

U.S. Congress
UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 115—PART 12

JUNE 10, 1969, TO JUNE 19, 1969

(PAGES 15265 TO 16710)

year, we could logically expect in the neighborhood of 325 qualified applicants for EOG. The new policy of the DHEW for awarding EOG is to give as many maximum awards as possible. This cuts down on the number of students one may logically help with limited dollars.

Our request for academic 1969-70 was based on the aforementioned 325 students and amounted to \$313,590. The regional review panel recommended \$119,073 for Initial Year grants and \$79,564 for renewal. Our final award from Washington was \$143,266. Of this amount, \$63,768 was designated as I.Y. EOG and \$79,498 to be awarded to renewal grants. Using 325 students, these figures indicate that the average EOG award should be \$440. I.Y. grants to entering freshmen have averaged \$650. One can readily see that we will run out of money for I.Y. EOG's to upper-class and renewal money before all applicants' needs are met if we make maximum awards as proposed by the DHEW. We expect a minimum shortage of \$68,000 or 104 students whose need will not be met with maximum EOG awards.

Your consideration and requests to the proper agencies to increase the amount of award dollars to your constituents will be gratefully appreciated by these deserving students. I state deserving because we at Wisconsin State University-Superior have an exceptional group of students who believe in dialogue and cooperation with the university staff. Differences that occurred have always been resolved without recourse to disruption of the academic process or violence.

Sincerely,

ROBERT F. COMSTOCK,
Director of Financial Aid.

THE 85TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF DR. PETR ZENKLE

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, on June 13 one of the world's great fighters for freedom celebrated his 85th birthday. I regret that the Senate was not in session on that date so that his anniversary could have been properly noted and commemorated.

I refer to the venerable Dr. Petr Zenkle, who now lives in the United States but who was the last vice premier of free Czechoslovakia. Dr. Zenkle was for a number of years lord mayor of Prague, the capital city of his native land, and was also chairman of the political party which elected Eduard Benes as President of the Czechs.

His fight for freedom was simple and yet cast in the classic mold. To him, as to many of his fellow Czechs, maintaining freedom meant only one thing—to fight those who would take it away with every recourse, both physical and moral, available.

He was such a man. So noted was his fierce dedication to freedom that the invading Nazis threw him into the dreaded and notorious concentration camp at Dachau where he spent the years of World War II. After that conflagration he returned to his homeland where once again he moved to prominence in the forefront of those reestablishing Czechoslovakia as a free and independent state.

The freedom they so deeply desired and for which so many Czechs had so valiantly fought was short-lived, however. The Soviet might soon made its presence felt and the iron hand of tyranny clamped down on his country again. This time Dr. Zenkle fled to the

United States to escape the same fate that befell his good friend and comrade, Jan Mazaryk, the foreign minister.

Mr. President, his birthday is worth noting not only because in so doing we are paying tribute to a great man, but also because it reminds all of us how fleeting freedom is and how quickly it can be lost.

All Americans were horrified—but not surprised—at the events of last summer in Czechoslovakia. We felt that sense of tragedy that one finds in a Greek play. We watched the struggles of these noble people, the students, the workers, the intellectuals, the writers, and the housewives, to assert even a tiny degree of freedom, and then to widen the chinks that appeared in the solid wall upon which the monolith of Soviet communism is erected.

We watched, we hoped, we prayed for their success. But I think that deep down in all of us there was that sense of foreboding, that keen and deep realization that their efforts were doomed, that their will—no matter how fierce—was no match for the tanks and guns and massed soldiers of the oppressor. I think that with most of us, looking back now, it was a feeling of watchful waiting, wondering not whether the blow would fall, but rather when the blow would fall—and how complete the disaster would be.

Even today, from reading the American press, I do not think we have any comprehension of how total the crushing blow was in Czechoslovakia.

There have been few stories in American papers about the crude brutality of the invading Hungarian and Bulgarian Armies who marched in support of the Soviets.

There have been few stories such as those that appeared in the London newspapers or in Paris, of how village leaders who might be tainted with a desire for freedom were simply called out, lined up, and shot by the invaders.

There have been stories in most European newspapers, however, detailing the completeness, and the ruthlessness of these invaders.

The life of Dr. Zenkle has been and is a lesson to all of us who would think in terms of freedom and tyranny living side by side. It can be done, but only if those who enjoy freedom are willing and able to fight to preserve it. If at any time or for any length of time we become so confident of our own freedom that we fail in our vigilance, then we risk losing that freedom.

The sands of history are strewn with the wreckage of nations where the people allowed themselves to be lulled into complacency, in the belief that freedom is an inherent right that cannot be taken away.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR KENNEDY AT ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on June 2, 1969, the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts spoke to the first graduating class of the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation.

He told the 28 graduates that their

school "is demonstrating that the American Indian wants to control his own destiny." Rough Rock, he said, "stands for pride and self-determination, pride in oneself, pride in one's heritage, pride in one's differences."

In these few words, my colleague has pointed to the true significance of this innovation in Indian education. For Rough Rock's distinguishing feature is that it is run entirely by an all-Navajo School Board, elected from the local community. It is an experiment in community control. I visited Rough Rock in March of this year; I carried away the conviction that in its 2½ years of existence, the school has demonstrated a remarkable ability to deal with some of the worst aspects of boarding school life.

It is one of the few examples of an Indian school which is totally controlled by Indian parents, which encourages the "Navajoness" of its students, and which is run by administrators who are not callous or indifferent to the special problems of the students.

Unlike most other Indian schools, Rough Rock has a program of bilingual education. This program has undoubtedly been aided by the school's ability to successfully recruit Navajo teachers—almost one-half of its faculty consists of Navajos; at the BIA schools on the reservation, there are usually no more than one or two Navajo teachers. The fact that the young Navajo child is initially instructed in his native language eases some of the psychological stresses inherent in these schools.

In order to alleviate the shortage of dormitory personnel and the loneliness of dormitory life, the school instituted a dorm-parent program. Parents are employed in the dorms in 6-week stints. This improves the ratio of aides and emphasizes the idea that the schools should provide substitute parents.

Parents are also urged to visit their children frequently and to stay in the dorms; rooms are always available for such visits.

In addition, Rough Rock has also taken many steps to emphasize the importance of Navajo culture and history, both to the children and to the community.

The school has a center devoted to the production of Navajo stories for use in the school system which has already produced several books of stories. It also has an active arts and crafts program, for both the children and adults living in the community. Navajo women serve in the school as teachers aides in the early grades; these women tell stories in Navajo to the children and teach them crafts such as weaving.

The history of the Navajo people is an important part of the school's curriculum. The history of the American Indian is rarely taught in other schools with Indian children.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of what has occurred at Rough Rock. Granted the power to completely control the education of their children, the Navajos in that community decided that they wanted their children to grow up as Navajos, as well as Americans.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous con-

sent that Senator KENNEDY's excellent speech to Rough Rock's first graduates be printed in the RECORD, together with a story from the school's paper concerning his visit, and a brochure describing the school.

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

"Ya—ta—hay" (greetings): Today is a very important occasion for all of us.

It is an important day for myself because it has provided me with an opportunity to visit the most important experiment in education for American Indians; and to fulfill a commitment made by my brother last spring. I am especially pleased that Kathleen Kennedy could join us today. She has often reminded me of her rewarding experiences at Rough Rock last summer and her respect and affection for the Navajo people.

It is an important day for the Navajo tribe because it is the 101st anniversary of the signing of the treaty of Bosque Redondo, and the return of the Navajo people from captivity to their homeland.

It is an important day for Rough Rock because its first graduating class is assembled to receive their diplomas.

It is an important day for the graduating class because you represent the accomplishment as well as the promise of the Rough Rock School.

What is the significance of the Rough Rock School?

Where does it stand in the perspective of the history of your people, and what does it symbolize?

In 1848 a treaty was signed by the Mexican and United States Governments which placed all Navajo land and people under the jurisdiction of the United States.

As you know the Navajo people had no part in those proceedings.

Shortly thereafter a fort—appropriately named Fort Defiance—was built in the heart of Navajoland, and the effort began to first contain, then subjugate and finally relocate and imprison the Navajo Indian Nation.

Soldiers moved across the country-side, burning fields of corn, destroying homes and sheep, leaving the people no choice but to flee, surrender or die. The massive slaughter in Canyon Del Muerto is one of many examples of the ruthless military tactics used. In one case alone, over 90 women and children were killed as the soldiers ricocheted bullets off the cave roof down onto the people.

Finally starved into submission, the surviving Navajos surrendered in the winter and spring of 1864.

Nearly 7,000 Navajos made the 300-mile march from their homeland to Fort Sumner, New Mexico. For four long years "the people" suffered greatly in concentration camp captivity. Nearly 2,000 died of pneumonia and dysentery. Those who ran away were captured and enslaved by the Mexicans.

Perhaps the greatest hurt of all was the gnawing homesickness for their homeland, the land of the "four mountains."

Finally, the voice of "the people" was heard in Washington. A new treaty was signed and the long walk back to their homeland began.

The journey back is indelibly recorded in Navajo history.

What horses and wagons were available carried the young, the aged and the infirm. The rest traveled on foot.

The hardships were severe, but they were going home and a new spirit of hope was born.

The land had been returned to "the people" and "the people" to their land.

One hundred years later Rough Rock was born and like the treaty of 1868 symbolizes the hopes and aspirations of the Navajo people in their fight for self-determination and self-fulfillment.

Similar to the "long march" with Rough

Rock a new spirit of hope and excitement was born.

It marks the opening of a new era in the return of education to "the people" from which it had been taken.

Like the treaty of Bosque Redondo, it is a landmark in the history of the Navajo tribe.

After years of deportation and degrading captivity in Government boarding schools, the Navajos have taken the first important step toward regaining control over their educational destiny. And in so doing Rough Rock stands as a symbol for the improvement and liberation of Indian education throughout the Nation.

There is a very important truth fundamental to an adequate understanding of Rough Rock.

It is an old truth not a new one.

Let me illustrate it with a story.

It was almost 200 years ago that the leaders of Virginia, having signed a treaty with six Indian nations, offered to educate six of their sons.

The chiefs, although responding with thanks, rejected the offer, citing a previous experiment with white man's education.

Their children had come back from the white man's schools said the chiefs:

"... bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear the cold or hunger; they knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counselors; they were totally good for nothing."

Perhaps, the Indians said, the governors would send a dozen white children to learn at the hands of the Indians.

"We will take great care of their education," promised the chiefs, "instruct them in all we know, and make men of them."

We can no longer ignore the lesson of this exchange.

We must develop schools and educational programs like Rough Rock that no longer presume that cultural difference means cultural inferiority.

Rough Rock stands for pride and self-determination, pride in one self, pride in one's heritage, pride in one's differences.

Let me summarize what I feel Rough Rock is telling this Nation, not just in words, but more importantly, in deeds.

It is indeed a demonstration school—it is demonstrating that;

—The American Indian wants to control his own destiny;

—The American Indian respects his own heritage and wishes to shape his own future out of that unique heritage;

—The American Indian has made and will continue to make very important contributions to the development of our national culture, character, and conscience.

—Perhaps most important, as my brother Robert stated in his speech at Window Rock last spring—"The American Indian is reaching for his own version of American life and this definitely does not mean a repudiation of his past or a desire for total assimilation.

"The great and difficult challenge of Indian education is to help each Indian student find his own version of American life so that he can meet the challenges and complexities of life with versatility and grace."

This has been the goal of Rough Rock and will continue to be, for it is a difficult and never-finished task.

And the task belongs not only to the Rough Rock community but also to the graduating class today. You must be the leaders for developing the new Rough Rocks—you must meet the larger challenge of developing a Navajo education program across the reservation, for you are the soul of Rough Rock in the flesh.

Perhaps an example taken from one of your beautiful Navajo ceremonies could best explain what I mean.

This excerpt is part of the "Song from the Mountain Chant":

"At the foot of Black Mountain, there amid the encircling mountains, the holy man laid down his child. Atop the mountain there were two gods, who spoke aloud as they watched. 'Who learns our songs shall be our child.'"

You the graduates, are the children of 'Black Mountain'.

You have learned the songs of the gods—now you must teach us to listen and to sing.

I wish you all well in this most important endeavor.

[From the Chinle (Ariz.) Rough Rock News, June 6, 1969]

TED KENNEDY VISITS ROUGH ROCK

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass, landed at Rough Rock's dirt airstrip Sunday, went on a tour of Navajo homes on Black Mesa, talked to school board members and addressed the Demonstration School's graduating class Monday morning.

"Rough Rock is demonstrating that the American Indian wants to control his own destiny," the senator told the 28 graduates, the first to leave RRDS. "You must be the leaders for developing the new Rough Rocks. You must meet the larger challenge of developing a Navajo education program across the reservation."

Kennedy arrived at Rough Rock at 6:30 p.m. Sunday and left immediately in a three-vehicle caravan for the top of 8,300-foot Black Mesa, where he visited the homes of John Honnie, Frank X. Begay and Ned To-dehne and stopped and talked to a shepherd on the way.

"Where do your children go to school?" the senator would ask. "How often do you see them?"

RRDS Director Dillon Platero interpreted for Kennedy, who is chairman of the Senate subcommittee on Indian education.

At the Honnie home, Kennedy talked for about 15 minutes to Lorene Honnie, a graduate of Chilocho Indian School and a student at Navaho Community College.

"Do the people think the Rough Rock school does what it should?" he asked.

"I think people are happy with it," she answered.

In a Sunday night meeting that lasted from 10 to 11:45 p.m., Kennedy talked with school board members and was given four recommendations from them:

The Senate subcommittee, which is to be disbanded June 30, should continue its work for an indefinite period.

The subcommittee should recommend that more schools like Rough Rock be established.

The subcommittee should recommend a better method of funding for such schools.

A high school should be established at Rough Rock that would continue bilingual bicultural education programs started in elementary grades.

Accompanying the senator was 17-year-old Kathleen Kennedy, daughter of the late Sen. Robert Kennedy. She worked for six weeks as a volunteer last summer in Rough Rock's summer program.

The caravan that made the trip up the winding, 10-mile trail to the homes on Black Mesa included one truck carrying a television crew from CBS News.

Kennedy said in his talk to the graduates that the trip gave him "an opportunity to visit the most important experiment in education for American Indians, and to fulfill a commitment made by my brother last spring."

"We must develop schools and educational programs like Rough Rock that no longer presume that cultural difference means cultural inferiority," he said.

"As my brother Robert stated in his speech at Window Rock last spring, 'The American Indian is reaching for his version of Ameri-

can life and this definitely does not mean a repudiation of his past or a desire for total assimilation."

About 500 people packed the gym at the Demonstration School where graduation ceremonies were held. Platero translated Kennedy's remarks into Navajo.

The Senator left Rough Rock Monday for a mental health meeting in Window Rock, where he would also speak.

ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL

Rough Rock Demonstration School, located in the heart of the Navajo Reservation, strives to achieve quality education by teaching both traditional Navajo customs and modern skills in a school controlled by the people of Rough Rock. At the school's birth in 1966, the members of the all-Navajo school board elected by the people decided that their school would offer the best education for both Navajo and Anglo life—a both-and choice rather than an either-or choice. The board members want the children to be proud of who they are.

With its basic principles of local control and bilingual, bicultural education, Rough Rock Demonstration School is serving as a model for other schools. In the Navajo community of Canoncito, N.M., the people are planning for a school similar to Rough Rock while some schools in California, South Dakota, Minnesota and Hawaii have already started using various ideas first put into practice at Rough Rock.

In trying to develop the best kind of education for Navajo children, the school offers subjects found in any good school and subjects especially for Navajos: English reading and writing, oral English, Navajo reading and writing, oral Navajo, science, mathematics, social studies, health, Navajo culture and history, home economics, industrial arts, Navajo arts and crafts, music remedial reading and physical education.

The teaching of Navajo subjects doesn't diminish the stress the school places on courses that provide children with vital skills for modern living.

Local control and parental involvement are achieved in many ways at Rough Rock—the parents working in 10 classrooms, the parent advisory board for the four primary groups, the school board, the nine parents who live and work in dormitories for eight-week periods, home visits made by teachers, the monthly school-community meeting, the local people who take arts and crafts training. Parents who share classroom experience with their children are more inclined to support education at home.

Although the school believes that children benefit more by living at home and attending school on a day basis, 274 of the 408 preschool through eighth-grade students must live in dormitories because of distance and poor roads. As a start toward a change to day schools, however, Rough Rock runs four buses (vans) daily, mainly to pick up Headstart and kindergarten students. A few older children ride the buses and some 20 others either walk in or ride with relatives. Another 44 attend from the employees' compound.

Because the school must operate dormitories, it attempts to make them as home-like as possible. Four mothers live in the girls dorm for eight-week periods as substitute parents while four fathers and one mother do the same in the boys dorm. Not only do children benefit, but the dorm parents receive an income boost (\$40 a week) and their ties to the school are strengthened through learning more about it. Navajo stories told in dorms provide entertainment and education in Navajo culture. Recreation includes team sports, horsemanship, Indian dancing and seven other recreation clubs.

Being a community school, Rough Rock tries to help community people overcome their common problems through both short-

range programs—hay and coal at-cost sales—and farsighted ones, such as economic development, basic education and crafts training. An average of 30 uneducated adults attend basic education classes each week while another 10 persons pursue high school diplomas through the General Educational Development (GED) program.

Because a toy shop and poultry farm were only partly successful, the emphasis in economic development has shifted from business development to small-scale cottage industry based on the school's arts and crafts program, which provides intense training for 36 people a year. By buying local crafts for resale, the school encourages training graduates to produce crafts at home.

Spearheading a host of other programs is the Rough Rock Development Project, which helps community people in areas they specify. This includes range and livestock management and agricultural experimentation as well as helping the local chapter and community action committee gain operating income, stability and effectiveness. The project also assists the community in taking advantage of programs offered by the Navajo Tribe, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other agencies.

Because a major goal of the school is to teach children Navajo skills, the school's Navajo Curriculum Center works to bring into print some of the rich cultural materials of the Navajo people. Five books have been published while supplementary materials and five other books are being prepared. Medicine men, community leaders and famous Navajo storytellers supply the basic information while a Navajo speaker, an English-speaking writer, two Navajo illustrators, an audio-visual specialist and an experienced editor and publisher perform technical work to prepare the publications. At the same time teachers advise and assist in the development of the bilingual, bicultural curriculum that they use.

We believe the flexible, experimental education at Rough Rock Demonstration School has far-reaching implications, not only for present students but for the future of the Navajo People and others who should have the right to determine their own destinies. As the school continues to develop new ideas and extend proven programs, learning from its successes and failures and those of others in Indian education, it looks toward a future in which Navajos can be proud of their heritage while successfully coping with the surrounding world.

Rough Rock Demonstration School's work is to make that future a secure reality.

BOSTON GLOBE AND WALL STREET JOURNAL EDITORIALS ON MIRV

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to two exceptionally perceptive and informed editorials published this week in the Boston Globe and the Wall Street Journal.

In a lead editorial this morning, and in an accompanying article by Robert L. Bartley, readers of the Wall Street Journal were informed unequivocally that "The great missile debate of 1969 has been a debate about the wrong missile." As the writer then goes on to point out:

The problem is that it's not enough to work the wonder of stopping the nuclear arms race; the additional trick is to stop it at a level conducive to future stability.

This, Mr. President, is what the debate in the Senate yesterday and the day before was all about. If we cannot stop MIRV then no method of arms inspection, and therefore of enforcement, will work. Both sides will live in constant and

increasing fear of what weapons the other side might be deploying. We will enter not only a far more accelerated and costly stage of nuclear weapons development, but an infinitely more unstable one as well.

As the editorial in the Journal expressed so clearly:

Because of its huge destabilizing potential, MIRV is the truly urgent issue. . . . (W)e think the Senators trying to shift the debate away from ABM and toward MIRV have a strong case.

Likewise the Boston Globe, in its lead editorial on Monday of this week, expressed the concern of a growing number of Americans when it noted that "(E)ven if funds for Mr. Nixon's limited deployment of the ABM system are delayed as they should be, this would have no meaning if the MIRV tests are ended successfully. When that happens, there will be a whole new set of rules."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these two excellent editorials and the article from the Wall Street Journal be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Boston Globe]

THE HYDRA-HEADED MONSTER

This will be a crucial week in Washington for the security of both the nation and the world. It is crucial because it involves the whole future of the nuclear arms race, and because action in the U.S. Senate, sparked by Massachusetts' Sen. Edward W. Brooke, can have great impact on the outcome of talks on arms reductions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Late last week, after repeated prodding both from Moscow and in this country, Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin reached agreement to schedule those talks for the end of July. This was a laudable, if much-postponed, first step, but it would have been far more praiseworthy had it been taken last year.

For as a result of the long delay, we are perilously close to the point at which any negotiations held on controlling nuclear arms will be as meaningless and unproductive as a funeral ceremony performed by wraiths for the soul of a dead world.

And the reason we are so close to this perilous point is that for the past several months, both the United States and the Soviet Union have been testing multiple re-entry vehicles which, after they are deployed, could end any possibility of controlling them.

Into a "splash net" of Ascension Island in the South Atlantic we have been firing MIRV's (multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles), each of which can fire anywhere from three to a dozen warheads, each of these in turn capable of wiping out a city.

Into a similar "splash net" off the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Pacific the Soviet Union has been testing a less sophisticated but almost as deadly (how dead is dead?) form of multiply warhead known as MRV, which might be adapted for the Soviet Union's large SS-9 inter-continental missiles.

There may be no more than a month left before the tests are completed. And unless they are halted by both sides before their completion, it will be too late to stop these terrible weapons of destruction. It will be too late because, unlike all present nuclear weapons, an international agreement to control them, even if it could be reached, would be impossible to enforce.