

against what Emmanuel Mounier called the "established disorder." Everywhere we see populations caught between soaring hopes and immovable traditions.

In our Nation this has produced the Negro revolution, a revolution against centuries of indifference and neglect, of oppression and exploitation. It is a revolution that is not over—indeed it has only begun.

But it is a revolution that we know now is destined to succeed.

Its success is assured because the people of this Nation have realized that the perpetuation of a separate Negro nation in our midst, a nation whose people have been "deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred" in President Johnson's phrase—is morally intolerable.

While peaceful protest and legal redress of grievances have been important, in the end moral indignation has been decisive in bringing recognition of the validity of the Negro revolution in the United States.

Pursuit of justice has triumphed over narrow self-interest. Justice has triumphed because modern prophets—from John LaFarge to Martin Luther King—have aroused our consciences and incited our action against an "established" disorder based on racism, the most pernicious form of injustice to arise in our time.

In pursuing justice—the supreme virtue in the political order—an equally important challenge for a man of our time is that posed by the growing disparity between rich nations and poor, the widening gap between the affluent minority and the impoverished masses of the human race.

A central fact of this decade—which will loom larger and larger for graduates of the class of 1965—is that Western societies are exceedingly rich—and almost all others are exceedingly poor.

A small fraction of the human race living around the North Atlantic enjoys per capita incomes of \$1,000 to \$2,800 per year. Two-thirds of humanity subsists on a per capita income of less than \$200 per year.

It may be accidental—but it is surely not irrelevant—that most of the first group are white and most of the second are colored.

Since 1960, the gap between the two groups has accelerated. To understand why it has been growing, one need only recall that in 1964 the United States added \$30 billion to its gross national product—the equivalent of 50 percent of the total national income of Latin America and 100 percent of the income of Africa.

The relevance of this problem to the university graduate of today, and the obligation of nations that are rich and advanced toward those that are poor and undeveloped, was spelled out in bold language by Pope John XXIII in his encyclical "Mater et Magistra." He stated:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

"This is particularly true since, given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist."

He concluded:

"We are all equally responsible for the undernourished peoples. Therefore, it is necessary to educate one's conscience to the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and every one, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods."

Just as our generation has inherited the responsibility for bringing to fulfillment the Negro revolution at home, it lies with your generation to insure the triumph of the revo-

lution against crushing poverty around the world.

We who live in the Western World have a special responsibility for it was we who launched the technological revolution that has produced dazzling wealth in the midst of squalor.

We not only initiated the technological revolution but we have spread it to the world at large. And today we tolerate—by limited exertion if not by inaction—inconceivable disparities of wealth and destitution.

As we in the United States are among those "more blessed with this world's goods," to use the Pope's phrase, we have a special obligation to take the lead in reducing these inequities.

It is obvious that problems of poor nations will not be solved by external efforts alone. No transfer of resources from the rich nations to the poor will alone be sufficient.

It requires a massive effort by local leaders in a country to end the shocking inequality between privileged and impoverished, between glittering capitals and festering slums, between privileged urban enclaves and neglected rural areas.

It requires not only the availability of technical resources—but vision and will and determination on the part of those who would break the tyranny of poverty and bring to their peoples the wonders of the modern world.

But our recognition of this fact should not blind us to the compelling truth that nations that are poor and undeveloped stand little chance of success without the help of those which are rich.

It is not necessary here to engage in a detailed analysis of the process of development in undeveloped nations. Once we recognize the existence of a universal common good and of international social justice—and show a willingness to commit ourselves to it—the technical problems of assistance can be solved. Not without difficulty—but they can be solved.

Trade, aid, and private investment all will be needed to meet the requirements of developing nations—that is, if the poor nations of the world are to have a chance of breaking the ancient cycle.

Despite our efforts since World War II to accelerate economic and social development, we are just standing still.

During the past 3 years we have failed to progress at all, indeed we are slowing down.

Yet each day we learn anew that the disorder which persists cannot be ended by political maneuver or military power alone.

We learn anew of outbreaks of violence and turbulence, of peaceful revolutions turned into violent ones. We learn anew of disorder which invites communism—which so often comes as the scavenger of ruined revolutions.

We now know that peace can be threatened by other forces than armies crossing borders and bombs and missiles falling from the sky. Peace can be threatened by social and economic deprivation, by destitution and hunger. If we are concerned about "peacekeeping" in all its aspects, then we dare not ignore this explosive threat which can erupt at any time.

And it is time we learn that peacekeeping pertains not only to military forces and United Nations machinery. Peacekeeping pertains to every force that disturbs or threatens to disturb the peace of mankind.

We must strengthen every economic institution we have—and develop new ones if need be. If our existing financial and development institutions—all formed two decades ago with the establishment of the United Nations—need to be supplemented or modified, we should not hesitate to do so.

In our interdependent world, disorder due to economic deprivation and underdevelop-

ment is the concern of all—the rich nations and the poor. When a crisis erupts—whether in the Congo or in Santo Domingo—the fate of all is affected.

Only by a massive assault—carefully planned and superbly orchestrated—can social and economic progress be made. Only by a massive assault can the burden of hunger and disease which brings disorder later be lifted from the peoples of mankind.

Congress must be convinced of this. The doubts about the foreign aid program in recent years must be replaced by a new insight into our obligation, a new resolution to do the job that needs to be done.

Our European friends—though they have expanded their programs during the past decade—still do far less than their capacity allows.

Similarly, unless we and the other wealthy nations of the northern hemisphere are willing to do our part to revise world trading patterns to take into account the problems of new developing nations, they stand no chance of achieving economic viability through peaceful means. And as we know better each day, if peaceful revolution is impossible, violent revolution is inevitable.

Once we recognize the dimensions of the problems we must then resolve to do the job that needs to be done—to expend the resources necessary. And we need to do this—not just because it is in our own interest, not just because of the Communist challenge—but as President Kennedy said in his inaugural message—"because it is right."

When one looks back on the landmarks of the Negro revolution in our time—such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964—some of the causes can now be clearly delineated. There can be no doubt that justice triumphed over injustice \* \* \* the conscience of the present over the memory of the past because men and women with consciences formed by a Juda-Christian tradition took their convictions seriously and translated them into action. This in the end was the difference between failure and success.

If a peaceful revolution against world poverty and the chaos that follows from it is to be won, it will require the same aroused action from men and women of religious inspiration—and all developed countries. It will require men and women who are determined to lead the rich peoples of the world to fulfill their obligations to the poor.

It is the task of both the graduation class of 1965 and of our generation to convince the legislatures and the executives—not only of the United States but of Europe as well—that moral imperatives as well as physical security require a substantial commitment to long range economic and technical assistance to the developing nations of the world.

We must do this out of compassion—for we are our brother's keeper. And we also do it out of self-interest as well—for our lot is their lot, our future their future, our peace their peace.

In pursuing the global war on poverty, we must remember that it is not just a matter of satisfying physical needs and raising material standards of living. What is equally important is to inspire hope among both the leaders and the mass of the people, hope of a better day to come.

In approaching the problem of poverty and chaos in an interdependent world, we should be guided by the vision of a great man who died here in New York 10 years ago, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

Through this vision we can come to understand that the growing interdependence of mankind caused by the technological revolution can lead to a world civilization in which both persons and nations find their individuality enhanced, and their mutual dependence and mutual fate a condition to

be welcomed rather than a threat to be feared.

Our concern about economic chaos and disorder, about world poverty and deprivation is a part of our larger concern about world peace. All men profess to seek peace. But peace is like a flower—it needs fertile soil to grow. It cannot grow in the rocks of bitterness and poverty, in the dry sands of backwardness and despair. It needs the fertile oil of education and food, of health and hope.

Peace is too important to be the exclusive concern of the great powers. It requires the attention of all—small nations and large, old nations and new.

The pursuit of peace resembles the building of a great cathedral. It is the work of generations. In concept it requires a master architect; in execution, the labors of many.

The pursuit of peace requires time—but we must use time as a tool and not as a crutch.

We realize that the hopes and expectations which may be aroused cannot all be satisfied in the immediate future. What can be accomplished in a limited time will always fall short of expectations.

This should not discourage us. What is important is that we be prepared to give some evidence that progress toward peace—progress in the global war on poverty—is being made, that some of the unsolved problems of peace can be met in the future.

It is the challenge to your generation to convert the hopes for peace, the hopes for progress, the hopes for social justice for all into reality. With the benefit of 4 years in a great university, I am confident you will succeed.

#### THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF LITHUANIA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KREBS). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, once more it is my privilege to join with the many friends of the Baltic States in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the illegal occupation of Lithuania on June 15, 1940, and the 24th anniversary of the beginning of the first horrible mass deportations from all the Baltic States on June 14, 1941. Free Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians have issued a manifesto on this occasion with which I am in hearty agreement. The preamble to this manifesto traces the history of the terrible assault and oppression on the Baltic people and continues with the following statement of principles:

We—free Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians—are conscious of our responsibility toward our nations and to history. At this 25th anniversary of Soviet aggression, we feel dutybound to give voice to the will and the aspirations of our captive peoples:

We accuse the Soviet Union of committing and continuing an international crime against the Baltic States;

We demand that the Soviet Union withdraw its military, police and administrative personnel from the Baltic countries;

We request that the governments of the free world, especially those of the great powers, use all peaceful ways and means to restore the exercise of the right to self-determination in the Baltic countries and in the rest of east-central Europe;

We further request that the United Nations' De-Colonization Committee immediately fulfill its overdue duty and take up the case of Soviet colonialism in the Baltic States;

We appeal to the conscience of all mankind to perceive the magnitude of the injustice perpetrated upon the Baltic peoples and to support the efforts toward the restoration of liberty to these countries;

We convey to our people at home our pride in their resolute resistance against the endeavors of the oppressor to destroy their national and personal identity;

We share with our captive compatriots their view that the recent Soviet economic, political and ideological setbacks—inherent in the structure of their totalitarian system—have considerably weakened the Soviet Union and thus raised the hopes of the captives for deliverance;

We pledge to intensify our joined organized activity in the free world to promote the cause of liberty for the Baltic countries;

We finally declare to the free world and the Communist-dominated world, including the U.S.S.R., that, once free again, the Baltic nations will do all in their power to insure the best possible relations with their neighbors on the basis of mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Mr. Speaker, one of the items in this statement of principles is a pledge to intensify the organized activity of the free world in promoting the cause of liberty for the Baltic countries. Perhaps the best way in which this can be done, Mr. Speaker, would be for this body, the U.S. House of Representatives, to unanimously pass the bill which I introduced both in this and the preceding Congress, providing that the President of the United States bring the matter of the Baltic States before the United Nations.

As you know, my bill, House Concurrent Resolution 288, asks that the United Nations request the Soviets to withdraw all troops, agents, colonists, and controls from the Baltic States. It urges the United Nations to request that the Soviets return all Baltic exiles from Siberia prisons and slave labor camps. It further provides that the United Nations conduct free elections in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia under its supervision and punish all Soviet Communists who are guilty of crimes against the people of the Baltic States.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the most sincere affirmation and the strongest indication of our interest in the Baltic States would be for both Houses of Congress to speedily concur in the enactment of legislation of the type which I have introduced. I urge that such action be taken without undue delay.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, today we mark the sad anniversary of the Soviet takeover of the Baltic States.

For 25 years the brave people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have struggled for freedom against insurmountable odds. Despite cruel oppression, they have not lost their determination to see that they may once again live as freemen.

All of us deeply admire their dedication to democratic principles, dedication which has not wavered through the 25-year night of tyranny.

The United States has never recognized the so-called annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the Soviet Union. We share with the brave people of these countries the common faith that they will once again be free.

The gallant citizens of the Baltic States have kept alive their determina-

tion to survive and to be free. Today, we reaffirm our belief that they shall once again breathe the air of freedom.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, today marks a sad anniversary for the peoples of the Baltic States and for freedom-loving people everywhere. Twenty-five years—a quarter of a century—have now passed since the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were brought forcibly under the yoke of Soviet oppression.

Early in this Congress, I introduced a concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 25, which would urge the President to direct the attention of world opinion to the denial of the right of self-determination for the Baltic peoples, and to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of this right. I very strongly urge the support of my colleagues for such a resolution.

As a result of continued domination and exploitation by the Soviet Union, the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been deprived of their most fundamental human rights. The liquidation and deportation of some of the best educated, courageous, and industrious elements of these populations represents one of the blackest marks on human history.

World opinion must be focused on the plight of the Baltic peoples, to the end that these peoples may once again be permitted freely to pursue their independent political, social, and cultural development.

Mr. Speaker, I place the full text of House Concurrent Resolution 25 at this point in the RECORD:

#### H. CON. RES. 25

Whereas the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation; and

Whereas all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development; and

Whereas the Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been forcibly deprived of these rights by the Soviet Union; and

Whereas it has been the firm and consistent policy of the Government of the United States to support the aspirations of Baltic peoples for self-determination and national independence; and

Whereas there exist many historical, cultural, and family ties between the peoples of the Baltic States and the American people: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the United States is urged to—*

(1) direct the attention of world opinion, at appropriate international forums and by such means as he deems appropriate, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and

(2) bring the force of world public opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, since its rise and consolidation the Soviet Union has been an aggressive and expanding state. This aspect of Soviet communism may not have been apparent at first,