

1963

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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I invite my colleagues to take special note of this symbol that tops the Capitol dome as they leave the House today and as they come here for sessions of this body. I urge those who visit their Capital City to make a special effort to pause and view this important historic monument as a first on their list of musts to see.

Whether against a clear blue cloudless sky on a crisp autumn day, or a white and pink puffed sky in summer; whether it is seen in the haze of the early morning serving to catch the first ray of a rising sun in early spring, or reflects the light of a setting sun in a fading summer evening; whether the air be hot or chilled, in rain and in sunshine, Freedom Statue stands as a silent sentinel to help all who view it from near or afar to remember that America is richly blessed above all nations with that priceless possession—freedom. For those who may not be in possession of the official information regarding the statue, the following, I am sure, will be of great interest:

STATUE OF FREEDOM

The statue surmounting the dome of the U.S. Capitol, and facing to the east, is officially known as the Statue of Freedom. It is 19 feet 6 inches high, weighs 14,985 pounds and cost, exclusive of erecting in place, \$23,796.82.

The figure is that of a woman clad in flowing draperies with her right hand resting upon the hilt of a sheathed sword and her left holding a wreath and grasping a shield. At the waist, a brooch bearing the letters "U.S." holds the drapery in place. The head is covered by a helmet encircled with stars and surmounted by a crest composed of an eagle's head and a bold arrangement of feathers, suggested by the costume of our Indian tribes.

As a protection from lightning, 10 bronze points, tipped with platinum, are placed as follows: one on the head; six on the feathers in the headdress; one on each shoulder; and one on the shield.

The statue was designed by Thomas Crawford, father of F. Marion Crawford, the novelist, and the plaster model for which he received \$3,000 was executed in the Crawford studios in Rome. Mr. Crawford died in 1857 before the model was shipped from his studio. Shipment was subsequently made on April 19, 1858, on the bark *Emily Taylor*. The bark, having sprung a leak, put into Gibraltar for repairs after which the voyage was resumed. Encountering stormy weather, leaks again developed and part of the cargo, such as bales of rags and cases of citron, was thrown overboard, but on the 27th of July, the leak having increased to such an extent, it was determined for safety to put into Bermuda. Upon surveys held, the vessel was condemned and sold. The cargo, which had been landed and stored, was finally forwarded to its destination as indicated in the records, which show that in December 1858 Tappan and Starbuck of New York, acting as general agents for the United States in the receipt and forwarding of the statuaries, notified Captain Meigs, in charge of the work at the Capitol, that the bark *G. W. Horton*, from Bermuda, had arrived with some of the statuaries on board. It was not possible to bring all of the statuaries, and as late as March 30, 1859, the last of the statuaries, or portions of the model, were shipped from New York to Washington by the schooner *Statesman*.

The contract for casting the statue in bronze was awarded to Clark Mills, whose foundry was located near Bladensburg which lies just northeast of the District of Colum-

bia. On May 17, 1861, on account of the existing conditions due to the Civil War, Captain Meigs, Superintendent of Construction of the U.S. Capitol, issued orders to stop work on the statue.

The annual report of Thomas U. Walter, Architect of the Capitol Extension, dated November 1, 1862, states that "the Statue of Freedom, which is intended as the crowning feature of the dome, is completed, and removed to the grounds east of the Capitol, where it has been placed on a temporary pedestal, in order that the public may have an opportunity to examine it before it is raised to its destined position."

The hour of 12 m. December 2, 1863, was selected for the completion of the erection of the statue in place on the dome. Four of the sections had been previously raised to their places and firmly secured to the structure, leaving the fifth section, embracing the head and shoulders, to constitute the crowning feature, the hoisting and adjusting of which was the occasion of a Special Order No. 248 of the War Department which provided that at the moment at which a flag was displayed from the statue, a national salute of 35 guns should be fired from a field battery on Capitol Hill, the last gun from this salute to be answered by a similar salute from the 12 forts which at that time constituted a line of fortifications surrounding the city of Washington.

Precisely at 12 m. on the aforesaid 2d day of December 1863, the crowning feature of the statue was started from the ground in front of the Capitol by means of the steam hoisting apparatus which had been successfully used for the construction of the entire dome and in 20 minutes it reached the height of 300 feet, when it was moved to its place and firmly attached to the remaining portion of the figure; as soon as it was adjusted, the American flag was unfurled over its head and the national salute was fired.

The original plaster model from which the bronze statue was cast is now on exhibition in the old building of the National Museum in Washington, D.C.

The freedom statue should remind us and the world of the multitudes who, with their lives—in peace and in war—have made freedom meaningful. These include not only Presidents and other high Government officials but men and women serving in office at every level of government; the schoolboy who writes his thesis on "What America Means to Me"; the young lady who marches with her Girl Scout troop, proudly carrying the flag of her country; the mother who rears her child with a love for freedom with responsibility; the dad who works to support his family, who looks ever beyond each day that he might grasp the opportunity to do greater things; the preacher, priest, and rabbi who serve their countrymen in the name of the Almighty, reminding them it is God who has endowed them with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the soldier standing guard on a lonely outpost; the sailor braving the perils of the sea—words cannot begin to name the multitude of citizens who swell the mighty chorus of those who have made freedom ours and who today, unsung yet willing, keep us free.

Let not this day pass without noting that those who had occupied this historic place of responsibility and authority not only were strongly aware of where they had been and from whence they came—but they faced without flinching the responsibilities that confronted them in their day and met them at whatever

cost, because they placed their own conscience and sense of duty above life itself. This symbol of freedom which they placed atop the Capitol dome is evidence, too, that in the midst of struggle and pain and suffering they looked forward with hope and faith, confident that God, having a stake in the destiny of this free Nation, would preserve it and keep it.

Our Nation lives because God lives in the hearts and lives of its citizens. While life itself requires sacrifice, I am confident that the people of the United States will not be found wanting in the future as they have not been found wanting in the past when the right demanded their all.

PLEDGE OF SUPPORT FOR
PRESIDENT JOHNSON

(Mr. FOREMAN (at the request of Mr. MORSE) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express the heartsickness and sorrow of west Texans and Americans everywhere over the incredible and shocking tragedy that occurred on Friday, November 22. We all mourn this terrible tragedy that brought death to our President and painful injury to our Governor. Our warmest and most sincere sympathies are felt for Mrs. Kennedy, her children, and the family. Our prayers are with the Kennedy family and also, with our Texas Governor, John Connally and his family.

Mr. Speaker, our hopes, prayers, and support are with our new and able President, Lyndon Johnson, in the trying days ahead. We pledge our strength and support in joining with him in picking up the reins of Government and carrying on in the manner in which we know, he and we, are capable. May God's love, grace, and mercy be with President Johnson, the Members of Congress, and all Americans as we face the challenge before us.

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION TO UNDERGO FIRST TEST ON CUBA IN VENEZUELA DEMAND FOR OAS MEETING TO CONSIDER SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA

(Mr. CRAMER (at the request of Mr. MORSE) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the first real test of the determination and decisiveness of the administration of President Johnson on the Cuba question comes tomorrow when Venezuela, with proof positive of Cuba's armed intervention in the recent elections there, asks for a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Western Hemisphere nations in the OAS to consider sanctions against Cuba under the Rio Treaty of 1947.

It is my earnest hope that the United States will take a leadership role in calling for the imposition of sanctions against Cuba's Communists who have been caught "Red handed," so to speak, with their weapons on the beach of Para-

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guana, some 3 tons of it, inciting riots and violence in an effort to create an atmosphere of chaos that could have resulted in the invalidation of the election through the imposition of martial law, had it succeeded.

The arms were traced to a Belgian national arms factory that provided the list of the numbers of weapons provided for the Cuban Army which matched the serial numbers on the weapons found on the beach in Venezuela.

The Rio Treaty provides for sanctions against Cuba in such a case, including the breaking off of diplomatic relations, complete cutoff of all trade—including flow of subversives—all communications and even the use of armed force. Today five Latin countries continue to recognize Cuba: Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay.

I have been calling for the demand, by the United States, that these nations withdraw recognition but no effort to accomplish this has been made by our State Department. Little has been done in preventing the flow of subversives to and from Cuba. Too little has been accomplished in cutting off trade—even between our allies and Cuba. Even these steps short of the use of armed force have not been taken.

It is my hope that the Johnson administration will back up this demand for a meeting of the foreign ministers as proposed by Venezuela and that we will at last give the OAS the needed leadership in imposing sanctions to cut off the threat of communism from Cuba.

This is the first major test of the ability of the new administration to meet the challenge of Communist growth in this hemisphere and in dealing with the Cuban challenge. The entire world will be watching to measure the determination of the United States under its new leadership. Now is the time to let the world know of our will to win against the Communist menace in this hemisphere.

Following are two articles on this subject which appeared in the December 2, 1963, issue of the Washington Daily News:

A NEW TEST FOR SOLVING CUBA POSER

(By Virginia Prewett)

Venezuela's request for Organization of American States action under the Rio Treaty against Castro's Cuba for aggression and subversive attack is no more a parochial hemisphere crisis than was Castro's power seizure in Cuba.

This is the beginning of a test of Russian and United States positions. The test will determine whether Russia means to exact as the price of the tenuous existing detente a free hand on the Central and South American land mass. It will determine whether the United States believes Latin America is expendable.

Venezuela now gives the United States an opportunity to solve the Cuban problem at the insistence of a Latin American complainant invoking a treaty that binds all New World governments. This is an open and honorable path, in many ways far less dangerous than the inside plotting against Castro that has gone on in U.S. official circles for months past.

CLEANUP CHANCE

It gives the United States a chance to clean up the Caribbean in support of a Latin American nation that is an example of democratic

reform. If there is to be any peace, then our Government must surely stand for the rule of law and of recognized international treaties established to maintain peace. This was the prime purpose of the Rio instrument.

If our helmsmen are timid and boggle this chance, the effects will be tremendously far reaching. For our treaty obligations under the Rio instrument are every bit as solemn and legal and binding as our NATO obligations. They are as binding as the Moscow test ban treaty.

President Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela has voiced a grim truth: So long as Castro's Cuba exists, Latin America will be under unbearable Communist subversive attack. He asks for the threat to be eradicated the only way it can be—with the elimination of Communist Cuba.

THE FINE PRINT

The U.S. State Department appears to support the Venezuelan position. But the fine print shows that our officials, while admitting that Venezuela has caught Cuban subversion red handed, speak of "increasing vigilance" around Cuba. This is quite different from eradicating the evil at its source.

Washington assures Latin America that we keep strict surveillance over Cuba. This rings hollow in face of the Castro-armed terror in Venezuela and in Colombia and elsewhere.

Many U.S. leaders, more familiar with Europe or Asia, regard Latin America as a sideshow. If Washington pushes this fatal weakness too far, we shall find ourselves isolated in a sea of broken alliances, broken treaties, and hostile neighbors controlled from Moscow.

ARMS ISSUE RAISED: OAS PLANS MEETING ON CASTRO

(By Richard H. Boyce)

For the fifth time since Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba, the rest of the hemisphere is considering a high-level conference on what to do about him.

None of the previous meetings has had much effect. Now Venezuela wants the council of the Organization of American States to call a meeting of foreign ministers of the hemisphere nations.

Venezuela, long a prime target of Communist Cuba's terrorism and subversion, wants the meeting because she discovered a cache of 3 tons of arms and ammunition on Paraguana Beach, some 350 miles northwest of Caracas.

The cache included Belgian-made rifles.

PROOF

Venezuela says Cuba put the arms there, and calls this an act of aggression. The United States said modern electronic techniques were used on the arms here to bring out markings, and proved Venezuela's claim.

The Belgian national arms factory clinched it by providing a list of serial numbers of weapons the factory made for the Cuban Army.

Finding the arms is the first real proof the Castro regime is shipping munitions to Castrolites in other Latin American countries, though this has long been regarded as true.

Tomorrow the OAS meets to consider Venezuela's charge and decide whether to order a Foreign Ministers' Conference.

STEP BY STEP

It would take only a majority of the 20 OAS members to call such a conference. But the Ministers' Conference would need a two-thirds vote to take action against Castro.

What action could it take?

Venezuela wants the Conference to be held under the 1947 Rio Treaty.

This spells out steps the hemisphere can adopt—recall of ambassadors from Havana, breakoff of diplomatic and consular relations, complete cutoff of all trade and communications and the use of armed force.

The Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Punta del Este, Uruguay, in January 1962, kicked Castro's regime out of the inter-American family of nations, and suspended trade in arms.

But that action did not make any breakoff mandatory. Five Latin countries still have diplomatic ties with Cuba—Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay.

Under the Rio Treaty, breaking ties would be mandatory.

Diplomatic observers here speculate finding of the arms cache is such serious proof of Castro's work that even these five countries might vote for some Rio Treaty sanctions.

But no one expects a ministers' conference to vote the use of armed force. Armed force is not obligatory on member nations under the Rio Treaty.

THE CENTAUR PROGRAM

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday afternoon, November 27, 1963, America's space program achieved another first. A new kind of launch vehicle, called Centaur, was successfully fired from Cape Canaveral; now known as Cape Kennedy. That launching was significant for a number of reasons.

To begin with, Centaur is the first booster in America's stable of launch vehicles that uses liquid hydrogen fuel. Hydrogen has long been recognized as a fuel with great promise for it offers significant performance advantages over conventional propellants for rocket use. Liquid hydrogen, however, is hard to handle, and harnessing it for space missions involves development of a whole new technology.

Virtually all upper stages of large space vehicles under development during the next decade, both chemical and nuclear, will be designed to take advantage of the unique properties of liquid hydrogen. Centaur, therefore, provides the Space Agency with an indispensable research and development tool, with which our scientists are learning liquid hydrogen technology.

In addition, NASA plans to use the Centaur launch vehicle for a variety of space missions, the most urgent of which is the unmanned exploration of the moon with a spacecraft called Surveyor; this is a necessary preliminary to the Apollo manned lunar landing program.

Major elements of NASA's planetary science program also depend upon the Centaur launch vehicle, with its inherent ability to project larger payloads to the planets.

We members of the Committee on Science and Astronautics are particularly pleased at Centaur's first successful flight, following a long history of technical difficulties, delays, and reassignments of responsibility.

In order to throw a little light on some of the problems encountered in the program, I want to give a brief review of Centaur's unusual history.

The Centaur program dates back to the summer of 1958, when a proposal by

Appendix

The Modern Miracle and the Ancient Curse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1963

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of November 26, 1963:

THE MODERN MIRACLE AND THE ANCIENT CURSE
(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, November 25.—For the first time since leaders of the nations assembled at the bier of another, to pay final tribute to him and to his people, all have been able to make the pilgrimage within two settings of the sun. Only 3 days had elapsed from the death of President Kennedy in Texas to the hour when his requiem was intoned in Washington. Yet so complete has been man's conquest of time and distance that the requiem mass and the following interment were attended by the heads or plenary representatives of more than 100 states in the 6 continents of the world.

Probably it is true, as archivists are saying, that not since the funeral of King Edward VII has there been a comparable gathering of the incarnations of power. On May 20, 1910, the British sovereign was buried at Windsor after a long procession through the streets of London led by his son and successor, George V, seven European Kings, the heirs-apparent or prince consorts of many others and a group of special ambassadors that included former President Theodore Roosevelt. But Edward's life had ended 2 weeks before his state funeral could be held because air transport was only in its crude, elemental stage. And, the electronic age being far in the future, no radio and television existed to make the whole world a spectator.

HAMLET'S MEDITATION

If grief had not been uppermost among those who watched the magnificent funeral ceremonies, these manifestations of ever-expanding human genius might have been accentuated, as in Hamlet's meditation: "What a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty, in form and moving! How express and admirable in action! How like an angel in apprehension! How like a god! The beauty of the world! The paragon of animals!" But submerging the incidence of the scientific miracle was the thought of the ancient and abiding curse of violence which these potentates and princes from afar had come to mourn.

The young President lay dead in his coffin under his country's flag because not even the enlightened system of freedom and self-government of which he was the shining symbol has exercised this curse from the human heart. "At his best," said Aristotle, "man is the noblest of all animals; separated from law and justice he is the worst." At Dallas both law and justice had been trampled upon by the President's assassin, by their civic guardians, and by the mad-

dened avenger who took law and justice into his own hands.

This is the shame which all the elegiasts—at the Capitol, in the press, and throughout the world—lamented. And the theme common to all the elegies may eventually be sustained by factual evidence. This theme is that the violence of political differences that is current in the United States stimulated the fanaticism that expressed itself in the murder of the President. But the American people have always been violent and often venomous in political debate; fanaticism bred in personal or doctrinal grievances has taken the lives of three earlier Presidents and unsuccessfully attempted the assassination of four who were, were to be, or had been Presidents. Hence, there is no merit in the implication of some of the orators that Mr. Kennedy's murder should be related to the area where it occurred because of the intensity there of the controversy over his policies.

NOT A RIGHTWINGER

This implication especially lacks merit by reason of the only facts known about the only suspect, Oswald. He was a Marxist; at least a sympathizer with the religion of communism; emigrated to and married in the Soviet Union; and was trying to return. This is certainly not the dossier of the "right-wing extremists," a stigmatic label of Dallas which some members of the administration are too prone to affix.

That inclination was revealed by the Voice of America broadcast at 1:50 p.m. last Friday of the ghastly tragedy in the city. "Dallas," the Voice of America explained to the world, "is the center of the extreme rightwing." This gratuitous, and as it proved false, suggestion that such was the affiliation of the assassin was deleted from the broadcast at 2:10 p.m. but it was grist to Moscow's mill, which has been grinding it ever since.

The Americas—Each Nation an Anchor to Hemispheric Solidarity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1963

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on October 12 it was my great privilege to join with others at the dinner of the Americas Foundation in New York City and pay tribute to James S. Copley, chairman of the corporation publishing the Copley newspapers and chairman of the Copley News Service which specializes in Latin American news. That evening Mr. Copley became the 20th winner of the foundation's Americas Award for his efforts in "advancing the solidarity and mutual trust and respect between the 21 American republics."

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the address made

by Mr. Copley that evening in which he gives his suggestions for improving relationships in the Western Hemisphere:

THE AMERICAS—EACH NATION AN ANCHOR TO HEMISPHERIC SOLIDARITY

It has been some three decades since this country took historic steps toward a greater understanding and neighborliness with those nations which share with us the land mass of the Americas.

It seems to me in looking back upon those times that this country under the good-neighbor policy gave something more important than dollars—it gave our neighbors a feeling of individual dignity and importance, and greater self-respect in the community of nations.

Today, as chairman of the Copley News Service, which covers with special interest the affairs of South and Central America, I wonder how all of us can become better neighbors again—the United States, and the other American countries to the south.

For it is clear that some of our neighborliness, in recent years, has been lost in suspicion or spite. There are those who deliberately try to grow hate instead of friendship.

As a newspaperman, I am quite sure that we cannot repair such friendships with dollars alone, but only with better understanding and communication. This begins, I think, with a willingness to accept each other as we are, not as we might like to require each other to be.

This is the only way any neighbors can get along.

This lack of willingness to accept each other, fully and realistically, may be the secret of why some of our neighbors might not be too unhappy if the house of this particular neighbor—this United States house—developed a leaky roof, or got rocks through the windows, or even burned down.

Because in some places—and we must face this—there is anger toward the United States, and it is cunningly nurtured by those who cry "freedom" but who sell slavery, and who cry "imperialism" but seek everywhere for broken bits and pieces of the world to add to their own goddess, and ultimately hopeless, empire.

In looking toward the reasons why the good-neighbor policy has suffered growing strains, it is easy to mention such things as lower commodity prices, and their effect on many Latin nations, and to assume that all ills stem from such economic problems. But to do so, I think, ignores four other developments that have come quite simultaneously. If we are to be candid in understanding each other, there four things must be understood too.

1. Latin Americans are our special neighbors: no longer are they almost our only ones. The "neighborhood" has grown. In our own country's world isolationism before World War II, our real neighborhood was our hemisphere. Now it has become the world—whole new continents have been added. As a result, when we seek to help neighbors, there are many more to be helped.

Unfortunately, some must be helped not only from friendship but from fear of their becoming enemies. I think it is human and natural that some of our old friends in Latin America, who may be in need, unconsciously resent the widening circle of our assistance.

2. Postwar economic progress in the world has most blessed those nations which al-

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ready had existing industrial foundations upon which to build. Many Latin American nations, agricultural for the most part, thus have not shared in the technological boom which has enriched many other countries. Yet Latin America has to purchase many of its needs in a world economy in which prices of manufactured goods have spiraled upward.

3. The transportation revolution wrought by the jetplane has changed the world's geography, bringing many countries closer together, but in the process making others seem farther away, at least in terms of time and convenience.

4. In these same years, the contest of systems and ideologies between free nations and atheistic communism has led to the first full-scale infiltration of Latin America by secret agents of a foreign power.

In the light of all these disturbing factors, it is both surprising and reassuring that those who have sought to break the historic chains of American hemispheric solidarity have accomplished so little in the way of real damage, except in Cuba.

Cuba, of course, is damaging enough.

Cuba was not only our neighbor, but a next-door neighbor. Now this neighbor's house is filled with guns and thugs.

How can anyone tolerate such a neighbor, and for how long? It is a problem in which we have not acted alone, but have instead consulted other American neighbors.

All we have done, so far, is to insist that this neighbor no longer keep atom bombs in its household. But he can still, any day, shoot up all our houses, and by example and deed try to corrupt all those around him. This latter he already does, with success or failure not easy to measure.

All that can be surely known is that Castro, in the 1962 missiles crisis, demonstrated that for the sake of communism, and that of personal power, he was willing to doom not only his own people but those of his American Hemisphere to the flash of atomic death.

It is the same mad conceit shown by any lunatic who carries a torch of flame in one hand, supposedly illuminating the world, and carries in the other a trembling vial of nitroglycerine.

From time to time, we hear that Castro is really changing. For instance, he is now said to tolerate religion, after his 1961 seizures of schools and deportation of Spanish-origin priests.

The fact is, however, that Blas Roca, an important Cuban Communist, has let it be known that it will be the job of the Communist Party, as distinguished from the government, to combat religious "lies and prejudices"—to blackjack religion when the time comes.

It may be Castro's view that for the government itself to impose communistic godlessness on God-fearing people would be the final chipping away of brick that would bring his prison walls tumbling down.

It is significant to note that while the Berlin wall escapes are often more dramatic, refugees to the United States from Cuba are far more numerous, and are estimated to total more than a quarter of a million persons—a severe loss of talented and courageous people from a land that has some six and a half million population.

Dictator Castro, who has slain or jailed thousands of other good citizens, may be unable to afford any further affront to other thousands who have tried to keep some faith in a restored free Cuba, and so have stayed at home.

The ultimate fate of Cuba is hard to guess, partly because it is so closely connected with communism's own concealed schemes. We do know that Castro has had to reconcile himself to the fact that Cuba must continue to grow sugar, while giving up dreams of grandiose steel mills, and we do know that

the economic pinch on the common people grows more painful daily, despite slave-state edicts that they produce or starve.

What, indeed, has happened to the Cuban worker, who is supposed to have been the beneficiary of revolution? Now that Cuba's sugar mills, the stores, the power companies and the telephones are claimed to be the property of all the people, the worker has learned that it is not only unpatriotic, but dangerously counter-revolutionary, to concern himself about the right to strike to improve his conditions.

Not only is he expected to do his normal work, but then, when he is weary, he also is expected to volunteer to cut sugarcane. He is, in fact, enslaved. Cuban officials rant long and loud against workers who lie down on the job. Perhaps they lie there from exhaustion—or from lack of hope of any better tomorrow.

In finding that sugar is still the base of the Cuban economy, and has to be cut and sold, the Reds have again proved that they do not have any easy, pat answers to the economic problems that face us all.

What can we, and other American nations, learn from Cuba, and so guard against a repetition of such catastrophe visiting itself upon other freemen, in still-free nations?

First of all, I think we must recognize that revolution did not come to Cuba only because of want or hunger. Cuba, from many standpoints, was making economic advances at the time Castro came to power. The progress could have been faster had it not been fettered by a corrupt government.

It is this—the ultimate cost of corruption—that we can learn from Cuba. Revolutionary leaders—good and bad ones both—grow in lands where bribery and dishonesty put their blight on efforts by people to improve their lot. It was Cuba's special misfortune that a financially corrupt Cuba regime had to be overturned by one that was also corrupt—this one rotted through with the concept that the individual is worthless and has no rights, and that the state can be his all-knowing master.

It is the moral tragedy of our times that so many young people, in many lands like Cuba, reach forth with eagerness for the manacles that all other generations of men have fought to shed. Castro was one of these eager youth; now he is himself as much enchained by Communist disciplines as any of those followers of his who have not yet died before his Red firing squads.

Other young people, in many of our nations, continue to find a fatal and insane fascination in such slavery, and so more Castros may be growing up, as obscurely as any Hitler or Khrushchev or Castro, waiting their day to help forge more chains for any and all of us. Where their governments are corrupt, their way is made easier, for they can seek converts among those made pessimistic of progress in any other way.

The most helpful of any single move for greater hemispheric progress, I think, is to fight corruption at any and all levels of government. Better education already is instilling a revulsion against mordida as a way of life, because mordida, and grafts of all kinds, benefit only the individual while harming all others, and weakening the state.

Let I be misunderstood, we in the United States know that we sometimes have our degrading briberies and corruptions, too, extending into State and National legislatures. So I am not pointing in scorn to something not known in our own country.

But just as we in our country fight for honest government, and hunt down those who betray our trust, so we feel that other nations also could strengthen themselves by insisting on clean and decent servants in their governments.

The Latin American press can be of great service here, just as the press in the United States has been in our country.

Stable and honest government becomes a matter of practical U.S. concern, because if U.S. money is misspent, in any country, it cannot achieve those objectives which otherwise might be possible. Those objectives, simply stated, continue to be to help other nations to help themselves.

It is in this area of self-help that people of good will, both in the United States and in the other countries of the hemisphere, can find their greatest opportunity to build mutual good will.

I think we can build good will by refraining, as conscientiously as possible, not only from seeming to dictate any actions by our neighbors, but also by guarding against the appearance of dictation in making our aid available.

We cannot insult proud friends by any know-it-all attitude. It is possible we have been guilty of such an attitude in going along with those who talk too glibly of the need for "land reform" in Latin nations.

Anyone who has taken the trouble to look up the statistics on land utilization in Latin America will be struck with the jumbled information on this. It appears that no matter whose estimates or figures are accepted, the amount of land under cultivation in most countries is far, far less than the amount of virgin land available for colonization or farming.

If it is true that in some countries a high percentage of cultivated land is in the hands of relatively few persons, one way to lower that percentage—without cutting into total farm production by hasty breaking up of large and efficient producers—is to bring more new lands to use.

Whether it makes more economic sense to put new lands into production, by helping pioneers to clear them, rather than to break up present successfully run units, is a matter the consideration of which has been greatly hampered by cries, many of them from the United States, for agrarian reform.

It is strange that the United States, the great agricultural wealth of which was built by pioneers, should so ignore the role that such pioneers could possibly play in Latin America.

A second way to build good will would be by keeping our promises to Latin America as faithfully as possible.

In the present Congress, efforts to reduce total foreign aid now imperil the promises we made in helping to set up the Alliance for Progress. To fail to keep our own promises, under a program mutually developed, would seem to me to be a highly dangerous and even dishonest course for us.

One way to attack this problem in future years might be to treat hemisphere aid as a separate item from all other foreign aid. Then, if other aid programs are badly administered, and suffer public resentment, the Latin American program will not be punished for sins which are not its own.

A third means of strengthening U.S.-Latin friendships would be to rely increasingly on fact-finding missions to Latin America, the personnel and methods of which would merit the fullest confidence of those countries they visit.

Too often, our own Copley News Service reporters see evidence in Latin America that decisions are made in Washington on matters where the facts have not been clearly determined beforehand by careful field study.

But the fourth, and perhaps most important, means of strengthening our good-neighbor policy is to emphasize again that spirit which motivated us in the 1930's.

This is to view each of our neighboring countries as a proud individual, who does not want anyone trying to run his life for him. It is to view those countries as comrades in arms for a better world, in which each country, large and small, has its own vital role to play, and its own traditions to uphold.

If the world gets into a shooting conflict, the Americas will indeed have to stand shoulder to shoulder in the battle to preserve the freedoms so dear to all the Americas.

If we view our neighbors in such a way, perhaps they also will be able to see us in a different light—as someone who is willing to bear his responsibility in helping his neighbors get along.

They will see that when it comes to crisis, we too bring courage to the ranks. And they will see that when it comes to freedom, this hemisphere still offers the great and lasting hope.

It is a time for all neighbors' hands in this American hemisphere to be outstretched again in friendship and trust—not outstretched, instead, for another hemisphere's manacles and chains.

Investigating Committees Defended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1963

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, in the December issue of the American Legion magazine there is an editorial concerning the investigating committees of Congress. It is a well-reasoned argument supporting the work of our investigating committees.

The recent activities of Fair Play for Cuba Committee, I have in mind demonstrations on Capitol Hill, makes this editorial compelling reading for those who are interested in fighting subversion. I commend the following American Legion magazine's editorial to my colleagues:

THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES

There are few things that we regret more than that the average American never reads, and never has a chance to read, the published transcripts of hearings conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

We assume that most Members of Congress actually do read them, instead of reading about them in the writings of others who may, or may not, have an ax to grind, but who do (and perhaps must) write all too briefly, anyway.

It hardly seems possible that a Congressman who reads the hearings in full could vote to abolish or limit either of the committees. Yet Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, of California, regularly attempts to wreck the House Un-American Activities Committee, and while he got a paltry 6 votes to support him last year, this year he got a paltry but larger number—20. It is our personal feeling that several million dollars appropriated to publish and circulate many, many more copies of these hearings, rather than depending on the sketchy reports that the newspapers publish, would be for the good of the Nation.

We have at hand one of the Senate reports. It is 323 pages long, and involves only the questioning of Jacob Rosen, a sometime student of New York's City College, who was pretty convincingly identified as an energetic organizer of American youth along Communist Party lines, and as one of the 42 youngsters who junketed in Cuba in defiance of the State Department's travel ban. The Rosen hearings are but one of a

series on the general subject of "Castro's Network in the United States."

Occasionally, Mr. Rosen answered a question. He did admit to having been a carpenter, but declined to identify his union, though the Senators told him there was nothing at all suspect about his union. He did identify himself as being Jacob Rosen, of 636 West 174th Street, New York. He declined to answer questions about a news story in the New York Times about the disillusionment of many members of a touring U.S. youth group in Moscow. The story had noted that, while many of the traveling youngsters seemed disillusioned with the Soviets, "Jacob Rosen, of 636 West 174th Street, Manhattan, a junior at City College, went without sleep [in Moscow] to keep things moving."

Throughout most of the 323 pages he respectfully declined to answer questions. Not having 323 pages at our disposal we can only list here a small sampling of the questions he didn't answer. He declined to say anything about a photo of a bearded Jacob Rosen in Cuba; or articles written by a Jacob Rosen directing how American youth should be organized along Communist lines; or an article: "I Was in Youth Brigade Building School-City in Cuba" by a Jake Rosen; or an identification card issued to U.S. Carpenter Jacob Rosen by a "Volunteer International Workers' Brigade" operating in the Sierra Maestra in Cuba.

One of the things that more people would appreciate if they could actually read the full texts of these hearings is the documentation which congressional committees put in the record as the basis of their questioning. Very few Americans, we believe, would entertain any further notion that these committees are fishing expeditions, or are out to "smear innocent people," if they could secure the full, fascinating transcripts instead of getting their information too briefly at second hand. If the committees are ever mistaken in the enormous research on which they base their questioning the hearings give any innocent parties an opportunity to point out the mistakes. Mr. Rosen, and many others, prefer to remain silent. It would be a good thing for public information if you, and everyone else, could read all this documentation and all this silence. An "informed public opinion" is supposed to be the basis of true democracy, and we respectfully call this to the attention of Representative ROOSEVELT and his friends before they make their next move to choke off informed public opinion when Congress reopens in January.

If they actually believe in government by an informed public, we have a suggestion. This year, instead of trying to abolish the House committee, let them take the lead in placing several million transcripts of committee hearings in the hands of high school students, teachers, civic organizations, church groups, public libraries, college classes, PTA's, local veterans posts, State and local legislatures, etc., along with a sample mailing of them to a goodly cross section of American homes—and in the future be guided by the reaction of an informed public.

An Ode to John Fitzgerald Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT THOMAS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1963

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

AN ODE TO JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, 35TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(By Breckenridge Porter, Jr.)

In his heart a passion lived
That the world might be more amative.
Love of man his main concern;
Peace he spake, hate he spurned.
Throughout the world he made his plea,
For peace on earth, and unity.
And from those countries he traveled home,
Only to fall among his own.
Now our peoples are coterie,
And Heaven is the resting place, for
John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Please, God, Help Us Keep the Clock of Democracy Wound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1963

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the following address was given by Mr. Joseph L. Gabriel, of Hollister, Calif., at the Dixie Dinner in the Biltmore Bowl during the Rotary International Convention in Los Angeles, June 5, 1962. Mr. Gabriel is one of my constituents who has done considerable thinking about some basic concepts of America. He knows where of he speaks. His remarks seem especially valid today. I quote him as follows:

It is a distinct honor to have been invited to be on your program, and to talk to you on a subject close to my heart, a subject which should be close to the heart of every loyal American.

Democracy is like a clock. It will run down unless our generation keeps it wound. Our gathering together in fellowship, you good people from the Southern States of our great Nation, the States so well known for hospitality and friendship, and we of district 513 from the northern part of California, is democracy in action.

I come before you as a plain, common American citizen, deeply concerned about the welfare of our beloved America. I am not representing any political party or attacking any of its leaders. I am not running for office. I do not want you to vote for me. I have no merchandise to sell. I speak to you as I think and feel. I want you to help me sell America to the American people.

I have been requested to tell you a personal story, which I hope will make you appreciate what I have to say to you a little more. I am an American citizen by choice. I came to this country at the age of 13. I couldn't speak a word of English. I hadn't a penny in my pocket. I was barefoot and hungry. My parents passed away before they could learn the language. I never had a penny left to me. I did all kinds of work. I struggled. I saved. I did not question the number of hours I was obliged to work, the kind of work, or the price paid. All I wanted was an opportunity in America.

I have bought and sold many kinds of merchandise. I have been an employee and an employer. I have been chiseled, and I have done a little chiseling. I was born in Lebanon, a small nation on the Mediterranean, where the rich are very rich, and the many poor are very poor. Everything was scarce in those days. The poor had to struggle for their livelihood. Many went hungry. I have been one of those.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

December 2

Such conditions exist now in many parts of the world, many cases worse than I experienced. They are due to lack of freedom, overtaxation, domination, poor management on the part of the leaders, and lack of responsibility on the part of the individual.

I say to you ladies and gentlemen of this great country, let us be aware of our responsibility to our beloved America. We are now, and have been, overtaxed. We have lost much of our freedom. There is disunity between management and labor. Our dollar is in trouble. Do you realize the American dollar is worth half of its value? Things are out of balance. Too many strikes are affecting our democracy more than you think. Too many people look to the government for personal benefits. There are too many departments of government. One out of eight individuals is on the State or Federal payroll. There is too much competition between government and private enterprise. A sound economy is the basis of our strength, and it is in danger. We are spending more than we take in.

In 1929 the national debt was \$15 billion. It is now \$300 billion. The interest on the national debt is \$9 billion annually. We have \$9 billion worth of surplus commodities on which we are paying storage and interest.

Some say we never had it so good. They fall to realize that we are operating on borrowed money. They fail to realize we have mortgaged the children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren of this generation, and they are not going to like us for it. They fail to realize that every man, woman, and child in America has an obligation of \$1,700 to the national debt, not including the individual's personal obligation. Nothing can kill the initiative of the people more quickly than for half of them to get the idea that they need not work because the other half will feed them. People suffer in the end when they demand more and give less.

No nation, however rich or powerful, can continue to take the beating our beloved America has taken. No individual business large or small, or institution can continue to spend more than it takes in and not be eventually bankrupt. Some say it cannot happen here. Read history. History tells us that many nations have been wrecked because the people failed to accept the full responsibility of citizenship, and lost all.

The soul of democracy is the voice of the people. The people fail to rise and do their part. They fail to accept democracy as a sacred responsibility. They fail to take part in politics fearing to lose business. I say to you if you don't take part in politics you will have no business. We have lost interest in the goose that lays the golden egg. We take things for granted. We let George do it.

It is not too late. I have faith in this great country. We have the resources, the potential in power and strength. What we need is the spirit of our people once again asserting itself. It is not too late to turn over a new leaf and take inventory, evaluate our citizenship, and realizing its worth, accept our responsibilities to the greatest country on the face of the earth.

I realize I am talking to a Rotary international convention. I realize that there are individuals in the audience from other parts of the world. I'd like to remind you all that Rotary says to us, "It is the duty of every Rotarian to be a loyal and devoted citizen of his own country." That I shall be as long as God gives me breath. I ask you to do likewise. What is good for America is good for the rest of the world.

Democracy has bitter competition and enemies in the world today among nations whose philosophy differs from ours. They seek to impose their philosophy on us. They seek control of our lives, our homes, our freedom. We fail to meet the challenge. We are too soft, too kind, too generous.

Democracy needs the individual's attention, daily care, time and effort. It needs in

every community the leadership of people of the caliber we have here assembled. The United States of America is the largest single business in the world. It deserves the very best in leadership by people of character, ability, and balanced judgment. It needs people of courage and devotion, who are willing to put the country before their party and themselves. It needs the support of all of us. We must elect such people to public office or we shall lose our freedom.

If this freedom is to be saved, Government expenditures must be curtailed. The dollar must be saved, inflation must be checked. Russia must be halted. She has bluffed us long enough. Labor and management must be policed, and made to realize their interests are mutual. Labor and management must recognize their responsibilities. If we kill one we kill both. Kill both and we kill free enterprise. Free enterprise means free labor as well as free management. We cannot expect cooperation unless we give it. Give and you will receive. Love and you will be loved. It is much later than you think.

At the time the Constitution was signed in 1787, a woman, if you please, asked Benjamin Franklin, "What do we have now?" He replied, "We have a republic if we can keep it." Another woman sometime later put a similar question to James Lowell, American Minister to Great Britain, "How long will the American Republic endure?" He replied, "As long as the ideas of the men who made it continue to be dominant."

Ladies and gentlemen, the survival of our Nation depends on what you do as individuals. "What can I do?" you ask. You need to accept the full responsibility of your citizenship. You need to render more service than ever before to the community and to the Nation. You need to awaken the people around you. You need to have more faith in democracy. You need to encourage respect and harmony between you and your employees which will make for greater efficiency. You need to take part in politics, and time out to vote the right people into office. You need to encourage your family, your neighbors, and the people around you to do likewise. You need to stand up and be counted as loyal and faithful citizens. You need to return to your homes and discharge George. You need to guide and teach the youth around you the value of our system of free enterprise and what it means to them. I say to you with all my heart that the future of America and its institutions depends on what you do to guide the citizens of tomorrow.

You are the guiding force of the community, State, Nation and free world. You are the heart of the community in which you live. Your influence is much greater than you think. The safety of our freedom is in your hands. If we value anything more than our freedom we'll lose it.

Ladies and gentlemen, freedom of opportunity made America what it is. We have the highest standard of living for all classes any nation has ever had. We have more opportunity for initiative than any nation on earth. Here the weak may become strong. Men can rise from the depths to the heights provided they have the determination, the energy, and of course the capacity. That's the glory of America.

I like this country for many reasons. Let me, in conclusion, list a few. I like this country because the children of the rich and the children of the poor attend the same school, are taught by the same teachers. Such is not the case in many parts of the world. I like this country because the painter, the carpenter, the laborer, and the clerk has the opportunity to join socially the business and professional men. I like this country because the individual has the opportunity to work, to build, and to create, and to provide opportunities for others with less interference. Not too long ago I was able

to stand before an audience like this and say with no interference.

I love this country more than I can ever tell you because it gave me opportunity, because I no longer have to carry wood on my back, wood I've hunted and scratched for because it was so scarce, water on my shoulder in jugs I've filled from a spring after waiting in line because it was scarce. I love this country because I no longer have to eat stale bread I was glad to get, go barefooted, sleep on the floor. All these things I did before I came to America.

God bless America. God give us the energy, the courage and the determination to do our part to keep it free, strong, and peaceful. If any native born or naturalized citizen does not like this country let him buy a one-way ticket to the country of his choice. The sooner he leaves the better.

Ladies and gentlemen, I appeal to you with all my heart, in all sincerity, and ask you as individuals to do your part to safeguard our institutions of liberty. Please God help us to keep the clock of democracy wound.

No Cause for Cotton Panic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1963

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on tomorrow we begin the consideration of the Coolcy Cotton bill (H.R. 6196). I am hopeful that all Members will read the following article from the November issue of the Missouri Delta Farmer which explains some of the things which could and should be done to improve this bill:

NO CAUSE FOR COTTON PANIC

While everyone knows that cotton is in trouble, and almost everyone agrees that additional legislative authority is needed to do the many things that need to be done for cotton and the various segments of the industry, there is no reason, absolutely no reason at all, to become panicky about the current cotton situation.

Unfortunately for everyone the drive for legislation has lost its sense of direction, and becomes involved in a maze of exaggerated and misleading claims that threaten to scuttle all possibilities for remedial legislation in the foreseeable future. For example, a certain organization recently circulated a statement saying, "Cotton has suffered a direct competitive loss to competing fibers of about 1 1/4 million bales" since August 1, 1961. However, a look at official records of the U.S. Department of Agriculture shows that the average offtake of U.S. cotton (domestic plus exports) for the most recent 10-year period (including the 1963-64 season) is 13.6 million bales per year. The estimated offtake for the current marketing year is 13.8 million bales or some 200,000 bales above the 10-year average. Another sentence in this same statement says that "exports have dropped from 6.6 million bales to 3.3 million bales" in the 2 years ending July 31, 1963. In the case of exports, official figures show an average of 4.9 million bales were exported during the most recent 10-year period (including the 1963-64 season). Instead of a drop in exports, the estimate of 5 million bales for the current marketing year actually means a small increase in the movement of U.S. cotton into world markets.

Official figures on domestic consumption and exports of U.S. cotton very definitely contradict and belie claims that cotton has