SENATE

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1963

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

AMENDMENT OF SENATE JOURNAL AND CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the sudden and tragic death of the President of the United States since the adjournment of the Senate on Friday last made it highly important and desirable that certain action should be taken by the Senate prior to 12 o'clock noon today—the hour to which the Senate on Friday adjourned.

That action, with which Senators are familiar, was taken at an unofficial meeting of Members of the Senate called by the majority leader and the minority leader for 10 o'clock a.m., today. In order that such proceedings may be given full legal effect, I submit the following unanimous-consent request; namely:

That the Senate Journal and the permanent edition of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, respectively, for Friday, November 22, 1963, with respect to the order and motion for adjournment until Monday, November 25, 1963, at 12 o'clock noon, be amended, at the appropriate places, therein, to provide that, instead of an adjournment until noon, the Senate adjourn until 10 o'clock a.m., on said day; and

That the informal meeting of the Members of the Senate, above indicated, be deemed to have been a duly authorized session of the Senate, and the action taken therein is hereby validated and approved as a part of its official proceedings of today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The proceedings of the informal meeting are as follows:

An informal meeting of Senators, called by the majority leader, the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], and the minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], was held at 10 o'clock a.m., in connection with arrangements for the funeral ceremonies for the late President of the United States, John F. Kennedy.

The meeting was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

God of the living and of the living dead: As in this hour we bow in the shadow of a people's grief, Thou dost hear the sobbing of a stricken nation. But we come with the comfort that Thou knowest what is in the darkness, and that the darkness and the light are both alike to Thee.

For the stewardship in the brief but epochal years of the young and gallant captain who has fallen at his post, we give thanks to Thee, the Master of all good workmen. In the profile of courage, of vision, and of faith which John F. Kennedy etched upon the darkened sky of these agitated times, in his exalted place of leadership, we behold the image of our America which alone will make sure the survival of our freedom.

And now that the valorous sword has fallen from his lifeless hands, he seems to be calling to us in the unfinished tasks which remain.

Others will sing the song
Finish what I began
What matters I or they
Mine or another's day
So the right word be said
And life the purer made.

In the Nation's poignant loss, may there come to those whose hands are at the helm of this dear land of our faith and love the vision which fortified Thy prophet of old as he bore witness:

In the year that King Uzziah died I saw the Lord high and lifted up.

So in this year of a tragic death, may there be granted to us a vision of the preeminent spiritual verities which abide and undergird and outlast the life and death of any mortal servant of great causes who toils for a while in these fields of time in the sense of the eternal, and then falls on sleep.

We pray in the name of the risen Christ who hath brought life and immortality to light. Amen.

DEATH OF JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, 35TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, due to the sudden and tragic death of the President of the United States, a former colleague of ours in this body, it has been necessary to call this extraordinary meeting of the Members of the Senate before the hour formally appointed upon the adjournment of the Senate last Friday.

Mr. President, the Senate has assembled today to remark for the RECORD the death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States.

I shall be brief, for his life, too short, shut off too soon, speaks for him.

In these last hours, a profile in courage has emerged from the emulsion of his death. And the tears of those who knew him and those who did not know him will fix that profile forever in the experience of the Nation and the world.

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John Fitzgerald Kennedy's courage was the human courage, the courage which all must have merely to live in this world, in the ever-present shadow of death. It was the special courage to defy the cold hand of death when it reaches out too eagerly, as twice it did—in the wounds of the war and in the grave illness of his Senate years. It was the quiet courage to accept death's finality when it would be denied no longer.

And his was an extraordinary courage. It was the courage to believe in, with all his heart, and to dedicate himself to, the attainment of the proposition that Americans—all Americans—are born with an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

His was a universal courage. It was the courage of one who had bled in war to seek, unashamed, a peace of decency among all nations. It was the courage to join, before all else, the family of man and, in the joining, to affirm, before all else, the integrity of human life in the face of the powers of violence to destroy and desecrate it.

This is the profile of the man who walked among us not long ago on the floor of the Senate. This is the profile of the man who emerged to reawaken the Nation to its finest meaning. This is the man who struck new sparks of hope in a world dark with unspeakable fears.

His death, Mr. President, has fused the many faces of courage into a single profile of courage set in the enduring frame of faith and reason. This is what we have of him now. It is so little to have, and yet so much.

In a moment, I shall send to the desk a resolution of regret on the death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. But that will not be the end. It will not be the end of our responsibility, of our debt to this decent man, this American who gave of himself until there was no more to give.

We will find, in his death, the strength to do what must be done to bridle the bigotry, the hatred, the arrogance, the iniquities, and the inequities which marched in the boots of a gathering tyranny to that moment of horror.

We will find, in his death, the strength to renew our faith in what is good in ourselves and in one another throughout this Nation.

We will find, in his death, the strength to follow the paths of reason on which he walked, until they lead us out of the morass of an all-consuming and cynical self-concern.

We will find, in his death, some of his love and reverence of life, some of his humility, some of his patience and forbearance, some of his wisdom, and some of his humor. And, so strengthened, we will join with the President in forging a new decency at home and a reasoned peace in the world.

God willing, these things we shall find, or God help us all.

Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution which I submit on behalf of the 100 Members of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 228) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has learned with profound sorrow and deep regret of the tragic death of Hon. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, late the President of the United States, and a former Representative and former Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That in recognition of his illustrious statesmanship, his leadership in national and world affairs, and his distinguished public service to his State and the Nation, the Presiding Officer of the Senate appoint a committee, to consist of all the Members of the Senate, to attend the funeral of the late President at noon today.

Resolved, That the Senate hereby tenders its deep sympathy to the members of the family of the late President in their sad bereavement.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives, and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the late President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy lingers in this forum of the people. Here we knew his vigorous tread, his flashing smile, his ready wit, his keen mind, his zest for adventure. Here with quiet grief we mourn his departure. Here we shall remember him best as a colleague whose star of public service is indelibly inscribed on the roll of the U.S. Senate.

And here the eternal question confronts and confounds us. Why must it be? Why must the life of an amiable, friendly, aggressive young man, moved only by high motives, lighted on his way by high hopes, guided by broad plans, impelled by understanding and vision, be brought to an untimely end with his labors unfinished? And why, in a free land, untouched by the heel of dictatorship and oppression, where the humblest citizen may freely utter his grievances, must that life be cut short by an evil instrument, moved by malice, frustration, and hate? This is the incredible thing which leaves us bewildered and perplexed.

One moment there is the ecstasy of living when one can hear the treble cries of scampering children over the White House lawn, the pleasure of receiving a Thanksgiving turkey which I presented to him but 3 days before the evil deed, the pleasure of conversation over many things, including his hopes for the future, the exciting fact of sunshine and green grass in late November, the endless stream of citizens coming to the President's House, the strident voice of the city rising from the hum of traffic, the animation of saluting crowds, and then the sudden strangling death rattle of dissolution. Who shall say, save that there is a divinity which shapes our ends and marks our days?

As the tumult and grief subside, as the Nation resumes and moves forward, and his own generation measures his works and achievements, what shall we say who knew him well—we in this forum, where he spent 8 years of his life—we who knew him best not as Mr. President but simply as Jack?

We saw him come to this body at age 35. We saw him grow. We saw him rise. We saw him elevated to become the Chief Magistrate of this Nation. And we saw him as the leader of both branches of this Republic assembled to deliberate over common problems.

In this moment when death has triumphed, when hearts are chastened, when the spirit reels in sheer bewilderment, what do we say now that the Book of Life has been closed?

Let me say what we have always said when he was alive, gay, happy, friendly, ambitious, and ready to listen.

He had vision that went beyond our own. His determination to effectuate a test ban treaty is a living example.

He was his own profile in courage. His unrelenting devotion to equality and civil rights attests that fact.

He was devoted to our system of constitutional government. His attitude toward the separation of church and state looms like a shining example.

He had the great virtue of spiritual grace. If at any moment he may have seemed frustrated over a proposition, it was so transitory. If he showed any sign of petulance, it was so fleeting. There were no souring acids in the spirit of John Kennedy.

If at any moment he may have seemed overeager, it was but the reflection of a zealous crusader and missioner who knew where he was going.

If at any moment, he seemed to depart from the covenant which he and his party made with the people, it was only because he believed that accelerated events and circumstances did not always heed the clock and the calendar.

If his course sometimes seemed at variance with his own party leaders or with the opposition, it was only because a deep conviction dictated his course.

On the tablets of memory, we who knew him well as a friend and colleague can well inscribe this sentiment:

"Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who became the 35th President of the United States—young, vigorous, aggressive, and scholarly—one who estimated the need of his country and the world and sought to fulfill that need—one who was wedded to peace and vigorously sought this greatest of all goals of mankind—one who sensed how catastrophic nuclear conflict could be and sought a realistic course to avert it—one who sensed the danger that lurked in a continuing inequality in our land and sought a rational and durable solution—one to whom the phrase 'the national interest' was more than a string of words—one who could disagree without vindictiveness—one who believed that the expansion of the enjoyment of living by all people was an achievable goal—one who believed that each generation must contribute its best to the fulfillment of the American dream."

The universal expressions of anguish and agony which will well up in the hearts of people in all parts of the earth this day will linger on the evening breeze which caresses the last resting place of those who served the Republic, and here in this Chamber where he served and prepared for higher responsibility, the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy will long linger to nourish the faith of all who serve that same great land.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 228) was considered and unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair appoints the entire membership of the Senate as a committee to proceed to the bier of our late President John F. Kennedy.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask Senators to join the leadership and proceed in a body to the bier on which our late departed colleague is now resting.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as previously ordered, the Senate will meet at 12 o'clock noon. I now move that this extraordinary meeting of Members of the Senate be now adjourned.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 10 o'clock and 19 minutes a.m.) the informal meeting of the Senate was adjourned.

The Senate proceeded in a body to the bier of the late President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal, as amended, be approved as if read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORIZATION FOR COMMITTEES TO FILE REPORTS DURING ADJOURNMENT OF THE SENATE

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that committees of the Senate be permitted to file reports, with minority or individual views thereto, if appropriate, during the adjournment of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late beloved President of the United States, I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 noon, tomorrow.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 3 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, November 26, 1963, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1963

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Father of men and nations: Thou knowest that on these black-bordered days our heavy hearts have been saying, "Earth's joys grow dim, its glories pass away."

But we turn to Thee who art from everlasting to everlasting, grateful that a riderless steed, upon which millions have gazed with appalled eyes, is not a symbol of a leaderless nation, and that history assures us that in every crisis, Thou dost raise up men to carry on Thy mission for the redemption of humanity.

We are heartened to know that when any leader falls, Thy truth goes marching on—always.

At this noontide which succeeds the day of mourning, when the Nation stopped to weep and ponder, we turn to unfinished tasks with a new assurance of the invincibility of righteousness and truth. Like a rainbow arching the darkened sky will be the remembrance that to America in her shocked grief, there hastened the highest spokesmen of the world's nations, speeding around the earth to stand together in a temple of divine worship, witnessing to an essential kinship with the eternal principles to which this Republic, under any leader, is dedicating her might.

And now as these heralds of good will return across the long miles to their own capitals, we would lift to Thee, with hearts strangely moved, the poet's prayer—

The tumult and the shouting dies;
The captains and the kings depart;
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart;
Lord, God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget!

Amen.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of the late President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 777. An act to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act in order to increase the authorization for appropriation and to modify the personnel security procedures for contractor employees;

H.R. 2837. An act to amend further section 11 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 311); and

H.R. 8969. An act to provide, for the period ending June 30, 1964, temporary increases in the public debt limit set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act.

AMENDMENT OF LIBRARY SERVICES ACT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, under the unanimous-consent agreement granted by the membership to the leadership, I move that Calendar No. 570, Senate bill 2265, be laid before the Senate and made the pending business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2265) to amend the Library Services Act in order to increase the amount of assistance under such act and to extend such assistance to nonrural areas.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. By unanimous consent, debate on the bill is limited.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I think it appropriate that I address to the distinguished majority leader an inquiry in regard to the schedule for today and tomorrow.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 minutes without having that time charged to the time available under the agreement in connection with the library services bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is anticipated that at the conclusion of the consideration of Senate bill 2265, to amend the Library Services Act, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 639, Senate bill 2310, to prohibit any guarantee by the Export-Import Bank or any other agency of the Government of payment of obligations of Communist countries. That is the so-called Mundt bill, which some 10 days ago the leadership promised the Senate it would bring up either yesterday or today; and, in keeping with that promise, we shall do so today.

To Senators who have asked about the meeting held yesterday by the Banking and Currency Committee, that also was done on the basis of a specific pledge which had been made; and I should like to inform Senators that if any responsibility rests on anyone for the holding of that committee meeting on yesterday, the responsibility is mine. I thank the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, for attending to his duty and doing what the Senate had a right to expect.

After conferring with the distinguished President pro tempore, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], I announce that it is anticipated that tomorrow the Senate will take up the conference report on the legislative appropriation bill, H.R. 6868. It is hoped sometime, either today or tomorrow, the Senate will take up the aviation bill, which will be in charge of the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY].

EULOGIES ON DECEMBER 11 IN HONOR OF THE LATE PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Wednesday, December 11—2 weeks from tomorrow—be set aside for eulogies to be delivered by Members of the Senate in honor of our late departed President and our former colleague in this body.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RIBICOFF in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is the hope of the leadership that the Senate will remain in session long enough