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WOULD YOU SIGN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE?

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, recently the students in a class of American Government and politics at the University of Maryland, European division, conducted a most revealing survey. They decided to circulate a portion of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence among a cross section of Americans at an Air Force base in Germany. This survey was circulated to see how many of our country's citizens would actually recognize their own Declaration of Independence. Also, these students wished to know how many of the individuals interviewed would support the document and if necessary, sign it as evidence of their convictions. I am confident that the results of this survey will be a matter of keen interest and deep concern to my colleagues. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the information concerning this survey and its results be printed in the RECORD.

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

PORTION OF THE PREAMBLE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudent, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security.

I. Direct totals:

a. Total number interviewed.....	252
b. Total number who signed the document	68
c. Total number who would not sign the document.....	148
d. Total number of those who agreed with the document, but would not sign it.....	36
e. Total number of those who realized exactly what the document was	41

II. Direct percentages in relation to part I:	
a. Percentage of base population interviewed	11
b. Percentage of those who would sign the document.....	27
c. total percentage of those who would not sign the document	73
1. Percentage of those who agreed with the document, but would not sign it.....	14
2. Percentage of those who absolutely would not sign the document....	59
d. Percentage of those who realized what the document really was.....	16

STATEMENTS MADE BY INDIVIDUALS WHO WOULD NOT SIGN THE SURVEY DOCUMENT

(These are just some of the statements that were given, but they are a good sample of many responses received.)

1. Some called it a lot of trash.
2. Many felt that the document is advocating a coup d'etat.
3. Many did not believe in the principles stated in the document.
4. Some felt that the document is very vague and left a lot to be desired.
5. Many felt that it was a direct rebuttal of the Government.
6. One teacher at a local junior high school, after reading it stated: "Do you really believe in this document?" When the man responded with a definite YES, the teacher shouted: "You believe in what you want to you communist."
7. Many would not sign the document for fear of repercussion.
8. Some would not sign the document because it failed to clarify how the government would be replaced, and had there been any mention of elections they would have signed it.
9. Four individuals accused the surveyor (a Negro) of trying to develop his own black state.
10. This document is "advocating the abolishing of our government and the possible establishing of a dictatorship."
11. One individual refused to sign the document and called it a very radical document, he also thought it was poorly written.
12. A few felt that it was an outdated document, and left too much for interpretation.
13. An individual felt it was not necessary to reaffirm the principles to which he has dedicated his life to and had sworn to uphold when he took the Oath of Allegiance.
14. One man said the document was "basically stupid and a lot of trash." Also, this same individual felt people should not have the right to abolish the government.
15. Some individuals would not sign it because they wanted to know what it would be used for.
16. Another individual stated: "Who wasted an afternoon writing this?"
17. Another man felt that the government shouldn't be changed by the "little people".
18. Too much "legal talk".
19. Doesn't give enough to the majority class.
20. One individual left the room and refused to even talk about the document again.
21. One individual did not like the word prudence in the document.
22. Many thought this document to be too radical.
23. Another individual thought the document was "pretty", but not workable.
24. One gentleman asked if the document had anything to do with the "Communist Party of America".
25. One individual said that "it sounds like that long haired kid stuff".

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Survey assistants: David S. Haynes, Joseph Kupferschmidt, Robert E. Lock, Tony Tolbert.

The survey was conducted during the period of February 13, 1969 through March 10, 1969.

Faculty advisor: Dr. Serge M. Shewchuk, University of Maryland, European Division.

For questions concerning this survey please contact David S. Haynes, Box 2299, APO New York 09130.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I am one of a number of Senators who have been watching with interest, and with concern, the extent to which the Nixon administration intends to implement civil rights laws and regulations. In particular, I have been watching, and commenting upon, the inadequate and inconsistent way in which the Nixon administration has handled its responsibilities in the areas of school desegregation and contract compliance.

An editorial in Sunday's Washington Post entitled "The President and Civil Rights Law" was addressed to this issue. It characterized the administration's performance in implementing civil rights law as "a directionless one, marked by rude, unsettling swings back and forth between upholding the law and temporizing it." The editorial spelled out in very clear language the disastrous results the administration can expect if it continues its "policy of ambiguity" in this vital area.

This editorial deserves the attention of all Americans dedicated to the goals of equal justice and equal opportunity and I ask unanimous consent that it appear at this point in my remarks.

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

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 13, 1969]

THE PRESIDENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

"The laws have caught up with our conscience," President Nixon said in his inaugural address. "What remains is to give life to what is in the law: to ensure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man." Giving "life to what is in the law"—the formulation was an excellent one, clear and to the point. But Administration execution of the President's inaugural dictum has been something else again, an uneven performance and seemingly a directionless one, marked by rude, unsettling swings back and forth between upholding the law and temporizing about it.

To the extent that this can be called a policy, it is a policy of ambiguity, one which can only produce losers and not just among the black Americans whose rights and opportunities are at stake. For it is hard to see how the Administration can bring anything but trouble to itself—discontent and disappointment on all sides—by failing to give out a clear and unambiguous signal in this matter.

The latest in the series of troubling episodes concerns the resignation of Clifford L. Alexander Jr. as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Mr. Alexander, a Negro and a Democratic Administration appointee, pointed out the implications that must be drawn from the fact that the White House had announced its in-

tion to replace him the day after he had been the object of a vicious attack by Senator Dirksen for his efforts to enforce Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, Senator Dirksen having also suggested that he would talk to the right person in the Administration and see to it that the likes of Mr. Alexander would be fired. Mr. Alexander, in his resignation remarks, also charged the Administration with having omitted from its goals the vigorous enforcement of the "laws on employment discrimination."

President Nixon, it should be noted, had no obligation to retain Mr. Alexander in the chairman's post. But to have so entirely failed to support Mr. Alexander at a moment when he was under this kind of attack is another matter. Like so many other aspects of the Administration's mixed performance in this field, the best construction one can put on it is that nothing more sinister than inadvertence and insensitivity underlay it. That was the best that could have been said, for instance, of the Defense Department's cavalier approach to the letting of contracts to three Southern firms which were out of compliance with civil rights standards. That situation has now been in large measure retrieved, but it shook confidence sufficiently to have prompted a lawsuit on the part of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund which will seek to have the contracts revoked.

The one place where there has been evidence of firmness is at HEW where Secretary Finch has moved ahead on fund cut-offs from Southern school districts that disregard the provisions of the law and has made some irreproachable appointments to the offices charged with carrying out civil rights policy. But even at HEW, there has been a slow infusion of appointees (with or without the Secretary's unequivocal blessing is not clear) whose presence suggests that the Administration is trying to have it both ways and to please its unpleasable constituents in the South.

The point is that the Administration cannot afford an inadvertent or insensitive approach to these questions—much less an artfully misleading one. President Nixon still has much to do to gain the confidence of those citizens who will be most profoundly affected by any undermining of the laws and regulations on the books. Moreover, lacking as he does in present circumstances the funds to affirm his commitment to their well-being by moving ahead with the substantive domestic programs legislated in the past several years, he has a special obligation to affirm that commitment by way of uncompromised and unequivocal support of the laws that define and protect their rights.

Finally, there is the plain fact that by playing it both ways or even suggesting the possibility of a weakness of resolve, Mr. Nixon can only excite hopes he will ultimately be unable to fulfill on the part of those communities, corporations and public institutions that are still resisting implementation of our civil rights laws.

It will be tough politics, but good politics, when the Administration decides that its business is precisely what the President said: giving life to what is in the law.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, a news analysis in this morning's Washington Post amplified and reinforced the reasoning in yesterday's editorial. It described in detail the inconsistent and uncoordinated manner in which the Nixon administration has approached the implementation of civil rights laws. This news analysis calls the central themes of the Nixon administration's civil rights activities a "lack of coordination and a tendency to react and improvise rather than initiate action." After reviewing a series of conflicting and un-

coordinated administration actions, the article concludes that "beneath these appearances of confusion and lack of direction, there is a real confusion and lack of direction."

I ask unanimous consent to insert the article entitled "Nixon Civil Rights Policies Appear Mired in Confusion" at this point in my remarks.

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

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 14, 1969]
NIXON CIVIL RIGHTS POLICIES APPEAR Mired
IN CONFUSION

(By John P. MacKenzie)

Less than three months after taking office, the Nixon Administration appears to have as many civil rights policies as there are agencies with civil rights duties.

So far, it's been a record of activism and equivocation of creative effort and indifference, of talk and conduct that both excites and worries Negro leaders. The only central themes have been lack of coordination and a tendency to react and improvise rather than initiate action.

On the same day that the Justice Department's civil rights chief announces a bold new move to protect Negroes from real estate "blockbusting," the Secretary of Transportation is roasted on Capitol Hill for easing up on equal employment demands for highway builders.

On the same day that the Justice Department sues a textile mill for job and company housing bias, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund is taking the Pentagon to court for letting three prime textile contractors off the hook over their hiring, promoting and company housing practices.

In one 24-hour span, President Nixon vows publicly that the executive branch shall "lead the way as an equal opportunity employer"—and his press secretary states that the Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, freshly rebuked by Senate Republican leader Everett Dirksen for "harassing" employers, will be replaced.

Beneath these appearances of confusion and lack of direction, there is real confusion and lack of direction—although the young Administration's failure to attempt high-level across-the-board civil rights enforcement may not be entirely an accident.

Assistant Attorney General Jerris Leonard for example, did not know in advance that the Defense Department was accepting verbal equal employment assurances from the textile firms rather than the written promises required by a 1965 executive order.

Such a snafu probably would not have happened under President Johnson who, besides making his stand on civil rights very clear, designated Attorney General Ramsey Clark as his man, Government-wide, to ensure enforcement of Federal law barring financial aid to areas plagued by discrimination.

Nobody has stepped forward to claim the laurels of Mr. Civil Rights for the Nixon Administration, partly perhaps because Attorney General John N. Mitchell has indicated he wants to make the line between Justice and, say, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, firmer rather than fuzzier where they have overlapping jurisdiction such as in school desegregation.

The total effect of each department going its own way, is not one of neutrality toward civil rights. The Pentagon's failure to submit its contracting policy to scrutiny elsewhere in Government amounts to a decision to avoid the kind of review that almost certainly would build pressures for a tough Defense Department policy.

Besides making it easier to temporize, such lack of necessary embarrassment. The Pentagon made its textile announcement within

hours of President Nixon's promise to NAACP Executive Secretary Roy N. Wilkins to investigate complaints on the subject—a bureaucratic goof that no cynic could have stage-managed.

Leonard, 39-year-old former Wisconsin state legislator, has overcome an initial setback about his membership in a segregated Milwaukee club to earn a reputation among many civil rights workers for a sincere desire to enforce Federal law vigorously.

He stepped in quickly to argue in the Supreme Court on the side of Negroes who tried to desegregate a recreation area near Little Rock, Ark. When he filed a friend-of-the-court brief in a Chicago "blockbusting" case, lawyers for Negroes there credited him with a creative legal argument and they were grateful to have the prestige of the United States Government thrown in as well.

Leonard is regarded by some subordinates as easily educated in the intricacies of civil rights enforcement, but he is being watched to see whether he can capture the appropriations needed to unfreeze the current travel restrictions that keep many bias fighters chairborne.

At HEW, Secretary Robert H. Finch weathered an initial period of unpreparedness and uncertainty to begin a pattern of toughness over school desegregation-Federal aid guidelines.

But Finch's appointment of Robert C. Mardian, who has urged a quiet cutback in Federal fund cutoffs, as general counsel, counterbalanced his naming of Leon A. Panetta, a liberal, to do the actual enforcing, has created a new mix of emotions and expectations. So have Finch's own conflicting public statements on civil rights issues.

No civil rights legislative program has emerged, but it will be surprising if the White House backs a Johnson Administration proposal for enforcement powers for the Employment Commission, since Dirksen has upbraided former chairman Clifford A. Alexander Jr. for his use of its existing powers.

The Administration's failure to coordinate with Dirksen plus an ill-timed White House statement the next day saying Alexander would be replaced as chairman combined for the maximum Administration embarrassment. Knowing that Alexander, a Democrat, could become difficult to handle politically, the Administration nonetheless managed to let Alexander resign as chairman (while remaining on the commission) in a righteous huff rather than quietly.

The signs are scant that segregationist Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) wields great influence on civil rights matters. But signs are plentiful that the Nixon Administration will continue for some time to move in several directions at once on civil rights.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, our country cannot tolerate confusion and inconsistency in the implementation of civil rights laws and regulations. The time has come for the Nixon administration to publicly clarify its intent to enforce the law in civil rights matters, and to act unequivocally and consistently to carry out that intent.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate today, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to and (at 3 o'clock and 45 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Tuesday, April 15, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.