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I now see some glimmer of hope. During my time, three wars have transpired, but there may be some progress toward a higher morality. In world war II there were only enemy atrocities. Censorship and sentiment—not unrelated—were such that our brutal bombing of Dresden, or the second atomic bomb at Nagasaki, were questioned by few—at least, not until after the conflict was over. In the Korean war, the atrocities of friend and foe were recounted without recrimination.

Should this Mylai massacre now trigger a national self-examination to seek out flaws in our character previously rationalized or ignored, this can be the beginning of a new day which can draw us together with those who have questioned our involvement and our priorities. Should it result merely in a search for scapegoats, we will have but compromised our ideals further.

For the lessons of Mylai and elsewhere are lessons for all of us to ponder. They are a part of the ongoing national debate over our commitment, our course, and our goals.

As we seek to interpret and explain Mylai we need remind ourselves of our attack on those nations which in the past have adopted a national policy of the ends justifying the means. And we must rededicate our efforts to assure that such a policy never becomes our national epitaph. A shrug of the shoulders and a Sherman-like statement of the evils of war will not suffice. If the American character is to be deserving of special acclaim, it must in this case come from our willingness to engage publicly in critical self-examination and to take corrective measures. If we are truly to atone for such acts, it must come through our increased dedication to join with other nations in efforts to find alternatives to war for settling disputes among men.

FIRST NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION CONFERENCE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on November 20 the distinguished junior Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) addressed the first National Indian Education Conference in Minneapolis. The conference brought together the Nation's leaders in Indian education for 2 days of intensive workshops, aimed at reforming the ways in which we educate Indian children.

Senator MONDALE's remarks at that conference focused on the recently released final report of the Subcommittee on Indian Education, which I had the honor to serve as chairman. The Senator succinctly summarized the major findings and recommendations of the subcommittee, and made the report an object of much considered discussion at the conference. I am convinced that through such dissemination and discussion will come the understanding and action needed to bring about the changes recommended in the report.

I might say that as we worked to write that report, no one member of the subcommittee worked harder or with greater understanding than did my good friend from Minnesota. He carried much of the burden and deserves a large share of the credit.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator MONDALE's remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS BY SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE

No conference is ever complete without an address by a noted author in the field under discussion. I see that your conference planners took care of this matter in grand style, providing not only Dr. John Bryde of the University of South Dakota, but also the Pulitzer Prize-winning Indian, Mr. N. Scott Momaday.

Will Antell undoubtedly thought the authors were already taken care of when he invited me to speak here this morning. A politician, you know, is supposed to know how to speak, but not necessarily how to write. Speaking supposedly comes naturally. But as for writing and editing, those are things we are supposed to leave to the experts and literary stylists.

At risk of disappointing Mr. Antell and the rest of you who have been eagerly awaiting a political address, I'd like to step briefly out of my U.S. Senator's role and talk to you as an author—the author of a newly-published book.

I'm afraid the title of this book lacks both the intrigue of Mr. Momaday's "House Made of Dawn," and the intellectualness of Dr. Bryde's "Accultural Psychology" or "Modern Indian Psychology." In fact, my title has all the sexiness of a used Volkswagen. It is called "Senate Report No. 91-501."

I agree that isn't the kind of title which would lead a book to the top of the best-seller list. I can frankly admit that no Hollywood studio has been beating down my door seeking movie rights to it. Yet this book has had the makings of a spectacular because its theme is spectacular—the spectacular failure of our nation to provide its Indian citizens with an equal educational opportunity.

I am a co-author of this book, along with the other eight Senators who comprised the Senate Indian Education Subcommittee. The report is the culmination of more than two years of hearings, interviews and field investigations into the manner in which the American Indian is educated—non-educated may be a better word—in both public and federally-operate schools.

The report, which was released last week, is formally known as "Senate Report No. 91-501." But its theme is more accurately reflected in its subtitle, "Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge."

I am not very proud of this report.

Despite the fact that it is the culmination of the most comprehensive study of Indian education ever conducted, I am not proud of this report.

There is little to be proud about a system which sends an Alaskan child 6,000 miles from his home to a boarding school in Oklahoma.

There is little to be proud about a system in which 25 per cent of the teachers of Indian students admit they prefer not to teach Indians.

There is little to be proud about a system which ignores the Indian half the time and demeans him the rest.

The statistics give us some idea of the magnitude of the problem: 50 per cent of all Indian students never complete high school; 40,000 Navajo Indians are functionally illiterate in English; the average educational level for all Indians under federal supervision is 5 school years; Indian graduates of federal schools are academically at least two years behind the average non-Indian high school graduate in the United States.

I could go on and on, but you have heard them all before. In fact, that might be part of the problem. We have heard them so often

and for so long that they have lost their meanings.

We can look at a statistic, and two minutes later, have forgotten it. But one cannot forget the loneliness of a 5-year old Navajo boy—a boy who barely came up to my knee—who must live in a boarding school, away from his parents, away from his home. Or the Alaskan children huddled in a small classroom, struggling to understand what their "Dick and Jane" readers mean by "a cow", "a farm", or "green grass". Or the repressive military atmosphere of a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school where the principal asked me to look at a passing column of Indian children and "see how happy they are."

I looked at the vacant, expressionless faces. I saw how happy they were. Those are the things one remembers—not the statistics.

It mattered little if we were in BIA schools or public schools. Our findings were basically the same: culturally-insensitive teaching materials; a sometimes well-meant but condescending attitude toward Indians by faculty and administrators; little, if any, influence or control by Indians over the education of their children; and a serious lack of funding for Indian education programs. All these items pointed to one conclusion: Whether being educated in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools or public schools, Indian children were not receiving the same educational opportunities as other students.

We analyzed the problems, consulted with Indians and other outside consultants and discussed the situation amongst ourselves. The result was a report of 60 recommendations—many of them suggested by the Indian people themselves. These are 60 recommendations, which, if implemented, would radically improve American Indian education.

Each of the recommendations is a necessary, essential step if the goal of the Subcommittee—a national policy of educational excellence for the American Indian—is to be achieved. Yet I can't help but feel embarrassed over making these recommendations—embarrassed that in this day of moonwalks and lunar-landings the recommendations we make have to be made at all.

The problems we found were identified years ago.

In 1928 the Meriam Report noted the lack of Indian control over their own affairs and the poor quality of services, particularly in education, available to Indians. The Meriam Report recommended such changes as: the end of taking children from their parents and placing them in off-reservation boarding schools; the development of curriculum materials relevant to the needs and backgrounds of the students; the development of bilingual materials; participation by Indians in school policymaking.

Forty years later these same recommendations run through the Indian Education Subcommittee's report. Forty years after the Meriam study, the situation remains the same.

To those unfamiliar with the manner in which we educate Indian children, some of the recommendations may seem absurd, simply because they are so fundamental to any effective educational program.

We recommend, for example, that locally-elected school boards be established for federal Indian schools so that Indian parents will have some control over the education of their children. This is a concept basic to public school education in the United States, but foreign to the paternalistic Bureau of Indian Affairs.

We recommend that financial need be the major determinant of a student's eligibility for BIA scholarships. To me, that would seem only reasonable. But to the BIA, the nearness of a student's residence to a reservation is the determining factor.

Another "bold" recommendation is that