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interviewed officials at Hanoi. The dissenters do wrong to try to suppress this fact and they are mistaken in resending its disclosure. It is an awkward fact of life.

General Westmoreland did not say, and no other responsible critic has said, that this disagreeable fact makes it disloyal for anyone to criticize the conduct of the war or to dissent from the policy of the Government. It is doubtful if any democratic society could ever achieve, without the sacrifice of all principle, the degree of unanimity needed to divest the North Vietnamese of plausible pretenses on which to maintain the illusion that they can gain a victory by political dissent in the United States. One dissenting voice alone probably would be sufficient to that purpose. How much does an undeniably greater dissent increase the illusion? To whatever degree dissent contributes to it, this is a burden that a free country must cheerfully bear in wartime.

So debate cannot and will not be curbed in the United States, no matter how much it contributes to the hope of the North Vietnamese that they can achieve politically what they cannot accomplish militarily.

While it would be wrong for an American Government to try to diminish dissent by unconstitutional and antidemocratic methods, the Government has every right to try to diminish dissent by making its own contribution to the debate. It is perfectly free and able, within the framework of a free society, to mobilize the sentiment of the country. It should not be reproached for trying to enlarge the area of agreement by increasing the information and knowledge of the public about the war.

And it might be very well advised to seek frequently the advice and consent of Congress to the objectives of policy and to the altering means of achieving those objectives. The time is at hand when Congress, by a new and explicit direction to the Government, stating the ends of American policy and the methods of achieving them, might provide a healthy corrective to the North Vietnamese illusion that they are dealing with Paris and not with Washington.

#### THE PRESIDENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I was both surprised and saddened today to read the Reverend Martin Luther King's comments in Cleveland yesterday regarding who would be the best presidential candidates in 1968 "from a civil rights standpoint."

I was surprised and saddened not because of the names Dr. King mentioned but because of the name he did not mention. I think that to talk about candidates "from a civil rights standpoint" without mentioning the name of Lyndon Johnson calls for an explanation to the American people. For no President in our history has done more for the cause of civil rights than Lyndon Johnson.

When the history of the 1960's is written at some future date, the civil rights struggle will assume a central place in that work. The names of Martin Luther King and Lyndon Johnson will also assume central places in that history.

For if Martin Luther King was the apostle of the civil rights movement, Lyndon Johnson was the leader whose total commitment secured these rights in the laws of this land.

I am sure that the Senate shares my view that President Johnson has led the way toward more civil rights legislation

than any other President since the reconstruction period.

President Johnson's civil rights and equal opportunity record speaks for itself. And friend or foe must admire the moral weight and the far-reaching effects of that record.

I know Dr. King cannot have forgotten that it was Lyndon Johnson who united the people and the Congress behind the Civil Rights Act of 1964 first proposed by the martyred President Kennedy; that it was Lyndon Johnson who worked hand-in-hand with HUBERT HUMPHREY to prevent a filibuster from talking it to death; and that it was Lyndon Johnson whose tireless efforts and skill produced the overwhelming margin by which Congress approved this historic act—the most comprehensive civil rights law since the adoption of the constitutional amendments which freed the slaves and gave them the right to vote and full protection of due process of law.

I am sure Dr. King has not forgotten that Lyndon Johnson was the first President to obtain a voting rights law with teeth in it, and which has already resulted in the registration of hundreds of thousands of minority voters throughout the country. Is there any doubt that this effort took deep moral courage and commitment, and great strength to be successful?

And I am sure Dr. King has not forgotten that President Johnson pledged to go all the way in civil rights when he proposed the comprehensive Civil Rights Act of 1966 to prohibit discrimination across the board in housing, on juries, and in the exercise of the very basic right to protest.

Is this not the program of a great civil rights President?

And while it was President John F. Kennedy who proposed the beginnings of the most extensive equal opportunity programs in American history for the poor and the victims of discrimination and deprivation—it was Lyndon Johnson who saw them through into law and concrete action.

It was Lyndon Johnson who literally emancipated the minds of disadvantaged schoolchildren with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; it was Lyndon Johnson who made the Economic Opportunity Act a total crusade against the cycle of poverty and dependency for millions of citizens too long kept out of American life because of their color; it was Lyndon Johnson who said that the cities of our Nation are the vital centers of life and commerce and growth and that they must be helped and strengthened with Federal assistance from every department of the Government; and it was Lyndon Johnson who made the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Project Headstart and Project Upward Bound realities.

In short, Lyndon Johnson has, in the past three and a half years, built perhaps the greatest equal rights record of any President in American history—a record which cannot be denied.

To omit his name when talking about presidential candidates "from a civil rights standpoint" is an injustice.

And as one who has admired and been deeply moved by Martin Luther King, as one who has supported the efforts of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and as the chief Senate sponsor of President Johnson's Fair Housing Act of 1967, I feel compelled to set the record straight and express my sadness that so great and eloquent a leader would, for whatever reason, cloud the shining record of accomplishment and commitment President Johnson has achieved in the struggle for civil rights and equal opportunity.

#### FEDERAL EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES PRACTICE IN FORT WORTH, TEX.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I recently received a most encouraging report from the director of the Dallas region of the Civil Service Commission, Mr. Louis S. Lyon, concerning a review of equal employment opportunities practices in the various employing agencies of the Federal Government in Fort Worth. The survey was made last February.

Mr. Lyon reported that minority group employment in Fort Worth has increased over the past 3 years by 1.9 percent, from 7.1 to 9 percent. Today there are a total of 646 minority group employees out of a total of 7,104 Federal workers in Fort Worth.

During the same period, in which minority group employment increased nearly 2 percent, the overall Federal employment in the Fort Worth area declined by about 10 percent, due principally to the closing of the Fort Worth Army Depot.

What is especially enlightening is that minority group employees have shown gains in holding professional, administrative, and supervisory positions. According to Mr. Lyon, increasing emphasis will be given to encouraging and motivating youths and adults to pursue higher education and advanced training.

In a letter to me, the director advised me that overall community conditions in Fort Worth were found to be favorable. It was an analysis I was quite proud to hear.

Mr. President, our system based upon individual merit has done more than any other to eradicate color-consciousness.

#### RATIFICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS WOULD BE OF GREAT VALUE TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY—LXI

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Slavery, which I have been urging during every session of the 90th Congress, would be of great value to the United States in the conduct of this Nation's foreign policy.

U.S. ratification would be of immediate advantage in putting our Nation squarely on record on four vital issues of human dignity.

U.S. ratification would rob unfriendly nations of a major propaganda device which our failure to ratify has provided them.