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an extent that greatly hampers growth. There are at least as many examples of national governments which are overcentralized, thereby stifling the enormous potential energy of local government. My point, therefore, relates to the great importance in both the public and the private sector of establishing arrangements and incentives which will call forth the initiative and energy of small units, groups and individuals.

There can be no doubt of the importance of this concept, but we are only beginning to examine its implications and to build them systematically into our programs and administrative processes. For example, we have not given enough weight to the goal of simplifying tariffs, rectifying exchange rates, and liberalizing import controls. These measures would permit hundreds and thousands of private businessmen and farmers to make better decisions and take more rapid actions, resulting in quicker and sounder investment and growth. Steps of this kind have in fact had such results in Greece, in Korea, in Pakistan and in other countries. It is important not only to simplify regulations and replace physical controls with those working through the market, but also to avoid frequent change in the rules, so that large numbers of decision-makers can act with reasonably firm expectations about the future.

Second, it is likely that we can and should learn more than we have from such successful cases as the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction on Taiwan, the locally based rural works program in East Pakistan, and the credit unions and rural cooperatives in Latin America. They can teach us how to help rural communities organize and apply their latent energy to their own problems and thus achieve high rates of growth in agricultural production and rural living standards.

Third, we can do much more to establish direct connections between private organizations and individuals in the advanced countries and the problems they can help to solve in the developing countries—as A.I.D. has done with considerable success in helping to establish savings-and-loan systems in several Latin American countries, primarily by supporting the efforts of leaders in the United States' savings-and-loan industry.

Fourth, we could do more to help establish and support private American organizations designed for specialized tasks in the developing countries: for example, the American Institute for Free Labor Development, established by the A.F.L.—C.I.O. to work with labor unions in Latin America; or the International Executive Service Corps, established by a group of private business leaders to provide American volunteers to work with individual business firms in developing countries.

These are only illustrations—of which a far longer list could easily be prepared—of ways in which it should be possible to administer assistance in more imaginative and more flexible ways so as to induce and support private and local groups in developing countries to deal with their own problems. This is extremely important because these measures can stimulate not only economic and social progress, but also the development of more democratic societies.

III

My last major point relates to research and evaluation. It is my impression that the organizations which carry out aid programs do not have a distinguished record of building into those programs strong elements of research and evaluation. Certainly this is true of A.I.D., the agency I know best.

This is unfortunate on at least two counts. First, foreign assistance is a relatively new activity and plainly we have an enormous amount to learn about how to conduct it effectively. We have lost much valuable

time and have failed to learn from much valuable experience, because we have not had adequate research and evaluation programs. Second, the process of foreign assistance is inherently dependent on research. It is often described as a method of transferring know-how, but this is plainly wrong; it is instead a process of developing know-how—a process of finding out what will work in Nigeria, not of transferring what has been found to work in Nebraska. If we understood our own business better, it might well be that the whole process of foreign aid would be seen as a research process, aimed at learning how to move a particular society, with its special and unique characteristics of history and culture and physical geography, toward specified objectives.

However that may be, there can be no doubt of the importance of incorporating far stronger programs of research and evaluation into our aid administration. We in the Agency for International Development have been trying to make some headway in this direction. For example: (a) For the last three years, we have organized special summer research projects on the economic aspects of development, drawing together faculty members and graduate students from a number of universities for a summer of research work that benefits them and greatly benefits us; (b) Over the last four years, we have gradually built up a program of research grants, financing such varied activities as trying to increase production of high-protein grain legumes in Asia, and developing a new mathematics curriculum for elementary schools in Africa. In this we have had the guidance of a distinguished advisory committee of research scientists chaired by Dr. Walsh McDermott of Cornell University; (c) A year ago we persuaded Colonel George Lincoln, of the West Point social science faculty, to spend his sabbatical examining A.I.D.'s systems of evaluation, and recommending improvements in them. Colonel Lincoln's report, based on extensive field work in Latin America, is a valuable guide that is now being applied throughout the Agency.

In these ways and others, A.I.D. is taking steps to improve its own performance. We still have far to go, particularly in finding how we can build into every aspect of our work the spirit of research on development problems. We also have done far too little in a systematic way to help create research competence in the developing countries themselves.

Whatever part of the aid business one examines, wherever one looks in the developing countries, one sees large and challenging opportunities for improving the administration of aid so as to achieve more rapid economic, social and political progress. Our mood should be restless, inquiring, impatient—for there is much to be done.

#### RACIAL VIOLENCE—STATEMENT BY THE MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, America's great cities are, as every Member of this body knows, plagued by many problems, not the least of which are outbreaks of racial violence. These outbreaks cause substantial disruption in human relations, and in many cases worsen the physical condition under which people in congested urban areas must live. It is clear that new lines of communication between people in our cities are as vital to their renewal as expanded freeways and modern buildings. I am pleased to be able, as a Senator from Minnesota, to bring to the attention of the U.S. Senate the statement of the Honorable Arthur Naftalin, mayor of the city of Minne-

apolis, in regard to the recent riots on the North Side of Minneapolis. I am proud of the manner in which this outbreak of violence was handled, and I ask unanimous consent that it be brought to the attention of the U.S. Senate.

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

STATEMENT OF MAYOR ARTHUR NAFTALIN, MAYOR'S REPORT, WWTC RADIO, AUGUST 7, 1966

I welcome this opportunity to discuss last week's disturbance on the North Side. I am eager to clarify certain points and to review the policies we have been following.

I should like to begin by noting that the events of the week have had two quite different reactions from the community.

One response has been that of concern and constructive cooperation. The police department, our settlement houses, our leading business firms, our social welfare agencies have all given truly magnificent support to programs that were quickly undertaken.

Unfortunately, there has been a second reaction that is most disturbing. Many individuals have called or written—in a few cases they have sent telegrams—to express opposition to a program aimed at providing job opportunities for young men and women and boys and girls who have been without jobs for a long period of time.

Many of these expressions have been threatening and unusually personal. It comes as a shock to discover that there are many people who do not understand the need for different programs to meet different types of situations. They represent a blind refusal to examine objectively the causes of the problems before us.

Thus, at one level our community is strong and responsive. It is prepared to face responsibly and humanely the serious questions raised by the disturbance. At another level there is a critical need to awaken the public to social conditions that desperately need attention.

When the disturbance occurred, followed by reports of possible increased violence, we had two choices before us. We could intensify police action, calling in men from other sections of the city, and, in effect, converting the area into an armed camp. Or we could recognize that underlying the disturbance are deep-seated conditions that demand prompt and effective attention.

Several days before the disturbance occurred I spent a full day on the North Side visiting with various groups. I stated at that time that I was greatly concerned about joblessness among North Side young people. Later, after the disturbance had occurred and in meeting with Governor Rolvaag and with a large number of community leaders, this fact was confirmed by group after group of responsible citizens.

We arrived at a strong consensus that what was needed was not vigorous and overwhelming action on the part of the police department but rather prompt and effective and sincere efforts to deal with the causes of the unrest, and this is what we resolved to do.

We decided to begin with the problem of unemployment. We appealed to leading business firms. We said to them, "Please look at these young men and women and let's develop immediately opportunities for them."

This program is under way and now we must turn to housing and we must look at parks and recreation and we must look at the management of police problems involving members of minority groups.

At this point I should emphasize the fact that the decisions we made—for example the decision to maintain as normal police operation as possible—were arrived at co-operatively and with the full participation of the

police department itself. I want to stress this fact, which I think is very important, that, in this process of continuous discussion, we have achieved a most unusual degree of communication—communication between the police department and the non-white community, communication between and among many lawyers of white and Negro leadership. I believe we have for the first time reached in depth many, many people in the Negro community whom we have not previously been in contact with.

I must state this point very clearly: The individuals who want trouble in the community are so few they can be counted on two hands, but these few people will exploit the despair, the restlessness, the feeling of helplessness on the part of other Negroes, seizing leadership from people within the community who sincerely want to develop decent standards of living for all of the people, black and white.

What we have been able to do, as a result of our intensive activity during this week, is to establish excellent communication and to develop the beginnings of a bulwark against irresponsible and destructive leadership. It is making it possible to take constructive steps that are long overdue in developing critically needed programs.

Thursday night I met with North Side businessmen. One of the men made a brief statement to the effect that the problem on the North Side is the product of neglect. I think this is precisely the term that explains the problem. There has been neglect on the part of the city government, neglect on the part of the North Side merchants, neglect on the part of business generally, on the part of labor, and neglect on my part, too. There has been neglect on the part of everyone.

At this critical moment we do not need any recrimination. What we do need is constructive cooperation that will provide, first, proper and adequate police protection, and I can assure the public that we will provide such protection for property and for the life of every individual citizen.

Second, we must provide an effective attack on the conditions that breed social unrest. We are on our way now but we must not let go. We must provide jobs for our young people and we must provide decent homes for everyone. We must make certain that there are decent recreational programs and meaningful opportunities not only for jobs, but also for training and for counseling.

Let me emphasize a further point. There is no intention on my part or on the part of the police department to condone or excuse or forgive any kind of crime. All violations of the law will be punished. Violators will be apprehended and prosecuted with the full force of the law. But while our police operations proceed, we are going to make certain that where there is distress, where there is unemployment, that we will identify every family and every individual in need and we will make every genuine and sincere effort to help that family or individual. This is our proper responsibility.

I say candidly and directly that there will be police protection, that we will apprehend and prosecute violators with full and due process of the law and we will make a full attack upon social conditions in our city that must be corrected.

I have great pride in Minneapolis as I have said many times. I say again tonight, we have within our power to make the City of Minneapolis the model city of America. We can develop a pattern of human relations in which every individual does have equal opportunity in our economy and in our society. We must recognize our potential and we must be prepared to realize it.

There is much that we can learn from this disturbance. It can give us a new awareness and a new alertness.

To those who have called my office complaining that our policies are rewarding van-

dalism, I say, truthfully, plainly and directly, that this is not the case. Our policies recognize the fact that conditions that breed social unrest demand our attention.

We cannot afford to have Negroes fighting whites and whites fighting Negroes. We are all part of one large community and there is room for all of us in our strong and productive economy. We must share in the growth and strength of our society. To do this we must have constructive and tolerant outlooks. That is what we are seeking and that is what we must achieve.

#### "FAMOUS LAST WORDS"

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the tragedy of Vietnam lies in our massive involvement virtually without allies. What began as a little war is now a major conflict. Our involvement in this miserable civil war has continued to grow—more men, more money, and more weapons until today we have almost 500,000 men in Vietnam, Thailand, and with our 7th Fleet off the coast of Vietnam in the Tonkin Gulf and the South China Sea.

For several years we have listened to fatuous predictions painting a rosy but false picture of our position in Vietnam from Defense Secretary McNamara, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, and other administration officials.

In fact, Mr. President, a compilation of their predictions might well fill a small book which would be appropriately entitled "Famous Last Words." Here are just a few statements by top administration officials and military leaders. Mr. President, the American people may judge for themselves the wisdom and validity of those statements.

Here are some "Famous Last Words":

Admiral Radford, 1953—"The French are going to win."

Admiral Radford, 1954—"The French are winning the war in Vietnam. The forces of General Giap are on the run." (Dienbienphu surrendered May 1954—and France then withdrew its army of 240,000).

White House, 1963—"Secretary McNamara and General Taylor reported that the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, though there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U.S. training personnel. By the end of this year, the U.S. program for training Vietnamese should have progressed to the point where 1,000 U.S. military personnel assigned to South Vietnam can be withdrawn."

Assist. Defense Secretary Arthur Sylvester, 1963—"The corner definitely has been turned toward victory in South Vietnam; Defense Department officials are hopeful that the 12,000 man United States force there can be reduced in 1 to 3 years."

Defense Secretary McNamara, 1963—"We are winning the war in Vietnam."

General Westmoreland, Commanding in Vietnam, Oct. 1965—"Now I can say at last we have stopped losing the war."

President Johnson, 1964—"We are not about to send American boys nine or ten thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys should be doing for themselves."

President Johnson, 1964—"There are those who say I ought to go north and drop bombs to wipe out the supply lines . . . But we don't want to get tied down in a land war in Asia."

Secretary of Defense McNamara, Feb. 1964—"I don't believe that we as a nation should assume the primary responsibility for the war in South Vietnam." Again May

1964—"This war must be won by the Vietnamese themselves. If they're to win it they just have to have a stable political structure within which to operate. We can provide advice; we can provide logistical support; we can provide training assistance, but we cannot fight the war itself."

Furthermore, Mr. President, the facts are I have written the parents and widows of 166 Ohio soldiers, airmen, and marines who have been killed in combat in Vietnam since last January first. Also, more than 990 Ohio GI's have been wounded in the same period.

Certainly, these statements and many other statements I could cite indicate that many administration leaders have consistently underestimated the strength and staying power of the Vietnamese who consider that they are fighting for national liberation. These leaders have time and time again been wrong regarding our involvement in the Vietnam war.

#### A RESOLUTION OF THANKS

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, we are all the frequent recipients of resolutions passed by various organizations on a wide variety of topics, usually urging us to support or to oppose proposed legislation. But it is quite rare in my experience to receive an official resolution not asking for something, but rather thanking Government officials for an action which has been accomplished.

I have recently received such a resolution, passed by the Journeymen Barbers' Local No. 247 in Indianapolis, commending the Senate, House of Representatives, Department of Labor, and the President for the beneficial results of the on-the-job training program in the barbering industry, particularly the "up-grading training" to develop hairstyling competence. Reaction to the OJT program in other fields has also been very good, but it has remained for the Indianapolis group to provide a formal resolution of thanks.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of this resolution may appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas Local Union No. 247 of the Journeymen Barbers International Union meeting in regular meeting on July 14, 1966, at Indianapolis, Indiana,

Whereas the members of the Local have realized the need for up-grading training in order to take advantage of the job opportunities of today in the men's hairstyling field. Through the OJT Program the rate of drop-outs from the barbering industry has been discouraged, while at the same time has created many related job opportunities in the barber-Men's Hairstylist field.

Whereas the Government of the United States of America has made this training possible: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this Local Union wishes to thank the Barbers International Union, the United States Department of Labor, Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, and the President of the United States for this training program that was so badly needed. We wish to see it extended for many are yet to receive the training. We pledge ourselves to its support and to utilize every