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improve and strengthen competition by enlarging the resources and improving the services of institutions previously too small to provide the fullest or most satisfactory service.

There would seem to be every reason to expect that the Board, mindful as it is of the need for competition among savings and loan associations and between savings and loan associations and other financial institutions, and mindful of the decisions of the Supreme Court in the field, will be able to prevent any conflict from arising between its approvals of savings and loan association mergers and the antitrust laws.

At the same time, however, we must recall that this entire field is a new one. The Supreme Court has surprised us already, and they may well do so again. And it seems more than likely that Congress will feel it necessary to review the whole question of the relation of the antitrust laws to regulated industries.

U.S. CAPITULATION AT UNITED NATIONS

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, many Members of the Senate will recall serving in this body with William F. Knowland, of California, who was our dynamic and forceful leader at the time he decided to resign from the Senate to run for Governor of his home State.

As editor and publisher of the Oakland Tribune, of Oakland, Calif., our friend Bill Knowland continues to maintain an alert and aggressive interest in both national and world affairs. He continues to serve, also, as one of the respected and effective leaders of his party out in California. Most important of all, his powerful voice and persuasive pen continue to project the viewpoint of soundness and sanity on public questions.

In a recent issue of the Oakland Tribune, Bill Knowland once again evidences his capacity to cut through to the heart of an issue and to speak out for sound decisions and good government. In this editorial, our former colleague devotes himself to the reports now drifting down from New York City that our new Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Goldberg, is beginning his career as our representative to this international institution by surrendering a long-held American position with regard to the sound and continuing financing of the United Nations. It is indeed regrettable that Arthur Goldberg will begin his responsibilities of advancing American ideals and interests at the U.N. by capitulating our American position in the first controversy in which he appears as our American advocate.

If America now backs down from a position which we have so long and faithfully supported, I am afraid that loss of face and this action of appeasement will return many times to weaken our already diluted influence in the United Nations. Too many more persistent countries in the world will redouble their determination to wear us down or to stall us out as they interpret this surrender on the vital item of financing the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations as meaning that our will is weak, our resolve is uncertain, and our protestations of earnestness can be eroded and defeated by the passage of time and

the plaintive complaints of certain other member countries.

For the information of the country and the Congress, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial by Bill Knowland, entitled "U.S. Capitulation at U.N.," may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

U.S. CAPITULATION AT U.N.

The reported upcoming shift in policy by the United States to give up its long fight to get the Soviet Union to pay its fair share of United Nations peace-keeping operations signals another setback for the world organization.

The Soviets, their allies, and several other countries have refused to contribute to peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. The sum charged to the Russians is \$72,236,000 of which \$21.6 million would be for this year.

Other countries that have refused to pay their share of the peace-keeping operations are Czechoslovakia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine (two Russian republic with Assembly seats), Rumania, Poland, Cuba, Hungary, Albania, France, and South Africa.

The switch in U.S. policy, expected to be announced Monday by new Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, would be a clear-cut victory for the U.S.S.R. and those nations that followed her lead. The Russians refuse to pay their share on the grounds that only the Security Council can authorize peace-making operations. The United States and most other U.N. members argue that the General Assembly can act when the Security Council is unable to do so because of vetoes.

If the Russians are allowed to win their point, it will mean that in the future U.N. peacemaking operations will be virtually impossible unless Russia and the United States agree on them. Any agreement between the two countries would be highly improbable if Communist forces were the aggressors as they are, for example, in Vietnam.

The Soviets would also score a prestigious coup if allowed to make their point since they have offered to make a voluntary contribution to help the U.N. out of its financial crisis (which the Russians helped bring on).

Since the reported switch in policy has not been formally announced, it is not too late for the Johnson administration to change its mind. It is the Tribune's position that the Soviet Union, and the other member nations in arrears over the peace-keeping question, should either live up to article 19 of the U.N. Charter or forfeit their voting rights in the General Assembly as provided by the charter.

All members of the United Nations agreed to the charter when they signed it. They should not be permitted to break their agreements when the whim strikes them.

The United States should reconsider its plans for capitulation.

THE OUTBURST OF ANGUISH IN LOS ANGELES

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, like Americans all across our land, I have been appalled by the frightening events that have taken place in Los Angeles the last several days.

It is hard to believe what we have been seeing on television and reading about in the newspapers.

It is hard to believe that this has been happening in America. But it has.

No one can excuse what has happened in Los Angeles. But we can try to understand why it happened.

For no one can say that we were not warned. We have been warned time and time again that these slums, these ghettos, were breeding "social dynamite."

Two months ago, President Johnson spoke out on the dangers in the "break-down of the Negro family structure" in so many parts of the country. And Negro writers and leaders have told us time after time that our deepest, most intransigent Negro problem is the slums of our great cities.

Now we have seen the "social dynamite" blow up. It took only a small spark to ignite it—the arrest of a motorist on suspicion of drunken driving. But the explosion has been seen and heard all over the world.

When such a disaster occurs, the most important immediate need is to bring it to an end, to restore order. For under no circumstances can we condone such willful destructiveness, such total defiance of law and order. We must support the city of Los Angeles in all its efforts to restore order.

But restoring order is only a temporary answer. If we put down the violence while ignoring the conditions which breed violence, then our action today will be but a prelude to greater disasters tomorrow. We must go further, we must attack the seeds of poverty and discrimination which cause such tragedies, if we are not to reap a further harvest of bitterness and shame for America.

Through our poverty program, through the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, through coordinated efforts by Federal, State, and local governments, we must make a determined assault on these conditions.

At the same time, Negro leaders must bend every effort to make the Negro slum residents understand that violence leads only to more violence, that mob action works against his interests and the interests of Negroes everywhere.

And we must not allow those who are opposed to improving the lot of the Negro to exploit this terrible tragedy for their own ends. Already there are those who blame these slum explosions on the work of the civil rights movement and the President and the Congress, for their efforts to assure true equality for all Americans.

This is demagoguery. The only thing we can blame on the civil rights movement is the act of making America—white and black—aware of the plight of the American Negro. Thus to blame the civil rights movement for what happened in Los Angeles is like blaming the man who turns in a fire alarm for setting the fire. And while this new awareness of injustice may tend to increase the dissatisfaction and resentment of the down-trodden slum Negro, who among us can say we would not feel the same were we forced to live in such an environment while the rest of the Nation seemed to live in comfortable indifference.

I must emphasize again that I say this not in defense of what occurred in Los Angeles, but so that we might understand it—and in order to understand why a Negro slum resident suddenly lashes out

in irrational rage and hatred, we must put ourselves in his shoes.

The truth is not that we have done too much. Rather, we have not done enough. It is not that we have gone too fast, but that we have moved too slowly in attacking the poverty and discrimination which are responsible for such explosions.

For as Mr. Tom Wicker noted in a magnificent article in the New York Times today:

The weekend rioting (in Los Angeles) was a terrible reminder that in the century since emancipation we have only substituted misery and hopelessness and hatred for the bondsman's chains.

This year we passed a law which I hope will give virtually every Negro the opportunity to vote. We are rightly proud of this act, and of the years of nonviolent Negro protest which made its enactment possible. But it is not enough.

The Negro of Los Angeles could already vote. But what good is this if he is born in a broken home, crowded into a filthy slum, sent to an inferior school which is but a reflection of the unhappy community where he is forced to live? What good is it to have rights if one grows up in such squalor, and nourishes such a deep and terrible bitterness against the "white man" who made things this way?

As President Johnson said in his speech at Howard University 2 months ago, "White America must accept responsibility" for these conditions. And even today, when we talk about how much we have already accomplished, we must ask ourselves how many Negroes who want to leave the slums, who have the money and the will to do so, have run into a wall of racial discrimination, a "white noose" surrounding their Negro ghettos which bars their escape.

This is our responsibility, and we must face it.

We cannot point to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and feel that we have done the job. For as the President noted, passage of these two measures "is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."

That beginning is freedom—

The President said—

and the barriers to that freedom are tumbling down. But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, or do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you are free to compete with all the others," and still just believe that you have been completely fair.

In short, Mr. President, we must do more—we must as the President phrased it:

Help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is about to secure; to move beyond opportunity to achievement; to shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin; to dissolve, as

best we can, the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong—great wrong—to the children of God.

And we must begin by breaking the chains of poverty which bind most of the Negro community in America—the poverty which shuts them in slums, which cripples their capacities and which prevents them from acquiring the training and skills needed to participate in American life.

And the only way of achieving this goal is, to borrow Mr. Wicker's words again, "by social and economic processes of agonizing slowness, uncertain efficacy, limited popularity—processes like the war on poverty that are in any case subject to all the pettiness and blindness of human nature."

We do not claim that the poverty program is perfect, Mr. President. But as Franklin Delano Roosevelt said:

Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold blooded and the sins of the warm hearted on a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent mission of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

I submit, Mr. President, that the war on poverty may well be even more important in freeing the American Negro than the Emancipation Proclamation, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It will certainly be more difficult, for the barrier of poverty is not only more difficult to see; it costs more to break than did the legal barriers which we have struggled so long to eliminate.

We are moving to the new phase of the struggle for equality in America, from fighting for legal rights to emphasizing the conditions which prevent men from exercising these rights.

The poverty program has brought new hope to thousands of young people from slum areas—Negro and white—by giving them a chance to learn the skills necessary to make good in today's America. It is based on the concept of "community action," on the need to organize the people of an impoverished area and encourage them to take the lead in the solution of their problems.

We cannot claim that this is a perfect program. There is much we have yet to learn about the best way of giving deprived human beings a real chance. And the present poverty program is probably not big enough to do the whole job. But it is a start.

Mr. President, today the Congress will vote on the question of whether or not to continue and expand this vital program. We must vote "yes."

This must be our answer to Los Angeles. We cannot respond to this outburst of anguish by continuing the old ways of discrimination and deprivation which brought it about. Instead we must attack the tragedy at its roots. We must, by our action in the Senate, try to open the doors of hope for these people, so that they may enter into the richness that America is and can be. And in so doing, we will refuse the time

bombs which are ticking away in the slums of our cities.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial and a magnificent article by Tom Wicker, both appearing in the New York Times of today, be printed in the RECORD.

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

ORGY OF HATE

The lunatic fury that has spread death and pillage through Los Angeles is being put down in the only way that it can be—through the swift and inexorable application of police power. Whenever a mob rises to terrorize the community, the response must be both immediate and uncompromising. The certainty that the resources of the city law-enforcement agencies will be supplemented, to the maximum necessary extent, by the armed might of the State and Federal Governments is essential if hoodlumism is not to extend into anarchy and the mass victimization of the law abiding.

The second and vastly more complicated part of the task of riot control now confronts Los Angeles and every other large city in which fetid racial ghettos breed the frustrations that erupt in violence, bloodshed, and looting. This assignment involves the eradication of the poverty, the undereducation, the rootlessness, and the despair that grip those whom life has defeated or who never even sought to break out of the bleakness into which they were born. President Johnson has once again summoned the Nation to war on these ingrained evils. Their conquest will be slow, but the national commitment to victory is as absolute as its resolve not to temporize with mob excesses. The ultimate disarmament of the slums will come with the triumph of hope and opportunity for all Americans.

THE OTHER NATION: NO PLACE TO HIDE FROM IT

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, August 16.—Last June, in one of the great Presidential speeches of our time, Lyndon Johnson told the Howard University graduating class that their hard work and good fortune had only made them a minority within a minority. There was a "grimmer story," he said, that had to be told.

The "great majority of American Negroes," he said, had been and still were "another nation: deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope."

AGAINST ESTABLISHED ORDER

It was that other nation that rose up last weekend in Los Angeles and brutally smashed all that it could find of the established order. And it is that other nation, sullen, brooding, explosive, that America in its faith and in its works must now try to recover, to understand, to assist, and thus to obliterate.

The world may be crying out, as Rev. Billy Graham insisted on Sunday, for "salvation" from lawlessness and from a racial situation that is "out of hand"; something may be, as he predicted, "about to give." If so, then let us take our text from Mrs. Willie Mae Colston, a Negro who lives in the Los Angeles riot areas. When the distraught Gov. Pat Brown asked her what should be done, she replied:

"You know the song that says 'Where can we go but to the Lord' or something like that? Well, we have no place to hide."

TERRIBLE REMINDER

There is, indeed, no place to hide from the other nation, particularly in the idea that there is some "salvation" from it. The other nation is there. It will not go away. It is not confined to the South or to the Watts district or to Harlem—it is all around us.

And the weekend rioting was a terrible reminder that in the century since emancipation we have only substituted misery and hopelessness and hatred for the bondman's chains.

The problem is that, having created the other nation, the white man cannot live with it—as the riots also indicate—except by harsh repression and force. That is the way of South Africa, not of the land of the free and the home of the brave. But the white man can obliterate the other nation and make this one America only by social and economic processes of agonizing slowness, uncertain efficacy, limited popularity—processes like the “war on poverty” that are in any case subject to all the pettiness and blindness of human nature.

It is easier to cry out for salvation or to demand that the cops and the courts get tough. It is easier to urge Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King to discipline their people. It is easier to lump Negroes together as lawless brutes who have done nothing to deserve the good life in affluent America.

IDEA AT STAKE

But what is really at stake is not just the fortunes of 20 million black Americans, or the protection of property, or the maintenance of some tenuous racial peace, important as those things are. What is at stake is the ability of the American idea, expressed in thousands of legal, social, political and economic institutions, to function.

There is probably a connection, for instance, between the demonstrations in front of the Capitol last week and the Los Angeles riots. The demonstrations were not violent but “nonviolent”; they were not talking about Negroes but about Vietnam; and their grievances—as disclosed by their slogans and oratory—were more imaginary than real. Nevertheless, they were like the men of Watts in that they did not rely upon or trust or respect the established processes of politics and law.

That is the meaning of the thunder out of Los Angeles. The institutions and processes of American society have not made the Negro free but have created the other nation. That “American failure,” as President Johnson called it, has created a widening current of mistrust and despair and defiance that is corroding the idea of liberty and justice for all, and the confidence in “due process of law” which alone can make people wait on, much less abide by, that process.

TO END THE WRONG

“It is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American Nation,” President Johnson said at Howard, pledging himself to the task. What he intends to do may be less important than the intention, for probably not since the bank holiday in 1933 has the established order in America been more drastically challenged; and now as then much of that order has to be changed if we are to preserve the rest.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND PLANS OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, David O. McKay, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has submitted a report to the National Citizens' Commission on International Cooperation detailing the current activities and future plans of the church in the field of international cooperation. The report is self explanatory and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record at this point.

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

A REPORT TO THE NATIONAL CITIZENS' COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE PLANS OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS INVOLVING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

As set forth in our statement, “Some Desirable Objectives To Be Sought in International Cooperation,” submitted to the commission with copies to President Johnson, Secretary Rusk, and other officials under date of May 14, 1965, we believe the serious need of our times is to preach the gospel to the nations of the earth. The injunction of the Master set forth in the Gospel of St. Matthew, must strike the intelligent mind with force: “Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world.”

This solemn injunction, in the context of the Scripture which also states, “All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth,” is needed to sustain men's hearts and minds in these times.

Our future plans are identified with the foregoing objectives. The current activities of the church are representative of our historic efforts to meet this responsibility.

During 1965, the church is maintaining 51 missions in 27 nations beyond the jurisdiction of the United States of America. In foreign countries 7,702, and in the United States 3,963 (total 11,665) young men and young women, largely from the United States, spend 2 years or more of their lives in the missions. They are generally about 20 years of age, and have often completed 1 or 2 years of college. They normally return to continue their college educations upon the satisfactory completion of their missions. These young men and young women, and their families, voluntarily contribute for their maintenance in this service approximately \$14 million each year.

As rapidly as rights of conscience, ownership of property, the privilege of printing and circulating literature become available to us abroad, we attempt to establish these helpful missionary operations. In every instance, since 1830, they have tended to elevate the condition of the people served, broaden their educational and cultural outlook, and enhance their material prosperity.

The young men and women who have returned to the United States from such service for more than 125 years, have brought with them language and other cultural skills, precious understandings of other peoples, fresh faith and appreciation for the gospel and the blessings of liberty.

The church, from its own revenues, expends approximately \$30 million on its international activities annually. The bulk of this annual expenditure budget goes for construction of educational and religious buildings, hospitals, and for educational and missionary service. Most of our hospitals at the present time are in North America.

While the church has had a long history of providing educational institutions and services in New Zealand and Polynesia, as for example our elementary schools in Tonga, Samoa, and French-Polynesia, recent examples of our service to the peoples of the Pacific are exemplified by the new Church College of Hawaii and the Church College of New Zealand (a training ground for all the peoples of the Pacific in leadership and education), and in the new Polynesian center we have also established on the island of Oahu, also in the State of Hawaii.

At the present time, our foreign missionary activity in Asia is generally restricted to

missions in Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, and the Philippine Islands. From time to time, we have looked hopefully toward India and other parts of the great continent of Asia. In all such cases, we look with humility and with the spirit of service, hoping to make friends for the gospel's and mankind's sake.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ, properly understood, we believe, embraces all truth, provides sound bases in human understanding for the ultimate reconciliation of human and cultural differences, while preserving individuality, nationality, and freedom of group identity. In our Father's house are many mansions. We are mindful that our Lord and Master, himself, was born, lived, and fulfilled his earthly mission in the “fertile crescent” which functions as a significant land bridge between the great continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. Certain common bonds which underlie Christendom, Islam, and Judaism, properly understood and examined, we feel, can be extended and broadened to assist mankind in acquiring a more tolerant attitude. The revelation inherent in His declaration, “I am the way, the truth, and the life” can yet dawn in greater degree upon suffering mankind, we hope and pray, through the extension of religious liberty, and with it, peace and freedom. We must never cease to proclaim His message as Prince of Peace, of peace on earth, good will toward men—to all men everywhere.

We pray for the day when international cooperation will have reached the point that this message, voluntarily offered, may be available for the voluntary acceptance of any who desire it in honesty of heart.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, a Mormon, especially one living in Utah, is thoroughly aware of the international contacts of the church. Our young men and women are in every sector of the globe. They live with the people of all lands, trying always to enlighten, to uplift, to teach. They give of themselves in love and devotion. They return with insight and respect. Could these contacts be multiplied to all nations in sufficient numbers to reach all peoples I am certain that world peace would be maintained and human well-being be advanced.

PROJECT HEAD START SUCCESS IN RAPID CITY, S. DAK.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. President, today as the Senate is considering legislation to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, I have just finished reading an excellent article describing the success of the Project Head Start program in Rapid City, S. Dak.

Project Head Start provides financial support of communities to organize and operate preschool programs which create an environment to help young children develop to their full potential.

Twenty-five Project Head Start centers have been operated this summer in 10 counties in my State of South Dakota.

Mrs. Orylle Jarchow, director of the program for Rapid City, which comes to a conclusion today, has described it as “the most challenging project and the most exciting thing in which we ever have been involved.”

Mr. President, I am delighted that Project Head Start has been such a fine success in South Dakota and ask unanimous consent that the article from the