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cerely hope you will support a program which will achieve the goals that we have set forth.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. Anna Rose Hawkes, President, American Association of University Women, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Edward D. Hollander, National Representative, Americans for Democratic Action, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Dorothy Johnson, Legislative Chairman, American Home Economics Association, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Ada Stough, Executive Director, American Parents Committee, Washington, D. C.; Mr. John Holden, Washington Representative, Americans Veterans of World War II and Korea, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Jerry Voorhis, Executive Director, Cooperative League of the U. S. A., Washington, D. C.; Miss Cora Mowrey, Legislative Chairman, Delta Kappa Gamma, Charleston, W. Va.; Mr. James B. Carey, President, International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Bernard Weitzer, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Washington, D. C.; Miss Lilace Reid Barnes, President, Young Women's Christian Association, New York, N. Y.; Mr. Robert E. Howe, Director, Labor's Non-Partisan League, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Marguerite Caldwell, Washington Representative, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., Washington, D. C.; Mr. Eli Cohen, Executive Director, National Child Labor Committee, New York, N. Y.; Miss Elizabeth Magee, National Consumers League, Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Moise E. Cahn, President, National Council of Jewish Women, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Rudolph Danstedt, National Council of Social Workers, Washington, D. C.; Mr. James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Phillip Schiff, National Jewish Welfare Board, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Richard L. Neuberger, Legislative Chairman, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, Washington, D. C.

find the Communist allies of Calderón in control of Congress, the police, and the rural troops.

In 1948 the Communist-dominated Congress invalidated the presidential election of Otilio Ulate. Pepe Figueres met headon the conspiracy against the Costa Rican people. At the head of a small band Figueres outmaneuvered and outfought the Communists in 6 weeks of pitched battle.

After his victory in the field Figueres headed an interim government to restore democratic processes to the country. He took a series of unprecedented and courageous actions. The Communist Party was outlawed. The Army was demobilized in order to avoid army revolts. Then he turned the presidential office over to Otilio Ulate, the duly elected President.

Figueres himself was overwhelmingly elected President in 1953 by a margin of nearly twice the votes received by his opponent. His internal program is summed up in his own phrase: "Costa Rica should not be a social club."

In international policy, where many Latin American leaders find it expedient to gain popularity by whipping up nationalism by attacking the United States, Figueres has been an outspoken and unequivocal friend of the United States. One of his first public declarations after taking office was: "There is one thing I want to make clear: this is going to be a pro-United States government. That is definite."

Subsequently Figueres demonstrated his pro-United States faith. On a tour through Latin America, where the youth and incipient labor movements look to him for leadership, he boldly supported the United States. In Uruguay before a student audience prone to be hostile to the United States, and again in Chile before a similar group, Pepe Figueres explained the United States and its problems to his audiences. On two occasions in Bolivia some 2,000 miners who had been fed a hate-the-United States nationalist diet for years, ended up cheering Figueres, who had calmly and with great understanding explained to them the United States position. Figueres' fierce prodemocratic position has made him a target of the Communists and the small group of vested interests in Latin America. On several occasions attempts have been made by hired killers to assassinate him.

This year, unable to succeed himself in accordance with Costa Rican law, Pepe Figueres took every precaution to assure free elections. In an imaginative move, he called in a team of United Nations observers so that there could be no question of the honesty of the Costa Rican elections. On May 8 he handed the reins of government to Mario Echandi, leader of the opposition party.

STATEMENT OF SEÑOR JOSÉ FIGUERES, OF SAN JOSÉ, COSTA RICA, AT THE INVITATION OF CONGRESSMAN ROBERT C. BYRD, OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, PREPARED FOR PRESENTATION ON JUNE 9, 1958

I have been asked for an opinion. I appreciate it. It may be my duty to express my views. I know I may be wrong on some of the things I have to say, but there are a few specific mistakes that I would like to avoid.

I do not wish to take part in the internal democratic controversies of the United States. I have to assume that the errors in this country, if any, have been bipartisan, just as the errors in the hemisphere have been bilingual.

Further, I do not want to appear as blaming any department of the American Government, or any part of the American Nation. You live under a regime of public opinion, and everybody is theoretically responsible for the foreign policies of this

country. Actually, responsibility is divided among the executive branch of the Government, Congress, business, labor, and the press. I do not need to point out that this shared responsibility, added to the size and the role of the United States, makes foreign relations exceptionally difficult.

Finally, I would not like to feed the hunger of Yankee baiters throughout the world, which any man, no matter how unimportant, can do, when he speaks before a committee of the Congress of the United States.

Considering all these risks of erring or of being misinterpreted, or quoted out of context, I believe that it would be better for me not to appear before you, particularly since I have nothing very helpful or spectacular to report. But the mood of the Nation at this moment seems to demand clarification of certain things, and I cannot withhold my modest contribution, when asked.

I regard the incidents of Peru and Venezuela as a turning point, as a critical moment in the history of inter-American relations. They can also be considered as the explosions of time bombs, which were planted during a long stretch of time. Things have already improved, especially during the last 2 years, both in the official attitude of the United States and in the American Press. But the bombs are still there, and removing their fuses is not a quick process.

As a citizen of our hemisphere, as a man who has devoted his public life to promoting inter-American understanding, as a student who knows and loves the United States, and has said so everywhere, no matter how hostile the environment, I lament that the people of Latin America, through a few Venezuelan zealots, have spit on a worthy person, who represents the greatest Nation of our time. But I must be frank, and even brutal, because I believe that the situation demands it: people cannot spit on a foreign policy, which is what they meant to do. And, after exhausting all other possible means of conviction, spitting was the only thing left for them to do.¹

With all my respect for Vice President Nixon, with all my admiration for his behavior which was, first, heroic, and then enlightened, I must say that spitting is a vulgar action which has no substitute in our language for expressing certain emotions.

To say these things hurts me more than it may hurt any American citizen. But words are inadequate, and only spitting is adequate, to convey the feelings of the Venezuelan people when, recently, while men and women and children were bleeding to death on the streets of Caracas to free their loved ones from the torture chambers of the tyrants and robbers and murderers who easily grant oil concessions, United States newspapers were reassuring Americans that there was no reason for anxiety because United States investments in Venezuela were safe.

Noninterference, Latin American revolutions, internal affairs, neither suffering nor reason can break through this barrier of expedient clichés. So people try spitting.

You, the civilized ones of the north, have been engaged in devastating war in foreign lands, three times in this century. Latin America has been on your side. We took your word that you were fighting for the freedoms of all men. When American boys have been dying, your mourning has been our mourning. When our people die, you

¹ The llama, the beast of burden of Peru, frequently considered as the Andean symbol of Latin America, is reported to spit when it has been loaded beyond endurance. It cannot bite; it cannot kick, it spits.

José (Pepe) Figueres of Costa Rica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 9, 1958

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a brief sketch of José (Pepe) Figueres, formerly President of Costa Rica, and the text of his statement before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs today:

BRIEF SKETCH OF JOSÉ FIGUERES

José (Pepe) Figueres, President of Costa Rica from 1953 to 1958, is one of the foremost democratic figures in Latin America. An engineer and farmer, he studied at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he learned English and something of United States culture.

Figueres is the first national leader in Latin America to come to grips with communism. In 1942 he attacked in a radio address the extreme rightwing government of Calderón García for its collaboration with the Communists. For this he was exiled to Mexico. Two years later he returned to

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speak of investments. Then you wonder why we spit.

Right now, you are engaged in what is called a cold war. It would destroy our faith in mankind to even doubt your intentions. We believe you. You are not aggressors. You are trying to prevent an attack on yourselves, and on the Western World. You may be right or wrong. But we are with you. Is it too much to ask that, if you stood for liberty, in mind and in action, in Berlin, which is not Washington, you should also stand for liberty, in your moral judgments, in Caracas, which is right over the border?

If you talk human dignity to Russia, why do you hesitate so much to talk human dignity to the Dominican Republic? You have some investments there. You get your bauxite practically free. Your generals and your admirals and your high civilian officials and your businessmen are royally entertained there. Furs and automobiles, used to break the fragile virtue of Hollywood heroines, are paid for by the American taxpayers, as deductible expenses of United States firms who must bribe the royal family to operate in their preserves. But our women are raped, our men are castrated and our professors are kidnaped from the classrooms of Columbia University. This is what some of your lawmakers call cooperation to fight communism.

Spitting is a despicable practice, when it is physically performed. But what about moral spitting? When your Government invited Pedro Estrada, the Himmeler of the Western Hemisphere, to be honored in Washington, did you not spit on the faces of all Latin American democrats?

He deserved to be honored, we were told, because, as chief of police of a police state, he managed to maintain peace in Caracas, while a conference on human rights was held there over the screams of the tortured. You could easily keep peace in the whole world, if you turned it all into a huge cemetery. My government refused to participate in such a gruesome event. We provoked the ire of some United States Government officials and the criticism of some well-meaning North American newspapers. This was 1954, 4 years ago. The families of these dead are still spitting.

Let me now turn to the field of economic relations with Latin America, or with the entire underdeveloped world for that matter. God and a few illustrious Americans know well that I admire the United States economic institutions, and that I make an effort to keep pace with the progress of top-level economic thinking in this country, which few people heed.

But when it comes to international economic policies, the United States gives the impression of being bent on repeating all the errors that have done internal harm in the past, not excluding, of course, those that brought about the great depression of 1929.

Repeatedly, we, the Latin American students, and others, have pointed at the mistakes, and have even ventured suggestions. All we get in reply is slogans, cliches, novelities like "the law of supply and demand," originalities like "the free enterprise system," or insults like "aren't we given you enough money?"

Now, we do not want gifts, except in catastrophe areas. We are not spitting on people for money. We have inherited all the defects of the Spanish soul, but also some of its virtues. We are proud, however poor. We have dignity, in the Spanish sense of the word, which means self-respect.

What we want is fair payment for the sweat of our people, and for the juices of our soil, when they supply a need of another country. With that we would live, and build up our own capital, and develop. But as long as the weight of the advanced economies is allowed to tip the scale, permitting the rich countries to buy cheap and

sell dear, we shall continue to be poor, and you will not have a growing market for your exports.

This injustice against us and this suicidal practice against the United States economy are being practiced in the name of the tired slogan "Free trade," which, however, does not apply when our goods have to go through the American customhouses.

When we try to stabilize the prices of our products at a fair level, that will permit us to live and to grow, and to buy your electronic gadgets, we are labeled "pink," or "socialistic," or whatever may be in vogue. "Free enterprise" has to mean feast or famine for our people, and more famine than feast.

However, when my tiny country, Costa Rica, buys in the United States, as it does every year, \$5 million worth of wheat, because we are not in the wheat latitude, we pay a price that has been stabilized for years, by means of an International Wheat Agreement, because it would not be fair for our people to eat cheap bread at the expense of the American farmer.

He, the United States farmer, producing the wheat we eat, might have to send his daughter to the university to study advanced sociology, in a Chevrolet, some years, instead of a Cadillac, if the blind forces of supply and demand were allowed to flow, like uncontrolled floods. We wish he could send her in a Rolls Royce, to study psychokinetics, or cosmic rays. If this can be accomplished by raising the price of wheat half a cent, we will just have to pay it.

But it would be a real fairyland if all our farmers, who produce your coffee, and your cocoa, and your baler twine, and who are also in the bad habit of having children, could send those tots to grammar school with shoes on their feet, and maybe even with a little breakfast in their stomachs.

This, however, the workings of a free economy do not permit. Children may be all right, but cliches are holy. If Latin Americans are no longer satisfied to work for 50 cents a day; and if the firms down there want to build up national capital, and eventually to diversify their economies; and if governments want to increase their revenues, and install sewage systems, Africa presents no such problems of sophistication. The new Republic of Ghana can compete with stubborn Brazil in cocoa prices. There is nothing as sacred as competition, when it favors your interests at the expense of others.

I am preparing a book on inter-American economic relations, which will be part of a study that a group of friends are making, on the causes and possible cures of underdevelopment.²

Last week I finished a short survey of the economy of Yucatan, a Mexican state. It is a unique case study. Probably the best example you could find of a country dealing almost exclusively with the United States, and mainly in one product: sisal fibers and twines for United States agriculture.

I found that businesses there are well run, and the quality of the finished products is excellent. However, I know of no other ex-

²In September 1954 at the request of the School of International Affairs, Columbia University, I wrote a short essay, Problems of Democracy in Latin America. It contains, in condensed form, some of the subjects that I intend to elaborate in my book. This article appeared in the Journal of International Affairs, early in 1955. By an irony of fate, the paper immediately following mine was "Anti-Americanism in Latin America," by Professor Jesús Galindez, who was later kidnaped and murdered by the Government of the Dominican Republic. Several similar attempts on my life have been less successful.

port product that is so unprotected against the blind forces of supply and demand: It fits the laziness of the cliché lovers perfectly. There seems to be tacit agreement between the Yucatan exporters and the United States importers, to cut each other's throats to the last 10th of a cent, and to establish who will contribute most to the ruin of the Yucatan people.

On a well-run farm that I took as my case study, the work is done by 45 men and 30 mules. Since even misery has its own system of priorities, the mules are less underfed than the men. All men and all mules, together in their brotherhood of stabilized famine, cost the employer \$40 a day. Nevertheless the owner is decapitalizing, in my opinion. (He just calls it "losing money.") When his decorticator breaks down, and he orders spare parts from the United States, 2 American mechanics at \$2.50 an hour here will earn as much money as the entire 75 living beings on his farm.

This is a free economy. Freedom to starve is important. We have to compete with the half slaves in Tanganika, and with forced labor in the Dominican Republic. Both are part of the free world.

As a result, the Wisconsin farmer buys baler twine at 11 cents a pound c. i. f. New Orleans, and probably saves about one thousandth of a cent on every 10 pounds of butter. And then his son cannot get a job in an automobile factory, because people in Yucatan cannot afford even shoes, let alone automobiles. And then you have a surplus of 750,000 cars in the United States, because the internal market is already supplied. And you forget that 170 million Latin Americans south of the border, if prices of their exports were adequate, could make Detroit run 36 hours a day.

The city of Merida, Yucatan, could use a sewage system, if it could collect taxes. Businessmen who should be able to pay those taxes forget their own faults in not presenting a united front. Some of them assume a simplified view of the United States which is their sole buyer. The United States sends its traders down to squeeze the last quarter of a cent out of the Yucatan economy. They get fibre and twine at "the world market price," another cliché which indicates starvation level. When the people of Yucatan complain of their plight, the United States recommends a diversification of the economy. This is an original idea. But the people of Yucatan have never been able to build up the capital it takes to diversify, because they work for the United States farmer (who does not know it) at slave labor wages. So, what will they do? Would that inexhaustible source of all benedictions, the Export and Import Bank, grant a loan? Well, that is a technical question. It would depend on the collateral, the security, and a great many impressive things that fibre producers know nothing about. It would have to be self-liquidating, it should not create inflation, and so on and on. Private investments abroad are better. "Why don't you people let us do the job—let our corporations go down and do your business for you?"

A Yucatan said to me: "You go to the doctor because you want to have children, and you cannot make your wife conceive. The doctor thinks it over, and finally suggests a simple solution: Why don't you let me try?"

Gentlemen, you may find that I am criticizing, dwelling on generalities, and offering no solutions. This is not the occasion for me to offer solutions. Partly, because I have already planted my cornfield. In my speeches and writings I have tried to suggest specific plans—I shall continue to give my modest contributions to a study of these problems. Partly because I know that you have right here in the United States my own teachers, economists, and other thinkers who know far more than I shall ever learn, about Latin America, about the feelings of other peoples,

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about economic institutions, and about the great destiny of the United States, as a rejuvenator of western civilization.

No less capable and honest are most of the men and women with whom I have had to deal in Foreign Service of the United States. What puzzles me, and other Democrats in Latin America, is something abstract—policies. Those policies may be all right, and I may be all wrong. But I am sure that it was at those policies that the Venezuelan people meant to spit.

I repeat that no branch of the United States Government and no sector of the country is solely responsible for these policies or national attitudes. But policies have to be followed, like a party line, by all members of the foreign services. The slogans and clichés must be repeated. And many of those individuals are superior to the lines they faithfully follow.

Maybe I could illustrate this with a parable written by our Peruvian poet, Santos Chocano. Jesus had a day of preaching at several little villages around the Sea of Galilee. At the end of the day He noticed the face of a man who had been present at most of His sermons. "Why dost thou look at me in that manner?" He asked. And the man answered: "Because I understand not." Jesus walked over to him, put His holy hand over the man's head, and commanded: "Understand." And the man understood.

That night, pondering on the doings of the day, Jesus marveled at having performed one miracle that would never be repeated through the centuries: making those who understand not, understand.

It may be that we have here the key to many discrepancies, between the caliber of certain individuals and the inadequacy of certain policies. The situation may be that those who should understand, cannot; and those who do understand, must not.

Now, let not the enemies of the United States be too happy about anything I have said to this congressional committee. My judgments may be blurred, my expressions may be foggy, but my intentions are clear. This is strictly a discussion within the family. I mean the family of American Republics.

I suppose that loyal citizens in classical times may have said: "My city-state, right or wrong." For centuries afterward, loyal citizens have been saying: "My country, right or wrong." The era has now come when we must start thinking: "My civilization, right or wrong."

Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 10, 1958

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an editorial from the Carroll County Independent, Center Ossipee, N. H., on Friday, June 6, 1958, entitled "Foreign Trade":

When we read the daily press we note letters to the editors and articles complaining about the competition given some sections of American industry by foreign competition, or imports from overseas.

Now it would be an ideal condition if we could sell overseas everything we could possibly manufacture and in turn import nothing, giving a permanent level of high employment and wages to labor and a high return of profits to the investor.

But unfortunately things just do not work out that way in real life.

If we do not buy, we cannot sell, for the seller will have no funds to pay for the purchase.

It would indeed be splendid if we could sell Cuba automobiles, cash registers, refrigerators, radios, televisions, motor scooters, bicycles, and tools and in return buy neither sugar nor rum. But the Cubans just have to have American dollars if they are to pay us for our automobiles and other durable goods and have money to fly over to Miami to shop for wearing apparel.

Of course, before the tension mounted over the Castro revolutionary activity, Cuba had a steady source of American dollar income from the tourist business, but this was not enough to pay for all the imports from the States.

And so it goes.

World trade and commerce is a most complex affair. Since World War II, it has become more than a matter of trade and exchange, it has become an integral part of the cold war with Russia.

To live, a nation must manufacture, sell and buy. If they cannot do business with us, they will do it somewhere else, and they are all too likely to end up in the Russian sphere of influence.

As manufacturing techniques and processes change, as living standards rise, so do the problems of international trade and exchange, all mixed with world politics.

There is no quick or easy solution to the problem. At best it is a series of conferences, hearings, import allotments, treaties and agreements and compromises.

Probably there never will be a permanent solution. But international trade, properly handled, is one of the most important weapons that we have in our fight against communism. Properly handled we will win the fight. Improperly handled, we are reasonably sure to lose the world.

Author of Book on President Wilson
Continues in Footsteps of Father

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1958

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Members of Congress should be acquainted with the publication of the book "The United States and East Central Europe, A Study in Wilsonian Diplomacy and Propaganda" written by Prof. Victor S. Mamatey.

Professor Mamatey's father, the late Albert Mamatey, was a personal friend of that great Slovak patriot, Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, first President of Czechoslovakia. I believe this book to be most interesting and informative, and portrays the great fight the people of Czechoslovakia have made for freedom. [From the Easton, (Pa.) Herald, of Friday, April 18, 1958]

AUTHOR OF BOOK ON PRESIDENT WILSON
CONTINUES IN FOOTSTEPS OF FATHER

(By John C. Sciranka)

Prof. Victor S. Mamatey, son of the late Albert Mamatey, well known American Slovak leader wrote a very interesting book, "The United States and East Central Europe, A Study in Wilsonian Diplomacy and Propaganda," published by the Princeton Univer-

sity Press, Princeton, N. J., 1957. The book contains 431 pages of very interesting historical material.

Professor Mamatey has all the qualifications to write such a book. He was brought up as a boy in the Wilsonian atmosphere. His late father, Albert Mamatey, was president of the National Slovak Society and the Slovak League of America, also the first American to hold a position of an honorary consul of the Republic of Czechoslovakia in Pittsburgh, where the writer was born and raised and where he had an opportunity to come in contact almost daily with the late Albert Mamatey, who lived in Braddock, Pa., and commuted daily to Pittsburgh to the office of the National Slovak Society and later to the Consulate of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. Albert Mamatey was an inspiring leader of American Slovaks for over a quarter century. He was a noted lecturer and a great orator, who often spoke before large American and Slovak audiences, as well as before the American educators. The writer has a collection of some of Mr. Mamatey's addresses before these important American bodies, including the university professors, especially during World War I, when he was a leading factor for the liberation of Czechs and Slovaks and the formation of the first Czechoslovak Republic. Mamatey was a personal friend of Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, first president of Czechoslovakia. He welcomed and escorted Masaryk to Pittsburgh, where on May 30, 1918, the Pittsburgh Pact was signed by Masaryk. Mamatey is one of the signers of this pact.

The writer, as a young fellow, carried an American flag in the parade on that famous May 30, 1918, in Pittsburgh, when Masaryk signed the pact. Knowing all these facts, I appreciate even more the book written by young Mamatey. Late Mamatey also welcomed in America and escorted to Washington, D. C., Gen. Milan R. Stefanik, cofounder of Czechoslovakia and a well known scientist.

The author of the book, young Dr. Mamatey, is professor of history at the University of Florida, Tallahassee, Fla.

Professor Mamatey studied in Bratislava and also at the famous Sorbonne University in Paris, where he received his doctorate. He took postgraduate courses at the University of Chicago and Harvard University. He visited various Slavonic countries and as a linguist, he was able to obtain information on various subjects directly from the people in their native tongues.

Professor Mamatey's book is a rich source of information about various European countries as compared to our American democracy in a true Wilsonian spirit and tradition.

Prof. S. Harrison Thompson, editor of the Journal of Central European Affairs, compliments Professor Mamatey on his literary achievements. And Professor Thompson is a very good judge and a critic for he, too, is an author of several books on Czechoslovakia.

In the opinion of various reviewers and critics, Professor Mamatey's book will be very valuable for the students of central and eastern European countries, who do not get an opportunity to hear about the history and the conditions of these countries for the reason that only a few American universities and colleges give lectures on this important subject. This book will help to fill the gap. The book will also be a great help in combating Communist propaganda, often camouflaged in the so-called pan-Slavistic or Russophilistic cloak. Having qualifications as a historian and a linguist, Professor Mamatey performed a great service for democracies as expounded by the famous President Woodrow Wilson, whom the late Mamatey met on several occasions in the White House and with whom he had correspondence in several years. The father of Prof. Victor S. Mamatey, author of the book herein described, was also a prolific writer. He wrote both in Slovakian and English,