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higher than it was at the beginning of the decade.

1967 produced the second highest per farm income in two decades, even after the disappointing price drop from 1966 which was a record year.

Farm exports soared to a record \$6.8 billion, which means one out of every four farm acres produce for the foreign market.

The purchasing power of farmers—the money they spend on Main street—is running \$10 to \$12 billion more than it was in 1960 and this has injected new economic blood into our rural towns.

But there is a lot more things that are being done right for rural America. Let's just look at a few of them:

In the Farmers Home Administration, funds to build basic water and sewer facilities for rural communities have risen from less than \$1 million in 1960 to \$220 million last year. The number of people helped each year has grown from 20,000 rural people to more than a million each year. Since 1961, we have assisted more than 2,400 rural communities under this program with loans and grants totaling some \$546 million.

In the area of rural housing we have made great strides. Since 1960, the amount my agency has loaned for building and improving private homes, migrant labor housing and senior citizen housing—has increased 13 fold—from \$40 million to more than \$500 million a year.

Since the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965, some 45,000 individual and cooperative loans totaling \$96 million have gone directly to poor rural families as a means of raising their incomes.

We have assisted nearly 500 rural communities to develop outdoor recreation facilities.

Since 1961 we have advanced nearly \$4 billion in short and long-term credit to farm families.

These are dollar figures, and dollars invested is one good measure of progress.

But we have gone beyond the dollar mark in improving our service to rural America.

For seven years we have been searching for, and hiring, those best qualified to administer our program regardless of race.

We have ignored the old standards and as a result today we have in the Farmers Home Administration, Negroes serving as accountants; information specialists, civil engineers, home economists, and budget analysts, as well as county supervisors and loan officers.

The success of our employment policies is marked by the fact that two-thirds of the members of minority groups hired in the past few years have already been promoted.

We have Negroes serving as members and as chairmen of our county committees.

Overall there are 763 Negroes on our staff compared to 80, seven years ago.

We are expecting in many areas the kind of special effort that Hollis Stearns demonstrates so well in your community.

The list of improvements we have made is endless.

But all of this is only the beginning. More that is right and good for rural America lies in the very near future.

In his recent message to Congress on Agriculture and Rural Affairs, President Johnson made these recommendations to strengthen the economic position of the family farmer and improve the economic and social opportunities for all rural people:

New bargaining authority for the farmer, to give him a stronger voice in setting terms and conditions for the sale of his products.

New programs for the small farmer.

New credit programs for rural cooperatives.

Strengthening of the REA and rural telephone programs.

A greatly expanded rural housing pro-

gram which would include reduced interest rates for low and moderate income families.

An expanded program to revitalize and rebuild rural communities which will attract industry and business and produce more jobs. The program would include expanded credit programs for firms seeking to locate in rural areas, top priority of SBA loans for the construction of industrial buildings in rural areas; extend work training and job counseling and housing for trainees; increase programs to assist rural communities in building modern water and sewer systems plus an extended and improved grant program for this purpose.

And finally, the President urged Congress to take action that would finance comprehensive planning for groups of rural counties. Such planning can help rural communities attract business and industry and make better use of existing Federal programs.

Never in all my public life working with rural people—and that takes in a span of more than 30 years—never has so much promise and opportunity been held out for all those who live in the countryside. Never have the people had so many good programs and tools to help themselves and to revitalize their communities.

America never was, and never will be, a finished society. There will always be another frontier ahead of us. New challenges to meet. New visions to explore.

Writing of another age, the historian, Bruce Catton, described the American condition as the age of the physical frontier dawned before us. He said:

"The people could go anywhere they chose, quite literally anywhere: all the way to the shining mountains and the deserts, beyond these to the extreme limit of the imagination. Men could very likely do anything on earth they had the courage to dream of doing."

We still can my friends, we still can. And this above all is what is so very right and so very good with America.

Thank you.

### Fair Housing

## HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 1, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the Kansas City Star on Sunday, February 11, 1968, outlined and summarized the briefs in an extremely important case involving the issue of fair housing. This case is, of course, the Jones against Mayer Co. involving the refusal by the respondent to sell to a Negro seeking housing in a suburb of St. Louis.

In view of the interest in this decision, I ask unanimous consent that the Kansas City Star article be printed in the RECORD.

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

ST. LOUIS COUPLE DENIED PURCHASE: NATIONAL STAKE IN HOUSING CASE

(By Joe Lasticic)

WASHINGTON.—Some of the most influential religious, professional, and civil rights organizations in the country are exhorting the United States Supreme court to declare that the Constitution forbids discrimination in housing.

Such a landmark decision would come to grips with the most divisive civil rights issue today. Some cities and states have passed fair housing laws, but their effect is limited.

Congress has wrestled with it for years, but cannot bring itself to take the step.

Having failed with the lawmakers, a variety of organizations have gone to the high court to argue that housing discrimination is a deprivation of liberty, an evil, a blight on the American dream, a vestige of slavery.

The organizations, as friends of the court, have filed 382 pages of briefs and 54 pages of documents in support of a St. Louis couple, Joseph Lee Jones, and his wife, Mrs. Barbara Jo Jones. The Joneses tried to buy a lot in the suburban development of Paddock Woods, but the developer, the Alfred H. Mayer company, refused to sell because Jones is a Negro.

The couple went to U.S. District court contending that the refusal was unlawful because the civil rights statutes of 1866 bar discrimination based on race in the sale of housing. The court found those statutes were directed toward governmental action, not private action, and that no state action was involved in the developer's refusal to sell.

The Joneses went to the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals which seemed sympathetic to their cause but agreed with the lower court's decision. They appealed to the Supreme court which agreed in December to hear the case.

Arguments are slated for this spring with a decision expected by the end of the court's term in June. To grant a writ of certiorari requires the votes of four justices. Presumably these men were inclined toward the point of view of the Joneses. Only one more vote would be necessary to win a 5 to 4 decision. The case has stirred the nation and the decision very well could be as momentous as the 1954 ruling that struck down segregation in public schools.

#### ADVOCATES ARE MANY

The Justice department argues for the Joneses, as do the states of California and Michigan. Both Kansas Citys intend to file briefs. Leaders of Protestant, Jewish and Catholic organizations, including Bishop Charles H. Helmsing of Kansas City, the American Civil Liberties union, fair housing groups and civil rights organizations have joined together in support of the couple. They make two points:

Discrimination that prevents a man from buying a home where he pleases deprives him of owning property and thus is a vestige of slavery and contrary to the 13th and 14th amendments to the Constitution.

Discrimination by the Paddock Woods association and the Mayer company is unlawful because the development, although a private enterprise, is in reality a town operating under the laws of Missouri and St. Louis County.

Some of the briefs argue the fine legal points, going back to the debates in Congress when the civil rights statutes were formulated a century ago. Other briefs concentrate on the social and economic aspects, citing the opinion of sociologists, philosophers and other professional persons.

#### A PANDORA'S BOX

The National Council of Churches, with a membership of 34 Protestant and Orthodox denominations, argues that the lower court decisions provide an open door for vast quasi-municipalities built on discrimination for profit.

"If Mr. Mayer has indeed successfully found a lawful loophole for profiting in the sale of racism as regards Negro citizens," the council says in its brief, "he and other seekers after profit can do likewise as regards citizens of other national origin or religious groups...."

"Through such a loophole all the evils and danger of racial and religious discrimination against which our Constitution and civil rights laws are designed to immunize our nation and its people, can be brought flooding back until they become a roaring torrent.

"The vast suburbia around our cities can be converted into sanctuaries for racial or religious monopolies or bigtries. . . . Apartment would be introduced effectively and given immunity. Racism would be advertisement and salable."

#### A NATURAL RIGHT

The Catholic bishops, who are members of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, argue that the freedom to buy a house without discrimination is a natural right. They turn to the encyclicals of Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI and to the French Neo-Thomist philosopher, Jacques Maritain. They note that over the last quarter century Catholic bishops have condemned all forms of racial discrimination, including discrimination in housing.

Parties to the brief besides Bishop Helmsing include Bishop Joseph M. Marling of Jefferson City; Msgr. George J. Gottwald, administrator of the archdiocese of St. Louis; Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, archbishop of Washington, and Lawrence Cardinal Shehan, archbishop of Baltimore.

The right to buy a house without discrimination, the bishops say, is a right grounded not upon social convenience, but upon moral rights deriving from the nature of man. Some points from their brief:

"The increasingly marked insistence by religious leaders upon what they say is the 'injustice' or 'immorality' of racial isolation in housing is not an abstraction, but a moral judgment deriving from observation of actual conditions in our society.

#### CONTRADICTION IN TERMS

"Failure of ghetto people in economic, family and civic life rot the entire social fabric. But the greatest public harm which results from such segregation is that it is a direct and active negation of the idea of society itself, that is, a society of human persons.

"The Declaration of Independence speaks of man's endowment with the 'unalienable' rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, thus establishing rights as inherent in the nature of man rather than as dependent upon social convenience. . . . It is submitted that Christian teaching roots the freedom to purchase a home in firmer soil because of its expansive view of the nature and dignity of man and its view of rights of property not as autonomous but as always linked to man-in-society. In Christian teaching the human person has an absolute worth because (he is) created by, and intended for, God.

"What our law needs now to make clear is that whatever freedoms and limitations otherwise inherent in the property right, neither the right to acquire or to dispose of property may be made to depend upon the race of the buyer or the seller, since the imposition of such a test is harmful to the welfare of others and destructive of the dignity of the human person," the bishops conclude.

#### STRONG JEWISH ROLE

Virtually all of the major Jewish organizations are represented in one brief, including the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, United Synagogues of America, the Jewish War Veterans, American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labor committee and the National Council of Jewish Women. Also included is the community relations bureau of the Jewish Federation and Council of Greater Kansas City.

"We submit," their brief says, "that the right to live where one chooses, within the limits of economic capability, regardless of the inhospitality of others is a right worthy of protection by this court.

"This much is clear: a federal open occupancy law will be no panacea. The implementation of such a law, however, for its moral and educational value alone, would constitute a giant step forward along the road to

the professed American goal of liberty and justice for all.

"Some people who are opposed to a fair housing ordinance solely in their own community, fearing an island of open occupancy in a sea of exclusion, may feel quite differently were open occupancy to become the general rule rather than the exception.

#### MATTER OF CONDITIONING

"In a very large measure attitude changes derive simply from what people have become exposed or accustomed to; our fair employment practices laws demonstrate that truism. It is time, then, to accustom the American people to integrated housing, and the statute to accomplish this objective already is part of the federal law. Only its activation yet remains to be achieved."

It was noted that there is much discrimination against Jews in residential communities throughout the country. An example given was Grosse Pointe, Mich., wealthy suburb of Detroit, where a point system was used as late as 1960 to keep Jews out. A gentile who dressed conservatively got four points on the real estate questionnaire, but a Jew got only three. It caused a local Congregational minister to observe wryly that Jesus Christ, carpenter of swarthy complexion, would have failed the test.

A theme running through many of the briefs is that confining families to one area and denying them access to improved housing not only served to humiliate them, but deny them opportunity for advancement. Poverty, crime, deterioration and overcrowding are characteristics of vast monoracial areas. Jobs usually are not available, and transportation is lacking to areas where the jobs exist. Property is uninsurable against riots, fire and burglary, which deters the new business investment urgently needed in such areas. School segregation works against the children.

#### WARNING HAS SOUNDED

The nation, the briefs remind, already has paid a high price in widespread racial fear and hatred, in the riots of last summer and the threats of new ones this year.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Anti-Defamation league, the American Jewish Congress and the National Committee Against Discrimination in housing join in declaring that denial of the right to buy and hold real estate is one of the most onerous of the badges of slavery.

"Increasingly many Negroes are obtaining more education, better jobs, higher income. . . . at the same time residential segregation is not declining, but the ghettos are growing," their brief says. "One of the most important American manifestations of status, the home and the neighborhood, is being denied increasingly to many Negroes just as they achieve the characteristics that are supposed to bring high status."

Twenty-two states have enacted open occupancy laws, but they have been met with stubborn resistance to integration. Those who argue for fair housing concede that such legislation does not today command the allegiance of a clear majority of white citizens. In most cases where fair housing laws have been submitted for approval to the electorate they have been rejected.

#### ROLE FOR THE COURTS

The decision of the Colorado Supreme court in upholding the constitutionality of that state's fair housing law is cited:

"The constitution of the state and the nation recognize unenumerated rights of natural endowment. These God-given rights should be protected from infringement or diminution by any person as well as any department or government. It is the solemn responsibility of the judiciary to 'fashion a remedy' for the violation of a right which is truly 'inalienable' in the event that no remedy has been provided by a legislative enactment. . . ."

The Justice department points out that the 14th amendment forbids state action that supports racial segregation in housing. It then contends the Mayer company exercises state power and performs governmental functions, acting in the absence of an established local government.

The N.A.A.C.P. takes the same tack, noting that the segregation in the community of 2,700 homes and 10,000 persons is not the result of voluntary private action, but is "municipal action possibly only with the direct permission and assistance of the state government and its agencies."

#### POWER IS DELEGATED

The Joneses point out in their brief that the state action arises through delegation of governmental functions to the developers. They note that zoning, planning, housing standards, installation of sewers and streets and utilities all are subject to local and state laws and are accomplished only with the approval of various governmental agencies and officials.

The Justice department agrees with this point of view.

California also agrees there is state action by virtue of the various licenses held by the developers.

"We urge the court," the California brief says, "to accept the view that the possession of those licenses is sufficient state involvement to invoke the prohibitions of the 14th amendment. Respondents (the developers) have engaged in state action resulting in illegal racial zoning."

The Joneses argue that the lower court decisions allow Missouri to deny them equal protection by permitting the developers to practice discrimination. The Missouri Commission on Human Rights also makes that point in its brief to the court.

#### OWNERSHIP NOT THE ISSUE

The American Civil Liberties union went back to a 1946 case in which Grace March, a Jehovah's Witness, was not allowed to distribute literature in Chickasaw, Ala., a town owned by the Gulf Shipbuilding corporation. The high court found the exclusion unconstitutional. Justice Felix Frankfurter noting "A company-owned town is a town." The town's action was a deprivation of freedom of speech and press, the court said.

"There is no essential difference between Chickasaw and Paddock Woods," the Civil Liberties union's brief asserts. "Both are communities of people within the United States and both are subject to the constitutional principles that protect people living in American communities.

"If Jehovah's Witnesses can be excluded from Chickasaw and Negroes from Paddock Woods, Catholics, Jews, persons of Asian descent, political radicals, paupers and any other socially, culturally, economically or politically identifiable groups can be excluded from other communities. The ultimate result could well be a country marked by a series of monolithic islands barred to all but Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

#### TERM IS DEFINED

"A community is a community even if it is not legally incorporated as a municipality and the constitution does not stop at its gates. Were a municipality to have adopted the exclusionary policy of Paddock Woods there could be no doubt as to its unconstitutionality."

The Joneses point out that the 1866 statute to allow Negroes to purchase, own or sell property—a right denied to slaves—was passed by Congress to place Negroes on the same footing as white citizens.

"It would have been relatively easy for Congress to provide that no state shall pass a law containing discriminatory provisions based on race, but Congress did not do that," the brief of the Joneses argues. "Instead, Congress enacted a law creating certain positive rights for Negro citizens, which rights

it considered to be the fundamental rights of citizenship.

"In creating this remedy, Congress, knowing the ingenuity of the human mind and the self-perpetuating nature of racial prejudice, did not seek to enumerate the means by which these fundamental rights could be denied, but simply forbade their denial by any means.

RIGHT NOT ILLUSORY

"Congress did not intend to create an illusory right to purchase, dependent upon the will of the sellers in the market to sell. If such is the case, the Joneses have no real right to live anywhere in St. Louis County, or for that matter, in the state of Missouri, or any of the states of the United States.

"If the sellers are allowed to exclude Negroes from one area, they equally are allowed to exclude Negroes from all areas. Certainly, Congress did not mean to allow the owners and sellers of real estate to create two separate but equal real estate markets, for Negroes and whites, which exist in the metropolitan St. Louis area, and in other areas of this nation."

Congress of Freedom 1968

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 1, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of Freedom will hold its 17th annual session at the Blackhawk Hotel, Davenport, Iowa, on April 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1968.

The invitation reads:

All who believe that the pledge of allegiance to the American Flag should not be recited by lips that speak falsely are urged to attend.

I include the program for the interest of our colleagues:

THE BIRD WITH THE BROKEN PINION

THE AMERICAN EAGLE

Of course he can't fly without using both wings.

The Hawks, the Doves, the Vultures appear agreed that the American Eagle has no need of his right wing! Yet without it, he can neither fight nor fly away!

Says the wise old Owl, Whoo! Whoo! Whoo Whoo!

WHO? WHO? WHO?

Who continues to paralyze the right wing of the American Eagle by smear, derision, distortion, and suppression of the truth, even absolving the media of public information from the consequences of criminal libel as was done by the unanimous opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Edwin A. Walker vs. The Associated Press?

Who deprives the American people of the protection of their laws against crime and criminals, including *sedition*, by distorting the Bill of Rights and converting the United States Constitution into a shield for murderers, rapists, arsonists, robbers, and like enemies of public law and order?

Who has made us perpetual partners in crime with the dictators, scoundrels and anarchists who dominate the United Nations?

Who involves us perpetually in undeclared foreign wars that necessitate peace-time draft laws, war-time taxes, regimentation, and deficits every year, making national bankruptcy and makes a *dictatorship* inevitable?

Who makes sport and profit from pictures of our sons as they are being slaughtered in battle by Communists while the Red United Nations and U Thant rule the world from their spy's nest on East River in New York?

Who discarded the United States Constitution in favor of the "Charter" of United Nations?

Who substituted government of, by and for the people with their capitol in Washington for government from New York and Moscow by *unelected* representatives, hand-picked in the main by alien dictators and tyrants?

FOR ONE STUDENT: 26,000 ARMED GUARDS

Who ordered 26,000 federal troops to escort one adult citizen to college at Oxford, Miss., contrary to long established local law and custom?

Who robs us here at home of protection against riots, rape, robbery, murder and anarchy by committing our armed forces to the service of foreign governments and of the United Nations?

Who determines that it is more in the interest of national defense to drive Communists from South Vietnam or South Korea than it is to drive them from the Pentagon, The State Department, The White House, New York City or Cuba?

After interminable conferences with Communist Dictators as at Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam, Geneva, Panmunjom, Paris, Vienna, Glassboro and elsewhere, *who limits the objective of war in Asia to another conference?*

Who aids and abets our enemies in time of war by inviting them to our shores under consular treaties, cultural exchange agreements and by open invitation?

Who foments internal disorder, setting black against white, Semite against Anti-Semite, the haves against the havenots, the workers against the shirkers, the Godly versus the ungodly, all to the end that we be rendered powerless to defend ourselves from impoverishment by robbery in the name of law and serfdom, through fraud and deceit?

Who can and will help save our nation, our homes, our sons and our souls from the Red Revolution that now engulfs the whole world?

Who is responsible for a condition where before all the world the United States appears so impotent that all its armed forces cannot defeat North Vietnam, not even when aided by South Vietnam?

When the late John F. Kennedy, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces, was boldly murdered in open day by a confessed Red-World trigger-man, who aborted an honest investigation and paralyzed all efforts to bring the real perpetrators of that time to the bar of justice for punishment conformable to the laws of the State of Texas where the crime was committed? Who saved Jack Ruby from the punishment provided by Texas law? Who protects Earl Warren?

Who debased the American dollar by abandonment of, first the gold, then the silver standard?

Who made off with the gold of the U.S.A., first that in the hands of private citizens, then that stored by the government at Fort Knox? Where is it?

Who filched the silver from the coins we use as currency? Who now has it?

Who has prolonged the depression of the thirties until more people are on relief and the burden of caring for them with public money collected as taxes is now greater here than anywhere at any time or any place in all U.S. history?

Who packed the U.S. Supreme Court with nine old men who see red?

Who systematically and designedly attempts to infiltrate and paralyze every effort of patriotic and loyal citizens to organize and themselves provide for the common defense?

Who shields, protects, and encourages crime by attributing its causes to the *victims*, rather than to the *felons*? Who systematically indoctrinates our citizenry with the false impression that police are brutal?

Who imposes upon free citizens outrag-

eous and ever-mounting federal taxes and public debts to *make them poor*, then provides them with inadequate shelter, food, and clothes to *make them slaves*? Who by endless propaganda equates poverty and crime?

Who originates and ceaselessly broadcasts the mass deception that the solution for crime is to *reward those who violate the law and penalize those who observe it?*

These will be among matters considered at a convention of American citizens in the heart of the nation.

All who believe that the pledge of Allegiance to the American Flag should not be recited by lips that speak falsely are urged to attend.

The Gold Crisis

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 1, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, all of us are concerned with the gold crisis around the world and how it affects the economy of the United States and all other nations. Mr. S. Hayward Wills, chairman of the board of General Acceptance Corp., draws upon his expertise in financial affairs to present a thoughtful view, which should be of interest to all Members of the Senate and the House. I ask unanimous consent that the speech by Mr. Wills be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Allentown Pa. Call-Chronicle, Mar. 24, 1968]

GENERAL ACCEPTANCE CORP. HEAD SAYS THE UNITED STATES MUST SOLVE OWN GOLD PROBLEMS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Last week S. Hayward Wills, chairman of the board of General Acceptance Corp. (GAC), and an expert on the world financial community delivered an address on the current gold crisis before the Rotary Club of Allentown. Because of the importance and timeliness of his subject, the full text of his talk is presented here.)

When invited to join you today and talk about the money market, I decided to limit my remarks to one sector. I assumed that the money market was in for some changes, and so to avoid having to make any predictions I picked a nice safe subject—gold.

The much of the business of General Acceptance Corp., money is our basic stock. Our concern is interest rates, financial controls and, of course, the main issue—the value of the dollar.

When we attempt to make any forecasts, a major factor is what will the interest rates be in the year ahead. In attempting to determine interest rates, the gold situation as it affects world monetary markets has a very important effect.

ROOT OF WARS

History books tell us that the roots of most wars lie in economic conditions and the imperfections in world trade. In the past year we have seen a labor government in Great Britain impose an economic depression on the people and deliberately devalue the pound. In our own country we have all felt the rapid rate of increase in general price levels and have witnessed long term interest rates unknown in this country since the bleak early days of the Civil War.

A well-known and highly respected financial writer was heard to say in a small group last December that he only knew of five or six people in the world who were really