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tion" to those of continued war also favor the idea. Has its time come?

According to the Nixon administration, the answer seems to be no. One must say "seems to be" because the administration, despite the fact that the Geneva-conference approach has been lying around for years and has been actively discussed for weeks, is still seeking refuge from public comment on grounds that there has not been time to "analyze" the (French) proposal. It could be that the administration has tactical reasons for cultivating a negative pose: it may hope thereby to get a better price for an eventual decision to attend. We do not pretend, however, to have evidence that this is so.

The real crunch seems to be that a Geneva conference could only produce a neutralized South Vietnam acceptable to Communists and non-Communists alike, while the administration's goal is to sustain an independent non-Communist regime. "Vietnamization" is its effort to endow that regime with the resources and will to support itself, in good part. The administration's solicitude for Saigon—its concern to protect Mr. Thieu and Mr. Ky not only from their military adversaries but from their political rivals—was amply demonstrated in the case of Tran Ngoc Chau; a South Vietnamese Deputy with Communist contacts, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison last month for pro-Communist activity, while the American Embassy calmly watched. It goes without saying that Hanoi and Moscow and Peking would not attend a conference to prop up that kind of regime. (Hanoi might easily decide, it must be admitted, that no conference could assume as good a result as simply waiting for Mr. Nixon to draw down American troops past the point of no return.)

In order to avoid a bruising and fruitless collision on the conference issue between a cautious administration and its impatient critics, it probably will be necessary to broaden considerably the discussion of it. Two points need special attention.

First, what is the value to the United States of a Thieu-Ky Communist government in Saigon, or something like it and what price in battle losses and domestic division is worth paying for it? Second, what is the damage to American credibility, with all that means to world stability, and what is the damage to American self-confidence, with all that means to domestic stability, if it comes to appear on a wide scale that the United States has turned tail? There is also the immediate question of whether the American public, eager to have its boys come home, would stand still for the slowdown or halt in troop withdrawals that would almost certainly have to be a part of a decision to negotiate an over-all settlement.

The summoning of a Geneva conference, then, must be considered not just in terms of its anticipated outcome in the neutralization of Indochina, South Vietnam included. It must be weighed for its suitability as a diplomatic and political vehicle for carrying the United States, with international company, out of an involvement that it may be unable to extricate itself from alone.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR MONDALE AT STATEWIDE INDIAN YOUTH COUNCIL ANNUAL MEETING

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, last Saturday the distinguished Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) spoke to the Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity statewide Indian youth council annual meeting in Norman, Okla.

His message was highly knowledgeable, challenging, and inspirational.

I think that the deep understanding and forceful advocacy of Senator MONDALE—as on this occasion—has given

many American Indian youth the kind of hope and encouragement they need to continue their remarkable efforts on behalf of American Indians, young and old.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator MONDALE's speech be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

SPEECH DELIVERED BY SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE

It is a pleasure to see so many Indian youth here—and to know that, despite what some white people want to believe, Indians are alive.

The white man has done his darndest to make you think that you are dead, that Indians do not exist. The Indians of Oklahoma especially have been targets of this kind of thinking. Here you are the state with the second largest Indian population in the country and, because you have no reservations, people tend to forget that Indians with Indian problems and Indian frustrations are very much alive here.

Over the years the white man has done his best to bring about the end of Indian Americans. But somehow the Indians kept coming back.

The Great White Father in Washington started with a policy of extermination. He practiced it with episodes that would make the My Lai incident look like a coffee party. But it didn't work. Indians kept coming.

The government then tried a policy of isolation. It took the productive Indian lands for white settlement and left for the Indians that which was poor, unfertile and unsuitable for living, let alone farming. The government then forced the Indians—many of them descendants of yours from the Five Civilized Tribes—out of Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama and herded them across the Mississippi River like animals. Those that survived settled here in land which they were told they could have (as so many treaties stated it) "as long as the moon rises, the grass is green, the rivers flow, and the sun shines."

But then the white man changed his mind and decided to divide up Indian lands and give each Indian his own little unproductive plot to die on. But it didn't work. Indians kept coming.

The white man was confused. He had reduced the number of Indians, he had deprived them of their lands, he had broken their spirit, he had isolated them on wasteland reservations—yet they still continued to survive. So he launched his final plan—he would beat the Indian-ness out of the Indians. If they refused to die, he would tell them they weren't Indians, that there was nothing in their heritage or culture that should be saved, that they should, in effect, become Apples—Red on the outside, but White in the inside. The white man called it assimilation.

So orders went out from Washington that all male Indians must cut their hair short, even though many believed that long hair had spiritual significance. Children were forbidden to speak their native tongue in school, even if that was the only language they knew. In school they studied history and learned that the goldminers who seized Indian lands and killed whole bands of families were "heroes," and the Indians defending their family and property were "savages," and that everytime the cavalry won it was an heroic feat and everytime the Indians won it was a massacre.

Many Indians were hauled off to boarding schools where anything "Indian"—dress, language, religious practices, even outlook on life—was uncompromisingly prohibited. But it didn't work—and it still isn't. Indians keep coming—and they are Red all the way through.

You can guess how dumbfounded the

white man was at this point. All his plans to rid the world of those terrible Indians had gone awry. Why had they failed? Why did the Indian insist and persist in remaining an Indian?

The white man thought he knew the answer. It was because Indians were dumb, stupid and lazy. They weren't smart enough to learn the white man's ways. So to prove his point he sent out researchers to do studies and surveys and reports.

And the researchers came back and said: Yes, the average educational level for all Indians under Federal supervision is five school years;

Yes, dropout rates for Indians average 50 percent, twice the national average;

Yes, Indians fall progressively further behind the longer they stay in school;

Yes, the average Indian income is \$1,500, 75 percent below the national average;

Yes, the unemployment rate among Indians is nearly 40 percent—more than 10 times the national average;

Yes, 50,000 Indian families live in unsanitary, dilapidated dwellings, many in huts, shanties and even abandoned automobiles;

Yes, 40,000 Navajo Indians are functional illiterates in English;

Yes, a white child has a better chance of living to age 45 than any Indian baby has of living to its 1st birthday.

But the researchers also said No, the Indian is not dumb; No, there is no difference in native intelligence between the Indian population and any other race; No, there is nothing in the Indians' internal makeup which makes him lazier, more stupid, or less intelligent than anyone else.

The white man was shocked! Something must have gone haywire. So he sent out the researchers again and again and again, and they made study after study after study. But they all reached the same conclusion: the Indian race had the same percentage of gifted, bright, average, dull and retarded children as any other people.

Some researchers haven't given up their studies. As of January of this year, for example, there were 64 research projects going on concurrently at the Pine Ridge, South Dakota, reservation. The combined cost in academic salaries alone would feed all the hungry children on the reservation.

But some people, including white men (believe it or not), started thinking. Could it be, they asked themselves, that the Indian doesn't want to change? Could it be that something else in society should be changed instead? Could it be the Indian is an Indian, and will always remain so?

Some Indians, like Bill Penseno of the National Indian Youth Council, began talking:

"The problem is not with the Indians, he told the Senate Indian Education Subcommittee. "The problem is with the institutions that service Indians . . . The institutions that serve Indians were created by man. The Indians were created by God. Surely the institutions are more amenable to change than the people."

And some non-Indians, like the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, listened—and began talking themselves:

"We must stop blaming the Navajo and other Indian children for their failure in education," he said. "We must realize it is the educational system we have created that is at fault. The Indian child needs pride in his forbears, his heritage, tradition, culture, history and background. There can be little respect for one's own culture if another culture is forced on you."

So a number of people began looking at the main tool of assimilation, the educational system, and they realized that a public school not only taught skills, but the value system of the dominant society. It exemplified the so-called melting pot theory. Put in children of diverse backgrounds, give them "mainstream America" teachers and textbooks, stir diligently and they will come out with the same skills and values as everyone else. It

worked for the children of immigrants, it should work for the Indians.

But as anthropologist Anne M. Smith points out, it didn't work and couldn't work, for a very good reason: the immigrants looked at the values and success-oriented goals of mainstream America and said, "It is good." The Indians looked at that same mainstream in light of their own value systems and said, "It is polluted."

I remember so well the words of Miss Margaret Nick, a beautiful and articulate Alaskan native, as she spoke to our Indian Education Subcommittee in Fairbanks.

"One thing I know," she said: "Is that if my children are proud, if my children have identity, if my children know who they are and if they're proud to be who they are, I think this is what education means. Some people say that a man without education might as well be dead. I say, a man without identity, if a man doesn't know who he is, he might as well be dead. That is why it's a must that we include our history and our culture in our schools before we lose it all. We've lost way too much already. We have to move now."

The solution, as forward-thinking people like Senator and Mrs. Harris have been advocating for some time, is cultural pluralism—permitting the Indian to learn the skills of society while at the same time not only permitting, but encouraging him to retain his Indianness.

There are some instances of this happening now—the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation being the prime example—but there are too few instances. At Rough Rock, an all-Navajo school board encourages the "Navajoness" of the students. Culturally sensitive curriculum materials prepared by the Navajos themselves are in use. Bilingual teaching techniques are used. Indian teachers and aides dominate the school. While the students learn Navajo, they also learn English—and at a faster pace than when they were reprimanded for speaking their native tongue.

There is no other school in the country which has so encouraged cultural pluralism. Most schools that are doing anything have a halfway approach—an Indian History unit, a part-time class in Indian culture and traditions, an after-school Indian club, etc. When these are honest efforts to eliminate prejudices and instill pride and dignity, they are good. But when they are token, half-hearted efforts because it is the "in thing" to do, they are bad. I believe it has to be the responsibility of Indian students like yourselves to keep the schools honest. Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity must forever be on guard to protect Indian interest in the schools, to see that myths are replaced by facts.

This isn't an easy job, as I am sure you are well aware. For example, I think we have a promising Indian Education program in Minnesota, headed by Mr. Will Antell, an able and dedicated Chippewa. But, despite the gains we have made, we have to be ever-alert to schools unconscious adding anti-Indian materials to their curriculum. A couple years ago our Indian Education office began a sweeping inventory of history textbooks being used in elementary schools. The survey resulted in the elimination of a number of anti-Indian books. But just when we were beginning to feel satisfied over that job, the states Library Services Institute for Minnesota Indians learned last month that metropolitan school systems were using books which ridiculed sacred ceremonials and cultural traditions.

I know from my work on the Senate Indian Education Subcommittee that you Oklahoma students do not face any easy task. The Subcommittee's hearing at Twin Oaks in February 1968 documented a number of problems of Indians in the public schools. The Carnegie Corporation's report, "Who Should Control Indian Education," contained a less-

than-optimistic picture of progress in its case study of the problems of getting an Indian elected to the all-white board of the all-Indian White Eagle School near Ponca City.

People are beginning to recognize that *cultural difference does not mean cultural inferiority*, that one can build on the strengths of Indian culture rather than try to destroy it, that Indians deserve control over the education of their own children.

Almost 200 years ago the leaders of Virginia, after signing a treaty with six Indian nations, offered to educate six of the chief's sons.

The chiefs were thankful for the offer, but they rejected it, noting that they had tried white man's education before.

Well, what was wrong with it? The white leaders ask.

According to the chiefs, their children had come back from white man's schools "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 like to send a dozen white children to be educated with the Indians.

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

The white governors didn't take the Indians up on their offer, apparently thinking the Indians had little to offer. For 200 years non-Indians have felt that way. But now, the times they are a-changing. Whites are beginning to see the many good things in the Indian's way of life. They are beginning to learn they can learn something from the Indian. It's about time!

COMMUNICATIONS FROM EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORTS ON REAPPORTIONMENTS OF APPROPRIATIONS

A letter from the Acting Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, reporting, pursuant to law, that the appropriation to the Department of Labor for "Trade adjustment activities," for the fiscal year 1970, had been apportioned on a basis which indicates the necessity for a supplemental estimate of appropriation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A letter from the Acting Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, reporting, pursuant to law, that the appropriation to the Department of Labor for "Grants to States for unemployment compensation and employment service administration" for the fiscal year 1970, has been apportioned on a basis which indicates the necessity for a supplemental estimate of appropriation; to the Committee on Appropriations.

REPORT OF INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION

A letter from the Chairman, Indian Claims Commission, reporting, pursuant to law, on the final conclusion of judicial proceedings regarding certain American Indian tribal claims (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO AUTHORIZE THE LONG-TERM CHARTERING OF SHIPS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the long-term chartering of ships by the Secretary of the Navy, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the management of Government industrial plant equipment kept for possible future use, Department of Defense, dated April 7, 1970 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORT OF THE GIRL SCOUTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A letter from the President and National Executive Director, Girl Scouts of the United States of America, transmitting, pursuant to law, the twentieth annual report of the Girl Scouts for the fiscal year ended September 30, 1969 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL

A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a revenue and cost analysis report of the Department for fiscal year 1969 with an accompanying report; to the Committee on Post Service and Civil Service.

PROSPECTUSES PROPOSING CONSTRUCTION OR ALTERATION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS FOR POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT USE

A letter from the Acting Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, prospectuses proposing construction or alteration of certain public buildings for use by the Post Office Department (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Public Works.

BILLS AND A JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. FULBRIGHT (by request):

S. 3691. A bill to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, to lower the mandatory retirement age for Foreign Service officers who are career ministers; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(The remarks of Mr. FULBRIGHT when he introduced the bill appear later in the RECORD under the appropriate heading.)

By Mr. MURPHY (for himself and Mr. CRANSTON):

S. 3692. A bill to amend section 2(3), section 8c(2), section 8c(6)(I), and section 8c(7)(C) of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(The remarks of Mr. MURPHY when he introduced the bill appear later in the RECORD under the appropriate heading.)

By Mr. SPARKMAN (for himself and Mr. BENNETT) (by request):

S. 3693. A bill to amend section 3(d) of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. METCALF (for himself and Mr. MANSFIELD):

S. 3694. A bill providing that certain privately owned irrigable lands in the Milk River project in Montana shall be deemed to be excess lands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HART:

S. 3695. A bill for the relief of Irena Jarczloch; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MOSS:

S. 3696. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide for the temporary or intermittent employment of experts, consultants, or stenographic reporters, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(The remarks of Mr. MOSS when he introduced the bill appear later in the RECORD under the appropriate heading.)