schedules to begin with. I have consistently worked for and supported a \$1,000 Federal and postal employee pay increase which would be realistic in terms of the present cost of living. A bill has now passed granting the postal employees a \$450 annual pay raise, and other Federal employees an average \$330 per annum increase. That is not enough, but it will help.

Some action has been taken, also, to help those Federal employees who have already retired through the enactment of the Stevenson retirement bill which increased the annuities of retired Federal employees by 25 percent or \$300 a year, whichever was the smaller, made provisions for refunding retirement contributions of employees who worked at least 5 years and less than 10 years, and generally made more flexible the retirement age of Federal employees.

#### SELECTIVE SERVICE AND FOREIGN POLICY

Every citizen will be giving the most serious consideration to the peacetime draft. People in my district are deeply concerned that the enactment of the draft at this time may be a measure in contemplation of war. The essential element in maintaining the peace must be our foreign policy, which should be a policy for peace. This policy consists of three parts: First, assisting in the economic reconstruction of the European democracies and other democratic nations provided that they do their best to help themselves and each other; second, strengthening the U. N. to make it what we want—a true world organization for preserving the peace; and, third, performance of our international responsibilities and assisting free peoples to be free. If we pursue this three-point foreign policy with vigor and faithfulness, we have a right to look with confidence to a time when this peacetime draft for present purposes will be no longer necessary.

It is estimated that the draft will call up about 200,000 men between 19 and 26 each year for 21 months' duty. There are restrictions in the law regarding the exemptions of veterans who have already served a year or more, those with dependents, and the deferment of young men attending schools or colleges until the end of the school year, those taking professional training, and others. It will be up to us as legislators to guard carefully against any dominance of the country by the military and to insure that civilians at all times shall dominate the military forces and the Federal Government, in accordance with American tradition. We showed our ability to do this even in war, and we should be able to do it just as well in peace.

The prize of peace, prosperity, and stability which the American people fought for at great sacrifice and which they thought they had won in 1945 still lies just beyond our reach, but with wisdom, responsibility, and generosity, we can go far during the next years toward really accomplishing the goals for which the recent disastrous war was fought. The 80th Congress made some good beginnings, and there are also failures and frustrations to point to. I believe that in the 81st Congress, as in the 80th, the nettling problems of foreign policy will again be in the forefront of our consideration, and that the people of the United States will also want action on the social issues which were passed over by the 80th Congress. Together, we, people of the United States, will be building tomorrow as we are today a country capable of greatness and of leading toward a united and peaceful world organized democratically for its own salvation.



SPECIAL AND FINAL SESSION, EIGHTIETH CONGRESS: RECORD AND FORECAST—EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS, OF NEW YORK, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, 1948

CALL FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the President announced at the Philadelphia convention of the Democratic Party that he was calling the Congress into special session primarily to deal with high prices and the housing shortage; and added also a list of other matters such as the United Nations loan agreement and the displaced persons bill. It is true that calling the Congress together in this political way had a tendency to prejudice the atmosphere at once and was, therefore, not too advisable, if the President really wanted results. Nevertheless, I, as one Congressman, was entirely satisfied that the Congress should be asked to do something tangible about these problems.

For one, I was the sponsor of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill for a comprehensive national housing program insofar as the House of Representatives was concerned, and welcomed the opportunity to wage a further fight for this legislation. Also I wanted an opportunity to amend the discriminatory DP bill which had passed in June 1948. Finally, I had fought for the \$65 million loan to enable the United Nations to establish its headquarters in New York, which had failed to get action in the regular session and I wanted it to pass.

But beyond anything else, it was clear that the economic security of the people of the United States had to be protected. For the prime consideration in the mind and heart of every citizen was a desire for peace and economic security. If prices continued to run away in the United States, the ability of the people to buy must at some point end, and the resulting depression would shake our society to its foundation. Also, if we had a depression here our resulting inability to help other democratic nations to effect recovery would result in sweeping changes in their own governments which could lead to war.

When the official season opened it was also clear that there were no easy solutions to our problems. The President recommended rationing and price control over key items in the cost of living, and in industrial production. I showed my views by introducing again the bill which I had sponsored with Senator Flanders as far back as January 1948, when I saw runaway prices getting worse, for the rationing and allocation of meat with added powers. I stated, in connection with this bill, that I favored also controls over raw or unfabricated materials like steel, which affect the cost of living through the products which go into most manufactured goods. But none of us could forget at the same time, the rampant black markets and the flight of goods from the stores, which had induced the same President to lift all controls in June of 1946, because they could not be effectively administered in peacetime. Our citizens will long remember the artificial meat famine of that time when meat just left the stores and was unobtainable at OPA prices, but could only be found in the black markets. I believe that it would be proper to reimpose controls as a temporary expedient. I would certainly expect also that we could see our way through to a permanent solution. The President, though, did not seem to be thinking beyond the coming election, for he gave no hope of anything but a continuing emergency which would require controls as far as he indicated forever, or until we got into a depression.

RATIONING AND CONTROL FAYORED NOW

My concern with the current price situation has been to endeavor to retain for wage and salary earners, the progress which was made during the war in attaining a higher standard of living. Because real wages—that is, wages expressed in terms of what the dollar will buy for one's family—increased by about two-thirds in 1946 over what they were in 1939 and even with the higher cost of living, there was still an absolute gain of about one-third. In other words, people were living one-third better than they had before the war. The key effort in prices, therefore, has to be to retain this advance in the standard of living for people with modest incomes and to make it permanent.

The political atmosphere of the special session has been so great that no rationing, allocation, or price-control powers have been given to the President, and the only controls passed have been credit controls. The President asked for these, also, and they are useful, but their effect is not immediate. The failure

to pass legislation for direct controls may not be due so much to opposition to the program—for this very Congress has twice passed rent control—but rather a complete lack of confidence in the analysis of the situation and of suitable remedies for it by the President and the administration, and in the ability within the last few months before a great election of the President and his administration to wisely administer such controls.

Regardless of my own view that controls should be enacted into law at the special session, this has not been done. Congress will be back in session next January and action at that time on the price front must be sure and direct. There will no longer be any reason to delay due to lack of confidence in the President, as the people will have given a new mandate. It must be coupled, however, with action affecting not only prices but other Government as well as economic activities which keep prices high.

So for example, Congress must review and overhaul the law providing support prices for agricultural products on which we are spending close to a billion dollars a year. We are supporting these prices at a time when the income of farmers is the highest in history. Great statesmanship on the part of the new President and the new administration will also be required to get management and labor together to stop the wage-price spiral which causes wages and prices to be running a continuous race and for every round of wage increases, brings on an even greater price increase, leaving no benefit to anyone. Finally, we must establish some means by which we shall plan ahead with respect to production and other essential aspects of our economic life—as is done in any well-run business—and not rely on the cycle of prosperity and depression to work out our problems. I have said before that the people just will not take the punishment involved in that planlessness with its deepening depressions. I have introduced a bill for the establishment of a National Economic Commission which proposes a way in which this result can be effective while retaining fully our democratic processes.

#### HOUSING—TEW BILL

The President also called us back into session to deal with housing and as I have stated, as the sponsor in the House of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner comprehensive housing bill, I welcomed this opportunity to fight for its enactment. Together with other liberal Congressmen similarly interested, I realized that only by getting the legislation on the floor of the House of Representatives for a vote could we be successful. For this legislation had been killed before through the action or inaction of committees. Accordingly, I joined with these colleagues in the fight to get a majority of the Members of the House of Representatives to sign a discharge petition which would have brought the TEW bill out for a vote. We fought hard and came within a very close margin of success, but did not quite make it. The housing bill finally passed by the House of Representatives at this special session is largely a bill to aid private construction in low-cost homes. The bill also picks up one important part of the TEW bill and makes it law—that providing for Government insurance of investments in medium rental housing—which should be a powerful stimulus to this type of construction in large cities like New York by insurance companies and banks. Though I had worked on this yield insurance program for almost 2 years and was deeply gratified to see it enacted, I could not vote for the housing bill but voted "present," because it omitted federally subsidized low-rent housing and slum clearance. In this way the bill discriminated against not less than 36 percent of the American people who live in families with incomes of \$2,000 per year or less. On August 5, 1948, I made a speech in the House of Representatives answering the arguments made against the TEW bill. It is interesting to consider these arguments in view of the limited housing bill which was passed. As I stated during the debate, the fight for federally subsidized low-rent housing, slum clearance, and federally aided farm housing will go on and will be successful in the next Congress. I repeat here from my address referred to above, some of the answers to the objections made to these features of the TEW bill.

The TEW bill is also criticized because it will put the Government in the housing business to compete for scarce men and materials. But it will do nothing of the kind. It provides for only a maximum of 100,000 units of public housing per annum; this is 10 percent of present housing construction and would be 7½ percent of the construction expected under the TEW bill. That is the least which can be done to bring a share of the new housing within reach of those in the lower income brackets who need it most. TEW will reduce costs and accelerate private construction; it will not compete with it.

Second. Private industry is doing the job. Even if this were true, it is a fact that the housing produced is not within the price range, either for sale or rental, of those in the middle and lower income levels who need it most. The average price of a home around New York City is \$13,000, veterans generally cannot pay more than \$6,000. Housing starts in June 1948 decreased about 4 percent from those in May 1948. Not less than 30 percent of the housing construction in the country was done prior to March 31, 1948, under mortgage insurance provided by title VI of the National Housing Act. It is freely predicted even by real-estate interests that 100,000 additional home units will be lost this year because title VI went out March 31, 1948, and it is estimated that total housing completions this year will not be much more than 900,000 units. In the face of an immediate demand from 2 to 4 million veterans living doubled up with relatives, an answer from the housing-construction industry is hardly business as usual.

Third. It is said that the TEW bill would be inflationary in its effect. This must be premised on the absolute expenditure involved. Commitments under the TEW bill are a maximum of \$160 million of subsidies per year with a total of \$1,610 million to \$2,610 million of insurance authorization, and \$1,310 million to \$1,560 million of revolving loan funds generally considered collectible; there is general agreement on the United States being committed for the insurance authorizations whether or not TEW passes. That leaves a maximum of \$160 million yearly in subsidies. There is no such outcry, however, as meets this expenditure for housing lower-income families, when it comes to aiding certain special interests. It is, therefore, interesting to compare the expressed fears of inflation due to a housing bill with the following appropriations made by the 80th Congress:

Rural electrification-----	\$636,000,000
Soil conservation-----	203,000,000
AAA farm-support program-----	265,500,000
Reclamation projects-----	156,000,000
Flood control, rivers and harbors-----	900,000,000
Federal aid to highway construction-----	1,147,000,000
Foreign aid and the ERP-----	7,000,000,000
<b>Total-----</b>	<b>9,301,500,000</b>

#### DP'S AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Two other subjects to which I have devoted myself in the special session have been the correction of injustice done by the displaced persons bill passed in June 1948, and the consummation of the loan to enable the United Nations to build its home in New York City.

It will be recalled that the displaced persons bill through utilizing an eligibility date of December 1945 as against an eligibility date of April 1947, resulted in direct discrimination against Jews who had escaped from political and religious persecution in eastern Europe immediately following and as a result of the war, and Catholics who had similarly escaped from such persecution from eastern and southeastern Europe. For these tens of thousands of unfortunates had entered the DP camps after December 1945 but before April 1947. I set myself a limited objective during the special session to get this date changed. This alone would have meant the difference between hope and hopelessness for well over 50,000 DPs out of the out of the 203,000 to be admitted from the DP camps in 2 years under the law. Though I fought hard, made a number of speeches on this point in the House of Representatives, fought the issue as well among my colleagues, getting, I am happy to state, the support of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and many Members, it was just impossible to get this amendment to the DP bill passed in this short special session. The Senate had inserted the December 1945 date and the House had used the correct April 1947 date, and it was impossible to get Senate action despite the best efforts of Senators Smith of New Jersey, Ives, Ferguson, Cooper, and others. The injustice is so apparent, however, that I have great confidence that we shall get such an amendment passed early in the next session, and I intend to make this one of my principal efforts at that time if I am returned to the Congress.

#### UNITED NATIONS LOAN

The United Nations headquarters loan of \$65 million was a business transaction on good security to enable the United Nations to build its headquarters

on the East River in the Borough of Manhattan from 42d to 48th Streets. The city and State of New York were cooperating to the extent of \$20 million in expenditures, and the site, worth \$8,500,000, had been donated. Here, too, I fought the battle through the conferences with my colleagues, through the Foreign Affairs Committee, of which I am a member, and through the House of Representatives itself. I said in the debate that if we do not make this loan we will have in New York City "a black hole of Calcutta," the excavation for the United Nations headquarters, but without the headquarters itself. The House of Representatives passed the bill and the United Nations can now go forward with construction. I am proud of this achievement, not only because it will beautify a part of Manhattan Island with great structures but because it will center the United Nations, which is the world's best hope for peace, permanently in the United States, where I believe it has the greatest chance to succeed in its mission of abolishing war as a means for settling international disputes and substitute for it law.

#### OTHER DOMESTIC LEGISLATION

Other desirable legislation was called to the attention of the Congress by the President which I favor very much. I wanted to bring up this legislation and pass it. It may have been too much to expect within the few months preceding a great national election that the Congress would act upon these great and permanent reforms, but I am disappointed that they were not acted on and the fight must go on and must be won. Primary among these measures is the fight for civil rights, the antilynching, anti-poll-tax, and FEPC bills. The House of Representatives passed the antilynching bill over a year ago and I voted for it. I am also a cosponsor of the FEPC bill in the House. The fight for these measures, essential to vindicate justice and the Constitution, must continue to success in the next Congress.

Federal aid to education also failed of enactment in this Congress. Such aid must not be delayed. The problems of our days are too great and too complex to neglect the education of our youth in all the States, whether rich or poor, North or South. For the educational level of all Americans will determine the fate of our country for each American.

A reform of the social-security system, particularly for old-age and survivors insurance is essential. The amount of insurance reserves already created indicates that benefits can and should be increased by 50 percent, and allowable earnings of beneficiaries from sources other than the social-security system should be materially raised. The country can afford to be fair to its faithful, aged citizens.

The minimum wage at 40 cents an hour must be raised to not less than 75 cents an hour. In terms of the present cost of living, the 40-cent rate is completely unrealistic anywhere in the United States.

Rent control, a critical item in the whole question of family life, must be continued by extending the Federal law after March 31, 1949, and must be strengthened to prevent improper increases. The hundreds and hundreds of cases in my own district in which my own office has had to prevent tenants from being victimized by some landlords through improper administration of the rent-control law, shows the need for a stronger law to protect tenants. I have fought before and will fight again to strengthen the law in this way.

#### CONCLUSION

The country is at peace and is enjoying a high level of real prosperity but there are very serious problems which make us all feel that both the peace and the prosperity are in grave peril. Hence, we are proposing to take measures to deal with these problems. These measures will largely be taken in the next 2 years. They will require vigorous independence, initiative, ideas, and character in our President and legislators, and a profound understanding of our Government and our Constitution. They will also require outstanding qualities of discipline, understanding, and patriotism among our citizens. It is the possession of these qualities which has made and will keep us great. The American people will be considering these problems with their heads and their hearts, fully cognizant of what is at stake, and with complete independence untrammelled by party allegiance or traditional connections with any group or any party, but with an eye single to the well-being of our Nation. It is for this reason that I have complete faith in the outcome. America will be greater tomorrow than it is today.

[Congressional Record, October 13, 1949]

## THE EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION—FINAL REPORT—RECORD AND FORECAST

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the 81st Congress now reaches the halfway mark, and it is time to appraise what it has done and what its work portends for the future. The people have won public housing, a higher minimum wage, expansion and improvement of the social-security system. Government reorganization and a continuance of the bipartisan foreign policy for the maintenance of peace and security with special emphasis on the economic rehabilitation of the western democracies. Other major legislation on civil rights, health, labor-management relations, housing, and technical assistance to underdeveloped areas, have not been acted on and await action in the next session.

The news of an atomic explosion in the Soviet Union has stimulated all Americans to question the direction of our foreign policy. In the approval of appropriations for the European recovery program and of a program of military aid to the Atlantic Pact nations Congress showed that it believes in the American policy of support by self-help and mutual cooperation for the democracies, and that their security is our security. Congress saw no reason as yet for undertaking a drastic change in our foreign policy.

I have worked hard to insure that our policies shall seek justice at home and a better standard of well-being for our people, while we lent the great weight of our prestige and resources to the struggle for peace and freedom abroad.

## RENT CONTROL

In my last report on this Congress I described in detail the provisions of Federal rent control which expires June 30, 1950. At that time the legislation had just been passed. We now have had some experience with it and find that the formula—which I opposed putting into law—under which landlords have a right to seek rent increases is not working properly. Rent increases are being granted on the basis of a particular landlord's claims that he is not earning a fair net-operating income, and for other reasons in amounts which appear to tenants unreasonable considering what they are getting for their money. This formula is onerous enough but its effects are worsened by the failure or inability of the authorities to adequately enforce the new feature of the rent-control law sponsored by me which requires for the first time a sworn certification by the landlord that he is maintaining all services to tenants before he may apply for a rent adjustment. If landlords were rigorously compelled to give tenants the services in painting and decoration, refrigerator repairs, garbage collection, elevator and similar services, the operation of the fair net-operating-income formula might not be found so onerous. I am therefore making every effort to bring about strict enforcement of this new Javits amendment by the Office of the Housing Expediter.

Under present conditions, it would be much better for tenants if we returned to the original OPA basis in effect during the war years, of granting rent increases only in the event of actual hardship. Unless there is a correction of the present situation this may well be necessary.

In order to protect the people of our district against the new problems raised by the Federal rent-control law of 1949 the facilities of my Congressional Rent Clinic were expanded and branches are now operating throughout the district. A corps of lawyers is working in these clinics on a voluntary basis rendering excellent service to all the people of our district, and have already helped more than 6,000 residents of the district with their rent problems. These lawyers function under the direction of Hyman W. Sobell, Esq., chairman of the clinic. A schedule is available upon application to my office regarding the location of these clinics, the hours of operation, and the lawyers in charge.

## HOUSING

A great victory for housing was scored in the 1st session of the 81st Congress in that \$10,000 federally assisted, low-rent housing units to be built within 6 years—public housing—and a \$1,500,000,000 slum-clearance program were approved. The people of our district have a right to be proud of the leadership which, with their support, I have been able to furnish in this fight. In order to pass the bill, the votes of 23 Republican legislators were absolutely

essential and these were marshalled as a result of the activity in housing which I have engaged in in the Congress since I first came here in January 1947.

Action has been taken also in the Congress to liberalize mortgage guaranties for veterans and other citizens renting or buying private housing under FHA and to extend this program to March 31, 1950. However, a great omission in the whole housing program has been the failure to take action for the benefit of families in the moderate income brackets who are caught in the squeeze of being ineligible for public housing—which indeed they do not seek—and being unable to buy or rent private housing within their means. Over 30 percent of all American families fall in the category, some 15 million of a total of 40 million families in the country.

Together with 9 other colleagues I have sponsored and fought for a measure to make available \$3 billion in direct, very low interest loans for the construction of housing for families in the moderate-income bracket. This would make possible the construction of not less than 400,000 of such units in a space of 6 years or less. With this impetus we could finally attain a balanced housing program for all elements in the community needing Government aid and reach our construction goal of 1,500,000 new home units per year which is essential if we are to lick the housing shortage in our time. This proposal for direct Government loans has obtained a great deal of support in the Congress and I look forward to the prospects of action in the next session.

#### MINIMUM WAGE AND EMPLOYMENT

A great step forward was taken by the increase of the minimum wage in this session from 40 cents to 75 cents per hour. An effort, however, was made in the House of Representatives to restrict coverage of the law, the most important item of restriction being to exclude workers unless they were indispensable—finally compromised to read “directly essential”—to interstate commerce. This was estimated to exclude 750,000 from the over 22,601,000—1947 estimate—at present under the minimum-wage coverage. Other specialized categories of workers were also excluded. I fought against these restrictions and sought to exclude them from the law but without success. Much has been achieved in the amended bill by raising the minimum wage, yet certain exclusions are unfair and the fight against them should continue. The least we can do for Americans, considering the magnitude of our production and national income, is to give them a concrete floor of \$30 per week for a 40-hour week; no American should be asked to live on less, not matter where located, under present costs of living.

One of the grave defaults of this session of Congress has been the failure to take up FEPC legislation granting equality of job opportunity without discrimination on account of race, color, creed, or national origin which has operated so successfully in New York and is long overdue nationally. I testified before the committee of the House considering this legislation in its support, and it has now been reported favorably to the House. Yet no action has been taken. Americans who believe in our constitutional democracy must fight vigorously for such legislation in the next session. We suffer at home and abroad from the absence of it and give Communist forces thereby a powerful propaganda weapon with which to try to destroy our society.

In this respect I propose that the legislation be taken out of partisan considerations and made a bipartisan issue, as indeed it must be if it is to be passed so that liberals and progressives of both major parties may combine to win this struggle for freedom of job opportunity to the limit of their abilities for all people regardless of color, national origin, or religious faith.

The heated controversy over the Taft-Hartley law will now be transferred to the second session. I have made my opposition to this legislation clear many times; and restate that my fundamental objective is to see that collective bargaining by employers and employees remains and is conducted fairly and with the least interference save for the right of the Government to cope with national emergencies due to labor conflict in the interests of the Nation as a whole and without coercion.

#### PUERTO RICO

This Territory has special employment problems with which a considerable number of our citizens in the district are directly concerned. Citizens who have moved from Puerto Rico to New York City need assistance in getting settled so that they may have every opportunity to make the great contribution of which they are capable to our community.

Also, residents, of Puerto Rico should not be subjected to substandard economic conditions, and for that purpose Federal aid for economic betterment, education, and other assistance to Puerto Rico is necessary. I am engaged in helping with the solution of these questions.

#### HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Two critically important fields of social-welfare action were not touched in this session—legislation accepting the national responsibility for the people's health and providing Federal aid to education. These are very likely to come up in the next session.

I have expressed myself before as being in favor of the acceptance by the Government of the national responsibility for the people's health. The President's health plan, offered in the form of a compulsory payroll tax—like social security—estimated at 3 percent per year, has encountered great opposition, especially on the part of the medical profession. As our country enjoys a high quality of medical service today, considering the standard of medical care in other countries, it shall be my aim to keep the quality high while increasing the quantity to provide adequate medical facilities for many of our citizens now deprived of them because of cost or because of their location in rural areas; while, at the same time, to seek to retain freedom of choice of a doctor for our people and not mislead them with glittering promises of immediate large-scale services which cannot be performed because of shortages of doctors, nurses, dentists, hospitals, and facilities. It is gratifying to report that by action of the House of Representatives the Federal hospital-construction program shows promise of being doubled from \$75 million per year to \$150 million per year.

Federal aid to education has had no action due to the issue of whether the Barden bill should be passed which prevents States from using any of the Federal aid for any services—even health services—except for public schools. I have expressed myself as being opposed to such a restriction. The Supreme Court has ruled that there should be an equality of service like bus service for all schools. In view of the very large number of children who attend other schools—that number in New York City, for instance, being almost 400,000 out of an aggregate elementary-school population of 1,300,000—our States should retain this flexibility in the use of Federal funds the same as they have it in the use of their own funds for school purposes. I shall be guided by these principles in fighting for Federal aid to education.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY AND TAXATION

A great victory was gained by working people in the passage by the House of the broadened social-security bill. The retirement benefits were extended to some millions of the self-employed other than professional people, to employees of State and local governments and of nonprofit organizations on a voluntary basis—in the one case by action of the State and in the other by action of the employees themselves—to domestic servants who have reasonably steady jobs, to agricultural processing workers and to certain other employees including those in the Virgin Islands, and, if requested by the insular legislature, in Puerto Rico. Another important extension of the law was to make it apply to salesmen who by a law passed in the Eightieth Congress had been excluded—a law, incidentally, which I voted against. Benefits were also increased ranging from a 50-percent increase for the highest pension groups to 150 percent for the lowest pension groups and increasing the minimum benefit from \$10 to \$25 and the maximum from \$85 to \$150 per month. Also, and very important, the amount which a beneficiary could earn and still not be deprived of his social-security payments was increased from \$14.99 to \$50 per month.

These changes were not all which could be desired, but they go a long way toward answering the legitimate complaints of our citizens who had spent their best working years in the service of our whole community—every working person serves in this way.

In the coming session I shall seek action on my bill exempting from Federal income taxes the pensions of Federal, State, and city employees up to \$2,000 per year and also disability pensions.

Also, while we are on the direct subject of taxes, I have made great efforts to relieve all of us of the wartime luxury taxes on such things as fur coats costing not more than a reasonably priced cloth coat, baby oil, inexpensive cosmetics, popular-priced handbags, etc. I propose to continue this fight as such

taxes should be eliminated from the cost of living of moderate-income families.

The efficient operation of Government makes for the economic utilization of the funds authorized by the Congress. To this end I did my utmost to see that the recommendations of the Hoover Commission on Reorganization of the Federal departments were given full weight. To effectuate these savings Congress passed basic authority to the President and some progress has been made on unifying the armed services, also some departments, such as the Civil Service Commission, the Labor Department, and the Post Office Department have been reorganized.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

The last weeks of this session were characterized by a struggle to get an improved wage for postal and other civil-service employees. I joined in this effort by testifying before the appropriate committees, acting through discharge petitions to bring the necessary legislation up for consideration on the floor of the House of Representatives and by personal efforts with other Members. It was finally possible to make a beginning of reform in two ways: One, by the enactment of legislation increasing the salaries of postal employees by an average of \$141 per year, and, two, by making some other reforms to eliminate inequities in pay schedules and conditions of employment. It was also possible to pass the Reclassification Act resulting in a general increase for civil-service employees of about \$120 per year. These developments were very gratifying to me.

#### SMALL BUSINESS

One of the important contests engaged in in this session was the effort to retain the vitality and position of small business while giving to large business legitimate relief from a decision of the Supreme Court seriously hampering its operations in respect of the right to charge delivered prices. This result was accomplished by carefully limiting the effect of the remedial legislation and the development of a suitable formula to protect small business, in which I actively participated in the House. The legislation will not come up in the Senate until January 1950. Every citizen and certainly every small-business man should take an interest in this legislation so important to the proper position of small business which is the backbone of our economy.

#### VETERANS

The problems of our veterans have continued to be one of my foremost concerns. The continued rising cost of living was much felt among our disabled veterans of both wars, their widows and children. In an effort to alleviate this hardship I supported and worked for legislation granting a long-needed increase of these pensions commensurate with the added cost of living of the past years.

As a result of the interpretation of certain provisions in an appropriation bill, the Veterans' Administration issued regulations seriously curtailing the educational benefits for veterans under the GI bill of rights. As a result of vigorous protests, many of these restrictions have been lifted. In addition, I have joined with others of my colleagues in introducing legislation which would assure to all veterans the educational benefits originally intended for them and I will continue to do my utmost to see that these GI rights are not infringed upon by arbitrary administrative decisions or by oversights in the law.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

In an effort to strengthen and buttress our American democracy I have fought hard this session on several fronts for the safeguarding of fundamental civil rights. In the spring of the year I protested vigorously and with some effect the segregation of Negroes practiced in Washington. Much still needs to be done on this score until the blight of discrimination is totally eliminated from our Nation's Capital. I shall remain vigilant in this regard.

At present I am working with the West Side Committee on Civil Rights making a survey in part of our community in this field. From this survey we hope to evolve an effective and strong program to meet local conditions and to gain facts for use in the fight for national legislation.

The House passed an anti-poll-tax bill which is now before the Senate Judiciary Committee. This Senate committee has approved an antilynching bill but that measure has not yet come up for a vote in the House. Only by continued



work among the people and in the Congress can these civil-rights bills be enacted into law.

The struggle for antilynching, anti-poll-tax, and FEPC legislation continues in the Congress. It is an important battle from which there must be no retreat and no wavering until all our citizens, without exception due to race, color, creed, or national origin, enjoy all the rights and freedoms which are their birthrights as American citizens.

#### FOOD PRICES

One of the vitally important problems we faced in this session was the enactment of a bill renewing the support for prices of farm products. I vigorously opposed up to the last days of the session the inflexible 90 percent of parity guaranty to farmers, on the ground that this bore unfairly on the living costs of city consumers, a large proportion of which was for food, while it operated in favor of farmers who were enjoying almost four times their aggregate pre-war income, I believe in the need of the interests of our national economic stability for a concrete floor under farm prices, but these supports should be flexible and not rigid in order to meet the needs of farmers without unduly penalizing city dwellers.

#### ECONOMIC SECURITY

Aside from social security, unemployment insurance and other types of protection, our people are critically interested in the stable operation of our private economic system to avoid the shattering impact of depressions. I have introduced legislation seeking to give our economic system stability by bringing about better coordination between Government and business through self-help and mutual cooperation supported by law. I consider this one of the most urgent tasks before us and shall work on it diligently in the next session.

#### TOTALITARIAN MOVEMENTS

I have continued to protest against the danger of the resurgence of Nazi activity in the management of German industry and of German economic and social life. I shall continue this protest, bringing before the Congress as I have in the past significant evidences of it. I am convinced that one of the grave dangers that we face is of a resurgence of militant nationalism in Germany and the danger that we may find the Germans a Soviet ally for a renewed effort at world aggression. I shall do everything possible to see that we insist on compliance with the occupation statute which is the overriding law over all west German governments and that we continue even if it takes some years the supervision of Germany to guard against a resurgence of militant nationalism.

The people of our district may recall my fight with respect to the Bollingen poetry award to Ezra Pound under the sponsorship of the Library of Congress resulting in the abandonment of this practice by the Library. I fought this procedure because I did not believe that an agency of our Government should lend itself to rewarding a person charged with treason against the United States in World War II.

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

The new displaced-persons bill for which I fought passed the House of Representatives on June 2. This measure liberalizes the definition of displaced persons, requires nondiscrimination in their selection, increases the DP's eligible for admission to the United States to 337,000 over a 3-year period, includes 5,000 war orphans and 4,000 anti-Communist European DP's stranded in China—points for which I have long worked—and improves the situation of immigrants already here who have no place to return to. At present this measure is bottlenecked in the Senate and we must continue in January our vigorous efforts to get it passed there.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

The maintenance of peace and security in the world continues to dominate our work in the Congress. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives our district has had a great opportunity through me to contribute to our bipartisan foreign policy.

#### THE ATLANTIC PACT AND EUROPEAN MILITARY AID

It was necessary to support the morale of the democracies of Western Europe by giving them some means for defense of their own national integrity. It is

not proposed to divert Western Europe from its efforts at economic rehabilitation and recovery to military preparedness. On the contrary, by this program the peoples of Western Europe are to be encouraged to proceed with their economic recovery with a sense of freedom, security, and national self-respect. That is the purpose which I have sought and which I will continue to endeavor to seek by this program.

#### FOREIGN ECONOMIC RECOVERY

It is now recognized that the European recovery program for which appropriations were made in this session for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, is but one part of a great effort of American foreign policy to enable our sister free nations and peoples to stand on their own feet as effective producers and to get and maintain a decent standard of living through their own efforts. The ERP was the first necessary step in the rehabilitation of these democracies.

We are now engaged in trying to launch the next effort which must be initiated while the ERP remains in effect and gradually take over from it: First, the opening of the world to trade among the nations. In this respect, the renewal of the reciprocal trade agreements program in this session which I supported and for which I fought is most important. In the next session I shall do all I can to bring about membership of the United States in the International Trade Organization.

Second, I have also worked hard to bring about a merger of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund to make some \$4 billion more available than is available today for supporting world economic recovery without requiring additional appropriations by the United States.

Finally, there is the point 4 program, for which legislation is now before us, which seeks to make available American technical skill in the effort to develop underdeveloped countries, the principal efforts in the first instance to be directed toward agriculture, health, and education. Exports of our skill cost us little and can replace hundreds of millions in expenditure for assistance and recovery. Skill is the best export we have and I propose to support actively this program as the principal means for helping to attain a higher standard of living among the free peoples and therefore greater and more secure prosperity for us.

#### CHINA AND THE FAR EAST

This area has presented one of the gravest losses to democracy this year. It is now more essential than ever that the forces of democracy be strengthened in the whole area of Asia outside of China so that democracy may have new sources of strength with which to try to win back China to democracy. This can best be done by effectively helping to raise the standards of living of the peoples of India, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, and of the other Asiatic peoples outside of China and giving them a firm devotion to democracy because of its ability to greatly improve their own conditions. The same result can by these means be attained in those areas of China still free of Communist occupation. The will to resist either Communist aggression or Communist encroachment can be assured in this way. I have, therefore, advocated a program of far eastern economic cooperation as the most constructive policy we can pursue in that area at this time. The visit of the great statesman, Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, has dramatized the practicability of this approach for us. India can truly be the cornerstone of this structure for peace and improvement in Asia.

#### THE NEAR EAST

The establishment of peace and security in the new State of Israel continues to be of direct concern in the interest and security of the United States. It is now clear that to bring peace to this area a program of economic recovery and development is the best means for binding the people of Israel and of the Arab States together in their common interest. I have supported, and shall continue to support, the efforts of the United Nations in this regard, and to urge similar efforts on the part of the United States. I have opposed, and shall continue to oppose, any effort to charge Israel with an undue proportion of the responsibility of the Arab refugee problem which was brought on by the invasion of Israel by the Arab armies.

It has been my constant care to see that the holy places in Palestine, including Jerusalem, are fully safeguarded under international control and that access to them by all pilgrims be free and open, but this does not require the

United Nations to undertake a radical and hazardous experiment in the municipal administration of Jerusalem by separating the new city from Israel, which could well jeopardize the cessation of hostilities in the Near East.

#### THE UNITED NATIONS

The strengthening of the United Nations to develop it into a world federation under law and with power to keep the peace gains renewed impetus from the announcement that the Soviet Union probably has the atom bomb. I have supported, and will continue to support, the movement toward encouraging world federation pending in the House of Representatives and am one of the authors of the resolution for that purpose. The terrible destructiveness of the atom bomb makes the surest means of attaining the United Nations goal of international peace and security an effective world federation and this should be the fundamental aim of our foreign policy.

It continues to be a cause for regret that Eire is not yet admitted into the United Nations and that even yet this prevents a plebiscite from being taken of all Ireland under United Nations auspices for the purpose of bringing about its unification.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE

The development respecting the atomic bomb in the Soviet Union and the controversy over the usefulness of the B-36 bomber have brought our national-defense policies to the fore. While continuing firm in the conviction that national security through our Military Establishment is only one element in our foreign policy and that economic development and cultural interchange are needed to make this policy one of peace, it is yet essential to see that both in size and in effectiveness our Military Establishment is adequate to our needs. I am being guided by two principles in my action here—first, that our Military Establishment shall be consistent with modern requirements of security in the atomic age which has completely changed the whole concept of defense: second, that we shall continue to have effective civilian control of our National Military Establishment.

#### CONCLUSION

Our problems continue to be highly complex and vast in their implications. Yet fundamental principles can be adhered to and remain an effective guide to action. Our constitutional institutions continue to show vigor and the flexibility and adaptability to deal with the challenges which face us as they arise. Our people retain the faith in our Republic and the independence of action so essential to lead us on the road of freedom and justice. They give every evidence of being fully able to make changes as changes are required. Under these circumstances, I am convinced that our Nation is equal to its great responsibilities and opportunities.

[Congressional Record, May 12, 1949]

THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1949

THE EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION—FIRST REPORT—RECORD AND FORECAST, SPEECH OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS OF NEW YORK, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the first session is well past the halfway mark and it is a good time to survey where we stand. Only two major pieces of legislation have been completed with resulting Presidential approval making them law—the Housing and Rent Act of 1947, extended by Public Law No. 31; and the Economic Cooperation Act carrying the authorization for another year's continuance of the European recovery program, Public Law No. 47.

Other major legislation, on social security, health, the Labor Management Act, increase of the minimum wage, housing, anti-poll-tax, and FEPC remain in different stages of the legislative process. It is fair to say that a Congress with a majority elected on what most of our people considered to be a mandate for a program of social welfare turns out to be so far a Congress of frustration. I have diligently devoted my efforts to trying to break this log jam and to trying to get legislation enacted which the people want and should have.

## RENT CONTROL

The Housing and Rent Act of 1949 extends rent control for 15 months to June 30, 1950. I took a most active part in the enactment of this legislation and offered various important amendments.

The beneficial changes in the law may be briefly summarized as follows:

First. Certification of services: This new feature of the rent-control law was sponsored by me and requires for the first time a sworn certification by the landlord that he is maintaining all services to tenants as a condition to obtaining a rent increase. This feature of the new rent law will redound to the benefit of all tenants in our district and in the country. One of the most serious complaints which has come to my attention has been the fact that landlords have been filing for and receiving increases of rent while tenants complained the services they have been receiving have been reduced substantially. For the first time, tenants will be assured of adequate services if the landlord seeks an increase of rent. Nor does this prevent tenants from seeking proper redress as they could before, in the event of a decrease of services even though the landlord does not apply for a rent increase.

Second. Fair net operating income: Instead of the former hardship provisions of the rent regulations, the housing expediter has set a formula with which the landlord must comply in order to seek relief. The landlord will have to submit records to show that his property is not showing, currently, a fair amount of receipts over expenditures, rather than compare his current income and expenses with previous years.

Third. Evictions: Tightened eviction controls were restored to the housing expediter for the first time in 2 years. In New York we have had a temporary city rent commission in this connection and now there are controls both by the city and the Federal Government so that the tenants get greater protection against improper evictions.

Fourth. Tenants' right to appeal: For the first time in the history of rent control the tenants have been granted the absolute right to appeal from any orders issued by a rent office.

Fifth. Treble damages: The housing expediter is once again authorized to bring action for treble damages on behalf of tenants. The tenants, of course, still have the right to bring their own actions, in which event, the court is to award court costs and counsel fees besides treble damages.

Sixth. Decontrolled apartments: Apartments which were formerly decontrolled because of the termination of voluntary leases between December 31, 1947, and April 1, 1948, are back under control at the lease rental. Apartments which were decontrolled because they had been vacant for a 24-month period between February 1, 1945, and March 30, 1948, or had been occupied or rented to a member of the landlord's immediate family are now recontrolled. As a result, many tenants who have been paying very high rentals because apartments had been decontrolled will now have their rents reinstated at rentals which prevailed prior to the decontrol ruling.

Permanent residents in nontransient hotels are now back under control with the ceiling rent fixed as of March 1, 1949.

Seventh. Converted dwellings: So-called conversions by landlords as a result of which additional housing accommodations are created are now subject to examination and approval by the rent office before decontrol takes effect.

In order to protect the people of our district, I have expanded the facilities of the congressional rent clinic, which has helped more than 4,000 residents of the district, so that branches will be operated throughout the district. I am gratified by the very favorable response received during the past 2 years as a result of the work of this rent clinic, and express, too, my profound appreciation for the public-spirited group of lawyers in our district rendering this public service without fee under the direction of Hyman W. Sobell, Esq., chairman of the congressional rent clinic.

## HOUSING

Housing continues to be our No. 1 domestic unsolved problem. Together with 9 other Members of the House of Representatives I have sponsored a comprehensive housing bill providing for the construction of 800,000 federally assisted low-rent housing units—public housing—a \$1,500,000,000 slum-clearance program, \$3 billion in direct, very low-interest loans for the construction of housing units for families in the middle-income brackets and opportunities for 1,500,000 new home units per year would be made possible.

The Senate has already passed a public-housing and slum-clearance bill and I am now exerting every effort in cooperation with national civic and veterans' organizations to bring about housing action for all income groups in the House of Representatives; the chances for success with bipartisan support are the best since 1937. The catastrophic emergency remains as great as ever, with over 2,500,000 families, largely those of veterans in the middle-income group, living doubled up with their relatives or friends.

#### HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Two other critically important fields of social welfare await action by the Congress—legislation accepting the national responsibility for health, and providing Federal aid to education.

The President's health plan has been offered in the form of a compulsory payroll tax like the social-security tax estimated at 3 percent, for which medical and hospital services and eventually dental and nursing services are promised. Opposition on the part of the medical profession continues unabated. Our country enjoys a high quality of medical service today considering the standard of medical care in other countries. It is important, therefore, that the quality remain high while the quantity is increased to provide for many of our citizens now deprived of adequate medical care because of cost or because of location in rural areas not now adequately served by medical facilities.

I have stated before and it continues to be my position that I shall support the acceptance by the Government of the national responsibility for the people's health without compromising freedom of choice. It must be made possible within this framework to provide for increased hospital and medical care for our people, and at the same time not to mislead them with glittering promises of immediate large-scale services which cannot be performed due to shortages of doctors, nurses, dentists, hospitals, and facilities.

I have always advocated and continue to advocate Federal aid to education. The bill already passed by the Senate appropriates \$300 million toward achieving a minimum level of education in all the States, supplementing State funds with Federal grants based on State per capita income. It is important to be sure that each State is doing the limit of what can be expected of it for itself, and that this legislation shall not centralize authority over our educational system in the Federal Government or regulate State educational systems otherwise meeting fair standards.

#### LABOR-MANAGEMENT LEGISLATION

The heated controversy over the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947—the Taft-Hartley law—has not been disposed of, a stalemate having developed in the House of Representatives.

I originally voted against the Taft-Hartley law and was pledged to its repeal. I consider the recent effort to pass the Wood bill an effort to maintain the essentially punitive basis of Taft-Hartley by another name—an act which has evoked such violent protest from the 16 million hard-working, law-abiding Americans who are union members. Our fundamental objective must be to see that collective bargaining between employers and employees remains and is conducted fairly, and with the least Government interference; save the right of the Government to cope with national emergencies due to labor conflict in the interests of the Nation as a whole, but without coercion.

Other fundamental issues with respect to labor are the increase of the minimum wage and the enactment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission law.

We should expand the protection for employees made available by the Fair Labor Standards Act, as the act has been restrictive in its operations thus far. The cost of living and the general economic level of our country certainly dictate an advance to a minimum wage of 75 cents per hour as a fair one and I have supported such advance.

FEPC legislation, which has operated so successfully in New York, is long overdue. Our constitutional democracy suffers at home and abroad from the absence of this legislation. We give thereby a powerful propaganda weapon to Communist forces seeking to discredit our system.

I have offered an FEPC bill myself, H. R. 192, and have testified in support of it. I will continue to join without reserve in the struggle for one of the great privileges of our democracy for all people, regardless of their color, their national

origins, or their religious faiths—freedom of job opportunity to the limit of their abilities.

#### NATIONAL THEATER, OPERA, AND BALLET

We are seeking a healthy citizenry with sufficient time for recreation, and fair compensation for our working people so that they may enjoy the satisfactions of which our industrial system is capable. Accordingly, I have offered and worked hard for a bill to ultimately bring about the establishment of a national theater, opera, and ballet, and a bill to help our youth avoid the pitfalls of juvenile delinquency.

People everywhere have enthusiastically endorsed the aim to establish facilities for national theater and music, and to make them available to the tens of millions of Americans who do not now enjoy these arts.

#### YOUTH ASSISTANCE

The National Youth Assistance bill seeks \$50 million to assist States, municipalities, and social-welfare organizations in their activities for prevention of juvenile delinquency and to afford recreational, educational, and citizenship orientation opportunities for our youth.

I have just completed a countrywide survey of the youth activities sponsored by State and city governments like the activities of Youth Aid, Inc., an organization of public-spirited citizens in our district, of which I am a director. There is agreement by most of the State and municipal authorities that Federal legislation of the character I have proposed is necessary.

#### VETERANS

My concern with problems of employment, housing, health, youth, and recreation has not, however, overshadowed my great interest in our veterans. A large amount of service continues to be given by my congressional office in individual veterans' cases. I have joined in efforts to assure veterans the utmost in satisfactory hospital and other service benefits. I am gratified that thousands of veterans in our district join me in considering the rejection of the first Rankin pension bill as being a service to the interests of our country, which will result in passage of a reasonable bill.

The care and protection of our veterans remain to me, both as a citizen and fellow veteran, a subject of primary concern.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

I have worked, and will continue to work hard for a broadening and improvement of old-age and survivors' insurance benefits. The reserves in the Federal system are great enough to warrant at least a 50-percent increase in these benefits.

In order to be helpful to our pensioners and retired citizens I have offered legislation exempting from Federal income taxes all Federal, State, and city employees' pensions up to \$2,000 per annum and also disability pensions.

And while we are on the subject of taxes, it is fair to consider the plight of the ordinary consumer 4 years after the war still paying what are called luxury taxes on baby oil, inexpensive cosmetics, popular-priced handbags, and, yes, on fur coats costing not more than an inexpensive cloth coat. Such taxes ought to be eliminated from the cost of living of the moderate-income family.

#### PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

As the postwar legacy of Nazi Germany we continue to harvest in our country a group of hatemongers and spreaders of malicious propaganda seeking to turn minority against minority, whether of color or religion, and the majority against all minorities. Accordingly I joined with others of my colleagues in introducing a bill making it unlawful to disseminate malicious and false statements prejudicing the public mind against minorities whether Negroes, Catholics, Jews, Greeks, Italians, or of other races, religions, or national groups. Such legislation is designed to keep our free speech unimpaired and our free press unsullied.

#### TOTALITARIAN MOVEMENTS

In the past few months I have had occasion to protest vigorously against the resurgence of Nazi activity which has been permitted by the United States

military government in Germany, in the management of German industry and German economic and social life.

I protested against the participation by former Nazis and their sympathizers in the German Export Fair in New York City and succeeded in getting the lists of those German businessmen who sought to come over to the fair culled and culled again to eliminate many whose records were questionable.

My efforts have also been directed toward fighting the Communist danger to our freedoms. I have not only fought it in the support of our foreign policy, but have also vigorously protested the outrages against justice such as the "trial" of Cardinal Mindszenty by the Government of Hungary. I introduced a resolution condemning this trial and as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee joined in bringing about action on the resolution reported by that committee and passed by the House of Representatives condemning the Mindszenty trial as an outrage on the civilized world. I shall continue in this struggle against the forces of the extreme left and the extreme right, which meet in their efforts to extinguish our freedoms.

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

I denounced the Displaced Persons Act passed in 1948 as brazenly discriminatory. It excluded tens of thousands of displaced persons who had really suffered under the Nazi terror while it admitted others who actually or ideologically played with the Nazi fifth columns. Great efforts have been made to amend this legislation in this Congress. I have introduced a displaced-persons bill to admit 400,000 DP's on an entirely nondiscriminatory basis and without restrictions on their opportunities in the United States. I have also introduced again in this Congress the bill for the admission of war orphans for adoption by American families.

A new DP bill has just been reported out and should in substance soon pass the House of Representatives from where it will go to the Senate. This bill increases the aggregate number of DP's to be admitted from 205,000 in 2 years to 339,000 in 3 years, and provides for the admission of certain children adopted by American citizens. An especially pertinent amendment changes the cutoff date for DP status qualification which caused so much mischief in the present law, from December 22, 1945, to January 1, 1949. The bill also allocates a quota of 4,000 to refugees from Shanghai, China, a recognition, even if only partial, of the critical situation there.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives the great events since the Congress convened in January have been of fundamental concern to me.

One of the major struggles in our foreign policy has been successfully surmounted in both the House and the Senate in the enactment of the authorization for another year of the European recovery program.

#### ATLANTIC PACT

The Atlantic Pact will soon be under consideration in the Senate which alone will be called upon to approve or reject it. I am assured that there will be full and complete opportunity for hearings in the Senate before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of all people and interests who seek to be heard, and that there will be a full debate in the Senate. Though the House of Representatives will not pass on the pact itself it will pass on implementing legislation.

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION AND RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS

As we consider our foreign affairs and the effectiveness of these great policies to rehabilitate our sister democracies, we must look forward to the next step of their ability to stand on their own feet as effective producers with a decent standard of living through their own efforts. The United States has taken the lead in this respect in the setting up of the International Trade Organization designed to facilitate the most extensive and helpful world trade among the nations.

I represented the United States as a member of its delegation in Habana when the organization was formed, and I have introduced legislation in the Congress to bring about United States membership in the International Trade Organization.

It also must be recognized that the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the extension of which for 3 more years I supported, is one of the keystones in the edifice of economic and political freedom which we are trying to construct in the world.

#### POINT IV

Finally, there is the "bold new program" referred to by the President in his inaugural address regarding the making available of American skill in the effort to economically and industrially develop underdeveloped areas. Exports of skill cost us little and are priceless to the recipients. In this way we help them best to help themselves.

#### INDEPENDENCE OF ISRAEL

No discussion of our foreign affairs is complete without attention to the triumph of justice in which we had an important hand—the establishment of the independence, and now of peace and security in the new State of Israel. Early in the congressional session I fought any interference by Great Britain, out of a misguided sense of her interests in the Middle East, and with the beginnings of a peaceful solution of the conflict between Israel and the Arab States.

The valor of the people of Israel, the influence of the United Nations, and the material and moral support of the people of the United States have won them their freedom and their opportunity.

#### IRELAND

The struggle for the independence of Ireland bears many similarities to the struggle of Israel. Eire should be admitted into the United Nations and at the least a plebiscite should be taken all over Ireland under United Nations auspices for the purpose of bringing about its unification.

#### UNITED NATIONS

The enhancement of the prestige of the United Nations resulting from its successful efforts with respect to Palestine and the admission of Israel to its membership, have contributed materially to the more optimistic views respecting its future. Under the conditions of the atomic and air age, and with geographical boundaries materially reduced in importance, the development of the United Nations ultimately into a world federal government becomes the surest means of attaining its goal of international peace and security.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE

I am convinced that in the interests of our Constitution and our freedom, civilian control of our national security and the limitation of military influence to the technical requirements of the services are essential. National security through our Military Establishment is only one element in our foreign policy. The solutions we seek in the world are solutions through peace. We must see that both in size and in effectiveness our Military Establishment is complete within these proper limitations, but that never shall the United States be rattling a sword in a scabbard.

All of us are aware that in a world of realism while we engage in great efforts of foreign policy, we must also look to our national security. The military budget constitutes about one-third of our total budget for the next fiscal year. The Hoover Commission on the Reorganization of Government has pointed out great wastes which exist in our Military Establishment. In common with others who have served in the armed forces, I am also aware of the need for constant modernization of our concepts of what is the best military posture for national security. These principles and efforts shall have my urgent attention.

#### CONCLUSION

This is a general review of what has been done in the Eighty-first Congress and what can be seen ahead for the future. Our people may rest secure in the fact that our democracy is working. There are many failures and insufficiencies, much injustice which needs to be righted, and many challenging problems to be met, but our democracy and our people show the vigor capable of meeting them. So long as we remain steadfast in this position, our great Nation is safe.



[Congressional Record, May 2, 1950]

## EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION—FIRST REPORT—RECORD AND FORECAST, SPEECH OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS OF NEW YORK, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the second session of the 81st Congress is now at midpoint. In this important election year Congress normally heads for an adjournment early in July. By now the extent to which a legislative program may be enacted becomes evident. So far in this session accomplishments have been meager in domestic affairs most important to the people. And in foreign affairs the Congress indicates it will in the main carry on already established programs.

I have worked hard here to endeavor to realize for our people the objectives of decent housing, stable employment, reasonable security, the maintenance of international peace, and the preservation of our freedoms. Within the limits of the labors of one among 435 Representatives I have endeavored to reflect the needs, the ideas, and the aspirations of my district.

## RENT CONTROL

The Federal rent-control law expires, by its terms, on June 30, 1950. In the State of New York we passed on May 1, from Federal to State rent control. Assemblyman Samuel Roman, of my own Washington Heights and Inwood, was one of the leaders in the fight for the New York State rent-control law in the State legislature this year.

The Federal rent-control law, though it resulted in some drastic and uncalled-for increases due to the fair-net-operating-income provision, on the whole held the rent line within reason. My amendment requiring landlords to certify to the maintenance of all services before being entitled to apply for a rent adjustment was one of the most important phases of the law to protect the rights of tenants. This amendment is now in the New York State law.

The State rent-control law rolls back rents to the amount actually paid on March 1, 1950, or March 1, 1949, whichever is lower. Increases ordered by the Federal housing expediter unless agreed to by the tenant or ordered paid by the city rent commission are not included. No restrictive increases are permitted under the new State law. It does not contain the fair-net-operating-income provision of the Federal law. It allows increases only after December 1, 1950, for a hardship amounting to actual loss in operations only. This is the original OPA basis in effect during the war years. The New York State rent-control law gives tenants a right of hearing in regard to increases in rent. It has safeguards against evictions, and strict penalties against landlords violating its provisions.

The State law permits increases, after December 1, 1950, due to severe hardship on grounds of comparability. Its administration under a distinguished public servant like the Honorable Joseph P. McGoldrick, former comptroller of the city of New York, however, should assure tenants against abuses of this provision.

In addition the facilities of my congressional rent clinics are being further expanded and additional staff added to the branches now operating throughout my district under the chairmanship of Hyman W. Sobell, Esq.

In view of the importance of rent control to the economy of the country and therefore to the people of New York I shall work for and support Federal rent control here. Even with New York out of the Federal rent-control system there are still some 8 million dwelling units under Federal control.

## HOUSING

I cannot report any real victory for housing in this session nearly comparable to the authorization of \$10,000 new Federal low-rent public housing units and a \$1,500,000,000 slum-clearance program by the Federal Housing Act of 1949. The authority of the FHA to insure mortgages has been increased by about \$2,250,000,000, and this will help materially the private construction industry and those who are out to buy homes of their own. But in the rental field, particularly for the family in the \$2,000 to \$4,000 per annum income bracket—which includes most unhusbanded veterans' families—the problem remains almost as acute as it did in 1945.

I fought very hard for approval this year of a Federal program of direct loans for long terms at very low interest, to assist the construction of rental housing for families in this middle-income bracket, in this way reducing rentals for the normal city apartment from \$85 per month to about \$63 per month. Even this program was defeated in both the House and Senate.

Together with other Representatives here I shall continue this fight.

#### EMPLOYMENT AND LABOR

The present unemployment recorded in the United States Employment Service offices is 3,515,000, which is not abnormal. Fears are expressed that this might, however, go up to 5 million before the year's end. That figure used to be a danger signal before the war. But at that time we had approximately 45 million Americans gainfully employed; today we have almost 60 million gainfully employed.

Unemployment is certainly a bleak prospect, however, for the individuals concerned, and we must give them adequate aid. The unemployment insurance systems will help, but these must be very much strengthened as the benefits differ widely between States and many give far less than the optimum 26 weeks of coverage.

Also, we must consider other means for making our economic system more stable. I have proposed such legislation myself through the establishment of a Federal Economic Commission and of goals for our economy.

We faced a crisis in the last few months in the coal strike which threatened to paralyze the whole country—and in railroads and telephones. These situations bear out what I have been strongly advocating—that Congress should give the President power to seize mines or facilities where essential to the public health and safety, but with the right to operate them only to the minimum extent required for such health and safety.

#### FEPC

The House of Representatives finally had its opportunity to debate a Fair Employment Practices Commission bill after monumental efforts to bring it up, providing for equality of job opportunity without discrimination on account of race, color, creed, or national origin. Such a law has been operating in the State of New York very successfully for 5 years, and is also in effect in 9 other States. Debate opened at the usual hour of noon on February 22, and continued until 3 a. m. the following morning. At that time, in spite of all of our efforts to the contrary, the House of Representatives by a vote substituted for the FEPC bill with enforcement powers a bill with investigatory powers only.

It is true that this was the first time in history that such a bill has passed the House at all, but the absence of enforcement, leaving only investigatory power, was a great disappointment to those of us who fought so hard for this bill. We were then faced with the dire alternative of voting down what the House of Representatives had passed and having no FEPC bill of any kind or voting to send even this inadequate bill to the Senate. I chose the latter course as did most of the liberal Members of the House in both parties. I am convinced this was the right course; otherwise, any hope for FEPC legislation would have been killed for this session.

The battle has shifted to the Senate, and I am continuing my work here to attain an FEPC bill with full enforcement powers.

#### EDUCATION AND HEALTH

The Congress continues to overlook urgently needed legislation in this field.

No action has been taken on a national program for health either along the lines of the plan which I have offered, providing for Federal-State aid to cooperative plans, organized on a community and local level, or on the administration's own health plan financed by a compulsory payroll tax.

No action has been taken either on Federal aid to education. I continue unequivocally in favor of such legislation and do not consider help to school construction or health services already passed by the Senate—desirable as these are—to be a substitute. The terms of the Barden bill, which prevents States from using any of the proposed Federal aid for any services, even health services, except for public schools, is still an issue delaying the bill. I have expressed myself as being opposed to the type of restriction imposed by the Barden bill. With the overwhelmingly complex problems which our young people will

face when they become adults, fundamental improvement in our educational system particularly in States which are below par is vital.

In the course of this session I have offered a bill, H. R. 7336, to set up a Federal Board of Education as recommended by the Hoover Commission and also to abolish segregation and discrimination in educational institutions receiving Federal aid. Right now this to apply to institutions of higher learning, which received over \$3,500,000,000 a year from the Federal Government in 1949. It is high time that this essential reform was made nationally, just as we have already made it in New York.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The gains effected by H. R. 6000 in extending old-age and survivors insurance to millions of self-employed, to employees of State and local governments and nonprofit organizations on a voluntary basis, to domestic servants, to agricultural-processing workers, and to certain other employees should pass at this session. Increasing benefits from 50 percent for the highest pension groups to 150 percent for the lowest pension groups, and increasing the minimum monthly benefits from \$10 to \$25, and the maximum monthly benefits from \$85 to \$150 is a step in the right direction, although with present living costs far from adequate.

Such social-security improvement is good, but we must go much further. Our population is aging, job opportunities for older people are becoming less plentiful, living costs are advancing, and it is becoming harder to pile up private resources against advancing age. A strengthened social-security system upon which retired people can really live is a must for our society.

There has been some criticism of H. R. 6000 as it could by a referendum of those affected supersede some State and city retirement plans, but both Senators from New York are trying to strike this out in the Senate.

#### EXCISE AND INCOME TAXES

This session has been characterized by a great drive to relieve the people of the wartime luxury taxes on items entering into the ordinary cost of living which are not luxuries at all.

The President has made certain recommendations regarding reductions of excise taxes but the items he covered are far more limited than the need of the moderate-income families indicates.

I have been supporting and fighting for the consideration of measures which would effect this result. The committee has now tentatively acted in repealing excise taxes on electric-light bulbs, purses and handbags, and baby oil and powder; and reducing them on motion-picture admissions, communications, transportation, jewelry, and furs.

It will be said that excise tax reduction must be coupled with means for raising additional revenue through taxes. These should be sought from economies in the administration of government—recommendations of the Hoover Commission—savings on the farm price-support program, review of Federal charges for services to individuals and corporations, closing up tax loopholes, and consideration of a graduated income tax on corporate profits. All of these steps should be taken first before reconsidering the personal income tax.

Revenue is raised to meet Federal Government expenses. I have favored major cuts in expenses in respect to basic items like high fixed farm parity prices which could reduce the budget by up to a billion dollars a year, and cuts in rivers and harbors projects which could reduce the budget by several hundred million dollars a year. I have not favored across-the-board slashes reducing essential Government services like those in the post office, without selectivity.

I have been seeking action on my bill exempting from Federal income taxes the pensions of Federal, State, and city employees up to \$2,000 a year and also disability pensions. Recently, I introduced a bill, H. R. 7448, allowing a deduction from income subject to income tax to the extent of \$600 per year, for those with serious physical handicaps—the same allowance made for the blind. The idea for such a bill came from a letter from one of my constituents.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

A storm of protest broke out over the drastic curtailment of mail deliveries to homes and offices announced by the Postmaster General as attributable to budget limitations on April 18, 1950; effective in New York, June 1. It subse-

quently became clear that the Post Office Department had not asked Congress for the necessary deficiency money but had just gone ahead with this drastic move. With much support from my district I have vigorously protested this action, both in the House of Representatives and to the Postmaster General. So much opposition has been aroused that I believe corrective action will not be long delayed.

The House passed H. R. 87, the military credits bill, affording to postal employees a starting salary grade commensurate with their status after giving them credit for their war service. It is likely that this principle will be extended to benefit all Federal employees.

#### SMALL BUSINESS

The fight to retain the vitality and position of small businesses while giving all business relief from a decision of the Supreme Court raising doubt as to the lawfulness of sales at delivered prices—not just f. o. b. prices—has been going on continuously. The effort to limit the effect of remedial legislation so that it would not jeopardize small business has resulted in a considerable struggle. Those of us who are deeply concerned about the small-business position, though we have been fighting as the opposition a rear guard action, have nevertheless had considerable influence in bringing about changes to protect small business. The President is recommending a small-business program which I am studying carefully with a view to its support.

#### VETERANS

The House has approved by an overwhelming vote and sent to the Senate for action the addition of 16,000 beds for veterans' hospitals, 1,000 of these in New York. These include many urgently needed psychiatric facilities.

One of the principal problems of veterans so far in this session has related to VA cuts in hospitals and medical and auxiliary staffs. I have protested these cuts and urged the Veterans' Administration to seek a deficiency appropriation to avoid them. This is now being done with resultant withdrawal of reductions in medical and hospital staffs.

Veterans who have suffered wounds in the protection of their country are entitled to the best we can offer, certainly in medical care and equipment. Many veterans are concerned about the recommendation of the Hoover Commission which would eliminate a separate hospital and medical service for veterans. I share this concern and assure the veterans of my district that I will consider not only the economies involved in such a move, but would have to be shown affirmatively, that the veteran will get medical service equal to what he is getting now plus particular consideration for his care as a veteran.

Veterans have also been concerned with VA regulations seriously curtailing their educational benefits under the GI bill of rights. I have introduced legislation similar to the Senate-passed Taft-Teague bill to give veterans their full opportunity for educational benefits, and I am working here to get it enacted and will guard against any effort to emasculate it by amendments.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

We are all deeply concerned about exposing and rooting out disloyal elements who may be in our midst. We are also concerned about victory for the forces of freedom in the cold war. In order to effectuate both these aims, it is neither necessary nor wise to impair our constitutional freedoms which protect the innocent individual.

It is essential that we hold the balance between the investigatory powers of the Congress which in the national interest we must protect, and the capability of destroying the reputations and the means of livelihood of innocent people.

It is interesting at this point to quote the words of J. Edgar Hoover, the great director of the FBI, who said as recently as March 27, 1950:

"I would not want to be a party to any action which would smear innocent individuals for the rest of their lives. We cannot disregard the fundamental principles of common decency and the application of basic American rights of fair play.

I recognized this situation a long time ago, and saw how it was of great concern to all fair-minded Americans and could particularly concern large minorities like Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. For this reason I introduced last year House Joint Resolution 20. It calls for a joint Senate-House investi-

gating committee and incorporates the rules of procedure recommended by the bar association of the city of New York.

Recently the Senator from Massachusetts, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, has recommended almost the same remedy. The very successful Canadian spy investigation by a royal commission a few years ago following this procedure certainly bears this out. I have had to withhold my support from the appropriation for the existing House committee due to the foregoing circumstances. I believe that with the increased emphasis on reform of procedure, the necessity for withholding such support on my part may soon be ended.

It is absolutely essential that all the facts be developed for the American people in the current investigation on disloyalty in the State Department and elsewhere. The inquiry should be pursued to the end under fair procedures, so that a final result may be arrived at.

The danger is pointed out in a lead editorial of the *Catholic Review*, official organ of the Archdiocese of Baltimore and Washington, of Friday, April 14, which says:

"The loyalty investigation bids fair to end in a lot of charges and counter-charges which will leave the American public just as much in the dark as when the inquiry opened."

Antilynching and anti-poll-tax legislation have been relatively overlooked by the Congress in view of the FEPC fight. However, we cannot rest until all of our citizens without exception and without segregation enjoy their full rights and freedoms as Americans of the same class.

#### FOOD PRICES

The work which I started last year of opposition to the inflexible 90-percent parity farm price program, which is helping to keep food prices up when I was 1 of only 25 to vote against it, is beginning to show progress. These are signs of the times. The shocking experience of the potato price support program resulting in an expenditure estimated at over \$350 million to date, and the piling up and wasting of 50 million bushels of potatoes, has sunk into the consciousness of most Americans. The investment in the farm price-support program on the part of the Federal Government aggregates over \$4 billion, and the cost is running at about \$1 billion a year.

High Government supports for farm prices bear unfairly on the living costs of city consumers; they are also unwise for the farmer who does not want a reaction to set in which may swing the pendulum too far the other way.

It is very much in the interest of city dwellers that agriculture should be prosperous and Government should help with that, but not that farmers should be a favored class.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

The issue of peace or war continues to dominate the minds and hearts of men and women in our own as well as in every other country. We are determined to win the struggle against the totalitarian ideology of communism whose aim is to enslave all men. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, our district, through me, has had an excellent opportunity to participate in this cold war struggle in an effective way. I spent some time in November and December last in Western Germany, Berlin, Italy, Israel, France, and Great Britain with a mission from this committee working on these problems.

#### INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC STABILITY

Americans recognize by now that we cannot be prosperous or secure in a bankrupt world. For peoples who have no hope will flock to communism out of sheer despair. We may then find that we are isolated rather than isolationist, and face a hostile world with the choice either of giving in, or destroying ourselves in a war or in unbelievably large military expenditures. Hence, the billions we invest in international economic stability are primarily invested in the interest of our own security and well-being.

We are continuing the 4-year European recovery program—Marshall plan—this year into its third year with an expenditure which is likely to be about \$2,850,000,000.

It is by now clear that even after 1952, when the European recovery program is due to end, Western Europe will still face a serious dollar shortage with which to feed and clothe itself even austerely, and get raw materials for its factories.

To deal with this situation the United States should join the International Trade Organization—ITO—which will facilitate trade for all the free countries, including ourselves; and undertake a vigorous development of the point 4 program to make available American technical skill to develop underdeveloped countries, concentrated in the first instance on agriculture, health, and education.

I fought hard for this point 4 program when it passed the House after a very difficult battle. It is one of the best answers we have to communism.

#### THE FAR EAST

Our policy in this area has been bankrupt of vigor and original ideas. The forces of freedom on the whole have suffered losses in this area, the gravest of which is the loss of the mainland of China to the Communists. In the absence of a policy by the administration the Congress has itself stated a policy, which I have had a part in drafting. This policy calls on the peoples who remain free in Asia, southeast Asia and the western Pacific, and this includes as well such areas of China as are still free, Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines, to organize themselves in a new program of self-help and mutual cooperation and assures them of our aid if they do. The peoples of the great subcontinent of India are very important in this great effort.

I also fought hard here for assistance to South Korea, one of the sturdy outposts of freedom in Asia.

There need to be no haste about recognizing Communist China, such as was shown by other nations. It is much too early to judge whether it is anything but a tool of the Soviet Union—another satellite. Our reverses in China have taught us how much the Far East really means to our own security, to the fight against communism, and to world peace.

#### GREEK CHILDREN

The whole world was outraged by news of the abduction of 28,000 children of Greece by the Communist guerrillas for training and indoctrination in countries behind the Iron Curtain. In cooperation with the Honorable Frances P. Bolton, of Ohio, I was able to get favorable action on a resolution which I introduced and which unanimously passed the House of Representatives condemning the brutality of this abduction, and demanding the restoration of these children to their homes.

#### NEAR EAST ARMS RACE

A new problem with respect to the establishment of peace and security in the Near East following the Arab-Israeli conflict came to my attention directly as a result of my visit to Israel in December last. The development of an arms race in the Near East brought about by continued and large scale shipments by Great Britain of jet fighter aircraft, tanks, and gunboats, and other arms capable of use for aggression against Israel, to Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan, and perhaps through them to other Near East states.

When I returned to the United States I vigorously protested this British policy to the Secretary of State. His answer to me impliedly admitting the arms shipments started in train a current of protest from Members of Congress—including the majority and minority leaders of the House of Representatives—labor unions, including the AFL and CIO, and citizens' organizations of all kinds, which is still going on unabated.

Our own national security which would be involved with any renewal of the war in the Near East is also affected. This British policy jeopardizes, too, the situation of Jerusalem, where peace is so essential to the whole Western World concerned as it is with the protection of the holy places.

#### ARMED SERVICES

Our national security continues to require between \$13 billion and \$14 billion annually for its protection. General Eisenhower has pointed out certain defects in our military preparations and has especially emphasized antisubmarine defense. Fortunately, the additional amounts required to tighten up these deficiencies is not excessive. Though our Military Establishment is only one element in our foreign policy, of which economic and cultural policy are the other parts, yet our Military Establishment must be effective and adequate to our needs. It must be dominated by modern concepts of security in the atomic age and also follow the traditional American pattern of civilian control.

To emphasize the urgency of securing our own freedoms and our position in the world by eliminating segregation on grounds of race or color in the Armed Forces, I introduced House Resolution 328, seeking an investigation of such practices of segregation which persist, and urged an amendment to eliminate segregation.

#### IRELAND

In an effort to focus attention on the problems of Irish partition, I introduced House Resolution 456, seeking a plebiscite under United Nations auspices of all Ireland so that the will of its people to end partition could be manifested and Ireland could join the Atlantic pact nations and be admitted to the United Nations. In the course of the debate on the European recovery program and the amendment on this subject offered by the Honorable John Fogarty, of Rhode Island, I was able to bring about hearings before the committee of which I am a member on the resolutions which would put the House of Representatives on record as favoring the unification of all Ireland. I am working for favorable action on such a resolution.

#### THE UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

The last few months have seen the United States decision to manufacture the H-bomb. The seriousness of this decision cannot be overemphasized.

The Soviet walk-out from the Security Council over the failure to seat Communist China has greatly complicated the UN problems. We must remain serene and yet determined in the face of this threat and go about the business of the United Nations anyhow. The United Nations' Secretary General has spoken of a 20-year peace plan. It may be 20 years and we must have the courage and patience to see it through—it will still be infinitely better than war. The ultimate goal which promises peace in this dangerous world is the development of the United Nations itself into a federation with necessary powers and with adequate forces to keep the peace, and as the first step adoption of the United States plan for control and inspection of A-bomb materials and manufacture.

#### GERMANY

I have long recognized this as the principal area in the struggle in the cold war. It is now becoming clear that the Communists in the eastern zone of Germany will use the ex-Nazis of the western zone which we and the French and British occupy in order to try to make a united Germany a new Soviet satellite.

I came away from studying the situation in western Germany in November and December last, convinced that if we do not plan for a long-term occupation of western Germany, if we do not, with determination, fight against the recurrence of ex-Nazis and ultra-nationalists in high places in government, business, and society there, and if we do not reform the educational system and insist on democratic procedures in all levels of government and society, we will be encouraging a new Germany as aggressive a menace to humanity as before and this time in a league with the Soviet Union which may well be successful in overpowering the civilized world. I have helped to organize the introduction in the House of Representatives of the same resolution introduced in the Senate to investigate the whole German situation and our occupation policy there.

I have vigorously opposed and will continue to oppose the remilitarization of western Germany. The hope for Germany and the hope for peace in Europe is a federation of western Europe, of which western Germany can be a part, and in this way to make of all the other Europeans, guarantors of a new Germany's peaceful intentions.

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

The new displaced-persons legislation now passed by the Senate and House, a measure for which I have been fighting since I first came to Congress in 1947, liberalizes the definition of those eligible and eliminates many of the discriminatory provisions found in the previous law. Provisions are made for the admittance of 344,000 displaced persons in 3 years instead of the present 205,000 in 2 years; among them 20,000 may be orphans admitted for purposes of adoption—legislation which, with Senator Ives, of New York, I pioneered in 1947—4,000 may be anti-Communist refugees stranded in China—a provision which I initiated together with Representative Emanuel Celler, of New York; 18,000 may be veterans who fought under the flag of the Polish Republic and

cannot return to their Communist-dominated homeland; 10,000 may be natives of Greece made homeless by the military operations of first the Nazis and later the Communist guerrillas; 5,000 may be from Trieste; and 5,000 may be eligible displaced persons.

#### CONCLUSION

From the above it can be seen that the world leadership which our power and resources have forced on us has enormously increased our responsibilities. The American people continue as always to want only peace, freedom, and the practice of the golden rule for themselves and others. This continues to be our greatest strength. Just as the minds and abilities of Americans are expanding to meet our new challenges, so I believe too that we will find our political institutions doing the same thing.

[Congressional Record, September 14, 1950]

#### EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION—FINAL REPORT—RECORD AND FORECAST, SPEECH OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS, OF NEW YORK, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, since my last report to the people of my district a great change has come about in the affairs of our country and in the hopes for peace in the world. This is due to the outbreak of armed aggression in Korea on June 25, 1950, in a shooting invasion by the North Koreans, puppets of the Soviet Union against South Korea, a republic organized under the protection of the United Nations.

#### AGGRESSION IN KOREA

The American people being immediately faced with a momentous decision whether to stop Communist aggression or to consider South Korea as expendable, took, through the President, the fateful decision of determining to stop it in Korea with the use of armed force. We were immediately fortified in our decision by the declaration of the United Nations Security Council condemning this aggression, invoking military sanctions and inviting all UN members to join with their forces in defeating the aggressor. This was the first time an international organization had dared to take such steps, and it dared to take them only because it had the pledge of all-out support by the United States.

I have consistently supported this decision by the President since. It represented a decisive action by the United Nations and the United States to stop exactly that kind of aggression which brought on World War II and which was started by Japan in Manchuria in 1931 and Hitler in the Rhineland in 1934. It was for this reason that I had consistently advocated and fought for aid to Korea, including such support for the first Korean-aid bill in January 1950, when the House of Representatives defeated it by one vote. It was also for this reason that I have worked for a decisive Far East policy to sustain the morale of the free peoples of Asia and not to give the Communists of China, or elsewhere, free rein among the vast populations there because of the administration's bankrupt policy. The State Department has been properly criticized for its failures in the Far East and must answer for what has been done and failed to be done there.

The American people have been deeply shocked by our apparent unpreparedness to undertake military operations in Korea, though the United States has spent \$49 billion for the Armed Forces since World War II ended in 1945. The executive department must bear the major responsibility for this lack. Congress supplied in substance the money requested; Congress even went further and on two separate occasions—which I supported—insisted on a 70-group Air Force as against our existing 36 to 48 groups, and appropriated the money for it, but the President impounded over \$735 million of these funds and would not spend it. Our policy of building up the Armed Forces Reserve was permitted to fall into disuse and other means for building up military manpower were not employed. New aircraft and new weapons existed only on the drawing board and not in being, though many in the Congress were ready and willing to support such improvements. I have opposed appropriation cuts related to defense preparations ever since the beginning of this 81st Congress.

Much criticism, and properly, has been directed at Secretary of Defense Johnson for these failures. He is now about to be succeeded by General Marshall, one of our most highly respected soldiers. We certainly have a right to feel



that he will do an effective job in this post, although his designation does raise troublesome problems involving the continued civilian control of the military which has been a basic principle in American government for many years.

#### INFLATION

According to the general index of basic commodities compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics food prices have risen from an index number of 264 on June 23, 1950, to an index number of 321.3 by September 1, 1950 (1935 to 1939 equals 100). This jump of 57.3 points compares with a rise of only 16.4 points between the beginning of February 1950 and June 23. Hoarding also started as soon as the fears over the Korean operation spread around the country. Faced with a vastly increased defense program the Government became concerned about the diversion of steel, copper, and other metals for large-scale civilian use.

Accordingly in the consideration of the Defense Production Act of 1950 I supported stand-by control powers in the President with a residual control in the Congress, which we had learned to be required in World War II, over scarce materials, prices, hoarding, wages and profits, mobilization management, credit and commodity speculation. However, control over all real-estate credit was restricted by the bill only to new construction and control over commodity speculation which I supported was stricken from the bill. I supported the effort to get the principle of an excess-profits tax written into the law. I sought to bring about a rollback on food prices to the level of April 15, 1950, but I was not successful in this endeavor. Finally, I was successful in causing to be included in the bill provision for new agencies like the War Production Board of World War II, to handle mobilization. In this I was following out the proposals made by Bernard L. Baruch.

#### WHAT IS IMPENDING

If the vast production of the United States is harnessed to the equally vast responsibilities which we must carry during that time—and this involves an extraordinary effort particularly on the part of the working men and women in our mines, factories, offices, and communication and transportation systems, and of management—then I believe that the men in the Kremlin will not attempt all-out war. Should we fail in this effort they must very well attempt it.

Our Armed Forces must be materially increased, doubling the size of the pre-Korean operation forces to upward of 3 million men and women. Our defense budgets for the Armed Forces alone are likely to run in the area of \$25 billion to \$30 billion per year. We must at the same time undertake a great program of economic development and reconstruction among the world's free peoples. The weakness of what we have been endeavoring to do to date has been our failure to recognize that as opposed to Communist promises, particularly in Asia of land reform and of more even distribution of income in return for a surrender of the people to slavery, we must actually deliver goods and well-being and a just economic order with freedom. This effort must also include continued assistance to Western Europe—which still remains our strongest ally—to follow the Marshall plan which ends in 1952. I estimate that our total bill for foreign aid may add up to over \$5 billion per year. In this way we should at least be able to pry loose enough of the satellites of the U. S. S. R. to end her powerful threat to peace and freedom. It may take 10 or more years, but this is still infinitely better than World War III in our time.

In our endeavor to find allies, however, we must not lose more than we gain. This is the situation with regard to the loan to Spain. There is a right way to deal with Spain and that is by the western European nations themselves organized in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, once they are satisfied that Spain should be received back into the community of nations.

With annual budgets in the magnitude of 50 to 60 billion dollars the progressive development of economic controls may well prove necessary to avoid a disastrous inflation. Our economy is producing at the current rate of \$275,000,000,000 a year. Provided that our people exercise an intelligent self-discipline which is already being manifested in the cessation of hoarding, panic buying and bidding for scarce commodities, all-out controls may be avoided. I am, however, not in favor of letting high prices and inflation sweep away standards of living for middle-income families or the savings and incomes of Government employees, pensioners, retired people, and beneficiaries of the social security system, but will urge the prompt and effective imposition of the necessary controls to prevent this from taking place.

We must have a stepped-up campaign to reflect to the peoples of the world the truth about our actions and our motives, by radio, television, through the printed word, and by worker, student, teacher, and other interchanges.

Finally, in this day of the atomic and the H-bomb we must be prepared internally against Pearl Harbors right on the mainland of the United States. Accordingly, I shall support full civilian-defense legislation so that an adequately trained civilian defense force and the necessary facilities—underground shelters, radar warnings, emergency evacuation centers, and fire, disaster, and hospital equipment and crews—may be available to us as soon as possible to the full limit of our capabilities.

#### THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

With these precautions taken, I believe that we have a good chance to avoid another world war and to put the whole world on a new plateau of peace and prosperity. The United Nations, due to the all-out support which we have given it in Korea, has an excellent chance to develop into a world federation with powers and forces adequate to preserve the peace of the world. The Soviet Union may sponsor aggression in other areas, in the Near East, in Iran, against Greece, against Western Germany, or in Asia, against Indochina, Malaya, Burma, or India, or even in the Philippines. The great increase in our own mobilized forces and the increase in the power of our allies should make this problem more manageable. Time, in this respect, is definitely on our side. Substantial United Nations striking forces, strategically placed by regions, should be able to cope with these menaces of local Communist aggressions.

The issue has necessarily been raised of participation by other United Nations forces in this struggle against communism—today in Korea, tomorrow perhaps elsewhere. Many nations are already contributing fighting forces, notably Great Britain, Australia, and Canada, Turkey, and the Philippines. But these forces are not nearly great enough and we must constantly work to see them increased and to see a more equal sharing of the responsibility for maintaining the peace.

I believe that in this respect we have two great hopes; one upon which we are working actively and which I have continuously supported—the reestablishment of the forces of Western Europe through the mutual defense assistance program and the Atlantic Pact. The other is the development of a Pacific pact which will bind together the powers of all the free peoples of the Pacific—India, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indochina, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand—for their mutual defense with our help, and let them help decide about China and Japan.

Talk may grow even louder of a preventive war against the U. S. S. R. as the economic impact on all of the big mobilization programs and as impatience with new Soviet aggressions and sabotage continue. I am unalterably opposed to such a preventive war. It could well mean the destruction of civilization or at the least twenty million or more casualties. It would create a postwar problem assuming we won—as I am sure we would—of refugees, and of physical destruction, which would keep us in poverty for decades, and it is morally indefensible. In addition, such talk scares our European allies so badly—as they see a new possible occupation by the Russians—as to seriously impair their will to resist or to prepare against a new Communist drive.

#### GERMANY AND JAPAN

A new agitation has arisen to rearm Germany as a means for countering a Soviet aggression like that in Korea through its eastern German regime with its 250,000 or more state police as the basis for an aggressor army. This is a real danger but it must not be used as an excuse for creating an even greater danger. Based upon my careful investigation of the situation in Western Germany as a member of a subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee in November of 1949, I have opposed a new national army for Western Germany—but that does not mean that it need be undefended. In the first instance the forces of Great Britain, France, and the United States there must be strengthened as is now planned, as they are the only guaranty of the west German border for some time to come.

Secondly, we are serving notice on the Russians that any move in Germany will be considered a move against the United States, France, and Britain. Finally, we must work very hard for a European federation in which Western Germany and west German military manpower can be incorporated. This policy

is the middle ground between encouraging a new remilitarized Germany which could again be an aggressive menace to the world and if it made a new pact with the Soviet Union repeating what happened in 1939, might even overwhelm the world—and a Germany which is an invitation to a new Russian aggression, Korean style.

Efforts are being made to develop a peace treaty with Japan. The prospect of a Japan contributing fully to the economic and social development of the Far East is an attractive one. But great care must be taken that the basis for a new militarism or imperialism is not laid in this way. I believe this can best be avoided by making the free peoples of the Pacific the main arbiters of the destiny of Japan, coupling their views with our own security considerations in developing final terms for Japan's future.

#### DISPLACED PERSONS

Together with other colleagues, I succeeded in making arrangements by which 106 refugees from the Hitler terror who escaped to Shanghai were finally evacuated by the International Refugee Organization and passed through the United States by sealed train would be admitted to the American zone in Germany for processing only and for prompt return to the United States of those who were eligible. Similar arrangements are also being made for some 600 DP's, many parents and relatives of former DP's now resident in the United States, still marooned in Shanghai, who are also being evacuated by the IRO. The DP program under the new law passed this year to admit 344,000 is also working out better. Especially gratifying are the provisions for admitting orphans and children.

#### ISRAEL

Since my last report a three-power declaration was issued on May 25, 1950, proposing to end the Near East arms race and to provide that arms shipped into this area should not be used for aggression. The success of this move is still uncertain. It is my firm conviction that the protest against British arms shipments to the Near East, which I issued upon my return from Israel in December 1949, and the current of protest in the Congress from the great labor federations—AFL and CIO—and from citizens' organizations of all kinds which this set in train were the major impelling reasons for the three-power pact.

Israel's problem of resettling vast numbers of harassed Jews from the Near East and from countries within the Soviet orbit is estimated to require provision for the settlement of some 600,000 to 800,000 in the next 3 to 4 years. It is my expectation that the needed resources will be forthcoming, and in the same spirit in which Israel's progress has so far been aided so materially in and by the United States.

#### IRELAND

Great interest has been focused upon the effort to end Irish partition by the hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee for which I arranged, and which was held on April 28, 1950, and by the subsequent consideration by the Committee of the Fogarty Resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that all Ireland should be unified. This is a continuing effort until success is achieved, in which thousands of citizens directly and through their organizations are participating. The legitimate aspirations of the Irish people for unification are an essential phase in the whole world struggle for stability and peace.

#### FOOD PRICES

Increase in this item of the normal family budget accounting for as much as 40 percent of it, is almost 3 times prewar costs. I have continued my fight on the inflexible 90 percent parity farm price program of the Federal Government. Recently the Congress enacted a measure to give away vast surpluses of cheese, dried milk, and dried eggs to prevent their spoilage; and to pay the cost of transportation in order to get them out of Government stocks. At a time when all nondefense expenditures must be scrutinized this is intolerable waste. The cost of this program is running between one billion and two billion dollars a year. The Government has invested almost \$5 billion in surplus commodities on hand.

City dwellers have a direct interest to see that agriculture should be prosperous and Government must help. We must never forget that the depression of 1932 was materially induced by collapsing farm prices. But the situation of domestic

and world demand is very different today, and though the Government should help, the interests of city dwellers and farmers should be balanced and there should not be any preferred class. I introduced a resolution calling for a special investigating committee to check on food-price increases while the Congress is in recess this fall.

We must not forget in this whole question, about the already heavy charges of processors and middlemen which are figured in percentages and go up with the increased costs of farm products at the farm, in this way adding even more to high food costs.

#### RENT CONTROL

Just before the change was made from Federal to State rent control on May 1 the Federal Housing Expediter issued orders retroactively increasing the rents of 4,000 tenants in New York City by over \$1 million a year. Such increases were directly contrary to the provisions of the State law which provided that rents should be controlled at the March 1, 1950, or March 1, 1949, level, whichever was lower. Large liabilities have been imposed on many tenants due to a decision of the Court of Appeals of New York holding these increases to be collectible for the period up to May 1, 1950, despite the State law. I immediately protested these eleventh-hour rent increases and subsequently I introduced legislation to bring about their revocation.

Since my last report the Congress has renewed the Federal rent-control law for a period ending December 31 of this year but subject to a 6-month extension up to June 30, 1951, for any municipality which so elects. I vigorously supported this extension, not because we need it in New York, our State law now in effect is a better rent-control statute than the Federal law, but because it is in the best interest of the whole country in fighting inflation. In view of the emergency brought on by the Korean crisis I have supported and will continue to support the reimposition of more stringent Federal rent control than is now in the Federal law.

The facilities of my congressional rent clinics have been expanded, additional staff has been added, and operations are being continued throughout the district under the chairmanship of Hyman Sobell, Esq. These clinics are now engaged in helping tenants who have problems under the New York State rent-control law.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

Congress has acted on measures to expose and eliminate subversives and other disloyal elements. I have been faithful to the principle that there should be punishment for any acts or conspiracies of subversion no matter how subtle or indirect, and inexorable and public exposure of Communists and other such elements, but that punishment should not be administered just for thoughts. In this interest, I supported the measure giving Government officials the absolute right to fire security risks. I voted to punish for contempt those who refused to answer to congressional committees whether or not they were Communists and also to punish for contempt extreme rightists who refused to tell the House Lobbying Committee about the sources of their support.

I felt it necessary, however, in the interests of our people to oppose a bill which would have given the Attorney General alone the power to incarcerate any person subject to a deportation order for as much as his natural life without recourse to a writ of habeas corpus or any other way of getting out. I also opposed a bill brought in by the Un-American Activities Committee which ostensibly was for the purpose of registering Communists and fellow travelers but really contained a precedent most dangerous to all minorities by imposing grave disabilities on people solely because of their ideas rather than their acts. There is grave doubt as to the constitutionality of any such law. If such legislation is to stand unchallenged then a majority in the Congress can interdict the communicants of any faith or church which is international, and any international fraternal order, business, or trade-union organization just by writing the proposition into a bill.

Our laws against subversion and espionage are already strong, but I am fully in favor of strengthening them even further. Our laws against those advocating or seeking to overthrow the Government by force are already effective as shown by the conviction of the 11 Communists in New York. I favor also, as proposed in the Senate, incarceration of Communist operatives in the event of war or national emergencies under customary judicial procedures.

As my district contains a composite of minorities, these considerations must be of primary importance with me as its representative.

I continued my fight against segregation in the Armed Forces by frequent protests and by offering the same amendment to the renewal of the draft law which I had offered to the original draft law. Real progress is being made in ending segregation in the Navy and Air Force, but we still have a struggle in the Army. The valor of the Negro regiment in Korea—Twenty-fourth—demands no less a measure of justice than an end to all Negro regiments and the establishment only of American regiments—regardless of color.

#### VETERANS

Under Public Law 610, which I helped to sponsor, the VA regulations which nullified a good deal of what Congress intended for GI's in educational benefits have been canceled.

Veterans' services require constant vigilance. For example, an effort to dismantle and disperse a hospital for paraplegics at Van Nuys, Calif., which would have displaced a substantial number of paraplegics who had established themselves in that community and built homes was successfully resisted. I joined in and was part of the protest to the President which brought this result about.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

The House of Representatives has taken action to end the curtailment of mail service—including two-a-day deliveries in residential areas—effective in New York June 1 under an order of the Postmaster General of April 18. Concurring action is now up to the Senate.

I supported this anti-mail-service-curtaiment legislation and was one of the sponsors of it, as I believe that this is a minor economy compared to the very great inconvenience caused to our citizens. I shall continue to fight against this curtailment of mail services until it is ended.

The House of Representatives passed over the President's veto, H. R. 87 affording to postal employees a starting salary grade commensurate with their status after giving them credit for war service, but the Senate sustained this veto. I will continue to fight for this principle to be applied to postal employees and also to other Federal employees.

Further civil-service problems involve the integrity of the civil service at a time of national emergency like this when it can be disintegrated in the making of temporary against permanent promotions; and also the establishment of an absolute right to retirement after 30 years' service, as it is my firm conviction that the service should be made an attractive and dependable outlet for the best efforts of those who are employed in it.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The Social Security Act amendments of 1950, which I worked for, extend coverage to about 9,700,000 additional people—7,650,000 on a compulsory basis and 2,050,000 on a voluntary basis. This expansion includes the self-employed other than certain professional people (doctors, lawyers, dentists, ministers, etc.), under specific conditions certain household and farmworkers and on a voluntary basis employees of nonprofit organizations and Federal, State, and municipal employees where they do not have a retirement system of their own. If a person is not now covered and believes he might now be included under the new law, I would suggest a call at the Social Security field office in our district at 334 Audubon Avenue (Wadsworth 3-6720) for full information as how to proceed, and also for the necessary forms to be filed.

The benefits generally are increased from 50 to 100 percent for those receiving social security now. The minimum individual benefits are generally increased from \$10 to \$20 per month, and the maximum from \$45 to \$68.50 per month. For those who will receive social security in the future, the minimum is to be generally \$25 per month and the maximum \$80 per month; for families, \$150 per month. These benefits went into effect September 1, 1950.

In addition the allowable monthly earnings by one eligible to receive social-security payments are increased from the present \$15 to \$50.

Future eligibility requirements are greatly liberalized and older workers—now over 60—are given very liberal provisions to enable them to qualify for benefits—as little as six quarters of covered employment.

## BUDGET AND TAXES

The efforts, in which I joined, to bring about relief from wartime excise taxes on items entering into the cost of living of the middle-income family and which are not luxuries at all, have by the Korean crisis been temporarily made unfruitful. However, the excise-tax inequalities and injustices still remain and we must not let the situation rest without continuing efforts to undo what is wrong.

Great care must be exercised in nondefense expenditures. The added costs of our present military operations and foreign aid and defense expenditures must be met insofar as possible on a pay-as-we-go basis, as this is a time of the greatest national income our country has ever known.

We should leave to our children the smallest possible legacy of debt. There should be an excess-profits tax and adequate corporation taxes. The House of Representatives has demanded such legislation and I support it fully. Profits are important to our economy but inflationary profits at a time like this are a disservice to the community and should be paid out in taxes. Personal income-tax increases can only be considered if excess-profits taxes plus adequate corporation taxes are levied.

## LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

The coal strike, the recent threat of railroad strikes, and discussion of a no-strike pledge during the present emergency all emphasize the critical importance of sound labor relations at this time. Statesmanlike trade-unionism and trade-union leadership, which must have the utmost management cooperation, now should be afforded the opportunity to show their ability to attain that increased production without which the cause of freedom would be in grave danger indeed.

Labor relations are generally better off without wage controls than with them. However, such controls will inevitably come if the principles of justice and discipline are not followed, for in the final analysis it is the security of the Nation which is paramount to all other considerations.

## PUERTO RICO

I supported and worked for a bill to give the people of Puerto Rico the power to draw up their own constitution with full opportunity for complete self-government. In this respect I got it clear in the Congress, and laid before the President the intention of the Congress, that the people of Puerto Rico shall have an absolute right to decide under this bill on what they want to be their government. The economic and social problems of Puerto Rico, though serious, are fully susceptible of solution within the context of the understanding that Puerto Rico is a part of our Nation and that Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States.

## OTHER ESSENTIAL ISSUES

Alarmed by the diminution in voting participation I have offered a bill to investigate why Americans do not vote. This bill has aroused great public discussion and also has developed a great many constructive movements in cities and States to deal with the situation.

I supported suffrage for the District of Columbia, civil government for Guam, and statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, and shall continue to support the admission of these two Territories to the Union. This is certainly important at this time when we are giving leadership to Asiatic and African people who have had experience with colonialism.

In connection with my service on the House Foreign Affairs Committee an issue arose whether those who had escaped from the Hitler terror to the United States and were permanent residents but not yet citizens should be entitled equally with American citizens to the protection of the United States Government in claims against the assets of prewar enemy nationals. After a struggle the House passed a bill recognizing the justice of this principle.

A proposed constitutional amendment to change the method of electing our Presidents failed before the House, known as the Lodge-Gossett Amendment. It proposed to divide the electoral vote in each State in proportion to the popular vote cast. I opposed it as I felt it would place too much power in the hands of the solid South where there is practically a one-party system. Progress is being made in the South to free Negroes from their voting disabilities whether prac-

tical or legal, and I believe my district wants this effort to go forward rather than to be retarded.

#### CONCLUSION

Our Nation finds itself in the period of a world crisis for peace. Our power and resources are greater than ever. I am confident that we can win the peace and put the whole free world on a higher plateau of economic, spiritual, social, and political well-being. This will take, however, an exertion of effort, an increased production and an output of our resources greater than any we have ever undertaken in peace or war and I estimate that this must continue, if we are to have peace, for 10 years or more. I believe the end sought to be worth it. The American people are capable, I am confident, of the will, the patriotism, and the self-denial which the road to peace requires.

[Congressional Record, May 9, 1951]

#### EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION—FIRST REPORT—RECORD AND FORECAST—SPEECH OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS, OF NEW YORK, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, since my last report to the people of my district we have begun to see better the extent of the emergency which we are facing in our country, the nature of the Communist threat to our national security and to the peace and security of the world, and the direction in which we must go to attain a climate of peace.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

This is the major field in which the American people are being faced with difficult decisions. Our country made great strides through the bipartisan foreign policy in winning World War II and in the establishment of the United Nations, the European Recovery Program, the Atlantic Pact, the Mutual Defense Assistance Program, and in the defense of Greece and Turkey against communism. It is unfortunate that the circumstances of recalling General MacArthur, considered by the country an outstandingly successful commander and administrator of World War II, should have created an atmosphere so conducive to partisan strife. On one point we must be clear. The President has the power and the responsibility to act as Commander in Chief—that is the essence of civilian control over the military—and to conduct foreign affairs. The Cabinet is the President's; his responsibility is to the Congress and the people. It is my deep hope, and it shall be my constant effort to see, that the divisions which have been created by the recall of General MacArthur shall be bridged and that we shall be enabled again to go forward in broad areas of bipartisan cooperation on our foreign policy.

General MacArthur has properly been afforded every opportunity to tell his full story to the people and the Congress. The airing of our whole Far East policy will turn out to be a distinct gain for the American people, as many of our people had seemed to be discouraged by the continuance of the conflict against the Communists in Korea because they did not recognize the objectives involved.

#### FAR EAST

I am supporting fully our fight against aggression in Korea as a test to show that aggressors will be resisted by force and therefore vital to the maintenance of peace and freedom in the world. I have advocated and continue to advocate a Pacific Pact for self-help and mutual cooperation in the Far East, a Far East recovery program for economic reconstruction and development which I consider to be of equal importance, and the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Japan.

It has appeared to me impractical to consider undertaking an invasion—as distinguished from guerrilla activities—of China's mainland with our furnishing the air and sea power to back up the Chinese National troops considering our present military means and at the very time when we are putting on a great defense mobilization effort. On the other hand, I am firmly against appeasement of Communist China by admitting it to the United Nations or by giving it control of Formosa. Formosa must be maintained as a bastion.

I joined in sponsoring a resolution—House Resolution 77—which passed the House of Representatives on January 19 to get the United Nations to declare

Communist China the aggressor in Korea, and this resolution subsequently passed the United Nations.

The weaknesses in our Far East policy have been in the economic and ideological field. It is the conditions of life of the 600,000,000 people in south and southeast Asia, outside of Communist China, which will determine whether we can keep them on the side of free institutions and of free peoples.

#### GRAIN FOR INDIA

It is because I believe so much depends on improving standards of living in Asia that I have been one of the most active in the fight to provide 2,000,000 tons of food grains to relieve the imminent threat of famine in India. I initiated this effort on December 26, 1950, and subsequently joined in putting together the India aid bill itself.

#### EUROPE

The defense of Free Europe continues to be of paramount immediate importance to our national security. Free Europe's industrial resources—55,000,000 tons of steel production per year, for example—and the skill of her 275,000,000 people is so great that it remains the Communist's No. 1 target and of the greatest value to them in their effort to subject us and the rest of the world to communism. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization—Atlantic Pact—whose forces are commanded by General Eisenhower, is the most formidable force the Communists have to face. The Atlantic Pact and the Mutual Defense Assistance Program have given Western Europe the will to defeat communism. I would like to see Greece and Turkey included and the program extended to the eastern Mediterranean to include Israel and other states willing to join; also by the acceptance of and on terms assuring their peoples of freedom—to be specified by the united action of all the Atlantic Pact countries—to include forces of Spain and, if possible, Yugoslavia, too, in an all-European integrated defense establishment.

We are in effect now and due to the state of our military preparations engaged in a holding action against aggression in Asia while we prepare to discourage it completely in Europe. Our own and European defense preparations should be such that within the next year or two we should no longer be faced with this dilemma.

#### GERMANY

Western Germany has continued as a special problem. Progress on integration of the European economy have been made with Western Germany, particularly in the approval of the Schuman plan for pooling the coal and steel resources of Western Europe; also on integrated European defense. But the infiltration of former Nazis into outstanding positions in government, business, and society continues; a trend shown to be so dangerous in recent German (Lower Saxony) and Austrian (presidential) elections. In addition, revelations of a Senate committee just released show shocking violations of law and policy in the continuing and heavy deliveries of strategic and war-making materials behind the iron curtain from Western Germany. For these reasons I reintroduced my resolution (H. Res. 115) calling for an investigation into the United States occupation policies in Germany.

#### ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Low standards of living and economic insecurity throughout the world are seedbeds for communism. We must in parallel to our defense preparations undertake to do all we can to better the standards of living of the free peoples, particularly in the underdeveloped areas of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and the Americas. In most of these areas the standard of living is so low that the average per capita income of the individual is less than \$100 per year as compared with about \$1,700 per capita per annum for the United States. We have just been given a blueprint of what can be done in economic reconstruction by the report of the President's Advisory Board on International Development headed by Nelson Rockefeller. I have supported and will continue to support these recommendations as an essential arm of our fight against communism. It is for this reason, too, that I supported the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act (H. R. 1612), to extend this law for 3 years, and thereby to facilitate greater world trade.



## THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

Those who really want peace and are not taken in by Communist "peace petitions" intended to sap our will to resist communism know that we may have to fight more than one small war as we are now fighting in Korea to teach the Communist aggressors that aggression does not pay, in order to get peace. They know that peace calls also for condemning aggression and the embargo of goods an aggressor could use for war—measures the United Nations is taking. We must strive in every way to get greater participation by the other free peoples in these efforts to punish aggressors. The fighting forces contributed notably by Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Turkey, the Philippines, Siam, Puerto Rico, and others to the Korean struggle are yet not nearly great enough. We must see that the military capabilities for cooperation in the defense of freedom by the other free peoples are greatly increased, and that their cooperation in other measures to resist and punish the Communist aggressors is assured.

We must resist all blandishments for a preventive war either against China or the U. S. S. R. Such action would put us in a bad moral position with the hundreds of millions of peoples in the world whom we wish to win over to our side, and would lead inevitably to world war III and the atomic, near destruction of the civilized world which such a war would bring on.

There is real hope for peace through strength, through broadcasting the truth about our policies, and through effective economic reconstruction and development. It lies in making the free peoples so successful and so strong that the satellites, including Communist China, will begin to be attracted away from the Soviet Union, will begin to follow the example of Yugoslavia and thus break the Communist threat. At that point, negotiation regarding the atom bomb, reduction of armaments, world trade, world communications, and a United Nations empowered to keep the peace under law without arbitrary vetoes are likely to prove feasible and fruitful.

## DEFENSE MOBILIZATION

From the very first I contended that unified control required a Defense Mobilizer with powers analogous to the War Production Board in World War II. Unification has been achieved under Charles E. Wilson with price, production, and materials allocation controls under administrators subject to his general direction.

Labor should have full representation in every phase of the mobilization effort. Without vigorous and effective workers of high morale well organized in successful trade unions led by labor statesmen, it would be difficult indeed to make a success of the defense mobilization effort or to maintain that labor-management cooperation and that industrial peace so essential to success.

## INFLATION CONTROL

Failure to curb inflation could destroy our national morale and our national-defense capability. Inflationary forces were running wild until January, when the price-freeze order was first put into effect by the Office of Price Stabilization. Price rises have been somewhat tempered since, but prices are still so high as to imperil the standard of living of every moderate-income family.

Immediately after Congress reconvened, on January 3, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 4, demanding that the President impose price controls. Subsequently and on January 27 the price freeze went into effect, but the major deficiency in this price freeze which is undermining the whole inflation-control program is its inability to deal adequately with food prices. Food costs constitute 40 percent of the normal family's budget, yet food prices have risen almost 5 percent since December 15, 1950, while farm prices average 25 percent higher than they were in June 1950, when the action in Korea started. The reason for this is the provision in the Defense Production Act, a provision which I strongly opposed, preventing food prices from being controlled before they reach 100 percent of parity. As a result, a whole list of important foods like bread, grains, corn, citrus fruits, and butter are free to go up, while a list of foods already high in price like beef, wool, and cotton are controlled, but at the high prices.

Announcement has recently been made of rollbacks up to 10 percent by fall on beef. Already we are hearing threats of farmers' strikes and black markets, though beef would still be selling one-third over the parity the farmer has always contended for. The Defense Production Act provision on agricultural prices must be amended.

There has been much talk of wage stabilization and holding wages to a 10-percent rise over January 1950, but obviously this is asking more than any worker or employee can agree to. With prices, and especially food prices, continuing to rise and with an apparent lack of power to control them, wage stabilization properly will hinge upon effective price stabilization.

Price controls are only a means for giving our economic system the opportunity by increased production, credit control, adequate taxation, and economy in Government expenditures to exercise basic restraint over inflation. It is for this reason that I took a deep interest in the struggle on credit control between the Federal Reserve Board and the Treasury. The policy decision made as a result has brought about slightly higher interest rates for Government bonds, but has tended to restrict credit and to curb inflation.

The privilege to retain United States savings E-bonds—acquired by many citizens under payroll-savings plans—beyond their 10-year due dates, generally from 1951 to 1955, for another 10 years at rates of interest equivalent to those previously earned, was recently enacted into law. This type of security is a patriotic investment and a fine provision for a rainy day.

#### RENT CONTROL

Despite the fact that we have a rent control law in New York State I have fought for and supported tighter Federal rent controls. This is essential to curb inflation in the country generally which would certainly be very harmful to the people of New York. New York State rent control is not as good as the people in our district would like it, particularly in the possibility it allows to landlords of rent increases based on a fixed rate of return—4 percent plus 2 percent depreciation—on the assessed value of their property. But I am convinced that New York State rent control still represents greater protection than the people of New York could get under the present or any Federal rent-control law likely to be enacted this year.

It is easier for landlords to get more and greater rent increases under the Federal rent control law than under the New York law yet there will be another hard fight to get even this inadequate Federal rent-control law extended beyond June 30. The amendment which I sponsored requiring as a condition of any rent increases that landlords give all services to tenants they gave as of the rent freeze date continues in the Federal and New York State rent control laws—and is responsible for blocking many improper rent increases. My congressional rent clinics continue to function every week throughout our district under the chairmanship of Hyman W. Sobell, Esq., and staffed by volunteer lawyers rendering an outstanding public service in rent problems without charge.

#### MILITARY SERVICE

Extensions of the draft have been voted by both the House and Senate and the final terms of the law are becoming fairly clear. The draft will probably be extended to July 1, 1955, and the age limit be reduced to 18½ years, but no draftee may be sent for overseas duty until he attains 19 years of age. The term of service will be 24 months. The law will contemplate that a plan for universal military training will be submitted to the Congress, but the Congress will have the right to accept or reject it so the question of whether we will have universal military training is still to be decided; special recognition will be given to inactive and volunteer reserves recalled to duty and the bill will probably call for their release from duty in 17 months. In any community the drafting of those under 19 is not to be permitted until the 19 to 26 age group has been exhausted.

Provisions for students assure an opportunity for those under 20 and still in high school to be deferred until graduation. For college students the deferment to the end of the academic year in which called is retained, but the President may allow added deferment for those continuing the type of studies considered to be in the national interest. The scholarship tests recently inaugurated by the Selective Service Administrator will be a guide to local draft boards in deferring students beyond the required deferment period.

A signal victory against discrimination and segregation was achieved in the House. By a concerted effort in which I took an active part we were able to defeat a proposal which would have enforced segregation on the grounds of color in the services. This represents the culmination of a fight which I have waged since 1948 against segregation in the armed services.

The Congress also passed a new Renegotiation Act enabling the United States Government to recapture from any Government contractor excessive profits gained out of the defense effort. I also helped to obtain for servicemen on leave the same reduced rail fares which they enjoyed during World War II. There also became law a provision for the admission of alien wives and minor children of our troops serving abroad free of any quota restrictions.

#### BUDGET AND TAXES

The President's budget contemplates appropriations of about \$71,600 million for the next fiscal year. Our people appear persuaded to a pay-as-we-go basis for defense mobilization. This attitude will enable our children to develop the country further without an even greater load of debt. The national debt at \$254,-727 million is \$1,656 per capita.

But a pay-as-you-go basis will call for increased taxes. The President suggested an increase of personal income taxes to raise \$4 billion, an increase of 8 percentage points on corporate income taxes to raise \$3 billion and an increase up to 50 percent of excise taxes on liquor, transportation, films, leather goods, amusements, and so forth, to raise \$3 billion for a total of \$10 billion. He has also proposed that tax loopholes, among which are stated to be oil and gas depletion allowances, gift taxes, capital-gains taxes, and joint returns for husbands and wives, be closed in an effort to raise additional revenue.

Considerable effort is being made by business interests to get a general sales tax. This I have opposed as a regressive tax bearing heavily on those with moderate incomes. It is for the same reason that I opposed the New York City sales tax increase of from 2 percent to 3 percent, and have also opposed taxes on such nonluxury items as baby powder, handbags, and cosmetics.

We must increase taxes, but we should do so on the basis of capacity to pay, looking for increased revenue, first to excess profits from defense mobilization, corporate and personal, then to the recent heavier corporate profits, then to more taxes on luxuries and finally to the broad base of excise taxes and general income-tax increases, but being careful not to increase the already difficult situation of the people of moderate income. Taxes to be wise must be selective, too. For this reason I have introduced legislation to grant the same \$600 additional exemption from tax for the physically handicapped as we give to the blind and to exempt the first \$2,000 of income from pensions received by former Government employees and the disability payments to those disabled in Government service.

We must cut the cost of Government where we can do so without material injury to our society or the defense mobilization effort. I have supported and will support cuts in new public construction like rivers and harbors, agricultural price supports, and overhead costs. I do not and shall not support cuts to deprive us of the full development of our power or other material resources, of needed housing, of medical research, public health, or to deprive veterans of disability or other necessary benefits.

#### PROBLEMS OF THE AGING

Those over 65 now constitute 7.5 percent of our population; and due to great progress in the medical sciences and in living conditions by 1975 will probably constitute about 15 percent of the population. A citizen who has given his best years to helping build our country is entitled to our solicitude in his later years. Social-security payments, payable after 65 years of age, average between \$60 and \$80 per month for individuals, and for families between \$100 and \$150 per month. This is inadequate considering present costs of living. In addition, the social security system covers only those who pay in and their immediate families; it does not cover almost one-half of the American people. These must depend on State and local old-age assistance if they do not have savings.

I am applying myself to finding means, first, of extending to our older citizens greater opportunity for employment and, second, to seeing how we can provide for their economic security by a combination of private and public effort.

#### SENATE CRIME COMMITTEE

The revelations of the Senate Special Committee To Investigate Crime in Interstate Commerce with Senator Kefauver, as chairman, and Senator Tobey, as senior minority member, following on the heels of the investigations of the RFC, 5-percenters, and ship sales, have shocked the country. The moral tone in Government in many quarters appears to have deteriorated seriously.

Connections between public officials and underworld influences shown in the New York City hearings undermine the confidence of the citizen in government. Establishment of moral standards as recommended by Senators Fulbright and Douglas is one excellent approach.

In 1950, with House Resolution 641, I began my one-man campaign to determine why so many Americans do not vote, confident that if the great majority of our people are alert to government and participate in it, we shall have better and more decent government. My campaign was based upon the fact that on the average only 40 percent of the eligible voters participate in congressional elections and 50 percent in presidential elections. This campaign is getting cooperation from States, municipalities, civic, business, labor, and fraternal organizations. I have recently introduced H. R. 3399, the Voters Information Act of 1951, which would permit information on officeholders to be posted in post offices.

In the same effort I introduced House Resolution 62 on January 12 authorizing televising and broadcasting of important debates in the House of Representatives. The country was so aroused about the revelations of the Senate Crime Committee on the links between the underworld and politics because it saw and heard what went on. I believe the country should have the opportunity to see and hear what goes on in the Congress, and I shall continue to fight for this measure.

#### VETERANS

As we undertake defense mobilization it is more important than ever that our veterans know that we propose to discharge fully our responsibilities to them. National Service Life Insurance has been succeeded by free \$10,000 life insurance for those in the armed services. Veterans holding NSLI policies may continue to enjoy their benefits. If recalled to active duty they will get the benefit of free coverage while they are on duty and can resume the NSLI policies when discharged and returned to civilian life.

I have introduced H. R. 1014 entitling the veteran to use his full \$7,500 VA home-loan rights even though he has previously used the home-loan privilege in part. This is essential to take care of veterans who have had to change homes due to larger families or for other proper reasons.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

In connection with the continuing concern about subversives and other disloyal elements in our country, I have again offered House Concurrent Resolution 56, my proposal to establish a joint committee of the House and Senate on national and international movements with full powers of investigation and with rules of procedure to protect the constitutional rights of individuals.

To deal with evidences of discrimination and segregation on grounds of race, creed, color, and national origin and to preserve equality of opportunity for higher education, I introduced H. R. 3347 to deprive institutions of higher education—other than denominational institutions—practicing such discrimination and segregation of Federal payments in any form through veterans' educational benefits under the GI bill or otherwise. In addition, I continue to be the sponsor of FEPC legislation—H. R. 2092.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

The continuing curtailment of mail service is still attributed to an effort to economize in the post office—a saving of \$80 million per annum is claimed. It is true that the post office deficit exceeds \$500 million per annum and must be reduced but this can be done by appropriate rate increases, particularly for newspapers, periodicals, and other bulk mail now not paying its fair share of the postal cost and by organizational economies.

Postal and other governmental employees dependent upon Congress for justice in their pay scales should have increases commensurate with the increased cost of living. People should not be deceived by the relatively few high bracket salaries in Government. The great bulk of Government employees get low salaries and have a hard time getting along today.

In an effort to encourage the merit system in the Post Office I have offered H. R. 3398 to make promotions to supervisory positions on a merit basis.

Other threats to the civil-service system continue like the freeze on permanent appointments or promotions, the efforts to reduce annual and sick leave, and opposition to retirement after 30 years of service. Government service

should be made an attractive outlet for the best efforts of those employed under it, and they should be encouraged to give outstanding service.

#### ISRAEL

Israel's problem of absorbing the added emergency immigration of 600,000 Jews from Eastern Europe, the Near East, and north Africa will urgently require the assistance of the United States. This comes after the most heroic effort by the Israeli people themselves—who have already taken in almost 600,000, including 190,000 DP's since 1947—living as they are under the most complete austerity and after scraping the bottom of the barrel for contributions in the United States and other countries. A bill seeking a grant of \$150 million of assistance from the United States to Israel has been introduced by Mr. McCormack, the majority leader, and Mr. Martin, the minority leader of the House of Representatives, and by a distinguished bipartisan group in the Senate led by Senators Douglas and Taft. I have worked diligently in its behalf and will continue to do so.

Israel is of the utmost importance to the national security of the United States in the Middle East both as an industrial workshop and the possessor of a most effective military force dedicated to fight against Communists or anyone else threatening that area's security and independence. Israel is truly a bastion of the free peoples in the Middle East.

#### IRELAND

Efforts continue to get the House of Representatives to declare it as the sense of the Congress that all Ireland should be unified. Thousands of citizens directly and through their organizations are participating. The current session of Congress is a renewed opportunity for raising this issue and for cooperating with others of my colleagues to help the Irish people realize their legitimate aspirations for unification.

#### PUERTO RICO

The national interests of the United States require that the people of Puerto Rico shall have full opportunity for self-government and for economic and cultural improvement. They vote June 4 on a constitution and as I pledged on the Enabling Act before the Congress, I shall do everything I can to see that the Puerto Rican people have a full and fair opportunity to express and to realize their own desires.

#### IMMIGRATION AND DP'S

The Displaced Persons Act was due to expire on July 1, 1951, and of the over 300,000 DP's who were to be admitted over 40,000 were unlikely to be admitted by the expiration date. The House has passed an extension of the act to December 31, 1951, to accommodate those who would otherwise be stranded.

We need a whole new immigration policy for our country cognizant of the availability of skilled and useful immigrants in Europe and elsewhere, and of our need for them to make our country even stronger in the face of the challenges before us. We are still operating under an outmoded immigration quota policy, limiting immigration to about 154,000 a year of which only about half is used. Our law gives large quotas to Great Britain and other countries which do not use them, while allowing small quotas to Greece, Italy, Poland, and other countries making prospective immigrants from there wait 5 or 10 years for a visa. Even with the DP law and nonquota immigrants we have only taken in 205,000 a year for permanent residence on the average from 1948 to 1950. The law provides that housing and jobs shall be shown to be available for new immigrants when they apply for their visas. Within the confines of these principles our immigration policy should be broadened.

A very important aid to immigration was the recent amendment to the Internal Security Act (McCarran bill) which took effect March 28, permitting those who are neither Communists nor Fascists or other totalitarians but who involuntarily had some connection with such organizations under coercion, to become eligible for immigration to the United States, an eligibility which had been denied to them heretofore by this law.

#### OTHER ESSENTIAL ISSUES

At the very opening of the Congress an effort was made to reassert the power of the Rules Committee which can in effect block legislation from coming up for

debate and vote. I opposed the grant of this power and supported the so-called 21-day rule which broke this power in the last Congress. We lost this time, but I shall join with others of my colleagues in trying again. The way the bill to aid India with grain in its famine situation was delayed is one example of why this question is so important.

I introduced again my national youth assistance bill to provide \$50 million to aid youth programs in States and municipalities and by voluntary organizations like Youth Aid, Inc., which functions in our district. I revised my bill in line with the recommendations of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth recently held and the new problems of youth arising under the defense mobilization program.

I continued also my work in seeking to bring about modernization of the Republican Party. It is fundamental to the success of our constitutional society that both great parties be equally modern and have equal appeal to the people.

#### CONCLUSION

Our Nation finds itself at the crossroads of world leadership. There are those who counsel retreat to a Western Hemisphere "Gibraltar," but the facts of the air and atomic age make this a counsel of fear, not of security. Our security is to be found in accepting the world leadership which by virtue of our moral and physical resources we have the responsibility to accept. I am confident that we wish to, and that we can, lead the world to a new birth of freedom, prosperity and security encompassing more of mankind than ever before and therefore deserving greater success than has ever been granted to any people.

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[Congressional Record, October 15, 1951]

#### 82D CONGRESS—1ST SESSION—FINAL REPORT—RECORD AND FORECAST

Speech of Hon. Jacob K. Javits, of New York, in the House of Representatives

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, since my first report on this session to the people of my district we have begun to see more clearly the sacrifices which will be called for to maintain our national security, peace, and free institutions.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

During the past months the American people have been called upon again to make a great decision. The character of the negotiations for a cease-fire in Korea and the impossible claims for propaganda purposes made by the Communist Chinese and North Koreans have compelled us alternatively to break off and resume negotiations. Though these have been hard decisions the people have supported General Ridgway, confident in the fact that in dealing with the Communists we must neither be misled nor frustrated by chicanery or delay and judge the situation only on the facts. There is expectation of a cease-fire in Korea and we want one. We must also be fully prepared to move in any direction required by the situation.

The people have just backed a large mutual-security program (\$7,300 million) both of military and economic assistance, and finally have noted a signal victory for our foreign policy in the overwhelming approval of the peace treaty with Japan at San Francisco with 46 countries for and only 3 Communist countries against signing this treaty. Equally important is the fact that seven countries of south and southeast Asia joined the other free nations in approving the Japanese Peace Treaty, and that the efforts of the Soviet bloc to obstruct and delay were suppressed with the overwhelming support of the nations represented at the conference.

Our major foreign problem aside from repelling the aggression by force, continues to be to head off or counteract internal subversion. Here we are constantly challenged by the fact that a great deal of social and economic reform is needed in depressed areas and yet is difficult to attain under existing conditions. Education, economic reconstruction and development, and technical aid can form the seedbed for domestic changes in such areas. We must do all we can to eliminate conditions of oppression and injustice and to bring about conditions of hope, improvement, and justice.

## FAR EAST

The Far East continues with Germany to be the focal point of the Communist drive at the moment.

The struggle in Korea is at least as important as any struggle we have ever undertaken for it represents an effort to keep the peace against aggression before a major war can start and therefore to discourage those who are playing with the idea of aggressive war. I remain opposed to the admission of Communist China to the United Nations and joined in introducing House Concurrent Resolution 231 on June 6 declaring that this in no case must be the price of a Korean ceasefire and also calling for the popular choice of a government on Formosa, now the seat of the Republic of China.

The participation of other United Nations forces in the Korean fighting—aside from the valiant South Koreans—is still limited though British, Australian, Greek, Turkish, and Puerto Rican forces have made great contributions. But we must remember that most of the United Nations are still fighting towering economic difficulties which we are trying to help them with; are preparing their own defenses against communism as in Western Europe—NATO—and that at least one, France, is fighting a full-scale war against the Communists in Indochina.

Our far-eastern policy continues to require concentration upon a mutual-defense arrangement for the whole Pacific area—a Pacific pact—and upon an economic-development program for the whole area—a Far East recovery program. Steps toward the Pacific pact have already been taken by the mutual-defense agreements concluded between the United States and the Philippine Republic, with Australia and New Zealand and with the new post-treaty Japan. Now all the other free people in the Far East—Indochina, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Afghanistan—need to be tied together for their mutual defense in a suitable defense compact. The Mutual Security Act for this fiscal year provides \$237,500,000 for economic aid alone and \$335,250,000 for military aid in this area. This is the beginning of an economic development and military-aid program but still does not get the benefit of organized self-help and mutual cooperation among the far-eastern states themselves. This is a result which I believe we must continue to seek to attain.

India remains a difficult factor in this area, having abstained from signing the Japanese Peace Treaty but I believe the recent United States food aid to India of \$190,000,000 which I helped to sponsor has done much good. India belongs with the free peoples and will align herself with them despite the vicissitudes of the hour. The important point is to maintain the stability of constitutional government there.

## EUROPE

Real progress is being made in the defense of Europe through the Atlantic Pact but much remains to be done and every effort is being made to stir up the laggards. The Mutual Security Act for this fiscal year carries \$5,028 million for military and \$1,022 million for economic aid to Europe. Europe's problem is not manpower for defense but military equipment for its manpower. Such equipment is just beginning to flow over there. It is openly and widely considered that the next few years are the most dangerous for Europe. The answer is not, therefore, to quit but rather to accelerate our preparations and to try to bring the objective date nearer. It is for this reason that I have supported so actively the whole mutual-security program. We are now emphasizing military aid 5 to 1—by the figures—and ending the European recovery program (Marshall plan). I believe we must do what we are doing on military aid, but that we cannot afford to cut so much on economic aid as to lay open great underdeveloped areas of the free world to Communist propaganda.

## GERMANY

A resolution has passed the Congress ending the state of war with Germany. I voted "present" on this resolution in order to lend point to my warnings to my colleagues that it was premature. I urged that we be more sure than we are about what part the people of West Germany will play in the defense of Europe, how they will deal with the surge of former Nazi elements into high positions in government, business, and society, the controls they will exercise over the shipment of strategic materials behind the Iron Curtain from West Germany and the extent to which justice would prevail in restitution and indemnification to

the victims of Hitler, thousands of whom are now American citizens. General Eisenhower summed up the position that I have advocated on the German question when he spoke of "an earned equality on the part of that nation," in his address before the Members of Congress in February.

I shall continue this policy of vigilance with respect to Germany with full recognition of the enormous part Germany can play in the economic and defensive power of Europe. I am anxious to see granted on a reciprocal basis all powers which are earned by the German people. There is much discussion of unification between West and East Germany but knowing Communist chicanery as we do we cannot permit the understandable desire of Germans for unification to be used as a bargaining point by the Soviets to make the whole of Germany a satellite state. The unification of Germany cannot be isolated from other West-East issues.

#### NEAR EAST AND ISRAEL

The defense of this area is vital to the national security of the United States. It is vulnerable because of the feudal social conditions which are rife through the area, the high rates of illiteracy, depressed economic conditions, fanatical leadership in high places, and low state of health which prevails. It is also very attractive to the Communists because it has enormous oil resources. The failure of Great Britain and Iran to agree on oil and Egypt's defiance of the United Nations Security Council and struggle with Britain on the Suez Canal and Sudan shows the great conflict in this area.

The admission of Greece and Turkey, with their effective and strong military defenses, into the Atlantic Pact establishes the basis for defense of this area. Israel is the hard core of defense and democracy in the other areas of the Near East. She is having tremendous difficulty absorbing an immigration which has already almost doubled her population in only 3 years. Accordingly I supported and worked for economic assistance to Israel which was just granted in the Mutual Security Act in the sum of \$50 million for refugee aid and a shared part of \$160 million for economic development in the whole Near East area, including also the Arab States. I have also supported and worked for equivalent aid for the Arab refugees and Arab people recognizing that the Near East is a unit. Our first object in this area must be peace between Israel and the Arab States and mutual development. We will gain it only by constructive action and not by being intimidated into doing injustice to Israel by Arab fanaticism.

#### IRELAND

The Foreign Affairs Committee of which I am a member reported favorably at long last the Fogarty resolution seeking Irish unification. When brought up for consideration the House of Representatives refused consideration though I spoke for and voted for it. I believe the text of the resolution did not suit the House and this requires a new effort as the basic sentiment is, I believe, in sympathy with Irish unification as being in our best tradition.

#### OTHER FOREIGN POLICY SITUATIONS

The release of Robert Vogeler, a United States citizen, who had been imprisoned by the Communist Hungarian Government, showed that the Communist governments are susceptible to world opinion and to countermeasures. I fought for Mr. Vogeler and was very gratified by his release. He is a living witness of the implacable cruelty of Communist dictatorship. In conjunction with the successful efforts to free Robert Vogeler, I continued to work for the release of Cardinal Mindszenty and the cardinal's successor, Archbishop Groesz, for whose release I sponsored a resolution of protest (H. Res. 325).

The problem of Spain has proved a very trying one, particularly in view of the aid given to Yugoslavia, a Communist country, while Spain is a Falangist country, both dictatorships. Aid to Spain is thought to be justified on the basis of her strategic position and military assistance. These must be weighed against the active opposition of the Western European allies upon whom we heavily rely in the NATO, particularly Great Britain and France. Spain should be first passed on for admission into the Council of Europe at Strasbourg and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and that is the basis upon which proper terms can be made with Spain for any aid to be extended.



## PRICES AND CONTROLS

Amendments to the price-and-wage control law were adopted in July. These weakened rather than strengthened the law, in my view. Agricultural prices, underlying the cost of food, continued to receive preferential treatment in price stabilization. I sought to freeze agricultural prices the same as other prices, but without success. Other amendments are giving guaranteed profit margins to distributors and to manufacturers and special provisions embargoing the import of fats and oils, cheese and other dairy products introduce new elements of inflation in the price-control situation. The failure of efforts to roll back the prices of meat to the consumer by 10 percent and to impose quotas on slaughterers to control black markets in meat, both of which efforts I supported, further discourage the outlook for strong price and wage stabilization.

I am convinced that working people would be glad to hold the wage line if the price line were held, but are prevented from doing so by the weak price controls. I shall continue my fight for a strong and effective control program.

The Consumer's Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is now at an all-time high of 186 (1935-49=100) with an index figure of 227 for foods. This is the most disturbing sign of inflation danger ahead on our domestic horizon and demands urgent correction.

## RENT CONTROL AND HOUSING

I stated in my previous report that I consider New York State rent control as giving greater protection than the people of New York could get under the present or any Federal rent control law likely to be enacted currently. This is proved in the extension of the Federal rent-control law.

Decentralization of areas (except for military defense areas) was not only made easier but a new rent increase factor was introduced permitting landlords to get 120 percent of their 1947 rents with a credit for voluntary rent increases taken by the tenant other than for increased services since that time. This is in addition to the fair net operating income rent increase formula which still continues in the Federal rent control law and has resulted in widespread rent increases.

I was successful in carrying over in substance my maintenance of services amendment in these new Federal rent-control provisions which has been responsible for blocking many improper rent increases.

My congressional rent clinics continue to function throughout our district in accordance with the published schedule, under the chairmanship of Hyman W. Sobell, Esq., and serviced by the volunteer lawyers who are doing such fine work on rent problems without charge.

The publicly assisted low-rent housing program for which I fought in 1949 called for the construction of 135,000 public-housing units a year for 6 years. Due to materials shortages resulting from defense mobilization the President recommended a cut to 75,000 of such units for the coming year and congressional committees cut it to 50,000 units. By an unexpected and untimely move it was further cut in the House of Representatives to only 5,000 units. The essential minimum for New York City alone was 15,000 units for the year 1951-52. After an extended and spirited struggle, featured by a splendid mass meeting in the city council chamber of New York (which I had the privilege of addressing), we were successful in restoring the 50,000 unit figure for this fiscal year. This should allow 10,000 units for our city which, though far from adequate, is yet gratifying as compared with the prospects but a short time ago.

## ARMED SERVICES

The main problem has arisen in connection with the handling of reservists. It has been felt that the armed services have called many of such men without due regard for family or economic obligations or, in some cases, fitness for service. Also, it was alleged that no assignments for many in which they were really needed were available. Finally, the policy on reservists retention had been very unsettled despite the provisions in the draft law calling for the release from duty of reservists after 17 months of service unless retention is demanded in the national interest. The law has now been amended to provide for mandatory release for reservist enlisted men in 16 months if they have served a year or more in World War II, but the 17-months service still obtains for Reserve officers recalled to duty with 24 months for those in recalled organized units.

I have helped many reservists and their families with these problems and will continue to do so.

I testified before the committee considering the Armed Forces Reserve Act, just passed, urging that adequate consideration be given in recall and release to dependency status, hardship and reserve status.

The new law creates Ready, Standby, and Retired Reserves. Only the first group is subject to call-up in emergencies declared by the President; the others, only in the event of war. Into the Ready Reserve will go those in organized units and draftees who have served for 2 years; the latter will remain in Ready Reserve for 6 years, which may be shortened to 3 years by satisfactory training with an organized unit. Four-year enlistees would pass directly into the standby Reserve. Anyone who had served 1 year in World War II and 1 year in the Korean action would be transferred into the Standby Reserve as would those who have served 8 years in a Reserve component since September 2, 1945.

The problem of citizenship for aliens serving in the Armed Forces is important. Three years service is now required to make an alien eligible, while only 90 days service was required during World War II. I am doing my utmost to get this period reduced.

The West Point explosion scandal has shocked all Americans. High character on the part of our professional military leaders is vital to national defense and national morale. No cadet involved was appointed from our district. I feel that all cases of this character should be considered individually and on their merits without wholesale condemnation or clearance.

The contemplated size of our Armed Forces remains the same—3,500,000—and efforts are now going forward to determine its adequacy to the problems of modern defense in terms of air power and atomic weapons. These may well have a most constructive effect on the size of the Armed Forces we need, their cost and effectiveness. I shall support full modernization of the armed services.

#### CIVILIAN DEFENSE

I have supported civilian defense which I consider to be vital to effective national defense and have also worked for efforts to get Federal help to construct underground parking garages so important to New York, which could be used as defense shelters. The House of Representatives recently cut civilian-defense appropriations by 85 percent—cuts which I strongly opposed. I shall continue this fight to get adequate civilian defense; otherwise our civilian population is dangerously vulnerable to atomic and other new weapons.

#### VETERANS

Bills were passed recently in the House of Representatives increasing benefits for disabled veterans and their dependents and also widows and survivors' and beneficiaries' pensions. In addition allowable earnings for beneficiaries were increased but these bills have not yet had favorable action in the Senate. I supported also a bill to provide an increase in compensation from \$65 to \$120 a month for veterans over 65 with nonservice-connected disability and requiring an attendant. The President vetoed this bill but it was passed over his veto.

I am supporting legislation to extend GI educational benefits to children of World War II veterans killed in action; also to extend to veterans of the conflict in Korea the same benefits under the GI bill as those enjoyed by World War II veterans.

I joined others of my colleagues in an effort to prevent the Veterans' Administration regional office in New York dealing with national life insurance and death claims from being moved to Philadelphia.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

Since my last report the fight for the elimination of segregation and discrimination in the armed services has been marked by a major success—the elimination of all segregated units abroad. Although segregation has been eliminated in many camps in the United States, it still persists in some. The effort to abolish it universally continues.

The House rejected recently my amendment to prohibit segregation and discrimination in community facilities in defense housing, but I am endeavoring to secure these provisions through administrative means. I was compelled to vote against a bill to help communities with defense installations to meet their

added school problems for the same reason—segregated schools—through it was a measure I would otherwise have supported.

A major defect in the Internal Security Act—the McCarran Act—was the prohibition of entry into this country of persons who as children were forced to affiliate themselves with Nazi, Communist, and similar organizations in order to stay alive. This overstringent provision was keeping out some worthwhile potential citizens. The law was relaxed recently to permit the entry of those in this category. It demonstrated what I had contended about this act when I opposed it—that it is unnecessarily strict for any legitimate objective.

#### BUDGET AND TAXES

For the current fiscal year \$57,200,000,000 is being appropriated directly for the armed services plus an additional amount of approximately \$17,500,000,000 for other national and mutual security programs and the Korean conflict. Other Government programs, including veterans benefits, will require about \$20 billion in appropriations. Actual expenditures, however, for all these purposes will probably be about \$68,400,000,000 in the current fiscal year 1951–52.

Our people wish to be on a pay-as-we-go basis for defense mobilization. With the national debt at \$275,386,296,535—\$1,659 per capita—this certainly seems only fair to our children and to our country's future.

The President had suggested a total of \$10 billion in new income taxes and the closing of tax loopholes. The House-passed tax bill proposed to raise \$7,200,000,000. The compromise tax bill passed will raise an estimated \$5,700,000,000 and is made up as follows: An increase in personal income taxes of generally 11¾ percent of existing rates (11 percent for taxable incomes of \$2,000 or less), which will cause normal withholding to be 20 percent instead of 18 percent as at present; corporate income taxes are generally increased from 47 percent to 52 percent; the percentage used for computation of excess-profit taxes is increased from 62 to 70 percent and the base on which figured is raised; and additional excises taxes are imposed on liquor, gasoline, cigarettes, and certain electrical appliances, while such items as baby oil and admissions to civic and community concerts, including the Metropolitan Opera, are exempt from excise tax.

Persons over 65 can claim an exemption on their income taxes for all medical expenses up to a limit of \$2,500 a person or \$5,000 for each married couple. Persons who qualify as single heads of households can receive half of the income-splitting benefits now authorized for married persons. Corporation taxes are to be levied on mutual-savings banks and building and loan associations after interest payments to depositors and 12-percent reserves, as well as on undistributed, unallocated income of nonexempt farm purchasing and marketing cooperatives. The Congress rejected a 20-percent withholding tax on dividends, interest payments, and royalties.

I endeavored to have included in the tax-increase bill my measures—H. R. 1284 and 2818—to equalize the tax burden on those on retirement pensions, with those receiving social security by granting a \$2,000 exemption and by giving the physically handicapped the same additional \$600 exemption now extended to the blind. However, the Committee on Ways and Means rejected these proposals on the ground that they were only considering ways to increase revenue.

A great many people have written me about economy in Government and keeping nondefense expenditures to an essential minimum. I have supported large cuts in rivers and harbors, conservation payments, and agricultural price support appropriations which would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars. I am not supporting cuts to deprive us of needed medical research, public health, or veterans' services or to jeopardize fair treatment for post office and other Federal employees. I believe this is false economy and these savings are meager compared with what could be saved where economy is justified. I do not consider armed services appropriations inviolate and I propose that demonstrated waste and inefficiency in these appropriations, too, should show in cuts.

#### OLDER WORKERS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

On July 9, I introduced the National Act Against Age Discrimination in Employment to deal with the problem of older workers. It seeks to prevent discrimination in hiring of workers over 45 due to age. The bill has aroused an enormous interest in the country and I have pursued it diligently with respect to the hiring practices of the local governments and the Federal Government. I have also demanded that the Defense Mobilizer, the National Production Ad-

ministration, and other defense agencies give special attention to employment of older workers.

No action has been taken on increasing social-security benefits or extending the system further as it covers today only about one-half of the American people. I believe that this situation will and should be corrected.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

In order to reduce the Post Office's \$500 million deficit at a time of unprecedented budgets and to cover increased costs of operation, increases in postal rates calculated to raise \$117 million are being made. The increase for postal cards is 2 cents, and for second- and third-class mails (newspapers, periodicals, and advertising, but not books) is 30 percent at 10 percent a year and an increase to 1½ cents per item, respectively.

During the debate on the measure to increase postage rates, I attempted to insert an amendment providing for the restoration of the postal services curtailed last year, but unfortunately this move did not succeed. I will, however, continue my fight for adequate postal services. I am also endeavoring to secure enlarged post office facilities for our community as many of the present post offices are undersized and overtaxed.

Legislation to increase the pay of post office workers generally by a flat \$400 per annum and to eliminate the first two automatic grades has been passed, and the pay of classified civil-service workers has been raised 10 percent, with a minimum of \$300 and a maximum of \$800. I supported this legislation vigorously for workers who have only the Government to look to for justice. The amount of the increase is even now not adequate to deal with the cost of living but it will help.

Graduated leave is replacing the other leave provisions for post office and civil-service workers, with a minimum of 13 days for those who have served up to 3 years and a maximum of 26 days for those who have served over 15 years. Sick leave is fixed at 13 days annually.

Other civil-service problems relate to the need of increased retirement benefits for civil-service workers and the freeze on permanent appointments or promotions. I shall do all I can to help resolve these problems favorably to the Federal employees affected.

#### LABOR

Workers as the best example of the benefits inherent in the American system are extremely important to the defense effort. Their presence on defense mobilization agencies at home and in our diplomatic and economic agencies overseas is an important element in our strength. It should be encouraged in every way.

I opposed the amendment to the price and wage control legislation which sought to reduce the position of labor on the Wage Stabilization Board as I consider the equal tripartite representation of management, labor, and the public to be essential to the hopes of labor-management cooperation.

The Railroad Retirement Act was amended increasing payments to pensioners and annuitants by 15 percent and to survivors by 33⅓ percent.

In the closing days of the session, Congress enacted a labor-supported amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act to dispense with union shop elections and to legalize certain union shop agreements made necessary by a recent Supreme Court decision.

#### IMMIGRATION

In an article published in the New York Times Sunday magazine (July 8, 1951) and later condensed and reprinted in the Catholic Digest (September 1951) I outlined a plan to provide for the admission of alien workers possessing skills needed in the United States, with a priority for the surplus working force of those European nations cooperating in the European recovery and mutual security programs. To implement this plan I sponsored the Selective Immigration Act of 1951. Domestic unemployment is down to the almost irreducible minimum in our defense mobilization program and several million additional workers will be needed in the next few years. Strategic balance with the population of the Soviet Union in the next 20 years requires a better immigration policy.

#### MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

Disquieting revelations of corruption in Government and of slackness in the moral and ethical standards of officials have been coming out in volume. So, too,

have charges and countercharges about Communist influences in Government. First, we should be clear that the great mass of Government officials are unaffected and function as loyal public servants. Second, while casting the rotten apples out of the barrel and supporting all legitimate investigations we should be careful to apply the time-honored safeguards of our society that no one is guilty until so proven and that punishment—swift and severe when merited—should follow, not precede, such proof.

I have dealt with community problems concerning improvement of schools and playgrounds, traffic conditions, abatement of nuisances and the incidence of crimes of violence. In the latter, I have had the full cooperation of the police authorities of the 30th and 34th precincts. The correction of conditions is not easy but close cooperation between good citizens, public officials, and the police authorities can do much to help. Crime cannot stand up against an aroused community.

Conservation of national resources is vital to our survival and our future. I opposed the tidelands bill which passed the House of Representatives granting the offshore oil reserves to the States, as I believe only in the Federal establishment can they be made to serve best the people's interest.

Administration of the antitrust laws does not seem to have done much to preserve and develop small business while big business has developed its size and productivity. Accordingly, I have joined with Senator Morse, of Oregon, to introduce legislation for a national commission to review the antitrust laws.

My campaign to get Americans to vote has continued. We cannot afford a society where only 40 percent of eligible Americans normally vote in congressional elections and only 50 percent in Presidential elections. I am also working toward the same end through my efforts to get broadcasting and televising of major debates in the Congress.

#### CONCLUSION

At a time of world crisis we have cause for deep concern yet the strength of our country and the character of our people give us real reason for optimism. In the days ahead we shall be sustained and we shall succeed because our free institutions are deeply imbedded in our hearts and we continue to have abiding faith in the human values.

[Congressional Record, May 15, 1952]

#### EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION—FIRST REPORT—RECORD AND FORECAST

Speech of Hon. Jacob K. Javits, of New York in the House of Representatives

MR. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, our people are on the threshold of great decisions. For this purpose they require the greatest amount of information and enlightenment. I consider it the duty of every public servant to afford this to the people he represents particularly, and to the country as a whole.

#### PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

The present temper of our country may best be described as perplexed. We face enormous problems and are in a questioning mood as to whether we are pursuing the right ways to deal with them. Our efforts to bring about peace in Korea and to assure peace for the rest of the world are based upon the following six points:

First. Resistance to Communist aggression wherever manifested as in Korea.

Second. Regional organization of the free world for defense as in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Rio Pact, the mutual security treaties with the Philippines, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, and the proposed Middle East Command.

Third. Aid to other free peoples to arm themselves for defense against Communist aggression as in Indochina, Iran, and Formosa.

Fourth. Economic and technical aid to underdeveloped areas notably in south and southeast Asia, the Near East, Africa, and Latin America, to improve standards of living and strengthen free institutions.

Fifth. A campaign of truth through the Voice of America and other means of education and information.

Sixth. Strong support of the United Nations to make it an effective organization to preserve the peace, to provide international police forces, to establish

workable control over atomic and other weapons of mass destruction, and progressive disarmament.

Two major problems have arisen in our carrying out this program: First, the extent to which we can follow our traditional policy of favoring self-determination for non-self-governing peoples even though when they attain independence they may not be able to meet the Communist challenge which faces every new nation nowadays. Second, to head off and counteract Communist internal subversion in areas which are underdeveloped and depressed and where a great deal of social and economic reform is needed.

#### THE FAR EAST

This area continues to be the focal point of Communist aggression. All efforts to bring about a truce in Korea have been frustrated by the Communist intransigence and are apparently regarded by the Communists on a political level—a truce to be concluded only when it suits them. Neither the United States nor the United Nations can jeopardize the American or international forces there by inadequate or vulnerable truce arrangements nor jeopardize the action which has driven the North Koreans and Chinese Communists and their Soviet masters out of South Korea and deprived them of the fruits of the aggression they began in June 1950. I am for continuing efforts to conclude a truce while protecting our forces and checking the enemy from getting too strong.

Other United Nations forces in the Korean fighting than our own—British, French, Australian, Turkish, Greek, Colombian, Ethiopian, Italian, Puerto Rican, and others—have been somewhat augmented but are still limited. It is a fact, however, that these other countries are mounting defense efforts of their own—notably the NATO countries of Western Europe—that France is fighting a full-scale war against the Communists in Indochina and Great Britain is fighting a similar full-scale action against the Communists in Malaya. It is to be noted that the cost to France of the Indochina action, estimated at over \$1 billion a year is alone more than the amount we provide for France under the mutual security program.

Our Far Eastern policy urgently needs a Pacific pact, a mutual defense arrangement for the free peoples of the Pacific, and an economic development program, a Far East recovery program.

The Japanese peace treaty and the security treaty between the United States and the new Japan providing for the maintenance of defense forces there have taken effect. The mutual security program for this fiscal year seeks \$408 million for economic aid and technical aid and \$611,230,000 for military aid in the Far East. United States obligations to aid the Nationalist Chinese to defend Formosa continue.

India remains a key factor in Asia as far as the United States is concerned. Should India go the way of China, it could very well mark the end of the free world in the Far East. It is for this reason that I have applied myself diligently to developing good relations between the United States and India.

#### EUROPE

The mutual security program for this coming fiscal year 1952-53 calls for \$3,360 million for military aid and \$1,637,300,000 for defense support aid to Europe. Great progress has been made in building Europe's defenses through NATO under General Eisenhower. We have a right to look forward with confidence to the work of his successor, General Ridgway. United States equipment to the extent of over \$3 billion has materially helped to build the NATO defenses. The NATO powers themselves spent over \$8 billion for defense in the fiscal year 1950-51, will have spent over \$11 billion in the fiscal year 1951-52, and will spend over \$14 billion for defense in the fiscal year 1952-53. By the end of this year it is expected that Western Europe will have 25 equipped and ready divisions of its own for defense, and by the end of 1953 this is expected to be increased to 50 divisions. Defense support is aid with goods and materials instead of guns, ships, planes, and tanks designed to enable Europe to carry on its own part of the defense program. With the program going forward in this magnitude we ought to be over the hump in terms of Europe's vulnerability to aggression from the east by the end of 1953.

West Germany is a necessary part of European defense so long as she can be made part of it without compromising free Europe's security. Great strides

have been made in this respect with confirmation of German participation in the Schuman plan for the pooling of Europe's resources of coal and steel and in progress with the European defense community for the pooling of the defense forces of France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg, and the contractual arrangement with the German Federal Government.

West Germany is gradually being brought by these means into terms of equality with the other European countries on a basis of regional organization which I believe goes a long way to prevent Germany's becoming again an aggressor threat in Europe.

There are three points which still need careful attention: First, the recognition by the German people of their obligations of restitution and indemnification to the victims of the Nazis or their families; second, to guard against a recurrence of ultranationalist control in Germany by giving the allies the "reserve power" to step back into occupation authority if this happens; and, third, to prevent the Soviet offers of unification of East Germany with West Germany from blocking the cooperation of West Germany in free Europe's security.

#### NEAR EAST (ISRAEL) AND NORTH AFRICA

This is probably the tinderbox area of the world. Tension exists in Iran over oil nationalization, in Egypt over the Suez Canal, and the Sudan and in Tunisia and Morocco over self-governing status. The failure of the Arab States to negotiate peace with Israel continues. Yet the proposal for a Middle East command, the United Nations plan for aid to the Palestine Arab refugees, aid for refugees in Israel, and the technical assistance programs both of the United States and the United Nations offer a fundamental opportunity for stabilizing and vastly improving social and economic conditions in this area.

United States aid to Israel and Israel refugees in the current fiscal year is \$64,500,000 with an equal amount to the Arab States and Palestine Arab refugees. Israel continues to be the hard core of effective defense against aggression from the east in that area outside of Turkey. Until the Middle East command can be formed Israel should be invited to become a member of NATO like Greece and Turkey and for substantially the same reason. The mutual security program for 1952-53 calls for \$79 million of assistance for refugees and technical aid to Israel and for \$89,500,000 for assistance to Palestine Arab refugees and technical aid to the Arab States. It marks the backing by the United States of the \$250 million United Nations program just promulgated for the resettlement of the Palestine Arab refugees. Our objective in this area continues to be peace between Israel and the Arab States and mutual development for social and economic improvement.

Nationalist aspirations like those in Iran and Egypt would have our sympathy provided they were reasonable and did not endanger the free world. The Cairo riots were very disquieting. It is gratifying that the Egyptian people took measures to prevent a recurrence. A solution of these situations can be attained through mediation and the United States should use its best offices accordingly.

In respect of self-determination in Morocco and Tunisia the United Nations has a great role to play as it had in establishing the independence of Libya and in dealing with Somaliland and Eritrea in other areas of Africa. It is for this reason that I questioned the abstention of the United States from voting in the United Nations Security Council which blocked consideration of the Tunisian question.

#### PUERTO RICO

The problems of Puerto Rico have been crystalized through the adoption by the people of Puerto Rico of a constitution putting them in the status of a fully self-governing territory, which is up for approval before the Congress. Without anticipating the result of the review of this document it is yet gratifying that the opportunity has been afforded to and availed of by the people of Puerto Rico to provide for their self-government. It is a test of the way in which we will run our whole policy for the Americas.

#### UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations continues to be the world's best—perhaps last—hope for peace. I have supported the continuing efforts of the United States to bring about implementation of the resolution for the consideration of measures for disarmament passed by the last General Assembly. I have also urged our repre-

representatives to see if discussions for the control of atomic and other mass destruction means of warfare cannot be resumed.

The whole question of the veto in the Security Council should be reviewed in the United Nations, at least as it applies to the pacific settlement of disputes and a real effort should be made to set up international police forces, the need for which is so dramatically shown by the experience in resisting aggression in Korea. The United Nations should be encouraged to take a greater place in determining the destiny of non-self-governing peoples and those in colonial status. The United Nations has shown its flexibility through the regional organizations for defense which it has been possible to establish without violating its structure.

#### ARMED SERVICES

Our Armed Forces objectives continue to be about 3,700,000 men and women.

A pay raise for military personnel has been voted which calls for a basic 4-percent increase in pay, plus a 14-percent increase in allowances for subsistence and quarters. It will be of especial benefit to those with dependents.

Implementation of the universal military training plan came up for consideration but was returned to the Armed Services Committee without action at this time. I supported this move because the legislation before us, due to a parliamentary situation which developed, had no terminal date and was otherwise of a kind not intended by a majority of the people. It is possible that the measure may be brought up again even this year and it will certainly be brought up again in 1953.

I supported legislation, which passed the House, to enlarge the opportunities for citizenship of noncitizens serving in the armed services on or after June 25, 1950, and not later than June 30, 1955, on a petition filed before December 31, 1952. The bill awaits Senate action. Such citizenship may now be applied for only after 3 years of service.

#### VETERANS

The law just passed authorizes a 5-percent increase in service-connected disability compensation for veterans of all wars who are less than 50-percent disabled and a 15-percent increase for those more than 50-percent disabled.

It increases from \$60 to \$63 and from \$72 to \$75 the monthly non-service-connected disability pensions available to 65-year-old veterans or disabled veterans of World Wars I and II and Korea. For veterans who require the constant aid and attendance of another person at all times, it provides for an increase from \$120 to \$126 in the monthly non-service-connected disability pension.

The pension eligibility income limitations for a veteran without dependents or a widow without children are raised from \$1,200 to \$1,400. For a veteran with dependents or a widow with children the limitation is raised from \$2,500 to \$2,700.

Legislation, of which I am also a sponsor, is at long last about to come up to extend to Korean veterans similar benefits under the GI bill of rights to those enjoyed by World War I veterans.

#### PRICES AND CONTROLS

The price-wage control law is coming up for extension soon, as it expires June 30, 1952. I shall support such extension while at the same time seeking to strengthen the law. The Consumers Price Index recently leveled off and even receded a bit reflecting slight reductions in living costs, but this must be compared with the meteoric rise in the price index since the Korean action started in June 1950, which has placed grave disabilities on moderate income families, particularly attributable to the very high increase in food prices. I will also join in seeking to take out of the law provisions giving guaranteed profit margins to distributors and manufacturers—the Herlong and Capehart amendments.

Wage stabilization has been gravely affected by the situation in steel which is discussed under the labor section of this report. I introduced legislation for a Joint Congressional Committee on Consumers as I consider the consumers' interests to be the most neglected in the Congress.

The bill permitting prices stipulated by the manufacturer or distributor to be charged for goods bearing a brand or trademark—fair trade—has passed. I supported it and endeavored to bring about an amendment which would have insured consumer protection while meeting the needs of small business. I have impressed upon retailer trade associations the obligation they have to protect the consumer.



## RENT CONTROL AND HOUSING

The people of our district have now had experience with the New York State rent-control law and can appreciate my views expressed last year that it is likely to give greater protection than the people of New York could get under the present or any new Federal rent-control law. This is proving out as the Federal rent-control law was greatly weakened in 1951 and is likely to be even more weakened again this year. I shall support Federal rent control and try to strengthen it, as it is badly needed in many areas not served by State rent-control law as we are in New York.

My congressional rent clinics continue to function throughout our district under a published schedule and the chairmanship of Hyman W. Sobell, Esq., serviced by volunteer lawyers who are serving thousands of tenants effectively without charge.

As happened last year the program for federally-assisted low-rent housing was again cut in the House of Representatives to only 5,000 units for the whole country. I fought against this cut and will continue to do so and believe that it may well be restored back to 45,000 units. But this is still not nearly enough for our problems in New York City. It compares with 50,000 units finally authorized last year of which New York's share was about 10,000. The resulting diminution in publicly assisted low-rent housing can only be made up for by greater State and city housing activity and by a middle income housing program for the families earning \$3,500 to \$4,500 per year who are caught in the squeeze due to high construction costs today.

A housing development—of both public and cooperative housing—is proposed for the Morningside-Manhattanville area in our district and is pending before the city and Federal authorities. Naturally, we want to see our area improved but this can and must be accomplished without serious hardship to the affected families and indeed with a view to materially improving their housing conditions.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

A resolution was adopted by the House to investigate the purposes for which tax-exempt educational and philanthropic organizations are using their funds. I opposed it as I felt it carried implications that the social policies and objectives of the foundations might be in effect censored.

The bombing which resulted in the death of Mr. and Mrs. Moore, at Mims, Fla., and the desecration of synagogues and Catholic churches in Miami and Philadelphia occurring early in the year caused me to introduce at the opening of this session of Congress an omnibus civil-rights bill dealing with segregation and discrimination in opportunities for employment, housing, and education, and in interstate travel, segregation in the armed services, and antilynching and antipoll tax. Presenting as it did all the civil-rights issues under one cover it has had a marked effect here.

I have also joined with a bipartisan group of my colleagues in reintroducing a bill making it unlawful to defame any racial or religious group of our citizens by material sent through the mails or shipped across State lines. The United States Supreme Court has recently sustained an Illinois group libel statute and I believe this is a valuable means to protect our society against bigotry.

## IMMIGRATION

The codification of the immigration laws recently passed by the House may become law this year. Though codification is desirable, I found it necessary to oppose this bill because it contained a new emphasis on racial distinctions while purporting to deal with some of the old. The eligibility of all people from the Far East for citizenship was established by the bill, but on a very limited quota basis for immigration of 100 per year for each country. In return, however, the immigration laws were materially revised putting Negroes from the West Indies on the same very limited quota of 100 per year per British colony instead of coming in as they have for years under the practically open British quota. The bill also created a special quota of 100 per year for any immigrant, no matter where born, if he had half or more Asiatic blood. In addition, changes were made by the bill in the quota system and in the laws regarding admission, deportation, and naturalization of immigrants, greatly restricting these opportunities over even what they are now and jeopardizing the status of every immigrant and making him subject to deportation even after he had been here for

many years. I am continuing my fight in the expectation that the bill may be changed for the better before it becomes law.

#### BUDGET AND TAXES

There are no material changes in the personal income-tax laws and the details regarding these laws detailed in my previous report remain in effect. Vital matters still need correction and these include equalizing the tax burden for those on retirement pensions with those receiving social security by granting the former a \$2,000 exemption, giving the physically handicapped the same additional \$600 exemption now extended to the blind providing for the traveling expenses of working people to and from work and other reforms. It is unlikely that income taxes will be either decreased or increased this year.

A very great problem remains the budget. The President's proposed expenditures of \$8,500,000,000 against estimated receipts at \$71 billion were figured to result in a likely deficit of \$14,500,000,000. Present estimates indicate a deficit of about \$5 billion and perhaps less. Our people still wish to be on a pay-as-you-go basis for defense mobilization; hence further efforts are called for consistent with the national security to come as close as possible to bringing about budget balance.

The major element in the budget, appropriations for the armed services, has already been passed by the House at approximately \$46 billion. This represents a cut of \$4,713,945,216 from the budget request of \$50,921,022,770. Also, expenditure for the armed services was limited by the House to \$46 billion. I supported the cuts made and in fact voted for a cut of an additional \$2,500,000,000 which did not carry, but I opposed the expenditure ceiling because I felt it would result in making unavailable to us great amounts of defense material which we urgently need and payment for which would come out of past rather than present appropriations.

The House has taken action on all appropriation bills except those for foreign aid, military construction, and some miscellaneous items, and has cut about \$6 billion, 10 percent, from the total of \$66,721,108,411—the budget requests in these bills. Budget requests of over \$12 billion remain to be acted on. I anticipate that final cuts will be about the same percentage.

The aggregate of goods and service produced in the United States, our gross national product, is now running at an all-time high of \$339 billion. The aggregate national debt of \$258,336,700,000—\$1,649.25 per capita—is of proper concern to every American, but comparison with our past indebtedness is not valid. This is so in view of the enormous increase in our gross national product, over three times what it was in 1939, when it was \$91,339,000,000 and our national debt was \$40,439,532,411—\$308.98 per capita. While we make every effort in the highest spirit of patriotism to pay as we go in the defense mobilization, we should at the same time realize that our country is solid and carrying the defense mobilization effort very well indeed.

True rather than false economy continues to dictate substantial cuts in rivers and harbors and pork-barrel projects generally—other than those needed to relieve the tragic Midwest river floods—cuts in agricultural conservation payments and appropriations for agricultural price supports. I am not supporting cuts to deprive us of needed medical research, public health or veterans' services or to jeopardize fair treatment for post office or other Federal employees.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Social security payments raised in the last Congress, but inadequately, need to be raised again. The social security system should be extended to the self-employed, farm workers, and those in the armed services. The allowable monthly income limitations for social security recipients should be raised from the present \$50 per month to \$100 per month—I have joined in sponsoring such legislation—to make the situation reasonably conform to present standards of living. Legislation increasing social security payments by a \$5 per month base increase with up to \$18.75 per month increase in the higher brackets and making other needed reforms, including added protection for those serving in the Armed Forces, and increase of the income ceiling to \$70 per month is likely to become law this year.

Measures are pending to have the Federal Government supplement the resources of States threatening to exhaust their unemployment insurance reserves; also, to add an additional 50 percent to State unemployment insurance benefits

where unemployment is attributable to defense mobilization. There are also measures pending to enlarge the whole unemployment insurance system by including employees of practically all establishments and increasing the coverage. Unemployment insurance is one of the great reforms of our time. I am very sympathetic to making the system as beneficial as possible.

Problems of older workers are attracting increasing attention, resulting in the inclusion in an appropriation bill passed by the House of a provision wiping out age limitations for the hiring of employees by the Federal Government under civil service. My bill to prohibit age discrimination in employment opportunities is gaining increasing support.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

The Post Office Department deficit for the current fiscal year is estimated to be \$768,008,261 and for the ensuing fiscal year it is expected to be \$669,332,000. However, despite increased rates users of the mails are still faced with one-a-day home deliveries and other onerous restrictions in service. I have intensified my efforts to get adequate postal services restored. There has been an improvement of mail pickup service in the area north of West 125th Street which I believe was helped by this effort. Our postal employees are doing an outstanding job and are now obliged to work harder than ever. What the Post Office Department urgently requires is modernization, adequate pay and conditions, and merit promotion for its employees—a measure which I am sponsoring, H. R. 3398—reorganization of the Department in accordance with recommendations of the Hoover Commission and realistic rates for third-class mail—newspapers and periodicals.

I have opposed curtailment of annual and sick leave granted Federal employees as this is a false economy which is in effect a reduction in wages. I have also opposed the Whitten amendment making promotions and appointments temporary. Government workers should have the opportunity for permanent promotion to higher grades now as before where their service and ability entitles them to it.

The increasing cost of living imposes its heaviest burdens on those who live on fixed incomes and I am supporting increases in payments to those receiving annuities and pensions from the Federal Government.

The seizure of the steel plants as the result of the inability of labor and management to get together on wages and working conditions has profoundly disturbed our country; the courts will probably have passed on the question when this report is received.

I have repeatedly pointed out that Taft-Hartley injunctions are not necessarily a solution as a strike can still come at the end of the 80-day injunction period and such injunctions are also offensive to labor. Neither is an investigation of the Wage Stabilization Board a solution. I have sponsored for this reason the National Emergency Seizure Act of 1952—H. R. 7449—setting the conditions of seizure in a national emergency, providing that no one should profit from it and that operations only to the extent essential to the national security and health should be continued. I feel the responsibility in this matter is that of the Congress and that Congress should take the authority and use it.

A great many working people have felt that the Wage Stabilization Board is not acting quickly enough in passing on wage-increase cases requiring its decision. I have made and will continue to make every effort to see that the Board gives prompt and realistic action in view of drastically increased living costs.

#### MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

More alarming revelations of corruption in the Federal Government have come out since my last report particularly in the Internal Revenue Bureau, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and the Department of Justice. Our higher officials cannot avoid the responsibility for shocking conditions under their administration even if not personally involved and must take the responsibility also for letting out the Honorable Newbold Morris. I am sponsoring a bill for an Office of Government Investigation to deal with this situation of honesty in Government on a year-round basis.

The great interest in nominations for the Presidency, in both parties, has emphasized the value of presidential primaries now available in only 17 of our 48 States. I have given support to the extension of this effort in addition to my continuing efforts to bring about televising and broadcasting of important

congressional proceedings and to materially increase voting participation in our country. I have introduced new legislation to improve the opportunities for voting by the men and women in our Armed Forces.

Our national resources have suffered during the war years. We must take all conservation measures to restore them and all measures to greatly increase the availability of raw materials from abroad. I am continuing my opposition to the tidelands bill granting the offshore oil reserves to the States rather than to the Nation. Our country must give very careful consideration to the St. Lawrence seaway and power development project as it is in the interest of all Americans to be sure that we do not overlook the potential inherent in the development of any great part of our country.

New York City has suffered in certain of its major industries, like construction, men's clothing, and other soft goods manufacturing due to defense mobilization. I have joined with others of my colleagues in vigorous efforts to get the Federal Government to take special measures to help with these problems.

In our local community problems we have been able to effect some reforms in traffic conditions and to make some progress with crime conditions. But there is still a long way to go. The community has been aroused; cooperation between citizens, public officials, and police authorities has been better and these will bring about increasing improvement.

#### CONCLUSION

The exigencies which face us are so great that we cannot afford to pause. It is a tribute to the strength of our people and our institutions that few Americans doubt that we shall come to the great decisions on the Presidency without any lessening of our efforts to defend and preserve free institutions and human liberty.

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[Congressional Record, July 4, 1952]

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION—FINAL REPORT, RECORD, AND FORECAST  
Speech of Hon. Jacob K. Javits, of New York, in the House of Representatives

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare for great decisions on the Presidency we recognize that there must be no indecision in our national policies until the day the next administration takes over. The people are entitled to the maximum amount of information on which they can base their judgment in these days, and it is the responsibility of every public official, insofar as he is possibly able to accomplish it, to see that every citizen in his area is fully informed.

#### THE ISSUE OF PEACE

Peace continues to be the dominant issue of our time. It is an issue which is being misused and abused by the Communists who suggest that anyone who is against their policy of surrender to anything the Soviet Union wants or to Communist pressure within any country is acting against peace. Resistance to Communist aggression against weaker peoples and subversion within free states does not mean war; it means only honesty in the quest for peace. It seeks to avoid the mistakes which the free world made when it permitted Japan to take Manchuria in 1931, Hitler to march into the Rhineland in 1934, and Mussolini to seize Ethiopia in 1936. Once such actions were permitted to go unpunished they assured the start of World War II. Similar actions like armed aggression in Korea, unchecked now, will just as surely lead to world war III.

A great deal is made by Communists and Communist sympathizers about the immediate calling of a five-power conference between the United States, Great Britain, and France on the one side and the Soviet Union and Communist China on the other. In principle there is no inconsistency between being always willing to talk and at the same time establishing our defense capabilities. Yet we always have before us the examples, first, of the Deputy Foreign Ministers Conference in Paris in 1951 which was used as a sounding board for Communist propaganda for over 3 months, and then came to nothing; second, the truce negotiations in Korea which are being cynically used by the Communists for world propaganda about such barefaced frauds as "germ warfare" while covering up greater military preparations to endanger our and the other U. N. forces in

Korea. The right course is to be willing to meet with the Soviet Union under fair conditions and an agreed-upon agenda for the discussion of all major causes of friction but not relax our preparations for defense until the Communists show by their deeds that they really seek peace. Such a meeting should be held under the auspices of the United Nations as the best way to inspire confidence in the nations which do not participate.

The whole United Nations structure has the greatest potentiality for securing the peace. In too many circles it is becoming popular to condemn the United Nations without recognizing that it is a world forum where words, not bullets, can be exchanged, and which remains mankind's best, perhaps last, hope for peace.

The Soviet Union and the Communist bloc insist on seeking to frustrate the will of the free peoples in the United Nations at every turn with vetoes, delays, false propaganda, and finally with insults and falsehoods. So long as this effort to sabotage the United Nations from within continues, no fairminded person can believe the protestations of the Soviet bloc about peaceful intentions or even of sympathetic interest in the problems of men and women everywhere.

#### UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

As permitted by the United Nations Charter, regional organization for self-defense has been strengthened through the North Atlantic Pact, by our mutual security treaties with Japan, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand, and by the Rio Pact with our Latin-American neighbors.

A large part of the foreign policy of the United States is expressed today by the mutual security program. Under this program, there has been appropriated for the current fiscal year \$6,031,947,750, a reduction from the \$7,900,000,000 requested by the President. Of this amount, \$3,415,614,750 is for military aid and \$1,282,433,000 for defense-support aid to Europe; \$560,316,500 is for military aid to Greece, Turkey, and Iran; \$50,822,750 is for technical and economic assistance to the countries of the Near East, and for the relief of refugees there \$130,291,250 is provided. For the Far East there is provided \$564,807,500 in military assistance to Indochina, Formosa, and the Philippines, and \$321,412,500 for economic and technical assistance to these countries and to India, Pakistan, Burma, and Thailand. In Latin America the mutual security program provides \$57,685,750 in military aid and \$20,329,000 in technical assistance.

Funds are also provided by the defense appropriation bills for United States forces which are now stationed in Europe and in Japan and which are engaged in the fighting in Korea.

#### KOREA

As this is written, efforts to bring about a truce continue to be frustrated by the Communists. It has been one excuse after another with them; now the Communists state that all prisoners, whether or not they wish to go back into Communist hands, must be delivered to them. This means to thousands almost certain death to themselves and destruction to their families. If we wish ultimately to win the world away from the Communists, people must first be convinced that we can be trusted not to deliver them back to the Communists once they are free. We must also be extremely vigilant about the safety of United States prisoners of the Communists.

We are fighting in Korea to punish armed aggression against peaceful people and to deprive the aggressor of the fruits of his aggression. This we have done successfully, so far. It is not necessary to become involved in a major Asiatic war on the mainland of China into which millions of Americans could be drawn, to accomplish this purpose.

The other non-Korean U. N. ground forces in Korea are only 20 percent of our own and we need all the help possible from the other free peoples. But those best able to supply forces, like Great Britain and France, are already fighting full-scale actions against Communists in Malaya and Indochina, respectively, and are suffering great losses in the process. They are protecting us in those areas just as we are protecting them in Korea. Almost half of the fighting in Korea is being done by the South Koreans themselves in the ROK divisions while our divisions are 50 percent of the total ground forces engaged.

Other powers which have military potential are either too poor economically or too disturbed internally to make their contribution to the Korean action. What we have to do is to help them straighten out some of their problems, economic, social, and political, to get more aid in Korea.

Korea ties down the Communist Chinese and means they cannot move elsewhere in other parts of Asia as easily. In the meantime we should seek greater contributions from the other United Nations in relieving our manpower in Korea. This can work as effectively as our own present rotation policy is working in Korea in keeping the morale of our troops there very high.

#### EUROPE

The contractual arrangement with the German Federal Government will in all likelihood be approved, and this is tied in directly with the participation of German military formations in the European Defense Community—European Army.

There is reason for deep disquiet in the contemplation of any German military formations, but a study of the European Defense Community agreement shows that real efforts are being made to prevent German domination either of the European army or of its directing staff and to prevent the danger of Germany's withdrawing and utilizing the forces which it contributes for its own purposes. The United States, Great Britain, and France have given guaranties that this will not be permitted and these guaranty agreements are to be approved at the same time as the agreement with the German Federal Government.

This contractual arrangement with the German Federal Government is weak in many respects, primarily as to the dispositions regarding the Nazi war criminals, restitution of property taken away by the Nazis, indemnification for suffering in concentration camps to the victims of the Nazis and their families and effective control against any threatened return of ultranationalist excesses. The agreement is strong in maintaining allied authority over West Berlin, over any agreement for the unification of East and West Germany and over any final settlement of German frontiers. The Soviet Union continues its propaganda efforts regarding German unification with the intention of making all Germany a Soviet satellite. The United States, Great Britain, and France have indicated their willingness to discuss German unification but only and necessarily on the basis of free all-German elections under international supervision.

#### NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA—JEWISH AND ARAB REFUGEES

This area is troubled by two major problems—ultranationalism and refugee resettlement. United States aid is mainly directed toward dealing with refugee resettlement, but the United States lacks a positive policy for dealing with ultranationalism. Our Government has apparently been content to follow the British lead. Britain's difficulties in Egypt and Iran and its grave errors and injustices in seeking to block Jewish immigration and the establishment of Israel in 1946 and 1947 have shown that the United States must have a policy of its own in this area. This policy should be built upon aid to resettlement of the refugees who are the most nettling problem in the whole area and defense based on dependable factors in the area.

Our 1952-53 mutual security appropriations provide \$60,063,250 for resettlement of the Palestine Arab refugees—the United States contributions for this year to the 3-year \$250 million U. N. resettlement program—and \$70,228,000 for the resettlement of the Jewish refugees in Israel. There is also provided for the Arab States over \$20 million in technical assistance, while for Israel \$3 million is provided for technical assistance. Vigorous efforts, with the full aid of the United States, with the surrounding Arab countries in the implementation of the United Nations resettlement plan, is essential for the resettlement of the Palestine Arab refugees. Continued United States assistance to Israel, which has been performing so magnificently in this field, is necessary to help with the Jewish refugees.

Peace is most urgently needed between Israel and the Arab States, which are still practically at war, being only under existing armistice agreements. Israel wants to negotiate for peace, but the Arabs are seemingly unwilling. We must make every effort to bring about a just and lasting peace, recognizing the permanency of the brave, young State of Israel.

As the Middle East Command for the defense of this area cannot be formed, due to the unwillingness or unreadiness of the Arab States to participate, protection of the area should be extended by Greece and Turkey, which are already members of NATO, joined by Israel. Israel admittedly has the most effective military forces there, outside of Greece and Turkey. The vital character of this part of the world, considering its enormous oil resources, the fact that the Soviet Union is very short of oil, and the social and political ferment and dis-

order in the Near East, are all signals of danger there. Vital defense measures can no longer be deferred.

#### INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Together with a bipartisan group composed of members of the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I sponsored a resolution expressing our country's concern in India and Pakistan and our desire to extend economic and technical help for their plans to improve food production and living conditions. This has a vital bearing upon the kind of society and government which will exist in this area.

India and Pakistan are vital elements in the free world's security. They have taken careful note of the fact that Communist China has already swallowed up Tibet, right on their border. They know the cynical disregard shown by the Communists for India's famine-relief needs last year. A resolution of this kind is the only way under our constitutional processes in which the American people can express to the people of India and Pakistan a continuing interest in their development. It will be an important matter before the new Congress.

#### PUERTO RICO

Congress has approved, with certain reservations, a constitution for Puerto Rico giving that territory full self-government. These reservations brought into question certain of the social aspirations of the Puerto Rican people regarding full employment and higher living standards as expressed in this document. I believed that the Puerto Rican people were entitled to full expression of their aspirations in their constitution so long as they had representative and free government. A needed reservation to protect the right of parochial-school children to continue to attend the schools of their choice was in another category. Puerto Rico accepted the reservations and they do not seem to have diluted the self-government the constitution gives to Puerto Rico. It is another expression of a great American policy toward its Territories and possessions—both peoples are to be congratulated on the outcome.

#### VETERANS AND SERVICE PERSONNEL

The new Korean GI bill of rights provides for servicemen who have at least 90 days of service subsequent to June 27, 1950—not necessarily in Korea—up to 36 months of free schooling with monthly allowances, on-the-job and farm training, home and business loan guaranties up to \$7,500, mustering-out pay and rights to unemployment compensation. Basic allowances to veterans taking education or training are \$110 per month for single veterans, \$135 per month for married veterans, and \$160 per month for veterans with more than 1 dependent. Benefiting from the experience of the World War II GI bill, the law is designed to minimize education and housing frauds which have victimized so many veterans in recent years. Education payments are made directly to veterans, and loan guaranties may be refused on homes built by persons who had previously sold defective housing to veterans.

I have done my utmost to encourage voting by our troops on active service through the introduction of legislation to that effect, by communicating with the President, who sent a special message to Congress on the subject, and by other means. In the State of New York such voting is relatively simple. The serviceman—as well as his family living out of the State with him—should make application before October 24 to the division of soldier voting in Albany or on standard form 76 provided at all military installations. I strongly urge that all who have relatives or friends serving in Korea urge them to vote in this vitally important presidential election year.

#### PRICES AND CONTROLS

The wage-price stabilization law has been extended in the main until April 30, 1953. Changes made in the law have weakened, not strengthened, it. Fresh and canned fruits and vegetables are exempted from all price controls despite strong opposition in which I joined. Guaranteed profit margins to distributors and manufacturers are raised, not lowered.

The preferences to the prices of agricultural products which have resulted in record highs for food prices are further raised by inserting a floor in the shape of a guaranteed price support of 90 percent of parity for major farm products. I fought against such a guaranty both in the Defense Production Act and in the bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Notice is gradually being served

on the representatives of agricultural districts in the Congress that the consumer is waking up to the meaning to him of unjustified and unreasonable agricultural price preferences and guaranties, much as we favor basic and needed protection for farm families.

Only two gains were obtained for consumers in the price-wage stabilization law. One was to open our markets to the admittance of cheese from France, Italy, and Denmark to a greater extent than the law had previously allowed. The second, under an amendment I sponsored was to require a report to be made by a congressional committee on how the law will be affecting prices for consumers, the first time consumers have been specifically mentioned in this law.

Wage-stabilization procedures have caused some delays in the decision of cases by the Wage Stabilization Board granting wage increases, thereby holding up wage adjustments for many workers whose families were affected seriously by the high cost of living. I have worked with some success to break the logjam on such applications.

The Federal fair-trade law, permitting prices stipulated by a manufacturer or distributor to be charged for goods bearing his brand or trademark in States having State fair-trade laws, will be law when this report is issued. It is a measure of vital importance to every small-business man and therefore businessmen should insure that it is utilized with fairness to the consumer.

I fought against the effort to prevent American participation in the International Materials Conference which, though a foreign-policy and defense question, was tacked onto the Defense Production Act. As we import all or much of—about two-thirds, the strategic items of material we need for defense, fair international allocations of these materials at fair prices are vital.

#### RENT CONTROL AND HOUSING

The new wage-price stabilization law also extended Federal rent control. This law has been covering 8 million American families in other States which, unlike New York, do not have their own rent-control laws. But Federal rent control was further weakened at this session by an automatic decontrol provision. It provides that unless the affected town or city, if it is not a critical defense area, specifically requests Federal rent control to continue, it ends as of September 30, 1952. This again demonstrates my conviction that the people of New York are getting and can continue to get better protection through the New York State rent-control law than they could hope to get under Federal law. People in my district with rent problems continue to be welcome at my free congressional rent clinics about which information may be obtained by writing to me.

Despite a great struggle, the Federal publicly assisted low-rent housing program again suffered in the Congress. It took almost superhuman effort to win back 35,000 units for this year as against the 5,000 which was at first voted by the House of Representatives. This means that New York City can only be allotted under 5,000 Federal public-housing units this year despite the urgent shortage, though it had been hoped to make this figure 10,000.

I joined with others of my colleagues to sponsor Public Law 370, which facilitates slum clearance under title I of the Housing Act of 1949 by permitting municipalities to collect assistance payments on account from the Federal Government.

In recognition of the fact that middle-income families earning \$3,500 to \$4,500 per year are the worst off in getting new housing as they do not qualify for public housing and cannot afford high priced newly built private housing, I introduced the Middle Income Housing Act of 1952. This bill seeks to provide \$3 billion in very low interest rate loans by the Federal Government for middle-income housing that cannot otherwise be obtained and provides other aids for slum clearance and to reduce construction costs. The \$3 billion in low-interest loans could provide upward of 400,000 additional units at rents middle-income families could afford to pay. The issue is so vital that it must be kept before the country during the coming election campaign to be sure it gets attention early in the next Congress.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

Civil rights promises to be one of the burning issues of 1952. Our country's position in the world which will be so heavily determined by the colored races and the vindication of our own Constitution require us to act on complete civil-rights legislation in the next Congress. I have introduced an omnibus civil-rights bill for this purpose, H. R. 5945. Almost at the very end of this session a subcommittee of the Senate's Committee on Education and Labor reported



out the Ives-Humphrey FEPC bill, sponsored by Senator Irving M. Ives, of New York, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, which provides for an FEPC with full enforcement powers and which is the most promising FEPC bill to have come before the Congress.

Federal civil-rights legislation, including a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission with enforcement powers, anti-poll-tax and antilynching legislation, legislation against discrimination and segregation in housing, education, transportation, and public facilities and to eliminate the last vestiges of segregation in the Armed Forces have generally been made almost impossible by the rule of unlimited debate in the Senate. It is vital that the fight be made on this rule at the opening of the new Congress. Debate in the House of Representatives is in the control of a majority and this should be generally so in the Senate. In this way the people's will cannot be frustrated.

The end of filibusters in the Senate and the enactment of civil-rights legislation can be the soonest obtained by a coalition of progressive elements in the Congress regardless of party.

#### IMMIGRATION

We now have a new immigration bill, the result of the overriding by the Congress of the President's veto of the bill. I voted to sustain this veto and have fought consistently against this law as being a step backward. First, it establishes a color line on immigration from the Caribbean, breaking down the long-established practice by which people from the West Indies were admitted under the British quota. Second, it aggravates discrimination against immigration from southern and southeastern Europe inherent in the quota immigration law by adding new preferences to those already existing. Third, it jeopardizes the status of those who come in as immigrants, making them liable for deportation or even loss of nationality for years to come. It will be necessary in the new Congress to do everything possible to bring about amendment of this law to correct its glaring deficiencies.

Though the law lifts the ban on the entry and eligibility for naturalization of Asiatic peoples, it does so under minuscule quotas of 100 per year per state of origin for an aggregate of only 2,000 per year, and makes those of one-half or more Asiatic blood, no matter where born, subject to those quotas. A final end to oriental exclusion is highly desirable, but could have been effected under separate legislation which was before the Congress.

I consider the liberalization of our immigration policy to be required also by the need for cooperation with the other free peoples for the absorption of the surplus working populations of Europe. Such a program, so important for the free world, cannot be realized without the kind of American leadership which resulted in the settlement of the DP problem—by our taking our fair share.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY AND OLDER WORKERS

The Congress has enacted into law a measure increasing social-security benefits by an estimated \$540 million yearly. This bill increases monthly old-age and survivors insurance benefits by \$5, or 12½ percent, whichever is greater; increases to \$75 the amount a person may earn each month and still qualify for old-age and survivors insurance payments; gives those serving in the Armed Forces an automatic social-security credit on the basis of \$160 monthly earnings; increases to \$25 the minimum benefit payable to a retired person, and increases the maximum benefit payable to a family from the present \$150 to \$168.75 a month; increases by \$5 a month the Federal share of direct assistance payments to the needy aged and persons who are blind or totally disabled and increases by \$3 a month Federal grants for dependent children. While I believe the limitations on earnings should have been eliminated entirely and benefits should have been increased more in line with living costs, this bill is a step forward.

Also enacted into law, as a part of the independent offices appropriation bill, was a provision seeking to eliminate age qualifications for employment under the Federal civil service. I fought for this measure as part of my efforts to secure equal opportunity for workers over 45—the subject of my bill, H. R. 4731.

#### COST OF GOVERNMENT

Though personal income taxes were not increased in this session, they are already so high that every citizen is necessarily interested in Government expenditures and economy. In addition, the heavy deficits, even under present

high taxes, contribute further to inflation and reduce the value of savings and the purchasing power of those living on fixed incomes.

The deficit for the current fiscal year was about \$4 billion, and the deficit for the fiscal year which began July 1, 1952, and which will end June 30, 1953, is estimated at \$10 billion. Congress cut appropriations from the amount requested by the President by over \$8 billion, granting approximately \$80 billion, as opposed to requests of approximately \$88,500 million. Essential appropriations for defense and veterans are the biggest part of these figures.

Injustices and false economy need to be righted just as forcefully as true economy needs to be imposed. Agricultural conservation payments costing \$250 million could be drastically cut, even according to the leading farm organizations themselves; so could the cost of agricultural price supports. "Pork barrel" projects for rivers and harbors could be sharply reduced without disturbing urgently needed flood control. Defense Department's appropriations, essential as they are, aggregating over \$46 billion, with an additional amount of over \$4 billion for construction, still have some water in them. On the other hand, the denial of \$300 million for Federal aid to schools, \$30 million for Federal aid to college students, the drastic cut in the publicly assisted low-rent housing program, and the cuts of appropriations for conserving national resources where they were needed were ill advised.

There are loopholes and inequities in the personal income-tax structure which urgently need righting by the next Congress. It is estimated variously that \$1 billion to over \$3 billion in additional tax revenue a year is lost.

#### CIVIL SERVICE AND POST OFFICE

Pensions for retired civil-service employees have been raised, beginning September 1, 1952, and ending June 30, 1955, by \$36 for each full 6-month period between the date of retirement and October 1, 1952, with a ceiling of \$324, or 25 percent, whichever is the less. The increase when added to the present annuity must not exceed \$2,160 annually. This increase will be discontinued on June 30, 1954, unless Congress appropriates money by that date for the fiscal years 1954 and 1955. This increased annuity also applies to those receiving survivorship benefits, becoming effective September 1, 1952. The Congress set up a committee to make a study of the various Government retirement systems and report back to Congress not later than December 31, 1953.

The Whitten rider making appointments and promotions temporary only, has served, I believe, as a serious block to the merit system. It has been modified to permit permanent promotions under some circumstances, to give consideration to all prior service in promotions instead of only service immediately prior to the proposed promotion, and to permit the Civil Service Commission to make exceptions to the promotion restrictions of the law in order to avoid undue hardship or inequity.

The shortsighted policy of the Post Office Department in curtailing mail deliveries and other postal services continues despite many protests. This has resulted in an actual increase in the aggregate number of employees—substitute, temporary, and regular—rather than a reduction and has markedly increased the number of disability retirements among postal workers. I am continuing my fight against the curtailment and for justice in earnings, conditions, job security, and retirement for postal employees.

#### AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENTS

Due to the increasing rate of motor-vehicle traffic accidents and fatalities and the rising rates for automobile liability insurance, I introduced a resolution calling for an investigation by the Congress of laws regulating the operation of motor vehicles and motor carriers, auto liability and insurance rates and measures which the Federal Government can take in these matters. This bill has received a tremendous response as it brought forcibly to attention a situation which has been gradually created due to the vast increase in interstate travel by auto and in which the Federal Government could, therefore, take a useful part. It is probable that there will be action on it in the new Congress.

#### MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

Man does not live by bread alone. For this reason I introduced a bill to establish as a branch of the Smithsonian Institution an American Academy of Music, Drama, and Ballet, as part of a National War Memorial, for the education of selected pupils in the various phases of these arts.

I did my utmost to save Champlain College at Plattsburg, N. Y., from being taken over by the Air Force for use as a military installation as it is so important to encourage low-cost, nondiscriminatory education, an opportunity for which is being denied so many young people. Though the fight was lost for the moment in the Congress so much interest was stirred up that I believe some way will be found to continue to make these facilities for higher education available in New York.

The effort to televise and broadcast important congressional sessions upon which I have been working is being confirmed by current political experience. It is becoming inevitable that broadcasting and televising of important congressional sessions will soon be considered a "must" by the American people.

Individual instances endangering our moral strength constantly arise. I fought against the retention by the Air Force of a German doctor it had hired alleged to be implicated in the shocking medical experiments conducted by the Nazis during the war. I am glad to say that this doctor's contract was not renewed and that he has left the country.

#### EVERY CITIZEN SHOULD VOTE

We are facing as important an election as we have ever had in what is not too accurately called peacetime. The collective judgment of all our people and no less is required in fairness to ourselves and our posterity. A new President and a new Congress will make decisions involving peace and the economic, social, and political future of our people which will determine the course of our lives for decades—and probably of the lives of other free peoples. It is the duty of every citizen to make it his business between now and election day to read, to listen, to observe, and to consider our national issues, then to register and to vote with the dignity and responsibility that such interest will bring, on election day, November 4, 1952.

[Congressional Record, May 5, 1953]

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION, FIRST REPORT—RECORD AND FORECAST

Speech of Hon. Jacob K. Javits, of New York, in the House of Representatives

MR. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the new administration under President Eisenhower has been in office about 3 months. I believe that it has been characterized by a sense of responsibility rather than by virtuosity or improvisation. It is a proper time to take stock of what has been done and to determine what is forecast for the future.

#### POST-STALIN PEACE HOPES

The death of Stalin marked the end of one era in the prospects for peace. We have been treated lately to more temperate language from the Soviet Union and the Communist satellites but by small evidences of an actual change of position. Whether even the softer words are dictated by internal weakness or a struggle for power between the Big Three who succeeded Stalin—Malenkov, Beria, and Molotov—the free world does not know. In any case, our real desire for peace and world settlement requires us to take at face value any Soviet overtures toward peace and world settlement while at the same time we do not slacken our efforts for the common defense of the free world and for major improvements in its economic and social position. This has been, generally, the policy pursued by the new administration and was dramatized in the President's speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16.

There has been new consideration of a four-power conference between the United States, Great Britain, and France on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other to deal with East-West frictions. The right course is to be willing to meet with the Soviet Union under fair conditions and, if it will not drag out the situation interminably as it did in Paris in 1951, to agree upon an agenda for the discussion of all major causes of friction. Such a meeting should be held under the auspices of the United Nations as the best way to inspire confidence in those nations which do not participate. The President has already pointed out that Korea is a problem of one piece with the struggle in Indochina and Malaya; that the unification of Germany is a problem of one piece with the whole security of Europe and that trade between the free world and the Communist bloc is a problem of one piece with all of world trade. On this basis, under U. N. auspices,

negotiations may prove fruitful. I shall endeavor in every way to help in forwarding this kind of policy.

The Soviet Union and its satellites initiated a wave of anti-Semitic persecution with the accusations against the nine doctors in Moscow and purges in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. I introduced a resolution urging the United States vigorously to protest, worked to get the administration to issue such condemnation which President Eisenhower and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States representative to the U. N., did most eloquently, and joined in numerous protests at meetings and over radio and television. These persecutions ceased soon after Stalin's death, as suddenly as they began, but Jewish people and all Americans are not being taken in, knowing that under a Communist regime such persecutions can start, be stopped suddenly, and start again. The Communist bloc can only prove its good faith by lowering the Iron Curtain and letting the tens of thousands of Jews who wish to emigrate, most of them to Israel, to leave the Iron Curtain countries. The persecutions should certainly have persuaded any remaining muddle-headed idealists that the Soviet Union and its satellites are just another totalitarian regime like the Nazis and Fascists.

#### UNITED NATIONS

The U. N. remains the great world forum where words, not bullets, are exchanged, and is therefore mankind's best—perhaps last—hope for peace. The Soviet Union has made a few conciliatory gestures like not vetoing the election of a new Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld to replace Trygve Lie, and supporting a resolution urging the end of the Korean conflict, but the false charges of germ warfare continue and there is little diminution except for the fact that the language is less strong, in the Soviet and satellite charges of war-mongering.

#### MUTUAL-SECURITY PROGRAM

The mutual-security program remains the main support of NATO as well as of military assistance to Indochina, Thailand, Malaya, and other parts of south and southeast Asia, and to the Philippines, the Middle East, and Latin America, as well as of the economic aid and technical assistance activities of the United States. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, appropriations for this program totaled \$6,031,947,750. The previous administration requested \$7,600 million for this program for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1953. President Eisenhower's administration cut this by \$1,800 million and recommended \$5,800 million.

It is proposed that the procurement of military materials for our partners overseas, known as offshore procurement, will largely replace economic aid to Europe. The program is expected to concentrate technical assistance in those areas and on projects where American and other free world business and private investment cannot do the job while at the same time a drive is made to encourage overseas private investment.

As the chairman of the Subcommittee on Economic Policy of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have been presiding over a series of hearings designed to develop a foreign economic policy for the United States. We have heard a good deal about the slogan of trade, not aid, and this is indeed sound. American business can do much to improve standards of living and therefore the opportunity for freedom in many parts of the free world. But the continuing high-tariff structure of the United States, the Buy American Act, and the complexities of our customs procedures as well as the outright embargoes and quotas respecting agricultural products figuring into our export and import trade mean that we shall have to do a lot of straightening out before an appreciable amount of trade can replace aid. I have introduced legislation to extend the reciprocal trade agreements program for 1 year without amendment, and I am supporting the President's request for a bipartisan commission to review our foreign economic policy.

#### KOREA

Our whole country is deeply grateful that the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners was consummated effectively and on time—and deeply saddened by the tragic story of those who perished by primitive maltreatment of POW's and by the typically Communist holding out of thousands of others. Truce negotiations are now proceeding. A little relaxation of the previous Communist intransigence is indicated by the concession that prisoners of war who do not wish to be repatriated to North Korea and Communist China be placed in the

custody of neutrals under agreed-on conditions. All our people are very anxious for a truce, but they recognize, too, that our forces in Korea must be protected and that the U. N. mission to repel aggression such as started the Korean war and to discourage aggressors is fully justified. Nor do we wish to see a truce which will only enable the Communists to fortify their position for new aggressive attacks. In fact, a new naked international aggression of the Korea type is already going on in Laos, gravely threatening Thailand, the rice bowl of south Asia, as well as Burma, India, and Pakistan. We also do not wish to see long-drawn-out negotiations such as we had in 1952 in Korea, which only enabled the Communists to strengthen their position and cause our troops more casualties. With these cautions in mind, we should go forward to negotiate a truce in the utmost good faith on our side and to the best of our ability.

#### EUROPE

There is real disquiet over the continued delay in the approval of the European Defense Community agreement, to organize an all-European—free Europe—army for defense, the means by which the German military potential may be utilized without the danger of a recurrence of German dreams of world domination. We must continue our efforts to bring about consummation of this plan, with especial emphasis on the importance in it of the German Federal Republic and of France.

The situation of France is seriously affected by continuing financial troubles and governmental instability as well as by the drain of the struggle in Indochina, estimated to cost the French people over \$1 billion a year as well as thousands of casualties.

The German situation shows elements of assurance as well as elements of danger. Optimistic evidences are approval of the agreement for indemnification of Israel and for assistance to persecutees made between Israel and the German Federal Government and amounting to payments in goods of \$822 million over a period of 12 to 18 years; approval by the Bundestag, the lower house of the West German Parliament, of the European Defense Community agreement, and arrests and prosecution of neo-Nazis by the German Federal Government. On the other hand, delay on the European Defense Community in German constitutional courts, a renewed interest in the cartelization of industry in West Germany and proposals pressed on President Eisenhower to again review the sentences of Nazi war criminals, as well as the grave injustice of returning the Krupp family's fortune are pessimistic signs. In the field of relations with Germany, progress was made in the signing of the debt-settlement agreement on February 27 in London which provides for the settlement of Germany's external debt involving payments of \$3,270 million to creditors in some 30 countries. The key to the German problem still remains the German reaction to the Soviet offers of unification of East and West Germany which are sure to come. This will be a great test for us.

#### NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA—ISRAEL—REFUGEE ASSISTANCE

Recent months have been signalized by the continued failure to make progress toward peace treaties between Israel and the Arab States, due to the refusal of the Arab States to negotiate to resettle the Palestine Arab refugees in the Arab States and further efforts by the Arab States to impose economic strangulation upon Israel. In March Israel agreed to release \$2,800,000 of blocked bank accounts of Palestine Arab refugees and has again evidenced its intention of giving full cooperation in their resettlement and of negotiating compensation for Arab properties abandoned in Israel.

Israel has also made overtures to the Arab States by subscribing to the principle of treating the Near East as a regional area and of economic and social improvement in that area.

Efforts to establish the Middle East command for the defense of this area have been bogged down due to ultranationalist sentiment in the Arab States. The current negotiations between Great Britain and Egypt regarding the defense of the Suez Canal area (not going too well now) and the increasing recognition of the importance in the defense of the area against external aggression of Israel's armed forces will determine if there is any hope for improvement this year.

Mutual security appropriations provided \$160 million for assistance to refugees and for economic and technical assistance in the fiscal year ending June 30,

1953. About the same amount is expected to be provided for the next fiscal year, except that this time it is likely to be in one fund to be allocated by the President and to presage a maximum effort to bring about peace in the area without, of course, impairing the security and independence of any state there. The vital strategic character of this area, with its vast oil reserves, is well known and it is essential that important United States attention be fixed on it.

#### SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

I urged consideration of the whole Indochina question in the United Nations with a view toward assuring that the future of the states of Indochina will be in the hands of their people and of removing any fears of foreign administration. It should be our objective in Indochina to get its people to defend their own freedom as effectively as the ROK divisions are doing in Korea.

Pakistan, the largest Moslem state and one of the largest and most important states in south Asia, has suffered serious drought during 2 years, is short 1,500,000 tons of wheat to feed its people, and has applied to the United States for assistance to acquire 1 million tons. We have a great surplus of wheat in storage and I have offered legislation and have urged that we consider immediate appropriate assistance to this great friendly people. The new Prime Minister of Pakistan has expressed great friendship for the United States and a desire to work with us.

#### IRELAND

I have again introduced a resolution expressing the sympathy of the United States for the unification of Ireland through a free opportunity to express the Irish people's will for union by a plebiscite of the people of all Ireland under the auspices of a U. N. commission.

#### PUERTO RICO AND HAWAII

I have had the privilege of a visit to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in February last and have been greatly impressed with its progress, its people and its government. I believe industrialization and more efficient agriculture will enable it to turn the corner economically in 5 to 10 years at the present rate of development.

In addressing the Commonwealth's joint session of the Legislative Assembly on Lincoln's birthday, I urged that it is a Federal Government problem to assist those seeking to migrate from the Commonwealth, to go to areas anywhere on mainland and to seek opportunities of their choice rather than to be compelled to go only to New York City because they lack friends or finances to go elsewhere in the United States. Of course, as United States citizens they have full right to seek opportunity wherever they wish throughout the United States. The Department of Labor of Puerto Rico has done remarkably well in settlement and employment activities on the mainland and should be encouraged.

I had the opportunity of voting for statehood for Hawaii which passed the House of Representatives and is now awaiting action in the Senate. Hawaii has proven its right in World War II to be a State and President Eisenhower has recommended statehood for Hawaii now.

#### VETERANS

Congress enacted legislation and it became law authorizing the payment of family allotments to dependents of enlisted members of the Armed Forces. The law which was due to expire April 30, 1953, was extended to July 1, 1955, and a law also was enacted covering similarly dependents of servicemen or civilians missing in war.

Liberalization of rules for naturalization of any person serving in the Armed Forces since the start of the Korean war and before July 1, 1955, has passed the House of Representatives and is pending in the Senate. No specific period of residence within the United States or any State is required. Just so long as the service man or woman earns an honorable discharge after completing service, the naturalization so obtained remains irrevocable.

Cuts made last year in medical staffs and hospital services have been keenly felt by veterans and their families. I joined in an effort here to restore these cuts on a supplemental appropriation bill which was for the moment unsuccessful, but I shall certainly keep on trying. There is a great issue with respect to hospitalization for veterans with non-service-connected disabilities.

Though all agree that these are not to be classed with service-connected disabilities they ought still to be given some consideration on the same theory that Congress has provided a pension for certain veterans permanently disabled for non-service causes.

After considerable controversy about the drying up of the sources of mortgage money on GI housing loans an increase to 4½ percent allowed interest has now been ordered. The Government must give consideration to means for keeping interest rates down and mortgage money available through establishing a secondary market for mortgages, if necessary through veterans' direct loans for the purpose or other means.

#### RENT CONTROL AND HOUSING

Federal rent control has been extended until July 1, 1953, affecting almost 5 million housing units, about one-third of all rental housing units in the United States. At the same time there have been warnings from the Congress that it will not be extended again except for strictly defined defense areas in which there are actual military establishments—not including defense plants—and that local communities must arrange for their own rent-control laws. I supported Federal rent control which is vital under existing housing shortages. The Federal law, with its 20 percent across-the-board rent increase has made for higher rentals even in controlled areas than will be made by the new New York State law.

New York City is not now under Federal rent control but under State rent control. The New York State law was renewed for 2 years ending June 30, 1955. In the course of its renewal, however, an across-the-board 15 percent rent increase was included applicable to 1943 rentals which had not been increased by as much as 15 percent since 1943 when rents were first frozen. Though as a Federal legislator I did not have direct participation in this law which was enacted by the New York State Legislature, I nevertheless did all I could to oppose an across-the-board rent increase, and my opposition was publicly made and noted in the press.

During the struggle in the New York Legislature over rent-control renewal I introduced a bill to extend Federal rent control to New York if the State did not act. However, there are various aspects of the New York State law which require interpretation, notably the provisions entitling tenants to maintenance of services and to rent decreases if they do not get the services. Also the conditions under which a tenant who has paid some rent increase since 1943 and who has received some added facilities in return can credit such increase on the 15 percent.

People in my district with rent problems may receive service without charge from my congressional rent clinics about which information may be obtained by writing to me.

The Congress is in the midst of a struggle on the Federal publicly assisted low-rent housing program. The recommendations of the administration that 35,000 units be again authorized for the coming fiscal year—which means 10,000 units for New York City—have been defeated so far. I joined with others of my colleagues in a spirited fight for these 35,000 units and I hope that they can be saved. I was successful in receiving assurances which are reflected in the reported debate that 70,000 units already under annual contributions contracts will receive the necessary appropriations to enable them to be built and occupied. This includes General Grant Houses, constituting over 1,900 units, located in our district.

For a long time I have been concerned with the grave shortage of housing for middle-income families earning \$3,500 to \$4,500 per year who do not qualify for public housing and who cannot afford high-priced newly built private housing. I have proposed a new plan for middle-income housing in the Middle Income Housing Act of 1953, which includes \$3 billion at a 4 percent interest rate on the mortgage debt, long-term mortgage financing, low-cost operation and high loan values.

Congress passed Public Law 5 benefiting small home owners by adding \$500 million to the FHA's authorization for insuring home repair and improvement loans and credits.

#### CONSUMER INTERESTS AND PRICES

On the whole there is not too much change since the big rise took place after June 1950. Prices of items in the cost of living are about twice what they were in 1939.

One of the major problems here is adequate protection of the consumers' interests. For that purpose I initiated a movement, joined in by 24 of my colleagues of both political parties. Together we introduced legislation seeking the appointment of a congressional committee on consumers to protect their interests.

We are fixing attention particularly on the farm price support program about which so much is heard currently.

Farmers' prices and incomes have fallen but still remain over 2½ times what they were in 1939. Government price supports of farm products are very high and very complete. The worst feature of such high price supports is shown in the current situation regarding butter, with the Federal Government having 150 million pounds on hand taken under price support programs, while the consumption of butter has dropped by 50 percent due to a great extent to high prices and to some extent to margarine competition. In addition, consumers have been much concerned about the embargo on the admission from abroad of cheese, butter, and other fats and oils. This embargo has complicated our foreign relations and hurt the American consumer.

#### TIDELANDS

One of our great natural resources is the oil under the sea close to our shores. This is particularly extensive off the coasts of Florida, Texas, Louisiana, and California, as well as other Gulf States. Potential reserves are estimated as high as 16,906 million barrels, with a value of \$42,265 million. I joined in the fight against giving the tidelands to the States and voted against the bill in the House of Representatives. The measure will probably become law, but I still believe that all efforts must be made to do all we can to sustain the principle of the right of the whole Nation to enjoy the benefits of this national resource. The Supreme Court has decided just that.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

I have introduced omnibus legislation—the first time that this has been done—to deal with segregation and discrimination in employment, education, housing, transportation, and public facilities; to establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission with enforcement powers; to provide anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching laws; and to eliminate the last vestiges of segregation in the Armed Forces. I have also sought to strengthen the civil-rights enforcement activities of the Federal Government.

The dangers to our liberties arising in congressional investigations impose grave responsibilities upon the Congress. Investigations of higher education and threatened investigations of religion have properly been of grave concern to outstanding Americans. I have introduced legislation to establish a code of rules to protect witnesses and to safeguard investigations against imposition on the individual. The right of the Congress to investigate is precious to the American people, but if abused its essential worth can be nullified. Accusations directly or by implication cannot be substituted for proof, and if the rules of evidence are not followed as they would be in court, charges should not be aired as facts in the absence of proof.

A considerable storm was created in the Congress early in the session by evidence of an alleged "understanding" between the New York City Police Department and the Federal authorities that the FBI would not investigate directly charges of excessive police action. I participated in a full investigation of this matter and believe that it was most constructive in making clear that civil rights must be safeguarded for all—and particularly by the police officers charged with directly protecting them—against violence.

Announcement has been made that all schools serving families of military personnel which are operated by the Army will be completely integrated when the fall term begins.

The Supreme Court is presently considering the Thompson Restaurant case in which the Department of Justice is seeking to bring about enforcement of laws, dormant since the 1870's, the effect of which would be to eliminate discrimination against the serving of Negro patrons in restaurants in the District of Columbia. I have called on the District of Columbia Commissioners to act to eliminate all elements of District of Columbia segregation.



## IMMIGRATION

At the very opening of the Congress I introduced a resolution calling for a rewriting of the McCarran Immigration Act in accordance with the very words used by the President in his campaign speeches. The President has again requested recently that the Congress rewrite the law to eliminate injustices, and I shall do everything I can to bring this about. There is certainly some ground for the expectation that the worst features of the act will be changed before long.

The dramatic escapes from behind the Iron Curtain, and United States participation in the deliberations of PICME, an international organization seeking to deal with the burdens upon free Europe of an excess of workers, have now produced recommendations by the President for the admission of 240,000 of these refugees, escapees, and surplus workers into the United States as special immigrants in the next 2 years. This is in reality a continuation of the displaced-persons program which began in 1948 and ended in 1951 and was such an outstanding success. I have joined with Senators Ferguson, Ives, Hendrickson, and Watkins in sponsoring legislation for this emergency immigration program.

## SOCIAL SECURITY, PENSIONS, AND TAX EXEMPTIONS

Early this session I introduced legislation to eliminate entirely the present earnings limitation of \$75 monthly placed upon recipients of old-age social-security benefits. There seems little justification for the imposition of a ceiling on the earnings of those who wish to continue in gainful employment after 65, considering the \$48 monthly average payments now being received.

I have reintroduced my bills to exempt from income tax the first \$2,000 of pensions received by retired Federal, State, and local employees as well as my measure to give to the physically handicapped the same additional \$600 income-tax exemption now granted the blind.

I have also introduced this year legislation affording income-tax relief to an estimated 9 million working mothers. My bill would permit a working mother to deduct from her gross income, in computing her income tax, the necessary expenses incurred to care for her child or children under 16 while she is at work.

Hearings have already been held on the elimination of the 20-percent excise tax imposed on motion-picture admissions, but no decision has yet been reached.

## BUDGET AND TAXES

The best opinion is that tax reduction and budget reduction should go together and that we cannot allow huge deficits which only go to increase the public debt—now at \$1,662 per capita and to make our burdens permanent. The previous administration recommended a budget of \$78,600 million. This was calculated to result in a deficit of \$11 billion. The present administration expects to bring this budget down by some \$8,200 million. Actual expenditures estimated at \$74,100 million and income at \$67,500 million are estimated to leave a cash deficit of \$6,600 million. Major cuts will be in defense expenditures for which the request of the previous administration was \$46,300 million for the ensuing fiscal year and in foreign aid.

In the perfectly proper efforts for economy we must be sure that we are not getting false economy or perpetrating injustices. Aside from defense, great savings are possible in agriculture conservation payments now costing \$250 million a year and in agricultural price supports for which we appropriate about \$1 billion a year. Pork-barrel projects for rivers and harbors can be sharply reduced without disturbing flood control, reclamation projects, and necessary power extensions. On the other hand, the denial of Federal aid to schools and school construction, Federal aid to deserving college students, drastic cuts in Federal publicly-assisted low-rent housing and similar savings cannot be justified. There are, also, still loopholes and inequities in the income and excise tax structure which urgently need righting.

The excess profits tax on corporations expires on July 1, and the 10 percent increase in income tax on individuals expires on December 31. I believe that we cannot reduce taxation either by expiration of the law or otherwise until it is clear that adequate budgetary reductions can be made. I believe also that elimination of the excess profits tax and reduction of the personal income tax should move together when the time comes.

## POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

I have introduced legislation to restore the postal services, including 2-a-day deliveries in residential areas, which were drastically curtailed by the Postmaster General's order of April 18, 1950. The Postmaster General is presently conducting nationwide studies on postal services and has already restored some of the cuts previously made. Congressional committees are also active.

I have also reintroduced my measure calling for merit promotions in the Post Office Department.

I am supporting legislation to make postal workers' salaries compatible with the requirements of the increased cost of living and with what they would earn in private business.

The House passed legislation barring high-ranking Government officials from drawing large lump-sum payments for accrued annual leave, payments which have been as high as \$10,000 in individual cases. Hearings have begun on the entire question of leave for civil-service employees, including amendment of the Thomas rider by which a Federal worker can lose earned leave if he does not use it within a specified time.

## MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

I have again introduced a resolution calling for an investigation by the Congress of laws regulating the interstate operation of motor vehicles and motor carriers, auto liability insurance rates, safety and road construction and measures which the Federal Government can take in these matters. The latest figures show 38,000 fatalities and 1,330,000 personal injuries in the United States last year due to auto accidents, far more than our fatalities in Korea. This bill is receiving increasing public support.

I have again introduced the bill to allow important congressional sessions to be televised and broadcast. The demand for this opening up of the public galleries of the Congress into 15 million living rooms in the country is bound to become well-nigh irresistible.

I am sponsoring again a bill to prohibit discrimination in employment on account of age. This bill has helped fix attention on a major problem in American life—the population's age increase which will almost double in 25 years the number of those over 65, many still anxious to continue productive employment.

I have introduced legislation to provide for an Office of Government Investigation to maintain a continuing watchfulness against corruption in all Government departments.

There has been established as a department of the executive branch the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, a proposal which I supported.

## NEW YORK CITY

Out of a sense of outrage and humiliation at the deplorable condition to which New York City has been brought by uninspired and machine politics administrations since 1945, I announced my availability as a candidate for mayor if desired by the good government forces. I wish to emphasize here that such contribution as I can make in bringing about a new administration of New York dedicated to efficient and honorable service to New Yorkers will be made only as consistent with my responsibilities in the Congress and to the national issues which affect so vitally the people of my district. New York is the queen of America's—indeed the world's—cities and deserves the pride, the affection, and the close cooperation of the whole Nation; it is in this spirit that I may be able to contribute to the solution of its problems.

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[Congressional Record, August 1, 1953]

## EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION—FINAL REPORT

Extension of remarks of Hon. Jacob K. Javits, of New York, in the House of Representatives

MR. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, as the 1st session of the 83d Congress closes, marking a milestone in the history of our country—the first Republican administration to hold office nationally for 20 years—it is fair to say that for an adequate appraisal the full record will have to be judged, including the work of this Congress, at the end of the second session.

## KOREA

The overshadowing event of recent weeks was the signing of a truce in Korea. The truce agreement settles none of the political questions which first brought on the Korean war, the principal issue being the effort to make all Korea a Communist satellite. It provides for a cease-fire, for an exchange of prisoners, and the supervision of this cease-fire. The fundamental issues are to be settled by a political conference to start before October 27. There is no question about the participation in this conference of the United States and the other members of the United Nations who are represented by fighting troops in Korea, nor about the inclusion of the Republic of Korea (free South Korea) and the other belligerents, North Korea, and whether directly or indirectly, Communist China and the Soviet Union.

The truce agreement represents a victory for the United Nations and only its enemies are likely to consider it a defeat or even a stalemate. When Communist aggressors are stopped it is a victory for the free peoples. It is of tremendous significance to the peace of the world, for by having acted against Communist aggression in Korea we have a real chance to avoid world war III.

The United States should not permit its policy or its commitment to undertake armed defense against aggression to mislead it into endeavoring to unify Korea by force. It may be necessary to endure the present stalemate for some time until fundamental social and economic forces bring about Korea's unification. We should insist on an absolute and complete repatriation of all our prisoners who wish to be repatriated. We should participate actively in the reconstruction of South Korea whose people have suffered so much.

Naturally the main defense of South Korea should be in the hands of its own forces and they should be trained and equipped for that purpose. But United Nations forces will have to be there for a considerable time to be sure that the United Nations authority with respect to the unification of Korea is enforced. The United States must make a great effort to see that there is widespread sharing by all the United Nations of these military responsibilities.

## PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

Just as the death of Stalin marked the end of one era in the prospects for peace, the purge by Malenkov, the new boss of the Soviet Union, of Beria, his No. 2 man, may mark the opening of another era. The Russians have accompanied this action by widespread propaganda in their own country about supplying more butter than guns from their own productive resources, and have adopted ostensibly a more conciliatory note in international affairs.

The Soviet Union has announced, however—and this has been affirmed by the Atomic Energy Commission in our country—that they have the hydrogen bomb, the most devastating weapon known to man. There is also the matter of American aircraft flying over a neutral sea being shot down by Russian planes in the Far East.

The policy of the Soviet Union has certainly given ample notice that it is dedicated to the world triumph of communism. It is inherent in the Communist philosophy that this be accomplished by internal revolution, if possible, or by world revolution—which means armed aggression—as the result of widespread war.

It would be fatal for the free world to let down its guard or to neglect its preparations until we see practical deeds on the part of the Soviet Union seeking an end to the international tension it has created. Deeds include cooperation in the political conference on Korea, on free elections to unify Germany without at the same time stripping Germany of the right to participate in the defense of the free world, a peace treaty for Austria, and the general lessening of Soviet obstruction by veto in the efforts at disarmament and collective security in which the United States is taking the leadership in the United Nations.

It must never be forgotten that the Soviet Union and its satellites constitute a fantatical Communist group with iron control over 800 million people in Europe and Asia.

President Eisenhower spelled out, in a speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, just how permanent peace could be achieved and the whole world greatly benefited.

## UNITED NATIONS

I have vigorously supported in the Congress measures having to do with greater cooperation by the United States in the United Nations. These include the comprehensive resolution committing the United States, in company with other members of the U. N., to utilize a part of the great savings in defense expenditures which can be effected through universal disarmament for the purpose of world reconstruction and development, economically and socially; second, the maintenance of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), as well as the work of other specialized United Nations agencies in food and agriculture, labor, education, technical assistance, and cultural and scientific exchange; third, helping with the rehabilitation of Korea, the care of the Palestine Arab refugees, and peace in the Near East.

I introduced a resolution for a Pacific pact to provide for the mutual security of free Asia, the Pacific Ocean area, and Oceania through a regional organization within the framework of the United Nations Charter and for participation by the United States therein.

## MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM

A significant victory in the struggle for international cooperation is contained in this year's mutual-security program. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954, appropriations for this program have been made totaling \$4,531,507,000. This is a reduction of over \$3 billion from the amount requested by the previous administration, and of \$1,300,000,000 from the amount recommended by this administration, but despite deficiencies, it permits us to carry on the mutual-security program.

It includes, to support the anti-Communist struggle in Indochina, a special fund of \$400 million; \$135 million in special economic assistance for the Near East, largely for Israel and the Arab States, and to aid in the overall economic programs of India and Pakistan, now the greatest aggregations of the free peoples in Asia, \$75 million.

## FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

One of the major achievements of this session of the Congress was the authorization of a Presidential-congressional commission to study the foreign economic policy of the United States and to make recommendations by March next as to what should be the foreign economic policy of the country. The reciprocal trade-agreements program was finally renewed for 1 year, based upon the expectation of the study by this commission. An effort to include protectionist provisions, like limiting the amount of fuel oil which could be imported into this country, was defeated.

The aggregate of the exports and imports of the United States today are something around \$25 billion a year. Over 4 million American workers are estimated to be benefited by the export trade of the United States. Some industries legitimately fear imports. But workers involved in these industries are only 10 to 15 percent of those who benefit from the export industries. We must find a way to enable industries which have benefited from tariff protection to make the transition to more open trade, but we must not permit them to jeopardize lower costs and a higher standard of living for consumers. The success of the "trade, not aid" policy of the administration, and the expansion of world trade upon which the success of the United States and the whole free world must ultimately be based.

## EUROPE

Financial troubles and labor troubles, as well as the grave strain of the struggle in Indochina and France's troubles in North Africa are bedeviling the French people who should, by location and natural talent, be the leaders of the free peoples of Europe. These difficulties interfere seriously with the consummation of the European Defense Community agreement, the only practicable means by which the German military potential may be utilized without the danger of a recurrence of the German dreams of world domination. They are also interfering very seriously with continuing progress toward the economic unification of free Europe so auspiciously begun with the Schuman plan now in operation for the pooling of the coal and iron resources of France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and Italy.

It is our responsibility to be of the maximum sympathetic help which we can to France in the present situation. Also to follow our traditional allegiance to freedom for all colonial peoples and the right of self-government at the earliest possible time at which they are capable of it.

A resolution passed by the Congress, of which I was a cosponsor, declared the vigorous condemnation by the American people of the persecutions of Jews, Catholics, and Protestants behind the Iron Curtain and of the inhuman and brutal methods of suppression taken against workers in East Germany and against millions of slave laborers behind the Iron Curtain, despite the vaunted claims of the Communists to be the friends of workers.

#### ADMINISTRATION FOREIGN POLICY—NEAR EAST AND ISRAEL—PAKISTAN

The confidence vested by the Congress in the administration by a grant of a \$135 million fund for special economic assistance to the Near East area, including Israel, places special responsibilities upon the administration with respect to this area. I took a very active part in this whole effort and shall make it my objective to aid in every way possible to see that the administration policy is the most conducive to peace between Israel and the Arab States, resettlement of the Palestine Arab refugees, and area development.

The Congress voted 1 million tons of wheat to help Pakistan with its famine problem, a measure of which I was an original proponent and sponsor. Congress gave the President authority to use farm surpluses to the extent of \$100 million to alleviate hunger or similar suffering in earthquakes and similar catastrophes overseas.

There is a good deal of controversy in the Congress about the Bricker amendment to restrict the power of the Executive to act in foreign policy matters affecting the United States. It would be a mistake to overturn the time-honored and thoroughly interpreted practices of the United States on treaties.

#### HAWAII, ALASKA, PUERTO RICO

I supported actively the fight for Hawaiian statehood in the bill which passed the House of Representatives. It is vital that approval be given to this measure in the Senate in the next session of this Congress. The same is true of statehood for Alaska. In the modern jet and atomic world we must break the bond which confines statehood only to the continental United States.

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is making great strides. It is entitled to aid in developing agriculture and industry, and aid to train and educate its people so that they may seek opportunities anywhere with full freedom of choice and without being under the lash of any necessity to leave Puerto Rico.

#### RENT CONTROL AND HOUSING

Federal rent control ended as of July 1, 1953, in all but strictly defined critical defense areas where it has been extended to April 30, 1954. As a result the number of housing units affected by Federal rent control has decreased from 5 million to 90,000. Rent control is accordingly now left to the States and the municipalities. There are relatively few States and communities which have their own rent-control system. New York and New Jersey are distinct exceptions. With the Federal law removed, for all practical purposes from New York as even a possibility, the State law, despite its faults, which require corrective action, as described in my first report of this session, is as favorable a law for tenants as exists in the country.

People in my district with rent problems may continue to receive service without charge from my congressional rent clinics about which information may be obtained by writing to me.

The struggle with respect to the Federal publicly assisted low-rent housing program has finally been resolved and I regret to state unfavorably to an adequate Federal public housing program. The administration asked that 35,000 units be authorized, but after a considerable struggle, only 20,000 units were authorized and these to complete annual contributions contracts already made and practically providing for liquidation of the Federal public housing program. I had obtained assurance in the course of the debate with respect to the fulfillment of these annual contributions contracts, which include General Grant Houses located in our district, constituting over 1,900 units. I am now convinced that this project will be built though it will probably be slowed up by

a year or two. The Federal public housing program is badly needed, and I will continue to work hard for it.

In another significant housing action, the President was given authority to lower downpayment requirements on properties covered by FHA-insured mortgages to as low as 5 percent. An increase of \$1,500,000,000 in the FHA funds for mortgage insurance on new private homes was authorized and the Congress provided an additional \$100 million for direct home loans to veterans, extending that program for 1 year.

There is continued failure to make a major effort on behalf of middle-income families, who do not qualify for public housing and who cannot afford high-priced newly built private housing. A housing program for middle-income families for which I have introduced the Middle Income Housing Act of 1953 is urgently needed.

#### CONSUMER INTERESTS AND PRICES

Practically all controls on wages and prices have been lifted. About only the authority to allocate and give priorities over scarce defense materials for defense remains. To replace the controls system, Congress has set up a Small Business Administration with a lending authority of \$275 million to make loans up to \$150,000 each to small companies who cannot obtain private credit.

The liquidation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been provided for as of June 30, 1954. I opposed this liquidation because I believe this is a very important standby agency for the Government to deal with questions of depression and recession.

The Government now has about \$3,250 million invested in farm products as a result of the high fixed farm price supports and spends \$125 million yearly for their storage alone. The butter support program continues to be scandalous with about 270 million pounds on hand taken under these price support programs while the consumption of butter has dropped 50 percent. I have demanded that this butter be made available for relief purposes and to the public at lower prices.

The formulation of a farm price-support program will be a major issue before the next session of the Congress. I shall use all my efforts to see that the present high fixed farm price-support program is abandoned in favor of a flexible program which will give the farmer reasonable assurance that he will not be subjected to economic disaster but also will not tax the consumer as it does today, by the taxes needed to support the program and by high food prices.

The cost of living is inching upward again with the Consumers' Price Index for June showing foods at 113.7 (1947-1949=100), the highest in 1953. The Consumers' Price Index on all items is 114.5, an all-time high. I am continuing vigorous efforts for the establishment of a joint congressional committee to especially protect the consumers' interests.

#### NATURAL AND OTHER RESOURCES

I voted against the bill dealing with the Federal Government's administration to the off-shore petroleum resources beyond the tidelands which were ceded to the States—a measure I also opposed—because the whole of the tidelands resources should be the property of all the people of the United States. I supported the so-called Hill amendment to give a substantial portion of the avails of these developments for education.

Efforts are also being made in the Congress to invade the rights of the people in forest and grazing lands, especially in the western areas of the country, and these public lands must be protected.

I voted and fought against the bill to grant the right to develop the power of Niagara Falls to private companies. This bill was opposed by Governor Dewey and the State of New York which favored State operation. This fundamental resource belongs to all the people and should continue to be owned and developed for their maximum benefit. The measure is now pending in the Senate, where great opposition to it has already arisen.

I supported the disposition by the Federal Government of the plants which it owned, acquired under wartime necessities, for the production of artificial rubber. The legislation contains very definite safeguards to see that the Government gets full value, that the plants are put to productive use, and that monopoly is not encouraged by their disposition.

The basic principle, as I see it, therefore, is that in power, water, irrigation, reclamation, and similar developments the Government should continue to own

the fundamental resource, giving private interests full opportunity to contract fairly with the Government to use its facilities. Where the Government owns something like a factory, which is not part of the operating defense establishment, which can legitimately and without endangering the national interests be owned and operated privately, the Government should make that possible.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

The controversy with respect to the handling of congressional investigations continued during the latter part of the first session.

I joined with another one of my colleagues, the Honorable Kenneth B. Keating of New York, in a special drive to get the House of Representatives to adopt rules of procedure for all its investigating committees. This reform is one of the most effective that can be made by the Congress itself. The power to investigate is vital to Congress, but it is entirely practicable to safeguard individual rights in the process.

I introduced the District of Columbia Anti-Segregation Act specifying in detail all the laws which must be repealed in order to eliminate all vestiges of discrimination and segregation in the District of Columbia. I shall continue unremittingly to fight against segregation and discrimination in Washington, an issue to which this administration is pledged.

The Thompson Restaurant case was decided affirmatively by the Supreme Court and this has struck a real blow against the practice of discriminating against serving Negro patrons in restaurants in the District of Columbia.

It seems clear now that the President will appoint an antibias commission effectively to see that discrimination and segregation on grounds of race, creed, or color do not occur in any businesses or industries which have the benefit of Federal contracts.

This struggle against discrimination and segregation is a struggle for the soul of our country and for the validation of the Constitution and it is upon these principles that I have and shall continue actively to engage in it.

#### IMMIGRATION

Determined administration leadership produced the Special Migration Act of 1953. Under this legislation the United States takes its fair share of urgent immigration as it did under the displaced persons law, in order to induce other countries to also take their fair share and thus deal with the whole problem. The law provides for the admission of 214,000 escapees from behind the Iron Curtain, refugees and orphans. Of these, 45,000 are to be from Italy, 55,000 from West Germany, Berlin, and Austria, 15,000 from Holland, and 15,000 from Greece. In addition certain relatives of persons in the United States to the extent of 15,000 from Italy, 2,000 from Holland, and 2,000 from Greece are also to be granted admission on a nonquota basis. Also 9,000 visas are allowed for Asiatic and Arab refugees, 4,000 visas are allowed for children under 10 who are to be adopted by United States citizens, and 5,000 visas are allowed to regularize the immigration status of aliens legally within the United States who cannot return to their place of origin due to fear of persecution on political or religious grounds. Housing and a job must be assured to every alien coming in under this special law without displacing any other American.

There is also a real chance for modernization of general immigration policy, and the urgently needed rewriting of the McCarran Immigration Act to deal with the discriminations and injustices in it. I have already introduced such a measure in accordance with the President's campaign statements.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY, PENSIONS, AND TAX EXEMPTIONS

Congress is considering a revision of the revenue laws. I have joined with others of my colleagues in pressing action to remove the present earnings limitation of \$75 monthly placed upon the recipients of old-age social security benefits, the exemption from income tax of the first \$2,000 of pensions received by retired Government or private employees as well as my measure to give to the physically handicapped the same additional \$600 income exemption now granted the blind and my measure to afford income tax relief to an estimated 9,000,000 working mothers for income up to \$1,500 a year utilized by them as necessary expenses in taking care of their children under 16 while at work. There is considerable support for the last of these measures.

A bill passed the Congress to eliminate the 20 percent excise tax imposed on motion-picture admissions, but failed by virtue of a Presidential veto. A national sales tax is regressive and our main dependence for revenue must continue to be placed upon the individual and corporate graduated income taxes. Accordingly I shall support the removal of excise taxes upon necessities while supporting excise taxes upon high-priced and luxury items.

The President sent Congress a message urging the extension of social security to 10,500,000 persons, including self-employed farmers, additional farm and domestic workers, doctors, dentists, lawyers, architects, accountants and other professional people, many State and local employees, clergymen, and other smaller groups. I shall support these efforts. The extension of the social security system is one of the strongest bases for the peace of mind of our people.

#### BUDGET AND TAXES

The Congress appropriated \$64 billion as against the recommendations of the Truman administration of \$78.6 billion, a cut of about \$14 billion, and a cut also of \$4 billion below the recommendations of President Eisenhower's administration. The major cut was made in defense expenditures and the principal controversy revolved around a cut of about \$5 billion in appropriations for the Air Force. It was eminently right to rely upon President Eisenhower's assurance that the military forces, including the Air Force, were being dealt with entirely consistent with the national security. Because of expenditures resulting from previous appropriations the Government operated at a deficit of over \$9 billion in 1952-53, and the deficit for the next fiscal year is estimated at slightly less than \$4 billion.

I voted to support the renewal of the excess-profits tax on corporations until the end of this year. A reduction of about 10 percent in individual income taxes is due to take effect January 1, 1954. Also a reduction of wartime increases in excise taxes is due to take place April 1, 1954. All these will reduce tax income by an estimated \$5.5 billion to \$6.5 billion per year when fully effective.

The position of the United States in the world and insuring our own and the free world's security against the Communist threat require that we must be ready to support with money as well as with ideas, morality, and men the security and national interest of the people of the United States. It is for this reason that I voted to raise the debt limit from the present \$275 billion to \$290 billion which was needed to realistically meet the fiscal situation in our country.

In the perfectly proper efforts for economy we must always be sure that we are not getting false economy. Even this year we appropriated \$150 million for soil-conservation payments for practices which farmers would do for themselves anyhow. We have \$3,250 million tied up in a farm-price-support program. Pork-barrel projects for rivers and harbors are still taking too much. On the other hand big cuts in the Federal publicly assisted low-rent housing program and no appropriation for Federal aid to schools and school construction or Federal aid to deserving college students can hardly be justified under present conditions, nor can we short-change flood control, reclamation projects and necessary power extensions to realize the full wealth of our country.

#### MILITARY SERVICE

The authority to induct physicians and dentists into the armed services was extended to July 1, 1955. The new law corrected many inequities that had previously existed in the doctors draft law by crediting past service, permitting commissions to be terminated, providing for the proper grade of officers commissioned as physicians, dentists, or veterinarians, and permitting their release in accordance with amounts of previous service.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

I have continued my fight to restore the postal services, including two-a-day deliveries in residential areas, and there have been some results in the improvement of hours at local post offices, in mail deliveries, and similar measures.

I urged the appropriate committee of the House of Representatives to hold prompt hearings upon legislation to make postal workers' salaries compatible with the requirements of the increased cost of living and with what they would earn in private business, also upon my measure calling for merit promotions. I also intend to support increases in postal rates, especially in second- and third-class mail where bulk mailers and periodicals are getting the benefits while



the taxpayers pay heavy deficits incurred in the Post Office and postal workers receive less than their due.

## MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

Extensive reorganization of Government departments has taken place, and I have generally supported these efforts. There has been established a Foreign Operations Administration to take under one heading all foreign aid operations of the Government and an International Information Administration to take over the Voice of America and other information and education functions.

I introduced a bill to establish a United States Arts Foundation to stimulate and encourage theater, music, and the associated live arts.

Amendment of the Taft-Hartley Labor Management Act will come up in 1954. I was opposed to and voted against this act on the ground that it was considered punitive by the great trade-union movement in the United States having over 16 million members. In cooperation with the trade unions I have already offered amendments—on the definition of agency—and will cooperate in the liberalization of this law.

I joined with my colleagues in introducing legislation to provide for a tercentenary coin to commemorate the 300th anniversary of New York City. I sponsored also a new law to signalize the 200th anniversary of the founding of Columbia University in our district.

## NEW YORK CITY

Out of a sense of duty to our city, because of the dreadful situation to which our city has been brought, I had announced my availability as a candidate for mayor if desired by the good government forces. I did my utmost to bring about such a coalition, and as this proved impossible, I am not a candidate in the coming municipal elections. I wish to thank so many of the citizens of our district who evidenced their support of the position I took in behalf of good government for our city. What we did has already had an effect in concentrating attention upon the real issues before the people of the city. My basic activity respecting the city will be to do all I can to see that New York deserves and receives the affection and the close cooperation of the people of our State and Nation as the queen of cities, and the home of the U. N., the capital of the free world.

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[Congressional Record, May 5, 1954]

## EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, FIRST REPORT

Speech of Hon. Jacob K. Javits, of New York, in the House of Representatives

Mr. Speaker, it is widely recognized that the record of this Congress remains to be written within the coming few months. Momentous issues are before the country and the world for consideration, and from these governmental policies are developing, and specific legislation by the Congress is in the process of being written.

## PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

The dreadful implications of the H-bomb, which we are informed is so powerful that one bomb could wipe out most of New York City, are beginning to have a deep effect upon the thinking of our people. The Communist bloc, under its new leader, Malenkov, has advised the world that it is ready to retaliate with similar weapons should there be any World War III. The President, in his historic declaration before the United Nations asking the Soviet Union to discuss the pooling of means for the peaceful development of atomic energy, has set the tone for the whole free world. Despite the turmoil in which the Communist bloc is keeping the whole world through its aggression and subversion, it is still necessary to explore every avenue for agreement upon the control of weapons of mass destruction and for the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

In addition, we must constantly strive, as we did in the recent four-power negotiations at Berlin and in the conference at Geneva, to deal with the problems of the Asian conflict to find some grounds for agreement, if at all possible, with the Communist bloc and ways and means for relieving international tension. The willingness to talk and negotiate does not imply appeasement or a Munich, which, it must be clear, could only lead more certainly to another world war.

## INDOCHINA AND THE FAR EAST

We are firmly committed to bringing about freedom and independence for the Indochinese people. The struggle in Indochina may well prove to be a struggle for the whole of the 600 million people of south and southeast Asia, which includes also Thailand, Malaya, Burma, India, Pakistan, and Indonesia, and which will have the most profound effect upon the future of Japan, Formosa, and the Philippines. It must be constantly emphasized that should the Communists be successful in taking this whole area they would for the first time have a greater concentration of population in the Communist bloc than there is in the free world. The grave dangers to our national security in such an eventuality would present a crisis equaled only by the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. We must recognize at the same time that it is too late for the Indochinese people standing alone to be able to muster an adequate defense against Communist aggression even though we were successful in bringing about their complete freedom and independence at this time. I believe that the realistic lines of our policy must be to see that freedom and complete independence for the people of Indochina is trusted either with the United Nations or, if the Russians make that impossible, with an international group of nations so that the people are sure they will get it; second, that we seek first through the United Nations and, if the Russians make that impossible, then by international action the assumption of the responsibility for the defense of this whole area by substantially the whole free world in which we will do our share.

France should be encouraged to continue to carry a large share of the burden in Indochina as her situation there is analogous to the situation which we faced as having the preponderant free world forces outside of the indigenous forces in Korea. This can be done by assuring her of massive material and technical assistance which we are indeed already giving—an estimated \$500 million for the next fiscal year as part of the mutual-security program—and also of the security and defense of Western Europe. This the President has done with the assurance to France that if she ratifies the proposal for the European Defense Community—European army—United States forces will maintain their position in assuring the security of Western Europe until major threats to that security have been dispelled. Coupling these actions with every effort which we are making as at Geneva to bring about a conclusion of hostilities in Indochina, consistent with the security of the free world, this is as constructive a policy as we could pursue in that area to avoid for ourselves the suffering of another Korea and for the world another world war.

It is well nigh universal opinion in our country that Communist China cannot be permitted to shoot its way into the United Nations as it tried to do in Korea and as it is again trying to do in Indochina. We have every reason to believe that over 900 American soldiers taken prisoner in Korea are still being held by the Communist Chinese without any disclosure of their whereabouts or the fact that they are being held and that a reported 32 American civilians are languishing in Communist jails in China or their equivalent with an absolute refusal to return them to us though they have committed no crime of which the civilized world takes cognizance.

Another development of the momentous character is the step initiated by our Government to bring about a Pacific treaty organization for the self-help in their own security of the people of south and southeast Asia and the Pacific. At present it is contemplated that 10 nations shall be in this organization and it is not expected that India, Burma, and Indonesia will participate. Yet they belong in such an organization in their own interest as do all the countries in this area and our policy must be directed toward showing them that this is the right course for them in their own interest and in the interest of the whole free world.

## FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

The report of the Presidential Commission on the Foreign Economic Policy of the United States has now come in and the struggle in the Congress to implement this policy will shortly ensue. The Commission recommended that the reciprocal trade agreements program be renewed for 3 years with the right of the President to reduce tariffs on a reciprocal basis 5 percent a year for 3 years or a total of 15 percent on active items of United States imports. The report also made various other recommendations including recommendations for encouraging overseas private investment which is very important to our foreign policy and for stimulating international travel. The report also supported the

views of the administration with regard to trade in nonstrategic materials between the free world and the Communist bloc.

I have introduced legislation to stimulate the development of international travel and have conducted extensive hearings on this subject. It has capabilities for implementing the slogan of "trade—not aid" to the extent of \$1,300 million in trade to the other free peoples which will have a very material effect on American prosperity through building up their capability to buy from us.

As the chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy I also conducted a series of hearings on East-West trade. They demonstrated that such trade in nonstrategic goods is not a threat to our security; the free world gets more out of it than it gives to the Communist world because it enables especially the nations of Western Europe to get foodstuffs and raw materials which they urgently require and reduces the need for United States foreign aid which would otherwise be much greater. Despite all the talk about trade with the Communist bloc—including Communist China—it is not very large, constituting only 3.2 percent of the exports and 3.4 percent of the imports of Western Europe.

#### FOREIGN POLICY IN EUROPE

The principal foreign policy issue in Europe and our No. 1 objective continues to be the European Defense Community. This is the project for the six-nation European army which is to become part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—NATO. It is the best means which has been devised for utilizing the defense potential of Western Germany without incurring the danger of renewal of German militarism through making this defense potential part of an all-European army. This project has now been approved by West Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg, and awaits only enactment by France and Italy. The principal sticking point is France, which is very fearful of German dominance in the European Defense Community. The British have endeavored to reassure the French by undertaking extensive commitments for the coordination of the British military effort with that of the proposed European Defense Community. Our country has taken a great step in this regard by its commitments to maintain forces in Western Europe, too.

It is no small element in the need for approval of the European Defense Community that there are constant reminders of the Nazi days in West Germany which indicate how very urgent it is that Germany be cemented into free Europe. Among these are the recent appointment of a former Nazi Party member as the observer for West Germany at the United Nations, an appointment which I strongly protested; the reported agreement to grant further amnesty to major war criminals and the continued unsatisfactory nature of the arrangements for restitution and compensation of persecutees and refugees from the Nazi terror, obligations which are those of the present German Federal Government.

#### ISRAEL AND THE NEAR EAST

The situation in the Near East is critical and explosive. With serious border incidents between Israel and the Arab States of almost daily occurrence, the intransigent refusal of the Arab States even to meet to discuss peace or enforcement of the armistice terms with Israel, and the continued boycott and blockade of Israel by the Arab States all contribute to the serious situation. Our Government has now announced that it is going to furnish arms to one of the Arab States—Iraq. This extremely serious decision immediately raises the question of how our Government intends to see that these arms are not used for aggression either by Iraq directly or through some other Arab State against Israel, with which Iraq is technically at war and to which all the members of the Arab League, of which Iraq is a member, are extremely hostile. I have joined with 29 other Representatives and 6 Senators in the most urgent protest to the State Department against supplying arms to any Arab State. In addition, the grave problem of resettlement of the Palestine-Arab refugees within the Arab countries continues to be a nettling problem urgently requiring permanent solution.

Our Government has taken a real step forward in the security and defense of the critical Middle East area through our undertaking to supply arms aid to Pakistan and the conclusion of an agreement for the defense of this area between Turkey and Pakistan. This only emphasizes the inadvisability and danger of furnishing arms to Iraq or any other Arab State.

## OTHER FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENTS

The Inter-American Conference at Caracas again revealed the essential unity of the Americas except for the two extremes of Argentina on the right and Guatemala on the left which continue to seek to bedevil free institutions in this hemisphere.

I have introduced legislation to establish a Foreign Service Academy to train officers for the diplomatic and international technical-assistance activities of the United States and giving it a broad citizen participation. Appointments to the Academy would be made in the same way as appointments to West Point and Annapolis.

The Bricker amendment to greatly restrict the power of the President to act in foreign-policy negotiations has been settled by its defeat in the Senate.

The right of persecutees to file claims against German, Japanese, or other beligerent property sequestered in this country was extended by appropriate legislation until February 9, 1955, or 2 years from the vesting of the property, whichever is later.

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

There has been great concern in the country about recession and indeed this concern was fully justified by the rapid increase of unemployment beginning in January. The last reported figure on March 31 shows 3,725,000 unemployed or 5.8 percent of the civilian labor force. Since that time the situation has leveled off and as far as we can ascertain there was an April decrease in unemployment. The production and income in the country continues at near record levels exceeded only by those of 1953 with a gross national product as of March 31 of \$359 billion and personal consumption expenditures plus capital investment of \$277,500,000,000 annually.

There is no room for complacency. We must be sure that the Federal Government does everything which it possibly can to avoid a serious economic decline. The President has properly stated that it will do so and implied that the Federal Government will accept deficits rather than mass unemployment. Full implementation of the whole program of the President by the Congress will be the greatest antirecession effort. This includes the improvement and expansion of the concrete base of greater social security and unemployment insurance coverage including higher benefits, major encouragement to housing construction, liberalization of foreign trade and investment opportunities, a national health program, and aid to hospitals, schools, and road construction. The House of Representatives has already passed the bill for aid to highway construction of \$966 million a year for 2 years which is twice the previous rate. In addition, we must be prepared to take other measures in terms of making credit readily available at low interest rates, undertaking further public works and tax reduction programs should these additional measures be indicated by any further softening of the economic situation. A hopeful feature is the leveling off in the consumers' price index presenting the opportunity to our people of a stabilized cost of living and a higher living standard without the danger of a runaway inflation.

## COST OF LIVING

There is a struggle going on in the Congress between the advocates of high fixed farm price supports and of flexible price supports determined by the extent to which the supply of farm products is meeting the demand, the system advocated by the Secretary of Agriculture. It is heavily in the interest of the city consumer that there be flexible price supports, and it is in the interest of the farmers, too. The high fixed farm price supports make the consumer pay two ways—one, in higher food prices, and, two, in taxes to sustain the Government program. The United States now has over \$6,750 million tied up in agricultural surpluses and commitments undertaken with respect to them and is paying for commodities on hand alone about \$500,000 a day in storage charges. Despite the claims of the farm bloc here, while this high fixed farm price policy has been in effect the farmer's income has fallen by 13 percent in the last 2 years. This has been largely attributable to heavy inroads into export markets due to the distorted economic situation in agriculture.

I also waged a fight here on a scandalous situation under price supports which resulted in the piling up in Government store of over a billion pounds of milk products, including 300 million pounds of butter in which the Government had invested over \$250 million which was in danger of spoiling. The

Secretary of Agriculture on April 1 cut the support price to 75 percent of parity and brought about a price reduction in butter available to the consumer by about 10 cents a pound. It is strongly urged that the consumer by the increased use of butter should show to the farmer that lower prices will increase consumption.

The price of coffee has been going up very rapidly, it is claimed, due to shortages occasioned by adverse growing conditions; nevertheless, the Senate has passed a measure to bring trading in coffee under Government regulation. I favor this as an elementary precaution.

The full school-lunch program for \$83,464,000 was recently voted in the House and \$100 million in surplus agricultural commodities were set aside to be used at the discretion of the President in aid of the foreign policy of the United States.

I opposed the bill dealing with the entry into the country of laborers from Mexico, the so-called wetback bill, on the ground that this is the kind of program which should be effected in agreement with the Government of Mexico and with adequate precautions against abuse.

#### CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

One of the most bitterly fought struggles in the Congress concerns the controversy about the excesses in the course of investigations of communism and subversion by congressional committees. It is alleged on the one side that these investigations must be pursued to root out Communists who would otherwise be left in key places and on the other side that the excesses in the investigations have done violence to national security, to higher learning, to religion, have seriously impaired the morale of Government employees and have hurt our foreign policy and the morale of the defense forces. I have taken the position that the power of the Congress to investigate is essential to freedom in our country but we do not have to pay a price of serious jeopardy to the civil liberties of individuals or to our national interests in connection with it. It is for this reason that I have worked hard for rules of fair procedure for congressional investigating committees and that I have finally developed a plan for a joint committee of the House and Senate to replace existing committees in this field as designed to give the highest prestige and the greatest assurance of fairness to this kind of investigation. Such a joint committee would not create the divisiveness which has resulted from the Senator McCarthy-Secretary Stevens row.

#### BUDGET AND TAXATION

The administration budget for the next fiscal year is estimated at \$65,600,000,000; tax revenue is estimated at about \$62 billion, leaving an expected deficit of about \$3 billion. It is generally considered that this is an extremely economical budget with the New Look in our defense preparations taking account of modern ideas in defense, accounting for a reduction of about \$5 billion in defense expenditures and with a material reduction in estimates of foreign aid of over \$1 billion, bringing the figure for 1954-55 down to \$3,500,000,000.

Taxes have come in for extensive consideration so far in this session. Excise taxes have been cut, in the main, in half on such things as home appliances, toilet preparations, luggage, jewelry and furs, theater and other admissions, reduced still further on long-distance telephone calls, and eliminated entirely upon moving-picture admissions of 50 cents or less. It is estimated that the gain to consumers—and expansion in purchasing power—in New York City alone from these excise-tax reductions will amount to \$50 million a year. In addition, the 10-percent reduction in the personal income tax was permitted to take effect on January 1. The combination of these reductions in taxes to the individual consumer amount to about \$4 billion a year. The excess-profits tax on corporations also expired on the 1st of January.

A general tax revision bill has passed the House of Representatives which continues at the present rate of 52 percent the corporate tax which was to have been reduced by about \$3 billion on April 1. In addition, this bill makes certain other desirable provisions, such as exemption of \$1,200 of the income of annuitants from income tax, increase of the exemption for medical expenses from the excess over 5 percent of income to the excess over 3 percent of income, granting up to a \$600 reduction for working parents paying for the care of dependent children under 10 years of age, and dealing realistically with the earnings of college students who are dependents by granting the parents the allowance of \$600 where the taxpayer supplies more than half the child's support.

I could not, however, support this bill because, on the one hand, it was sought to use the bill for purely political purposes by seeking to increase income-tax exemptions by \$100 which would have doubled the expected deficit in the operations in the Federal Government this year and was an impossible situation if we expect to meet our obligations in terms of national security, housing, a national health program, expanded social security and unemployment insurance, foreign aid, increased aid to schools, roads, and hospitals, immigration, and liberalized foreign trade policy. On the other hand, while it dealt with the unfairness of double taxation of corporate dividends, it did so at a time when nonsecurity holders could not be similarly helped.

I appreciate the attractiveness to our community of income-tax reductions, but I know, too, that our people love their country and put our national interest above every consideration and that they rely upon me to represent the best interests of our community both for today and for tomorrow. I am pledged to see that if there is to be income-tax reduction it is fair and neither jeopardizes our national security nor prefers any class in the community above any other. I am very hopeful that when the measure comes back from the Senate it will be possible to support it and that its objectionable features will have been eliminated. The per capita debt of our country is now \$1,674.16 per person. We are not afraid of this per capita debt, and, indeed, will increase it, if we have to, to deal with emergencies. But we certainly cannot do it in terms of a play at tax reduction for purely political purposes.

#### HOUSING, HEALTH, AND SOCIAL SECURITY

It used to be considered adequate to plan for 1 million housing starts per year; we now recognize that our objective must be at least 1,500,000 housing starts per year. A fair proportion of these housing starts must consist of public housing. The Federal law authorizes as many as 135,000 Federal public housing units per year, but there has been continuing great opposition to this program in the Congress and it has been continually cut until last year it was down to 20,000 units. This means only about 4,000 units for New York City at the most. The President has asked for 35,000 public housing units, which is a modest enough figure, but even this has been stricken out by the House of Representatives despite the strong fight put up by me and others. Federal public housing is vital as a lead for States and cities and in slum clearance. The fight is continuing in the Senate, and I am very hopeful that not less than 35,000 public housing units will be authorized, providing over 7,000 for New York.

One of the major achievements in the House of Representatives on the pending housing bill was in the reduction of downpayments on new housing for non-veterans to as little as \$1,000 on a \$12,000 and \$500 on a \$10,000 FHA mortgage loan, in view of the fact that most housing due to the high downpayments was being sold only to veterans.

The big lack continues to be in middle-income housing and measures to extend mortgage maturities, reduce interest rates, and otherwise encourage middle-income and cooperative housing need urgently to be undertaken. Adequate mortgage financing is vital and for this purpose new areas for mortgage financing must be found. The mortgage banking industry, which includes also life-insurance companies, savings banks, and pension funds, must recognize this urgent need. The Congress has authorized the extension of the program of direct loans to veterans for housing to June 30, 1955, and an additional \$100 million of allowability, making a total of \$476,231,400 now authorized.

Interest is at this time centered on the administration's proposal for reinsurance for some 90 million Americans who belong to plans like Blue Cross and Blue Shield which mainly deal with hospitalization and surgical attention, the proposal seeking with the help of the Federal Government to make the benefits which they afford more adequate to the need. A bill to encourage medical group practice units is also receiving attention. The problem is a very urgent one as about \$10 billion per year is spent for medical care and hospitalization. The House of Representatives has passed a program of expanded aid for hospital construction and the construction of diagnostic centers, nursing homes, and rehabilitation facilities. I still believe that a national health program is essential and that the best one is the National Health Act which I sponsored, together with others, to give Federal-State aid for local cooperative health plans sustained by payment of a premium based upon income and giving complete coverage for hospitalization as well as ordinary medical care.

I am sponsoring legislation to devote a part of the excise taxes realized on cigarettes and liquor for emergency cancer and heart disease research for a 2-year special program to deal with these the Nos. 1 and 2 killers of our time and to devote \$20 million a year in special research funds for this purpose.

The administration's proposal to extend social-security coverage to ministers, lawyers, doctors, farmworkers, and similarly excluded categories, expanding the number covered by 10 million is deserving of full support. So too is the administration's program for extending unemployment insurance coverage to employees in establishments having one or more employed, as in many States, there are restrictions to establishments with 4 (New York) or more or 8 or more employed which are much too high. We must give urgent consideration to increasing the benefits available under social security and under unemployment insurance coverage to make them more realistic in terms of the present-day cost of living. It is essential to eliminate or materially raise the earnings limitation of \$75 monthly for social-security recipients under 75. Americans covered by social security have shown remarkable cooperation in accepting without complaint the increase for both employees and employers in the social-security tax from 1½ percent to 2 percent on earnings up to \$3,600 per year. What we must do in the Congress is to see that the social-security system fulfills its complete national objectives.

#### VETERANS

Developments under this heading continue to be the urgency for adequate medical care for veterans and vigilance to see that it is no way impaired. I am doing all I can to help with the increase of pensions for disabled veterans and the raising of the earnings limitation for beneficiaries who are receiving pension benefits in view of living costs.

There is a considerable amount of interest in the increase of the pension now fixed at \$63 per month for veterans over 65 and this, too, is related to a realistic appraisal of present-day living costs.

Armistice Day has been established as Veterans Day. The right to file POW claims against segregated assets of belligerents in World War II has been extended to August 1, 1954.

#### IMMIGRATION

One of the pledges of the President in his campaign of 1952 was to see that the McCarran-Walter immigration law was rewritten to eliminate discrimination and injustice. I have just joined with others here in introducing a new immigration bill to eliminate such injustices and discrimination and to provide for a modernization of the immigration laws. It permits quota immigration on the basis of the 1950 instead of the 1920 census, as is presently the law. It will increase admissions into the United States from 154,000 to an estimated 216,000 per year and provide for a redistribution of unused quotas among the quotas which are heavily oversubscribed—Italy, Greece, Baltic States, and Central Europe—in view of the fact that we have averaged about 65,000 unused quota numbers per year since the end of World War II.

I have also been working to see that there is effective implementation of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 for the admission to the United States as nonquota immigrants of 200,000 refugees and escapees from behind the Iron Curtain and also for help with the immigration problems of those from Italy, Greece, Holland, and West Germany, as only a handful have been admitted under it.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Postal employees are suffering seriously now, their compensation having lagged behind realistic costs of living. Favorable action on a satisfactory increase is urgently required and I have supported this effort vigorously in the Congress. As has been the practice, increase to meet living costs for other Federal employees will be correlated with the increase for postal employees.

A great effort is being made to eliminate the deficit in the operations of the Post Office which now stands at an estimated \$425 million for the coming fiscal year through the increase in postal rates. If this effort be made, it must be fair. This is especially true as it is claimed that first-class mail is carrying itself but the second- and third-class mail, especially by magazines and periodicals earning large sums of money, is not paying its way but is showing very heavy deficits. It is essential, too, that service be given by the Post Office Department to realize

the reasonable expectations of the American people and this is one of the reasons for my fight for the restoration of two-a-day residential deliveries.

#### MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

I am deeply appreciative of the solicitude of many people in our district who expressed their concern for my safety in the shooting which took place in the House of Representatives on March 1. It should be gratifying to every American to know that Members of Congress realize this dreadful outrage was the act of irresponsible fanatics and that there was no vindictiveness, only the determination that the guilty who promoted this outrage be punished, and that greater security precautions be taken.

The House of Representatives has passed a bill to legalize wiretapping subject to court order and confined only to treason and espionage cases. Under court order this has been possible in New York for a considerable number of years and has worked out reasonably. I supported the incorporation in this measure of the court order provision.

As a result of the revelation of fraud and other excesses in solicitations for charity disclosed by the outstanding work of the Tompkins-Rabin Committee of the New York State Legislature, I have introduced Federal legislation both to implement the law in New York requiring greater public accountability by organizations which engage in such solicitations and for stricter supervision by the Post Office Department to avoid fraud and to protect the legitimate charitable institutions soliciting contributions from the public.

I continue to be strongly in favor of statehood for Hawaii and for Alaska, which has passed the Senate while only statehood for Hawaii has passed the House, and will support both measures.

Interest continues in my resolution on the unification of Ireland.

In the controversy over whether private utility companies or public agencies should develop the power potential at Niagara Falls, I have supported development by the public agencies which, in turn, can undertake, where appropriate, distribution through private utility companies undertaking to pass on the benefits of low-cost power to the public. The cooperative development between the United States and Canada of the St. Lawrence seaway I believe to be entitled to support as it involves the full development of our country and of much needed power.

I have received many letters about our natural resources and will continue my efforts to see that the resources of our country are developed in the public interest and that the national parks and monuments are maintained for the full enjoyment of our people.

Puerto Rico continues to develop under the unique commonwealth form of government its people have chosen giving it both independence and attachment to the United States. Our national objectives there should continue to be to develop the economy and to help train and educate the people so that they may seek opportunity anywhere and without being under any necessity to leave Puerto Rico in order to realize their full opportunities in life.

#### CONCLUSION

The understanding of what is going on in the country by the people of our community and the expression of their views is indispensable to the effective carrying out of our part in the development and progress of our country and in its security and integrity as what we believe is the most ethical and moral as well as the greatest Nation on earth.

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[Congressional Record, August 16, 1954]

#### EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION—FINAL REPORT

The SPEAKER. Under special request heretofore entered, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Javits, is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, here is the record as finally completed of this Congress. There will be much controversy as to the sufficiency of the accomplishments of this Congress. I believe that on the whole it has done many worthwhile things which needed doing, but there is much that is undone or only partly done. Progress toward peace, security, and higher standards of living is



heavily dominated by world events and more strongly influenced by sections in the United States than by party alinement.

#### PEACE

The two dominant recent considerations have been accentuated understanding by the free world, of the mortal peril inherent in A-bomb and H-bomb war, and free discussion of the idea of coexistence with the Communist bloc. The accentuation of the danger from the A-bomb and H-bomb is likely to prove a benefit to the free world which normally moves more slowly than it should in reaction to peril and the peril is the possible elimination of all civilization in such a war. The hope of coexistence may be a pleasing illusion to the British or any other people, who we understand are so much closer to the dread nightmare of a sudden Communist attack with A-bombs and H-bombs of which dictators like those in the Kremlin are always capable, but it is certainly not the stuff of which policies for world peace can be made. The fundamental dynamics of the Communist system, which are the same for any totalitarian system, for Hitler as well as Malenkov and company is such that it must constantly expand for it is unsuccessful in getting the cooperation of its own people and in doing an effective internal job. Its only hope for survival, therefore, is to continually scare its own people with the fact that they are being threatened by external enemies, to continually expand by infiltration, aggression, or any other means no matter how immoral and, if possible, to overwhelm all opposition and to rule the whole world as one totalitarian system. Coexistence is an acceptance of conquests already made and presumes that we will not protest the Communist Chinese ill-gotten gains in North Korea and northern Vietnam, or the Soviet Union's ill-gotten gains in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Albania. It would be the height of folly in terms of policy and immoral as well to concede the legality or permanence of the fruits of these aggressions. But it is entirely practicable to take this attitude without going to the other extreme of inviting a preventive war. I am convinced that the Congress and the American people will not tolerate any such eventuality.

The program which appears best for us in the quest for world peace is to place even greater reliance on the collective action that can be attained in the United Nations, even though the Russian veto and other delaying tactics may prove very nettling and disrupting at times. Second, that we should have a formula to deal with colonialism and the tens of millions of people who need to be brought to independence and self-government, and who have heretofore been non-self-governing. Regional organization is the best way to inspire confidence in former colonial areas and to give them the greatest amount of internal strength during the formative period of self-government.

If we are to avoid world war III, the competition between the free and the Communist world will be ultimately resolved by attracting from behind the Iron Curtain many of the peoples and states now enslaved there. With our genius for production of our magnificent traditions to advance the dignity of the individual we should at once undertake with vigor the offensive in the economic, social, education, and information fields. I believe also that in this way we can be successful in attracting from behind the Iron Curtain many of the peoples and states now enslaved there.

#### ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

There is no question that the free world suffered a serious reverse when the Red River Delta of Indochina fell into Communist hands. The Communists have gotten a foothold in south and southeast Asia from which they can now threaten Thailand, Malaya, south Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, Indonesia and Burma, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon and have also a new window on the Pacific. Anyone who had the idea that the Communist aggression in Indochina was some kind of an effort by Indochinese nationalists to drive out the French will soon see that the Communists will do nothing but enslave the population of northern Vietnam. Under these circumstances, the action of our Government in not recognizing the armistice agreement between France and the Communist forces in Indochina insofar as it partitioned the country but stating that force would not be used to undo the armistice agreement seems exactly appropriate.

We have suffered in Indochina from the failure to organize the region of southeast Asia for its own security and to sponsor self-government and inde-

pendence for non-self-governing peoples there, and see now that such regional organization cannot be improvised when aggression comes despite the fact that we have mutual-security arrangements with Japan, the Philippines, New Zealand, and Australia.

I joined in assisting in the adoption of resolutions first refusing to recognize any conquests by Communist aggression in this area of the world. This was the proposal of British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden for a Locarno pact for this area. Also, the Congress reaffirmed its strong opposition to the admission of Communist China as the representative of China in the United Nations, emphasizing its conviction that brigandage and aggression should not be a way to get into the United Nations. The policy of our Government must now be to strive to establish the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), thereby paralleling the situation in Europe where we have a North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO, of 14 nations organized for their own security and cooperation. In southeast Asia there should be heavy emphasis also upon regional economic cooperation through such an organization and in addition remaining problems of independence and self-government in that area can be dealt with most effectively through the intermediation of such a regional organization.

#### MUTUAL SECURITY ACT

The Congress has passed the mutual security program for 1954. This embodies the foreign policy of the United States. The bill provides for overall foreign aid of about \$3 billion of which 85 percent is directly and indirectly for military assistance to our allies and to regional security organizations of which we are members and 15 percent is for technical and economic assistance. Other interesting features of the bill required that 50 percent of United States aid material be transported in American-flag vessels. About \$700 million is provided for assistance against Communist aggression in the area of Indochina in order to deal with the situation which now faces us as a result of the cession, in effect, of North Vietnam to the Communists. Another important provision is one to stimulate overseas travel by United States citizens and by foreigners in the United States following generally the lines of a bill which I introduced, and which received widespread support in the Congress and the country. About \$70 million is to be provided for special economic aid to India in its 4-year development plan, \$115 million is provided for special economic aid in Israel and the Near East, and \$9 million for special economic aid in South America. About \$110 million is provided for the technical-assistance programs in countries of the free world and a United States contribution to the U. N. multilateral technical assistance program of about \$9 million adequate to December 31, 1954, is also provided. About \$28½ million is provided for other humanitarian programs like the United Nations Children's Fund, the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migrants, transportation overseas of relief packages, and others. Two hundred million dollars is provided for relief and reconstruction in the Republic of Korea and \$30 million is authorized for the support and resettlement of the Palestine-Arab refugees.

The mutual security program marks the continuance, in 1954-55, of the policy of erecting a shield of military security of regional organizations, alliances, and bases throughout the free world; behind this shield we pursue programs of economic and technical assistance and cooperation with these same allies and carry on the interchange of students, professors, trade unionists, businessmen, and civic leaders among the countries of the free world and explain the position of our country through the mediums of the United States Information Agency. The policy is sound but needs to be pursued with greater resources, vigor, and initiative than we have yet shown to meet the magnitude of the Communist challenge and competition with which we are faced in the free world.

#### FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

An enlightened economic policy is essential to our country's free world leadership for peace. The report of the Presidential Commission on Foreign Economic Policy early this year urgently recommended extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for 3 years with certain liberalizing features. This I supported, but the Congress has refused it and extended the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act only for 1 year with the present restrictive clauses still contained in it. There are also grave signs of a return to protectionism in the country. This is against our interests in terms of foreign policy and also against

the interest of consumers in our country. So for example, a great effort is being made to put a tariff on lead and zinc in order to favor uneconomic production of some lead and zinc mines in this country which could better be put on a standby basis with some Government help. Also the President materially increased the tariff on Swiss watch movements, and a drive is being made in the Congress to double the tariff on hardboard with a resultant material increase in cost to the consumer of this important building and packaging material though domestic competition is flourishing and only 1 company produces 70 percent of the domestic output.

There has been considerable discussion about East-West trade in nonstrategic goods—strategic goods directly useful for war are under generally successful controls—with constant appeals to the emotions that it should be completely embargoed. This trade today amounts to less than 2 percent of the whole external trade of the free world which gets more out of it than it gives to the Communist world, because it enables the nations of Western Europe to get foodstuffs and raw materials which they urgently require. Should we embargo this trade the United States would have to make up the difference of some \$2¼ billion a year in some kind of aid. There may be very sound military reasons for such an embargo even on nonstrategic goods, but we cannot ask for an embargo on the ground that this is a good way to additionally implement the cold war unless we are ready to pay the cost, and from all indications in the Congress, we are not.

In late November, there will be an economic conference of the American States at Rio. Our country has a great opportunity there to present an enlightened, co-operative, and forward looking economic policy for raising standards of living, improving the flow of capital investment funds, both public and private, and expanding technical assistance and the interchange of peoples, skills, and ideas with the Latin American countries. It is essential that we make the greatest use of this opportunity especially in view of the serious Communist threat which we have just faced in Guatemala.

#### GUATEMALA

What the dire threat of Communist infiltration means right on our doorstep was shown by the suspension of constitutional guaranties by the Communist infiltrated government of Guatemala. This was almost immediately followed by a revolution against the Communist dominated government which ended quickly with its decisive defeat as it obviously did not have the support of the people of Guatemala. Our problems there now are to insure recognition for the broad social and economic development of Guatemala and for the firm establishment of constitutional guaranties and free institutions there. In attaining these absolutely vital objectives, the collective action of the American States is essential and it is a great challenge to us as the leader in this hemisphere to be sure the Organization of American States fully measures up to its responsibilities.

#### GERMANY AND FRANCE

With France's disengagement from the 7-year-old conflict in Indochina, and the continued lag in its National Assembly ratifying the treaty for the European Defense Community, the question of Germany comes strongly to the fore again. The EDC is the best means which has been devised for utilizing the defense potential of Western Germany without incurring the danger of a renewal of German militarism. This project has been approved by West Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg and looks in a fair way to be approved by Italy. The principal sticking point is France which is fearful of German dominance in the EDC, and has now set many conditions reducing the effectiveness of EDC as a means to integrate free Europe, as the condition to even considering EDC. Pressure upon our Government to turn the German Federal Republic loose in terms of rearmament must be sternly resisted. The danger of some new German-Soviet approachment must be constantly borne in mind especially while the Soviet has the absolute power to hold out the bait of reunification upon Communist terms of West and East Germany. The government of the German Federal Republic and the German people have so far shown themselves on the side of the free world. It would be most unwise to expose them to Soviet blandishments by a surrender to the pressures for complete sovereignty and rearmament for West Germany at this time. The policy indicated by our Government may necessitate a grant of further sovereignty to the German Federal Republic but with the

continued maintenance of United States, British, and French troops there for the defense of Western Germany and without allowing West Germany to rearm a national force. This is an unhappy compromise but one forced upon us by the situation. It may be necessary to do without the utilization of the West German military potential for a time (until we can work out EDC) rather than to incur the grave dangers of a renewed German national military establishment.

#### NEAR EAST AND ISRAEL

The situation there still remains tense. It is constantly aggravated by serious border incursions, ambushes, and clashes engendered by continued Arab hostility against Israel. The fundamental policy of our Government must continue to be strict adherence to and implementation of the Three Power Pact between the United States, United Kingdom, and France guaranteeing against aggression in that area, while at the same time we make a regional effort at economic cooperation and development and resettlement of the Palestine-Arab refugees. It is for this reason that it is so important that Israel continue to participate in the mutual-security program in generally the same magnitude in which she has participated in it for the last 3 years. Provision in the just-enacted mutual-security program allows \$115 million for economic development for Israel and the Arab States.

In no case, however, is it consistent with the policy of our Government to give arms aid to the Arab States. I joined with others in the Congress to protest against supplying arms to the Arab States at a time when such supply was first contemplated to Iraq as it is now said to be contemplated to Egypt. I successfully urged an amendment in the Mutual Security Act which provides that no arms may be furnished in any case which could be utilized for major external military operations to any country unless earned by it as a member of a regional security organization. This provision will very considerably moderate the situation. If arms are to buttress the regional security of the Near East, Israel with tough and effective fighting forces and a fine strategic position must be considered on high priority.

The recent settlement of the Suez questions between Egypt and the United Kingdom providing for the evacuation of British forces from the Suez under certain conditions will contribute to the pacification of this area but I have joined with others in the Congress to insist that the United States see that Egypt as a result of this arrangement no longer continues to violate the resolution of the United Nations Security Council of September 1, 1951, to refrain from an interference with shipping to Israel through the Suez Canal. Such a blockade by Egypt has been causing grave economic difficulties to Israel which it and the free world cannot afford in view of its own efforts to settle immigrants and refugees.

Considerable progress has been reported on the possibility of working out the Jordan River Valley development scheme for which President Eisenhower sent Ambassador Eric Johnston into the Near East. It is certainly to be desired that an economic bridge be found which could lead toward some peaceful relationships toward Israel and the Arab States as the diplomatic bridge seems impossible at this time.

#### OTHER FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENTS

Efforts are being made in the Congress to bring about a return of German and Japanese property of private individuals and corporations seized during World War II in the United States by the Alien Property Custodian and which by law had been earmarked to be devoted to the claims of Americans who were prisoners of war and for injuries done to them. It is opposed by the President and the Department of Justice. It is argued by others that this would be a good public relations move. I opposed the return of German property very strongly upon the ground that the German Government had already undertaken by treaty—Bonn agreement—to pay damages for the property of its nationals which was seized during the war in the United States, that much of the property or its proceeds had already been utilized for war claims, that United States taxpayers should not be called upon to reimburse for property in view of what Nazi Germany was guilty of in outrages against the world in World War II, and that there are some thousands of claims pending by persecutees of Nazi Germany, now residents and citizens of the United States, against these very assets which in all morality and decency were entitled to first and highest priority and should not be relegated to

the German forum. The legislation is unlikely to pass in this Congress though it is likely that the drive for it will be renewed in the next Congress.

An amendment to the War Claims Act was passed this session which extended the period for filing claims for compensation by World War II prisoners of war to August 1, 1954.

I introduced a resolution protesting the kidnaping by the Communists in East Germany of people and officials from West Berlin. This is barbarism—not civilized conduct—and deserves the condemnation of the world.

I introduced a resolution hailing the new governments of the Gold Coast and East Nigeria in West Africa, formerly colonial areas of the British and now gradually emerging into self-government and independence. This resolution was enacted by the House of Representatives and the Senate, and will be signed by the President of the United States. I consider it vital that we strongly support local independence movements which are attained through the utilization of free institutions and where the capability is shown for protecting and safeguarding such independence against some new Communist imperialism. Through such a policy we can show a leadership and statesmanship in Africa which is moving rapidly toward self-determination and avoid the mistakes for which the free world paid so heavily in China and Indochina.

#### ATOMIC ENERGY

This was the first time that legislation upon this momentous subject came before the Congress since the original Atomic Energy Act passed in 1946 which gave the Government full control over all atomic materials and developed both for weapons and civilian uses. The purpose of the legislation was to permit our country to share atomic information more widely with its allies, to permit greater private-enterprise participation in the development of atomic energy for electric power and to make provisions for patents in respect to atomic energy for civilian uses. There was no dispute about the sharing of limited atomic information with our allies—on the use and characteristics of weapons and civilian uses—but there was very great dispute about the electric power and patent phases of the law. The law as finally enacted will undoubtedly permit the Government, if necessary on a yardstick basis, to go into the atomic power generating field, but will give the priority in the development of atomic energy for power to private enterprise, provided it meets the conditions established by the Atomic Energy Commission. This is certainly a conservative compromise. When the bill was in the House, I voted against keeping the Atomic Energy Commission entirely out of the generating of electric power from atomic energy. Also, I voted to require the compulsory licensing of patents with proper compensation to inventors, as this atomic field is altogether too new to give an opportunity to some few peoples or companies to get a monopoly on new patents. A momentous step will have been taken in the enactment of a new Atomic Energy Act heralding a new revolution in the world of production when the atom is available for generating electric power. This, too, is a great competition between the free and slave Communist worlds in which it is essential that our country lead.

#### ECONOMIC SITUATION

Since my last report, the employment situation has stabilized with a reduction of about 400,000, bringing the figure of unemployed to 3,347,000 at June 30, 1954; and with over 62 million Americans gainfully employed. Other reassuring factors in the economic situation are the relative stability of consumer prices which has continued quite consistently now since the summer of 1953 and the material reduction of inventories in the hands of manufacturers since the summer of 1953. The latter is a helpful sign for the future as it shows that the consumption is keeping up and that one of the major indicators which gave the greatest fear of recession early this year is gradually coming into better adjustment. The purchasing power of the dollar has varied by only one-half percent in the last year and a half.

#### GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

The aggregate productive power of our economy is running at the rate of about \$356 billion a year which, though not as high as it was in 1953, when it reached an all-time high, or up to our potential at full employment, is still well above the figure for any year other than 1953. New housing construction which represents such an important part of our economic base is continuing at a relatively high rate with about a million two hundred thousand units indicated for 1954,

but this is still a half million starts per year less than we ought to have considering our housing needs and our economic capabilities.

A national health program failed of enactment but Federal aid to hospital construction, nursing homes, and so forth, aggregating \$96 million was on the modest basis, and only meager progress was made toward urgently needed Federal aid to education and school construction. There was enacted a \$96 million Federal-aid-to-road-construction program which is being implemented.

By enacting an improved social security law, effecting some improvement in the unemployment insurance system and keeping consumers' prices stable, the Federal Government has sought to put some concrete base under the economy. On the whole, the picture though not what it ought to be shows elements of great strength and there is a real feeling that we have gotten over the worst of our recession anxieties. International uncertainties being what they are, of course, these must always be borne in mind in appraising the economic situation. So, too, must the need for dynamic planning and initiative especially in foreign trade opportunities, use of leisure time and attaining of full employment be constantly before us.

#### COST OF LIVING

Farm price policy has loomed very large in this administration's program in view of its determination to give some attention to the consumer by insisting upon a system of flexible farm price supports rather than the high fixed farm price supports which have been in effect now since the war. Under high fixed farm supports, the consumer is made to pay in two ways. One in higher food prices and second in taxes to sustain the Government price support program. The United States now has over \$7 billion tied up in agricultural surpluses and commitments undertaken with respect to them, is paying for commodities on hand alone about \$500,000 a day in storage charges and has very recently had to increase borrowing power for absorbing farm price surpluses to \$10 billion. All of this despite the fact that the farmer's income has fallen by 13 percent in the last 2 years and that his export markets though at the moment showing some recovery, have fallen by almost twice that during the same period of time. I have fought hard here for flexible price supports and also have opposed increases in borrowing power to maintain the high farm price parity program. The effect of such a program was seen when on April 1, the Secretary of Agriculture cut the support price on butter to 75 percent of parity and brought about a price reduction in butter available to consumers by about 10 cents a pound. Meanwhile, the Agriculture Trade Development and Assistance Act providing \$700 million for the sale of agricultural surpluses to cooperating nations for local currency plus authorization to utilize \$450 million of such surplus under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, represents an effort to dispose of some of the enormous surpluses created by the Federal Government's high fixed farm price support operations.

Investigations are continuing into the rapid rise in the price of coffee. The latest is a report from the Federal Trade Commission on monopoly controls. This should be pursued as we must assure that American consumers are treated fairly in this the greatest single import item—other than international travel—of our country.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

The historic unanimous decision of the Supreme Court holding segregation on grounds of race, creed, or color, in public education and in public housing to be contrary to the Constitution is a historic event in our national history. It is the greatest single action in decades to demonstrate the determination of our people that all shall be citizens of the same class. This decision now needs to be effectively implemented and extended into other fields where there is still serious discrimination and segregation. It should result in a renewal of the drive to eliminate segregation in railroads, buses, and other means of interstate transportation. I testified in favor of the Heselton bill which was reported favorably by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce but was caught in the closing logjam and in a renewed drive for a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act with enforcement powers.

I took up the fight to insure fair treatment in the investigation by the Special Committee To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations. The activities of this special committee in cutting off public hearings before the foundations could be heard threatened serious injustice to many foundations which have done much for our people and our country. My resolution sought a review of the work of

this special committee by the House Rules Committee as it is my conviction with respect to all congressional investigations that there must be some way of maintaining control over them on the part of the authorizing House so that they deal justly both with individuals and the matters which they are investigating.

I testified before the Senate Rules Committee in favor of my bill to establish a Joint Committee on Internal Security to replace existing committees in this field—the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations (McCarthy) and the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security—and also to establish rules of fair procedure and means for enforcing those rules. I believe that the hearings before the Senate Rules Committee made it very clear that such a plan as this would enable such congressional investigations to be effective in pursuing the effort to expose communism in key places without engaging in excesses doing violence to our national security, higher learning, religion, or the morale of Government employees and Armed Forces or to affect adversely our foreign policy. Excesses in these congressional investigations harmful to our national interests have shown that reforms are essential. I shall continue to fight for these reforms.

I called for an investigation and for furnishing of information on the anti-religious, anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant, and anti-Jewish hate propaganda which is going through the mails exploiting the anti-Communist feelings of our people in a fraudulent effort to seek the cover of the internal anti-Communist campaign. I named specifically 10 such hate publications purportedly of general circulation which were violations of the spirit of our laws and Constitution. The Postmaster General in response advised that much as the distribution of hate propaganda through the mails is deprecated the law as it is at present cannot reach them. I am convinced that new law is needed for this purpose and shall do everything that I can to see that the Federal Government is enabled to meet this grave aspersion on our free institutions.

#### BUDGET AND TAXATION

In the fiscal year ending July 31, 1954, the deficit was somewhat over \$3 billion instead of an anticipated \$9 billion. This was brought about through a \$7 billion reduction in expenditures. Budget receipts remained fairly constant at about \$64,600 million. Tax cuts of \$7½ billion were achieved in this fiscal year including a reduction estimated at about \$4 billion per year in taxes payable by individuals through the maintenance of the 10 percent personal income tax cut which took effect on January 1, 1954, a cut of about a billion dollars in various excise taxes which generally were paid by consumers and favorable provisions for medical expenses, working mothers, those who draw retirement compensation, parents with children at college, and others estimated at \$827 million.

The most important development in the field of taxation was in the enactment of the tax revision bill, the first full codification of Federal tax laws for 75 years. In addition to rewriting and simplifying the tax law the purposes of the bill were to continue the corporate income tax at 52 percent and to deal with tax inequities which concerned individuals. Primary among the individual benefits are allowed deduction of medical expenses above 3 percent of taxable income instead of 5 percent as at present, exemption of the first \$1,200 of retirement income annually from taxable income after attaining the age of 65 or for retired Government employees before that age, reductions of taxable income up to \$600 annually for expenditure for child care by single working mothers or those with an incapacitated husband or wife if the family's income is less than \$5,100 a year, and deduction for a child as a dependent even if the child is earning more than \$600 a year provided the taxpayer is responsible for more than half of the child's support or the child is attending college. Other improvements include nontaxability of income from health or accident plans or death benefits, right to report as the head of the household for and to receive the benefit of income splitting 2 years after the death of a spouse and to half the benefit if single and maintaining a home for a dependent parent, increase in allowable deductions of charitable contributions and similar benefits. The new tax law provides that the first \$50, plus 4 percent of dividend income, may be deducted from taxable income but not in excess of 4 percent of such income. As noted in my previous district report, I opposed at one and the same time additional exemptions for individuals over and above the tax reductions already made on the ground that they were entirely political in nature and not warranted by our financial situation and also credits for dividend income on the

ground that this was unfair to wage and salary earners who would not receive at this time any increase in exemptions. I voted accordingly in the various stages of the tax revision bill.

#### HOUSING, HEALTH, WELFARE, AND EDUCATION

Forecasts are that new housing construction is running at the annual rate of 1,206,000 units per year, a high since 1950, but the problem is that a balanced national housing program is made even more difficult by the failure to include adequate public housing in the housing bill which was recently enacted and by the continuing failure to find a solution for the problem of middle income housing. The whole situation has been further troubled by the Senate investigation of "windfalls" defined as the excess of FHA guaranteed mortgages over the cost to build middle income rental property and the fact that the mortgage principal rather than the cost of construction is reflected in the established rents.

I fought hard for the President's minimal program of 140,000 federally aided low-rent housing units to be constructed in 4 years but this failed of enactment. The only result of the struggle was an authorization of 35,000 new public-housing units for 1 year but with such restrictions as to its being utilized only for urban redevelopment as to make it unlikely that many more than 10,000 to 15,000 of the public-housing units will actually be started. New York City will probably do better than most places in respect of the authorization of 35,000 getting an estimated 15 percent of all units so authorized, but the country's housing needs cannot be justly met on this minimal and truncated program. The housing bill also liberalized mortgage credit for single-family homes making it possible now even for nonveterans to acquire a \$10,000 home with an FHA mortgage for a downpayment before closing expenses of \$750. Also FHA mortgages are made available for the first time on existing housing.

A strong effort was made to begin to establish some responsibility in the Federal Government for the people's health through an administration bill for a \$25 million fund for the reinsurance of voluntary health plans like Blue Cross and Blue Shield in order to enable them to establish broader coverage and increase their benefits. The bill failed because some thought it did too little and others were not willing to do anything. I supported at least the effort on the ground that it was a beginning in accepting the national responsibility for the people's health. I continue as the sponsor of the comprehensive national health program for substantial Federal-State aid to voluntary health programs and this is now being hailed as the most logical solution by important trade union and other civic union organizations. It is unfortunate that a reverse has been suffered in the first instance but a national health program is vital to our country and the Federal Government must come to it.

A bill was enacted into law which I supported authorizing Federal spending of \$30 million a year for 3 years to aid State and local communities in expanding hospital and clinical facilities for the chronically ill, aged, and physically disabled. This aids further the remarkably successful Federal hospital construction—Hill-Burton—program.

A bill was passed which I strongly supported extending greater Federal aid to State rehabilitation programs for the crippled and handicapped. A great many people—estimated at approximately 2 million—require vocational rehabilitation in this country each year. We have heretofore been able to help by rehabilitation only 60,000 annually. By the terms of the new 5-year comprehensive vocational rehabilitation program, the Federal Government will ultimately aid the States in the rehabilitation of over 200,000 of the handicapped per year. It is estimated that for each dollar spent in Federal aid under this program, approximately \$10 will be returned in taxes from the productive work of the handicapped person rehabilitated under this program.

Three resolutions were adopted regarding the participation of the Federal Government in education. First, to establish a National Advisory Committee on Education, second, to assist cooperative research in educational problems, and third, and most important, to authorize a White House conference on education to analyze the problems of Federal aid to education and school construction and see what the Federal Government can do to help meet it. These are but mild steps toward affirmative Federal aid to meet the very serious classroom shortage, shortage in funds for teaching, and similar school expenses and other educational problems in the country. I supported these moves, however, as at least some effort in the right direction. The measure which has the best chance



in the Congress is Federal aid to school construction. I am supporting a bill to provide \$500 million for this purpose over a 2-year period. A bill has also been authoritatively introduced to provide Federal participation of \$5 billion, which is estimated to be about one-half of the aggregate requirement of \$10 billion for school construction for the Nation. I shall give most earnest support to these efforts which I believe to be vital to the future of our country.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, LABOR

The most signal achievement of this administration is the expansion and improvement of the social-security law. An estimated additional 10 million are expected to be covered by the Social Security System, including farm workers, various groups of professional men—with the notable exception of doctors—including lawyers, dentists, and ministers; employees of State and local governments on an optional basis; employees of the Federal Government not covered by retirement systems; United States citizens employed outside the United States and certain persons employed in fishing and other activities.

One of the very important provisions is to raise the ceiling of allowable earnings for social-security beneficiaries to \$1,000 a year with 1 monthly benefit check withheld for each additional \$80 or fraction of \$80 earned from any type of employment. This is the principle for which I have contended for a long time. Efforts must continue to afford even greater relief as older people should be encouraged to work and to supplement what they receive under the Social Security System rather than be discouraged from doing so. The wage base for the payment of the 4-percent social-security tax divided equally between the employee and the employer is raised from \$3,600 to \$4,200 a year. Benefits were increased on an average of about \$6 a month per beneficiary.

The minimum benefit is increased to \$32.50 from \$27.50 and the maximum benefit is increase from \$85 to \$108.50 a month for single persons and from \$127.50 to \$162.50 for married persons.

Approval was given to extending unemployment compensation coverage to employers of 4 or more workers, the previous standard having been 8 workers under the Federal law and also bringing Federal employees in States under unemployment compensation into the system. I supported a more liberal unemployment compensation bill seeking to provide coverage for all employers of 1 or more employees, to establish minimum benefits payments of 26 weeks and to make the maximum weekly benefit not less than two-thirds of average weekly earnings. This was defeated, though I introduced legislation for it and, with others, fought for it.

Social security, unemployment compensation, and a national health program are the fundamental concrete base for all American working people and self-employed, dependent upon their earnings and every effort must be made to build them up, strengthen them, and make them comprehensive.

Efforts to enact amendments to the Taft-Hartley law, even those which were generally agreed upon as vital, failed in both Houses when the Senate turned down its own amendments bill. I have joined with others of my colleagues here in sponsoring legislation in consultation with the great national labor federations of amendments urgently required to maintain the integrity of labor-management collective bargaining and I have also opposed efforts to have government, by injunction, or to otherwise, coerce this typically American process of adjusting relations between management and labor. Also it proved impossible to get consideration of an increase in the minimum wage, now 75 cents per hour, under the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which should be realistically \$1.25 per hour.

Some concrete gains were made, however, in this important area of national life, notably the passage of the improvements to the Railroad Retirement Act. This measure was strongly backed by all the railroad unions, and provided for an increase in retirement annuities, a reduction of the eligibility age for various benefits, increases in unemployment benefits, and other changes urgently required to bring the railroad retirement system more nearly in line with present conditions and costs of living. Of equal significance was the passage of an act implementing the Railroad Retirement Act by permitting individuals to receive benefits under both the Railroad Retirement Act and the Social Security Act. I supported and worked for both these measures.

I opposed, however, the so-called wetback bill to admit Mexican workers for seasonal work on farms in the Southwest on the ground that there is no adequate supervision or enforcement contained in this legislation for those from Mexico

entering the United States for temporary farm work and because it tended to embarrass our relations with Mexico.

#### VETERANS AND ARMED FORCES

It has been necessary to be eternally vigilant in respect of veterans' benefits, veterans' compensation, veterans' hospitalization, and veterans' rights generally. Korean veterans were given an additional 1 year to take advantage of the GI education benefits. The principal measure passed with respect to veterans was an increase by 5 percent in the monthly benefits payable to veterans with service-connected disabilities, their widows, survivors, and beneficiaries. A similar increase was granted to veterans entitled to benefits under the program for those over 65 or permanently and totally disabled but not service-connected. In addition, an act was passed extending the direct loan program of the Veterans' Administration with an appropriation of \$100 million to aid veterans in the financing of home mortgages; a law was enacted providing for the quick naturalization of aliens who had served in the United States Armed Forces from June 24, 1950, to July 1, 1955; while social-security wage credits for military service were extended for 18 months.

Other veterans' measures remain urgent but that is all that it was possible to accomplish despite an outstandingly brilliant effort by the chairman and members of the Veterans' Affairs Committee in this Congress.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

There has been a classic struggle going on here regarding pay increases for post-office and classified civil-service employees. There is no question about the fact that a raise is urgently required by existing costs of living. The difficulty has been in the economy drive and the Post Office's effort to reduce its deficit by further increases in rates. After fighting for the Withrow bill, I supported the Corbett bill to give the post-office workers a 7 percent across-the-board increase with a minimum of \$240 and a maximum of \$480. The opportunity was given to vote for a 5-percent pay raise with a minimum of \$180 and without a maximum, tied to a bill to increase mail rates. I supported this measure also, upon the ground that it was essential to make provision for a postal pay increase through willingness to be realistic in the matter of postal rates.

A pay raise, which is essential to Federal classified employees, will stem directly from a pay raise for the postal workers, and therefore a fight for one is a fight for the other.

Desirable legislation is being enacted for "fringe benefits," such as group insurance to Federal employees, a repeal of the Whitten rider which I opposed from the very beginning, which has blocked promotions and an adequate personnel system, revisions in annual leave and sick leave practices and similar matters. In every way it is essential that personnel relations be considered by the Government on the highest priority. Ours is a government of laws not men, but it is the men who administer the laws and the Federal Government must show its sense of justice to those who work for it.

#### MISCELLANEOUS ISSUES

We have had submitted a number of bills labeled anti-Communist. It has been necessary not to be taken in by the labels but to carefully analyze each bill to be sure that it constitutes a material factor in the anti-Communist struggle and that we were not paying too high a price for it in terms of American freedoms. I supported bills depriving of citizenship those convicted under the Smith Act of seeking to overthrow our Government by force; establishing condign punishment for peacetime espionage; ruling out the Communist as a political party and various contempt citations putting up to the courts the issues of witnesses' refusals to answer legitimate questions of congressional investigating committees. I also supported a bill to allow congressional committees to take such cases into court at once so as to get the maximum number of answers to their questions and to make punishment for contempt assured for failure to answer, and I supported the move to amend the wiretapping bill by requiring a court order first. On the other hand, I opposed a bill giving congressional committees the power to grant immunity, and thereupon to require testimony of a witness pleading self-incrimination on the ground that this would not advance the anti-Communist struggle but would, on the contrary, represent an invasion of one of the fundamental historic freedoms of all the American people and one of

a very special significance to minorities of religion or race, while putting into the political arena a power to let rogues go free and to punish innocent men.

There have been a great many bills before us to establish dams to produce power and aid navigation as well as reclamation and irrigation projects involving substantial extensions of credit by the United States. I have proceeded generally upon the basis that we must help in the development of our country according to established patterns, preserving and improving our natural resources for the public interest, being careful that our national parks and our national monuments are not compromised or invaded, and guarding against "windfalls" to a few.

There has been a greatly renewed interest in the problems of youth and juvenile delinquency in our dangerous world. I have been working hard for the National Youth Assistance Act to develop a \$50 million national youth program. I also endeavored to bring about an appropriation of \$165,000 for the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the purpose of coordinating the activities of State and local youth commissions throughout the country.

I have made every effort to get consideration of the essential revision of our immigration laws to make them accord with wise United States leadership of the free world. I have joined with others of my colleagues in seeking hearings on a bill which I sponsored entitled "The Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1954" to liberalize the immigration laws. I have also continued my work to see that there is effective implementation of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 and am glad to say that better progress is being made with 7,287 visas granted under this act as of July 30, 1954, and with the enactment of legislation which will pool the aggregate 209,000 quota numbers available for refugees and escapees from behind the Iron Curtain and those for preference immigrants from Italy, Greece, Holland, and West Germany. The authorization to continue United States participation in the intergovernmental committee for European migration is expected to resettle several hundred thousand of the excess working population of free Europe in this fiscal year. I believe, however, that we must declare the rewriting of the basic immigration law, the McCarran Act, to be a primary objective of our foreign policy.

A constitutional amendment giving 18-year-olds the right to vote failed in the Senate. I hope that it will be brought up again as I favor it. It may be trite, but it is true that those old enough to defend our country with their lives, should have something to say about how it is run.

Interest continues in my resolution for the unification of Ireland.

I testified in support of a bill with others of my colleagues for a United States Arts Foundation to assist college, cooperative, and voluntary nonprofit efforts in the fields of theater, music, and art. This is an area in which we are far behind practically all the other countries of the free world. Such activities are essential to us as our time for recreational and cultural enjoyment increases and as our world leadership becomes essential in these fields, too.

Grants of statehood to Hawaii and Alaska got lost in the legislative logjam with contrary bills coming out of the House and Senate. This is a must for our country and I have and will constantly and actively support statehood for both.

I have also sponsored and worked for a United States Travel Commission to develop for all our people including those in the moderate income level—\$3,500 to \$5,000 a year—the opportunity for overseas travel which I believe is entirely feasible.

I have introduced legislation and worked to enable members of the Armed Forces to vote for candidates for Congress in national elections without regard to State laws relating to registration and without payment of any poll tax and to recommend to the States a better and more effective absentee voting procedure for civilians who are necessarily serving abroad. The broadest possible franchise for all our people is vital in our national interest.

#### CONCLUSION

This completes the record of the 83d Congress. As is always true, much has been done, not always adequately and a good deal of what is essential has been left undone. On the whole it is not an untypical American congressional record of achievements and shortcomings. The people will judge as to whether a dynamic and progressive program, to use the words of President Eisenhower, has been enacted. It is vital to us in public office to be sure that they have all the

facts upon which to judge. This I consider to be my highest duty and this I have sought to accomplish to the best of my ability.

Chairman EASTLAND. Anything else?

Mr. MORRIS. I have nothing else.

Chairman EASTLAND. The committee will stand adjourned.

Mr. JAVITS. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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NOVEMBER 21, 1956

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**PART 44**

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 12:05 p. m., in the caucus room, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Jay Sourwine, associate counsel; and William A. Rusher, administrative counsel.

Senator JENNER. The committee will come to order.

The last time I presided at this subcommittee as acting chairman we were dealing with the matter of the kidnaping of the little girl Tanya Romanov, and at that hearing I directed that our records be forwarded to the State Department and action be taken to remove Mr. Ekimov.

I have heard since the hearing that the State Department had acted and demanded his removal from the country. I want to make inquiry this morning as to whether or not Ekimov has left the confines of the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I understand he has not yet left. But I will make a formal inquiry some time this afternoon and give you an answer.

Senator JENNER. Do that, please.

Is the witness ready to be sworn?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you stand and raise your right hand.

Senator JENNER. Do you swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HAGEMAN. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF E. L. HAGEMAN, NATIONAL PRESIDENT, COMMERCIAL TELEGRAPHERS' UNION, WESTERN UNION DIVISION, AFL-CIO, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the official reporter here?

Mr. HAGEMAN. My name is E. L. Hageman. My office address, union headquarters, is 918 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your official title?

Mr. HAGEMAN. My official titles are, national president of the Western Union division, Commercial Telegraphers' Union, AFL-CIO; and

I am also chairman of the national bargaining committee, Commercial Telegraphers' Union, AFL-CIO, which represents all of the Western Union telegraph workers in the United States except in the New York metropolitan area, and which bargains for a national contract for those workers.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Hageman, how long have you held that position?

Mr. HAGEMAN. I have been in my present position since October 1953.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you had experience in that particular field which you have just described?

Mr. HAGEMAN. I have been active in union work for years, but I have held a full-time union position with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, Western Union division, for 10 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like by way of background to this hearing this morning to read from our annual report of 1953, at a time when you, Senator Jenner, were the chairman.

Senator JENNER. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. The report on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, at page 42, took cognizance of a letter that you, Senator, had sent to the chairman of the Senate Labor Committee.

The pertinent parts of that letter which summed up the situation at that time are as follows: You said:

In 1951 the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary held extensive hearings on the American Communications Association. In those hearings the Communist control over the labor organization was amply established. This American Communications Association is now the certified bargaining agent for some approximately 5,000 employees of the Western Union Telegraph Co. in the metropolitan area of New York City, and some 200 employees of the Western Union Cable Co. of New York City, for RCA Communications on the east and west coast, and for employees in certain broadcasting stations, mostly in New York and in Philadelphia.

You went on to say:

The main office of the Western Union Telegraph Co. is located in the Western Union Building at 60 Hudson Street, New York. Telegraph circuits to all major cities in the United States terminate or relay through this building. Telegraph messages of all kinds are handled by the employees, the majority of whom are members of and under the control of the American Communications Association. Many of these messages are Government messages. For example, the following Government agencies are served by telegraph circuit "tie lines" connecting the main Western Union office and the agency office.

The following is a partial list of these circuits: The United States Defense Department Signal Center of the First Army Headquarters, Fort Wadsworth; The United States Naval Air Station at Floyd Bennett Field, Brooklyn, N. Y.; New York Port of Embarkation, in Brooklyn; The United States Naval Shipyards, Brooklyn; Sea Transport Station, Atlantic Division, Army Piers 1, 2, 3, and 4; United States Navy Communication Service, 90 Church Street, New York, N. Y.; Governors Island and Fort Jay, Second Service Command.

And then you went on to say, Senator, that the whole Internal Security Subcommittee came to a unanimous conclusion that this particular situation posed a threat to the internal security of the United States.

Now, Senator, more than 3 years have passed since that time, and in connection with the forthcoming report that the subcommittee will make to the Senate on the Communist potential in the United States, we are reexamining the situation to find if this threat still continues, even though 3 years have elapsed.

Now, are you acquainted with the American Communications Association, Mr. Hageman?

Mr. HAGEMAN. Yes, I am.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the ACA, the American Communications Association, is not a member of the AFL-CIO, is it?

Mr. HAGEMAN. No; the ACA was kicked out of the CIO in 1950, along with other Communist-dominated unions, for following the Communist Party line, and for disloyalty to American trade-union principles.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, as far as you know, Mr. Hageman, has there been any change in the political complexion of the American Communications Association?

Mr. HAGEMAN. No; not that I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Hageman, we are talking about Communist control of the ACA. Now, they roughly organize about 5,000 workers, do they not, the ACA?

Mr. HAGEMAN. In the Western Union, what we call the landlines, in the New York metropolitan division of Western Union they represent about 4,500 or 5,000 employees.

In addition to that, they represent in Western Union cables a few hundred employees. They also represent the employees of RCA Communications, which handles mostly international telegraph traffic. And they may have contracts with some radio stations, and a few other smaller organizations.

Mr. MORRIS. Roughly, how many employees are thus organized on an overall basis?

Mr. HAGEMAN. I am not very well informed on the figures. I would say at this time the maximum would be 8,000. I doubt if it would be 10,000.

Mr. MORRIS. We have some figures from Mr. Wilcox, the vice president of the Western Union, Senator, which we can come to later, for a portion of the total that we are talking about now.

Now, when the American Communications Association is controlled, as the evidence seems to indicate, by Communists, that does not mean, by any means, that the members of the American Communications Associations are themselves Communists; does it, Mr. Hageman?

Mr. HAGEMAN. No; it does not. And I wish to emphasize at this point, if I may, that there are large numbers of Western Union Telegraph workers in the New York metropolitan area who are as strongly anti-Communist as any American citizen; they are loyal Americans, and many of them have endangered themselves by fighting the Communists for years. And we still have many Western Union workers in New York who are carrying on that fight at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. For instance in 1953, I notice, the vote there was 2,421 for the ACA, and 1,619 against the ACA. Does that roughly coincide with your estimate of how the employees vote for bargaining?

Mr. HAGEMAN. I would prefer to refer to the figure in 1952. At that time the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, Western Union Division, had better than 1,800 votes, and ACA had 2,200 votes.

Mr. MORRIS. So, in the first place, all of the employees don't vote, obviously, from those figures, if you have only 4,000 voting.

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is correct.

And I would like to add this: that in 1952 it is our firm conviction that we lost the election because our union, CTU, was on a nationwide strike against Western Union, and we had picket lines in front of 60 Hudson Street at the time the people were voting on whether to authorize our union to bargain for them.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, as a result of that election—and you say you prefer to use the 1952 figures, because the figures there were 2,200 to 1,800, roughly—as a result of that election, the ACA is certified, has been certified by the National Labor Relations Board as the bargaining agent for the Western Union employees in New York City?

Mr. HAGEMAN. Yes; they have an official certification from the National Labor Relations Board of the United States Government.

Mr. MORRIS. And they still have it?

Mr. HAGEMAN. And if I may add, that is something which the Communists use. Many rank-and-file workers will ask the ACA officers about the Communist charges, and the Commies tell them:

Well, we have an official certification from the United States Government; if there was anything wrong with us, why hasn't something been done?

Mr. MORRIS. Now, after they are certified, what then can the ACA leadership—some of whom we have talked about in individual cases—what are they empowered to do; what is their power?

Mr. HAGEMAN. They are authorized to bargain under the law for a contract, bargain for wages, hours, and working conditions for the Western Union workers they represent. And as a part of that bargaining process, they have the organization, and they have the right to strike.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do they therefore control the shop stewards?

Mr. HAGEMAN. The word "control" is not one that I would use.

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry. You use the word, then, Mr. Hageman.

Mr. HAGEMAN. In previous hearings the question has come up before this committee when you have had ACA witnesses on the stand, the question has come up about the control over the stewards by ACA, and ACA has told this subcommittee repeatedly that they had no "control" over them, because they were elected by the rank-and-file employees of the Western Union Telegraph Co.

According to all the information we can obtain, they have had no elections in the New York metropolitan area of any of the stewards for years. They are appointed.

Mr. MORRIS. Appointed by the leadership?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. That is based on your own observation of the situation?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is the information I get from people who work in New York—maybe their bylaws or constitution requires election of stewards, but, according to the best information I received from people who know, there have been no elections of stewards in any group in the New York metropolitan area for years. And there was testimony before this subcommittee as to the way the top officers of ACA were elected. Sworn testimony before this subcommittee showed that those elections were crooked.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Hageman, what can a shop steward, for instance, or workers organized by shop stewards, the shop stewards being designated in the way you described—to what extent do these shop stewards and other people so organized have access to these trunklines

that we have been talking about; for instance, the trunkline from the Pentagon through New York overseas, which we will go into in greater detail later on; what can they do with respect to those wires, Mr. Hageman?

Mr. HAGEMAN. Well, any employee of Western Union in any telegraph office in the country, New York as well as others, has access, according to his duties and his job, to everything that goes through that telegraph office. There are telegrams, thousands of them, going through any large telegraph office in this country, and the employees who work in that office in the line of their duty would be able to read those telegrams. In many cases, it is a part of their duty to read the telegrams to be sure that they are accurate.

Mr. MORRIS. And in many cases they have to type it up originally, and then still others have to transmit it?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is correct. An operator, for example, would transmit a message—we call it “punch a message”—on a perforator, in the same manner that you would write a letter on the typewriter; it has a standard keyboard, and the message is punched on tape, perforated tape; the operator handles that message. The same is true in receiving messages; the operators receive the messages, and they are compelled to read them in the line of their duty. That is true of all Western Union employees, not only those who may be union stewards or ACA stewards or just rank-and-file employees.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do classified messages go through Western Union in this way?

Mr. HAGEMAN. Well, I believe that a Government official would have to answer that question as to whether they are sending classified or top-secret messages over the wires. I do know that, in the early 1940's, I was a telegraph employee in the Washington office, and we had hundreds of messages of all kinds from the United States Government, and many of them were clearly confidential messages.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, even if these messages were sent in code, at least in their coded form they would be accessible to the Western Union employees?

Mr. HAGEMAN. They would have to be transmitted; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And if somebody else could supply—if, for instance, Soviet espionage were able to decode some of our messages and get the key to our codes, then, if that key were placed in the hands of someone manning the Western Union wires, he could decode the messages as they came through, if he had the key from other sources?

Mr. HAGEMAN. If the Soviet espionage system had access or contact with a hard-core Commie—and in my mind a hard-core Commie will do whatever the Communist Party tells him to do—if the Soviet espionage system had access to a hard-core Commie in a telegraph office, there is no question but that they could get information which might be valuable.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could—let's take the occasion of—we have here in the next part of the evidence, Mr. Hageman, a statement that the Department of External Affairs in Washington, D. C., has a circuit to the Canadian Government in Ottawa which goes through New York, and therefore goes through employees who are organized by the ACA. I wonder if you could take that concrete case—that is only the first one on a long list that we have here—what, for instance,

could be done in a physical way—I wonder if you could trace through that particular tie line, going through New York as it does, according to Mr. Wilcox, and tell us who would have access to the thing, and how it could be done.

Mr. HAGEMAN. A wire running from Washington to Canada through New York—and it would run through other points, too, a wire that length—it is necessary to have certain points where the technicians and the wiremen in the telegraph business can cut in and test the wire and clear trouble if there is trouble. If a wire was running from here to Canada and went through New York, I don't believe there is any question that in New York it might be necessary at times to cut in to clear trouble. And any employees working in the wire and repeater department in the New York office would have continual access to those wires.

Mr. MORRIS. So, really, then, almost anybody in the office who has the assignment you say, would have access to anything that goes through that particular line?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is correct. For example, I will cite you a case from my own experience. During the early part of the war there was a wire running from the State Department to the headquarters in London. We could cut in on this State Department wire at the Washington main office, and they could cut in at other points along that wire before it went into the cable, to test for trouble. I was one of the employees, as well as others in the office, who had access to a wire which we knew was highly secret; we had access to a wire which went from our State Department to the highest officials in London who were working on our war plans at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. And therefore, any Communist with the necessary technical ability—which presumably they have if they hold that job—can at any time break into these wires?

Mr. HAGEMAN. A Communist Party member who is under the direction of the Communist Party would be, if he is working on such a job, in an excellent position to turn over information to the Soviet agents.

Mr. MORRIS. Wouldn't it seem, Mr. Hageman, therefore, that the particular assignment of the people who have access to these highly sensitive wires should have some kind of security clearance?

Mr. HAGEMAN. Well, I live in Washington, and I have read the papers about security clearance, and I have seen some pretty terrible injustices occur because of false rumors about people.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right. But, when we talk about a security clearance, we mean on a very efficient and very sophisticated level. You hesitate to go that far. But the point is, will you say this: Do you feel that people who are working and whose positions may have been selected by Communist leadership, that the Government should certainly be concerned with that particular possible security threat?

Mr. HAGEMAN. Well, I certainly think the Government should be concerned about a Communist-dominated organization. And I would like to go a little further on that line right now, if you will permit me, with respect to our own experiences in the telegraph business. I have worked for Western Union since 1920. I have been in the telegraph business, the telegraph-union business, since that time. I have worked a lot of positions in the telegraph offices in various cities. For 20 years

in Western Union we had an organization that was set up by the company; it was obviously a company union. I was one of those who bucked that company union and helped get rid of it.

Now, it took the United States Government, the NLRB, about 2 years after the Wagner Act was passed, to disestablish that company-dominated union. And as an American citizen, and I know I am speaking for lots of Western Union workers around the country when I say this, we don't understand why it takes so long to get rid of a Communist-dominated union.

We were glad to get rid of the company union, it was the greatest blessing that ever occurred for the Western Union workers, and we have made wonderful progress in our wages and working conditions in the past 10 or 12 years, but we can't understand why there can be so fast action on getting rid of a company union, and there has nothing been done yet about a Communist-dominated union, which is as great a danger, certainly any day, as a company union.

Mr. MORRIS. May I spell that out a little bit, Mr. Hageman. Under the NLRB, there was a provision which implied that, if it could be established by a preponderance of the evidence, by an NLRB trial examiner, that there was company influence over that particular union, which influence extended to what they call domination, the Board then could hold that the union was company dominated and it would be disestablished.

Mr. HAGEMAN. That was my understanding. And I understand that, there were a number of company unions disestablished by the NLRB, by the United States Government, during the late thirties.

Mr. MORRIS. And one of them was the Western Union Association?

Mr. HAGEMAN. One of them was the Association of Western Union Employees. It was disestablished by the NLRB in 1939, I believe it was, and the circuit court of appeals upheld that disestablishment, it was completely wiped out of existence.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Hageman, your recommendation, therefore, is that there be a similar action taken by the National Labor Relations Board, but that the issue to be determined, however, be not whether the union is company-dominated but whether it is Communist-dominated, and on the basis of the accumulation of the evidence, which could be done in this particular case, that the NLRB could therefore disestablish the ACA because it is in fact Communist-dominated. That issue never came up in 1953 when you sought to prevent the certification by the NLRB, that was not the issue?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is correct.

Answering your question, Judge Morris, I am not a lawyer, but I am told that, the way the law reads, it would not be possible to disestablish a Communist-dominated union in the same way that a company-dominated union was disestablished. Of course, I am familiar with the law as it now reads where the SACB can declare that an organization is Communist-dominated and that organization eventually, after it goes to the Supreme Court, loses its bargaining rights or its prestige before the NLRB.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a different situation, somewhat, from what you had in the case of the disestablishment provision in a company union situation, isn't it?

Mr. HAGEMAN. As I say, I am not a lawyer, and I am not familiar with the differences in the wording, but I am told that the law these

days does not permit any such action as they took against company unions.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the case of the company unions, the law gave the NLRB the right to make a determination of company-dominated union; isn't that right?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is my understanding.

Mr. SOURWINE. The present law does not give the NLRB the right to make a determination of Communist domination; is that right?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is my understanding.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where there was a determination of company domination under the old law, the NLRB ordered the disestablishment of the union; isn't that right?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where there is a determination by the Subversive Activities Control Board today that there is Communist domination, instead of ordering disestablishment, they simply withdraw the benefits of Wagner Act privileges; isn't that correct?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is my understanding.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that, if a union can get along without the Wagner Act—

Mr. HAGEMAN. You mean without the NLRB?

Mr. SOURWINE. That is correct.

Mr. HAGEMAN. If they can get along without the NLRB services, the action taken by the SACB and upheld—say it is upheld in the higher courts, in the Supreme Court—wouldn't make much difference to that union.

Mr. SOURWINE. The point I am trying to make for the record—and I am sure you will agree that there is no argument about us between it—

Mr. HAGEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the NLRB is not in a position to do anything about a Communist-dominated union, because they are not the forum to make the decision, and when the decision is made by the forum that Congress has established, which is the Subversive Activities Control Board, the NLRB simply has nothing to do with the union; so far as they are concerned, it no longer exists, they can't recognize its petitions, they can't certify it, they can't do anything about it, for or against it, so that the NLRB is not in a position, under the existing state of the law as Congress has fixed it, to do anything about a Communist-dominated union?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is my understanding. And I also understand that they tried to do something, and the courts overruled them.

Mr. MORRIS. Also, is it your recommendation, Mr. Hageman—are you conceivably making the recommendation to us that the law be changed so as to give the NLRB additional powers with respect to disestablishing Communist unions?

Mr. HAGEMAN. Well, I am not making any recommendation, and on this particular thing I am speaking personally. I most certainly, as a trade-union officer, member, would not want to see anything in any law which would enable anybody to weaken or destroy the genuine trade unions in this country. I consider those the bulwark of democracy. And evidently, Hitler considered them and Stalin considered them as such, because they didn't have real trade unions in Hitler Germany, and they don't have them in Soviet Russia or Hungary.



I wouldn't want to see anything in our laws which would enable anybody to get at the real trade unions in this country. But it seems to me that we should have enough brains in the legislative halls and in the courts of our land to write laws which will take care of this danger to our country—and I consider the Communists as a danger, and I consider their enemies of the trade-union movement, too, as well as to our country.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Hageman.

Now, Senator, I have here a record of an interrogation between Nelson Frank, of our staff, in New York City, and Mr. J. L. Wilcox, who is the vice president in charge of employee relations, Western Union Telegraph Co., 60 Hudson Street, New York.

Now, this was taken in New York City on last Friday. That would be November 16. There are a couple of sections here, Senator, that I would like to read, and then I would like to offer the whole thing for the record.

Senator JENNER. It may become a part of the record, and you may proceed to read it.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Frank asked Mr. Wilcox:

How many employees were organized by the ACA in New York City?

Mr. Wilcox answered:

It is approximately 1,000 less now [than in 1951]. The testimony at that time read 5,500 Western Union employees represented by the ACA, but at the present time it runs about 4,500, the difference in the number of personnel being due to mechanization, with a possible loss by some diminution in the load.

That 4,500 people does not include the RCA people you mentioned, in addition?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. So, just as far as the ACA organization in New York is concerned, the figure, according to Mr. Wilcox, is 4,500 instead of 5,500 for 1953?

Mr. HAGEMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And that does not include the Western Union cable employees, which number about 300?

Mr. HAGEMAN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. I believe Mr. Wilcox goes on to say that:

The cable is about 300, and the difference are all landline people.

What are cable people and what are landline people, Mr. Hageman?

Mr. HAGEMAN. The cables, as we use the term, go overseas. There is a Western Union cable that goes to London, and Paris. The landlines are the wires running on land throughout the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Frank went on to ask Mr. Wilcox the following question:

Do the ACA members and leaders have any access to and be in contact with any governmental departments or any governmental circuits?

Mr. Wilcox answered:

Yes, there are ACA members who do regulatory work in connection with Government circuits which terminate or are routed through New York.

Mr. Frank went on to say:

I note that in your previous testimony, you stated that stewards of ACA within Western Union would know the intimate details of the work such as the mechanism, the machinery of the company; is that true?

Mr. Wilcox said:

That is still true. That is, the technicians or regulatory people that I refer to in the previous answer.

Mr. Frank said:

I note that it was stated that if a person has communistic leanings "he would be in a good position to know where to hit us where it would do the most damage." Is that still true?

Mr. Wilcox:

Yes, the source of danger is through knowing where the plant could be damaged most effectively. In time of conflict, well-placed acts of sabotage could cripple our plant if the individual was so inclined to do so.

There he brings up the possibility that, if the Communists wanted to cut off communications, all the communications that we have said, then they would be in a position to know where to do the damage and cut off the wires that we may have with the Canadian Government, the British Government, and the others that you mentioned.

Is that so, Mr. Hageman? That is another issue that he raises there.

Mr. HAGEMAN. Well, once again, I want to say that I am very careful in not trying to put a cloud over a group of workers because they are stuck with Communist leadership. As I stated previously, many of these New York Western Union workers, I think the overwhelming majority of them, are loyal, patriotic American citizens, and I wouldn't want to say anything here which would cast a cloud on their loyalty.

But it is a fact, as I stated previously, if a hard-core Communist were working in what we call the technician group and had access to these wires in testing, he could get at valuable information which goes over those wires, many of them Government wires, and if such a hard-core Communist were in that group he would know what the vital points were, and he would be a very effective saboteur if the Communist Party and Soviet Russia ever decided to sabotage.

Senator JENNER. At this point, I think the committee ought to produce for our record, to make this record complete, a Government witness who could tell this committee just exactly what goes over these wires, because from what this gentleman has said and the previous testimony this committee has had, this country's communications are in a very precarious position.

In view of the tensions all over the face of the earth at this time, I think this matter should be looked into thoroughly. And from what this witness has said, if the NLRB, under the present law, cannot disassociate a Communist-dominated union from being the bargaining agent, certainly we need legislation to see that the NLRB does have the authority to disassociate a Communist-dominated union from being a certified bargaining agent for the laboring organizations of this country.

That is the purpose of these legislative committees, the primary purpose, to get the facts, so that we can have intelligent legislation. And certainly, there is a weak link here someplace in the law.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, would you also want the staff to have present here one of the officers of the ACA, to give their version of the story?

Senator JENNER. Yes, I think that would be very helpful.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, may I just read a few more passages from the Wilcox letter? It is very brief.

Senator JENNER. Yes; proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Frank:

I wonder if you could tell me what circuits ACA members handle.

Mr. Wilcox answered:

Members of the ACA handle international traffic to and from our offices in London, Paris, and other continental points, as well as domestic circuits terminating in New York.

The last exchange was as follows. Mr. Frank said:

In other words, if I might sum up, the situation is now as it was in 1951, and again in 1953, when the subcommittee's summary report on subversive infiltration in Government departments was publicized. That is, despite what is known about them and despite the refusal of its president, Mr. Selly—

that is Mr. Joseph Selly?

Mr. HAGEMAN. He is the president of the ACA.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing):

and others, to answer questions about their communistic connections and related matters, the Labor Board still requires you to treat the ACA as you would any legitimate union and that the ACA is still the bargaining agent for all of these workers dealing with traffic circuits and tie lines which handle various United States circuits?

The answer of Mr. Wilcox is:

The situation has not changed in any material respect since I last gave my testimony before your committee. The ACA has again been confirmed to the Western Union Telegraph Co. as the authorized bargaining agent for our employees in the metropolitan area. In this respect, the company feels it must meticulously obey the law and deal with the bargaining agent as certified by the appropriate Government agency.

And then, Senator, he gives a very valuable appendix, three pages, in which he lists the Government circuits going through the New York office, and in addition, those of foreign governments. We have the Pentagon, we have Andrews Field, we have the Loring Air Force Base in Limestone, Maine, the United States Department of Agriculture, the British delegation to the United Nations, and various other wires which obviously must carry some kind of sensitive information—whether it would be coded or uncoded I cannot say, Senator.

Senator JENNER. Is the State Department in there?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, the second item in here, the United States State Department in Washington, D. C., to Ottawa. And then there is the Netherlands Embassy in Washington, to New York. There is the Department of Defense Production in Washington, to Ottawa, and the United States Information Agency—apparently, most of their wires seem to be going through there, eight United States Information Agency wires to New York.

Senator JENNER. The entire document will go into the record and become a part of the official record of this committee.

(The document referred to follows the interrogation of Mr. Hageman.)

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, we have here 8 or 9 exhibits which I would like to put into the record. I think, Senator, they all speak for themselves, and they relate to various investigations which are now

going on, which we would like to have in the record for the annual report.

Senator JENNER. They may go into the record and become a part of the record at the proper point.

(The exhibits referred to were made a part of the record, and will be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Senator JENNER. Any other questions?

Mr. MORRIS. I have no other questions. I would like to thank Mr. Hageman, who rearranged his schedule to make possible this hearing this morning.

Mr. HAGEMAN. I wonder if I could add one thing.

Mr. MORRIS. By all means, Mr. Hageman.

Mr. HAGEMAN. I would like to add that, in our telegraph field, we have found that this Communist-dominated ACA has not been a help in our fight to better the wages and working conditions of the Western Union workers.

In 1951, our union was after a 25-cent-an-hour wage increase for the Western Union workers nationwide. And at the very time we were asking for that money and putting up arguments for it and threatening to strike for it, Joseph Selly, the president of the ACA, went to a Western Union stockholders' meeting and told Walter Marshall, the president of Western Union, that they would settle for less than half of that.

During our 1952 strike, when the Western Union workers nationwide were on the picket lines for 53 days fighting for the 40-hour, 5-day week, ACA crossed the picket lines and didn't help the Western Union workers win the 40-hour week.

Those are two instances of the kind of situation we have in our bargaining with Western Union.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the members of that union benefit by the hours and wages which your union secured?

Mr. HAGEMAN. ACA has become a coattail rider, as far as we are concerned. We do all the fighting, all the bargaining, and, as soon as we have signed the agreement, they rush in and demand that the company give them the same thing. In 1951 we won 17 cents an hour wage increase for the Western Union workers. ACA had signed up the day before for 16½ cents, so they went in and persuaded Western Union to tear up the agreement and give them one for 17 cents. But they have ridden on our coattails for 10 years, and we are getting tired of the burden.

Mr. MORRIS. That is very interesting, Mr. Hageman.

Senator JENNER. Thank you, Mr. Hageman.

If there are no further witnesses, the committee will stand in recess.

(Whereupon, at 12:50 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

## STAFF CONFERENCE

NEW YORK, N. Y., *November 19, 1956.*

HELD PURSUANT TO THE REQUEST OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY IN THE OFFICE OF J. L. WILCOX, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO., FOR EMPLOYEE RELATIONS, 60 HUDSON STREET, NEW YORK

Present: Mr. Wilcox, Subcommittee Consultant Nelson Frank, and Mrs. Hilda Kuebler, secretary to Mr. Wilcox.

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Mr. FRANK. Mr. Wilcox, this hearing is being held as a means of avoiding your being subpoenaed or called by the committee because most of the information which we may obtain was probably given by you when you appeared as a witness before our committee some years back. Do you remember, Mr. Wilcox, your testimony at that time?

Mr. WILCOX. Yes; I have reviewed the testimony many times, but I must confess I have not gone over it recently.

Mr. FRANK. Well, if I show you a copy of it for your perusal, would you say that the situation has changed any since your testimony at that time?

Mr. WILCOX. I am familiar enough with the testimony to say that the situation is very much the same in all important respects as when I testified before the committee in 1951.

Mr. FRANK. At that time, I believe, you gave figures about the number of employees.

Mr. WILCOX. It is approximately 1,000 less now. The testimony at that time read 5,500 Western Union employees represented by the ACA, but at the present time it runs about 4,500, the difference in the number of personnel being due to mechanization with a possible loss by some diminution in the load.

Mr. FRANK. With that 4,500 figure, can you break it down among landline and cable employees?

Mr. WILCOX. The cable is about 300 and the difference are all landline people.

Mr. FRANK. Have you seen any indication from members of the American Communications Association or its leadership with respect to their alleged activities that is any different than it was in 1951?

Mr. WILCOX. None whatsoever. As far as I am concerned, I have seen nothing which would prove or disprove any of the former alleged activities of the ACA.

Mr. FRANK. Do the ACA members and leaders have any access to and be in contact with any governmental departments or any Government circuits?

Mr. WILCOX. Yes; there are ACA members who do regulatory work in connection with Government circuits which terminate or are routed through New York.

Mr. FRANK. I note that in your previous testimony you stated that stewards of ACA within Western Union would know the intimate

details of the work such as the mechanism, the machinery of the company; is that true?

Mr. WILCOX. That is still true. That is, the technicians or regulatory people that I refer to in the previous answer.

Mr. FRANK. I note that it was stated that if a person had communistic leanings "he would be in a good position to know where to hit us where it would do the most damage." Is that still true?

Mr. WILCOX. Yes; the source of danger is through knowing where the plant could be damaged most effectively. In time of conflict, well-placed acts of sabotage could cripple our plant if the individual was inclined to do so.

Mr. FRANK. Since you last testified, there has been another National Labor Relations Board election governing the employees within the area covered by ACA?

Mr. WILCOX. That is correct.

Mr. FRANK. The Commercial Telegraphers' Union, AFL-CIO, lost to the ACA at that time?

Mr. WILCOX. That is correct. The ACA was again certified by the NLRB as the authorized collective-bargaining agent for our employees in the metropolitan area.

Mr. FRANK. And there has been no change in the decision of the NLRB granting full status to ACA to use the full facilities of the NLRB?

Mr. WILCOX. There has been no limitation placed on the ACA by the NLRB as the authorized bargaining agent.

Mr. FRANK. And this is true, despite the fact that Mr. Joseph P. Selly, the president of ACA, and others, who had signed affidavits claiming they are noncommunist, declined to state for the 1951 hearing as to their affiliations?

Mr. WILCOX. As far as I know, the NLRB has taken no action because of Mr. Selly's and others' refusal to answer certain questions before your committee. In this connection, I would like to point out that Mr. Selly and Mr. Joseph F. Kehoe, international secretary-treasurer of the ACA, do not now, nor have they ever worked for the Western Union Telegraph Co.

Mr. FRANK. So far as you know, no effort has been made to act under the portion of the new Butler-Brownell Act permitting the Attorney General to petition the Subversive Activities Control Board to include unions among the organizations which must register their affiliations?

Mr. WILCOX. To the best of my knowledge, no action has been taken along this line by the Attorney General's Office.

Mr. FRANK. I wonder if you could give me or could make available to our committee a list of the cable circuits from Washington to or through New York which would be accessible to members of the ACA.

Mr. WILCOX. I have had such a list prepared as of November 15, 1956, and I am furnishing you with a copy.

Mr. FRANK. Enter this into the record and annex it to the record of the hearing, at the end.

Just a final point for the record. It is my understanding that the CTU (AFL-CIO), about which there has never been, as far as I know, any similar accusation, is the bargaining agent for the remaining members?

Mr. WILCOX. Yes; the CTU is the bargaining agent for the majority of our people in the United States. In fact they represent six-sevenths of the employees, about 33,000 including messengers.

Mr. FRANK. And CTU does not come in contact with cable circuits in New York City?

Mr. WILCOX. That is correct.

Mr. FRANK. I wonder if you could tell me what circuits ACA members handle.

Mr. WILCOX. Members of the ACA handle international traffic to and from our offices in London, Paris, and other continental points as well as domestic circuits terminating in New York.

Mr. FRANK. Am I correct in saying that the ACA also deals with RCAC, has a contract with RCAC and thus handles correspondence practically covering the globe?

Mr. WILCOX. Yes; RCAC's situation with respect to ACA is no different than ours since the ACA has been certified as the authorized bargaining agent by the NLRB.

Mr. FRANK. And they, too, must negotiate and sign contracts with ACA under penalty by the NLRB?

Mr. WILCOX. Yes; in that respect the RCAC situation is no different than our own.

Mr. FRANK. Can you give me the approximate number of employees with RCAC?

Mr. WILCOX. I understand they have approximately 1,500 employees.

Mr. FRANK. I understand that ACA also has a contract with the French Cable Co.

Mr. WILCOX. Yes; about 100 employees including messengers.

Mr. FRANK. In other words, if I might sum up, the situation is now as it was in 1951 and again in 1953 when the subcommittee's summary report on subversive infiltration in Government departments was publicized. That is, despite what is known about them and despite the refusal of its president, Mr. Selly, and others, to answer questions about their communistic connections and related matters, the Labor Board still requires you to treat the ACA as you would any legitimate union and that the ACA is still the bargaining agent for all of these workers dealing with traffic circuits and tie lines which handle various United States circuits?

Mr. WILCOX. The situation has not changed in any material respect since I last gave my testimony before your committee. The ACA has again been confirmed to the Western Union Telegraph Co. as the authorized bargaining agent for our employees in the metropolitan area. In this respect the company feels it must meticulously obey the law and deal with the bargaining agent as certified by the appropriate Government agency.

Mr. FRANK. The answers to the questions that you have given, Mr. Wilcox, would have been the same in all cases had they been given under oath before one of the Senators of the committee?

Mr. WILCOX. That is so.

Mr. FRANK. Thank you very much, Mr. Wilcox.

(The list of circuits accessible to ACA members, supplied by Mr. Wilcox, follows:)

## CIRCUITS, GOVERNMENT—WASHINGTON TO OR THROUGH NEW YORK

## GROUP 1

Department of External Affairs X100, Washington, D. C.—Ottawa  
 United States State Department X1660, Washington, D. C.—Ottawa  
 Netherlands Embassy X1527, Washington, D. C.—New York  
 Netherlands Embassy X1628, Washington—New York  
 Department External Affairs X297, Washington—Ottawa  
 United States State Department X986, Washington—New York  
 Department of Defense Production X202, Washington—Ottawa  
 Department National Defense X101, Washington—New York  
 British Joint Committee Office Tie Line CD, New York—Washington  
 State Department Tie Line CD, New York—Washington  
 British Embassy Tie Line CD, New York—Washington

## GROUP 2

United States Information Agency X1186, Washington, D. C.—New York  
 United States Information Agency X1232, Washington, D. C.—New York  
 United States Information Agency X636, Washington, D. C.—New York  
 United States Information Agency X1008, Washington, D. C.—New York  
 United States Information Agency X913, Washington, D. C.—New York  
 GSA No. 7, Washington, D. C.—New York  
 United States Information Agency X1443, Washington, D. C.—New York  
 United States Information Agency X841, Washington, D. C.—New York  
 United States Information Agency X1291, Washington, D. C.—New York

## GROUP 3

Royal Canadian Air Force X565, Washington, D. C.—Ottawa

## GROUP 4

USAF 1593, Andrews Air Force Base—USAF Highcombe, England  
 USAF 921, Pentagon—Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 USAF 1065, Pentagon—Portsmouth Air Force Base, N. H.  
 Other services at Plattsburgh, N. Y.  
 USAF 1041, Pentagon—New York  
 USAF 925, Pentagon—Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 USAF 507, Andrews Air Force Base—London, England  
 USAF 585, Andrews Air Force Base—CO New York  
 USAF 592, Andrews Air Force Base—CO New York  
 USAF 902, Washington, D. C.—New York and Roslyn, N. Y.  
 USAF 1513, Andrews Air Force Base—Loring Air Force Base, Limestone, Maine  
 USAF 715, Pentagon—Mitchell Field  
 USAF 719, Pentagon—Stewart Air Force Base, Newburgh  
 USAF 721, Pentagon—Westover Air Force Base, Chicopee Falls  
 USAF 716, Pentagon—Mitchell Field  
 USAF 598, Andrews Air Force Base—New York  
 USAF 515, Andrews Air Force Base—New York  
 USAF 1629, Andrews Air Force Base—Harmon Air Force Base, Newfoundland  
 USAF 1514, Andrews Air Force Base—Loring Air Force Base, Limestone, Maine  
 USAF 480, Andrews Air Force Base—Harmon, Newfoundland  
 USAF 1051, Pentagon—Westover Air Force Base  
 USAF 947, Pentagon—Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 USAF 946, Pentagon—Stewart Air Force Base  
 USAF 1053, Andrews—Carswell Air Force Base

## GROUP 5

USA AY1577, Pentagon—Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 USA AY1521, Arlington—Patches to International facilities at New York  
 USA AY1578, Pentagon—Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 USA AY476, Arlington—CO New York  
 Other service at Pentagon and Fort George Meade  
 USA 559, Pentagon—CO New York  
 United States Army AY1580, Washington—Asbury Park, N. J.



United States Army 1576, Washington-Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 United States Army 1579, Washington-Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 United States Army 1591, Washington-Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 United States Army AY568, Pentagon-Hammels  
 United States Army AY1590, Pentagon-Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 United States Army AY544, Pentagon-Davis Air Force Base

## GROUP 6

United States Naval Communications X695, Arlington-Leitram, Ont.

## GROUP 7 "ON CALL" CIRCUITS (USA)

545, Washington-Davis, Calif.  
 AY510, Cincinnati Diversion Cable Office  
 AY539, Washington-CO New York  
 AY542, Washington-San Antonio  
 AY546, Washington-ACS Seattle  
 AY547, Washington-ACS Seattle  
 AY557, Washington-CO New York  
 AY558, Washington-CO New York  
 AY1604, Baltimore-Washington-CO New York Talking Circuit

## GROUP 8 "ON CALL" CIRCUITS (USAF)

AF 1575, Washington-Montreal

## GROUP 9 TELEMETER--NEW YORK-WASHINGTON

United States Department of Commerce VPX 101  
 British Delegation to U. N. VPX 206

## GROUP 10 VIA NEW YORK DEPENDING ON ROUTING (USA) CAN BE THROUGH NEW YORK

AY160, Arlington-Hammels  
 AY218, Fort George Meade-Fort Wadsworth  
 AY456, Arlington-Hammels  
 AY460, Arlington-Hammels  
 AY457, Washington-Hammels

The following comment by J. B. Matthews on "the Attorney General's list" of organizations he believes to be Communist enterprises was ordered into the public record today:

AUGUST 7, 1956.

## DIGEST OF CURRENT COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

A highly important volume recently appeared under the title of "The Federal Loyalty-Security Program." This 301-page book is the report of a special committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

This memorandum deals only with that section of the book which is entitled "The Attorney General's List" (pp. 154-157).

In the bar association's report, some of the criticisms of the Attorney General's list (authorized under Executive Order 9835, of 1947) are clearly valid.

For example, the bar association's report holds, with good reason, that "the list should be kept up to date." Otherwise, it can be misleading and highly detrimental to an understanding of the current operations of the Communist apparatus. Some 200 Communist organizations have been placed, to date, on the Attorney General's list. Only a few of these 200 Communist organizations are still in existence. The majority of them were already defunct when they were placed on the list.

Valid commonsense reasons, within the purposes of Executive Order 9835, justify the inclusion of defunct organizations on the Attorney General's list. A Federal Government employee's security suitability may properly be judged, in part, by his support of a substantial number of Communist organizations, even though these organizations are now defunct.

The inadequacy of the Attorney General's list may be seen when we consider the fact that there have been at least 10,000 Communist organizations, committees, and other enterprises—all of comparable importance with the 200 which have been listed.

Because the Attorney General's list is not kept reasonably up to date and because it is far from complete, it serves little or no purpose, even for departmental heads of the Federal Government; and its publication is woefully misleading for private organizations and citizens. Many American citizens have seriously proposed that the Attorney General's list and other official citations of Communist organizations be made available in all public libraries, so that the average citizen might have a responsible and official guide on what to support and what not to support. The fallacy of this proposal lies in the fact that, when the Communists first launch one of their enterprises, they at once solicit signatures and support. Naturally, the name of a newly launched Communist enterprise would not be found on any list which could be placed in a library. To reason that, if an organization is not on the Attorney General's or some other official Government list, it therefore represents a worthy cause, would be to display a complete ignorance of the operations of the Communist apparatus. The life of the average Communist-front organization is less than 6 months, which means that it would already be defunct by the time a citizen could obtain guidance from any list which could be made available in a public library.

The conclusion of this matter, given the obvious limitations of the Attorney General's list and congressional committees, is simply that the citizen must rely upon his own resources of information and intelligence in determining which cause or organization to support and which not to support. He cannot, in the nature of the case, rely upon any official Government crutch. The Attorney General's list was never intended to aid the private citizen in determining what he should and what he should not join. It was intended solely for the guidance of departmental heads of the Federal Government in passing upon the security suitability of Federal Government employees.

In another criticism of the Attorney General's list, the bar association's report is unrealistic with respect to the nature and operations of the Communist-front apparatus. The report says:

"Another weakness is that the list was originally compiled with no opportunity for a hearing by the organizations included. No such list should be made public unless the organizations on it have had notice and an opportunity to be heard by an administrative tribunal, with a further opportunity for judicial review of the administrative determination (p. 156)."

This proposal for hearings and judicial review may be perfectly sound and equitable from a legal point of view; but, if this is the only method of giving effect to the requirements of "due process," the situation is hopeless so far as an Attorney General's list is concerned.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 provides for hearings and judicial review for Communist-action and Communist-front organizations. Let us see how it has worked.

The Internal Security Act has been on the statute books for 6 years, but to date not a single Communist-action or Communist-front organization has been required finally to file a registration statement with the Attorney General. "Due process," as outlined in the Internal Security Act and as proposed for the Attorney General's list by the bar association's report, cannot catch more than a negligible few of the Communist culprits.

In the first place, a long period of time is required by the FBI to amass the evidence against a Communist organization and to find competent witnesses through whom to present it to an administrative tribunal. By the time these initial steps have been taken, the majority of Communist-front organizations have gone out of existence.

In the second place, a minimum of several years is usually required for the machinery of judicial review to reach a final determination of the issues. In the cases which have been presented to the Subversive Activities Control Board to date, this snail's pace of "due process" has been amply illustrated.

In April 1953, after long amassing of evidence and finding of witnesses, the Attorney General petitioned the SACB for orders requiring 12 alleged Communist-front organizations to register with the Attorney General. The twelve organizations were as follows:

Council on African Affairs  
International Workers Order  
United May Day Committee

Civil Rights Congress  
 Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy  
 American Slav Congress  
 Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee  
 Labor Youth League  
 American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
 Jefferson School of Social Science  
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade  
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

The first seven of these alleged Communist-front organizations have gone out of existence, and compliance with an SACB order to register would, therefore, be impossible. In the case of the five organizations which are still functioning, the processes of judicial review are far from complete. If and when judicial review is finally completed, the Communists need only to disband the organizations in order to escape registration with the Attorney General. They would then proceed to set up new organizations. Even without the Internal Security Act, the Communist conspiracy normally disbands its fronts and sets up new ones when public opinion catches up with them.

"Due process," as defined in the Internal Security Act of 1950 and as proposed by the bar association's report, cannot cope with the maneuvers of the Communist apparatus.

The following correspondence relative to the situation of 10 Americans held by the Chinese Communists was ordered into the record today:

BACK OF THE YARDS NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL,  
 Chicago, Ill., June 4, 1956.

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: Last year at this time we wrote to you asking your strong endorsement of the State Department's efforts to negotiate with Red China for the release of a former Back of the Yards clergyman, Father Harold Rigney, S. V. D. As a result of your help and the assistance of many others, Father Rigney was released September 16, 1955, according to the terms of the Geneva talks.

Officials of Red China in these talks agreed to release all American prisoners. This they have failed to do. There are 13 Americans in captivity today.

Just as we have done before on countless occasions, I am asking for your help to bring about the release of these Americans suffering the hardships of Chinese prison life. I am enclosing a copy of the Freedom Crusade fact sheet which Father Rigney himself is sponsoring.

The American Broadcasting Co. is presenting a 13-week broadcast of Father Rigney's Freedom Crusade in the Chicago area. We feel that through your influence a letter to the president of the American Broadcasting Co., 7 West 66th Street, New York City, will convince Mr. Robert E. Kintner that every American in every section of the country is just as interested in working toward the release of the 13 Americans in Red China as the people of Chicago. I am asking also for your help to spread the letterwriting campaign among your constituents and on the floor of Congress as well.

You did it before in the case of Father Rigney and the job will be complete, with the help of God and with your help, when we bring the 13 Americans back home. May we expect your help again please?

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH B. MEEGAN,  
*Executive Secretary.*

The fact sheet, prepared by the Very Rev. Harold W. Rigney, and referred to in the letters, described the 13 prisoners as "businessmen and missionaries, Protestant and Catholic," and lists them, with their home cities, as follows:

Rev. John William Clifford (Jesuit), San Francisco, Calif.  
 John Thomas Downey, New Britain, Conn.  
 Richard George Fecteau, Lynn, Mass.  
 Rev. Fulgence Gross (Franciscan), Omaha, Nebr.  
 Rev. John Alexander Houle (Jesuit), Glendale, Calif.  
 Paul J. Mackensen, Jr. (Lutheran Missionary), Baltimore, Md.  
 Robert E. McCann, Altadena, Calif.

Rev. Charles Joseph McCarthy (Jesuit), San Francisco, Calif.  
 Rev. Joseph Patrick McCormack (Maryknoll), Palmyra, N. Y.  
 Rev. Thomas Leonard Phillips (Jesuit), Butte, Mont.  
 Bishop Ambrose Henry Pinger (Franciscan), Lindsay, Nebr.  
 Hugh Francis Redmond, Yonkers, N. Y.  
 Rev. John Paul Wagner (Franciscan), Pittsburgh, Pa.

JUNE 26, 1956.

Mr. JOSEPH B. MEEGAN,  
*Executive Secretary, Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council,*  
*Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR MR. MEEGAN: Thank you most sincerely for your letter of June 4, 1956, enclosing the Freedom Crusade fact sheet concerning the 13 Americans still held captive by the Chinese Communists.

I want to assure you that I will do everything in my power, both as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and as chairman of the Subcommittees on Internal Security and Immigration, to expedite the return of these American citizens to their homeland.

Never before in the history of civilization has an armed political conspiracy claiming membership in the community of nations acted with such brazen effrontery and been received with such obsequiousness as the Communist despots of China.

It has always seemed outrageous to me that the Red Chinese, whose daily violations of the fundamental principles of human freedom eloquently proclaim how totally unfit they are to take a place among the civilized nations of the world, should receive the deference that the United Nations persists in showering upon them.

Time and again the highest officials of the United Nations, as well as the leading diplomats and potentates of the rest of the world, have begged these bloodstained warlords to exhibit the most elementary respect for universally recognized human rights. And yet today, after years of such groveling, the foot of Mao Tse-tung remains firmly planted on the collective necks of 13 Americans whose only crime is that they have loved freedom and their God.

I am sending your letter, together with a copy of this reply, to Secretary of State Dulles and to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, with a request that they renew their hitherto persistent efforts to free those Americans still being held by the Soviet forces presently occupying China. Additional copies will be sent to every member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and, as you suggest, to Mr. Robert E. Kintner, president of the American Broadcasting Co.

Please do not hesitate to call upon me for any further aid I may render your endeavors.

With my personal good wishes, I am  
 Sincerely yours,

/S/ JAMES O. EASTLAND,  
*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.*

JUNE 26, 1956.

Hon. JOHN FOSTER DULLES,  
*The Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am transmitting herewith, for whatever action you can take to supplement your actions in the past on behalf of Americans still held in occupied China, a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Joseph B. Meegan, executive secretary of Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, together with a copy of my reply.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,  
*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
*Washington, August 25, 1956.*

Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND,  
*United States Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: The Department regrets its delay in acknowledging your letter of June 26, 1956, with which you enclosed a copy of a letter addressed to you by Mr. Joseph B. Meegan, executive secretary, Back of the Yards Neigh-

borhood Council, 4600 South Ashland Avenue, Chicago 9, Ill., and a copy of your reply regarding the American citizens still in prison in Communist China.

The Department of State knows of the Freedom Crusade and the letter-writing campaign to try to influence the Chinese Communists to release the 10 Americans who are still being detained in Communist China. It is possible that the campaign fostered by Father Rigney may serve a useful purpose in pointing out to the Chinese Communists that the American people, as well as this Government, are outraged by their failure to fulfill their commitment.

When Mr. Meegan and Father Rigney visited the Department in April to explain their campaign they were assured that the United States Government is continuing to press the Chinese Communists to release the Americans whom they are holding in violation of their promise made publicly at Geneva on September 10, 1955.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ RODERIC L. O'CONNOR,  
*Acting Assistant Secretary*  
(For the Acting Secretary of State).

JUNE 26, 1956.

HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr.,  
*The Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations,*  
*New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I am transmitting herewith, for whatever action you can take to supplement your actions in the past on behalf of Americans still held in occupied China, a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Joseph B. Meegan, executive secretary of Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, together with a copy of my reply.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,  
*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.*

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS,  
*New York, N. Y., July 2, 1956.*

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,  
*United States Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: Thank you for your letter of June 26, enclosing a letter from Mr. Joseph B. Meegan about the continued detention of 13 Americans by the Chinese Communists.

Since Mr. Meegan wrote I understand that two of these Americans have been released. The State Department's efforts are continuing through Ambassador Johnson at Geneva, to bring about the release of the remaining 11. I fully share the sense of outrage which all Americans feel over the uncivilized behavior of the Chinese Communists in this regard, and will lose no opportunity to help in any way I can toward their liberation.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr.



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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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OCTOBER 24 AND 30, 1956

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PART 45

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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WILLIAM A. RUSHER, *Associate Counsel*

BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL  
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 12:55 p. m., in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner presiding.

Present: Senator Jenner.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, associate counsel; William A. Rusher, administrative counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Karski, will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that you will truthfully translate the questions and answers put to the witness, so help you God?

Mr. KARSKI. Yes, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your name?

Mr. KARSKI. Jan Karski, professor, Georgetown University.

Mr. MORRIS. You have acted as interpreter for Mr. Bialer; have you not?

Mr. KARSKI. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Now, Senator, will you swear in Mr. Bialer?

Senator JENNER. Do you swear the testimony given at this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BIALER (through interpreter). I do.

## TESTIMONY OF SEWERYN BIALER (THROUGH JAN KARSKI, INTERPRETER)

Mr. MORRIS. Your name is Seweryn Bialer.

Mr. Bialer, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, in connection with its activities in trying to understand the full nature of Soviet activity, Soviet and Communist activity here in the United States, is particularly interested in knowing something of the developments that are now taking place in Poland.

Among other things, we noticed that the American Communist Party, through its official organ, the Daily Worker, is applauding the activities of Gomulka and other Polish Communists who are taking what appears to be an independent course of action from the Soviet Union.

Now, because events abroad and events here in the United States are so closely interrelated, as you well know, we would appreciate, for our official record and under oath and based on your own long experience in the Polish Communist Party that you have related to us, we would like your interpretation of these events.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., the subcommittee recessed.)

# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:55 p. m., in the caucus room, Senate Office Building.

Present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, associate counsel; William A. Rusher, administrative counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

## TESTIMONY OF SERWYN BIALER—Resumed

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bialer, I think you have made clear to us that there are two forces at work in Poland today. One is a force generated by the people and the workers for a liberalization, a relaxation of the heavy control on the part of the Soviet-controlled Polish Communists that has existed.

That is one trend; is it not?

Mr. BIALER. Yes, basically, although I would add to it that this force wants not only a liberation from the Soviet Union but is also basically anti-Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you have also told us, have you not, of a second force, and that is a force that operates within the Politburo of the Polish Communist Party, which tends to bring the Polish Communist Party more and more away from the tight central control that has existed in the past?

Have I stated that accurately?

Mr. BIALER. Basically, yes; but I would add too that it is not only within the Politburo but within the whole party.

Mr. MORRIS. The international party, you mean?

Mr. BIALER. The Communist Party in Poland.

Mr. MORRIS. From the Politburo down?

Mr. BIALER. Yes; down.

Mr. MORRIS. At the present time, Mr. Bialer, which is the predominant of those two forces?

Mr. BIALER. I think that the direct cause of the present situation in Poland was the first cause, the popular movement, the popular feeling; and because of the strength of that force the present party leadership could emerge.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have testified to that effect in your previous appearances before the Internal Security Subcommittee, have you not?

Mr. BIALER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And since your last appearance you find that the trend which you forecast at that time is becoming even more pronounced?

Mr. BIALER. Yes; except that I was not so sure that Gomulka would come to power.

The fact that he came to power means a basic change in the reality in Poland.

Mr. MORRIS. Since your last appearance, then, the change that has emerged has been the growth of Gomulka?

Mr. BIALER. Yes. The most important event which took place in Poland in the last month was that the popular movement became even stronger and gave opportunity to Gomulka to get power within the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Gomulka has always been a hard-core Stalinist Communist, has he not?

Mr. BIALER. I don't think one could say this. I think that in the years 1945-48 Gomulka held views which later on were strengthened, and those views could not be branded as Stalinist views.

At that time, in the years 1945-48, there was no possibility for his views to be implemented.

Naturally, basically he was always a Communist, always he was for dictatorship; but on very many issues he held views which could not be branded as Stalinist.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I noticed the other day, Mr. Bialer, that there was a reported phone conversation between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Gomulka on relations between the Polish Government and the Soviet Government. Isn't it an unusual development that they should have released the text of a phone conversation between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Gomulka?

Mr. BIALER. It is a very extraordinary event and I understand it in this way: Gomulka, realizing the anti-Soviet feelings among the Polish masses, wanted the Polish masses to learn about the tenor of the conversation, knowing that it would strengthen his prestige and power.

Mr. SOURWINE. Isn't it equally possible that Mr. Khrushchev would have had to assent to the making public of this telephone conversation before it would be done?

Mr. BIALER. One should not exclude any possibility, although as far as I know this is basically against the rules, which are that this kind of relation between the Communist leaders should not be known to the general public.

Now, the second proof is that, although the text of the conversation became known in Poland, it was withheld from the Soviet public opinion.

Mr. MORRIS. You have prepared for us, have you not, Mr. Bialer, a short paper, 9½ pages of which I would like to make reference to at this point, and that is a sort of a sketch, a historical sketch of events leading up to the present crisis?

Mr. BIALER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to place in the record at this time this paper which I now show you, and let it appear at the conclusion of the witness' direct testimony.

You have prepared this; have you not?

Mr. BIALER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Bialer, I know that you are uniquely qualified to testify about events in Poland because of your long experience in Poland, but in view of the fact that you also are a student of Communist affairs generally I wonder if at this time you would be willing to answer a few questions on the Hungarian situation?

Mr. BIALER. If I can, naturally it would be my pleasure to.

Mr. MORRIS. In your opinion has there been a trend developing in Hungary similar to that you have outlined in this paper here today?

Mr. BIALER. Yes, I am convinced that it applies also to the situation in Hungary, and this I say on the basis of my acquaintances with the Hungarian Communist leaders, as well as my status with respect to present reality.

Naturally, the basic difference is that in Hungary at the last moment, in the last days, a bloody revolt took place which did not take place in Poland.

And, of course, I would like you to keep in mind the basic difference between the two situations. I would put it in this way: In Poland the present Communist leadership got to power half an hour before the revolt was to take place, and in Hungary half an hour after the revolt actually did take place.

If Gomulka had not taken power in Poland exactly at that time, most probably the same revolt would have taken place in Poland.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying, in other words, that the accession of Gomulka prevented a revolt in Poland, whereas the accession of Nagy followed a revolt in Hungary?

Mr. BIALER. Yes, sir, exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. Therefore, it would seem to have the effect—the imposition of the Gomulka government on the one hand and the Nagy government on the other hand were really attempts to put, as it were, a stove lid on this uprising that has taken place?

Mr. BIALER. Yes; both Gomulka and Nagy, identifying themselves with the anti-Soviet feeling among the masses, were a form of isolation against anti-Communist movements.

Mr. MORRIS. And in the case of Hungary the thing got completely out of hand; did it not?

Mr. BIALER. Yes; in Hungary Nagy came to power too late, you might say.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, this device of keeping the lid on a popular insurrection succeeded in Poland and did not succeed in Hungary?

Mr. BIALER. I would say that in Poland it worked and in Hungary apparently it did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you feel that this trend, which you have told us about in your previous testimony and again here today, as well as in this short paper that you prepared for us—would you say that this trend is still operative in Poland?

Mr. BIALER. Yes. You mean independence from the Soviet Union?

Mr. MORRIS. No. By “this trend” I meant this drive on the part of the people to demand a certain amount of freedom and relaxation of controls.

Mr. BIALER. Not only am I sure, that this continues, but it will gain in strength in time because there are better conditions for it.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you mean that as more relaxation of controls is granted to the people, the stronger will be their demands?

Mr. BIALER. Yes, sir, you are correct.

I would add this, that the Polish people for the first time have learned that they are strong, that they can win certain of their demands.

Before they were as if asleep under the Communist terror. Now they are as if awakened.

And I do believe that, once being awakened, they will continue this process.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you feel that this device of, as it were, a stove-lid government, used to keep this thing under control, was something initiated by Khrushchev?

Mr. BIALER. I don't think so.

As far as I understand the situation it worked this way: Indeed after the death of Stalin, Khrushchev and the Soviet leadership wanted certain minor changes which would deceive world public opinion as to the nature of the Soviet methods. However, once they started this, it got entirely out of their control and assumed such proportions that I could not identify the present state of affairs with their original initiative.

I would go further. I think that the present Soviet leadership will have to recognize the developments in Poland and in Hungary, although certainly it will not mean that they are satisfied with it.

They realize that they are too weak to put it down.

Mr. MORRIS. But they do have, as it were, the situation under control in Poland?

Mr. BIALER. I don't think that they have the situation in Poland under control presently.

I believe that Gomulka has under his control, at least partially, the situation in Poland. This does not mean, however, that it is the Soviet leadership which has it.

Mr. SOURWINE. If, as you have described them, both Gomulka and Nagy are a sort of prophylactic against freedom, or as Mr. Morris has said, stove lids on the flame, if Khrushchev did not apply the prophylactic or put on the stove lid who did?

Mr. BIALER. Well, I would put it this way: I think that the leadership of the Polish Communist Party, all the leadership of the Communist Party—and for that matter also of the Hungarian Communist Party—do not like Gomulka or Nagy. They probably consider them as precisely stove lids, in this situation which has emerged in Poland.

However, they are forced by circumstances to recognize them.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are using them for their own purposes, in other words?

Mr. BIALER. Yes. These people, they pushed Gomulka in order to save the situation, but they do not have any intention of indentifying themselves with what Gomulka really is.

I consider that Gomulka really wants more freedom from Russia presently.

Mr. SOURWINE. You make a distinction between wanting freedom and wanting freedom from Russia?

Mr. BIALER. Yes, yes, I think this is a big difference. What is freedom? It is freedom from communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead and explain that a little bit, will you?

Mr. BIALER. Gomulka is a Communist, but he wants the Polish Communist Party to be as much independent from the Soviet Union as possible. He wants to be a master in his own house and he wants his party to be a master in their own house.

However, this I would differentiate from giving freedom, since he wants communism to dominate in Poland, and this means the dictatorship of one Communist Party in Poland.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you say that Gomulka is interested in Polish freedom from Soviet domination if it does not also involve power for Gomulka?

Mr. BIALER. Yes; I think that such is the reality, such was the development of events.

Although he came to power originally thanks to the support of the Soviet Union, finally he assumed the position which you defined.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am afraid I don't have an answer that I understand yet.

I am trying to find out if you think that Gomulka divorces his own ambition for power from his desire to have the Communist Party of Poland sever its ties with Russia.

Mr. BIALER. Yes, sir; this is as you say.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Nagy, the counterpart of Gomulka in Hungary, is the one who called on the Red army to keep himself in power.

Would not that reflect a relationship, if Nagy is the counterpart of Gomulka, which would be slightly at variance with what you have told us today?

Mr. BIALER. Well, I don't think that I am at variance with my previous statement, since I maintain that the problem concerns only power, and both Gomulka and Nagy are prepared to use Soviet forces in order to maintain themselves in power.

The best proof is that in the years 1945-48 it was exactly due to Soviet support that Gomulka got power in Poland.

But there is a difference of circumstances in Hungary and Poland. In the case of Nagy, in order to obtain power, he needed Soviet forces. Gomulka had a different situation. He got power without the help of Soviet forces, and having actually achieved power he does not need any more the Soviet forces.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, you are saying that the maintenance of themselves in power is the important thing, the most important thing to both of these men?

Mr. BIALER. Yes, undoubtedly.

Whatever differences they have with the Soviet Union, they have one thing in common: it means maintenance of communism.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you read the statement of Tito which is reported in the morning papers today?

Mr. BIALER. May I see it?

Yes, I read it before.

Mr. MORRIS. It would appear from the account of that statement which I have just shown you, Mr. Bialer, which appeared on page 20 of the New York Times for October 30, 1956, that Tito is opposed to the uprisings in Hungary.

Mr. BIALER. I understood it the same way.

Mr. MORRIS. The basis of his opposition to the developments in Hungary is that the developments, such as they were, in his opinion damaged socialism in general, as well as peace among nations.

Mr. BIALER. Yes. As far as I understood Tito's statement he condemns everything which took place in Hungary which would undermine the position taken by Nagy, which means everything that would undermine basically the Communist regime in Hungary.

Mr. MORRIS. Excuse me, did I understand you to say that Tito's position would be opposed to Nagy's position?

Mr. BIALER. No; Tito would oppose in Hungary all those forces which wanted to undermine basically the Communist regime as such—the national Communist regime.

Mr. MORRIS. But to speak concretely, the Nagy regime?

Mr. BIALER. The Nagy regime.

Mr. MORRIS. So that anything that went further than the imposition of the so-called stove-lid government of Nagy in Hungary was the thing that drew opposition from Mr. Tito?

Mr. BIALER. As I understand it, Tito realizes that in Hungary there are two streams—one powerful stream supporting a national communism independent from the Soviet Union, and represented by Nagy, and the second stream which opposes communism as such.

Tito supports the first force, which means national communism headed by Nagy, and violently opposes all other forces which would like to strive against communism.

This is what I understood from Tito's statement. Of course, I do not know if from one article we can understand the position of Tito as such, basically.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, I understand the limitations, but Tito in the statement refers to "reactionary elements that use the present events for their antisocial aims. By those he means the people that would upset Nagy?"

Mr. BIALER. That is the second stream I was speaking about, against which Tito pronounced himself.

Mr. MORRIS. Yesterday afternoon I had a session with a person who was a very important Soviet official but who defected from the Soviet organization. His defection, however, considerably antedates yours. But he did know on a very personal basis all of the top functionaries of the present Russian Communist Party. He interprets the present developments in this fashion. May I present his views and get your comments on that?

He believes that the top councils of the Soviet Union decided that they would be more effective in their efforts to control the whole world if they use the device of independent Communist Parties. By using independent Communist Parties they would be able to carry on their insurrectionary work in the various countries of the free world without the stigma of Moscow. And it is his contention that a very small group being privy to this plan could carry on and accomplish the present results, whereas at the same time the rank and file of the party would not necessarily have to be privy to that development.

I wonder, Mr. Bialer, if you could give your view, in juxtaposition to this other view?

Mr. BIALER. I find one weakness in this type of speculation. This speculation takes it for granted that a kind of a plot in an elite group, a small number of people, can decide the issue, while as we know the masses came into play presently and of course the masses complicated entirely the picture.



It does not work as that small group of people planned it to work, even if it was true that they did it.

However, I must stress that the gentleman is absolutely correct when he says that such were the plans of the Soviet leadership.

I remember in 1954, when still I was in Poland, that the official line was: Poland is an independent country. That means that we were required to say to the world that Poland is an independent country. However, the difference is that at that time Poland was not an independent country, while today there are certain changes in Poland.

So, I would conclude in this way: Whatever were the plans—and plans there were, as that gentleman told you—the reality developed in a different way. It got out of control. The masses entered the picture and now the situation is not as planned but as the masses dictate.

The strategy of Khrushchev basically wanted events to go in this direction, but the reality got out of control, new factors entered the picture, and things went much further than they wanted them to go.

This is why I doubt if what is actually happening behind the Iron Curtain could be called Soviet strategy.

Mr. MORRIS. We had an instance last week of a refugee, a Polish refugee, returning to Poland, and we noticed that the arrangements for that were handled by the Soviet Embassy here in Washington.

That situation, Mr. Bialer, points up the primary concern of the Internal Security Subcommittee with these developments. It is of prime importance to the subcommittee that we analyze the various activities of the officials in the Hungarian Legation, the Soviet Embassy, and the various delegations to the United Nations.

Don't you think that the fact that the Soviet Union handled the redefection of a Polish immigrant was of some significance at this time?

Mr. BIALER. I couldn't give you, sir, any specific answer, since I would have to know who the immigrant was, what the circumstances were, and so on. Perhaps such a procedure was necessary.

I have not enough material to pronounce myself one way or the other.

Mr. SOURWINE. I should like to ask this: First, as a preliminary matter, we all know it's very difficult to know what a political reality is. If Mr. Gomulka does something which we presume Mr. Khrushchev wants him to do, we never know whether he does it because Gomulka wants to do it or because Khrushchev wants Gomulka to do it.

On the other hand, there is a reality which we can look at, and that is the matter of military control. The Soviets control the military in Poland, and they control the military in Hungary. Their own forces are in Hungary. They have Rokossovsky in charge of the Polish Army. They massacred the flower of the Polish Army at Katyn.

The purpose obviously, or a major purpose, at least, was to emasculate the Polish Army as a Polish force and to create a situation in which Soviet officers would be in the top echelon. And that situation has been created.

Now, would you agree that as long as the Soviet Union controls the military with its own forces or, as in the case of Poland, with its own officers, there can be very little freedom in that nation from the Soviet Union. in the last analysis?

Mr. BIALER. Yes, I understand your reasoning, sir, where you are driving at, and I am in full agreement with you.

But the situation in Poland, as I see it presently, does not respond to your description. Rokossovsky is no longer minister of defense and commander in chief of the Polish Army. He left. He left yesterday. His successor is definitely Gomulka's man.

The control of the Polish Army is no longer exercised by a man who is outside of the Polish Communist Party, as was Rokossovsky; it is directly under the leadership of the Polish Communist Party.

As far as we can suppose from Gomulka's statements, the so-called Soviet experts are in the stage of leaving Poland.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say that Rokossovsky is no longer commander in chief of the army?

Mr. BIALER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who took his place?

Mr. BIALER. Bordzilowski, and above all Spychalski, both Gomulka's supporters.

Spychalski was in jail several years for anti-Stalinism and Bordzilowski is a genuine Polish general—well that word "genuine"—I do not remember now exactly his past, but I am sure I could put it this way: he is not a Soviet general.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you say that this presages the withdrawal of the Soviet officer corps in the Polish Army and the turning over of top command throughout the army to Polish officers?

Mr. BIALER. I am deeply convinced of this.

Mr. SOURWINE. If that is done what would you say it means?

Mr. BIALER. I interpret it this way: that indeed Gomulka and his followers want a genuine internal independence from the Soviet Union and want to have full control of the Polish armed forces themselves.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the same vein, do you foresee the withdrawal of Russian armed forces from Hungary?

Mr. BIALER. I think that this is more than probable.

Mr. MORRIS. At any rate, a gage of your view will be whether or not there will be an early evacuation of Soviet forces from both those countries, will it not?

Mr. BIALER. I didn't understand.

Mr. MORRIS. A gage of your interpretation will be whether or not there is an early withdrawal of Soviet forces from those two countries?

Mr. BIALER. We are speaking about Hungary and Poland now?

As far as Poland is concerned, I do not believe that the Soviet divisions will be withdrawn from Poland.

But I believe that the leadership of the Polish Army will be taken by the Polish Communists.

As far as Hungary is concerned, it seems to me that the Soviet forces will indeed leave Hungary.

As for the degree to which the reality proceeds as I thought, I remember around 1 week ago there was a general conviction here that Rokossovsky would be Minister of Defense. I was stating publicly that he would not be Minister of Defense, that they would liquidate him completely. And it happened yesterday. Although I must say that I did not foresee that the process would take place so soon. I thought that it would take place 3 months after the general elections, which are supposed to take place in January. Well, it took place yesterday.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Bialer.

Thank you, Professor Karski, for assisting us once again.

(Whereupon, the subcommittee adjourned.)

(The portion of Mr. Bialer's statement placed in the record by Mr. Morris at p. 3154 appears below:)

#### DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS

The beginnings of the most recent events in Poland are to be found in the second half of 1953. The development of events during the years 1953-56 can be divided into the following periods:

##### *First period: Second half of 1953 until the end of 1954*

During this period, discussions within the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) began, regarding errors in economic policy and, above all, the police methods of ruling the party and the country. These discussions were not widely made public. There were not even mass discussions within the party. The party leadership was not personally attacked. The party leadership, following the example of the Soviet Union, began limiting the power of the secret police. Even in this period these limitations were greater in Poland than in Russia.

##### *Second period: The end of 1954 until the beginning of 1956*

This period saw the ideological crisis within the party develop with great force. Above all, this encompassed the party intelligentsia. The discussions in the Party Activ began to develop even at official meetings. The voices of criticism began to reach the press. The criticism was very frequently directed personally against individuals from the party leadership. The power of the security apparatus lessened even more. To a great degree it became isolated from the party itself, where the concealed aversion to the security apparatus began to break out to the surface. The party leadership was forced under the pressure of the Party Activ on the highest levels to declare democratization and a change in policies, but it retreated, only step by step and began to introduce these changes into life only with great delays and inconsistencies. Frequently the attempts made by the party leadership to restore calm to the Party Activ were unsuccessful.

During the period 1955-56, opposition to the party leadership grew significantly. Within the party, the Party Activ achieved a rather large measure of freedom of activity in comparison to Russia and the other satellite countries—this despite the wishes of the party leadership. The following convictions resulted in the Party Activ:

Either Russia takes a serious step ahead, on the road to de-Stalinization, and in the meantime that which has already changed in the party in Poland be sanctioned and develop further, or else nothing will change in Russia and in the meantime there will be a rightist-nationalist deviation in the Polish party. It should be stressed that both in the first and in the second period, the movement against the party leadership, and in part, against the Soviets, embraced in a mass fashion only the Party Activ and, above all, the party intelligentsia. The party masses did not emerge from their lethargy and the overwhelming portion of the bureaucratic party apparatus continued in its practical work forward, however, even to a lesser extent than was postulated in the speeches of the old leaders of the party. The people just began to feel certain changes in the situation. Most of all they began to become less afraid—this because of the great lessening of police terror. They, however, were still distrustful of these changes. They saw no conditions permitting action and they did not know how to overcome their many years of silence. The crisis which was developing within the party was concealed from the people by various means.

##### *Third period: From the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union until June 1953*

Krushchev's anti-Stalinist campaign which developed in a controlled, predetermined manner in the Soviet Union, evaded the control of the leadership in Poland. The internal party crisis broke through to the top and encompassed the entire party. Bierut's absence increased the crisis. The chief force in the party stepping out against the leadership continued to be the party intelligentsia. For the first time, however, in the whole post-Stalin period the masses began to

move. The distressing economic situation which resulted from the 6-year plan and the frequent promises of improvement after Stalin's death was especially felt as the police terror was fundamentally weakened.

*Fourth period: June 1956 to October 1956*

At the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the party in October 1956, the Politburo presented its resignation to the Central Committee. Personnel changes in the Politburo were not accomplished through the removal of certain members and co-opting new ones, but in the form of removing the existing Politburo and electing a new one in its entirety. This is a fact of great importance, characterizing the situation which unfolded in Poland from June to October 1956. The form in which the election of the new Politburo was accomplished is unheard of. With this it should be remembered that a party congress is to be held in March. Hence there was the possibility of a painless evolutionary changing of the Politburo. The change was accomplished, however, in the severest form. This in reality rules out an evaluation of these events which would state that this was a predetermined plan. This was a change resulting from a struggle and a critical situation.

What forced the Politburo to a collective resignation—in other words, what developed in the period from June to October 1956? It appears that the following were the factors:

(a) A basic undermining, and in many aspects, loss of control by the party over life in Poland: The most active strata of nonparty individuals ceased being afraid. The Poznan events were only a small example of the tremendously explosive popular sentiment which arose in connection with political and economic matters, and was approaching the point of explosion. The hatred of the Polish people existed even in past years but, for the first time, conditions arose which threatened its explosion. The decline of the authority of the State and of the leadership of the party among the people on the basis of the bankrupt policies of the leadership during the past 10 years, the weakening of terror as well as irresolution in its present policies, was tremendous. It appears that this was the basic fact, without which Gomulka's return as first secretary, in the fashion in which it was accomplished, would not have been possible.

(b) The decline of the Politburo's authority in the party itself: The dissolution of party discipline had gone so far that the principle which is the condition of the existence of the party, namely, the principle that, despite various views, once resolutions were made they must be followed, was undermined publicly. The dissolution of party discipline and the decline of the Politburo's authority led not only to the fact that the control of the party slipped out of the hands of the leadership but it also made the mastering of the situation among the people unusually difficult. The party was no longer a well-oiled machine executing orders of the leadership against the people. If we speak of the rank-and-file of party members, of whom the overwhelming portion was never Communist but entered the party either under force or for economic gain or for career purposes, then this mass of the membership diffused, so to speak, among the people and lost its separate identity.

(c) The decided opposition against the party leadership on the part of the party intelligentsia which, in many articles in the press expressed in reality a vote of no confidence regarding the leadership, did not recognize its leadership, and more important, passed from discussion to practical activity. The party intelligentsia transformed itself from being a connecting link between party leadership and the party and the people, to a group separating the Politburo from the party and nonparty individuals.

(d) There was lack of unity in the Politburo, divergence of opinion, lack of a figure with sufficient authority and popularity who could unify the Politburo. In such an intense period, the Politburo did not have a clear program of action or a platform for change. The situation demanded—if everything was not to disintegrate—a decisive program, even a Stalinist one, which with the aid of terror could attempt to master the situation, or a program of far-reaching changes which would prevent an outburst and would eventually permit the recovery of leadership within and beyond the party. In the meantime, the policies of the party leadership during the period June to October was a policy of stabilization. Hence, a policy which was not one in favor of withdrawal, but at the same time one indecisive in regard to further developments. Hence this was not a policy of real power. It appears that the wavering and lack of a platform of action by the Politburo resulted among other things from divergence within the Politburo, indecision, the burdens of the past and lack of strength in its va-

rious components. Beyond this, even if some group or individuals in the Politburo had a decisive program for change, perhaps one no different than the present platform of Gomulka, it is possible that they lacked authority to bring about its realization.

(e) The lack of unity in the Central Committee and the decline of authority of the Politburo in the Central Committee. The Central Committee could be persuaded but it could be no longer dictated to. A part of the Central Committee stopped believing that the situation in Poland could be mastered by the directorship of the then reigning Politburo.

(f) The actual situation in Poland and in the Soviet bloc had immense significance. First, the crisis of the Polish economy and the political forms of ruling Poland were revealed with great force. Secondly, the weakening of Soviet control and the decline of the authority of the Soviet leadership had developed to the point where publicly announced orders by the Moscow dictators were sometimes disregarded (for example, Bulganin's command, included in his speech of July 22, 1956, in Warsaw).

#### DYNAMIC FORCES BEHIND THE INCIDENTS IN POLAND

In the present situation in Poland, two dynamic forces led to the existing state of affairs.

The first force is the active pressure exerted for the first time since the war by large groups of people, especially factory workers and working and university youth. The basic character of this pressure is anti-Soviet, favoring full independence of Poland from the Soviet Union. It is also anti-Communist. It should be stressed, however, that the anti-Soviet sentiment in Poland is of greater strength than anti-Communist feelings. At the present time, the chief enemy is the Soviet Union.

The second force is the pressure exerted by a large segment of the party against the Soviet Union for the acquisition of independence from the Soviet Party in internal matters. Its aim is greater freedom within the party in public life and a serious reorganization of the economic structure of the country. The main stress is on internal reforms. The question of separation from the Soviet Union is only a necessary precondition for this.

The two dynamic forces came together and, in some cases, blended under the impact of present incidents in Poland. For a certain period of time, their interest became the same. In practice, a temporary alliance was concluded joining both forces in the matter of gaining a greater measure of independence from the Soviet Union. The degree to which both of these forces want independence from the Soviet Union is different. The reason why both of these forces want independence from the Soviet Union is also different, but for the present moment they have a common avenue of action.

The objectives of these two forces in internal matters are, generally speaking, completely different, but again the direction of their activity has, at the present moment, a number of common points. These are not opposed to the objectives of the people, that is, the internal changes in the economy and the political life which are desired by groups in the party who have come out in favor of changes. The people do not want to stop at these changes, because they are opposed to communism even if it is improved.

The two forces which were mentioned above are not isolated from each other. They mutually react on one another. The principal directions of this reaction could be described in the following manner:

The influence of the attitudes and activities of the people on the changes desired by groups in the party depends primarily on the fact that, as to date, the party is being forced in the direction of more responsible activity. Proposals are put forth which go further than the party itself would want. This favors putting forth at the lead the most radical elements in the party and in the leadership who, without the existence of the first force, would never so easily have obtained their present position and would not have so strong a position. As far as Gomulka is concerned, it would seem very unlikely that, without the existence of the tremendous pressure of the first force, he could have achieved his present position. Hence, with the existence of this first force, he found support not only from the side of his adherents in the party but also from the side of many opponents who saw in him a lightning rod which could absorb the more threatening incidents and could weaken the anti-Communist pressure of the first force. Parenthetically speaking, the difference between Hungary and Poland is based, among other things, on the fact that in Poland Gomulka achieved power before the rev-

olutionary outbreak in the capital and fulfilled to a large extent the role of a lightning rod. In Hungary, on the other hand, Imre Nagy was brought to power in the course of the revolutionary outbreak and was incapable of mastering the situation. Beyond this, the influence of the first force results in the fact that the party has a stronger position in dealing with Moscow. (This applies, above all, to such a situation where the first force does not lead to mass anti-Communist uprisings.)

The opposite influence of the activity and work of segments of the party who desire change, on the activity and attitudes of the population is such that, if the desired changes favored by elements of the party come to the fore and are sufficiently radical, they will ameliorate the anti-Communist activity by the population. This is for the short run at the present time. By placating certain demands of the people and setting forth prospects of righting the political and economic situation, they help neutralize the anticommunism of the first group or, strictly speaking, defer its expression to the future. It seems, however, that the long-range effect of deferring the solution of this problem, can be different inasmuch as it will embolden the first force and create a better climate for its activity.

Inasmuch as in the present situation in Poland there occurred a temporary alliance of both forces, it is certain that, together with this development, a moment must come when the first force will press forward and the second force will not want to move ahead. And hence, the time will come when the permanent contradictory interests outweigh the temporary coalescence of interests. It seems that, given the situation which now obtains, it cannot be said that there must come at this moment a stoppage of further changes by the party. Under the constant pressure from the bottom and in strengthening the rightist forces in the party, it is possible that there will be an evolutionary development which will transform Poland into a country of ever-increasing elements of real democracy.

It appears that for the most desirable development of events in the future, that is, such which could harm a retrogressive trend and simultaneously press the leaders continuously forward in the direction of change, it would be necessary to have a situation where the uprising of the masses would be a primary potential threat but that the movement of the masses would take a peaceful form but in general. The following are a few of these views:

When one speaks of Gomulka's views in this period, a very important factor must be considered, namely, that those views were in reality just forming and absolutely not yet fitted into some kind of finished system. He did not yet state them in their entirety or, all the more, introduce them into life, nor, I am convinced, did he think them through himself. The entire period of his power in the party falls in the years of a fight for power, and building the very bases of Communist rule in Poland. It was only the last period of his leadership (the second half of 1947 and the first half of 1948) that there was a beginning in deciding how the economic structure and the political system in Poland would look. And Gomulka was not a theoretician. His views were primarily based on practice. Even then, however, there were in his views clear elements of contradiction not only with Soviet policies but also with the Communist ideology in general. The following are a few of these views:

(a) Gomulka had a negative attitude in regard to the activity of the Communist Party of Poland during the prewar period and to the activity of its predecessor, the SDKPIL. This negative attitude resulted from his critical evaluation of the fact that these parties subordinated the national Polish problems to the affairs of the international Communist movement. Gomulka thought that the policies of the Polish Socialist Party (an anti-Communist Party) were better in many regards, in any event, better from the point of view of national considerations. He wanted to separate the party he directed from the traditions of the Polish Communist Party. So far, that for the members of the party he did not want to use the name, "Communist," since this in Poland signified something Muscovite, something anti-Polish. This was not just a tactic with Gomulka. His colleagues in the Politburo and Moscow agreed to this in the early period because of tactical considerations since a battle was being waged for power where no political trick could be neglected. But in 1947-48, other leaders of the party and Moscow considered that it was time to end this tactic. Gomulka, however, regarded this matter seriously and not just as a tactic.

(b) Gomulka regarded the matter of alliance with Russia as a state problem. He explained the need for this alliance by the German question. He put national considerations at the forefront in this alliance saying practically nothing

ing of a common-party ideology of both countries. The entire tenor of his speeches and views was permeated with caution in a positive evaluation of Russia, mistrust in relation to Russia as well as constant stressing of the unsuitableness of the Soviet example for Poland. In the meantime, the impression arose that he was for Soviet troops in Poland and for Russian intervention in Poland since this was necessary for him to come into power, but that after getting power he would gladly get rid of the protectors.

(c) Gomulka was an opponent of the collectivization of agriculture. He did not feel this suitable given Polish conditions. He did not have any positive program of transforming the Polish villages. He was concerned with retaining the status quo. Apparently he was an opponent of violent measures in the industrial field. He attached many hopes to cooperatives in trade.

In short, it can be said that in his views Gomulka differed from his colleagues in the leadership and in Moscow mainly in that he wanted to wield control over Poland himself without submitting reports to Moscow, that he wanted to develop communism in Poland in a more evolutionary manner, that he wanted to avoid those forms in the building of communism which in his opinion were contrary to the national Polish character. He wanted to feel less a leader of the party and more a director of the state.

#### GOMULKA AND HIS STRENGTH IN THE POLISH PARTY AT PRESENT

Both the movement within the party which began after the death of Stalin as decreed by Moscow, as well as the movement within the party which began to develop at the same time, went much further than Moscow wanted and was a kind of rebellion against the leadership of the party and the ideological dictatorship of Moscow. It was not a Gomulkaite movement inside the party and particularly in the *Activ*. The slogan "democracy" was not associated with Gomulka whom the *Activ* knew to be a dictator from 1945 to 1948. The attachment to Leninist tradition and outbursts of hatred toward Russia in conjunction with the revelation of the Polish Communist Party affair (KPP) (i. e., its destruction by Stalin after 1938) was also different than the attachment by Gomulka to the traditions of socialism and his nationalistic anti-Russian stand. As far as the leadership of the party is concerned, which to an overwhelming extent retained its leading functions up to the present within the scope of a Gomulkaite Politburo and government, it appeared a month or two ago that it maintained the basic accusations leveled against Gomulka in 1948 and did not intend to return the leadership of the party to him. It is doubtful that in the intervening 2 months that their basic views of Gomulka and his past errors could be so generally revised that the party high command would voluntarily relinquish to Gomulka the leadership of the party. I believe that it is more sound to say that a majority of the party high command was and is negatively predisposed to Gomulka and gave him power under the pressure of a threatening situation, of their own irresolution and the conviction that he is capable of mastering the situation. It appears that the initiators of this move was that more clever (or perhaps that supporting) group of the leadership who even before the Plenum (Ochab and Cyrankiewicz) had already come to an agreement with Gomulka and in this way saved themselves with the rest. However, it also appears likely that Moscow was warned by the stubbornly Stalinist part on the party leadership. It therefore appears that in the party leadership and present setup Gomulka has more enemies and wavering supporters than decided friends. This situation will however probably change.

First. Gomulka already has introduced some of his people into the Politburo and central committee, for example, Loga-Sowinski, Kliszko, and Spychalski.

Second. It will be easier for the Polish Socialist Party portion of the party leadership to work with Gomulka than with the former leadership. They have more points in common in the past as well as now.

Third. I doubt that the majority of the present members of the leadership, who were simultaneously favored in the years 1950-55, will long remain in the leadership. Gomulka has already proposed the creation of an impartial commission that will occupy itself with an examination of who is responsible for the crimes of the past; that is, crimes not committed by Gomulka.

Fourth. In March there is to be a party congress. Gomulka, who at the present time wields enormous authority and power, will undoubtedly utilize this congress for selecting a central committee favorable to himself.

As far as the Party *Activ* and the party intelligentsia are concerned, it appears that while supporting the main points which he accepted in his policy speech

(independence from Russia, putting a brake on collectivization, production of consumer goods), they are not tied to Gomulka but approach him with many reservations. The main strength of Gomulka is the basic party organizations. It appears that his support here is enormous. This also applies, so it would seem, to the workers, youth, and military organizations. Their attitudes differ from the feelings of the people primarily, and sometimes only in that they want the party to continue to rule in Poland. For that reason their support of Gomulka will most probably continue as distinct from support of the people, who want independence from the Soviet Union, internal reforms, and are simultaneously anti-Communist.

#### EVENTUAL CHANGES IN THE PRESENT VIEWS OF GOMULKA COMPARED TO 1948

At the VII plenum of the central committee of the party, 3 months ago, when it was decided to reinstate Gomulka in the party, this was no doubt done on the condition that he accept the existent political platform of the party. However, Gomulka became the first secretary of the party despite the ruling of the VII plenum without accepting the party line which was confirmed at that time by the central committee and the politburo. From this first policy speech it is evident that he considers as improper the resolutions of 1948 and 1949 which condemned his position despite the fact that these resolutions are formally binding since they have never been revoked. Gomulka made it clear that he still maintains the position he held then in matters to which Moscow and the Polish central committee were opposed.

Second. Gomulka made it very clear that he considers the general party line not only in the years 1948-53 but also the years 1955-56 (and hence from Stalin's death until he (Gomulka) took power) as fallacious. This is at the same time a condemnation of the slowness and half measures of the changes which were accomplished in Russia since the death of Stalin.

Third. On the basis of Gomulka's first speech, it is difficult to estimate exactly what his general line will be, that is, how far he has progressed in the views he held in 1948. Such an estimate can only be made after the elections in January and the party congress in March.

The following factors might be of primary importance in influencing the difference in Gomulka's position and views as compared to his position and views in 1945-48:

In the years from 1945 to 1948 Gomulka ruled Poland under conditions of complete Soviet control over the life of the country. This control hampered the freedom of his moves and views. Presently, under conditions of basically weakened or perhaps even severed direct Soviet control, Gomulka has a freer hand to vent his views and bring them to life.

Second. The years 1945-47 were a period of struggle for power in Poland. At that time it was a question of life or death for the Communist Party in Poland. In such a period the differences of opinion between Gomulka and the Soviet Union as well as the pro-Soviet Polish Communist leaders had to give way to the more important pressing problem of getting and retaining power. The present period in this regard does not hamper Gomulka as it did then.

Third. After Gomulka personally experienced the full meaning of Stalinism and the Soviet system. He went to prison. He had the incentive and time to think through and examine the differences between Polish interests and those of the Soviets and traditional Communist ideology.

Fourth. In 1948 Gomulka did not have any support in the party. The party accepted his removal with hardly any resistance. At the present time Gomulka has certain groups of activists who support him because of his views. He has certain groups of activists who support him because of fear of the return of Stalinism. At the same time, he has strong backing among the mass of rank-and-file party members who for the first time in party history pulled themselves out of their lethargy and bonds of party discipline. This strengthens the position of Gomulka and should have the effect of making him stronger in his demands.

Fifth. In view of the fact that in the years 1945-48 Gomulka fought against the people, he did not have their support. At the present time however, he has their support. Thanks to this support, above all, he was able to achieve the position of ruler of the country. This support which at present is his strength and trump, simultaneously limits his freedom of movement and rather presses him to a position of supporting the most far-reaching changes in internal policies as well as in relations with the Soviet Union.



Sixth. In the years 1945-48, Gomulka helped create the Stalinist system in Poland. He himself later became a victim of this system. In coming to power in 1956, Gomulka found a basically weakened and disorganized power of the secret police, an awakened active public opinion, and full discussions in the press. He rose to power on the wave of a general conviction that he will want to further develop these beginning elements of change. It is doubtful if in these conditions he will want or could return to such a system as he built in Poland in 1945-48. All of these above factors rather press Gomulka in a direction further differing from the traditional Soviet-Communist views than the views he held in the period 1945-48.



# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL  
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 3:35 p. m., in the office of Senator William E. Jenner, Senate Office Building.

Present: Senator Jenner (presiding).

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Rastvorov, do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, at the last appearance of Mr. Rastvorov before the Senate subcommittee, he told us in his testimony that he knew Sergei Tikhvinsky, a member of the NKVD, an official whose job it was, according to his own direct knowledge, to recruit Japanese prisoners into the Soviet apparatus and then send them back into Japan, and at the time of his appearance he said Mr. Tikhvinsky had just been appointed by the Soviet Government as the head of the official trade mission to Japan and it was thought at that time that he would be the Soviet Ambassador to Japan.

Now, from our point of view, it was an extremely important intelligence development, that we have the spectacle of a man that trains Japanese into Communist agents from among Japanese prisoners, sends them back to Japan after they are trained, and then that he is sent there as the head of a mission, so that he is in a foreign country working with agents of his own organizing and training.

Now, in following up the particular point, we noticed here last week that the son of Prince Konoye died in a Japanese prison camp, and we asked Mr. Rastvorov if he knew anything about that particular development and he said he did, and we are asking him to give testimony on that particular subject.

What do you know about the son of Prince Konoye?

## TESTIMONY OF YURI RASTVOROV

Mr. RASTVOROV. The Soviet Intelligence Service had a very special group organized in 1947, 1948, to recruit a number of Japanese prisoners of war held in prison camps all over the Soviet Union—

Mr. MORRIS. Excuse me. What position did you occupy at that time? You were then in the Soviet Military Intelligence?

Mr. RASTVOROV. At that time I was an officer of the MVD. I myself was engaged in the recruiting of Japanese prisoners of war.

The Soviet Intelligence Service was interested in Japanese prisoners who occupied important positions in their country, as I testified before. All of those people were targets for recruitment. Among them were several prominent Japanese, including the son of Prince Konoye. Officers whom I know personally, for instance, Colonel Vashkin, participated in the attempt to recruit him.

The son of Prince Konoye, in spite of the persistent attempts to recruit him, did not collaborate, and refused to act as an agent of the Soviet Intelligence Service in Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. There were offers that he would be repatriated if—  
Senator JENNER. If he collaborated?

Mr. RASTVOROV. If he collaborated, but he would not. After they failed in their recruitment attempt, they tried him and sentenced him as a war criminal. I don't know what the sentence was, but he would get a long term in prison.

Mr. MORRIS. How do you know that, Mr. Rastvorov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I know it from people who were engaged in this operation.

This man I mentioned, a Colonel Vashkin, participated in the attempted recruitment of the son of Prince Konoye. I know Vashkin personally; when he was in Tokyo I worked with him. He was chief of the MVD group in Tokyo, where he worked under the cover name of Volgin.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was his cover assignment?

Mr. RASTVOROV. His cover assignment was chief of consulate of the Soviet mission in Japan.

To continue, I learned from Vashkin and others that the Soviet Government refused to free the son of Prince Konoye, and decided to keep him in the Soviet Union in order to avoid revelation of all that had happened to him in connection with attempts to recruit him. The Soviets realized the reaction of the Japanese people and people of the free world if Prince Konoye revealed his experiences, so he was sentenced as a war criminal and, I assume, reduced to living conditions which would shorten his life, following the principle that "Dead men tell no tales."

Mr. MORRIS. That is an assumption on your part, that they deliberately shortened his life?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, that is my assumption on this particular case, based on my personal experience in the MVD.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, are there any developments since our last session about Sergei Tikhvinsky.

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; I don't know all the recent details about Tikhvinsky. I know only that he continued to stay in Tokyo in spite of the fact that the Japanese knew his real assignment is to expand Soviet intelligence operations in Japan, and to recruit new agents, to replace those who were uncovered by my defection.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Rastvorov, since your last testimony there have been reports that Col. Gen. Serov, who I think you told us is the ranking MVD officer now—

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; the press announced the appearance in Hungary of General Serov, chairman of the KGB, formerly called the MVD. He was appointed chairman of the KGB after the arrest of

Beria, and since then has held this position. Previously, in 1943, he headed the special task force which was engaged in the deportation of national minorities in the Soviet Union from the Caucasus area, such as the Kalmiks, Chichans, Ingushi, Crimean Tartars from their homeland to the interior of the country, mainly to Kazakhstan.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, in 1943 his assignment was to specialize in mass deportations and mass relocations of populations?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was in charge of the operation.

Mr. MORRIS. How do you know that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Because I participated myself.

Mr. MORRIS. With him?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was his rank at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. At that time, he held the same rank, General, and was deputy of the minister of MVD.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your rank at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. At that time I was a captain.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were one of his assistants, and, therefore, you knew?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; I was not one of his personal assistants. I was a member of a huge group established for the deportations of national minorities.

Senator JENNER. You were an officer in that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And General Serov is now in Hungary?

Mr. RASTVOROV. According to newspaper reports, which have been confirmed several times.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Jenner, the Internal Security Subcommittee today took testimony from several Hungarians who have been in the country less than a week, that they witnessed and experienced the efforts on the part of the Soviet Union to effect extensive deportations from Hungary to the Soviet Union, and in view of that development and the reported arrival of General Serov there, we were particularly interested in getting Mr. Rastvorov's testimony about this specialty of Serov.

Mr. RASTVOROV. For that particular job—to continue my statement—after the successful deportation of the whole population from one area to another he was awarded several decorations.

Serov also was head of a special group which was organized after the defeat of Germany. The task of this group was to arrest and deport to the Soviet Union so-called Fascist elements and anti-Soviet persons. This also involved rounding up German scientists, especially nuclear scientists, who now are helping them to build atomic weapons in the Soviet Union.

For all of these operations he was decorated as a hero of the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. And you know all of this from your own experience.

Mr. RASTVOROV. From my own experience; yes.

Serov was also in charge of the liquidation of rebel groups in the Ukraine who fought against the Soviet regime during and after the war.

I can add also that Serov was called the master of deportation, because of his experience in this particular job. I also have assumed

because of my experience as a former NKVD officer, that the Soviet Government sent him to Hungary to liquidate revolutionary resistance against the Soviets who dominate Hungary and would like to add that special MVD divisions, called divisions of special assignment, were established during the war and participated in the liquidation of these nationalistic groups in the Ukraine and the deportation of minorities from their homelands. I assume that these divisions are now active in Hungary, along with Soviet Army units.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Ambassador Rodionov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He is an admiral of the Soviet Navy. He was appointed as Ambassador to Sweden in 1948 or 1949.

Originally, he was one of the deputies of the chairman of the Committee for Information, and I worked under him at that particular time.

He went to Sweden as the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, and stayed there until recently, when he was forced to leave by the pressure of Swedish public opinion, in connection with his espionage activity in that country.

He started in this profession in the early 1940's, as one of the leading figures of the Navy Intelligence Service of the Soviet Union—

Mr. MORRIS. Was he head of the Navy Intelligence Service?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; at one time before the establishment of the Committee of Information.

In 1948, after the merger of all the military intelligence services of the Soviet Union and the intelligence service of the MVD, he was appointed a deputy of the chairman for the Committee on Information. At that time, the chairman of the Committee of Information was Molotov, who was succeeded by Vishinsky and then by Zorin, former ambassador to Bonn.

Mr. MORRIS. So Zorin, too, was an intelligence man acting under diplomatic cover?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; he worked as an intelligence officer under diplomatic cover in Germany.

Mr. MORRIS. And I think that you told us previously that Ambassador Panyushkin was, to your knowledge, a high-ranking official of the Soviet intelligence service.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; I know him personally as a high-ranking intelligence officer.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his military rank?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was a major general, and after he returned to the Soviet Union he was appointed as a deputy of the chief of the Foreign Directorate of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. We can say that this directorate is the same thing as the Comintern—in other words, it functions as a clandestine comintern.

Senator JENNER. Was the Comintern dissolved during the war?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; it was.

Senator JENNER. Well, was it actually dissolved?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; not actually. Only nominally.

Senator JENNER. It went ahead functioning?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; just the same, basically.

Mr. MORRIS. In fact, is there any difference whatever in their activities before the so-called dissolution, and after dissolution?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; they continued to work the same way, using the same methods.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, it has been suggested that the present policy of the United States vis-a-vis the Soviet Union at this time should be one of assisting the Soviets in effecting a series of detachments of the satellites from the Soviet Union. The United States Government is being urged to lend its good offices to aiding the Soviet Union in negotiating these detachments of the satellites from the Soviet Union and that by so doing we would be contributing to the peace of the world. The reason for all of this being that the satellites have become a liability to the Soviet Union.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well——

Mr. MORRIS. Let me finish.

Based on your long experience as a Communist and particularly as an officer of political intelligence, can you tell us what your analysis is of events in the satellites and generally the meaning of Soviet policies.

Mr. RASTVOROV. The Western world has welcomed de-Stalinization with a mixture of confusion and wishful thinking, the recent form of which may be more aptly termed an indulgence in "great expectations." The belief that the present Kremlin leadership has inaugurated a departure from Stalinist terror and brutality has been destroyed by the recent events in Eastern Europe.

A key to the present situation was Khrushchev's conditional condemnation of Stalin for such acts as the extermination of many leading old Bolsheviks, while conveniently ignoring the forced collectivization of the Russian peasantry through mass annihilation. The practical nature of the Communist system was thereby shown. A leader was condemned for certain errors alone, his general policy of oppression was not rejected, in either internal or external matters. As far as the latter is concerned, the expansionist policies of the Soviet Union were entirely in keeping with Lenin's philosophy, and certainly not attributable to Stalin alone. The present leaders of the Kremlin will continue to advocate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, without the limitations imposed on them by the reactionary brutality of Stalin.

De-Stalinization can be considered as the basis of the policy being applied at present by the Soviet regime in its efforts to seek new, flexible political forms in relationship to its own people, the satellite populations, and the inhabitants of the Western World. This has been made necessary by the realization that there is evolving a growing opposition to communism and its leadership. The denunciation of Stalin was forced by the realization that his methods, essentially rigid and reactionary, were not consistently applicable in present circumstances. They have realized that a more elastic political form was long overdue, in which they could appeal to the wishes of the populace by the institution of temporary and artificial reforms. This must be recognized as not being a departure from the basic principle of control, the very essence of the Soviet system.

The entire program of de-Stalinization has been projected on a barrage of propaganda designed to create the illusion of the advent of a new era devoted to the pure form of communism. However, so-called de-Stalinization does not mean a departure from the central theme of communism, the basic tenet of which is "the dictatorship of the proletariat," or more correctly stated, "dictatorship of the party henchmen over the working masses." This dictatorship is impossible

without the application of the identical methods of Stalin—terror and oppression. This same resort to violence will be found in the new, flexible political policies of the collective leadership. A perfect example of the application of this flexibility can be shown in the developments in Poland and Hungary. In the first case, control has been maintained by the application of this rapid political maneuvering called for in Leninism, the use of the principle of retreat in order to regroup and reorganize preparatory to advancing. The political and economic domination of Poland by the Soviet Union is unchallenged to this moment, despite the liberal reforms attributed to the Gomulka regime. Should the situation in Poland have presented an opportunity for the emergence of an opposition party, the Soviets would not have hesitated in the application of the violent elements of their new policy of flexibility.

In the case of Hungary, the world has witnessed a perfect example of the more practical aspects of the new Soviet flexibility. Unencumbered by moral principles, the Soviet regime set about systematically to liquidate an entire nation. The Kremlin leadership quickly recognized the appearance of new political forces, representing a fatal threat to the strategic position of the Soviet Union in Hungary. The end result was inevitable. Despite resolutions of condemnation, protestations, and appeals to moral principles, I believe that the Kremlin leadership under no circumstances will relent from its complete domination of Hungary. In reference to the possibilities of liberating Eastern Europe by peaceful means, may I quote Khrushchev, to the effect that the Soviet Union will depart from the principles of Marxism-Leninism when "the shrimp learns to whistle." The Western World must recognize that de-Stalinization is nothing more than a reaffirmation of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and is essentially a much more cynical and complete system, embodying both the ruthless oppression of Stalinism and the more subtle means of political manipulation.

Keeping this situation in mind, I believe that the Kremlin, in spite of its saber rattling, is genuinely concerned with the preservation of peace—for a limited time. It must be noted, however, that peace is desired by the Soviets and the Western World for completely different reasons. The high ideals of the West fit precisely with the practical considerations of the Kremlin. The biggest factor in the planning of the Soviet Union is time. They need time to build, time to consolidate, and time to establish a state of preparedness, from which they can enter the inevitable conflict with a reasonable hope of success.

Mr. MORRIS. I think that is all.

Senator JENNER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record, following which, at 4 p. m., the subcommittee recessed, subject to call of the Chair.)

(The following testimony by E. Andriyive, a Soviet defector, on May 16, supplementing a previous excerpt which appears in part 21 of Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States, was ordered into the record by Senator Arthur V. Watkins, presiding, at a hearing on February 20, 1957:)



CONTINUATION OF THE TESTIMONY OF E. ANDRIYVE ON MAY 16,  
1956

Mr. MORRIS. How do you interpret recent events in the Soviet Union based on your experiences as you have set them forth?

Mr. ANDRIYVE. You obviously refer to "de-Stalinization," sir, to the famous Khrushchev's speech of February 24, 1956. It seems that the meaning of the "new Soviet turn," as far as the West is concerned, has been correctly understood here. Khrushchev did not change a bit the old Soviet ultimatum to the West: Capitulate or perish. His "new" line is not to abandon the old Stalin policies but to make them more efficient.

On the other hand, the reasons why the "de-Stalinization" campaign has been launched are being explained here in various equally unconvincing ways. Yet, to understand the functioning of the Soviet system it is very important to know those reasons. I claim no patent for knowledge of the Soviet system, but still have a sort of my own theory.

Some experts say that the "de-Stalinization" is a consequence of acute internal troubles and that Stalin was sacrificed as a scapegoat in view of the prevailing well-known mass discontents in the Soviet Union and in satellites.

It is easy to expose the inconsistency of such explanations. The mass discontents have been deeply rooted in Russia and in the satellite countries; they are an inalienable part of the Soviet system. Unless the 300 million people were taken for morons, the Kremlin gangsters could not even dream of alleviating those discontents merely by using Stalin's corpse as a "scapegoat." Consumer's goods and some human rights could have done the job, nothing else. And precisely these things the Kremlin gangsters could not give the people without undermining the very basis of the Soviet system. On the other hand, unless they were suicides, the Kremlin clique could have never thrown their most valuable Stalin's icon overboard, and face innumerable (and easily predictable) difficulties just for try.

I know some of the Kremlin gangsters personally and know their modus operandi very well. There must have been some imperative reasons for them to do such a disadvantageous thing.

Let's establish a few basic points that could easily be proved by facts and on which most observers apparently agree:

1. The present Kremlin masters, as past accomplices in all Stalin crimes, are just criminals themselves, with characteristic absence of morals, honesty, conscience, or pity; they are guided by Communist expediency only.

2. Under Stalin they lived in constant fear of physical extermination by him. They are prepared to go to any length to prevent a reestablishment of that sort of personal terror.

3. There has been going an acute struggle for the supreme power among them.

4. Being the disciples of the same Marxist-Communist school, they fear each other and distrust each other.

5. Terror has been the only principle of Soviet succession to the throne.

These features will help in discerning their motivations.

Stalin used his secret-police machine for two distinct purposes: (1) As a weapon of his government against the people; (2) as his personal weapon against any of his henchmen. Historical facts as well as the structure and organization of Soviet police amply prove this assertion.

After Stalin's death, Beria, holding this dual weapon tried—quite logically—to seize the throne. Unfortunately for him, his comrades were alert enough to forestall the trouble by killing him off first. It is interesting to note in this connection that there is not a slightest proof to the official contention that Beria was tried in December 1953 and subsequently executed. On the contrary, many facts indicate that he was killed off on the spot in June 1953, and that the sham trial (in absentia) was staged half a year later for propaganda purposes.

Should Beria have grabbed the supreme power he would undoubtedly have liquidated some of his comrades as the latter would not have left his position unchallenged. That's why murder of Beria was an act of preventive self-defense on the part of his comrades.

The comrades jealously watching each other decided, for the sake of their mutual security, to truncate the secret-police machine so that it won't be able to perform its function No. 2. No. 1 function was left intact. As outward manifestations we saw reshufflings and shooting on the highest level of the police. Two chiefs of the Investigative Section of the Division for Protection of Leaders (Ryumin, Vlodzimirsky) were shot. Precisely this section was instrumental in liquidation of the comrades in arms by Stalin. V. S. Abakumov, one of the police chiefs, was shot for fabrication of cases against party leaders. Many lesser figures in the police were shot.

The propaganda line at the time was: "Beria—the Fascist dog and agent of imperialists," his police machine is being reorganized to provide better "justice" for citizens. Beria agents were extirpated everywhere. A typical Stalin pattern of handling the two lines—words and deeds—separately and independently.

Lacking legal successor and rivaling with each other, the comrades agreed on the idea of committee rule—the famous collective leadership. Reluctantly they agreed to recognize Malenkov as their No. 1 man. The choice of Malenkov could not be accidental, however. It meant that Malenkov was the most influential man at the moment; he had greater backing from the comrades themselves and from the Central Committee than any other member of the clique. He had strong and long-established connections with the party and its Central Committee, the fact dangerous in itself. So the comrades put the old blabber, demagog, and alcoholic Khrushchev between Malenkov and the party.

But Malenkov clearly was not satisfied with his position; he maneuvered further. He was first to condemn Beria and his inadmissible methods, and thus capitalized on the universal hatred against Beria and his methods. Then Malenkov offered a program of boosting the production of consumers' goods at the expense of heavy industry, thus striking at the most sensitive point of the people and gaining exceptional popularity. That was a real danger to the comrades and to the system. They began to realize that without the police Malenkov could demote them one by one and subsequently do away with them. By raising the real wages of Soviet workers from their normal below-

subsistence level Malenkov could shatter the very foundations of the Soviet system. He became too dangerous.

Now, by all Stalin canons and by their own standards the comrades had to shoot Malenkov with or without a frameup. Yet he was only moderately disgraced and demoted. He publicly read his unfit-for-leadership confession, and was appointed as a minister of electric stations. Thus he disqualified himself for any future bid for the supreme power. Why the comrades spared Malenkov?

Apparently because by that time (February 1955) all comrades deeply realized that the committee rule in earnest was the only way out for all of them. No more killings among the members of the gang; there were enough enemies and capitalists around to be killed. They were watching with schadenfreude us and discussing our "struggle for power."

Each member of the Kremlin gang knew others as crooks and was suspicious of them. Each was equally determined to prevent any comrade from grabbing the throne. This was not a case of mutual rivalry so common in the Western cabinets. It was a case of survival for every member of the gang. This unusual situation has resulted in an unusual decision. Two least capable and least influential members of the gang were selected as outward representatives: Bulganin for the "government," Khrushchev for the party.

With all important governmental matters discussed in the Presidium and decided upon by majority vote, the rule of the two representatives could seemingly be reduced to that of announcers of the will of the Presidium, and the setup looked safe.

The two clowns we immediately recognized in the West as the Premier and the party boss. Conditioned by long years under Stalin the people at home have also recognized them as the head of the government and the head of the party. Perhaps unwittingly the clowns from the very start got more recognition than their comrades had planned. They began their extensive travels at home and abroad, for the first time enjoying some of the freedoms they had been denied by Stalin. Despite their buffooning, alcoholic blab, and tactless pranks, their prestige steadily rose as they were the recognized representatives of the all-powerful Communist empire. Such occasions as the Geneva Conference only boosted their prestige.

We do not know how far their personal feelings about their importance had gone, nor what sort of designs for the throne they had made, but we do know that their comrades in the Presidium got worried again. Besides, the safeguards already taken were felt inadequate anyway. A situation could easily develop when an influential member of the Presidium (say Molotov, or Mikoyan, or Kaganovich) using his personal prestige and connections and intriguing within the Central Committee could gain an exclusive support of that body. With no police support, without palace revolt, he still would eventually be able to climb the throne.

Additional safeguards were in order to repel early all such attempts.

The Central Committee had to be permanently attuned for rebuff. Hence repeated denunciations of the cult of personality which the comrades had practiced in general terms for some time. But the comrades got themselves into an untenable situation. All right, the cult of personality was wrong. Was it wrong under Stalin? Presum-

ably, yes. Then, what Stalin had done was wrong? Apparently no; because the post-Stalin changes were insignificant. Or a part of Stalin deeds was wrong? Which part? Or the cult was right under Stalin and wrong? Why?

Combined with the profound genuine hatred toward Stalin in practically all strata of Soviet society, such questions prompted anti-Soviet fermentation. Stalin's crimes against many party chieftains were fresh in the memory of their pals in the CC. Some of his victims were still alive in jails and camps. A number of slandered innocent victims were released. Cases of others were reviewed. Some were not released, not exonerated. Why? Were they Stalin's enemies or also the present gang's enemies? Unhealthy talks began at home and abroad. And what was most important, how could the CC positively react against a concrete carrier of the cult when the cult was so loosely defined? Was one-half of the Stalin cult OK? Was three-fourths of Khrushchev's cult and a little of Bulganin's OK?

Something unequivocal and drastic had to be done. Not only the departed leader had to be mentioned by name but a definite part of his crimes had to be clearly exposed and condemned; the exact degree of allowed criticism (for party members so-and-so much, for the rest so-and-so much) had to be clearly announced. That was a very difficult decision to make. Between February 1955 and February 1956, the comrades apparently discussed the burning problem many times, Pravda reflecting the situation by on-and-off references to the great leader or total omissions of the controversial name. January 23, 1956, Pravda used the term "party of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin" for the last time. Since then Stalin's name was dropped.

To be sure the adverse consequences of an anti-Stalin course loomed clearly on all sides. The comrades were to sacrifice the icon of their demigod which was most valuable for the central control of the empire. They could safely go on using the icon for justification of practically any policies; for, after all, what Stalinism was? Just anything designed or used to help the Kremlin and to destroy the West. Communist dialectics could explain away anything.

Yet in spite of the adverse forebodings the comrades decided to do away with the Stalin icon. Many facts indicate that the decision was not unanimous. Yet, the majority drive to enlist the full power of the CC against any member of the gang who might attempt to grab the power singlehandedly has finally prevailed. The cult of personality had to be condemned in theory and in practice in the strongest terms and at any price. Vital personal interests, bare instinct of self-preservation, not the supreme Communist motivations, lay at the root of the anti-Stalin campaign. Comrades, let's preserve our hides whatever losses to the cause. Should we lose our hides, the cause will be lost completely.

But there were some brighter aspects, too. Deep hatred toward Stalin could be conveniently exploited. Many little palliations (introduced for improving the operational efficiency of the regime) could be presented as a proof of benevolence of the new line. The approach to the neutralists and liberals in every noncommunist country seemed to become easier. As to the diehard imperialists, they won't bother us. Not only would they miss the opportunity to rout us at this critical moment, they will fail to comprehend the nature of our difficulties.

We need to recall only the words of our great leader and master Lenin: "The bourgeoisie is organically incapable to combat communism"; which the bourgeoisie has been beautifully proving the last 39 years.

Such were the reasons—as we see them—for the famous Khrushchev speech of February 24, 1956.

In the light of subsequent serious losses communism suffered throughout the world, was the Khrushchev speech a mistake? We do not think so. The partial exposure of Stalin had only one aim: To stabilize the Kremlin gang. So far that aim has been fully achieved. No external or internal vicissitudes have shaken the gang. And that is the main thing. Western press predicted many times a fall of Bulganin's cabinet, or a fall of Khrushchev, and so forth. Nothing of the kind happened. The reason has been simple: The Bulganin cabinet in the Western sense does not exist in nature. On the other hand, many powerful means that the West really possesses have never been used against the Kremlin gang.

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. The present Soviet regime is of necessity a genuine committee rule, the collective leadership. It has been successful, so far, and it may be successful for many years to come.

2. Khrushchev and Bulganin are not the bosses of the Kremlin gang, but only its outward representatives. They can be substituted by other members—the fundamental course of the regime will not change. The Kremlin crooks can abandon their great final plan no more than the Americans can abandon dollar.

3. Although there surely exist factions within the gang, they settle their differences by frank discussions and majority vote. It would be wrong to take reshufflings that sometimes occur in the Kremlin for indication of a major irreparable split.

4. The Soviet Armed Forces are organized on an entirely different basis from those in the West. The "army" (a favorite term of western columnists) did not and could not have any significant influence in the Kremlin changes.



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NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the names of an individual or an organization in this index.

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