

agreement with the proponents of demonstrations, riots, racial hatred, and bloodshed in the streets of American communities?

If we might transpose two words of the four words, "What hath God wrought?" that were sent from the U.S. Supreme Courtroom in Washington to Baltimore on May 24, 1844, by Samuel Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, we would direct this vital message to the citizens of a democracy within a republic. What God hath wrought, let not materialistic men of the Supreme Court, the Federal bureaucracy, the clergy, or the citizenry put asunder, one century later.

GOP Study on Cuba Rates Bigger Notice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1964

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the following column by Richard Wilson appearing in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of May 6, 1964, has great significance as our Government searches for a Cuba policy:

GOP STUDY ON CUBA RATES BIGGER NOTICE
(By Richard Wilson)

WASHINGTON.—The Republican "critical issues" study on Cuba has gotten far less attention than it deserves. These studies of which the Cuban problem was only one, would have won more attention had they been sponsored, as they should have been, by Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard M. Dixon, and Thomas E. Dewey.

The chairmanship of Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the former President's brother, is not enough. Dr. Eisenhower has done an excellent job organizing these studies, but they need the imprimatur of the leaders of the Republican Party.

The Cuban study was important because it offered a solution or at least the shadow of one, and this is extremely rare in the Cuban debate. This shadow of a solution fell into two parts: organization of a government-in-exile and hard pressure on our allies to stop trading with Cuba.

A principle of great significance is involved. Cuba would be deemed of primary importance to the security of the United States and the hemisphere. We would tell our allies this and let them know that we were going to solve the Cuban problem even if this meant giving lesser priority to Cyprus, Vietnam, Laos or other areas more remote from our primary area of security. We would demand assistance in this just as we have assisted our allies in so many areas of the world, including Berlin, for the past 20 years.

The American intellectual community, however, seems content to accept the judgment of England, France or the Scandinavian countries on the degree of jeopardy to the Western Hemisphere's security. Very little will get done anywhere in the world, however, if the prevailing intellectual complaisance is to become universal policy.

The Republican study was useful because it centers attention on the fact that virtually nothing is being done either by the U.S. Government or the Organization of American States about the problem in Cuba. A kind of paralysis has set in on even discussing it. The Democrats apparently hope that voters will not think about Cuba when they go to the polls this fall.

In the meantime, the Communist position is being strengthened, subversion and pene-

tration in Latin America are increasing, and the Government in Cuba is stable enough so that Russian troops can be withdrawn. Mr. Johnson discusses Cuba with about the same detachment as he discusses the Baker case.

Some think that this hides the behind the scenes activity being organized by Presidential Adviser Thomas Mann, or that President Johnson has some carefully drawn plan of action. There is no evidence of this, except a little plain talk with the British Prime Minister, and some grumbling about General de Gaulle.

Otherwise, the allied trade with Cuba is increasing and we are still discouraging refugee raids even when they originate in countries other than the United States. This is not a very firm policy, whether measured by Republican or Democratic standards.

In actual fact, there is probably not too much in the Republican study that the White House would disagree with, except that it is a Republican study.

Some would say that this is a critical time and the Republicans have no business making foreign policy a political issue. This is really beside the point.

The point is whether or not the administration in power will devote its full efforts to a reexamination of the Cuban question and arrive at a fixed policy with an objective in sight.

If not, the administration will be fair game on this issue throughout the preelection period, not only from Senator GOLDWATER but from the moderates in the opposition who are just looking for issues but want solutions.

The Question of Morality in Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 27, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been much impressed with a recently published sermon by Dr. Walter Courtenay, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, Tenn., entitled "The Problem of Equilibrium." The distinguished junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE] recently placed this outstanding and most timely sermon in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as it was printed in the Nashville Banner of Nashville, Tenn.

There has now come to my attention an excellent editorial which has been published in the Greenville News of Greenville, S.C., on May 24, 1964, discussing this sermon, the so-called civil rights legislation, and the false question of morality which has been raised by proponents of this legislation.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

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

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS AND MORALITY

Many are they who cry shame and worse upon others who oppose the civil rights bills and condemn the proposals as immoral, materialistic, and tyrannical but who, nonetheless, work for better race relations in the

right way as they are given vision to see the right.

For the benefit of both we cite here passages from a recent sermon by a distinguished Nashville, Tenn., minister.

Until the maximum force began to be applied by paid agitators and well meaning people who support them, Nashville was making progress in stable race relations, moving toward equality without embracing integration as a false panacea. Since then, Nashville has been troubled and wracked by strife and bitterness.

It was this which prompted Dr. Walter Courtenay, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, to speak out against forced integration under the topic of "The Problem of Equilibrium."

He condemned demonstrations and called for a moratorium on the efforts of integrationists and certain Members of Congress to force a majority of the citizens of the United States into a police state for the dubious benefit of a minority.

Dr. Courtenay has won two Freedom Foundation Awards. The second was for a sermon delivered this year and entitled "The Problems of Equality." His latest sermon was printed in the Nashville Banner of May 18.

"So unbalanced are the times in which we live, Dr. Courtenay said, and so fuzzy our thinking, that church leaders now say that anyone who does not wholeheartedly support the total integration of the races is un-American and pagan * * * They would compress all Christians into their mold or destroy them."

Of the demonstrations, he said:

"Again I stand to decry sit-ins, lie-downs, kneel-downs, and the demonstrations that create fear, block traffic, rob merchants of essential business, and make a mockery of law and order. I decry those who incite such actions, even as I decry their opposites who meet unreasonableness with unreasonableness.

"I decry so-called nonviolent marches that create feelings of violence in others and fuse every day with danger.

"I find little of the spirit of Jesus in most of what has been said and done to date, and with all too little justification.

"The methods used are hate and fear builders, and are in fact a shotgun held at a community's or businessman's stomach and such actions are as reprehensible as the actions of a gun-wielding robber."

Of the effect of the civil rights bills, he said:

"One can only conclude that many people are living in a tailspin of confusion. If all the integrationist schemes now extant were enacted into law we would create a Federal power free men could not long endure.

"We would turn this land into a police state for the benefit of a minority of favored citizens. Men and women, who, by hard work and frugality, have built profitable businesses would lose all privileges if they declined to meet the social conditions passed for the benefit of this group.

"We would create chaos in our streets, fear in our hearts, and alter irretrievably everything that has been American in the past."

There is, as every sincere citizen must agree, a need for justice in the justifiable grievances of Negroes who have been denied opportunity even though they were qualified to assume the responsibilities that go along with them. Dr. Courtenay put it this way:

"Let no one doubt that our colored friends and fellow citizens have reasonable grievances that call for justice. No one argues that fact. * * *

"But many do argue, and with justification, that the method of remedying the grievances merely creates new grievances. One injustice is no excuse for concocting others."

There is, however, a remedy:

"Experience suggests that we need a long-range program of advance, a program that

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will give people time to adjust and gain understanding, a program that will slowly but surely bring about a rectification of injustices, a program that will be Christian in spirit and method, a program that will not increase racial tensions, but decrease them.

"One thing seems clear to me as a white American: if the erosion of the private rights of responsible, honorable citizens, continues for the next 10 years, if the federalization of communities and States is accelerated, our American dream will never be fulfilled, and all citizens, and the entire world will suffer in consequence.

"The imbalance existing now cannot be solved by fired-up Negro leaders who are hired to stoke fires and keep pots boiling.

"Nor can it be solved by those whites whose minds are closed to the just complaints of black men.

"Nor can it be solved by politicians whose primary aim is votes.

"Nor by the so-called civil rights bill in Washington with its undefined and undefinable phrases.

"What we need and need desperately, is a moratorium on racial pressures. We need a cooling-off period. We need a cessation of the effort to compel white people by threat of force to meet both the fair and unfair demands of colored leaders.

"We need a prolonged period of interracial planning in depth, in an atmosphere free of coercion.

"Such a moratorium would do more to restore national equilibrium than all the laws Congress can pass in the next 4 years."

We agree with Dr. Courtenay that unless the national climate and the minds of many men can be cleared of confusion and hysteria, all may be lost.

Further, the new-found doctrine of salvation by integration needs reexamination. The problem of racial equality encompasses so many dilemmas that it is incapable of solution to the satisfaction of all. But it can only be solved by education and religious inspiration, not by force and coercion.

The civil rights bills, now seized upon as a moral issue, are nothing of the sort. They are entirely political in their origin, completely materialistic in their approach and cynical in the false promises they hold out to the minority and their threat to the majority.

Sorensen's Unpublished Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1964

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, there are few persons who were closer to our late beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy than Theodore C. Sorensen.

On December 13, 1963 released by permission of Mr. Sorensen and appearing in the Boston Globe of May 24, 1964, is an eloquent and touching tribute to our late beloved President, delivered by Mr. Sorensen to the Forum of the Wellesley College of Massachusetts, which eloquent, touching, and beautiful tribute I include in my remarks.

SORENSEN'S UNPUBLISHED TRIBUTE

(By Theodore C. Sorensen)

Three weeks ago today three shots rang out under a Texas sky—and the brightest light of our time was snuffed out by senseless evil.

The voice which had always been calm even in the face of adversity was silenced.

The heart which had always been kind even in the midst of emergency was stopped.

And the laugh which had always been gay even in reply to abuse was heard no more in the land.

Crowds waited all night in the cold and the wet to pass by his coffin in the dawn. They wept on the streets of Moscow. They prayed in the villages of Asia. They brought candles to the wall in West Berlin.

Elders who had scoffed at his youth felt suddenly that they had been orphaned. Youth who had been impatient with his patience felt suddenly older and grayer.

And those of us who knew and served and loved him felt, as the Irish felt on the death of Owen Roe O'Neill, that we were lost and alone.

"Sheep without a shepherd when the snow shuts out the sky—

O why did you leave us—why did you die?"

For all of us, life goes on—but brightness has fallen from the air. The world continues in the same orbit—but it is a different world. His hand-picked successor has picked up the fallen torch and carries it proudly and ably forward—but a golden age is over.

HIS MANY FIRSTS

Meanwhile, out among the tombs and tablets of Arlington, a flickering light in the night reminds us of Shelley's words on the death of the youthful Keats:

"... 'til the Future dares

Forget the past, his fate and fame shall be
An echo and a light unto eternity."

For John Fitzgerald Kennedy was not an ordinary man, in either life or death. He was the first President born in this century, the first of the Catholic faith, the first to reach out to space, the first to bear throughout his term the awful and awesome obligation of the age of mutual destruction.

He was also the first, with the possible exception of Jefferson, to care so deeply about the quality of American life and its meaning in the world.

There were poets and performers at his inaugural. There were princes and prime ministers at his funeral.

That special Kennedy quality that some called by the superficial name of "style" was in reality his insistence on excellence—excellence for his country and for himself, excellence in matters of talent as well as taste.

For he believed in the good society as well as the good life. He restored learning to the seats of power, politics as a profession of respect and pride in the hearts of his countrymen.

He was eloquent but never pompous, tough but always gentle, an idealist but still a realist. He knew when to reflect and when to act.

He was a student of the past and a prophet of the future, a thinker and doer who both studied history and changed it.

He always saw the larger picture while demanding all details. He thought of the next generation as well as his own—and he understood the difference between patience and hesitation.

President Kennedy was unique in public life. For he truly did not ask what his country could do for him—only what he could do for his country.

He inspired the loyalty of his associates, yet encouraged us to dissent. Beloved by his political friends, he courted his political enemies.

He took the world very seriously but he never took himself too seriously. He accepted blame that others sought to evade and he shattered precedents that others thought unbreakable.

LOVED BEING IN COMMAND

In a world caught up in a series of peaceful and not so peaceful revolutions—revolutions for which his countrymen and Congress were not always fully prepared—he charted new courses with caution as well as courage.

He did not try to force solutions but to find them—and his restraint was born not out of irresolution but of reason.

He loved the command of his ship of state, mindful of the views of his crew and passengers but determined to keep to his course; and always prepared for the storm, he neither turned back in the face of its fury, nor lost his way, nor trimmed his sails.

In the end he was struck down by the very malice and madness he had sought to cast out—an ironic victim of the extreme left in a citadel of the extreme right.

John Kennedy died as he would have wanted to die—on his feet, in action, being applauded by his friends and assaulted by his foes as he carried the word of reason and understanding to all who would hear and heed him.

Even in death, he was teaching us—proving through his martyrdom the stupidity and the futility of violence and venom—and proving, as he had always maintained, that the extremists of left and right, each busily denouncing the other, in reality fear reason and hate truth far more than they fear and hate each other.

WHAT HE DID IN 1,000 DAYS

He would remind us now that there is "a time to be born and a time to die"—but in our grief over the grotesque prematurity of his death we could not believe this was his time to die.

There was so much more he wanted to do—he so dearly loved his family and his work and life itself—he had so narrowly escaped death twice before—and he had, as he said so often quoting Robert Frost, "promises to keep and miles to go before I sleep."

How, then, could it be that he should be taken from us when he stood on the very threshold of the promised land to which he had led us?

John Kennedy led the American people to the frontiers of a modern "Promised Land"—an era of enduring peace and equal rights, a new age of space and a renewed age of reason—and though he has not been allowed to cross over, we need not turn back now.

Kennedy was young—some may say did he not die too young and too soon to be a major figure in history? The answer is all about us, in the works and words of those who died even younger than he.

We have not forgotten Byron or Keats or Shelley. We do not now regard as incomplete the music of Schumann or Schubert, the art of Van Gogh or Van Dyck.

No—nor did the continent explored by Henry Hudson and Meriwether Lewis, or the philosophies devised by Thoreau and Pascal and Kierkegaard, perish with their untimely deaths.

Yet still the thought remains that he had so little time. The administration of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, in little more than 1,000 days and 1,000 nights, breathed new spirit and new quality into every aspect of American life. He wasted no time and he wasted no opportunities.

No other President in history did so much to show friend and foe alike the suicidal futility of nuclear war and the enduring possibilities of peace.

No other President in this century did so much for human rights and the recognition of human dignity.

No other President in this century achieved so much legislation for the health and education of Americans.

No other President in peacetime history ever achieved so great and rapid an increase