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way they added more moisture to the cotton and were able to collect more money under the support program.

Someone knew that that was going on. Someone is responsible. The Department should tell us how it happened. If controls are so lax that it did not know anything about it until some of us on the outside called it to the attention of the Department something is wrong.

With all due respect to the Senators from Arkansas. I say to the Department that if it is doing nothing wrong it should not be ashamed to discuss it. When the Department gets a letter from a Member of the Senate that letter is to be answered—at least if it is my letter I intend to get an answer.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I appreciate the comments of the distinguished Senator. He has referred to some other matters in the letter which did not pertain to Arkansas, and of course I made no inquiry about them. I merely wished to set the record straight by saying this has been one of the most thorough investigations in Arkansas that has ever been conducted anywhere. It may not yet have disclosed all the facts. There may be some reason why some of them should not be disclosed, but I have a sort of off-the-record feeling that probably the Department did its best in Arkansas because of some special reasons which I could mention.

At any rate, I trust that it will, as expeditiously as possible, wind up the investigation in Arkansas, because we are approaching a new crop year. Although there are definitely some who have not lived up to their obligations in obeying the rules with respect to planting only the acreage allotted to them, there are, at the same time, a good many farmers who should not be made to suffer because of the transgressions of a few others. We are as eager to have this matter expedited and cleared up as is any one else, so that the program can begin to function properly again, and so that those who are innocent may not be penalized because of the actions of a few who have violated the law or the regulations.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, on that point, I say to the Senator from Arkansas that we are in complete agreement. I will even join the two Senators from Arkansas in pointing out that no doubt there have been scores of so-called violations involving a fraction of an acre or merely an acre or 2 acres, which are unintentional errors. Being familiar with farming operations, I know that that could happen with a farmer who was doing his best to comply with the law. I do not in anyway advocate that those farmers who are trying to live up to their obligations should be punished or publicly censored for an unintentional error in acreage.

But, as the Senator has pointed out, in the case of a hundred or more acres being overplanted, they are not accidents. These were deliberate violations, and we have a right to know who did it.

The Government has already collected close to half a million dollars in fines; they know from whom they have collected those fines. There is nothing im-

proper about asking who the violators were. Does this go beyond the Arkansas area, and were there any Government officials involved?

In addition to the fines collected for overplanting I want to know how much extra this overplanting cost the Government under our support program.

The Department letter which the Senator from Arkansas has put in the RECORD today is the first indication as to the extent of the fines they have assessed.

Let us roll back the cloak of secrecy on some of these situations. I hope they will do so before they are through, and I am determined that they shall.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I thank the distinguished Senator. I especially thank the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] for yielding to my colleague from Arkansas and to me.

Mr. CLARK. I am always happy to yield to the Senator.

ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 2) to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress.

Mr. CLARK. For the benefit of other Senators, and so that the Senate page boys may alert the two cloakrooms, I should like to say, after having discussed the matter with the majority leader and with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], the Senator in charge of the concurrent resolution, there will be no votes today on the pending business.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

SHOCKING BRUTALITY IN SELMA, ALA.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, in this morning's newspapers I read with consternation and dismay the news of another shocking incident of brutality in Selma, Ala. A group of some 500 Negroes planned a march from Selma to Montgomery in protest against the unconscionable deprivation of their voting rights. Governor Wallace of Alabama had forbidden the march, and dispatched State troopers and volunteer officers of the Dallas County sheriff's office.

The news accounts stated that the Alabama police authorities had stopped the protest march and the Negroes had stood unmoving and silent. Without warning and without provocation, the troopers and sheriff's officers rushed forward and attacked the Negroes. The Negroes were trampled, beaten, and terrorized by these outrageous tactics. We are told that white spectators

watching this shocking display whooped and cheered with joy.

When law enforcement officials in these United States of America find it necessary to turn on a peaceable group of citizens, who have no weapons and who indicate no signs of impending aggression or violence, find it necessary to use nightsticks, tear gas and whips to attack and brutalize these citizens, then the very foundation and root of our American democracy is in jeopardy.

Now more than ever it seems to me that the bare assurance of civil rights for the southern Negro, coupled with the assurance of the right to vote in Federal elections, is not enough. In the last few weeks we have seen police brutality enough to last us for centuries.

It is time we recognize that it is the local elected official—not the Federal marshal or Federal judge—who daily dispenses justice or injustice to the Negro. It is the State police, the local sheriff, the local chief of police, the local school board members, the local voting registrar who set the pace in closing the glaring gap between the Federal "right" and local "practice" under which that right is denied.

We know that the forces of oppression in the South will continue their sordid efforts of intimidation, brutality, and murder. We know that the many courageous leaders in the Negro community—and, I might say, in the white community as well—and in the human rights movement will continue their efforts to speak out, to protest, and to declare the rights of mankind.

The only question facing us in the Congress is what we and the decent and honorable people who know better will do. We can no longer remain silent in the face of such outrageous denials of basic human rights and decency, and I think the situation should command the immediate attention of the Senate of the United States.

Sadly enough, this situation has reached the point where Negro citizens in the South who wish to assemble peaceably for the purpose of adjusting grievances must bring along doctors and nurses and medical supplies and ambulances. It has reached the point where the bare exercise of rights as a human being and as a citizen of the United States brings the threat of physical injury and even death. Mr. President, at this point I ask unanimous consent to have reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news account of this incident from the Washington Post.

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

TEAR GAS, CLUBS HALT 600 IN SELMA MARCH;
STATE TROOPERS BEAT AND INJURE MANY
NEGROES

(By Leon Daniel)

SELMA, ALA., March 7.—State troopers and mounted deputies bombarded 600 praying Negroes with tear gas today and then waded into them with clubs, whips, and ropes, injuring scores.

The troopers and possemen, under Gov. George C. Wallace's orders to stop the Negroes "Walk for Freedom" from Selma to Montgomery, chased the screaming, bleeding marchers nearly a mile back to their church, clubbing them as they ran.

Ambulances screamed in relays between Good Samaritan Hospital and Brown's Chapel Church, carrying hysterical men, women, and children suffering head wounds and tear gas burns.

In Atlanta, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., announced that he would lead a new march from Selma on Tuesday and called on clergymen from throughout the Nation to join him.

HOSPITAL TREATS 50 TO 60

(A hospital spokesman told the Washington Post in a telephone report that between 50 and 60 marchers had been treated for injuries that included broken arms and legs and severe head gashes.

(None of the victims was considered in serious condition, but "there is a great deal of pain and suffering," the spokesman said. About a dozen marchers were reported admitted to the hospital.

(Most of the injuries appeared to be the result of heavy blows, the spokesman said. No gunshot wounds were reported.

(The Reverend Richard Boone, Alabama project coordinator for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, estimated that 90 to 100 marchers had been injured.)

Among the injured was Chairman John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who suffered a possible skull fracture.

At his office in Montgomery, Wallace said "those folks in Selma have made this a 7-day-a-week job but we can't give in 1 inch. We're going to enforce State laws."

HORSEMEN MOVE IN

The Negroes had just reached the end of the long bridge that leads out of Selma's business district when they were confronted by 50 blue-helmeted State troopers.

The troopers gave them 2 minutes to disperse. The Negroes did not disperse, and about 2 dozen troopers, swinging their clubs, rushed the head of the column.

Pushing and clubbing, they drove the Negroes back about 50 yards and then began firing tear gas. The tear gas bombs boomed like gunshots and a dense cloud of yellow smoke enveloped the screaming Negroes.

Then the troopers charged into the gassed Negroes again, and from behind the column Sheriff Jim Clark's horse-mounted civilian possemen charged in, swinging clubs.

The hysterical Negroes broke and ran back to the church. Those who fled in other directions—between buildings—were quickly headed off by the hard-riding possemen.

As the Negroes streamed through the town toward the church where they started their march, the possemen darted in at them, clubbing them down. Several witnesses said they saw the horsemen use bullwhips and lengths of rope to flog the fleeing Negroes.

Several hundred white bystanders cheered and hooted as the Negroes were driven back to the church. But the white crowd made no attempt to break through police lines.

It had been expected earlier that Dr. King would lead today's march, but the civil rights leader said tonight that he had remained in Atlanta to take care of his church responsibilities and to "mobilize national support for a larger thrust forward." He said his aids argued him out of leading today's march at the last minute.

Dr. King also announced that he will go into Federal court immediately to seek to restrain Governor Wallace from blocking Tuesday's march.

In his statement tonight, Dr. King said: "In the vicious maltreatment of defenseless citizens of Selma, where old women and young children were gassed and clubbed at random, we have witnessed an eruption of the disease of racism which seeks to destroy all of America. The people of Selma will struggle for the soul of the Nation, but it is fitting that all Americans help to bear the burden. I call, therefore, on clergy of all

faiths, representative of every part of the country to join me in Selma for a ministers' march on Montgomery Tuesday morning."

When the Negroes reached the church, some of the less seriously injured hurled a few bricks and bottles at the pursuing possemen. Within moments, a contingent of nearly 50 troopers and possemen, under the orders of Sheriff Clark, marched down the street outside the church in a phalanx. The Negroes quickly cleared the sidewalks, darting into houses, the church, and its adjacent parsonage.

The Negroes started out today to walk the 50 miles to Montgomery to protest to Wallace the denial of Negro voting rights in Alabama. Wallace announced yesterday he would not allow the march, and authorized his troopers to use "all necessary means" to stop it.

When they reached the foot of the bridge, Highway Patrol Maj. John Cloud raised a bullhorn to his mouth and ordered the Negroes to stop.

"This march you propose is not conducive to safety," he said. "This march will not continue. You have 2 minutes to disperse."

Hosea Williams, a Negro leader at the head of the column, asked Cloud if he could "have a word with you."

"You may disperse or go back to the church or we will break it up," Cloud replied. "There's nothing to talk about."

Silence fell across the road as the 2 minutes passed, the Negroes and the troopers staring at each other. Then Cloud ordered the troopers in.

About two dozen ran into the line of Negroes, shoving them back and clubbing them. The possemen advanced from the rear.

The Negroes retreated about 50 yards, then stopped. Suddenly the troopers began firing round after round of tear gas into the crowd.

The Negroes, coughing, choking, and screaming, stumbled, fell, trooperse charged in every direction. The troopers charged from the front and the possemen galloped in from the rear.

Selma was quiet but tense tonight. Sheriff Clark started broadcasting radio appeals late in the day asking everyone to stay off the streets tonight.

However, many of the Negroes who had taken part in the march gathered tonight at Brown's Chapel Church for a mass meeting.

PROFESSOR TELLS WHY HE MARCHED

SELMA, ALA., March 7.—Dr. Frederick Kraus has remained silent on the issue of civil rights during his 12 years as a professor at the University of Alabama, but he says his conscience now has forced him to take a public stand with the Negro in his drive for equality.

Kraus is a member of a new group known as Concerned White Citizens of Alabama. The group of about 70 staged its first demonstration march in Selma Saturday and indicated this was only the beginning of its work.

"We have remained silent for a long time, trying to give moral support to the Negroes," Kraus said in an interview.

"I personally felt it was time to show that a group of demonstrators can have a face other than that of the Negro," he said.

"There were a lot more people who wanted to march with us, but they were afraid," he said. "Next time it will not be so."

Kraus is a professor of dentistry at the university medical center in Birmingham. He was joined in the march by two other Alabama professors, Dr. Ted Klitzke, head of the art department at the university's main campus in Tuscaloosa, and Dr. Ed Carlson, a physics professor.

Mr. MONDALE. I would like to call special attention to the following paragraphs:

State troopers and mounted deputies bombarded 600 praying Negroes with tear gas to-

day and then waded into them with clubs, whips, and ropes injuring scores.

The troopers and possemen, under Gov. George C. Wallace's orders to stop the Negroes "walk for freedom" from Selma to Montgomery, chased the screaming, bleeding marchers nearly a mile back to their church, clubbing them as they ran.

Ambulances screamed in relays between Good Samaritan Hospital and Brown's Chapel Church, carrying hysterical men, women, and children suffering head wounds and tear gas burns.

Mr. President, Sunday's outrage in Selma, Ala., makes passage of legislation to guarantee Southern Negroes the right to vote an absolute imperative for Congress this year. The citizens of Minnesota and of the United States can no longer tolerate the trampling of human rights by southern law enforcement officers in the name of law and order. This is totalitarian oppression at its worst—it is what we fought against in World War II and it is what we are fighting against in the cold war today.

Mr. President, in the President's moving state of the Union address he called upon the Congress, not once, but twice, to enact legislation to insure the right to vote for those who are denied it in the United States. I believe that the instances of outrageous behavior in Selma, Ala., eloquently underscore the importance of the President's plea.

Yesterday was a sad day for America. It was a day of which we shall always be ashamed.

I suppose we could be content with the observation that the State troopers of Alabama produced an enormous psychological weapon which the Communists will surely use. But I do not believe it is enough for us to predicate our activities on what is good or what is bad for the Communist Party. Rather, we should base our activities on what is basic to the freedom, the welfare, and the decency of American society. I am proud of those in the South, both white and black, who have been brave enough to stand strong and without compromise in the common plea for the civil rights of all Americans. I hope that we can say in justice and decency that help is coming.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I have listened with great interest to the Senator's eloquent comment on the most unfortunate—to put it mildly—occurrences in Alabama yesterday. I wonder if my friend will agree with me that the Congress of the United States will have to pass some proposed legislation assuring voting rights if we are to bring that situation under control.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania for that inquiry. I believe the evidence clearly reflects the need for such legislation. We are all proud of the fact that in 1964 Congress took the most forward looking step since the Civil War to advance the cause of human rights by the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But in the course of the adoption of that legislation, it was necessary to make some compromises that now appear to have been costly. Of particular importance was the compromise that was made

in the field of enforcing voting rights. As former head of the civil rights section of the U.S. Department of Justice, Mr. Burke Marshall pointed out in a brilliant document entitled "Federalism and Civil Rights," it is necessary to make further improvement by way of legislation in that field if we are to accord to the Negro in the South his right to vote. Surely the activities of recent days have underscored that need with clarity.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I have been interested in the apparent impatience of some of our Republican friends on the other side of the aisle—impatience indicating a keen desire to move ahead with additional voter registrar legislation. Speaking for myself only, I would hope very much that the Department of Justice and, indeed, the President, would move expeditiously to send such proposed legislation to Congress. I understand there is still not complete agreement in the executive branch as to what the terms of the proposed legislation should be. This is an extremely complicated subject. I can understand how wise lawyers might differ on the appropriate provisions. But I hope that we shall have such a bill before us pretty soon. If we do not, speaking for myself and several other Democrats who were active in that fight for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, we shall introduce our own bill.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania for that comment. I am confident that this administration is concentrating on the matter of preparing legislation in this field to be presented to Congress. The activities that we have just witnessed on the past Sunday ought to underscore the need for prompt action in this field.

VFW HONORS THE HONORABLE JOHN W. McCORMACK

Mr. BASS. Mr. President, most Members of the Senate are, I am confident, aware that the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK will, on Tuesday, March 9, be the recipient of one of our Nation's outstanding awards.

The occasion is the annual congressional banquet of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. The banquet is to be held at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. At the banquet, the national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who is well known to many Members of the Senate—John A. Jenkins, of Birmingham, Ala.—will present the VFW's Congressional Award to Speaker McCORMACK.

Mr. President, I am sure that Members of the Senate will agree with me that Speaker McCORMACK is fully qualified for this high award, because its inscription, "for outstanding service to the Nation," accurately describes his contributions and achievements during his long years of able and faithful service to our Nation.

It is my understanding that a very large number of the Members of the Sen-

ate and the House will be present at the VFW banquet on Tuesday evening, to join with VFW Commander Jenkins in honoring Speaker McCORMACK.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, the text of the statement of VFW Commander Jenkins in announcing that the 1965 VFW Congressional Award will be made to the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

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

KANSAS CITY, MO.—John A. Jenkins, Birmingham, Ala., commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, announced Tuesday that Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, JOHN W. McCORMACK, of Massachusetts, had been selected by the organization's National Council of Administration to receive the VFW's second annual "Congressional Award."

The recipient of the first Congressional Award was Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona. In addition to a large plaque depicting the U.S. Capitol, a \$1,000 scholarship is established in the name of the recipient for graduate study in government or political science. The award carries the simple inscription "for outstanding service to the Nation." It will be presented to Speaker McCORMACK, March 9 on the occasion of the organization's annual dinner in Washington honoring Members of Congress who served in the Armed Forces.

In announcing the selection of Speaker McCORMACK, Commander in Chief Jenkins said, "It is the hope of our National Council of Administration that by granting this award it will call attention not only to the dedicated service of the recipient, but to other deserving Members of the Congress who share the accomplishments for which the VFW Congressional Award is made each year."

ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 2) to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I return to the discussion of the pending business, which is Senate Concurrent Resolution 2, submitted by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] and a large number of additional Senators, and to the pending motion, which is my motion to strike the proviso which begins on line 24, page 2.

Before the debate was interrupted in order to extend courtesy to some Senators who wished to speak on other subjects, I had said that this proviso, which in effect provides that the committee shall have no power to make recommendations with respect to the rules, parliamentary procedures, practices, and/or precedents of either House, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House, would prohibit the proposed joint committee from looking into those matters which, in my judgment, are the principal difficulties which have reduced Congress to what I have described as the "sapless branch" on our tree of government.

I point out again that it is difficult, indeed, if not impossible—I suggest it is impossible—to make any full and com-

plete study of the organization and operation of Congress, as the resolution provides, if the committee to be appointed under the resolution is forbidden to make any recommendations with respect to the heart of congressional reform which, in my judgment, consists of the need to revise and modernize the rules, parliamentary procedures, practices, and/or precedents of either House, and matters being considered on the floor of either House.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, does the Senator from Pennsylvania wish to yield at this time, or does he wish to complete his statement?

Mr. CLARK. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Oklahoma; then I shall complete my statement.

Mr. MONRONEY. The Senator has repeated two or three times that this proposal would prohibit the committee from studying anything other than what is completely outside the practices, procedures, or rules of either House.

Mr. CLARK. I thought I said "making recommendations."

Mr. MONRONEY. No; the Senator said "study and make recommendations." If I am incorrect, I apologize. I thought I understood the Senator to say "study." That was the point I wished to make, to keep the record straight. There is no prohibition against listening to or studying any testimony that might affect Senate rules, practices, or procedures. Obviously, a large number of political scientists will come before us to testify, as they did in previous years when the question of reorganization was being considered. They did not come to speak in behalf of one reform, but in behalf of many reforms.

Obviously, there will be critical discussion of committee reform; and that will be all right. I shall be happy to receive any critical testimony concerning committee organization, the same as I should be with respect to rule XXII, or with respect to evidence that might be derogatory to the House Committee on Rules.

During the entire 1946 process, when Senator La Follette was chairman of the committee and I was vice chairman, witnesses were at liberty to testify with full latitude. But when it came to writing the report, we based our recommendations on those matters within the scope of our authority. We made our recommendations without transgressing the restrictions that were imposed when the resolution was adopted.

Today, the Senator from Pennsylvania has criticized the language on page 5 of the committee report. I quote from his statement in the minority views:

We realize that the resolution of 1945 setting up the La Follette-Monroney committee contained a similar exclusion. But it requires no more than a casual scanning of the provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to conclude that much of the useful work accomplished by that committee was done in violation of the limitations in the committee's charter.

As the Senator well knows, I have always said—and I believe it to be true—that fully 50 percent of the committee