

## MUZZLING THE MILITARY

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

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, so much has been said lately about muzzling the military that I hesitate to use the term. How, when, and where the military should speak out is a controversy that I am certain will not soon be resolved. Nevertheless, the law seems to be quite clear that military personnel cannot legally be restrained from communicating with their respective Congressmen. Public Law 51, 82d Congress, states:

No member of the Armed Forces shall be restricted or prevented from communicating directly or indirectly with any Member or Members of Congress concerning any subject unless such communication is in violation of law, or in violation of regulations necessary to the security and safety of the United States.

Recently, the gentleman from California [Mr. TALCOTT] and I received numerous complaints from military personnel at Guantanamo that they were instructed that they could not communicate with their Congressmen without first getting permission from their superiors.

The gentleman from California caused an inquiry to be made at the base and a sampling of the personnel indicated this information was incorrect. Perhaps the fact that each man was required to give his name, rank, and serial number could have influenced the outcome.

More recently a constituent of mine sent me a memorandum signed by 19 physicians—officers of the U.S. Air Force which reads as follows:

On or about February 8, 1963, the following announcement was made before the physicians at Travis Air Force Base Hospital. It was stated to be a base order.

1. The expense and time incurred by congressional investigations was becoming quite excessive. To help alleviate these bothersome investigations the following steps would be taken:

(a) The serviceman would first take his complaint to his immediate commander. If the complaint could not be solved to the serviceman's satisfaction then he could take the complaint to the Inspector General's Team. If they could not correct his complaint, then he could write his Congressman.

(b) If a serviceman failed to take the above steps, then it would be reflected on his officer effectiveness reports that he was using political influence.

(c) If a serviceman's wife wrote in his lieu, then it would be reflected upon his officer effectiveness reports that he had no control over his household.

I am told that this order was also disseminated to the enlisted men in a written form for them to initial and the forms collected.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that this practice is not becoming prevalent in our military. This is a form of coercion which has no place in any society. It is reducing our military personnel to a state of indentured servitude with no right to petition for a redress of grievances. It is an encroachment upon personal liberty as guaranteed by our Constitution. With so much power being

centralized in the Federal Government, it would seem all the more necessary for citizens to more frequently write their Congressmen.

CAPT. H. E. BECKMEYER, U.S. NAVY BUREAU OF SUPPLIES AND ACCOUNTS, AND CAPT. JOHN A. SCOTT, OFFICE OF NAVAL MATERIAL

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

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, credit must be given where credit is due. Therefore, I want to highly commend Capt. H. E. Beckmeyer, of the U.S. Navy Bureau of Supplies and Accounts and Capt. John A. Scott, of the Office of Naval Material. Last week these two men were responsible for the halting of a procurement for which industry could not secure drawings. Absence of these drawings would have virtually eliminated competition and imposed an added burden on the taxpayer. I am happy to report today that just the opposite will occur—drawings are going to be made available and the procurement will be truly competitive.

By far the greatest percentage of Government employees are honest, dedicated people, and that includes military personnel. Where such an exhaustive chain of command is involved, as in the case of our sprawling Defense Department, even a few rotten apples in the barrel can contaminate most of the rest and, therefore, make the majority look bad.

In this case, as in many others, a private industry notified me that the Navy Department had up for procurement a variable resistor that is a part of a computer system known as the AN/ASA 13. The Navy contended this item was to be purchased under competitive conditions, but there was no description of the item to be bought and no drawings were available. All the Navy had was a commercial company part number to identify the equipment. Only that one company knew the technical aspects of the item to be bought. In effect, this made the whole concept of a competitive procurement, in this case, laughable.

Learning of this deplorable and shameful camouflage, I followed my usual procedure and demanded drawings and specifications be furnished so that real competitive bidding could be brought about with the usual savings of defense dollars for the taxpayer.

Captain Scott and Captain Beckmeyer cooperated wholeheartedly with my request. Captain Beckmeyer said he learned there were drawings but they could not be found. He assured me that they would be found, and he delayed this procurement until that time. He actually went so far as to cancel the procurement, assuring me he will have it reissued once the drawings are uncovered. These specifications will then be furnished to bidders, and we should then see a truly competitive procurement with a liberal savings to the taxpayer.

Mr. Speaker, Captain Beckmeyer and Captain Scott should receive a commendation from the Secretary of the Navy for their actions in this procurement. And I might say here today that I cannot for the life of me see how those in higher positions of authority fail to recognize the importance of this type of administration. I cannot understand how they fail to make such actions the rule instead of the exception.

Mr. Speaker, if I could only receive this type of cooperation and could get a few of the hardheaded, hell-bent-for-leather, pot-bellied, bureaucratic, self-styled, conceited administrators to see the merits of actions such as those of Captains Beckmeyer and Scott, my job could be labeled by a geometric expression, "Q.E.D."

## WHAT "PROMISES" WERE MADE TO KHRUSHCHEV ON CUBA

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

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I read on the UPI press ticker this morning that in bidding Castro farewell at a mass rally in Russia, Khrushchev is quoted as saying:

The world may face a more difficult crisis than the Cuba confrontation of last October unless the United States adheres to its promises in the Caribbean.

It is clear that if the American Government does not follow the promises it has made to Cuba the world may find itself in a more dangerous situation than last year.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come for the President of the United States to tell the American people what are the "promises" that were made to Khrushchev on Cuba in October and November of last year. It is strange and ironic that we have to learn about such deals from Communist Cuba and from Khrushchev.

Khrushchev further said:

Normalization of the Caribbean situation might be reached on the basis of the well-known five points put forward by Castro.

Incidentally, that Castro five-point demand took place on October 28 of last year when the blockade was still in effect.

One of these was to stop attacks by the Cuban freedom fighters. This demand has been conceded by the New Frontier to Communist Castro.

Another is the complete evacuation of the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo. All portents indicate pressure is building up on this demand.

I wonder if one of the others; that is, resumption of trade, is not partially being put into effect with a foot-in-the-door technique by the FAA in connection with the overflights of Cuban Communist registered planes being permitted to use U.S. airspace so long as they go through a certain traffic corridor and stop for inspection at either Boston, New York, or Washington, D.C.

I have requested that all flights by Cuban registered planes or the planes of other countries going to or coming from

All of us have been deeply concerned about his illness and pray for a speedy and complete recovery. It has been my privilege to be associated with Chairman WALTER during my years in Congress, and I highly respect him for his skill as a legislator and his devotion to the public cause.

#### GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, there are requests from at least a dozen other Members on both sides of the aisle to express their views relative to this distinguished Member of our body, and, therefore, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the 69th birthday of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER].

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

There was no objection.

#### LET'S HOLD THE LINE ON TOURISTS' FARES

(Mr. FRIEDEL (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, congressional committees are properly concerned over current negotiations relative to an increase in airline fares across the transatlantic route. It appears that our two transatlantic carriers—Pan American and TWA—would be faced with the problem of having aircraft impounded in many countries—principally Great Britain—unless they agree to what amounts to an increase in tourist fares, as insisted upon by the International Air Transport Association.

Mr. Speaker, Pan American and TWA are privately owned by American citizens. Their foreign competitors—to a large extent—are Government owned. The wage scales are radically different, in fact, our U.S.-flag carriers pay substantially more in wages to their personnel than do the foreign lines. Yet, until this past week, the fares across the North Atlantic were substantially the same.

It is ironic that the champions of higher fares are the same carriers that are heavily invested in by their governments and which pay much lower wages for supposedly identical services.

As a matter of fact, the subject of lowered fares across the Atlantic has been almost a fixation with Pan American World Airways and its farsighted Maryland-raised president, Mr. Juan T. Trippe. As early as 1943, when it was apparent that postwar air growth would be stupendous, Mr. Trippe began clamoring for some system whereby international air fares could be reduced.

Today, an overwhelming amount of the revenues across the North Atlantic are engendered by American citizens. Ironically, again, our two transatlantic carriers are hauling only about 35 percent of the traffic. Yet, led by Pan Am, they seek to keep the fares below the levels advocated by their European competition.

Mr. Trippe, in his 1962 annual report to his stockholders, had this to say:

If a reasonable reduction in transatlantic tariffs were acceptable to European air carriers and their governments, everybody would gain. Trade between free world nations will gain. Tourists and business travel will gain. Airline employees will gain. Airline owners will gain, as well as private shareholders in American and Government owners in Europe. Many more paying passengers will fill empty seats although each will have paid less for his transatlantic flight—an objective long sought by your company.

I think we should support Mr. Trippe and Pan Am in lowering the fares and let our international air carriers operate with more substantial payloads.

#### PROFITTEERING IN SUGAR

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

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the time has come for the Congress of the United States through its appropriate committees to investigate the skyrocketing price of sugar within the last 30 days, the price of sugar has increased 3 cents a pound to the individual consumer. The prices give every prospect of continuing to rise. The hoarders are hard at work to join the profiteers.

Simple arithmetic will disclose that with an annual per capita consumption of sugar totaling 100 pounds each year, the current 3-cent per pound increase will cost \$3 additional for every man, woman and child in the country. The total cost of the sugar price increase this year to 188 million Americans will total \$664 million—and the cost could reach \$1 billion if the present price spiral is not halted.

We should endeavor to find out who is getting the bonanza of lush profits.

#### FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

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

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, on March 28, 1963, the Federal Communications Commission issued a public notice that it planned to consider limiting the number of commercials that a station can broadcast in a given period.

While the Commission indicated it wishes to take into consideration all possible alternatives and to consider whether special provisions should be made for stations which, because of their location in sparsely populated areas or other factors, might not be able to observe the limitations contained in the NAB codes and at the same time maintain operation in the public interest, I must confess that I am very disturbed over this proposal.

The adoption of such a proposal by the FCC, as I view it, Mr. Speaker, is a very definite form of rate setting which I believe to be outside and beyond present regulations.

Should this proposal be permitted to be placed in effect, it would mean the establishment of and control of time a station may devote to commercial broadcasting and thereby determine station rates without being in a position to insure that station that its advertisers will patronize the station at the greatly advanced rates that would be necessary to sustain its operation. Further, the proposal completely ignores the overcrowded radio field as it currently exists and ignores the economic facts of life. For example, last year, a so-called prosperous year, over one-third of the AM radio stations in the country operated at a net loss. I submit, Mr. Speaker, to limit commercial time would necessarily cause advancement in rates and thereby drive advertisers to other advertising media. I am therefore most hopeful that the Commission will be very careful in moving ahead in this area.

#### THE WHEAT REFERENDUM

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

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, the wheat farmers of America are to be congratulated on their courage and fortitude in defeating the wheat referendum. They have won the fight against the brazen propaganda campaign of the Department of Agriculture which tried desperately hard to influence a favorable vote in the referendum. Secretary Freeman used the full power of the Department and a lot of the taxpayers' money in this effort to influence the election. Rushing the feed grain bill through Congress without amendments made no difference. Even President Kennedy's personal appeal for a "yes" vote went unheeded. Statistically, the "yes" vote in the referendum received only 47.79 percent of the total vote, not even a majority, whereas a two-thirds vote was required. Only five States cast a two-thirds vote in favor of the referendum. In defeating the referendum, the wheat farmers served notice on the Kennedy administration that they love freedom more than a regimented and controlled agricultural economy.

Our corn and feed grain farmers, dairy farmers, as well as our livestock producers are also to be heartily congratulated. If the wheat referendum had prevailed, it would only have been a question of time before they would have again been confronted with strict control legislation.

The Kennedy administration and Secretary Freeman have suffered a humiliating defeat.

I call on the Kennedy administration to immediately propose a new wheat bill to protect the wheat farmers of the Nation. I cannot conceive of the administration letting wheat farmers hang out on a limb with \$1 a bushel wheat which Secretary Freeman said they would get if the referendum failed.

The responsibility for new wheat legislation rests with the Kennedy administration.

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Cuba be stopped, and the use of U.S. air-space to perpetuate Castro in power be denied.

If that is not done, I shall introduce a bill to accomplish this result and ask for an immediate hearing on this whole mess.

It is time that President Kennedy lay before the American people the promises he made last year to get Russian missiles and troops out of Cuba.

It appears that, as usual, the American people have to get their news on our Government's activities from Khrushchev. The Kennedy news managers have built up the myth that there were no promises made last fall.

It was made to appear that we stood "eyeball to eyeball" with Khrushchev and told him to take his missiles and go but now it becomes apparent through actions that followed that the President dealt away our bases in Europe, our posture in Laos, our Monroe Doctrine in the Western Hemisphere, and who knows what else.

I hereafter include in the RECORD the five demands Castro made on October 28, 1962, referred to repeatedly by Castro and Khrushchev and reiterated as their joint demands from Moscow.

Those demands are as follows:

First. End all subversive activities, dropping and landing of arms and explosives by air and sea, organization of mercenary invasions, infiltration of spies and saboteurs, all of which are organized in U.S. Territory and certain accomplice countries.

Second. Withdraw from Guantánamo.

Third. End U.S. economic blockade and all measures of commercial pressures.

Fourth. End United States and Puerto Rican based pirate attacks.

Fifth. End all violation of air and naval space by North American military aircraft and ships.

#### EQUAL PAY ACT OF 1963

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 362 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 6060) to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed two hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. ST. GEORGE] and, pending that, myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 362 makes in order the consideration of H.R. 6060, a bill to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce. It is an open rule and provides for 2 hours of debate.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no controversy over the rule, although there is some controversy over the bill, and I therefore reserve the balance of my time.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution, House Resolution 362, makes in order the consideration of H.R. 6060 to prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce. Similar bills have been before this House before, but this one, I think, is by all odds the best one, although it is by no means perfect, that we have had so far.

For those who fear this legislation—and there are some—I would like to point out that all women are by no means covered in this act. As a matter of fact, we see, according to the supplemental views in the report, that the prohibition against discrimination because of sex is placed under the Fair Labor Standards Act, with the act's established coverage of employers and employees. All of the Fair Labor Standards exemptions apply; and, this is very noteworthy, agriculture, hotels, motels, restaurants, and laundries are excluded. Also all professional, managerial, and administrative personnel and outside salesmen are excluded. So, a very great quantity of women will not be covered in this act, especially because it considers hotels, motels, restaurants, and laundries, where women are by far the majority of the workers. They will not be included.

Mr. Speaker, I have always felt that these bills would come to us from now on, and I hope that they will, but in every instance it is only one bite of the cherry. In other words, we are just nibbling away at a thing that could have been completely covered by an amendment to the Constitution simply giving women equal rights and letting it go at that. That apparently has not been the will of the House so far. I hope some day that it will be. However, in the meantime, we are going to have to have these bills which will help, which will do a little, which will get a foot in the door, and they will have to continue to come to us.

Mr. Speaker, this bill in my estimation is good. It is a little bit too little and, of course, it is too late. But on the other hand it is the best thing we can get at this time.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no serious objection to it. I feel sure that the House will be glad, in fact, we feel that it is high time for it to pass favorably on this legislation and certainly pass favorably on the rule.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER].

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

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I do not know that I will use the 5 minutes that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BOLLING] has so graciously granted me. But I cannot sit idly by without expressing my opinion about this legislation. I recognize that this bill is going to pass. It is going to pass overwhelmingly, I suspect, because it has an appeal to a minority or special group. It deals with women. I recognize the seeming popular appeal and then, too, Mr. Speaker, I recognize in addition to the futility of my stating my position the politically unwise situation in which I find myself. I certainly do not want to be put in the position of opposing the women of this country, and I could dwell at some length on that subject. I am not so sure that the women want this bill. However, I am opposed to this proposal because I think it is basically unsound, just as I have opposed proposals here that were aimed at other minority or special groups.

I doubt seriously, Mr. Speaker, if this bill is constitutional. I do not like the idea of pointing out women here as if they are an inferior group and that the Federal Government with its strong arm must step in and try to protect them. I think they can stand on their own. They have been doing that for many, many generations.

Mr. Speaker, there are many instances where women are entitled to more pay than the opposite sex and why should we just put them on an equal basis? This strikes at the merit system.

Mr. Speaker, I am principally opposed to this legislation because it represents further regimentation of our people.

This sets up another army of Federal agents to go about snooping into every little, as well as every big business in the country to see whether the Federal law is being enforced.

I think women should be paid. I think they should be paid upon an equal basis with men for similar work, and I think generally it is true that they are where they have the qualifications for that particular position, but this thing of regimentation is something that just does not appeal to me. In fact, our people are already over regimented.

Mr. Speaker, there has grown up a custom in this country that we have to have the Federal Government stick its strong arms out to get into every phase and facet of our local government and of our industry. There is a provision in this bill, Mr. Speaker, that I think throws some light on what I am talking about. There is a provision that an employer who is paying a wage rate differential in violation of this subsection shall not, in order to comply with the provisions of this subsection, reduce the wage rate of an employee. That recognizes the fact that there are many, many women in this country who are receiving

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better pay than men for equal service, as spelled out in this bill. I recognize, I repeat, the political appeal of this bill. I am not going to ask anyone to oppose this bill, or to cast their ballot against it, but I am going to emphasize, as one who is opposed to the ever-spreading tentacles of the Federal Government into the management and the conduct of the affairs of the people of this Nation, that the Members had better give some consideration to it and its far reaching implications.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, I am not so sure that this proposed legislation in the long run is going to benefit the women employees of this country. It is highly probable that the employers may find it advantageous to employ men in positions now filled by women. Certainly, they would feel inclined so to do in marginal instances where the labor market is plentiful. In other words, it is highly probable that the passage of this bill would result in less employment for women.

Mr. Speaker, finally I am opposed to this bill because I do not think that this subject is any of the Federal Government's business.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON].

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, as a long-time advocate of the principle of equal pay for equal work, I am very glad to speak in favor of H.R. 6060. I am very much interested in the remarks of the previous speaker because it is some time since the women of this country have been in the minority. We are rather far ahead of you in that regard, my distinguished colleague. Of course, if you care to be the spokesman for the actual minority. Equal pay legislation has been introduced in every Congress since 1945 by Members of both parties, a truly bipartisan effort.

The bill which is now before us is essentially the same as the one introduced in March of this year by the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODSELL]. It is a very logical approach to the problem in that it places administration of equal pay under the Fair Labor Standards Act. This alleviates the fear voiced by many that passage of such a bill would lead to the establishment of a new bureaucracy with a new set of rules and a new set of investigators. The procedures under the Fair Labor Standards Act are already well established. However, let me remind you of what the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. ST. GEORGE] has already told us, that this bill in no way covers all the women workers of this country. Indeed, it leaves out a very great many of them. So I would like to consider this bill and have you consider it as one of the first steps toward an adjustment of balance in pay for women.

As a matter of fact, you know it is going to affect some of you men because there are places where the men do not get paid as much as women for doing the same job.

Furthermore, I am glad to note that H.R. 6060 gives a 1-year moratorium on enforcement, thereby giving ample op-

portunity for voluntary compliance. Also, recognition is given the special problem created by existing collective bargaining agreements by providing that enforcement proceedings will be undertaken only at the expiration of such agreements or a maximum of 2 years after enactment.

There are 24 million women in the labor force today and by 1970 we shall have over 30 million. Most women work to contribute to essential living expenses for themselves or their families. For example, over 6 million single women workers support themselves; over 2 million working women are heads of families; others are the primary wage earner in the family although not technically the family head.

Married women who are not the primary wage earner in the family work to raise family living standards and to send children through college in many, many families, but there are others who must work to give their children proper education. The contribution of these women to the Nation's productive resources must be recognized, encouraged, and maximized.

It is a matter of simple justice to pay a woman the same rate as a man when she is performing the same duties. We have had equal pay in the Government for some years through the Federal classified civil service. Some 22 States have enacted equal pay laws, but let me say right there that in many of these they do not work too well. However, a Federal law is needed to give complete and adequate coverage.

It is my hope that the House will give favorable consideration to H.R. 6060, as it provides a sound and workable approach, to this problem.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. AVERY].

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I will not consume the 5 minutes. I do not think there is much doubt but that this legislation is going to pass, but since it is going to pass I think we ought to concern ourselves about some of the provisions in the bill. I will not take the time of the House to discuss the bill in detail, but would merely point out to the membership that they should pay particular attention to the way the jurisdiction and the responsibilities of the Secretary of Labor are spelled out in this bill. I would admonish the members of the legislative committee when they speak in general debate to make the legislative history abundantly clear as to what the responsibilities are and where the limitations on the responsibilities and rights of the Secretary of Labor rise.

I particularly am concerned about a statement that is carried in one of the additional views by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. MARTIN] which is not, as I read it, entirely in conformity with some of the statements that were made to the Rules Committee. As I understood the members of the legislative committee, the Secretary of Labor has authority to investigate and to negotiate with the employers on the basis of any irregularities he might discover on the basis of his investigation,

but as far as inflicting any penalty or other sanctions against the employer is concerned, this can only be done by the Federal district court. In other words, the essential authority is not extended to the Secretary of Labor. I hope this will be clearly brought out in the debate.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON].

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have long cosponsored this legislation. I believe it is a good approach and a basic policy the country should adopt. I strongly recommend the passage of this legislation. I like the statement that this is a matter of simple justice to everyone in our civilization and our business community, that we treat everybody alike.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present, and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 362, nays 9, not voting 64, as follows:

[Roll No. 54]  
YEAS—362

Abele	Burkhalter	Edwards
Adair	Burleson	Elliott
Addabbo	Burton	Ellsworth
Albert	Byrne, Pa.	Everett
Anderson	Byrnes, Wis.	Evins
Andrews	Cahill	Fallon
Ashbrook	Cameron	Farbstein
Ashley	Cannon	Fascell
Ashmore	Carey	Feighan
Aspinall	Cederberg	Findley
Auchincloss	Celler	Fino
Avery	Chamberlain	Flood
Ayres	Chelf	Flynt
Baker	Chenoweth	Ford
Baldwin	Clancy	Foreman
Baring	Clerk	Fountain
Barrett	Clausen	Fraser
Barry	Cleveland	Frelinghuysen
Bass	Cohelan	Friedel
Bates	Collier	Fulton, Pa.
Battin	Conte	Fulton, Tenn.
Becker	Corbett	Fuqua
Beckworth	Corman	Gallagher
Beermann	Cramer	Garmatz
Belcher	Cunningham	Gary
Bell	Curtin	Gathings
Bennett, Fla.	Curtis	Gavin
Bennett, Mich.	Daddario	Gibbons
Berry	Dague	Gilbert
Betts	Daniels	Gill
Boggs	Davis, Ga.	Glenn
Boland	Dawson	Gonzalez
Bolling	Delaney	Goodell
Bolton	Dent	Goodling
Frances P.	Denton	Green, Oreg.
Bolton	Derounian	Green, Pa.
Oliver P.	Derwinski	Griffin
Bow	Devins	Griffiths
Bray	Dingell	Gross
Brock	Dole	Grover
Bromwell	Donohue	Gubser
Broomfield	Dorn	Gurney
Brown, Calif.	Dowdy	Hagan, Ga.
Brown, Ohio	Downing	Hagen, Calif.
Broyhill, N.C.	Dulski	Haley
Broyhill, Va.	Duncan	Hall
Bruce	Dwyer	Halpern
Burke	Edmondson	Hanna

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## The Legacy of Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the American Security Council has published an outstanding article in its May 20, 1963, Washington report entitled "The Legacy of Cuba." In view of the attention which has been focused on the problem of Cuba by the Congress, and particularly by the Armed Services Committee's Preparedness Subcommittee, I recommend the reading of this article to my colleagues. I therefore, ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## THE LEGACY OF CUBA

"If communism should obtain a permanent foothold in Latin America \* \* \* then the balance of power would move against us and peace would be even more insecure." (John F. Kennedy, September 14, 1960.)

"I think it is clear that the importance of Cuba is less than we think \* \* \* on the surface evidence of the headlines. \* \* \* The real issue here is not what does or does not happen in marginal daily conflicts with the disgraceful Castro regime. The real question is what happens in the processes of the societies of the Western Hemisphere as a whole." (McGeorge Bundy, as quoted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 8, 1963.)

Today, communism does have a permanent foothold in Latin America. The 1960 prophecy of candidate Kennedy has come dismally true. But President Kennedy's advisers, such as Mr. Bundy, are engaged in a massive effort to deny the truth of the President's earlier prophecy.

This truth cannot be denied. It smothers and stultifies every constructive cold war policy of the United States, including the heavily stressed effort to promote social and economic reforms in Latin America. Mr. Bundy argues further, in the speech quoted from above, that "the whole international posture of the United States is stronger today than it was 3 or 4 years ago", and that "we are known to be stronger." This was true for a brief period last October, but not now. Communist power in Cuba and the present U.S. reaction to it is destroying the healthy image of U.S. strength created by our October action. The present truth is much more accurately described by Senator Margaret Smith (in a Senate speech on May 9, 1963):

"How can the United States of America ever again claim to be the leader of the free world or ever hope to achieve the respect of other peoples so long as we tolerate—whether willingly or begrudgingly—the presence of this festering infection so very close to home?"

Mr. Bundy admits that his claim of increased U.S. strength is based mainly on improved intelligence data which reveal that the "missile gap," estimated 3 years ago, never existed. This is correct, and it is one of the reasons why the Soviets put their missiles in Cuba and one of the reasons why they backed down before U.S. power last October. However, the "quantity gap" in our favor is a transitory thing and is becoming steadily less real and less important. Technologically, the Soviets may already be ahead of us

in the arms race. (See WR 63-8.) Furthermore since last October there have been many indications that those in the Kremlin who favor a quantitative increase in Soviet nuclear strength have won their point. The so-called pause in Soviet policy has ended—if it ever existed. A hardening of the Soviet position on all issues is apparent. An even grimmer period of the cold war almost certainly lies ahead.

This turn of events is at least partly the direct result of the administration admission that it is deterred from a blockade or other employment of force in the Cuban situation out of fear of war with the Soviet Union. This position has been carried to the tragic extreme of denying to the Cuban people even the right to take up arms to help liberate their homeland. Two years ago, when a different policy prevailed, the President declared that, "The American people are not complacent about Iron Curtain tanks and planes less than 90 miles from our shores." Now there are many more Soviet planes and tanks in Cuba and large numbers of Soviet troops as well. Regardless of whether or not there are still offensive missiles in Cuban caves, the fact remains that a major Soviet military presence has been solidly established. There is not the slightest indication that this force is going to be removed, and not the slightest indication that the United States intends to force its removal. Unless this is done, communism cannot be overthrown by Cubans.

On May 9, 1963, the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, headed by Senator STENNIS, reported the results of its preliminary investigation of the Cuban situation. On the matter of Soviet troops in Cuba, the unanimous subcommittee report downgraded administration claims that the figure has been reduced to 12,000-13,000 men. The official intelligence estimate remains at 17,500, even though 4,000-5,000 have been seen to withdraw since the first of the year. This is because (a) the original estimates were very imprecise, and (b) there is evidence that the Soviets are merely rotating their forces, with at least as many coming in as going out. The Soviets make a very obvious show of removing people, but can easily bring them in clandestinely. Meanwhile, estimates by refugees and those who have traveled extensively in Cuba put the figure at 30,000-40,000 Soviets still in Cuba.

Senator Stennis' personal conclusion, expressed in the Senate on May 9 is very significant:

"I am convinced that the No. 1 priority of our national and foreign policy should and must be the complete removal of all Russians from Cuba and the adoption of a firm and hard plan which once and for all will rid our hemisphere of this threat.

"To those who say that this involves risks and the danger of war, I reply that there comes a time—as it did last October—when risks must be taken in order to protect and preserve our vital national interests. The risks of doing nothing—of allowing this Communist threat to fester and grow and perhaps subvert nation after nation—are infinitely greater."

Mr. Rusk, however, disagrees. He denies flatly that the Soviet Union can be forced out of Cuba without war, and he denies that the threat now posed by a Communist Cuba warrants military action. In Mr. Rusk's words:

"Let's not kid ourselves that waving missiles is going to cause the other side to roll over and play dead. If you want to do all sorts of drastic things on the assumption that no shooting will result just don't entertain any such illusion. It is necessary to incur very great risks in order to meet great threats \* \* \* But it is not my judgment that the threat in Cuba at the present time warrants the escalation of violence which

would be involved in direct military action against that island." (April 22, 1963, State Department press release No. 213)

The Secretary of State's statement, first of all, serves to nullify Bundy's claim of a more powerful United States. How does the assertion that the Soviet Union is both capable and willing to fight a war in the Caribbean (or to risk nuclear war by aggression someplace else) cause anyone to believe that the U.S. is now stronger than 3 or 4 years ago? And how does such an admission that we dare not use force serve to promote the cause of "moderation" within the Kremlin? If anything, it may cause them to wonder if we were not bluffing after all last October.

Most important is the implication running through administration statements that Cuba without offensive missiles is not a direct threat to U.S. security and, therefore, does not require any form of military action. This change of outlook is very typical of the containment policy. We say we will defend our vital interests by force if necessary, but we do not now consider Communist control of Cuba as contrary to our vital national interest. Two years ago, we did. The only thing that has changed in the interval is the evaluation of the risk of defending that vital interest by force. So the administration now denies that a vital interest is any longer involved.

In contrast, here are a few of the points made by the Stennis subcommittee in summarizing the Russian threat to the Americas:

1. "Cuba in an advanced Soviet base for subversive revolutionary and agitational activities in the Western Hemisphere, and affords the opportunity to export agents, funds, arms, ammunition, and propaganda throughout Latin America."

2. "Assuming, without deciding, that all strategic weapons have been withdrawn, there is the ever present possibility of the stealthy reintroduction of strategic missiles and other offensive weapons, using the Soviet forces still in Cuba as camouflage and security for the activity."

3. "Cuba serves as an advanced intelligence base for the U.S.S.R."

4. "Potentially, Cuba is a base from which the Soviets could interdict our vital air and sea lanes. It can now be used for the air, sea, and electronic surveillance of our military activities in the Southeast United States and the Caribbean."

5. "Advanced Soviet submarine bases could be established in Cuban ports with very little effort." (Exiles report that two submarine bases are now in operation at Banos and Mariel.—Editor.)

6. "Cuba provides a base for training agents of other Latin American countries in subversive, revolutionary, agitational and sabotage techniques." (Just one example: Every month, groups of Columbian students leave for Cuba for such training. They fly by chartered plane to Curacao and are picked up there by Cuban airlines.—Editor.)

7. "The very presence of the Soviets in Cuba affects adversely our Nation's image and prestige. Our friends abroad will understandably doubt our ability to meet and defeat the forces of communism thousands of miles across the ocean if we prove unable to cope with the Communist threat at our very doorstep."

The last point is perhaps the most crucial. It affects the psychology of the cold war—the credibility of U.S. willingness to aid and defend its friends. When we refuse to aid the Cuban freedom fighters and actually prevent them from acting on their own—even when based outside U.S. territory—and when we not only betray the hopes of the exile leader, Miro Cardona, but also heap personal abuse on his head because he dares to speak out at last, we do infinite disservice to the cause of truth, liberty, and peace.

1963

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A3271

sound fiscal operating base for the Government.

## SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Fully utilize private engineers: The administrative agencies of the Federal Government should be specifically directed to fully utilize the services of private consulting engineers in every instance where the best interests of the American public may be served by such employment.

2. Continuing study of Federal policies: The concerned committees of the Congress of the United States should effect a continuing study of the policies of the Federal administrative agencies which tend to put Government into competition with engineers in private industry.

3. Enact dollar-limit legislation: The Congress should enact legislation establishing specific limits on the dollar value of the engineering works accomplished by the various Government agencies.

mankind in this respect is dependent upon maintaining this Nation as a bulwark, economically, politically, and militarily, against the onslaught of the Communist slave system, which would return all of mankind to chains; therefore, we should not permit our representatives, imbued with the delusion of peace in our time to commit us to a nuclear test ban which will reduce us to impotency, so that not only our way of life will be destroyed, but the hope of the enslaved peoples of the world and the future of all mankind will be blighted for centuries to come: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by Hollywood Post No. 34, the American Legion, at its regular meeting held on May 8, 1963, That this organization is utterly opposed to any nuclear test ban treaty which cannot be completely policed, so as to insure that the United States shall maintain its lead over the Communist conspiracy, militarily, economically, and politically; and be it further*

*Resolved, That the adjutant is hereby directed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to all Congressmen from the Los Angeles area, to the two U.S. Senators from California, and to the district, State, and National headquarters of this organization.*

PAUL DENNEY,  
Commander.  
WILLARD STEWART,  
Adjutant.

### Hollywood American Legion Opposes Ineffective Test Ban Treaty

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution opposing ineffective test ban treaty terms was passed by the Hollywood Post No. 43 of the American Legion on May 8:

HOLLYWOOD POST NO. 43, THE AMERICAN LEGION  
RESOLUTION

Whereas the press has recently carried reports of statements by officials of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to the effect that, although there has been no manifest change in the position of the Soviet negotiators, an agreement is momentarily expected which will lead to a treaty banning nuclear testing; and

Whereas years of negotiation with the Soviet on this subject has resulted in the abandonment of point after point on our part, with no material concession by the Soviet, so that today the position of the United States has no relation to our original position, and no relation to reality; and

Whereas the act of negotiation on the part of the Soviet is not a prelude to a treaty, but a means of improving the position of the Communist, economically, politically, and militarily, as was demonstrated by our previous test ban suspension in which the Soviet completed all the preparations for elaborate and comprehensive nuclear testing while the United States slept, thus permitting them to drastically reduce our lead in the nuclear field; and

Whereas any treaty signed with the Soviets will be observed scrupulously by ourselves and secretly violated by the Soviet, or openly abrogated whenever the interests of the Soviet will be served by such action; and

Whereas the quartering of Soviet troops in the Western Hemisphere, 80 miles from our coast is not an act of peaceful coexistence, but an act of war; and

Whereas we may live with the threat of nuclear war, weakness on our part will make such a war a certainty; and

Whereas it is in America that the concept of the freedom and dignity of man has reached its highest level, and the future of

try became important because of its strategic location, its proximity to the Suez Canal and the oil fields of the Persian Gulf.

As an independent Kingdom, Jordan is most noted for its tourism. Much of what is called the Holy Land is now within its borders. The old city of Jerusalem has been contested for centuries for its religious connections. It is the center of three religions—Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Within its walls, Christians may visit the Mount of Olives, the Via Dolorosa, and the Holy Sepulcher. A Jew may search for and find the ruins of Solomon's Temple and David's Tomb. And the Muslim may pray within the confines of the mosque of the Dome of the Rock, the third most sacred place in all Islam.

To the lovers of antiquity, Jordan offers a more fertile area of study in the south. The magnificent city of Petra, carved from the cliffs, is a mute testimony of the grandeur of its ancient past. Situated on the main route between Damascus and Arabia, Egypt and Babylon, the city prospered and became an empire.

The Romans, who were to cause the downfall of Petra, left behind them the ruins of Jerash, one of the best preserved of all Roman cities. Mosaic floors, a columned street, a triumphal arch, the Forum, and other buildings lie exposed to the weather and the discerning eye of the visitor.

Another Roman city is Amman, the capital of the country, the once proud city of Philadelphia. Here can be seen an amphitheater which dominates the entire city, as well as other ruins.

Not all Americans who come to Jordan are tourists. Many have been sent by our Government to help in the development of the country. Our aid projects provide assistance in the fields of agriculture, industry, transportation, health, education, and community development. We are also helping to finance certain development projects which will, when completed, benefit greatly the economy of the state. One such project is the East Ghor Canal, which will provide water from the Yarmuck River for the irrigation of thousands of acres of desertland.

Another project in which the United States has taken a financial interest is road construction. These new roads will enable agricultural produce to reach quickly the markets while still fresh. They also facilitate the movement of machinery used in the development of the country. Furthermore, tourism has benefited greatly since the discomfort of travel throughout Jordan has been to a large extent eliminated.

The present monarch, King Hussein, has remained a steadfast friend and ally of the United States. Although recent disturbances have left his country less stable than usual, the King continues to pursue his policy of anticommunism and support for the United States. On this their 17th anniversary of independence, I salute the King and the citizens of Jordan on their accomplishments and extend to them the wish for continued progress and prosperity.

### Independence of Jordan

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on May 25 Jordan will celebrate the 17th anniversary of her independence. On this memorable occasion, I wish to extend warm felicitations to His Majesty King Hussein of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; and His Excellency, the Jordanian Ambassador to the United States, Saad Juma.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan gained its independence on May 25, 1946, after the culmination of many years of gradual autonomy. Great Britain, as advisory power, had been in control since World War I when the then-called Transjordan fell under its sphere of influence. As a part of the Ottoman Empire, the people were nomadic and authority rested with the tribal leaders. There was little industry and farming to warrant great interest in the country by either the Porte or British authorities. Within the Palestine towns later occupied by Jordanian forces, home industries, such as needle and silverwork, did exist and were famous throughout the world as artistic treasures.

However, from the beginning of World War I, the people allied themselves with Britain. With the guidance of T. E. Lawrence, the tribes were effective in cutting supply lines and disrupting communication. During World War II, Jordan once more declared its allegiance to the allies when the ruling Prince, Amir Abdullah, pledged himself and his people. It was at this time that the coun-

Neither did we improve our standing in Latin America by our recent performance in Costa Rica. Contrary to the expressed wishes of the Presidents of the Central American countries involved in the conference—particularly Guatemala and Nicaragua—President Kennedy insisted in advance that a tough policy toward Cuba was not to be a topic of discussion. The result was predictable mediocrity—effusive and empty rhetoric signifying almost nothing.

We do, of course, have a Cuban policy. It is to isolate Cuba diplomatically, and ruin it economically. This, we hope, will shut off the flow of subversion and induce the voluntary withdrawal of Soviet power from Cuba, because it will be too expensive to maintain.

There have been limited and superficial successes for these efforts. Most of the hemispheric nations have severed diplomatic relations, although the most important nations—Brazil and Mexico—have not. And the Cuban economy has degenerated sharply. Sugar production is at a new low. But Cuban supported subversion continues, and there is no sign of any internal crackup of the regime. Soviet forces make any internal uprising impossible.

Overall, our Cuban policy is failing and is bound to fail. This is because the Soviet Union has both the will and the capability to ensure that it fails. Cuba may very well be a "showcase of failure," and it may cost the U.S.S.R. \$1 million daily to maintain it, but this is a very cheap price to pay for the tremendous political, military, and psychological gains which Cuba provides to communism. The triumphal reception given Castro in Moscow should dispel any wishful ideas that the Soviets are about to pull out of Cuba.

Cuba is important to Khrushchev and to communism generally. It is enormously important. It is impossible to overestimate this. The solidification of Soviet control of Cuba is the most shattering defeat for American policy since the cold war began. Cuba is now the fulcrum of the cold war, the center of the chessboard. We have long been prepared to fight a thermonuclear war if necessary to keep the Soviets out of West Berlin. Why? Not because their presence there would constitute any additional military threat, but because of the devastating psychological consequences which would flow from a retreat on a firm commitment. In this sense, Cuba is the West Berlin of the Western Hemisphere. It is the breach in the center of our line, and the Soviets are throwing the whole weight of their offensive through that breach. For more than two years now, we have been formally pledged to the elimination of this Communist base, but it still stands. This is the overarching fact which dominates the Latin American and even the world scene. It will loom larger and larger as time passes.

There is no painless way to eliminate either the Soviet presence in Cuba or, more important, the Castro regime itself. There are many prescriptions being offered, but one truth stands out: Some element of force or the clear and unequivocal threat of force is going to be required. This is because the imperative for the United States to remove communism from Cuba is matched by an equal imperative of Soviet policy to maintain it there if this can be done without war. The interests of the United States and U.S.S.R. are basically irreconcilable on Cuba. Khrushchev has invested far too much and committed his prestige far too deeply to ever give it up voluntarily. Only the possibility of war will—as last October—induce him or his "hardline" colleagues to withdraw.

On the other hand, if we continue to reject the use of force in the Caribbean, there is only one logical alternative and ultimately we will take it. There cannot be a perma-

nent status-quo. If pressures are not increased, they will decrease. If Castro is not eliminated by diplomatic and economic warfare, support for even this policy will crumble. Then we will resume diplomatic relations with Castro, probably give up our Guantanamo base, and treat Cuba as we now treat the east European satellites, hoping for "Titoism" or some form of evolution to solve the problem.

There are already indications that such a shift is in the wind. Roosevelt Roads, in Puerto Rico, is being refurbished, possibly to handle the naval forces now based in Guantanamo (U.S. News & World Report, May 20, 1963); Prisoner Negotiator Donovan is looked upon by some as a possible ambassador to Cuba; Castro has gone out of his way to praise the crackdown on the Cuban exiles and to say that he would be willing to try to find "the basis" for better relations with the United States. The State Department is even now softening up Congress and public opinion for the resumption of relations with Hungary. There will be ample precedent.

Such a full circle in policy would only compound the disaster and open wide the floodgates to communism throughout the hemisphere. But even as it is, current American policy toward Cuba constitutes the broadest possible invitation to the Communist world to intensify the cold war, to resist efforts at genuine disarmament, and to instigate further major tests of U.S. determination to resist its advances. It provides strong support for the Chinese "hardline" argument, because it tends to show that we are, after all, only paper tigers. It will inevitably encourage as well those within the Kremlin who perhaps favor a more militant policy. Neither so-called isolation of Communist Cuba nor coexistence with it—if that should be the next policy turn—is the road to peace. It is, rather, the road to eventual war.

We would do well, in thinking of Cuba, to remember the words of Winston Churchill, uttered before the outbreak of World War II:

"Still if you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory can be sure and not too costly; you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance to survive. There may even be a worse case: You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory and it will be better to perish than to live in slavery."

The legacy of Cuba is a witch's brew which contains the most mortal threat to the security and the survival of this Nation.

FRANK J. JOHNSON,  
Editor.

### Maryland's Young Jobseekers Total Rising

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the tragic aspects of the growing problem of unemployment in America is graphically presented in a news story which appeared in the Sun on May 20, 1963. It is significant in pointing out that the unemployment problem will bear heavily upon jobseekers whose problems are already challenging the statesman-

ship of this Congress. The article is appended:

#### STATE YOUNG JOBSEEKERS TOTAL RISING— ONLY FOUR OTHERS EAST OF MISSISSIPPI EXCEED MARYLAND RATE

The number of Maryland teenagers seeking jobs is rising sharply in Maryland, faster than in all but four other States east of the Mississippi, according to a report released by W. Willard Wirtz, U.S. Secretary of Labor.

The Department of Labor study showed that between 1960 and 1965 the 14- to 19-year-old labor force in Maryland would grow from 101,800 to 129,700, an increase of 27.4 percent. Meanwhile, the national teenage labor force would climb from 6,200,000 to 7,658,100, a growth of 23.5 percent.

Of States east of the Mississippi, only Florida, Delaware, Ohio, and Connecticut are expected to show sharper gains. But most of the Mountain and Pacific Coast States will record faster increases, with Nevada, Alaska, and California showing the quickest growth.

#### CALLS IT PRESSING PROBLEM

The report termed the increase in young job seekers "one of the most difficult and pressing manpower problems this Nation has ever faced. It called on "educators, parents, representatives of management and labor, and government officials both on a local and national level," to "face the challenge of developing action programs to equip these young people for work."

It called special attention to the "handicaps faced by racial minorities, school dropouts, juvenile delinquents, physically or mentally disabled young persons, and rural youth." It noted especially the problems on nonwhite youth, and said nonwhite young women had a more difficult task finding work than any other segment of the labor force.

The report warned "the employment problems of many youths are complicated by inadequate training, lack of vocational guidance, poor motivation, and frequent job changes."

### Youth Accomplishment Program

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. TOLL.—Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia chapter of the Federal Bar Association was a pioneer in the law observance program which has taken a good hold in all the chapters of the country. Now the two architects of the law observance program have developed a new pilot program for the Philadelphia chapter called the youth accomplishment program. The story about Harry D. Shargel, Esq., and Norris S. Harzenstein, Esq., and their work in initiating this new program appears in the May issue of the Federal Bar News.

I have included the material for the Members to read because I feel that many communities can use this type of program for their youth.

#### YOUTH ACCOMPLISHMENT PROGRAM INITIATED

On April 3, at a meeting held at the Defense Clothing & Textile Supply Center, attended by representatives of youth service and recreational agencies, public and parochial schools, organized labor, business and industry, as well as law enforcement and

other Government agencies, the Law Observance Committee of the Philadelphia Chapter, Federal Bar Association, initiated a youth accomplishment program which should serve as a pilot project for all the chapters of the association.

The youth accomplishment program is designed to direct youthful drives into constructive channels, provide a sense of accomplishment and appropriate recognition to young people, regardless of their relative capabilities. Youngsters are invited to select their own projects and accomplish them to the best of their ability under the supervision of existing youth-serving organizations. A certificate of recognition is awarded to every child who completes a project to the best of his own ability. There is no competition between the participants. Emphasis is placed on reaching the children who will not compete and to afford them an incentive and an opportunity to develop their talents.

Those who receive certificates also become eligible for a drawing by lot to participate in tours of industrial plants, places of historical interest, law enforcement and other Government agencies and places of educational value. The awards are designed to afford as many youths as possible the opportunity to realize the values and opportunities of our society and that there is a future in their lives.

A prospectus of the program was printed and furnished to the various participating organizations and a brochure describing the program and providing an application form was made available for distribution to the children. A badge evidencing participation in the project will be awarded to each child upon registration and a certificate will also be awarded to the agencies that participate.

The project is a result of ideas presented by Chairman Harry D. Shargel, and his Philadelphia chapter cochairman, Norris S. Harzenstein, with the assistance of U.S. District Court Judge Francis L. Van Dusen, Jr. Dr. Allen B. Weter, Philadelphia public school superintendent, who participated in the initial formulation of the program, has advised that it will become part of the school curriculum.

The initial prospectus was donated by Allen, Lane & Scott, while the application, brochures, certificates and badges are being donated by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO. The Strawbridge & Clothier Department Store is providing clerical and administrative support and will act as the headquarters. James Gassaway, the store superintendent, is acting as executive director of the program. The Crime Prevention Association, the Health & Welfare Council and the Philadelphia Recreation Department, together with the school representatives, have been the major sources of youth experts who helped develop and implement the program.

Excerpts from an article in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of April 15 further describes the program:

"This is the way it works: a youngster who is in the fourth to ninth grades may apply for the program at the local cooperating organization. His project, of his own choosing, may be woodworking, hobby collection, art and craftwork, writing, scientific project, sports or even participation in a group clean-up program.

"When the project is completed—the deadline is May 17—it must satisfy the supervisor that it represents sincere, sustained effort, the best the individual can do.

"Shargel looks at the project as a delinquency preventive. 'Youngsters who are eager to compete usually do well, are kept busy and stay out of trouble. But there are a great number of children who, though they may have ability, are bashful and lack the self-confidence to enter into competition. This is a great pool of children available to get into trouble,' he said."

## America at Its Best

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. JOE D. WAGGONER, JR.**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. WAGGONER. Mr. Speaker, the newspapers of the Nation have been filled this past week with tributes to Astronaut L. Gordon Cooper and to the vital space program of which he is a member. One tribute in particular has come to my attention which seems to sum up in a few words the feelings we have all shared during this momentous time. It is entitled "America at Its Best," and it appeared as an editorial in the Shreveport Times last Thursday, May 16:

#### AMERICA AT ITS BEST

Once Tuesday's nightmare of a balking diesel motor at Cape Canaveral and a faulty radar setup at Bermuda had been overcome, Maj. Gordon Cooper and his *Faith 7* spaceship got off yesterday into an earth-orbiting ride which should thrill the heart of every American—assuming the flight is carried on to the successful end indicated by the log of the journey up to this writing.

*Faith 7* went into the most perfect orbit of any of America's Mercury projects—so perfect that it was capable of making at least 92 orbits instead of the 22 which had been set as the limit. Thus the spaceship easily could have exceeded Russian claims as to the numbers of orbits made on its supposedly most successful venture. Further, all of the highly delicate and sensitive and almost unbelievable electronic experimentation equipment in *Faith 7* seemed to be working perfectly; so perfectly that as early as the second orbit of the flight, Major Cooper dozed into a comfortable nap.

Here was something of which America could be proud. It was American know-how, American science, American engineering, American courage—and both the individual and collective ability and determination of American people—at their best in every way. It was a nation living up to a reputation for superiority which it had built through decades, by the perfection with which it carried on achievements in fields of venture and exploration—though others got off to a head start in this particular field.

All of our astronauts deserve the laudations of the Nation, yet sometimes there may be a little too much effort—entirely natural; entirely commendable—to lionize them. Courage always has been standard equipment of true Americans. So has desire for venture, willingness to move with open eyes into the unknown; and so has faith. It is especially fitting that Gordon Cooper's spaceship should carry that name; for faith is the foundation of our kind of living and our outlook on existence itself.

It is therein that we differ so tremendously from the Russians. They have faith only in themselves; our faith is in an Omnipotent. From Him comes our faith in our own ability to conquer whatever has to be conquered; our willingness to make the attempt no matter how uncertain success may be.

Tragedy could strike this flight before its scheduled ending this afternoon. It could have struck even between the writing of this and the reading of it. If so, the Nation will accept that with faith also; something that somehow had to be. In the meantime we offer our prayers that all will be well through the day. And somehow we are sure that it will be.

Senator Sam Ervin, of North Carolina,  
Urges Congress To Implement Sixth  
Amendment by Enactment of Legisla-  
tion

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. VANCE HARTKE**

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, recently in the American Bar Association Journal, one of our distinguished and learned colleagues, the Honorable Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], wrote an article urging congressional attention and enactment of legislation.

This scholarly thesis is worthy of all of our attention, and I therefore, Mr. President, ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record at the close of the extension of my remarks.

The senior Senator from North Carolina, a former practicing attorney and judge qualifies him exceptionally to speak out on the subject about which he has written. The article is titled "Uncompensated Counsel: They Do Not Meet the Constitutional Mandate," and it basically states that Congress should implement the right-to-counsel guarantee of the sixth amendment by enactment of legislation under which Federal districts may establish compensated-counsel systems to provide representation for indigents charged with crime.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### UNCOMPENSATED COUNSEL: THEY DO NOT MEET THE CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE

(By SAM J. ERVIN, JR., U.S. Senator from  
North Carolina)

"If we are to keep our democracy, there must be one commandment: Thou shalt not ration justice."

These words of the late Judge Learned Hand remind us that justice is a keystone of our democracy and that we must be ever vigilant in providing for just and democratic processes. Unfortunately, we as a nation have not adequately provided for the administration of justice. In a very real sense, justice is being rationed in this country as a result of Congress failure to appropriate funds to guarantee counsel for indigent defendants in Federal courts.

The financial resources of a defendant should be irrelevant to the administration of justice. If equal justice under law is to be more than a hollow phrase, then indigent defendants must be afforded adequate counsel. A fundamental principle of our Nation is that law, not force, maintains the social order. And yet each year thousands of defendants are brought before the Federal bench without benefit of paid counsel. The forces of the Government, with experienced prosecutors, trained investigating staffs, and expert witnesses, are pitted against a defendant whose appointed counsel must find the spare time to defend without compensation.

The Constitution of the United States speaks for these defendants through the sixth amendment, which in part provides: "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right \* \* \* to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense." In 1938 the Supreme Court defined the rights of



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they desired to be in operation in 1964. The alternatives were clearly presented and debated throughout the Nation.

Coming from a State where agriculture is still our major industry, and from a district where agriculture is not only a way of life, but is life itself, I was very much interested in the decision farmers would reach on Tuesday.

I must say that I was surprised at the decision and do not understand the reasons back of the decision reached. In my district we grow practically all agricultural commodities. Flue-cured tobacco, of course, is the principal commodity, but we also produce substantial quantities of peanuts, cotton, feed grains, potatoes, fresh vegetables, livestock, and practically anything that can be named in the agriculture field. The wheat producers made a choice on Tuesday to accept an alternative program which provides unlimited production at market prices, or for those who desire to plant within their acreage allotment, a guaranteed price support of 50 percent of parity. It is ironical to me that the wheat producers would reject marketing quotas with guaranteed higher prices. I say this is ironical because producers of Irish potatoes are at the present time and have been for more than a year trying to secure legislation which would authorize acreage allotments without guaranteed price supports. The producers of potatoes are entitled to this legislation. They have learned that they cannot exist with unlimited production much in excess of market demands.

Since wheat producers have made their choice, I sincerely hope that it is a wise one and that no action will be taken by this body to adopt a different program from that which they have elected to accept. I also urge this body to hasten consideration of potato legislation which has been urgently requested by potato producers.

*Cuba*

**Russia Uses Fishing Boats in Exporting  
Revolution From Cuba**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the following revelations by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott give considerable weight to the concern that many of us have about Mexico being the next Central American country to embrace communism. It also proves that Cuba is the focal point of Communist infection which is spreading to Central and South America, and unless something positive is done to prevent this disease from spreading and to eliminate the focal point of the infection, we will find ourselves in a most serious situation in the Western Hemisphere. The article by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, which appeared in May 22 issue of the

Arlington (Va.) Northern Virginia Sun follows:

**RUSSIA USES FISHING BOATS IN EXPORTING  
REVOLUTION FROM CUBA**

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

Russia is using a fleet of several hundred high-speed fishing boats to export Fidel Castro's Communist revolution to other Latin American countries.

These oceangoing trawlers, which can sail rings around the World War II naval vessels of neighboring Caribbean nations, are transporting arms and Red-trained guerrillas to Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Guatemala, and Brazil.

The fishing boats—constructed so they can be quickly converted for military use—have a carrying capacity of 150 to 250 passengers, or 300 to 550 gross tons of fish or arms. Their speed ranges up to 30 knots.

In the past 6 weeks, U.S. patrol vessels and aircraft have regularly sighted these Soviet trawlers making high-speed runs from Cuba to Mexico, concentrating on areas close to Guatemala and Venezuela.

Several of these powerful Russian "fishing boats" were spotted early this month unloading arms and men in an isolated cove of Margarita Island off the coast of Venezuela. The weapons and Communist-trained guerrillas were en route to camp near Caracas, only an hour-and-a-half by air from Margarita.

Significantly, it was on Margarita Island that Simon Bolivar, famed South American patriot, proclaimed himself leader of the rebel army that ultimately overthrew Spanish rule.

The U.S. Consul in Veracruz, Mexico, has informed the State Department that 30 Russian fishing vessels are operating in the Gulf of Mexico, making regular trips to Cuba and using Veracruz as a base for supplies.

Many of these "fishing boats" have the latest electronic gear—far in excess of that normally deemed necessary for fishing operations. The ships are manned by Soviet crews, but usually carry Cuban and other Spanish-speaking passengers.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff, led by outgoing Chief of Naval Operations George Anderson, are so disturbed by this growing new Russian threat that they have quietly launched a drive inside the administration and Congress to induce President Kennedy and his policymakers to take prompt and forceful countermeasures.

The military commanders stress that despite the President's public pledge to Caribbean leaders at the recent Costa Rica conference to formulate plans to build a "wall of men" around Cuba, nothing has yet been done to make this a firm policy.

It is pointed out that the U.S. Navy, the only force powerful enough to halt this expanding arms and guerrilla traffic, has not been committed to do that. The Navy has neither directives nor orders to take such urgently needed action.

Naval operations in Cuban waters are now strictly limited to the surveillance of Russian shipping. Even that is far from effective because of the immense area to be covered and the small number of ships assigned to the job.

In a private meeting with members of the House Military Appropriations Subcommittee, Admiral Anderson declared frankly it would take a large-scale naval blockade to halt the Communist traffic of guerrillas and arms from Cuba to other Latin American countries. He emphasized this was his own opinion and not the administration's.

President Kennedy and his policymakers have ruled out a blockade as the solution. Instead, they have embarked on a series of conferences with the threatened nations to determine what they can do to combat this intensifying menace to them.

Fidel Castro's trip to Russia is directly linked to the build-up of Soviet "fishing boats" in Cuban waters.

Intelligence authorities note that a majority of advisers accompanying the Cuban dictator are connected either with naval operations or guerrilla training. Also, instead of touring Russia with Castro, these officials have remained in Moscow for conferences with Soviet experts in these fields.

**The 172d Anniversary of Polish  
Constitution of May 3**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. JOHN R. PILLION**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to present to this House a resolution adopted by the Combined Organizations, Clubs, and Societies of the Black Rock Section of the City of Buffalo, commemorating the 172d anniversary of the adoption of Poland's Constitution of May 3.

I congratulate these societies upon their recognition of the great need for a dedication on the part of this Nation to seize the initiative in the war against international communism. Only in this way can the Polish Constitution of May 3 be given new life, purpose, and meaning.

The resolution follows:

At a mass observance, held on the 5th day of May 1963, under the auspices of the Combined Organizations, Clubs, and Societies of the Black Rock Section of the City of Buffalo, at the Polish Cadets Hall, 927 Grant Street, Buffalo, N.Y., commemorating the 172d anniversary of the adoption of Poland's constitution of May 3, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the 172d anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution of May 3, is an occasion for freedom-loving people everywhere to reflect upon the meaning of freedom and independence; to hope for its restoration in those lands and for those people from whom it has been taken away, and to dedicate themselves to protecting the heritage of freedom here and encouraging it throughout the world; and

"Whereas the late 18th century witnessed extensive blood letting occasioned by the rise of serf movements in European countries plagued with the ills of this caste system; and

"Whereas the adoption of the constitution on May 3, 1791, was a landmark in the history of freedom and self-government marking a historic bloodless transition of a nation from despotic monarchism to an era of constitutional monarchic democracy. This document is and will remain a classic as an inspired statement of the nature of people, the origin of authority, the role of law, and the proper function of government; and

"Whereas said constitution, while no longer in force, is a living classic forever holding before the people of Poland and the people of Polish descent, the ideal, the goal, the vision of justice and opportunity, and the right to live in peace and freedom; and

"Whereas the people of Poland and the United States are united by the bond of an unyielding opposition to the inhuman tyranny and oppression of world communism; and

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"Whereas we as Americans feeling a kindred concern for the people of Poland, are appalled at the shocking revelations of the West German newspaper *Der Spiegel* of master NATO plans to reduce in the event of war, the territory of Poland into an atomic wasteland, in order to create an uninhabitable buffer zone between the Soviets and the Western nations of Europe, and

"Whereas the world watches in admiration and awe the continued resistance of the Polish people, their courageous display of independent minds and unbroken spirits in their successful resistance to attempts to force upon them indoctrination with Communist philosophy, and

"Whereas this unique situation prevails in Poland because of the courageous stature, will, and posture in opposition to communism of the Catholic primate of Poland, His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, and

"Whereas the shores of our sister States of Florida and Alaska, neighbor except for narrow waters, with lands under control of international communism: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we assembled at this commemorative observance of the 172d anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution of May the third, call upon our fellow citizens of our great and beloved United States of America to reflect upon the lessons derived from history; that our danger from international communism is real and not imaginary; that greater intensified vigilance for national security has to be fostered against these dangers from within and without; and be it further

"Resolved, That we register our strongest protest possible in forms of condemnation against the military strategists in NATO for conceiving as part of their master plan the damnable strategy as revealed by the *Der Spiegel* newspaper to destroy the people and the territory of Poland in the event of world war III, that these people have suffered enough in each of the past world wars; we Americans have it upon our conscience that we let these vallant allies down at Yalta, and Teheran; do we desire this added burden upon our conscience that we participated in their ultimate destruction and reducing their lands and possessions to atomic ashes? and be it further

"Resolved, That as Americans dedicated to the lofty idealism of freedom of all nations, we feel dutybound in the name of justice, equity, and international morality to take a firm stand in the defense and continuation of the present assistance in forms of foreign aid to our historic allies, the people of Poland whose true voice is silenced by Soviet Russia; and be it further

"Resolved, That while we in the United States are free to celebrate Polish Constitution Day, the people of Poland are not. In their place, we plead ourselves never to forget that freedom is the right of every man, never to abandon those who are fighting to preserve their independence, never to give up hope that Poland someday will be free again; and be it further

"Resolved, That we commend and express our affection for the greatest independent spiritual leader in the world today, His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, for his courage, his zeal and dedication to the cause of freedom for the Polish people. God in His infinite wisdom saw fit to designate Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski as protector of the Polish people's spiritual life and also destined him to chart the course for his people's temporal living under a godless regime forced upon them. May God guide the actions of this great charterer of his people's spiritual and temporal destinies and protect him from the ever threatening harms about him; and be it further

"Resolved, That we call upon our President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and our elected representatives in Congress to heed Senator

KEATING's warnings with respect to Cuba; we call upon them not only to take steps to prevent the further spreading of international communism's influence in South and Central Americas but to take such steps as necessary to loosen the Soviet grip on Cuba with the view to rid our continent of this menace and restore the principles of the Monroe Doctrine that the Americas are for the Americans and that the United States will not permit the spreading of Soviet colonialism or any other upon the American continents; and be it further

"Resolved, That we as loyal citizens of the United States of America, hereby repeat our pledge of loyalty and allegiance to our great and beloved country; and be it finally

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded with dispatch to the President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Hon. Senator Jacob Javits, and Hon. Senator Kenneth Keating, and our area Representatives in Congress, Hon. Thaddeus Dulski, Hon. John Pillion, and Hon. William A. Miller.

"WALTER T. SERDZAT,

"Chairman, Resolution Committee.

"WALTER WROBEL,

"Secretary."

BUFFALO, N.Y., May 5, 1963.

## Freedom Through Responsibility

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. GEORGE GRANT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1963

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Henry L. Lyon, Jr., pastor of the Highland Avenue Baptist Church of Montgomery, Ala., recently delivered one of the main addresses at the Southern Baptist Convention in Kansas City, Mo.

The address, "Freedom Through Responsibility," deals with the history of freedom in our country and the manner of preserving our freedom through the preservation of the 50 sovereign States.

I commend this sermon to the membership and to the general public:

FREEDOM THROUGH RESPONSIBILITY  
(Address by Dr. Henry L. Lyon, Jr.)

For you were called to freedom, brethren; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh, but through love be servants of one another.—Galatians 5: 13.

Our text emphasizes a very precious word in all the languages spoken by men—"freedom." As I wrote the words of this manuscript my TV screen vibrated with a special news bulletin carrying live moving pictures of a mob in Nicaragua demonstrating a boiling desire for freedom. The front page of my morning newspaper, as of February 5, spoke urgently about a real threat to the security of the Canadian Government involving a vociferous surge toward freedom by thousands dissatisfied with the status quo; President Kennedy proposing to the Congress bold, broad programs to free hundreds of thousands of mental patients from hospital beds and lighten the tragic toll of mental retardation at an initial cost of over \$31 million; the mart nations of Europe voicing defiance for the alleged tyranny of France in the operation of the European Common Market; the Voice of America soon to dedicate with fanfare a \$23 million installation whose massive transmitters are said to be 98 times as powerful as the strongest American commercial radio station—making

possible the propagation of freedom's message to men around the world.

We have only to close our eyes and open our ears to hear freedom's voice in the yesterdays. The Supreme Council, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, U.S.A., has recently published a challenging and enlightening booklet, "The Road to Freedom." It is a very fine production—the result of much research and study. Every pastor of this convention should have a copy. You can have one for free by writing the Supreme Council, Washington, D.C. Listen with me to a vivid description of "The Road to Freedom" and the contributions men and women have made to the cause of freedom through the years. "The word 'freedom' has come from the lips of men in every language. The ideal of freedom has been extolled in the world's great oratory, and celebrated in poetry, drama, and song. Men have prayed for freedom, fought for it, died for it, lived to enjoy the fruits of freedom, and to pass on to their children the heritage of government organized to preserve freedom. If all the peoples of all times spoke in one voice with one word which best expressed the deepest aspiration of the human soul, that word would be freedom. No nation has won completely; some scarcely at all.

"The road to freedom for humanity has been long, tortuous, difficult and bloody. Only a relatively small portion of our human race has been able to travel it successfully. For the great mass of mankind the struggle for freedom has proven too difficult. In the United States those who negotiated the road and won the rewards of liberty did so by pledging to each other their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

"Many centuries have come and gone since man's earliest aspiration for freedom manifested itself. Oceans of blood, sweat and tears have been expended in the long struggle for the freedom of the human body, mind, and soul, and many milestones have been erected marking the advances which have been made along the way."

At Athens on his world good will tour, President Eisenhower defined freedom as a state "in which, under the rule of law, every human will have the right and a fair chance to live his own life, to choose his own faith, to work out his own destiny." Daniel Webster once said, "Liberty exists in proportion to self-restraint." Listen to the voice of Lord Byron:

"For freedom's battle, once begun  
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son  
Though baffled off, is ever won."

Dr. Ray Rozell magnifies several dimensions of freedom: "For example, physical freedom has a mobile dimension. It permits a person to move or to go about as he desires. Intellectual freedom has a nonconditional dimension. It permits a person to think along whatever lines he desires. Social freedom has a privilege dimension. It allows one to move in a society of his own choosing. Religious freedom has a freewill dimension. It allows anyone to choose and practice his own faith. Political freedom has a self-determination dimension. It allows the citizen to choose his own political party, leaders, or government."

In a highly organized society such as the one in which we live, many personal freedoms must be sacrificed or even denied. We must not be indifferent to the well-being of others. Everyone who receives the protection of society and the advantages that result from living in it must make sacrifices on his own part for those benefits. There is no room for a privileged individual or group in the United States before our courts of law in the various States, in the Congress, before the President and before the Supreme Court of our country. Many of you may disagree with me at this point. That is your

departments the power to carry out the policy by appropriate regulation.

Under the Constitution, all of the law-making power of the Government is vested in the Congress. The administrative rulemaking power, promulgating regulations having general effect as law is not inherent in the Executive and rests entirely in the statutes which we write.

In order to provide for congressional scrutiny of rules and regulations before they become effective; in order to assure that they do not violate congressional intent, I have today introduced a bill which would withhold the effect of such regulations for 15 days after they are published in the Federal Register. During that 15-day period, a congressional committee would scrutinize the regulation. If the committee does nothing, the regulation would go into effect. If it believes the regulation violative of congressional intent, it could report a concurrent resolution, giving both this House and the other body the opportunity to express its will as to such regulation.

During the period of congressional consideration the effect of the regulation would be suspended.

The bill would amend the Federal Register Act, adding a new section. The full text of the bill is a short one, and is as follows:

H.R. 6504

A bill to amend title 44 of the United States Code to provide for congressional review of certain rules and regulations.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled,* That title 44 of the United States Code is amended by adding thereto a new section to stand as section 315, to read as follows:

"Sec. 315. Documents hereafter published pursuant to section 305 of this Act, except Presidential proclamations and Executive orders, shall not be effective until the provisions of this section are complied with. At the time any such document is filed with the General Services Administration pursuant to section 302 of this Act as amended, a copy of the same shall be transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and by him referred to an appropriate committee. If the committee fails to report to the House a concurrent resolution thereon within fifteen days after publication of the document in the Federal Register, the document shall be effective at the end of such fifteen-day period. If the committee finds the document in any respect violative of the congressional intent of the statute upon which the document purports to be based, it may report a concurrent resolution altering such document to make it conform to congressional intent or setting it aside, in which case the effect of such document shall be suspended until the Congress shall have finally acted upon such resolution. If the resolution be adopted, the document shall be thereby rescinded or altered as in such resolution provided. Notice shall be published in the Federal Register of the suspension of any document occasioned by report of a concurrent resolution altering or rescinding such document and publication shall be made in the Federal Register of a resolution altering such document in the form in which it was finally adopted."

COMMUNISM IS NOT CHANGING

(Mr. WYMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, ever so subtly, Americans today are being encouraged to believe that in some indefinable way communism is changing and that there may be some Communist governments that we can live with at peace. Part of this subtle campaign is observed in the current policies of our State Department in regard to Mr. Khrushchev. There is a definite developing soft line that it is in the interests of the United States to keep Khrushchev in power in the Communist bloc; that we should not push too hard to rid Cuba of communism lest it harm Mr. Khrushchev's image.

The concept that communism is changing, is part and parcel of a new even softer line of the Kennedy administration. We hear more and more frequently that Chinese Communists under Mao Tse Tung are more dangerous than Russian Communists because they have less to lose and more people in reserve in depth. We are told that Yugoslavia is an independent Communist nation and that the Communist Government of Hungary, because it releases some political prisoners, may now be ready for consideration of recognition.

Mr. Speaker, any Communist government, anywhere in the world is the mortal enemy of the United States of America, whether it is Titoism, Chinese communism, or Moscow Soviet communism. The whole purpose of communism—spelled with a capital "C", is to destroy freedom in every nation in the world and to convert the form of government of every nation in the world to a Communist government by violence if necessary.

This objective is the same on the part of Communists whether they live in satellites or principal Communist nations. Marxism-Leninism, with its indoctrination of overthrow of governments by force and violence, aided by subversion and sabotage, is the basic rule for communism everywhere.

Every aid we give, every day that passes that sees increased trade with Soviet satellites, whether this trade is by Great Britain or by ourselves with Yugoslavia, makes the Communist bloc stronger and the United States weaker.

May Divine Providence help us if the day comes that the balance of power in the world passes to communism, for with that day will come escalation of all-out nuclear destruction of the free nations.

Communism has no God, no conscience, and no principle, but it has a fanatic hatred of us and a psychotic goal of world domination for Communist imperialism. In these circumstances, there is only one thing for this Nation to do, which it to stand firm against further Communist military conquest of the world.

Of prime significance in this direction is Cuba, wherein we should demand inspection and back this demand up by the full power and authority of the Armed Forces of the United States. We should not tolerate Communist military governments in this hemisphere and we should tell the world that we are prepared to see that there are no such

governments here, even if it takes force to do so.

The present program to further mislead and confuse the American people by encouraging them to believe that it is in their interests to have Khrushchev and Castro is a tragedy and an indictment. It is a tragedy because it permits further buildup of Communist military might. It is an indictment because it represents the deliberate planning of those responsible for American policy who know what they are doing and know that it means further weakening of the United States.

*Arba*  
DEMANDS PLANES OF CUBAN REGISTRY AS WELL AS ALL OTHER PLANES GOING TO OR COMING FROM CUBA BE DENIED USE OF U.S. AIRSPACE

(Mr. CRAMER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I was appalled and shocked at the FAA regulation, published in the Federal Register Saturday, May 18, that permits flights over U.S. territory by Communist-Cuban registered airplanes going to and from Canada. I was further amazed that the FAA, in admitting that previous flights had taken place as I had charged, admitted also that permission had been asked for clearance for such flights and that such clearance had been granted.

As a result of this FAA regulation, overflights of nonscheduled airplanes are now being invited. This regulation opens up specific corridors to Cuban air traffic so long as the plane stops en route for inspection at either New York, Boston or Dulles Airports. Thus, we have the alarming probability that Castro's Cuban airplanes will be flying right into the Washington, D.C., area.

I have requested that all flights by Cuban registered planes or planes of other countries going to or coming from Cuba be denied the use of U.S. airspace. I am in the process of drafting legislation to accomplish this very objective and should the U.S. Government fail to ban these flights, I shall introduce a bill to accomplish it and will, as well, ask for immediate hearings on this whole sordid mess.

This is another gaping hole in the so-called trade ban on Cuba, and can be classed with our weak leadership as also evidenced by the meaningless shipping ban, the medicines and foodstuffs paid to Castro for ransom, U.S. citizens traveling to Cuba for subversive indoctrination, the failure to exert the leadership necessary to persuade Great Britain and Italy to stop trading with Castro, and the failure to stop Alliance for Progress money from going to the five Latin American countries that continue to recognize and do business with Castro.

I am inserting in the RECORD, at this point, the news story covering this issue which appeared in the Washington Daily News, May 21, 1963. As evidenced by the news story, the FAA admitted the overflights of Cuban registered airplanes.

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duce surplus wheat without high cost to taxpayers if it does not interfere with the farmers' decision against a mandatory program.

No program meeting such a universally desired test has been devised and I doubt that one can be, but the conciliatory, nonvindictive and constructive attitude of the President and Secretary Freeman and the desire to still be as helpful as possible under these circumstances without violating the rules the farmers laid down is certainly worthy of commendation.

#### AID TO EDUCATION WITHOUT FEDERAL CONTROL

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

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, education must move forward in the 1960's to keep pace with the age of astronautics. Education must meet the challenges of the hour: spiritual, moral, scientific, and economic.

I am today introducing a bill which would direct the district directors of Internal Revenue to return to each State at the end of each fiscal year 5 percent of the Federal income taxes collected from such State to be used for education. The use and expenditure of this money so returned to the State for education would be solely at the discretion of the State and would not be subject to any control, review, or audit by the United States.

Mr. Speaker, this is a good bill. It is one that all sections of our country can unite upon and support if we really believe in the future of our country and the education of our young people. This bill would permit the States to meet the urgent need of increased teachers' salaries, laboratories, and the most modern, up-to-date school facilities. It is past time that we recognized the great contributions being made in the cold war by our devoted and dedicated teachers. If America is to survive, our teachers and students need to be furnished with the tools with which to compete in the world of today. Our civilization may survive or fall in the field of education. In the field of teaching, we must be permitted to compete with business, the Federal Government, the military, and our Foreign Service in securing the best possible talent.

Mr. Speaker, I know of nothing more important today than to assure our children of a future through improved education. In recent years many bills have been introduced in the Congress which would provide for Federal aid to education. If the advocates of Federal aid to education are really sincere, my bill provides the opportunity for this aid to become available. If, however, these advocates are only interested in Federal control of education and nationalizing our educational system, then it would be natural for them to oppose this bill. By returning this money directly to the States for education, more money will be provided for education. If a Federal aid to education bill is passed which

would first bring this money to Washington, then a portion of it would be taken by the Washington authorities and thus less returned to the States and to the taxpayers for the education of our children.

Mr. Speaker, my bill is an expression of confidence in our teachers at the local level. It is an expression of confidence in the trustees running our local schools. It is an expression of confidence in the boards of education, county, municipal, and State governments. Our people at the grassroots level throughout the United States have done and are doing a remarkable job in the field of education. They have added classrooms at a fantastic rate and have increased teachers' salaries; however, this added revenue is urgently needed so that education can keep pace with a fast-changing world.

Last fall it was my privilege to address practically every high school in my congressional district. I spoke to more than 20,000 young men and women including members of the faculty, trustees, and superintendents of education. It was a privilege and really an education for me as a Member of the Congress to spend this time with young Americans and those who guide their destiny. It was hard work but at the same time a pleasant task and was time well spent. I wish all of you could find time every fall to spend a month or two visiting your schools.

Mr. Speaker, I am familiar with the problems of education. I started visiting schools with my father before I was the age of 6. My father taught school for 19 years and was superintendent for 16 more. My mother taught for 32 years and reared 10 children during those 32 years. I have five children of my own. As a result of these experiences, I earnestly solicit your consideration of this bill. Many of my high school principals and teachers have recommended this form of legislation. Our distinguished and able Governor, the Honorable Donald Russell, has advocated for many years a similar bill. Governor Russell is well acquainted with the problems of education having made a magnificent record as president of the University of South Carolina.

Mr. Speaker, let us move the wheels of educational progress forward. The adoption of this bill would be a long step in the right direction.

#### POOR CHOICE OF TARGET

(Mr. TEAGUE of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, on Monday last, several of our colleagues made vigorous attacks on Americans for Constitutional Action. It was contended that the organization is doing the Devil's work in American politics and is engaged in an attack on democracy.

I submit that my colleagues made an extremely poor choice in their selection of a target. I will explain.

But, first, let me point out that I am not what the liberals like to term "a 100-percent rightwing extremist." For in-

stance, I supported the United Nations bond issue and manpower retraining; in most years I have voted for foreign aid; and I even voted for the Peace Corps, college construction, the Disarmament Agency, the Trade Expansion Act, and—yes—even the school lunch program.

Also, I issued a press release—which was widely and prominently printed in California—defending much of what Senator KUCHEL had to say in his recent speech, "The Fright Peddlers." You can well imagine the sort of vituperation I have received because of that. But, Mr. Speaker, not from Americans for Constitutional Action.

I consider the Americans for Constitutional Action to be an entirely responsible and reasonable purveyor and defender of the conservative point of view. Let me tell you why. I have here a news release issued by Americans for Constitutional Action announcing that one of our fellow House Members is being awarded the "Distinguished Service Award" for having supported legislation which strengthens and defends the political, economic, and social system upon which the United States has grown and prospered. It goes on to recite that Herbert Hoover, Sr., and Edgar Eisenhower are trustees.

And please note this—the release also contains these words:

The award announced here tonight does not imply that the recipient is in complete agreement with all the principles supported by Americans for Constitutional Action, nor does it imply any commitment to support those principles in the future. The Americans for Constitutional Action does not and will not impugn either the patriotism or the probity of those legislators who do not agree with its views.

Really, gentlemen of the left, do those words sound like unreasoning extremism or an attack on democracy? Can you imagine the Americans for Democratic Action presenting an award under these same conditions? You certainly could have picked a better target for your accusations.

Are you not laying yourselves open to charges of being unreasoning radicals of the left and of indulging in the practices which all liberals are said to despise—guilt by association and denial of freedom of expression?

#### CONGRESS IS THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAWMAKING POWER OF GOVERNMENT

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

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, during many years' service in the Michigan Legislature and now as a Member of Congress, I have been alarmed by the widening area of law governed by administrative rule rather than legislative enactment.

Such administrative regulations have the effect of law and are as binding on our citizens as are acts of Congress.

Almost all of our bills get at a problem in general terms and grant to one of the

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I am also including my May 20 statement on this subject:

Cuban airliners have flown over U.S. territory three times in the past 2 months, with permission from the Federal Aviation Agency (FAA).

There was only one such flight in the entire previous 12 months, FAA said today.

As a result of the increase in Cuban overflights of the United States, the FAA has issued a special regulation. Effective immediately, the regulation is a warning to Cuba.

It says any Cuban planes seeking to overfly the United States in future must land at a U.S. airport and submit to search.

## KNOWLEDGE

"There's nothing mysterious about the overflights," an FAA official said. "We knew they were there. We always know exactly who is in our air. The three overflights this spring were from Havana to Montreal. There was one one-way flight and one round-trip flight. The flights were not regularly scheduled and were commercial, carrying both passengers and cargo.

"The Cubans filed flight plans with the FAA requesting permission, and permission was granted. But in the future," the FAA spokesman said, "they must land where we tell them and submit to search."

## IDLEWILD

He said they probably would be ordered to land at Idlewild Airport, New York City.

Asked what would occur if a Cuban plane refused to land when ordered, the spokesman declined comment.

Asked why the FAA issued the new regulation, the spokesman explained that the United States, under existing international air conventions has had authority for regulation of overflights since 1958 "but there has been no need to enforce it for there have been no overflights—until recently."

He said the action was taken after conferring with State and Defense Departments.

## CRAMER CALLS FOR HALT TO CUBAN AIRPLANES OVERFLYING UNITED STATES

WASHINGTON.—U.S. Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, Republican of Florida, today revealed in a House speech that Cuban airlines, both scheduled and nonscheduled, have been overflying the United States, apparently with no protest or action to prevent it by the United States.

In inquiring into the FAA published regulation of Saturday, May 18, in the Federal Register dealing with nonscheduled flights by planes of Cuban registry, CRAMER was told by an FAA official that three overflights of nonscheduled Cuban registry planes took place in the last 2 months and that others were known to have taken place recently.

These flights take place from Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa and include passengers as well as freight cargoes.

"Numerous times the scheduled Cubana Airlines overflies the Eastern part of the United States on its return trip from Communist Prague to Havana via Newfoundland when, because of bad weather, it is diverted to Montreal," CRAMER said. "This happened 2 weeks ago and has happened a number of other times in the recent past," CRAMER added.

"The notice of the regulation sent to airmen permits continued overflights of scheduled Cuban airlines without restriction or objections from the United States.

"It also provides that nonscheduled overflights will have to follow a designated corridor and stop for search at Idlewild or Logan Airport, Boston, as a first alternate and Dulles in Washington, D.C. as a second alternate," CRAMER said.

"Thus the administration is not even protesting or restricting the overflights of commercial airliners from behind the Iron

Curtain to Havana, but is inviting their continuance. Overflights of nonscheduled planes of Cuban registry are being condoned so long as a specific corridor is followed and search is permitted," CRAMER said.

"This is typical of the pussyfooting of the New Frontier in dealing effectively with Castro's Communist Cuba. Economic and political quarantining of Cuba is our announced policy which we are supposedly trying to get other Latin American nations to follow and enforce. We now announce to the world that we are willing to let Cuba continue trading with Canada and even overfly the United States to do it.

"We are announcing to the world that we don't mind Cuban-Communist planes coming from behind the Iron Curtain to overfly the United States, thus facilitating trade between Communist Cuba and the Communist satellites.

"All air routes over the United States should be closed to anyone trading with Cuba, let alone all such routes to planes owned and operated by Castro's Communist government that are trading with other countries," CRAMER said.

## THE CONDUCT OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND CERTAIN OTHER PUBLIC OFFICIALS

(Mr. SNYDER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced in the House of Representatives a joint resolution in regard to the conduct of Members of Congress and certain other public officials.

If any one factor predominated the comments which I received on the returns on my questionnaire, I would say that it was the concern of the people of the Third Congressional District of Kentucky over the problem of the apparent failure of Congress to regulate itself and the attendant adverse publicity which indicates there is reason to believe that this failure has led to some abuses on the part of some Members.

The resolution which I have introduced would provide stricter controls over expenditures by Members of Congress in their travels and would require a rather complete accounting process for those who are authorized by proper resolution to make a trip. It would also place restrictions upon the amounts which could be spent for this purpose.

The resolution likewise would prohibit employees of Members of Congress from receiving pay for services rendered unless the services were performed by the employee either in the District of Columbia or in the area represented by the Congressman, except where special permission is granted otherwise.

In addition, this legislation would require statements to be filed by Members and certain other government officials outside the legislative branch showing the items of income received by such Member or official, including gifts the value of which is in excess of \$10. It would also require an annual statement to be filed of assets bought and sold at a value in excess of \$100 and certain other provisions which would make legal evasion of the provisions extremely difficult.

Perhaps as important as any other provision of this legislation is the provi-

sion which prohibits nepotism in government whether it be in the legislative, executive or judicial branch. Under this legislation a public official could not appoint, employ or recommend for appointment, employment, promotion or advancement any relative in a department in which he is serving or over which he exercises jurisdiction or control.

My sponsorship of this legislation is one of the evidences of the usefulness of my questionnaire project. The need for this legislation was pointed up to me hundreds—probably thousands—of times by the comments of people from my district on this subject. This legislation now is a bipartisan effort since identical legislation has recently been introduced by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN], a Democratic Member of the House.

## GENEVA TRADE TALKS

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. DENT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that failure of the Geneva trade talks gives many American industries a breather and a little longer lease on life. It also gives American workers in competitive industries a few more months to get ready for the inevitable unemployment that will follow any further reduction in tariffs and increases in quotas in glass, footwear, stainless steel, textiles, olives, mushrooms, steel products, automobiles—in fact, not one single U.S. product that is produced in surplus in the Common Market will be safe or secure in the event the trade expansion bill goes into effect before European wages and production costs are raised to meet U.S. standards.

The failure of the trade talks had to be expected and although the meeting is now being ballyhooed as a success, the truth is that it is a postponement of action for at least a year. The Europeans will be happy to cut tariffs on products they need but never on products they have in surplus. Everybody but the United States wants to make deals that mean jobs for their country and, in fact, they consider our Trade Expansion Act as an opportunity to increase their exports; not their imports.

They will buy from us what they need and sell us what we do not need. It is a one-way street of no returns, except unemployment and economic distress.

You will note, Mr. Speaker, that in this so-called trade meeting we have again come out second best. We have agreed to cut tariffs without guarantees of reciprocity.

Mr. Speaker, for the information of my colleagues, I insert the following newspaper article:

UNITED STATES-ALLIES OK TARIFF PLAN BUT DEFER KNotty PROBLEMS

GENEVA, May 21.—The United States and the West European Common Market agreed Tuesday on general principles for trimming

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world trade barriers. Some hard bargaining still lay ahead.

The two greatest trading blocs reached a compromise after 6 days of discussions in which both sides made major concessions.

## TASK FOR EXPERTS

A conference source said the compromise will permit work to go ahead on preparations for specific tariff reductions.

The source said the United States and the six common Market nations had failed to settle their fundamental differences on the way the tariffs were actually to be cut. Details will be worked out by a committee of experts.

"In effect," the source said, "the delegates merely postponed some of the basic decisions they came here to make."

## TWO U.S. CONCESSIONS

The U.S. delegation, led by Republican ex-Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, made two major concessions after Herter had consulted President Kennedy:

The United States acknowledged that its high tariffs are a problem in themselves, and no country would have to prove in the bargaining that it was injured by these rates before asking compensation.

The United States agreed that these high tariffs would have to be handled on the basis of special rules of general and automatic application. France, dominating the six Common Market countries, had pressed hard for this. It meant that the experts would have to work out a formula to deal specially with such high tariffs.

The Common Market also made two main concessions:

It dropped the French plan for a system of ideal tariffs, which was a means of lopping off the peak American rates without equivalent European concessions.

It accepted the American principle that most tariffs should be cut by large percentages, applying equally to all industrialized countries.

The agreement came after nearly a week of hard bargaining on the principles to govern the long series of negotiations on tariffs and related issues due to start next May 4. These forthcoming negotiations acquired the name of the "Kennedy round" in months of preliminary talks.

The name was given in tribute to the efforts of President Kennedy to put the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 through the U.S. Congress.

## COMPROMISE PLAN

At the base of Tuesday's agreement was a compromise between two opposing ideas on how to cut tariffs.

Mr. Kennedy had won unprecedented authority to cut nearly all tariffs by 50 percent, provided he could get a fair deal from America's trading partners—notably the Common Market.

The French, dominating the Common Market, found this system placed them at a disadvantage. They worked out a formula for cutting high American tariffs more than low European tariffs.

The compromise was finally worked out along these lines:

In general, tariff cuts would be made on a straight percentage basis—50 percent if possible. This principle replaces the old, laborious method of dealing one by one with the thousands of items in world trade.

Mr. Speaker, this is the first step in the plan that will put into effect the 50-percent cut in tariffs by the United States without a like cut by any other nation or the Common Market.

The American economy is or was a dynamic organism. It is or was pre-eminently an economy of abundance. It will either maintain that characteristic or it will be transformed into a state-

governed system in which both dynamism and abundance will disappear. This follows from the very nature of economic dynamism and from its origin in the nature of human demands for goods. Abundance, in turn, depends on the fortunes of an economic system that is essentially self-propelling and self-renewing but inclined to balk if excessively cluttered, burdened, or restrained.

All economies are dedicated to the fulfillment of man's needs and desires. These needs are highly variable but may be regarded roughly as falling into two broad categories; namely, the primary and secondary ones. The primary needs, very simply, are those that must be satisfied if man is to subsist.

The secondary needs are those that lie above the minimum level. They may be denied satisfaction without courting extinction but not without withholding from life the gratifications that distinguish man from the lower animals and mark his progress in civilization.

An economy that is dedicated to nothing more than provision of goods at the minimum level is necessarily a static economy. It will do no more than provide food, clothing, shelter, and the necessary tools and means of locomotion required to furnish these goods. Its growth is limited by the population it serves. If the number of people remains the same so will the output of the economy. The latter will grow only in step with the increase in population.

On the other hand, an economy that undertakes to provide means of satisfying the secondary needs and desires has before it great possibilities of growth and ramification. The extent to which it will meet these needs depends on a variety of factors. Some of the most perplexing problems of economics and government arise over this question.

Most economies of the world do much more than merely provide the means of satisfying the primary needs. There are some others, however, that hover close to the subsistence level.

Of all the countries the United States developed the most productive economic system in the world and has catered most extensively to the secondary needs and desires of the people. This productive explosion became most visible in the first half of the 20th century. As a material civilization this country as a result of this forward surge has hitherto seen no equal.

Strangely enough as a country we were barely conscious of the origin of our industrial and agricultural leadership. As a result it has been too much taken for granted. In fact, some of the most fruitful factors of the combination of elements that together achieved the peak of productivity have been under heavy attack from some quarters.

Many heavy-handed efforts have been made to discredit and to clothe with ill-repute some of the very elements that have been responsible for the success of the system. It may be granted both that some of the criticism has been innocent and sincere and that some of it was deserved. Nevertheless it would be a most unfortunate retribution to the critics if their notions should prevail and should

succeed in deranging our system to the point of perverting its genius in the guise of reform.

To be sure, any system breeds evils; and reform is a necessary accompaniment of progress; but not all that goes by the name of reform is reform. It may entail changes so radical that the system can no longer be what it was or perform as it did. This may be the result even if the reform bore no such intention. At the same time it must be clear that not all reform will be fatal or even burdensome to the economy. The question is how the changes comport with the inner genius of the system.

Obviously this genius must be understood if a judgment is to be made with respect to the soundness of past or prospective changes and reforms.

It is important that the composite elements and nature of the system be clearly set forth.

We have, to begin with, the people who settled this country. The natives who were displaced were not in a stage of development that would soon have produced the phenomena of production that were witnessed here after a few centuries. Therefore the character of the people who displaced the red Indians must be given a great part of the credit; for the rich resources of this country were no less present to the aboriginals than to the Europeans who displaced them.

Nevertheless the presence of diversified and rich resources was necessary to support the productive system that was launched as time went by.

The settlers had a strong penchant for freedom and established a system of government that incorporated freedom as the very essence of its genius. That this was a basic ingredient of success of the system may be concluded from the settlement of other areas of the world equally endowed with natural resources by people who established different systems of government or if they modeled their organic law after ours and hailed freedom as an ideal veered seriously from its mandates in practice. None of these countries achieved the productive apparatus devised in this country, even though they had the example before them for some decades.

We may, therefore, set down freedom and a government that in practice accepted the restraints of power as constituent and essential elements of the combination that led to industrial and agricultural supremacy.

If we cast about for other elements that were indispensable we will recognize initiative and self-propulsion as characteristic companions of the long period of our development and accumulation. These were but reflections of the motivating forces at work; namely, reasonable assurance that the enterpriser, developer, and exploiter would enjoy the fruits of his visions, labors, and efforts. There are those who think that this assurance was overdone. Yet, to build productive empires needed not only vision, resolution, courage, and aggressiveness but also ambition and a strong ego.

To convert a continent of mountains and vast ranges of prairies, forests, and