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John Hanson Highway about half a mile east of Kenilworth Avenue. A new larger building is in the planning stage.

Company 22 requires its members to attend a basic 60-hour fire fighting course at the University of Maryland and a 12-hour Red Cross first aid course. Officers are elected by the members for a one-year term.

Prince Georges volunteer system is supported primarily by a portion of the county tax and allocations from the municipalities, the volunteers themselves turning to various activities, such as dances, to bolster the kitty. In July of 1966, the county began paying the salaries of two professionals in each department—an expense some departments had been paying themselves. In July of this year, a further expansion of full-time men was authorized by the county, with some of the companies now having up to five professionals.

"We're trying to perpetuate the volunteer system in Prince Georges," says Walter Lanier, Tuxedo-Cheverly ex-chief. "We've shown that we can give good service and we work hard to improve."

Most of the men in Company 22 became volunteers while in their teens and many had relatives or friends on the department. Mike Goucher followed his younger brother Tom; Tom says laconically that he "got a notion to join." Captain Jack Jarboe had several friends in high school in the company and he joined before becoming a District policeman, a job he recently left to become a professional fireman in College Park. His younger brother, Dan, who just graduated from St. John's College High School, now is also on the department. Philip Clements had two sons in Company 22 before he joined. Tom Daly, Sgt. Al Watts and Lanier all had brothers or fathers who were volunteers. Ed Chaney lived in the neighborhood and "just wandered in one day."

Motivation, of course, is an individual equation. One end of the spectrum is illustrated by a member of Company 22: "It's quite a feeling to see a man on the street that you helped breathe life back into."

There is within the department a conspicuous comradeship and pride that translates itself into acceptance by the group. And in a sprawling metropolitan area where community sashes into community in an amorphous blur, being a volunteer fireman can bring a certain status within one's community. Excitement and challenge also offer an appeal increasingly shadowed in an institutionalized middle-class society.

Chief Colgan, taciturn and competent, reduces it to basics: "There's a great feeling of accomplishment in knowing that I have done what I can to help save a life."

Alongside the stationhouse ramp is a stone marker. In front of it is a small shrub-bordered plot of grass. Enclosed in glass in the monument is a fireman's helmet and a plaque honoring an 18-year-old volunteer: "Dedicated to Dennis Michael Boswell who died of injuries received while fighting a fire at 64th Street and Sheriff Road, Cedar Heights, Maryland, on November 23, 1963—His 1,409th Alarm."

AMERICA'S URBAN CRISIS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the summer of 1967 will be recorded as one of the most violent in the history of this Nation. This was a summer when racial unrest reached the point where violence was so common that it was news when it was quiet in our cities. Bloodshed, looting, burning, and destruction were all too prevalent as one segment of the community took to the street with its grievances.

Out of this dismal picture came one piece of heartening news, the creation of the Urban Coalition. This organization of some of the most prominent

people and organizations in the country may mark the turning point in our programs for the cities. Here, for the first time, we have an effective voice representing the first political philosophies in geographical regions; here we have a voice that is intent on shaping governmental programs for the poor.

One of the leading groups in the Coalition has been the AFL-CIO. The labor movement has been fighting for programs for the poor for many years and much of our legislation in this field is due to the efforts of labor. Recently, the executive council of the AFL-CIO issued a statement entitled "America's Urban Crisis," in which a program for action is detailed.

This program recognizes that riots are not caused by one item, not instigated by outside rabblers, but caused by the squalor and deprivation found in the ghettos. Thus, this program calls for an attack on the ghetto and all those things associated with it. It calls for new jobs, better housing, work experience programs, quality education, and a restructuring of the welfare system. This is one of the best statements of the needs of America that has been presented.

Mr. President, this program is so valuable that I suggest that each one of us should read it and use it as a reference for action. I ask unanimous consent that the statement and a background paper be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S URBAN CRISIS

(Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, New York, N.Y., September 12, 1967)

America's urban crisis is rooted in the radical social and economic changes of the past quarter of a century, as well as in the tragic history of Negro slavery, segregation and discrimination.

The population of America's metropolitan areas has skyrocketed, with an increased birth-rate and the migration of millions of people from the farms and rural areas. While middle-income families have been moving to the suburbs, the cities are being left with a minority of wealthy people and large numbers of the poor, the deprived, the new migrants.

At the same time, the spread of automation has reduced job opportunities for uneducated, unskilled workers and speeded up the shift of industrial location from cities to suburbs and outlying areas. The need for adequate housing, community facilities and services has soared, while the tax-base of the cities has narrowed. And despite the long overdue adoption of federal Civil Rights legislation, discriminatory practices are still a widespread reality, although rapidly declining under the pressure of government, churches, trade unions and other private institutions.

Instant adjustments and overnight solutions to this complex of problems are impossible. Gimmicks and slogans can achieve headlines, but hardly any positive results.

Yet complacency can lead to disaster. Rapid forward strides are essential to the preservation of a free and democratic society.

Immediate measures are needed to provide jobs, decent housing and adequate community facilities. Planned programs over the next decade or two are required to revitalize our metropolitan areas as centers of American civilization.

The Economic Policy Committee of the AFL-CIO has given careful and thoughtful

consideration to both immediate and long-term programs which will meet the needs of America's urban areas. The Committee's report to this Executive Council, which is hereby made part of this Council statement, contains solid recommendations which the AFL-CIO Executive Council now adopts as its program for meeting the urban crisis. Specifically, the AFL-CIO calls for:

1. One million public service jobs for persons now unemployed or seriously underemployed. To provide this necessary means of helping people lift themselves out of poverty and deprivation, Congress must immediately adopt a \$4 billion program to fund federal, state and local government agencies and non-profit organizations, along the lines of the O'Hara bill. We also consider the Clark bill a step in the right direction.

2. Two and a half million new housing units each year including:

A. Public housing through new and rehabilitated low-rent homes for the 20 percent of city families whose incomes are below requirements for a minimum decent standard of living. New public housing construction, now at a 30,000-to-40,000 annual level, should be immediately increased to 200,000 to 300,000 for each of the next two years and 500,000 a year thereafter. Adequate appropriations for the rent supplement program are a necessity.

B. Housing for lower middle-income families, not eligible for public housing and unable to afford decent dwellings in the standard, privately financed housing market. Federally subsidized interest rate loans and a federal subsidy for the partial abatement of local taxes on such properties are needed to increase construction of such housing by cooperatives, non-profit and limited dividend corporations. In addition, federal legislation should make it possible for such groups to acquire existing properties, with government insurance of long-term and low-interest loans.

C. Moderate-income housing, already operating with government-insured mortgages, stepped up through measures to increase involvement of pension funds, college endowment funds and private trusts.

D. Open housing, in suburbs as well as in cities, an essential part of a meaningful effort to rebuild our metropolitan areas.

E. Urban renewal no longer is confined to commercial and expensive high-rise construction. The focus instead must be on homes in balanced neighborhoods, with families displaced by slum clearance given assistance in finding decent dwellings at rents they can afford.

F. Model Cities program, with adequate appropriations.

3. Mass transit, improved and expanded, is an urgent need in all metropolitan areas.

4. Accelerated construction of public facilities, such as water supplies, sewage systems, mass transit, schools, hospitals, daycare centers, playgrounds, libraries, museums, clean air and water, are essential to rebuild America's metropolitan areas. For this, we urge Congress to adopt at least a \$2 billion a year grant-in-aid program to state and local governments in addition to categorical grants-in-aid.

5. A substantially expanded Neighborhood Youth Corps program to help youngsters remain in school and to provide work and training for those who have dropped out of school.

6. The opportunity for quality education can be met only by realizing the need to close the educational gap between the privileged and underprivileged school children of our nation, by special incentives to teachers in slum areas, federal subsidy of the More Effective School type program, full use of school buildings for job-training, adult education, and community centers. In addition, vocational training must be realistically geared to the modern job market.

7. Manpower training must be linked with

job placement and training allowances must be increased so that trainees can afford to remain in the program.

8. Public welfare assistance must be restructured, with the program based on need alone, a federal minimum standard of payments and adequate federal funds should be provided, state work-incentive programs should enable welfare recipients to retain a substantial amount of the dollars they earn without penalty, and demeaning investigations of applicants should be eliminated, on the principle that comprehensive social services are a matter of right to those in need.

9. Relief of rural poverty, concentrated in the southern and southwestern states primarily, by federal legislation to provide farm workers with unemployment compensation and according to them the same right other workers have under the National Labor Relations Act to organize unions and bargain collectively; by adequate federal funds to assist low and moderate-income rural families to buy or rehabilitate housing; continuation and strengthening of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the Education Act of 1965 in rural areas; federal aid in establishment of adequate public facilities, such as highways, hospitals, schools, vocational and technical training institutions; extension of the Agriculture Department recreational and tourist activities in rural areas, and provision of full and fair employment opportunities for Negroes, Mexican-Americans and other minorities to work in the industries of rural areas and in state and local governments.

10. Economic planning, under federal leadership, and including each state and metropolitan area, should include the development, coordination and maintenance of an inventory of needs for housing, public facilities and services, to facilitate application of the nation's resources to meet the needs of a rapidly growing urban population, while also providing a sound foundation for a continually increasing private economy.

America's urban crisis did not come upon this nation without warning. It has been coming for a long time and the government has not been alert to its responsibilities.

The program we have offered will not achieve success overnight. By its very nature it is a step-by-step proposal for both immediate action and solid achievement.

America cannot wait any longer to get started and the Federal government must supply the leadership and resources to the great national effort that is mandatory.

BACKGROUND ON AMERICA'S URBAN CRISIS

The growth of the American population has increased sharply—from several hundred thousand a year in the 1930s to an average yearly rise of 2.7 million since World War II. Moreover, the number of people in rural areas has been declining, while metropolitan area growth has been booming. Each year, the population of America's metropolitan areas grows by over 3 million, the size of a very large city.

Under the impact of the technological revolution in agriculture, employment in farming has dropped—it fell 2.2 million between 1950 and 1966. Hundreds of thousands of farmers, farm workers and their families—several million people—have been leaving the rural areas in search of jobs and homes in the cities.

Many of those who seek their future in the cities are Negroes. Between 1940 and 1967, probably about 4 million Negroes moved from the South—primarily rural areas—to the cities of the North and West. In 1960, according to the Department of Labor, about 40 percent to nearly 50 percent of the Negro population of ten major northern and western cities was born in the South.

The Department of Labor estimates that almost 1.5 million Negroes left the South in 1950-1960, following a similar migration of 1.6 million Negroes in the wartime decade,

1940-1950. This historic migration is continuing at about that rate in the 1960s.

For the country as a whole, the proportion of Negroes in city populations rose from less than 10 percent in 1940 to over 20 percent in 1965. In most of the large northern and western cities the rise was greater.

All of the new migrants to America's cities of the past quarter of a century—whites and Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans—have faced the difficulties of adjusting to a new and strange environment. But these difficulties have been especially harsh for Negroes.

The Negro migrants to the cities of the past quarter of a century have brought with them a history of slavery, segregation, lack of education, and, frequently, poor health, as well as suspicion of government authorities. On coming to the cities of the North and the West, the new migrants have faced the discriminatory practices of those areas, lack of adequate housing and the impact of automation on job opportunities for uneducated, unskilled workers.

The northern and western cities are suffering, in part, from the social ills and delinquencies of the South—including color bars in private, state and local government employment; backward standards of education, vocational training and public welfare generally; with particularly low standards for Negroes and Mexican Americans; social patterns to enforce the dependency of both poor whites and Negroes.

Since World War II and particularly since the early 1950s, the spread of automation has been reducing the number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that require little or no education or training. The types of jobs that helped to adjust previous generations of foreign immigrants and rural American migrants into America's urban areas have not been expanding.

In ghetto areas in the cities, about 10 percent to 15 percent of the adult men and about 40 percent to 50 percent of out-of-school teenagers (including an estimate of those usually not counted by the Labor Department) are unemployed. In addition, a Labor Department survey of slum areas in November 1966 found that nearly 7 percent of those with jobs were employed only part-time, although they wanted full-time work, and 20 percent of those working full-time earned less than \$60 a week. This same Labor Department survey found that nearly 40 percent of the families and unrelated individuals in big city slum areas earn less than \$3,000 a year.

However, it costs about \$7,000, at present prices, to maintain a modest standard of living, including a few amenities but no luxuries, for a family of four in America's metropolitan areas—more for a larger family and less for a smaller family. Elimination of the amenities would result in a cost of about \$5,000 to maintain a minimum decent standard of living for a family of four in our urban areas—scaled up and down for different family sizes.

Yet government reports indicate that probably about 20 percent of the population, within city limits, earns less than the amount necessary for a minimum decent standard of living. Within ghetto areas, perhaps 60 percent to 70 percent or more of the families are in that category. The result is badly overcrowded housing, inadequate diet, poor medical care, few books and magazines for about 20 percent of city families and about 60 to 70 percent of those who live in ghetto slums.

The hard-core slum areas continue to deteriorate. People with jobs, some skills and some regular incomes have been moving out. They are replaced with new migrants from the rural South—added to the remaining lowest-income families, the jobless, the aged and fatherless families.

A large proportion of these slum residents depend on welfare payments, often to mothers with dependent children and no

father present. The Labor Department survey of November 1966 found that 30 percent of the population of East Harlem, 30 percent of the Watts population, 40 percent of the Bedford-Stuyvesant children and 25 percent of the adults receive welfare payments. Moreover, the lack of adequate child-care facilities in slum areas is a barrier to employment for women with children.

Trapped by a history of degradation and the recent impact of automation, these new migrants to the city are also trapped by the unavailability of low-and-moderate cost housing, as well as by discrimination against colored peoples.

The peak home construction year, before World War II, was 1925. From 1926 to 1945, a period of 20 years, home-building was in a slump. It wasn't until 1946 that the 1925-level of housing starts was reached.

Since 1945, the up and downs of residential construction have followed conditions in the money market—interest rates and availability of money. Normal business operations and government programs have provided housing for families in the middle-income range and above (at present, about \$7,000-\$8,000 annual income and more).

The residential construction of the postwar period, however, has essentially ignored housing for the entire bottom half of our income distribution—for the lower middle-income group as well as the poor.

For lower middle-income families, with current incomes of about \$5,000 to \$8,000, the postwar years have seen only little new housing construction, with present rentals or carrying charges and taxes of about \$85-\$135 per month. This is particularly true for large families, with three or more children, in this income-range.

For the urban poor—families with current incomes of about \$5,000 a year and less—there has been hardly any new housing construction during the 22 years since World War II and there was very little of such construction in the preceding 20 years from 1926 through 1945. Almost a half century of rapid change in our cities—including the great Negro migration has passed, with hardly any housing construction for low-income families.

Realistic rentals for poor families would have to be concentrated around \$40 to \$70 a month. Since the private market cannot provide such housing, public housing and public rehabilitation are essential. But, in recent years, the total number of new public housing dwelling units has been only about 30,000-40,000 per year.

Moreover, the urban renewal program, which has bulldozed Negro slum areas, has concentrated on the construction of commercial buildings and luxury high-rise apartments. Relocation of families, displaced from the slums, has been neglected or ignored and there has been hardly any replacement of low-rental housing.

In addition, during the 1950s and early 1960s, the traditional conservative opposition to low-cost publicly subsidized housing for the poor was joined by many so-called liberals—the same coalition that debunked the impact of automation on unskilled and semi-skilled factory workers and on industrial location as a trade union myth.

At the same time, middle and upper-income families have been moving to the suburbs. This movement has opened up older housing in the cities. But, combined with the movement of industry to the suburbs and countryside, it has reduced the tax-base of the cities, when the demands on their financial resources for housing, welfare, education and public facilities are mounting. Moreover, the change of industrial location has compounded the problems of inadequate mass transportation facilities for low-income city-dwellers to get to the new areas of employment-growth. And most suburban communities have rather rigid color-bar re-

strictions, as well as an absence of low-cost housing.

The New Deal's beginnings to provide low-cost public housing nearly perished between 1952 and 1966. And much of the long-delayed legislation of the 1960s to achieve partial adjustments to the radical changes in American life, were first steps, without previous experience, precedents and trained personnel. Moreover, federal appropriations for even these purposes were kept down by public apathy. Yet, they were greatly oversold and their adoption aroused expectations of overnight solutions that were impossible to achieve.

America's urban crisis is a national complex of social problems—rather than simple problems of individual communities. No city or state government can solve them in isolation. Neither can private enterprise, even with the promise of tax subsidies. Their solution requires nationwide social measures, with adequate federal funds and standards.

Step by step, we must begin immediately to rebuild America's cities and lift the living conditions of the American people.

ONE MISSION PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS

There are a large number of people who cannot find regular employment in the job market—due to insufficient jobs for those who lack education, vocational training and previous regular employment. Such long-term unemployed and under-employed people, including those who have given up seeking jobs, should be given the opportunity to work in local, state, federal and non-profit public services that would not otherwise be done.

Jobs of this type, with wages not less than the federal minimum wage, could provide services for which society has growing needs—such as in parks, recreational facilities, day-care centers, hospitals, schools and libraries. In endorsing the concept of such a program, the tri-partite National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress declared:

"The public service employment program should be coupled with basic education, training and counseling to raise the productivity of the employees and assist them to move on to better jobs. With this assistance the opportunity for higher incomes would provide the necessary incentive to seek other jobs. Since the jobs would provide services for which society has growing needs, no element of make-work would be involved."

We urge immediate adoption by the Congress of a \$4 billion program, along the lines of the bill introduced by Congressman O'Hara of Michigan and 76 associates, to provide the necessary funds to federal, state and local government agencies and to non-profit organizations, to help them bear the cost of creating one million public service jobs for those who are now unemployed or seriously under-employed. The Emergency Employment section of the Anti-Poverty bill, introduced by Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, represents a step in this direction.

In a work-oriented society, jobs for the unemployed are the first essential toward helping people to lift themselves out of poverty and deprivation.

TWO AND ONE-HALF MILLION NEW HOUSING UNITS EACH YEAR

America requires a national housing goal of 2½ million new dwelling units each year, during the next decade, supplemented by a large-scale effort to rehabilitate substandard housing that is worth saving—to provide an ample supply of decent homes for our rapidly growing population, as well as for those who live in substandard housing. Such goal is in sharp contrast to the annual construction of only 1.2-1.6 million new housing units in recent years, accompanied by very little rehabilitation.

The most urgent needs are: 1) to provide low-rent publicly subsidized housing—new and rehabilitated—for the approximately 20

percent of city families whose incomes are below the requirements for a minimum decent standard of living (about \$5,000 a year for a family of four); 2) to provide adequate housing for lower middle-income families (between about \$5,000 and \$8,000 a year for a 4-person family) who are not eligible for public housing and cannot obtain decent dwellings in the standard, privately financed housing market; and 3) to provide expanded and improved community facilities and services—such as schools, hospitals, mass transit, day-care centers and playgrounds.

Low-Rent Public Housing—Construction of new, low-rent publicly-subsidized housing should be stepped up immediately from a yearly rate of 30,000-40,000 new starts of recent years to 200,000-300,000 per year in the next two years and stepped up, thereafter, to an annual rate of 500,000.

New public housing construction should be supplemented by large-scale publicly-subsidized rehabilitation to provide additional low-rent housing. Rentals of such new and rehabilitated housing should be concentrated in a range of \$40 to \$70 per month to meet the needs of the city poor. In order to maintain decent housing at low rentals, a partial government subsidy should be provided for adequate maintenance of the properties.

A major federal effort along these lines should include architectural designs and first-class construction for attractive homes and neighborhoods. It should also include an emphasis on people and services—with provision for nearby shopping, schools, transportation, playgrounds and the availability of social services. As part of an overall effort to rebuild our urban areas, new and rehabilitated low-rent public housing should be located in both the city and suburbs and interspersed with other types of rental and private housing for the creation of balanced neighborhoods.

The federal program should include provision for the potential sale of low-rent public housing developments or parts of such developments to tenant cooperatives or to tenants who meet the income requirements for home-ownership.

We strongly support an adequate rent supplement program, but this program should be a supplement to, not a substitute for, a major effort to provide new and rehabilitated, low-rent homes for low-income families.

Housing for Lower Middle-Income Families—Another large-scale program is needed to provide the opportunity for decent homes for lower middle-income families—with monthly rentals concentrated in a range from about \$85 to \$135.

A considerable step-up and overhaul is needed in the present, very small program of federally subsidized interest rate loans—at 3 percent—to sharply increase the construction of such housing by cooperative, non-profit and limited dividend corporations. A federal subsidy for the partial abatement of local taxes on such properties is also required.

Federal housing legislation should also make it possible for cooperative, non-profit and limited dividend corporations to acquire existing properties—with government insurance of long-term and low-interest loans—for the operation of such housing.

Trade unions, limited dividend corporations, cooperatives and churches should be encouraged to participate in a large-scale effort to provide decent homes that lower middle-income families can afford.

Moderate-Income Housing—This section of the housing market already operates with government-insured mortgages, such as FHA and VA. There is need, however, to increase the supply of funds that move into this part of the housing market.

Major sources of additional funds, such as pension funds, college endowment funds, and private trusts are not attracted, to a sufficient degree, by mortgage investments,

even when they are government-insured. A bond or debenture-type obligation, fully guaranteed by federal insurance, could be the method to channel additional funds, through the private bond market, into the financing of housing, as a supplement to the funds of private mortgage financing institutions.

An increase in the supply of moderate-income housing will enable such families to upgrade their living conditions and make additional dwellings available for lower middle-income families.

Open Housing—Housing restrictions against Negroes and other minority groups must be eliminated. All people, regardless of color or national origin or religion, must have the legal right to buy or rent dwellings that they can afford—in the suburbs and outlying areas, as well as in the cities. Open housing is an essential part of a meaningful effort to rebuild our metropolitan areas.

Urban Renewal—The emphasis of the federal urban renewal program should be shifted drastically from commercial and expensive high-rise construction to a focus on homes for people, balanced neighborhoods, community facilities and services. Families to be displaced by the elimination of slum housing must be provided assistance in finding decent dwellings at rents they can afford.

We have repeatedly stated our support of the Model Cities program with adequate appropriations and we reiterate our support. But this program, alone is not enough.

The ghettos of our major cities must be replaced, as rapidly as an increasing volume of new and rehabilitated housing becomes available, by balanced neighborhoods, with a mixture of different types of housing and different economic and racial groups. A combination of new sites for housing developments, open housing in the suburbs, the large-scale construction and rehabilitation of low-rent and lower-middle-income housing can quickly begin to eliminate ghettos and the isolation of their inhabitants. Any semblance of apartheid—whether enforced by old racial barriers or new legislative proposals of well-meaning liberals—has no place in America.

Mass Transit—Every American city has an urgent need for an improved and expanded mass transit system. The need is greatest and most urgent in the low-income areas of most cities. With the movement of industry to outlying areas and suburbs, open housing and the establishment of adequate mass transit systems are as essential to the solution of America's urban crisis, as the massive construction and rehabilitation of housing.

In localities where the construction or rapid transit systems will take several years emergency measures should be adopted to provide temporary but adequate and fast service in areas that now have inadequate transit service or none at all.

Mobility has always been an important part of American life. The rebuilding of America's metropolitan areas must include adequate provisions for mobility in transportation, housing and employment, rather than the stifling isolation of ghettos.

ACCELERATED CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES

The rebuilding of our metropolitan areas will require an increased pace of public facilities construction—water supplies, sewage systems, mass transit, schools, hospitals, day-care centers, playgrounds, libraries, museums, clean air and water.

The Congressional Joint Economic Committee has published a comprehensive and detailed inventory of existing state and local facilities and projected needs, in each category, for the decade 1965-1975. This report projects a rise from \$20 billion for state and local public facilities in 1965 to more than \$40 billion in 1976—for a total expenditure of \$328 billion over the decade.

In the past, federal grants-in-aid have ac-

counted for 20 percent of the aggregate cost of these state and local outlays—with borrowing accounting for 50 percent and current state and local revenues for 30 percent. Federal grants-in-aid vary by category from none, at all, to 5 percent and more.

An acceleration in the pace of building these essential facilities—the underpinnings of adequate living conditions—will require a step-up of federal grants-in-aid.

We urge the Congress to adopt at least a \$2 billion a year additional grant-in-aid program for an acceleration of public facilities construction by state and local governments—in addition to categorical grants-in-aid.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

The highly successful Neighborhood Youth Corps program provides about 300,000 full-time and part-time jobs for youngsters below the age of 21—part-time for youngsters who are in school and full-time including training, for out-of-school youth. This program should be expanded substantially—to aid youngsters to remain in school and to provide some work and training for young people who have dropped out of school.

The small Job Corps program in rural and urban centers for jobless out-of-school youth should also be expanded, as experience with this effort increases the feasibility of solid progress.

QUALITY EDUCATION

The 89th Congress of 1965-1966 rightfully deserves recognition as the education Congress, for never before in our history was there such a comprehensive attempt to deal with the specific problems facing the nation in education. There remains, however, significant gaps in the over-all plan to fully develop programs which will realistically meet the needs of urban communities.

At the elementary and secondary school levels, priority must be given to the principle of equalizing the standard and quality of instruction provided pupils from low income families with those from middle- and upper-income groups.

The recently developed More Effective Schools program advanced by American Federation of Teachers locals should be implemented in all urban communities. The program requires additional funding beyond present levels because of its very nature. It addresses itself to the remedying of years of substandard education offered minority and low-income groups.

Significant aspects of the program are costly, but there are no alternatives. To meet our current and future needs, local school systems must have funds available to approve programs which will reduce class size to a maximum of 22, add additional teachers to deal with problem children, add to guidance counselor services and upgrade the skills of counselors, provide special care for the seriously disturbed child, provide teacher-aids and add medical and dental services over and above the amount now provided in regular school programs.

Vocational education and training is not reaching the hardcore of the large number of unemployed youth in our cities, the school dropouts and youths with socio-economic disadvantages.

Vocational education must be geared to the needs of the modern job market. It must adopt educational methods that reach into young peoples' minds to prepare them for work—not merely to teach them the skills of an occupation, but to prepare them for the complicated world of work, through a combination of general education, occupational education and practical learning on the job at the going wage rate.

To reach these young people in large cities, the federal government should make available to the states and local communities grants to encourage innovation vocational education programs. Experts have estimated that at least \$1 billion will be necessary to make such innovative programs effective.

In addition, year-round use of school buildings in the afternoon and evenings, as well as regular daytime sessions is essential to meet the growing need for job training, remedial education and recreational facilities, for working youths and adults. Such use of school building is also needed to serve as community centers and to house a variety of activities related to the improvement of urban conditions.

Recent federal legislation in the field of higher education has placed great emphasis on student aid, to meet the increasing tuition costs and fees at the nation's institutions of higher learning. Major reliance on the financial institutions of the nation, to make government-insured loans to meet this need, has proven, thus far, to be unworkable and unrealistic. The financial institutions have not responded adequately to this program. As matters now stand, Congress should return its attention to this problem to bring about a workable solution.

MANPOWER TRAINING

Manpower training programs must be strengthened and increased emphasis given to training for meaningful job opportunities.

The government's training program provides for training, with the payment of allowances, up to two years. Unfortunately, the present emphasis is often on training programs for jobs which are dead-end, as well as low-wage. Moreover, as long as present training allowances remain as meager as they now are, few workers, especially heads of families, can afford to forego the opportunity for immediate employment, even at low wages—particularly if there is no assurance of a job at the end of the training period.

The government's training programs should be linked with job-placement, when training is completed. Also, it is essential that training allowances be increased to strengthen the staying-power of the trainees.

PUBLIC WELFARE

Our federal-state public welfare programs were intended to provide assistance and services to deal directly with poverty and social deprivation. Public welfare is supposed to provide assistance—on a dignified basis and as a matter of right—to individuals and families, in need of the basic essentials of living.

Today, our public welfare programs fall far short on these counts. Over 7½ million people are today living on a precariously low level of existence, in many cases shut off from even the most basic necessities of life.

It must be remembered that those on public assistance include about 2 million over 65 years of age, 700,000 are blind or permanently and totally disabled and about 5 million are in families with dependent children (of which about 3,750,000 were children).

The entire public welfare program must be restructured. A comprehensive program of public assistance should be established, based on the single criterion of need. A federal minimum standard for public assistance payments, below which no state may fall, should be determined. Comprehensive social services should be readily accessible, as a right, to those who need them. The Administration of all welfare programs receiving federal funds should be in accordance with the principle of public welfare as a right. The Advisory Council on Public Welfare, in its report of June 1966, recommended these principles as a basis for correcting the existing deficiencies of our public welfare system.

The federal government should establish nationwide federal standards—with adequate federal funds—to provide a decent floor for the public welfare system.

State work-incentive programs should be required by the federal government to permit welfare recipients to retain a substantial number of the dollars they earn without penalty, thus encouraging them to go into the job market and eventually move off the welfare rolls.

Eligibility requirements for welfare applicants should be simplified, and demeaning investigations of applicants should be eliminated, to enable social workers to perform their professional services of guidance, counseling and assistance.

Neither the federal government nor the states should seek to coerce welfare recipients to participate in work-or-training programs without providing adequate day-care protection for the children, or without prior determination of the skills and aptitudes of the welfare recipient for the work or training, and without offering some cash incentive for the welfare recipient to participate in such a program. Such work or training program should be part of the Labor Department's manpower and training structure.

RURAL POVERTY

The American urban crisis is, in part, a reflection of the poverty and backwardness of many rural areas—particularly in the southern and southwestern states. The cities of the North and West are now paying for the delinquency of these rural areas. A meaningful attempt to solve urban problems must include efforts to lift the living conditions in the poor rural areas and to upgrade the education and skills of the rural population.

Nearly 30 percent of the American population lives in rural areas. Only about one-fourth of these rural residents are farmers or farm workers. The others live in small towns or villages, strip settlements along old roads, Indian reservations, old mining settlements or in scattered isolated dwellings.

Federal legislation should provide farm workers with the same protection afforded other workers—such as unemployment compensation and the right to organize unions and bargain collectively with employers.

The Federal program to assist low- and moderate-income rural families to buy or rehabilitate housing should be provided with adequate funds.

In the long-run, the solution of the nation's urban and rural problems requires a population with adequate education and vocational training. The beginnings to achieve this objective in rural areas—under the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the Education Act of 1965—should be continued and strengthened.

The approach of the Appalachian Regional Development Program should be extended to other regions of rural poverty—federal aid for the establishment of adequate public facilities such as highways and roads, hospitals and health centers, schools, vocational and technical training institutions.

The Agriculture Department's encouragement of recreational and tourist activities in rural areas should be extended, as well as such community improvement projects as the improvement of water and sewage facilities.

Fair employment practices are as essential in rural areas, as in metropolitan communities. Rural Negroes, Mexican-Americans and members of other minority groups must have full and fair employment opportunities to work in the industries of the rural areas and in the rapidly growing employment in state and local governments.

Such efforts are needed to improve the economic and social balance between rural and urban areas and lift the standard of life of all Americans.

ECONOMIC PLANNING

We urge the federal government to develop, coordinate and maintain a national inventory of needs for housing, public facilities and services, by the specific categories, based on present unmet backlogs and estimate of future population growth.

We urge each state and metropolitan area to develop a similar inventory of needs within its geographical jurisdiction.

Such inventories of present and projected requirements should serve as the foundation for programs in each category. They should

also be used as yardsticks for the measurement of progress towards meeting the objective of adequate housing, public facilities and services.

A planned national effort, under federal leadership, is needed to apply as much of the nation's resources as possible to meet the requirements of a rapidly growing, urban population, while providing a sound foundation for the continued advance of the private economy.

RETIREMENT OF L. T. "TEX" EASLEY FROM ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, it has come to my attention that Mr. L. T. "Tex" Easley, of the Associated Press, will retire from that media at the end of this month and take up new duties as a committee staff member in the House of Representatives.

It has been my privilege to know and to work with "Tex" Easley throughout my Senate career. He has covered my office and others ably as the AP's expert on the Southwest. For all of these years he has maintained a professional and courteous attitude which has been reflected in the effectiveness of his reporting.

It was my added pleasure at one point to have working on my office staff Mr. Easley's daughter, Rita. Her industriousness could only have been learned from her father's no-nonsense attention to business.

We in the Senate who have known "Tex" will miss him. I know AP will miss him. We wish him well in his new work, and we hope he will return from the House from time to time to visit with his old and lasting friends on this side of Capitol Hill.

TRIBUTE TO DUKE ZELLER

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, this is the first opportunity I have had to add my voice to the others which have been raised concerning the departure of our good friend Duke Zeller. For the past 10 years he has served all of us on the minority side with precision, thoughtfulness, and dedication.

As one who has had the opportunity to receive his counsel on the status of the legislative picture many times, I know how much his services will be missed.

It is indeed seldom that a young man is able to accomplish as much in 10 short years as Duke has, and still be only 25 years old. I join with all Senators in wishing him Godspeed in his new vocation.

W. MARVIN WATSON, OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, a very interesting article on one of the most important men in the Capital, Hon. W. Marvin Watson, was published in the New York Times of Sunday, September 17, 1967.

Mr. Watson is one of the finest gentlemen I have known and has always been courteous, considerate, and understanding in my dealings with him. What influence he exercises at the White House I do not know, but I do know that in any relationship between the Senate and the White House this soft-spoken, unobtrusive, ex-marine has been most coopera-

tive. I know him as an honorable man and as one who serves the President faithfully and with devotion. He is candid and frank in his answers to questions and his modesty conceals a keen mind and a striking intelligence. He carries a heavy workload, and he is trusted by those who know him.

I am delighted to have this opportunity to express my personal feelings about a man who I think has done an outstanding job in a most difficult position. He has earned our confidence and trust as well as that of the President.

I ask unanimous consent that portions of the article previously referred to be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, Sept. 17, 1967]
JOHNSON'S TRAFFIC COP: ONE OF MOST IMPORTANT MEN IN CAPITAL

(By Roy Reed)

WASHINGTON, September 16.—In the office next to Lyndon B. Johnson's sits one of the least known but most important men in Washington. With his dark brown hair and incongruously light gray eyes almost continually framed by a telephone receiver, he directs some of the world's most urgent traffic in and out of the world's most important office.

Anyone wanting to see or talk with the President—from the Senate majority leader to the Shah of Iran—must first deal with W. (for William) Marvin Watson.

He not only has the President's ear more often and more intimately than any other man, he also is so esteemed by Mr. Johnson that he exercises various degrees of influence over patronage, the passage of legislation, political fence-mending and Presidential liaison with Democratic functionaries in and out of Washington.

In short, Marvin Watson, 43 years old, of Daingerfield, Tex., is the political manager for the nation's most powerful politician.

DISTORTION OF REALITY

It would be a distortion of reality to speak of Mr. Watson or anyone else as the most powerful man on the White House staff. Mr. Johnson leaves no room for secondary spheres of power under his roof. No one is likely to become the "assistant President," as Sherman Adams was sometimes called during the Eisenhower Administration.

Nevertheless, Mr. Watson has emerged, since the departure earlier this year of Bill D. Moyers, as the President's right hand man. Mr. Moyers who was the favorite Presidential confidant as well as press secretary, is now publisher of Newsday, a Long Island newspaper.

One reason for the importance of the soft-spoken, unobtrusive Mr. Watson is that he sees more of the President during the President's waking hours and probably talks to him about a wider variety of subjects than any other person, including Mrs. Johnson.

Like Mr. Moyers, he comes from the same state and speaks with the same accent as the President.

Unlike Mr. Moyers, however, he springs from the same political establishment, the controlling element of the Texas Democratic party, that gave the President his base in national politics. That establishment has produced such conservative leaders as Gov. John B. Connally Jr. and former Gov. Price Daniel, and Mr. Watson has been close to them, too.

CENTER OF POWER

For these, and other, personal reasons, Mr. Watson now sits nearer the center of American political power than anyone except the President himself.

And yet, outside of Washington, Texas and the tightest circles of power around the globe, he is practically unknown.

Mr. Watson approves of that anonymity. "I am here to serve the President," he says often and with such fervor that the statement is easy to believe.

Mr. Watson's title is Special Assistant to the President, and he is only one of several who share it. More specifically, he is Mr. Johnson's appointments secretary. But he is not simply a high-level traffic cop which is what his title would suggest and what Mr. Watson would have people believe.

Intelligent observers have been taken in by his modesty. A Congressman who has known him for years called him "the majordomo to the President."

But, just as Mr. Watson's conservative blue suit and vest do not quite conceal the soft blue checks of his shirt, the flashing gold of his cufflinks and the dash of his triangular wrist watch, just so is his dedication to obscurity foiled by his just-visible ambition for perfect service.

LOYAL AND DEPENDABLE

The two words that acquaintances use most often to describe Mr. Watson are loyal and dependable. These attributes apparently have been with him since his Texas farm beginnings, developed through the rigid training of the Southern Baptist Church (of which he is a deacon) and honed by the harsh demands of Texas politics and Texas commerce.

There is no question of his loyalty to Mr. Johnson. Mr. Watson, himself, is quick to point out that the President was "the only man who hired me, and he is the only one who can fire me."

It is said that he was as loyal and dependable when he was the right hand man to E. B. Germany, the conservative president of the Lone Star Steel Company in Texas, as he is today as the righthand man to the author of the Great Society.

Mr. Watson came to Washington with an apparently deserved reputation for conservatism, but he has never permitted ideology to interfere with loyalty.

It was the same with party loyalty. Once he became active in the Democratic party, he stayed with it. Even in 1952 and 1956, when a great many Texans became "Eisenhower Democrats," Mr. Watson campaigned for Adlai E. Stevenson.

Later he became a friend of Representative Wright Patman of Texas. Despite Mr. Patman's well-known populism, Mr. Watson served as his campaign manager in a number of elections.

A catalogue of Mr. Watson's importance and influence must begin with one of his more fervent disclaimers.

"I am not the politician of the White House," he says, and the gray eyes sparkle with good-humored persuasiveness. But, here again, it appears that he is too modest.

Anyone who answers 125 telephone calls a day in the office of the President of the United States is certain to exercise influence. The telephone is so vital to Mr. Watson that his is equipped with push buttons and a long cord that permits him to walk around his desk and exercise.

During a recent 25-minute period checked by a visitor, Mr. Watson was on the phone 23 minutes. He talked with the President three times and called four Senators (three of whom answered) and a Governor. George Christian, the White House press secretary, had to wait seven minutes to confer with him.

One of Mr. Watson's three secretaries noted that this was a slack period.

He does not live a relaxed life, yet he insists that he sees more of his wife and three children now than when they lived in Texas. Their older son, Lee, 20, is a sophomore at the University of Maryland. Their daughter, Kimberly, 16, is a high school junior. The second son, Bill, is 3½.