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Committee. But if not, the bill ought to go back to the Committee on the Judiciary when it has completed its course in the Committee on Commerce.

LET US SEARCH FOR PEACE

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to speak for an additional 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, it was truly said by a very great American in the search for peace, "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate."

Since 1954, we have been involved against our will in South Vietnam. Three Presidents—Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson—have properly determined that were the Communists to take over southeast Asia and drive us out of South Vietnam, they would then be in a position to take over the Philippines, South Korea, and in time the outer western defense of the free world might well be Australia and Hawaii.

Mr. President, we sorrow over the death of American soldiers on this frontier of freedom in South Vietnam. We should and do take pride in the great retaliatory blows which have made it perfectly clear to the Communist dictators of Red China and the Soviet Union that Americans will never quit under fire, retreat from southeast Asia, or submit to Communist aggression.

We will continue to use our tremendous power to aid in repelling Communist aggressors in South Vietnam. Of course, we must not and we shall not be bogged down in a land war on the Asiatic mainland. We know that our planes can strike by air from our carriers and floating bases which are invulnerable to Communist retaliation. We know we are superior in power on land and sea and in the air to all nations in the world combined.

However, history over 2,000 years teaches that we must not and we need not send in land forces—it would seem unthinkable to do so—against the huge masses of the Soviet Union and Red China, where life is valued so cheaply, for they could overwhelm us on land as over the centuries they have swallowed up and overwhelmed other opponents.

Ours is, we are proud to say, and must continue to be in this grim period of international anarchy, a nation vastly superior in missile power in the air, on the sea, and under the sea. Even though the Communist aggression of Red China and the Soviet Union were to be combined, they could not successfully contend against us in the air, on the sea, or under the sea.

The Communist dictators are now fully aware of our determination to fulfill our commitments to South Vietnam. It would be no sign of weakness to negotiate toward a peaceful solution of that conflict.

It seems to me that now is the time to proclaim to the world that the United States is ready to meet at Geneva over the conference table with representatives of China and North Vietnam and our

allies of the free world to see if we cannot negotiate a settlement which would leave South Vietnam a free nation clear of aggressors from the north.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Let us remember that Austria was neutralized by agreement of the heads of state of the free world and the Soviet Union, and Austria has remained absolutely neutral.

Laos was neutralized by agreement of the Soviet Union and of the free world, and open warfare has been avoided in that area.

The limited nuclear test ban treaty, which was ratified by the Senate by an overwhelming vote, has not been violated by the Communists.

I point to these things because we know that many agreements the Communists have made have been violated by them, but those which I have mentioned have not. Therefore, let us try to secure commitments from the Communists of North Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and Red China to leave their neighbors in South Vietnam alone. Then we would agree to withdraw our forces, and to the United Nations could be reposed the task of maintaining the peace in southeast Asia.

However, if such an agreement cannot be arrived at, all Americans are united behind the policy of the administration to give a mighty blow to the Communist aggressors from the north for every blow suffered from them in South Vietnam. We shall continue that policy until we destroy their installations and drive back the Communist infiltrators and their armies, unless they agree to sit down at the conference table and try to work out the problems involved as civilized nations should work out such problems.

THE PRESIDENT'S SUCCESSFUL PROGRAM FOR THE WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, if this Nation is to fulfill its destiny, it must not only be strong and free, but all of its people must be in a position to participate in that freedom. A man without a job, a child without an opportunity, a woman shackled to poverty—these are people who cannot fully participate in this Nation's freedom.

The President's program is clearly designed to eliminate these pockets of want from our national affluence.

It is not an easy job. But it is a start. It took courage and determination to take the first step. Now we have taken that step. This Nation is engaged in a war on poverty.

The first signs are encouraging, but we must be prepared for frustrations and failures, for disappointments and doubts. The program the President outlines is realistic. It appreciates the problems, but does not duck from the responsibilities.

If we do no more in our generation than break the cycle of poverty—insuring

that the children of poverty do not become the fathers of poverty—our grandchildren will know that we have lived in historic times.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the country has already shown that it approves of our action of last year in passing the Economic Opportunity Act. Enthusiastic as I was about the act, I never thought the response would be so overwhelming. Hundreds of communities have already started organizing themselves for their participation in the war on poverty. More than 80 percent of all cities with a population of over 50,000 have taken the necessary steps for their participation.

There are other ways, too, for measuring the great response to the Economic Opportunity Act; but I am particularly pleased that we have obtained this degree of local community participation. It demonstrates that there can, in fact, be a great partnership between the Federal Government and the local governments of America in furthering a great national objective. We must not let these communities down. This Congress must extend and expand the program in order to meet the needs of all of our communities.

While the economic opportunity program has barely begun, it is already bringing the poor into the planning and operation of local programs in a way that is unknown in any other government programs. Under programs approved to date, thousands of poor people will be working in nonprofessional jobs, on projects in their own communities and neighborhoods. Representatives of the poor and of minority groups are active participants on the community-wide boards and committees directing the program. Neighborhood organizations are being extensively used. This, in my opinion, is probably the single most important aspect of the brave beginning made thus far in the war on poverty.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I wish to read to my distinguished colleagues an excerpt from a letter:

For many years my country, the United States of America, has been doing things for me. I now want to do something for my country.

This letter was written by a 66-year-old retired woodworker who wants to enlist in the war on poverty. He wrote it to VISTA, our new domestic version of the Peace Corps.

Volunteers in Service to America has received more than 8,000 applications from young and older Americans who want to contribute their talents and energy to this noble domestic effort. More than 300 communities have asked for volunteers. The requests for individual volunteers total 2,500.

The first men and women are already serving on the front lines of the war on poverty. They graduated last week from the training course at Camp New Hope, N.C. Others will graduate next week; and in the months ahead still others, in ever larger numbers will begin training.

VISTA—the place where any American 18 years of age or older can make a personal contribution—is showing that our citizens are as committed to the war on poverty as is their Government.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the poverty program is now only 4 months old—and over 500 projects totaling \$300 million have been approved. The President's war on poverty is already becoming every American's war on poverty. Community programs have been initiated through untold hours of uncompensated work by community leaders and by thousands of ordinary Americans. The advertising industry alone has contributed over \$6 million in time to carry the story to the country. Young people are volunteering for VISTA assignments for local program work. College students are tutoring youngsters in deprived areas. The war on poverty has tapped the wide vein of idealism in America—and Americans are responding in tens of thousands.

Nearly every major business corporation in America is involved in fighting the war on poverty. Over 50 have submitted plans to operate Job Corps camps. The executives of hundreds of businesses are already serving on local community action committees, with many of them serving as chairmen. Many businesses have lent the services of their top executives to special or long-range assignments in the program. Several retired business executives have been accepted by the VISTA volunteers and a number are working with the Small Business Administration by helping the poor start and operate businesses which increase employment. All major networks, billboard companies, newspaper and magazine publishers have donated time and space totaling \$6 million for promotion programs on the war on poverty.

The beginning of the war on poverty has ended. There is so much work to be done.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, last week the American Bar Association, in its annual convention in New Orleans, took cognizance of the groundbreaking efforts of the war on poverty in providing legal services to the poor. The legal profession and the public are rapidly coming to the awareness that the protection of the law has often been effectively denied the poor. In many communities the provision of legal services to the poor are in being or are planned as part of community antipoverty campaigns. Through these services the poor can learn of their rights and of ways the law can protect them from the exploration which contributes to the cycle of poverty. These services, run in cooperation with local bar groups, promise to bring justice to people who have never known the law except as an oppressor. This cooperation between the bar and other elements in the community working to eradicate poverty is another example of the interest and concern which the war on poverty has generated in all sectors of American society.

THE CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST
POVERTY—ADDRESS BY THE VICE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964 signaled a new attitude toward poverty; the recognition

that it is often self-perpetuating, and the determination to break the cycle by an all-out attack on its root causes.

But law is futile unless it wins the acceptance, the respect, and the support of the people. We have encouraging evidence that the Economic Opportunity Act is enlisting the most positive and affirmative response from persons eager to transform its directives into action and its ideals into reality.

On Wednesday, February 10, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY addressed such a gathering, the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. This group is composed of leaders of many different types of national organizations, including civic, business, women's and labor groups. It testifies to the heartening support of the program by all segments of our communities.

Charged with coordinating Federal programs in this area, the Vice President not only brings to this task an intimate acquaintance with the legislation and with the problems of poverty, but he also sets an example by his spirited commitment. I ask unanimous consent that the Vice President's speech be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY TO THE CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY, FEBRUARY 10, 1965

In the year 1620, John Winthrop, later to be the first Governor of Massachusetts, assembled the Pilgrims on the deck of the *Mayflower* and told them: "We must consider that we shall be as a city set upon a hill and the eyes of all people will be upon us."

The Pilgrims were in the middle of the Atlantic when John Winthrop told them of their special place in history. Today, the eyes of all people are still upon us—but our city is not yet complete.

Like the Pilgrims, we are still in mid-passage. We cannot continue our journey—we cannot complete our city—until we achieve the proudest goal to which any nation has yet aspired: the goal of equal opportunity for all Americans. The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was a firm and determined step toward that goal—toward the creation of that city on the hill.

I welcome you today as you come together to offer the Nation your time, your talents, and your matchless experience. We shall surely need them as—together—we take the next step in our journey: the eradication of poverty in all its forms.

The annals of the poor are neither short nor simple in midcentury America—if, indeed, they ever were. An understanding of the dimensions of the problem we face requires not merely compassion but comprehension—comprehension of the incomprehensible.

To those persons grown accustomed to the face of a smiling America, the facts of poverty are baffling. To understand them requires a realization that:

In the midst of the richest nation in all of history, 35 million Americans, almost one-fifth of the Nation, are poor by generally accepted standards;

The average income of the almost 10 million American families in poverty is less than \$1,800 a year.

This, then, is the far side of our paradise. Until recently, the cruelest aspect of poverty in America seemed to be its sheer hopelessness. For many persons, the future appeared no brighter than the past—in this

land of milk and honey, some people appeared destined to taste only bitter dregs.

It has been demonstrated, for example, that a child born in poverty in an American city is likely to become a slow learner, an illiterate, a reject, a delinquent, and a criminal—he is likely to live miserably, die young, and leave no legacy but offspring fated to meet the same ignominious destiny.

It is both incredible and intolerable that in 40 percent of the families receiving aid for families with dependent children either the father or the mother were themselves raised in families which had also received public assistance.

We must break the cycle of poverty. We must free millions of Americans from the bondage of that tragic equation which often decrees that poor shall beget poor and ignorance shall beget misery. And this is the goal of the war on poverty.

This is a war to which we are unconditionally committed. But we have not finally, irrevocably selected our strategy and tactics. The battles are to be fought on largely uncharted terrain—where armies have never clashed.

You know, of course, some of the weapons we have already chosen. You know some of the battles we are now beginning to wage. You know, for example, that the President has called for a doubling of the present program levels for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

You know of the community action programs—by July 1965 we will have funded about 400 local antipoverty plans and programs, and the 1966 budget will support 600 such programs.

You know of the Job Corps—by July we will be well along toward training more than 25,000 youths, and by 1966 the Corps will have established more than 100 urban and rural residential centers for young men and women, to give them basic education, skilled training, and sound working experience.

You know of the Neighborhood Youth Corps—by July we will have enrolled more than 175,000 young men and women, and the 1966 budget will provide work opportunities and training for 300,000 youths.

You know of VISTA—the Volunteers in Service to America—more than 5,000 volunteers will be molded into a domestic Peace Corps.

You know of the small business programs which by July will have disbursed up to \$5 million to very small firms, placing disadvantaged entrepreneurs back on their feet or putting them in business for the first time.

You know of the work-study programs, the adult basic education programs, and all those other weapons in the arsenal which Sargent Shriver and his dedicated associates are so carefully and conscientiously administering.

But you also understand that the programs contained in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 cannot provide the total answer. They represent only several divisions in the army that must be recruited to achieve total victory in this war.

The President has noted that "poverty has many roots but the tap root is ignorance." Today, two-thirds of the families headed by these with less than a grammar school education live in poverty. Our educational program, therefore, must be an integral part of a nationwide attack on the causes and effects of poverty.

The President's proposal for medical care for the aged is inseparably tied to the war on poverty. The median income of families headed by persons over 65 years of age is less than \$3,000. In the case of unattached elderly people, the income is only a little more than \$1,000 a year. And this age group is increasing almost twice as fast as it was 10 years ago.