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FIVE YEARS AS A NATION: THE IVORY COAST

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Saturday, August 7, was the national independence day for the Republic of Ivory Coast. This new nation under the able leadership of President Felix Houphouët-Boigny has earnestly undertaken its international responsibilities as a sovereign state. Six weeks after her independence in 1960, the Ivory Coast was admitted to the United Nations and was later elected to a seat on the Security Council for the term beginning January 1964. Within Africa the Ivory Coast commands great respect, for President Houphouët-Boigny since his early career in preindependence days has been a dynamic and devoted leader for regional cooperation on the African continent, maintaining that the only true road to African solidarity is through step-by-step economic and political cooperation with recognition of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sister African states.

To this nation which shuns involvement in cold war issues yet remains a friend of the West the United States has provided modest economic aid, supporting the Ivory Coast's program of rapid, orderly economic development. With an economy already more diversified than any other in west Africa, the Ivory Coast has undertaken to increase public expenditure and encourage greater private investment in the growing industrial sector, looking forward to 1970 as the terminal date for foreign assistance needs.

Mr. President, it has long been the belief of Americans that a people's interests are best served and the potentialities for liberty most promoted through self-determination of political and economic policy. It is this belief, inextricably bound up with our own heritage, that causes us to take pride in the achievements of such newly independent nations as the Republic of Ivory Coast. I know that many Americans join with me in saluting the people of the Ivory Coast as they celebrate their national independence.

THE CHALLENGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on Sunday night, August 8, 1965, I had the privilege of attending the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Convention in Chicago, Ill. In an address to the convention, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY brought to our attention in meaningful fashion the real challenge facing the human rights movement in the United States. He emphasized that although we have created an adequate body of legislation for equal legal rights, we must begin to create a climate of equal respect in which the capacities of all men, whether Negro or white, for creativity and the pursuit of excellence may flourish and grow.

We should remember that the law, in addition to being a coercive force, must function as well as a teacher. By directing the actions of the citizen, it must produce a change in attitude. Without a change in public attitude, all the legis-

lation in the world cannot guarantee racial equality. Up to now, we have accomplished the legal abolition of the practices of segregation, and we have obtained a grudging tolerance, a lowering of formal legal barriers, a removal of "white only" signs from drinking fountains, school doors, and waiting rooms. We must do more than achieve minimum compliance with the law, motivated more by the fear of jails than by an honest request for one's fellow man. While this is necessary and worthy of our first efforts, it is merely an initial goal.

Beyond this lies the true meaning of "integration." Beyond this lies acceptance—acceptance of every fellow citizen as a man with heart and mind, body and soul. This goal may remain unreachd when every lunch counter in the Nation has dropped its formal barriers to Negro entry. It may remain unreachd when every Negro is allowed the full and equal right to vote and participate in the political process of his State and city. It may, as well, remain unreachd when the last Negro has stepped off the sidewalk and tipped his hat to the passing white man. But we must begin now to reach the day when we have a nation in which every man is accepted at his own worth.

Mr. President, I call the attention of the U.S. Senate to this remarkable speech, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, CONVENTION, ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, CHICAGO, AUGUST 9, 1965

It is an honor and a pleasure to be back with Alpha Phi Alpha tonight. In 1948, I spoke before your annual convention at Atlantic City.

At that time you were concerned with awakening Negroes to the potentialities of full citizenship and fine education, with providing money through scholarships and loans to the talented who could benefit most from advanced learning, and with fighting legal battles to strike down discriminatory barriers.

At that time I was about to first enter the U.S. Senate.

At that time this country was slowly becoming aware of the critical social issue of the postwar period—the full entrance of the Negro into American society.

Tonight, 17 years later, we have come a long way.

We have seen legalized prejudice and discrimination stricken from the statute books of America.

Many people of courage and dedication, with black skins and with white, have risked—and sometimes lost—their lives in assaulting the barriers of legalized discrimination.

The dignity and the compassion—the manifestation of true fraternal love—which has characterized these efforts is a source of pride to all Americans.

With the series of Supreme Court decisions culminating in the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954—and with the sequence of congressional actions leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—this initial phase of the civil struggle is now drawing to a close.

Much remains to be done until these decisions of our Government are fully implemented—and, as the President's civil rights

coordinator, I can report to you tonight that determined efforts are being made within the Federal structure.

But now the American people have been called to answer another, more challenging question: Do we have the imagination, the commitment, and compassion to construct a society which gives full meaning to the phrase "full citizenship," where every citizen has an equal opportunity in fact—not just in law?

For the first time in history, this Nation possesses the intellectual strength and the economic resources to create the conditions in which every American can be a full partner in the enterprise of democracy.

We possess the knowledge and the wealth. But do we also possess the determination and the will to complete this task?

To be sure, a number of Negroes have overcome great handicaps and are able to compete on equal terms with other citizens. Indeed, all the men of Alpha—represented by such men as Thurgood Marshall, Whitney Young, Martin Luther King, John Johnson, and Judge Perry B. Jackson, Judge Sidney A. Jones, and Judge L. Howard Bennett—are notable representatives of the American Negro community today capable of both producing and enjoying the benefits of American society.

We know of the encouraging increase of Negro enrollment in college and in professional schools, of the rising income level among Negroes, of more challenging and responsible jobs available to Negroes, and of the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes as compared to the population in general.

We know that Negro Americans are succeeding despite the handicaps of prejudice, of closed doors, of limited or nonexistent educational opportunities, and of the deep psychological wound of being a Negro in a period where this usually meant second-class citizenship and back-of-the-bus treatment.

But despite the advances of this Negro minority, we know also the pathos of countless citizens in this country. These people are almost a nation unto themselves—an underdeveloped country of urban ghettos and rural slums whose inhabitants are only dimly aware of the advances in civil rights and are only rarely touched by them.

President Johnson spoke about the stark dimensions of this other America in his Howard University address. He pointed to the uprooted, the unemployed, and the dispossessed. He pointed to staggering problems of unemployment, of disease, of illiteracy, of income, of infant mortality, of family disintegration, and of housing.

It is for this other America, living under a dark cloud of discrimination and prejudice, that we must now bend our efforts. We must realize that although our laws are more just than before, true justice remains, for many, a distant and unrealized promise.

Our task now is to meet the challenge of this second phase of the Negro's struggle—to secure economic and social justice—to secure self-sufficiency and self-respect.

We must give fulfillment to the promise of our laws and our words. For hollow phrases can only leave a bitter taste in the mouths of those who speak them and deep and abiding despair among those who hear them.

As we enter this phase of the Negro's struggle, two general problems must be isolated and confronted: problems of substance and problems of spirit.

We know that the problems of substance are complex and interwoven. We cannot identify a single aspect of the Negro's life and try to deal with it alone.

We cannot emphasize just the need for more jobs, or better housing, or improved education.

More jobs cannot come without better education.

Better education depends upon stable families and neighborhoods.

These in turn require better housing and health facilities. And better housing and health facilities call for better jobs.

These are all related problems which must be confronted together.

We must also face the problem of spirit which plagues the Negro. We must understand that generations of prejudice, deprivation, and subservience have induced in Negroes the debilitating qualities of profound despair, apathy, indifference, and distrust.

What can we expect when hope is resolutely crushed from the young, when there are no jobs even for the educated, and no homes in good neighborhoods even for the hard-working?

Our task is both delicate and vital.

We must try to replace attitudes of unimportance and inferiority with the qualities of self-respect and self-confidence. For progress will come not only with liberation from discrimination in housing, education, and jobs, but also with liberation of the spirit.

We must teach men to exercise their uniquely human capacities: the potentiality for creativity and the incentive to pursue excellence. We must create a climate of equal rights and equal respect in which these capacities may flourish. For only then will the majority of Negroes approach the goal that is critical in their fight—the goal of self-sufficiency and self-respect.

In this new, more difficult, and less dramatic campaign, no single problem will be more important than education.

I do not have to tell the members of Alpha that education is the keystone in the arch of freedom. Surely, if we are to help the disadvantaged help themselves, we must help them learn. We must marshal courage and determination and halt the tragic waste of our human resources.

We must make sure that the laws prohibiting school segregation are properly enforced. The U.S. Office of Education and the Department of Justice are today working diligently to eliminate segregation in those schools receiving Federal financial assistance.

And, in this regard, let me offer some plain talk:

We must understand that a school district cannot escape the constitutional mandate to desegregate merely by rejecting all Federal financial aid. Those districts which violate constitutional requirements will be subject to desegregation suits brought by the Department of Justice.

The choice for such districts is simply this: to continue receiving Federal aid and desegregate or to sacrifice Federal aid and desegregate anyway.

But we must go far beyond enforcement.

It should not be a matter of forcing people to do what is right. No. We must demonstrate clearly—to all Americans—that all Americans will benefit by better education for those who have been left behind.

We must also demonstrate clearly—to those who most need it, to those who have been forced to exist in the shadows of our society—that education is the way to lift themselves to something better.

Through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the vocational education amendments, and the Manpower Training and Development Act, this Congress and this administration have tried to create tools to help achieve this.

Now the President has called for a new Teaching Professions Act which would create a National Teachers Corps to provide outstanding teachers with a sense of mission to serve in both urban and rural slums.

Those who enlist in the corps will be sent to schools that most teachers regard as bad assignments—where children tend to be un-

disciplined, poorly dressed, and too often poorly taught as well.

Here is the chance to dispel forever the myth that children from deprived areas are unable to learn.

Here is the chance to prove that children—regardless of their immediate environment—respond to determined and creative efforts to illuminate their lives.

Our schools can rescue millions of Negro youngsters caught in the downward spiral of second-rate education, functional illiteracy, delinquency, despondency, and despair.

Our schools can help demolish the slums and ghettos themselves.

For each child is an adventure into tomorrow—a chance to break the old pattern and make it new.

We have the chance through education to transform decayed and decaying neighborhoods into places where people can live and work in health and safety.

The tools which the Federal Government has provided to assist in this process of education, and in the broader struggle against the problems of substance and spirit, rely on the initiative of our States and localities.

They demand, too, the intellectual and, in some cases, the financial resources of the private sector. Indeed, cooperation must be the keynote of our efforts—cooperation between public and private, between local, State, and national, between all concerned parties.

The Government is making new commitments in an attempt to arrest the pattern of social and economic disintegration. In November, a White House Conference on Civil Rights will bring national attention even more clearly to these great tasks.

But our Government's willingness to carry much of the burden will be of no avail unless concerned nongovernmental groups, such as Alpha Phi Alpha, give us enthusiastic support.

Charles Spurgeon Johnson, a distinguished member of this fraternity and one of the Nation's most eminent social scientists, stated it well when addressing college-educated Negro men and women.

"The compelling urgency is to move with haste from race relations to human relations. * * * The issue of the rights of the Negro minority, as with all other racial and cultural minorities in the Nation, is at this moment of history an urgent and imperative one of freedom and democracy within the Nation-State."

No longer can we concentrate solely on the most promising of the Negro young. We must meet the challenge of broad programs with broad action to help children of all classes, especially those oppressed by poverty.

Only when we have given our minds and our hearts and our will to the quest for equal opportunity will we be equal to our responsibility.

Only when the other nation of Americans can fully contribute to and share in the fruits of our progress will these Americans truly be citizens of this land.

Only then will we fulfill America's promise for all mankind: That free men, working together, can create a society of both opportunity and justice.

DEVELOPMENT OF MEDICARE LEGISLATION

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on Thursday, August 5, 1965, the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, went to Independence, Mo., to sign the Social Security Amendments of 1965.

This trip was a warm gesture of gratitude and recognition to Harry S. Truman who as President in 1948 pioneered in the area of medicare legislation. This

historic signing took place in the presence of another man who has played a singularly important role in the fight for a health-care law—the Vice President of the United States, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

It is indeed appropriate that the Vice President's name appears on the law in his capacity as President of the Senate. It is, indeed, appropriate that he witnessed the successful culmination of nearly 20 years of effort to bring greater security and well-being to our senior citizens.

As Senator from Minnesota, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY either sponsored alone or was a cosponsor of a medicare bill in every Congress in which he served covering the years 1949-64. During the 1st session of the 81st Congress in 1949 the Senator from Minnesota joined in sponsoring S. 1679 which included a comprehensive health-care plan. Again in the 82d, 83d, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, and 88th Congresses, the Senator from Minnesota continued the struggle on this vital program.

When he introduced S. 1511 on February 3, 1959, during the 86th Congress, Senator HUMPHREY set forth the moral and ethical arguments in favor of medicare under the social security system:

One of the most important and pressing social problems which we face today is finding means to insure a life of dignity and decency for our older Americans. We in this great and wealthy country have a social and moral obligation to provide adequate means whereby the elderly may enjoy a decent standard of living and may be free of constant anxiety over what will happen in time of serious illness.

Surely these words expressed the feelings of millions of American citizens whose support this year finally transformed medicare from legislation into law.

Mr. President, our Vice President played a truly pioneering role in the development of medicare legislation. Today I rise to thank him and pay tribute to him. I am confident that few laws passed by the Congress in recent years brought him more personal satisfaction.

I ask unanimous consent that a summary of each of the 14 medicare bills Senator HUMPHREY sponsored during his tenure in the Senate be printed at this point in the RECORD. This record will stand as public testimony to his vision and contribution to assuring that America's elderly citizens have full opportunity for a life of health and dignity in their later years.

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

MEDICARE BILLS SPONSORED OR COSPONSORED BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, 1949-64

THE 81ST CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

S. 1679. Messrs. Thomas of Utah, Murray, Wagner, PEPPER, Chaney, Taylor, McGrath, and HUMPHREY. April 25, 1949 (Labor and Public Welfare):

National Health Insurance and Public Health Act: Declares the purpose of Congress is to relieve the shortage of qualified personnel in the health professions, to expand medical research, to aid in construction of more hospital facilities, to expand child health and maternal care, and to establish