H. J. RES. 740

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 15, 1978

Mr. Rudd (for himself, Mr. Del Clawson, Mr. Bauman, Mr. Burgener, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Young of Florida, Mr. Butler, Mr. Lott, Mr. Rousselet, Mr. Ashbrook, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Devine, Mr. Treen, Mr. Wampler, and Mr. John T. Myers) introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

JOINT RESOLUTION

Expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba.

Whereas the Soviet Union has deployed military personnel to Cuba for the purpose of piloting and maintaining Cuban Mig-22 fighter aircraft, to operate Cuban radar installations, and for other military purposes; and

Whereas this Soviet deployment of military personnel into this hemisphere has occurred in conjunction with the depletion of Cuban military forces through the intervention of tens of thousands of Cuban troops in Africa in support of various Communist-supported military actions on that continent; and

Whereas such deployment of Soviet military personnel to Cuba, and Soviet and Cuban military personnel, arms, and support
to Communist forces in Africa, is in the interests only of Communist expansionism and not in the interests of world peace; and

Whereas such Soviet military presence and buildup in Cuba is in violation of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which termed any attempt on the part of European powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety," and of the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreements of 1962, which assured no deployment of Soviet forces or offensive arms in Cuba; and

Whereas in the Rio de Janeiro Treaty of 1947 the parties agreed that "an armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States, and, consequently, each one of the said contracting parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations"; and

Whereas the Punte del Este Resolution II of the Organization of American States of January 1962 agreed "to urge the Member States to take those steps that they may consider appropriate for their individual and collective self-defense, and to cooperate, as may be necessary or desirable, to strengthen their capacity to counteract threats or acts of aggression, subversion, or other dangers to peace and security resulting from the continued intervention in this hemisphere of Sino-Soviet powers, in accordance with the obligations established in treaties and agreements such as the Charter of the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance": Now, therefore, be it
Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the United States is determined—

(a) to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Communist regimes of the Soviet Union and Cuba, acting individually or collectively, from extending by force or threat of force their aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere;

(b) to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability, or the deployment in Cuba of military forces from another nation, for the purpose of establishing a stronger base for Communist expansionism in this hemisphere, thus endangering the security of the United States and other non-Communist nations; and

(c) to work with the Organization of American States and with freedom-loving people of all nations to implement collective security agreements and to support the aspirations of all people in this hemisphere for freedom and self-determination; and be it further

Resolved, That the President of the United States take every possible action to carry out the intent of this resolution.
JOINT RESOLUTION

Expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba.

By Mr. RDD, Mr. DEL CLAWSON, Mr. BAUMAN, Mr. Burgener, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Young of Florida, Mr. BUTLER, Mr. LOTT, Mr. ROUSSELOT, Mr. ASHIBROOK, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. Devine, Mr. Treen, Mr. WAMPLER, and Mr. JOHN T. MYERS

FEBRUARY 15, 1978

Referred to the Committee on International Relations
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOU\SE

February 16, 1978

House Joint Resolution 740

(Mr. Rudd, for himself, Mr. DelClawson, Mr. Gershman, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Young of Florida, Mr. Butter, Mr. Lott, Mr. Rousselet, Mr. Ashbrook, Mr. Cumberland, Mr. O'Neill, Mr. Mitchell, and Mr. John T. Myers introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations.)

Joint resolution expressing the determination of the United States with respect to the situation in Cuba.

Whereas the Soviet Union has deployed military personnel to Cuba for the purpose of piloting and maintaining Cuban MIG-21 fighter aircraft, to operate Cuban radar installations, and for other military purposes; and

Whereas this Soviet deployment of military personnel into this hemisphere has occurred in conjunction with the depletion of Cuban military forces through the intervention of tens of thousands of Cuban troops in Africa in support of various Communist-sponsored military actions on that continent; and

Whereas such deployment of Soviet military personnel to Cuba, and Soviet and Cuban military bases, and support to Communist forces in Africa, is in the interests only of Communist expansionism and not in the interests of any of the participating states; and

Whereas such Soviet military presence and build-up in Cuba is in violation of the Montevideo Doctrine as it attempts on the part of European powers to "extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety," and of the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreements of 1962, which assured no deployment of Soviet forces or offensive arms in Cuba; and

Whereas in the Rio de Janeiro Treaty of 1947 the parties agreed that "an armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States, and, consequently, each of the said contracting parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense provided for by article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations;" and

Whereas the Punta del Este Resolution of the Organization of American States of January 1963, agreed "To urge the Member States to take those steps that they may consider necessary to prevent or meet aggression and collective self-defense, and to cooperate, as may be necessary or desirable, to strengthen their capacity to counteract threats or acts of aggression, subversion, or other dangers to peace and security resulting from the combined forces of Sino-Soviet powers, in accordance with the obligations established in treaties and agreements such as the Charter of the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, "That the United States is determined to prevent a return of Soviet military and paramilitary forces to Cuba, acting individually or collectively, from extending by force or threat of force into this hemisphere acts or activities to any part of this hemisphere; (a) to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the return to Cuba, acting individually or collectively, from extending by force or threat of force into this hemisphere acts or activities to any part of this hemisphere; (b) to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of any military unit that may present a threat of aggression in this hemisphere, the end and the means of which are contrary to the determination of the United States to secure for the Hemisphere an era of peace and freedom from the creeping danger of Communist aggression and intervention; (c) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (d) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (e) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (f) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (g) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (h) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (i) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (j) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (k) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (l) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (m) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (n) to prevent Cuba from extending any military assistance to any country in the Americas; (o) to work with the Organization of American States and with freedom-loving people to implement collective security agreements and to support the aspirations of all people in this hemisphere for freedom and self-determination; be it further Resolved, That the President of the United States take every possible action to carry out the intent of this resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Miks) is recognized for 15 minutes.

(Mr. MIKES addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL DAY

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

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker. January 26 is marked the 80th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. I take my time today, even belatedly, to join in expressing hearty congratulations to the Ukrainian people and their ancient anniversary and to salute them for having courageously kept alive the spirit of freedom in the midst of over a half century of brutal Soviet repression.

Having enjoyed ourselves the benefits of one of the most liberal governments known to history for over 200 years, it is especially important that we Americans take this occasion to reflect seriously on what it means to people who have known, over so briefly, these same freedoms, and then thereafter have been subjected to the terrors and persecution of totalitarianism.

Of all the people enslaved by the Soviet system, the Ukrainian people have been among the chief victims. In 1933 alone, the Ukraine, which for centuries had been the breadbasket of Russia, lost over 6 million people because of deliberate starvation. The famine was artificially created by the Soviet Government who confiscated the last grain of wheat from the Ukrainian peasant farmers. At this same time millions of Ukrainians were deported with their families to Siberia, where, as intended, they subsequently perished.

The persecution has not lessened in recent years, but merely changed its form. In place of planned starvation and mass deportation, the Soviet regime has employed new tactics. For example, the most loyal and able of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. Today, poets, writers, students—any individuals giving expression to the natural Ukrainian longing for national freedom—find themselves tried and convicted for the alleged crime of anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation.

The emphasis of the Ukrainian protest is so much on their
hives, belong to the Government and should be accessible to the American people, with some narrowly defined exceptions.

Guided by the recommendations of the Public Documents Commission and the Court's ruling on the custody of the Nixon Papers, I have introduced H.R. 9130, the Presidential Papers Act of 1977. This act will correct the situation whereby the President can, upon leaving office, destroy the records of the White House, virtually as he or she chooses. This places Congress in the awkward position of having to resort to special legislation each time it determines that such restrictions are contrary to public interest. H.R. 9130 would establish a general policy for the preservation of, and public access to, the official records of the President. I am today introducing a revised version of my earlier bill to certify that its public access provisions would extend to the records of a President only after he or she has left office.

I believe that this legislation will help resolve the ownership and access problems associated with Presidential papers beyond our own record. The National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials pointed to a number of shortcomings in the existing holdings of congressional papers. In its final report, for example, the Commission concluded that:

The institutional records of Congress are an invaluable source of information about the legislation and the rules concerning its passage are so varied and inconsistent that the records themselves often go unused.

The Commission also noted that the House has enshrined itself from those provisions of Federal law that relate to archival administration and records disposition. Consequently, there is no comprehensive system to identify those records which have archival value, or are outdated and should not be retained.

I recognize that this is a sensitive matter involving a mix of privacy concerns, and depository concerns. Nevertheless, a most important approach to the subject can be pursued.

I have requested that the Select Committee on Congressional Operations examine the adequacy of the existing House rules for preserving and providing public access to the institutional records of the House of Representatives, and consider the advisability of moving forward with the recommendations of the Federal Documents Commission. It is the underlying intent of this request that any recommendations that the select committee makes be the subject of an immediate priority of preservation of the institutional records of the House and be resolved by Congress. In addition, at the recommendation of the Select Committee's agenda, and will assign it a high priority.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CONGRESSIONAL OPERATIONS

HON. RICHARDSON PEYER, Chairman, Subcommittee on Government Information and National Security, Select Committee on Congressional Operations, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Select Committee on Government Information and National Security was established by Congress to examine the problem of preserving the institutional records of the House and the adequacy of the Freedom of Information Act to foster greater public access to the institutional records of the House.

The Select Committee is the select committee of the House of Representatives, and as such, is an independent body of the House. In accordance with the Select Committee's agenda, and will assign it a high priority.

Sincerely,

RICHARDSON PEYER
Chairman.
of weakness that the Soviets are looking for, and invite further Soviet and Cuban military adventurism around the world and even in this hemisphere.

Let us look at the land. What are the Castro Communists doing in Africa? Why are they there? And what are the Soviet intentions in this hemisphere? In the Caribbean, in Latin America? Is it possible that they are getting on a "war footing"?

According to estimates of U.S. officials, Castro currently has between 25,000 and 30,000 military troops in Africa. Other estimates put the number of Cuban forces at 45,000.

U.S. officials report that there are 3,000 Cubans fighting on the ground and flying Soviet Mig-23 fighter jets in Ethiopia in the current war against Somalia. Somali officials report that 18,000 to 20,000 Cubans are taking part in the Ethiopian offensive. The Cubans are bombing Somali villages and conducting air strikes against mujahideen forces in the Ogaden Desert of Ethiopia.

There are also 19,000 Cuban military troops in Angola, and an additional 4,000 in nine other African states, fighting with Communist forces to bring about Communist rule throughout Africa under Soviet domination.

The Cubans can only be in Africa principally as a training exercise, to help them become seasoned by actual combat for Communist military offensive in other parts of the world, especially Latin America.

Likewise, the Soviets have sent their own experienced military forces to Cuba, as replacements for the absent Cuban troops, to become seasoned in their own hemisphere—conducting Mig-21 tactical air missions over the Bermuda triangle, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Caribbean, where they can get used to the weather and the terrain, and which is intelligence for the Soviets and assist with Cuban training of other Communist insurgent forces from other countries.

The United States, the Caribbean Sea—Gulf of Mexico—Panama Canal area, with its vital strategic seaways, its important archipelagoes, and its great agricultural and mineral resources, is a primary concern to our continental defense and trade.

It is the nexus—the connecting point—of the shipping lanes of the world. Through these vital waters pass U.S. military vessels. On their way to U.S. ports pass oil from Venezuela, bauxite from Jamaica, manganese from Brazil, tin, iron ore, and other raw materials from the Latin American countries, as well as other important commercial goods.

The Caribbean Sea—Gulf of Mexico—Panama Canal waters dominate not only north-south trade with Latin America, but east-west trade from Western Europe and the eastern coastal ports of the States to Western ports and the Pacific.

They constitute a vital direct east-west sea route for U.S. submarines and other military vessels on their way to and from the Caribbean area. The United States is in considerable danger and, under some conditions—the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 demonstrated—a deadly, indeed a vital, danger to the security of the United States might develop. Alternatively, a Communist-dominated Caribbean nation posits the threat of a creeping conquest. It could be a step used for the export of Communism to Latin America.

It is the principle objective of the Soviet Union in this hemisphere to use its Canal client regime in Cuba as a base for a further conquest. Castro is the Soviet Union's "focal infection spot... for the export of Communism to Latin America."

The current Soviet military buildup in Cuba is not temporary, it is part of that objective. The authoritative Baldwin has cited a six-point Soviet agenda for control of the Caribbean Sea—Gulf of Mexico—Panama Canal area, which includes the following:

**GUANTANAMO BAY**

First, takeover and control of what is now the U.S. Naval base at Guantanamo Bay on the southern end of Cuba, for use by the Soviets as a staging ground for its naval fleet in this part of the world. Guantanamo is a 48-square-mile, 26 million U.S. facility with 1,400 buildings and two airstrips, including an 8,000-foot strip for jet aircraft. It is one of the best naval facilities in the world. Normally, about 4,000 to 6,000 Americans are stationed at the base, including about 1,600 civilians, and another 4,000 to 5,000 military personnel are aboard ships of our merchant fleet that operate out of Guantanamo.

Since the Spanish-American war, the base at Guantanamo has been developed into one of the most important U.S. naval facilities outside our own shores in the Western Hemisphere.

The base has great strategic value for fleet support, training by all ships in the Atlantic, logistical and supply important, and repair facilities unavailable at any other Caribbean base, and can be a staging base for fighter, troop-carrying, or cargo aircraft that leave from the United States to Latin America.

It is a key part of the Soviet-Cuban Caribbean objective to get the United States out of Guantanamo, and to use it thermally as a Communist expansionist objective throughout the hemisphere.

**MISSILE BASE**

Second, Cuba is viewed by the Soviets as an important missile base—and there is still no guarantee, despite the supposed withdrawal of Soviet missiles in 1962, that Cuba is not being used to base Soviet medium range ballistic missiles to threaten large populations areas on the U.S. mainland.

Cuban missile sites would increase Soviet dispersion of Communist missile bases, and force the United States to allocate some of our nuclear-deterrent forces to neutralize due to our own borders in the event of war.

**INTELLIGENCE AND SUBVERSION**

Third, Cuba is important to the Soviets as an intelligence base or center for the open and secret collection of information about the United States and South American countries. Electronic monitoring of the extensive radio and radar transmissions from all parts of the Caribbean can be conducted by the Soviets from Cuba for some time.

It is reported that the Soviets would like to build a much larger facility in Cuba, monitored from radar and radio.

Fourth, the Soviets also want to step up their use of Cuba as a base for subversion. The island has already been used extensively for the infiltration of Soviet agents, spies and subversives—worldwide, including some mixed in with legitimate refugees—to the U.S. mainland, Puerto Rico, to other Caribbean islands, or to Central and South America.

Before the Soviets and Castro have used Cuba to export subversion, propaganda, sabotage, and guerrillas throughout Central and South America. The troubles in Venezuela, and to some extent in Chile, Bolivia, and Panama, can be traced to influences or direct involvement emanating from Cuba.

In fact, during my own tenure as a special agent, we have uncovered diplomatic assignment in South America, I was personally involved in the identification of Ché Guevara after he had been shot and killed in the Bolivian forests where he was working in a Cuban guerrilla activities in that country.

As a base for Soviet-inspired Communist subversion, Cuba is a threat to the unstable regimes and poverty-stricken people that make up so many islands and Central and South America. The Soviets and Castro Cubans hope to step up such subversion throughout the hemisphere, using propaganda and guerrillas in 10 to 12 major areas to overthrow non-Communist governments.

**SPACE TRACKING STATION**

Fifth, Cuba can be used by the Soviets as a key staging center for the Soviet space shot, including communications and reconnaissance satellites and space weapons.

The island is ideal for instrumentation, control, and communications equipment for such space projects and weaponry, which the Soviets have had to operate from their own mainland or overseas ships.

**MILITARY DIVISION**

Finally, there is for the Soviets the military diversionary value of Cuba. If Cuba becomes a full-scale Soviet base for naval operations, missiles, infiltration and subversion of other nations, and for