to the community, where 550 of them have managed to remain for three or more years. But, with a hospital population of nearly 8,000, a revolving door of patients—many of whom are not much to shout about—Byberry's routine therapy is now doing about as well.

Brown helps them on beyond their endurance. Dr. Blain in the past 18 months has reduced Byberry's bed population from 6,100 to 4,650. He expects to move out 2,000 more patients in the near future. It may appear that they are totally supported social workers in Philadelphia find places for them in nursing homes, foster homes, and geriatric centers. By concentrating on new patients, the hospital has been able to send them out in three months, on the average, a creditable record.

"There have been, to function as a treatment center, not a warehouse," Dr. Blain said. "But I very much doubt that we can keep up this pace much longer without an increase in staff. The people we have are working twenty percent beyond their capacity."

Also, the patients we have sent out were the easiest ones. We are getting down to the permafract now, where it's like chipping ice with a spoon. Every tiny advance from here on will come with tremendous detailed effort."

Shortchanging its mental hospitals is the poorest sort of false economy a state can practice, Dr. Blain feels. "If we had been able to spend thirty-three million dollars to remodel this place, and if we had spent ten dollars a day to operate on for two years in a row, we could reduce Byberry's bed population to three thousand patients or less. When we reached this figure, the budget would begin to decrease. In fact, I would guarantee that I could reduce the budget ten percent a year for five years."

A custodial hospital obviously can be run more cheaply on a day-to-day basis than a treatment hospital, but in the long term it is vastly more expensive. "It's as simple as this," Dr. Blain says. "Spend twelve to fourteen dollars a day and get 'em out. Or spend five dollars a day and keep them forever."

Since Dr. Blain's arrival, Byberry's per diem has risen from $5.15 to $8.20—still far from adequate.

Unless the legislature comes through in the next few years with a strong transfusion of new money, Dr. Blain thinks, it is hardly likely that the hospital can operate. If he should leave a year later. There is, however, one bright hope for the future. Philadelphia, working mainly with federal funds, has done what he considers impossible in the country of setting up community mental-health centers. Ten are planned, with six in operation now, and they inevitably will take some of the pressure off Byberry. Plans are under way to tie Byberry in with each of these centers. By special arrangement among city, state and federal government, the centers will pay Byberry for handling patients from their "catchment areas" who need intensive care, and the centers in turn will provide aftercare for the patients Byberry treats and sends out.

Dr. Blain does not foresee that such an arrangement Byberry will revert to its old custodial role. It will in time become a 3,000-bed hospital in the intensive care, 1,000 for patients taking part in an elaborate program of rehabilitation and strong possibility that, for all its unhappyness history, Philadelphia will, through its mental-health centers, become once again a model for the nation in its treatment of the mentally ill."

Brown Power

HON. JOHN R. RARICK
OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 4, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, now out of the Southwest our citizens are subjected to a new growth of the Communist divide-and-conquer cancer. This time it calls itself "brown power."

But the dress, the modus operandi, and the slogans all come from the same party line and robot brain teaching.

The revolting announcement is that the Senator from North Vietnam is mixed up with this bunch of revolutionaries also. Just a millionaire in the rough.

Wonder who's using whom. Or, perhaps, both think they are using the other. Can you imagine turning money over to a group like this and justifying it as for politics?

I include the article from Newsweek for March 25, as follows:

BROWN POWER

The slogans and rhetoric are reminiscent, the grievances—menial jobs, abusive style of dress. The demonstrations began after some rock and bottle throwing a dozen today were arrested. Recently, uneasy police paddocked the Piranys, a favorite Brown Beret hangout, and began an educational campaign to turn over each car. The angry reaction of one Brown Beret leader stirred warnings of yet another racial crisis for America.

"We're students from the Southwest our parents don't... The Mexican American has just discovered how the democratic process works, after years of watching on the sidelines."

SENATE—Friday, April 5, 1968

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The President, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, in the holy pilgrimage of these sacred weeks we would join devout multitudes treading the way of sorrow, as we lift our eyes to a green hill outside a city wall and to a lone cross against the sky, a cross so old and yet... as a leader of the moderates is ascetic Cesar Chavez, a Gandhiesque figure who last week ended a 26-day fast in support of the workers' six-month-old strike by Mexican American farmworkers against California grapegrowers. As cheering, chanting strikers spilled out of the front gates of Delano, Calif., Chavez (with no less a strike sympathizer than Robert F. Kennedy at his side) told them the real reason for the fast was to renew their faith in nonviolence. The justice of our cause is our weapon," he pleaded.

"KING TIGER"

Chaves had good reason to be concerned. Increasingly, frustrated Mexican Americans have been rallying to the banner of fiery sympathizer, Delano, Calif., Chavez (with no less a strike sympathizer than Robert F. Kennedy at his side) told them the real reason for the fast was to renew their faith in nonviolence. The justice of our cause is our weapon," he pleaded.

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for other purposes, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the conference committee on the bill (H.R. 15399) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; and that the House receded from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6 to the bill and concurred therein, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 16324) to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The bill (H.R. 16324) to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and placed on the calendar.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, within a space of less than 5 years, a short time historically, John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were assassinated. They were both American tragedies, senseless, vicious, and devoid of meaning.

In this troubled and violent period of our history, I hope and pray that all of our people will realize their responsibilities and work together to put into effect the rights guaranteed to all our citizens under the Constitution.

Only in this way can we overcome the insecurities and the injustices which have marked too many of our people for too many centuries.

All of us, in a sense, are on trial. Dr. King was a man of moderation and hope. He was assassinated by an individual in a nation in which fear and violence are becoming more the norm rather than the rarity; a nation in which all too often events are decided by the gun and the assassin.

This is a time for understanding, not violence; a time to pray and a time to hope; a time for awareness and reassessment; a time to weep but not to despair; a time to look at ourselves and not to turn away; a time to re-read the Declaration of Independence; a time to put into effect that which the founders of this country said and meant, to wit:

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 the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

It is a time for stability and maturity and understanding among our people. It is a time which will test us all, and in testing us, will test this country.

We are one nation, We are one people. Let us act accordingly.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, there are moments in the life of a nation when grief and outrage strike its people dumb, when words will not come because no words can express the agony in the Nation's soul.

Such a moment came on November 22, 1963; such a moment has come again on April 4, 1968. The murder of Martin Luther King, like the murder of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, tears from us a part of our heart. Noble and gallant, he tried to make our nation sustain such a loss without feeling the grief and outrage that it was moved to destroy such a man of peace.

No answer to these questions will suffice. The assassin must be brought to justice. But, Mr. President, punishment of the criminal will not soothe our conscience or dispel our sorrow. For the death of Martin Luther King leaves our Nation inconsoled.

We cannot assuage the loss of Martin Luther King. We can only redeem it by nourishing the spirit with which he imbued millions of Americans, both black and white. That spirit is one of conciliation and good will, of mutual respect, of fervent dedication to the nonviolent struggle for equal justice.

The mood of America today is necessarily confused and troubled. From it may be distilled a sense of direction and determination. If we are to be true apostles of this godly man, if we are to avoid the perils of division and civil strife, we must keep faith with the vision of Martin Luther King. We must not allow that vision to be shrouded in the bitterness and bigotry which moved the assassin.

This is a time for all Americans to look inwardly to measure themselves. With whom will we stand: The man who fired the gun, or the man who fell before it? Each of us across the land, the governor and the governed, the black and the white, the rich and the poor, must exercise his best leadership with the best that history has in him to renew America's quest for justice, in an atmosphere of peace, and for individual dignity for every citizen.

The death of Martin Luther King, Jr., is a moment of the measurement of nonviolence. It must not be followed by any eruption of terror or of lawlessness.

Mr. President, bigotry is on the march in America. Bigotry must be stopped. Extremism could destroy this country.

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 the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.
Extremism is not indigenous to any race. Extremism cuts down the life of a peace-loving American last night. Let the law take its course, and let us move swiftly and sure. May the American people exalt our free society—and respect it—even as a depraved few seek to undermine and destroy it.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, this country is not divided between black men and white men. This country is divided between good men and bad.

Last night, a good man, who was black, was foully murdered by a bad man, believed to be white.

From this martyrdom, good men, black and white together, must pledge themselves anew to the Christian principles for which Martin Luther King gave his life.

Otherwise, the bad men, whatever their color, will prevail and we shall come down to be plunged into a bloodbath of hate.

In this Chamber can help to make that so, but we must act now—swiftly—to build for him a lasting monument of law.

Justice and equality of opportunity were always his goals. We in the Congress must now demonstrate our redemption to those same goals, not only out of a sense of compassion for his loss, but also because honor and duty require it.

Let the House pass the open housing bill. Let us pass the emergency job bill. Let us provide the funds to carry on the war on poverty. Let us pass the equal employment opportunity bill. Let us pass the comprehensive civil rights bill. Let us pass the bill. Let us pass the emergency job bill. Let us pass the bill. Let us pass the bill for God's sake, before we are visited by national tragedy again, pass the Federal Gun Control bill.

In this way, we in Congress can build a living memorial to one of the greatest American of our generation.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I speak today, as others have spoken, with a heart full of grief and tragedy.

A great man and an apostle of peace has been taken from us. This terrible tragedy has removed one of the greatest and most inspiring leaders this century has produced.

In addition to the great shock and deep feeling I have, which I know all Americans share, Mrs. King and her children—and it is also a dangerous and delicate hour in our national life. The wrong lessons can be read from this terrible event, as well as the right ones. The tendency will be to read the wrong ones first, that violence, which this terrible act demon-
strates, will tend to be repaid with vio-

lence with awful consequences to follow. 

We have already seen some 

riots and in 

York and in 

riots 

We must work with renewed dedication to 

wipe out the problem of violence, 

crime, and disorder to end the divisiv-

eness, and polarization which threaten 

the American dream of peace and tranqui-

lity, and opportunity for all.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia, Mr. President: I deeply 

protested the assassination of Dr. King. I regard this criminal act—this 

senseless act—as a tragedy for all Ameri-

cans. The problems of our Nation can-

not be solved by violence.

Mr. President, many of us 

will rise today in an effort to express 

shock, sorrow, horror, and shame, 

and then find—as I do—that the English 

language, or at least my command of it, 

is inadequate. 

These emotions are hard to express—
you just say the words.

But how do you express the depth of that 

sorrow, the extent of that horror, 

the degree of that shock?

You can only hope that maybe it is 

not necessary, that others can sense your 

feelings because they share them, shar-

ing perhaps also the inability to express 

them properly.

I have a feeling, for example, that 

my feelings about Martin Luther King’s 

dead will be readily understood by the 

wire service reporter—ordinarily an 

unemotional, tough-minded lady—who 

burst into unashamed tears during a 

discussion of the subject in the Senate 

cafeeshop this morning.

I am tempted to make the point that 

whites and Negroes alike share a com-

mon pool of sorrow this morning—but 

that would be a superfluous remark to 

those many whites who, at bus stops this 

morning, murmured their grief to Negro 

strangers.

And yet we cannot make it overabun-

dantly clear to everyone in this Nation 

that grief for this great man, this almost 

biblical figure, is universal among all its 

citizens.

To this end, certainly the Federal flags 

should fly at half-mast.

To this end, every citizen should feel no 

hesitation in expressing feelings of 

hurt and shock to neighbors, coworkers, 

and friends.

To this end, I would be hopeful that 

such a common grief might be expressed in 

an early memorial service, perhaps 

one on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial 

that could recapture that moving mo-

ment of brotherhood that characterized 

the civil rights march of 1963 when Mar-

tin Luther King spoke of his dream for 

America.

At this moment, the Nation is unified 

by its grief.

Before his death, Dr. King wrote an 

article that appears in Look magazine 

this week.

In it, he wrote:

All of us are on trial in this troubled hour, 

but time still permits us to meet the future 

with a clear conscience.

Dr. King’s life was dedicated to such a 

future. We must all pray that his death 

will strengthen—not diminish—the Na-

tion’s drive to achieve it.

But, most of all—and I speak now to 

white Americans—we had better recog-

nize that expressions of sympathy grate-

fully received are meaningless unless 

they are coupled with action, action on 

the fronts that have been identified for 

years. And that is Congress’ responsi-

bility, among many others, in this 

country.

Mr. FOWELL. Mr. President, the assassi-

nation of Dr. Martin Luther King is a 

tragedy and one that makes me ashamed 

that a fellow man has done 

such an awful deed.

This murder is a double tragedy in 

that it is a trifle of nonviolence, Dr. King, 

was killed by violence which can produce 

even more hate and violence. 

He was truly a martyr to the cause of 

eradicating racial hatred, the most 

irrational hatred there is.

I would very much hope that we might 

accord Dr. King the honor of lying in 

state in the rotunda of the Capitol, and 

urge that thought upon my colleagues 

in Congress. I also urge that the Na-

tion honor the memory of this most dis-

distinguished citizen by observing an offi-

cial period of mourning and that our 

National flag be lowered across the land 

out of respect for his martyrdom.

Such a step would indicate that we 

of the white so-called establishment 

grieve over this murder as much as do 

any of our fellow citizens.

I know how deeply I grieve over this 

senseless murder, and I extend all my 

sympathy and sorrow to Mrs. King and 

the whole of Dr. King’s family.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, more 

than any other man in this Nation’s his-

torv Martin Luther King brought the 

Negro to America’s conscience. He 

became the visible of the invisible men. It 

took a man of unquestioned courage and 

conviction, a man of irreproachable 

character, a man of unmatched elo-

quence, a man with a vision of the promised land. 

Moses at the close of his life stood on a 

mountaintop and looked upon the better 

land he had envisioned. To Moses, scrip-

ture says, the Lord spoke, saying:

I have let you see it with your own eyes, 

but you shall not go over there.

Alluding to these words two nights ago in 

Memphis, King spoke:

It doesn’t matter with me because I’ve 

been to the mountain top...I may not get 

there with you, but I want you to know 

that we as a people will get to the 

promised land.

Martin Luther King led his people to 

new self-respect. Like Moses, he was a 

man with a vision of the promised land.

Martin Luther King died in his fight 

to make men free. The foremost 

proponent of a nonviolent confrontation 

between the races is dead. His generosity 
to all mankind, his willingness to 

serve the good will of all men, and his 
nondramatic, nonviolent action enabled him 

to speak to both races. His death, strangely, 

vindicates the black nationalists. Now 

we are confronted with increasing 

militancy, with lessening tolerance.

This day of mourning for him brings 

to a climax history’s sweep through a
decade—from early years of hope for an integrated America to this year of self-consuming rage. In 1963 Martin Luther King spoke for the country from the Lincoln Memorial: “I have a dream,” a dream of racial brotherhood, of a nation where Americans are judged not “by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” Last month the heat of injustice, sweltering with the ranks of black Americans, exploded in the South. The clash was not with the color of their skin, but with the content of their character, and for the nation it was a moment of awakening from reality, the realization for which he lived the teachings of Christ, and a great American died. Martin Luther King was assassinated by a bullet of racial bigotry and intolerance. It is a dream deeply rooted in American philosophy as one of the great orations of our time.

In the course of that speech, he uttered the following paragraphs, which I wish to quote today because I know of no greater tribute that could be paid to this great American. I have a dream that this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: “We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal.”

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the State of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my little girls will be able to join hands with little boys, black and white, as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its Governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification—one day will come when little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day in Alabama with its violent racists, with its Governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification—one day will come when little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, every plain shall be filled, every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

He left us the heritage of that dream. He left us the responsibility, as freshmen and women across this country, to see to it that the realization for which he prayed, worked, and fought shall become the policy of the Republic. That, I think, is the essence of the dream that he left us, to struggle forward into reality.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I rise today to express a great sorrow at what happened yesterday in Memphis. It need not have happened, and it is a great shame that it did happen. For to take the life of a human being, except in self-defense or in the defense of others, is an awful thing to comprehend. Life comes to man, not of himself, and once it is taken away it cannot be returned again. Yet, since Cain slew his brother Abel, man has continued to violate God’s law and take that which he cannot restore. Daily, everywhere, throughout the land, men die at the hands of others. Wherever the capital of the Nation, women are made widows, and children are made orphans, because human life is taken by the gunman or the knifewielder. And only when the victim is an invalid in the hospital, or station, or title, or broad reputation does the Nation mourn. Yet, one life is just as precious as is any other, and death’s sorrow is just as real to the loved ones of the policeman or the fireman or the young boy who has been cruelly and brutally snatched away as it is to the home of the famous or the home of the great.

The Commandment says, “Thou shalt not kill,” but man defies and violates God’s law daily throughout the land, and man violated God’s law yesterday in Memphis.

If we would only learn to cherish and honor, according to God’s commandments and precepts, what we already have, we would have a better country and a greater country and many a home would be spared of grief.

Mr. President, I was not an admirer of Martin Luther King, but I regret, as much as any Senator regrets, the tragedy that befell him, and I feel sorrow for his family. I was shocked but I was not surprised at what happened, because of the tension that existed in Memphis. Now it has happened, and it is a tragic thing. I fear that bad matters may only be made worse, that old hatreds may be rekindled, new hatreds may be born, more blood may be spilled, and more lives may be taken.

Why, Mr. President, cannot our people revere and respect and obey the laws of the country which gave most of us birth and which we all should love?

There is a lesson to be drawn from what happened in Memphis. There is what has been happening with increasing intensity throughout the Nation in recent years. That is, that mass protests, mass demonstrations, and mass marches and the like—whether labeled nonviolent or not—have to encourage unrest and disorder, and to provoke violence and bloodshed.
And, in the end, those who advocate such methods often become, themselves, the victims of the forces they themselves have set in motion.

This, in a manner, is what happened to Dr. King. He usually spoke of nonviolence. Yet, violence all too often attended his actions. And, at the last, he himself met a violent end. Yet, even in fighting for a just cause, one must pursue his course with dedication and courage. Dr. King must have known that, rioting having erupted from last week’s attempted march in Memphis, there was, in its wake, such an atmosphere of tension as to make his presence in that city dangerous to himself and to others, at least for the time being. He must have known that the situation was volatile, and that his passions had become greatly inflamed.

Yet, I regret he persisted in his course, continued to exhort his following to renew the march next week, and told the cheering audiences that a Federal court injunction would be ignored. “We’re not going to let any injunction turn us around,” he said, according to press reports.

Mr. President, no man can determine for himself whether or not a court injunction is legal or illegal, constitutional or unconstitutional. To do so would be to take the law unto one’s own hands. Justice Frankfurter said: “Courts cannot be allowed to determine for themselves what is law, every man can. That means, first, chaos, then tyranny.”

Mr. President, one cannot preach nonviolence and, at the same time, advocate defiance of the law, whether it be a court order, a municipal ordinance, or a State or Federal statute. For to do so means that the law is to invite violence, especially in a tense atmosphere involving many hundreds or thousands of people. To invite violence is to endanger one’s own life. And one cannot live dangerously always. That is the essence of what is needed to steer the Nation through this confused and troubled period.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, George Bernard Shaw wrote:

Some men see things as they are and ask why. I see things that have never been and ask why not.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a man who asked why not. His assassination is a sad, sad, sorrowful thing, but not only for his family. It is, Mr. President, a great American tragedy.

It is tragically ironic that a man who dedicated his life to the concept of nonviolence should himself be stricken down by violence.

Mr. President, Dr. King adhered faithfully all his life to the concept of nonviolence, and if his life and death are to have their greatest meaning, all Americans, black and white, must now renew their dedication to that principle. But we, Mr. President, who serve America and our citizens, must not be allowed to fade. As we view the surging events of our turbulent generation, we must almost want to cry out with Hamlet:

The time is out of joint: O cursed spite, That ever I was born to see such time!

But we, Mr. President, who serve in this Chamber, were born to set it right. That is our clear and set it right we must. Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the great poet Goethe once said:

Nothing is more terrible than ignorance in action.

The senseless and cowardly assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has robbed America of a brave and dedicated citizen.

The causes of freedom, individual dignity, human compassion, and decency have suffered immeasurably.

As a demonstration of the profound grief which is felt throughout this country today, I urge the President of the United States to officially proclaim a week of national mourning.

I also implore my colleagues in the House of Representatives to approve the civil rights protection bill, which was passed overwhelmingly by the Senate last month.

Martin Luther King will remain an inspiration for all Americans. His beliefs and convictions will triumph over the warped thinking of bigots and racists, and those few who are infected by their venom.

I pray that the shock of this tragic event will bring all Americans closer together, rather than destroying all reason.

All men of good will must now join, without hesitation, in fighting the battle which Dr. King fought so unselfishly for us. His vision of nonviolence and justice must not be allowed to die.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, our land has been visited once again by the senseless violence of an assassin. All men of good will, I know, are shocked and saddened by the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, the apostle of nonviolence and world-recognized advocate of peace. He has died a violent death.

Mr. President, at a time such as this, recriminations are easy. Violence so early begets violence. Vengeance is a natural instinct. Recrimination, violence, and vengeance, however, were not the ways of the Rev. Martin Luther King. In this sad hour, Mr. President, we must hope and pray that this gospel of peace and nonviolence will prevail in the face of the tragedy which has taken his life.

Martin Luther King had a dream. It was about the brotherhood of man, about the brotherhood of all people and that America would soon commence to live up to its highest ideals.

Mr. President, at a time such as this, every human being needs courage and a resilient character and the courage to take a hard and painful look at ourselves and resolve to remove from our lives, and from the life of our Nation, the ugliness which makes one man less than another.

As we view the surging events of our turbulent generation, we must almost want to cry out with Hamlet:

The time is out of joint: O cursed spite, That ever I was born to see such time!
The achievement of that dream is the only fitting memorial to the leader of men who was struck down so cowardly and so senselessly, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a despicable and cowardly act. It was an act of hate, and sympathy to the members of his family.

Crime and mob violence and the fear of crime and mob violence has been the most serious domestic problem in our Nation for several years. If our country is to remain strong and free with liberty and justice for all, crime and mob violence and insane acts such as the one last night must cease.

Unless we make men, of both races and all political persuasions, prevail in these trying times, I fear for the future safety of this great Nation. I pray that reason will prevail so that all our people can work together for solutions to our problems.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is a great national tragedy. America has lost one of her greatest civil rights leaders and our Negro citizens a real champion.

Dr. King held steadfastly to the belief that gains in human rights could be achieved without violence. He preached nonviolence vigorously and with great conviction.

He was a leading major force in the drive to improve the lot of the Negro in education, housing, fair employment, voting rights, and equal access to public facilities and accommodations.

Now we must be more determined than ever to eliminate the blight of racial discrimination from all aspects of American life and redouble our efforts to achieve the goal of full equality and freedom for all Americans.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, last night, for the second time in 5 years, a giant among us was cut down by a lunatic's bullet. Dr. Martin Luther King, man of God, man of peace, man of enormous courage and leadership, is dead.

Let us pray for his soul and for the spirit of justice and nonviolence through which he accomplished so much.

This is no time for more violence or more hate. The world has grown much too small for injustice, much too small for hate.

We may never be able to eliminate the kind of madness which struck down Dr. King, but we have no excuse for hatred or callousness to the condition of our fellow man. Congress has it in its power to act against the ignorance, poverty, ill-health and crime which afflicts many of our citizens in all parts of this Nation. Congress must act.

In a few years of his life, Dr. King achieved far more through nonviolence than those who have fought for the dream of or hate's white apologist could stop.

Dr. King's militant appeal to reason, love, and justice produced the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and scores of breakthroughs for justice and decency in cities across the Nation. May his death not be in vain. Let every American renounce hate and violence and rededicate himself to justice and decency for every citizen.

Mr. President, I ask that the editorials appearing in today's Baltimore Sun, Washington Post, and New York Times commemorating Dr. King's life and achievements be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Apr. 5, 1968]

MARTIN LUTHER KING

The killing of Martin Luther King is a national tragedy, the consequences of which are not readily foreseeable. His was the voice of inspiration for millions of American Negroes. He was the towering figure of un­ daunted insistence on individual rights and respect. From the 1955 days of the Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott, his was the stride forward andgew the Negro drew an impressive following while others faltered or flamed out and went off in diverse directions.

White resentment of Dr. King and at times overt hostility accompanied his every move. Even those in full sympathy with what he was trying to do were frequent to question his tactics. But now that he lies dead there must come the overwhelming realization that there was another man there that here was a man committed to a Gandhian principle of non-violent, passive resistance who again and again demonstrated that so­ me things in this world could be accomplished through peaceful means. His voice is needed today, and it will be needed tomorrow, but it has been brutally stifled.

The nation can only wonder anxiously what voices will take Dr. King's place. If his truths march on as he would have wanted them to, the voices will be those of moderation and they will be answered in kind at each point of resistance against which he struggled.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 5, 1968]

A CRUEL AND WANTON ACT

Martin Luther King is the victim of a cruel and wanton act that shocked and shocked one end of this country to the other. There is about this assault upon the great Negro leader the same kind of wanion senseless­ ness that overtook the man whose tactics he emulated—Mahatma Gandhi. Men of good will, noble purpose and pacific impulses enjoy no immunity from violence, no matter how they shun it in their personal conduct.

Those who are responsible for this vile deed have proved themselves God-fearing and innocent man of great goodwill; they have also killed something in the spirit and heart of the American people where lived the bright hope for reconciliation between the races. That hope will be resurrected, because it cannot be utterly extinguished even by so vapo­ rous an act as this. It is necessary to kill men like Martin Luther King, but the ideas for which they stand are not mortal or destructible. Americans of Negro and white descent, whether of the highest and lowest of creeds, will gather around the principles that he espoused and carry his message to the multitudes.

The dream of which he spoke so eloquently at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963 must seem tonight to many of his sorrowing countrymen and shattered fellow citizens, farther than ever from fulfillment. But that shining vision and bright hope will yet prevail. It must be our resolve to go forward with a sincere and unswerving realization of his dream of racial equality and social justice.


The assassin's bullet that extinguished the life of Dr. King has struck deep into the heart of our Nation. The shock has torn into the fiber of every American of every race, color and creed. Each one of us has died a little with the death of Martin Luther King who recently wrote:

"Nonviolence, the answer to the Negro's need, may become the answer to the most dangerous need of the whole world. Dr. King's murder is a national disaster, depriving Negroes and whites alike of a leader of integrity, vision and restraint. The calamity of his loss will require a maximum of self-control and steadiness of nerve on the part of all the American people."

The cause for which Dr. King died will find renewed strength and purpose in the inspiration of his memory, and it will surely triumph, for the cause is just.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a great American has fallen. The loss is not that of race or sect, but of the Nation.

Who among us will ever forget that powerful day in August when hundreds of thousands of Americans converged on the Lincoln Memorial in peace, to be pro­ foundly moved by Martin Luther King's vision of the American dream?

It was his dream "that my little four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." With moral force, not armed force, he made a nation face its collective shame.

We must draw strength and moral commitment from his life.

We must build toward his dream for our country or face the nightmare of society at war with itself.

It is fitting that we remember Dr. Martin Luther King, who stood before the great statute of Lincoln, for he came among us to redeem Lincoln's own pledge to his people; he fell as Lincoln fell and he becomes, as Lincoln became, an ins­ piration for the world.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it was a tragic and senseless murder. Dr. King personified the conviction that nonviolence could bring effective redress of ancient wrongs and present grievances. It is a bitter thing for all Americans that his dream of America should be shat­ tered by a coward's bullet.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, Martin Luther King was an eloquent advo­ cate of the American dream which we often term apart by violence and ill will. In his own way he sought to bring peace and brotherhood to a world beset by war and racial conflict. He saw clearly that the violence abroad was in fact closely linked to the violence which we suffer at home. He was among those who spoke up and declared that we as a nation must face up to the facts of life and that we cannot continue to pour billions of dollars abroad while cutting down the budget for the machinery of projects of peace.
at home. The issue he joined was this: Just where do our priorities lie? Is it more important to kill Vietcong in South Vietnam or to save the embittered poor in our own country? Is it more important to bomb Vietnam's cities into rubble or to reconstruct our own? Is it more important to involve ourselves in a revolutionary war in Vietnam or to prevent a revolutionary war at home?

There is a time to mourn but there is also a time to build. Our thoughts are with the dead, but our actions must be with the living to meet their needs and to fulfill the legacy of Martin Luther King.

Mr. MONROE. Mr. President, I want to join my colleagues in paying tribute to a great moderate leader who were with the living to meet their needs and to fulfill the legacy of Martin Luther King.

Mr. KING. Mr. and Mrs. King and her family have lost a good and great man and will be sorely missed. However, life goes on and the greater memorial we can contribute to his memory is to continue to work toward the complete equality of white and Negro through nonviolent means.

One of the ways in which we can act, and act positively, is to make sure that the slum dwellers, many of whom are Negro, have fit places to live.

The passage of my bill, S. 3234, should dramatically increase the number of repairs slumlords would make on their properties, thereby shortening the time it takes these slumlords to make these repairs required by law.

As I pointed out on Wednesday and Thursday, many of the slum properties are owned by a few large slumlords who have made enormous profits from these properties. The Depreciation deduction which slumlords were threatened with the loss of this deduction if they failed to maintain their properties in the minimal state of repair, and the income these slumlords receive. If slumlords were threatened with the loss of this deduction, they would certainly make the required repairs within the time allowed by law. No longer would they be able to hide behind crowded court dockets and be willing to risk the life fines imposed by most courts for violating the housing code. The penalty for violating housing codes would be drastically increased. This would affect primarily the slumlords, not the majority of landlords who are careful to maintain their property in good repair.

Another great benefit from the passage of S. 3234 would be that it could be effective now without the expenditure of vast sums of money we cannot afford to spend.

We must act now. The terrible tragedy that occurred last night should be a lesson to us all. The senseless rioting that occurred last night, right here in our Nation's Capital, indicates the deep undercurrent of resentment festering within our society. Let us act now to alleviate some of the problems facing them and help carry out Dr. King's movement toward equality in a non-violent fashion.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I am stunned by the brutal assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. That such a sick and wanot killing can occur in a civilized society fills me with sorrow, and anger, and shame.

Dr. King's death is a tragic loss for his family, for his people, for the Nation, and for the world. For Dr. King and his grief-stricken family, I extend my condolences and prayers. To the Negro people whom he led with understanding and effective ness, I offer my heartfelt sympathies for the loss of a great leader. And to all of us everywhere I express my hope that reason and compassion will prevail in a time of anguish and despair.

The death of Dr. King will affect the lives of every one of us. To the downtrodden and the people of discrimination, the loss is especially grievous. For Dr. King represented hope and courage and the vision of a new America brightened by the reconciliation of black and white, rich and poor.

This vision cannot die with one man. What he has set in motion is far greater than a single bullet, a single act of violence. His death, his sufferings and unshakeable belief in this Nation and its people, shall stand for any man.

HATE REAPS ANOTHER VICTIM

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, victim of an assassin's bullet, Dr. Martin Luther King lies dead today. Victim of the racial strife which has permeated this country for so many scores of years, a great man is now a victim of the violence which taints the spirit of this country, one more voice of reason has been silenced forever.

I sat in shocked disbelief, Mr. President, on hearing of the death of Dr. King. I then wrote to the President, expressing my deepest sympathy for Mr. King and his family, for his people, for the Nation, and for the world. For Mr. Martin Luther King and his grief-stricken family, I extend my condolences and prayers. To the Negro people whom he led with understanding and effectiveness, I offer my heartfelt sympathies for the loss of a great leader. And to all of us everywhere I express my hope that reason and compassion will prevail in a time of anguish and despair.

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Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I join with all my colleagues in expressing my most profound sorrow over the events which transpired last night. Dr. King was a great man and will be sorely missed. However, life goes on and the greatest memorial we can contribute to his memory is to continue to work toward the complete equality of white and Negro through nonviolent means.

One of the ways in which we can act, and act positively, is to make sure that the slum dwellers, many of whom are Negro, have fit places to live.

The passage of my bill, S. 3234, should dramatically increase the number of repairs slumlords would make on their properties, thereby shortening the time it takes these slumlords to make these repairs required by law.

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This vision cannot die with one man. What he has set in motion is far greater than a single bullet, a single act of violence. His death, his sufferings and unshakeable belief in this Nation and its people, shall stand for any man.
The committee still rejected the bill; th\'s time by a vote of 8 to 5.

In a final effort to get action, I pre­

sented a modified bill that did not apply to long arms. Even with this modification, we were only able to achieve a tie vote of 6 to 6.

The four absent Senators are now being polled to determine their position on this gun bill, as amended.

I am hopeful that the final vote will be favorable and that it will thus pave the way for the entire Senate to have an opportunity to work its will on this gun bill.

The DEATH OF A DREAM

MR. PEARSON. Mr. President, today is a sad day for all America and the world. A man who believed in peace and the brotherhood of man was brutally slain in Memphis last night because he dared to carry his views where they were unpopular.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a passionate apostle of the nonviolent method of carrying forward the civil rights movement for Negro equality. In the end, it was this passion which de­s­

stroyed him—and perhaps with him the hope for a peaceful integration of the Negro into the mainstream of American life. Unafraid of danger, welcoming challenge, always confident of the ultimate decency of man, Martin Luther King, Jr. lived and died with the courage of his convictions. Had he believed less intensely in his cause or had he been more of a careful politician, perhaps he would not have taken the chances he did.

Mr. President, it is too early to ac­

curately access the place of Dr. King in American history. That he pressed insistently for what he felt was right is far beyond question. What we must wonder now is what effect will this death have on the Negroes who shared his faith that white America is basically decent and only needed to be shown where injustice existed in order to re­spond. I fear that much of this faith has been shattered and that our country is facing increasing bitterness and divisiveness—an ironic legacy for a man who scorned those who preached sep­aration.

Mr. President, the belief in us, in the ultimate justice of our democracy and in the American dream that Martin Luther King, Jr., so often and eloquently expressed must not be allowed to perish with the loss of the whitestoubled and we in the Senate bear a special responsibility to insure that it does.

SHOWDOWN FOR NONVIOLENCE

MR. HARTKE. Mr. President, I believe that it is appropriate to place into the record the article by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., which appears in the April 16 issue of Look magazine. I ask unanimous consent to insert the article in today's RECORD.

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

SHOWDOWN FOR NONVIOLENCE

(By Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.)

The policy of the Federal Government is to avoid the use of violence. The Nation is prepared to gamble with another summer of disaster. Despite two consecutive summers of violence, not a single basic cause of riots has been corrected. All too predictably the flames of rage and rebellion remain undiminished. With unemployment, intolerable housing and discriminatory education, a scourge in Negro ghettoes, Congress and the Administration still tinker with trivial, halfhearted measures.

Only a few years ago, there was dis­
cernible if limited progress through non-violence. Each year, a wholesome vibrant Negro self-confidence grows. Yet the fact is inseparable that the tactic of nonviolence, which had then dominated the thinking of the civil-rights movement, has in the last two years not been playing its transforming role. Non-violence was a crea­tive doctrine in the South because it check­mated the rabid segregationists who were thirsting for an opportunity to physically crush Negroes. Non-violent direct action en­abled the Negro, as the gandhian in active protest, but it muzzled the guns of the oppressor because even he could not shoot down in daylight unarmed men, women and children. This is the press of loss of life in ten years of Southern protest than in ten days of Northern riots.

The Negro may have taken on the conditions we faced in the South, Police, national guard and other armed bodies are feverishly preparing for repression. They can resist not by ignoring non-violence by desperate Negroes but only by a massive wave of militant non-violence. Non-violence was never more relevant as a non-violent tactic than today for the North. It also may be the instrument of our national salvation.

I agree with the President's National Ad­

visory Commission on Civil Disorders that our nation is splitting into two hostile so­
cieties and that the chief destructive cutting edge is white racism. We need, above all, effective means to force Congress to act resolutely—but means that do not involve the use of violence. For us in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, violence is not only morally repugnant, it is pragmati­cally barren. We feel there is an alternative to violence and to the stilted sup­pli­cations for justice. We cannot share the same either riots or the equivalent evil of passivity. And we know that non-violent militant is useless and that non-violent will not end the conscience of white America and brought a moribund, insensitive Congress to life.

The time has come to vote for all mass non-violent protest. Accordingly, we are planning a series of such demonstrations this spring and summer, to begin in Wash­ington, D.C. They will have Negro and white participation, and they will seek to benefit the poor of both races.

We will call on the Government to adopt the measures recommended by its own com­mission. To avoid, in the Commission's words, the tragedy of "continued polarization of the American community and ultimately the destruction of basic democratic values," we must have "national—compassionate, moral—sustained, backed by the re­sources of the moral, the military and the social nation on earth."

The demonstrations we have planned are of three months length to begin in Lookout at least what we will do, try to do, and believe in. My staff and I have worked three months on the planning. We believe that if this will fulfill our hope, non-violence will once again be the dominant instrument for social change—and jobs and income will be put into the hands of the Negro. If it fails, non-violence will be discredited, and the
country may be plunged into holocaust—a tragedy deepened by the awareness that it was avoidable.

We have the action after sober reflection. We have learned from bitter experience that our Government does not correct a race problem until it is confronted directly and dramatically. We can no longer afford to let the Washington situation shadow our plans. We simply said we were going to struggle there until we got a response from the nation on the economic problems. Just as we dealt with the social problem in Birmingham and the educational problem in the South, we have learned that they can no longer elude our demands.

Our idea is to dramatize the whole economic problem of the poor. We feel there's a great deal that we need to do to appeal to Congress. We need to put pressure on Congress to make it clear that Congress will be more geared toward educational purposes—to educate the nation on the nature of the problem and the crucial aspects of it, the economic conditions that we confront in the ghettos.

After that, if we haven't gotten a response from Congress, then we feel that we are honest enough to feel that we aren't going to get any instantaneous results from Congress, knowing its recalcitrant nature on this issue. We will be honest enough to know that our resources and energies are being used in Vietnam rather than on the domestic situation. We feel that eventually the American people will learn that the cause of the Government is two to three months. In the meantime, we will demonstrate in Washington in two or three weeks. We will do it, that, by starting in Washington, centering on Congress and departments of the Government, we will be able to do a real educational job.

We call our demonstration a campaign for jobs and income because we feel that the economic question is the most crucial that black people, and poor people generally, are confronting. There is a literal depression in the Negro community, and there is massive unemployment in the Negro community; it's called a social problem; when you have mass unemployment in a community, it's called a depression. The fact is, we are facing the major depression in the Negro community. The unemployment rate is extremely high; and more than a million rural dispossessed—from which we have recruited our initial cadre. We will have 200 poor people from each area. That would be about $3,000 to get the protests going and set the pattern. They are important, particularly in terms of maintaining non-violence. They are being to walk. They are being to walk in the year.

In areas where we are recruiting, we are also stimulating activities in conjunction with the Washington protest. We are planning a day where people are going to walk in the West. We may have got half the group from Mississippi, for example, go to Washington and begin the protest there, while the other half begins walking. They would flow across the South, joining the Alabama group, the Georgia group, right up through South and North Carolina and Virginia. We hope that the sound and sight of a growing mass of poor people walking slowly toward Washington will have a positive, dramatic effect.

Once demonstrations start, we feel, there will be spontaneous supporting activity taking place. This has happened in campaigns like this, and I think it will again. I think people will start moving. The reasons we didn't choose California and other areas out West are distance and the problem of transporting marchers that far. But part of our strategy is to have spontaneous demonstrations take place on the West Coast.

A nationwide non-violent movement is very important. We know from past experiences that when people want to do something they don't do anything until you develop a movement around which people of goodwill can find a way to work. We feel that it really means breaking that coalition in Congress. It's still a coalition-dominated, rural-dominated, basically Southern Congress. There are Southerners there with committee chairmanships, and they are going to stand in the way of progress as long as they can. They get enough right-wing Midwesterners and Northern Republicans to go along with them.

This really means making the movement powerful. It has a national appeal. It has the all-American appeal. It has a national appeal, so that people of goodwill, the churches, labor, liberals, intellectuals, students, poor people themselves begin to get involved. We feel that they can no longer elude our demands.

We need to put pressure on Congress to get things done. We will do this with First Amendment activity. If Congress is unresponsive, we will demonstrate in any way we can to keep the issue alive and before it. This action may take on disruptive dimensions, but not violent in the sense of destroying life or property. It will be non-violent.

We really feel that riots tend to intensify the fears of the white majority while relieving its guilt, and so open the door to greater insidious violence. We've been in situations where no structural changes have taken place as the result of riots. We are trying to find an answer to that question. We are thinking in terms of destroying issues without destroying life or property. We plan to build a shantytown in Washington, patterned after the bonus marches of the thirties, to dramatize how many people have to live in slums in our nation. But essentially, this will be just like our other non-violent demonstrations. We are not going to tolerate violence. And we are making it very clear that the demonstrators who are not prepared to participate in this. For the past weeks, we had workshops on non-violence with the people who will be going to Washington. They have been told that 75 percent of the people will form a core of the demonstration and will later be the marshals in the protest. They will be participating themselves in the action, but after two or three weeks, when we will begin to call larger numbers in, they will be the marshals, the ones who will control and discipline all of the demonstrations.

We plan to have a march for those who can spend only a day or two in Washington, and that will be the start of the campaign. I hope this will be a time when white people will rejoin the ranks of the marchers.

Demonstrations have served as unifying forces in the movement; they have brought blacks and whites together in very practical situations, where philosophically they may have been arguing about Black Power. It's a strange thing how demonstrations tend to solve problems. The other thing is that it's little known that crime rates go down in almost every community where you have demonstrations. In Montgomery, Ala., when we had demonstrations, the crime rate in the Negro community went down 65 percent for a whole year. Anytime we've had demonstrations, we have found a way to slough off their guilt, and they have had a channel to express their longings and a way to fight non-violently—to get at the power structure, to know you're doing something, so you don't have to be violent to do it.

We need this movement. We need it to bring about a new kind of togetherness between blacks and whites. We need it to bring allies together and to bring the coalition of economic reform.

A good number of white people have given up on integration too. There are a lot of "White Power" advocates, and I find that the people do tend to desert when nothing is going on. But when action is taking place, when there are demonstrations, they will follow the people that leads to a unity you don't achieve at other times.

I think we have come to the point where there are a lot of people who are suffering from a sense of violence and riots. It must be militant, massive non-violence, or riots. The discontent is so strong now that it is expressed in the restless so wide, that something has to be brought into being to serve as a channel through which these deep emotional feelings can best be expressed.
this campaign as a way to transcend the inchoate rage of the ghetto into a constructive, creative channel. It becomes an outlet for anger.

Even if I didn't deal with the moral dimensions, I would still have to deal with violence, from a practical point of view, I don't see riots working. But I am convinced that if rioting continues, it will strengthen the right wing of the country. We'll end up with a kind of right-wing take-over in the cities and a Fascist development, whether we like it or not, will happen in the nation. I don't think America can stand another summer of Detroit-like riots without a development of the consciousness of the soul of the nation, and even the democratic possibilities of the nation.

I'm committed to non-violence. I believe that's the best and most effective approach to the problem. In an earlier point, I said, "I'm just not going to kill anybody, whether you like it or not, I'm just not going to kill anybody." I'm frank enough to admit that if our non-violent campaign doesn't generate some progress, I think we're going to have more violent activity, and the discussion of guerrilla warfare will be more extensive.

I'm convinced that because people who now have lived will fail. We will place the problems of the poor at the seat of government to be on the agenda in the Senate. If that power refuses to acknowledge its debt to the poor. It will have failed. It will fail to live up to its promise to insure "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to its citizens.

If this society fails, I fear that we will learn. Shortly that racism is a sickness unto death.

We welcome help from all civil-rights organizations. There must be a diversified approach to the problem, and I think both the NAACP and the Urban League play a significant role. I also feel that CORE and SNCC are significant. I think SNCC's recent conclusions are unfortunate. We have not given up on integration. We still believe in black and white cooperation. We still believe it's possible to have a peaceful revolution. We have not temporarily given up on integration. We have not. So maybe we are the bridge in the struggle to reach across and connecting both sides.

The fact is, we have not had any insurrection in the United States because an insurrection is planned, organized, violent rebellion. What we have had is a kind of spontaneous explosion of anger. The fact is, people simply want to fight, simply want to win. A struggle was made recently by some professors at Wayne State University. They interviewed several hundred people who participated in the riot. They discovered that a majority of these people said they felt that my approach to the problem—non-violence—was the best way to turn the riot.

I don't believe there was a massive turn to violence. Even the riots have had an element of non-violence to persons. But for a rare exception, they haven't killed any white people, and Negroes could, if they wished, kill by the hundreds. That would be insurrection. It would be revolutionary. And the Negro has vented his anger on property, not persons, even in the emotional turbulence.

But I'm convinced that if something isn't done to deal with the very harsh and real economic problems of the ghetto, the talk of guerrilla warfare becomes more real. The nation has not yet recognized the seriousness of the problem. It hasn't been willing to do anything about it, and this is what I'm trying to be doing. As I committed myself to non-violence, I have to face this fact: if we do not get a positive response in Washington, many more Negroes will be killed...in a sense, it's a question of life or death.

I hope, instead, that what comes out of these non-violent demonstrations will be the development of a statement of Disarmament, a regulation and a declaration, requiring about ten or twelve billion dollars. I hope that a specific number of jobs is set forth, that a program will emerge to deal with the conditions that these persons will be another program to supplement the income of those whose earnings are below the poverty level. These would be measures of success in our campaign.

It may well be that all we'll get out of Washington is to keep Congress from getting too world-wearied. But we have a welfare program that's dehumanizing, and then Congress adds a Social Security amendment that will literally thousands of children from any welfare. Model cities started out: it's been cut back. Rent subsidy, an excellent program for the poor, cut down to nothing. It may be that this amendment, while it will at least be able to hold on to some of the things we have.

There is an Old Testament prophecy of the "children of the Fathers being visited upon the third and fourth generations." Nothing could be more applicable to our situation. America is reaping the sins of the second generation, and the shame planted through generations of educational denial, political dis-franchisement and economic exploitation of its black population through centuries of slavery, we find the heritage of oppression and racism erupting in our cities, with volcanic levelling and frustration pouring down our avenues.

Black Americans have been patient people, and perhaps they could continue patient with but a modicum of hope, but everywhere, "time is winding up," in the words of one of our spirituals, "corruption in the land, people take your stand, time is winding up."

In spite of years of national progress, the plight of the poor is worsening. Jobs are on the decline as a result of technological changes in industry. The young South are proving themselves more and more inadequate to the task of providing adequate education and thereby entrance into the mainstream of the society. Medical care is virtually out of reach of millions of black and white poor. They are aware of the greaer advantages of medical science—better transplants, miracle drugs—but their children still die of preventable diseases, and even suffer brain damage due to protein deficiency.

In Mississippi, children are actually starving, while large landowners have placed their land, they are forced into tent cities and ghettos of the North, our Congress made a statement of regret, they grossly mistreat the poor (though they clamor for jobs) through welfare handouts. Handouts to the richest man in America is reaping the harvest of hate and racism. To end poverty, to extirpate prejudice, to free a tormented conscience, to end the shame planted through generations of exploitation of its black population through centuries of slavery, we find the heritage of oppression and racism erupting in our cities, with volcanic leveling and frustration pouring down our avenues.

White America has been patient people, and perhaps they could continue patient with but a modicum of hope; but everywhere, "time is winding up," in the words of one of our spirituals, "corruption in the land, people take your stand, time is winding up."

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H.R. 15131. An act to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen’s Salary Act of 1952, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1083).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HOLLAND: S. 3287. A bill to provide for orderly trade in fresh fruits and vegetables, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1083).

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL
10 A.M. MONDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. Monday next.

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

WE MUST DO SOMETHING ABOUT
THE DRAFT

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the administration of our Selective Service System under General Hershey is a repugnant mess. It could be considered a wart on the face of our civilization or a stone under the instep of progress in the United States. Apart from his maladministration of the Selective Service System and General Hershey’s attempts to use the draft to suppress freedom of speech, the law itself has many defects. We in Congress should review it very thoroughly, and before next June 30 enact into law a greatly improved Selective Service Act. It is bad enough to go about conscripting young men into our Armed Forces. It is absolutely and totally unfair, arbitrary, and capricious to continue the present system. In fact, the two most necessary guidelines to achieve decency and fairness in operation of draft boards throughout the country.

Any law that compels some young men to sacrifice freedom and even their lives in the Armed Forces of our country while others remain free to pursue normal lives is inherently unfair. Unfortunately, in this grim period of international anarchy and throughout our involvement in a miserable civil war in Vietnam, whether the fighting should end this year or continue into future years, it will continue to be necessary for our Nation to maintain an army composed in large part of draftees. However, there is no excuse for any selective service law that contains as many inequities as the one under which young Americans are now being called to military duty.

Reform of the draft is long overdue. Little by little we tinker with the system, but the fact is that it requires a complete overhaul. The system was, after all, designed for massive conscription to secure an army of some millions to fight in World War II. It functioned remarkably well. However, the draft has since been used either for maintaining a large peacetime army or for limited or fluctuating manpower needs and in doing so it has created confusion and injustices.

Last year a national advisory commission examined the Selective Service System and recommended reforms, to make the draft more responsive both to national needs and personal rights. Unfortunately, the Congress chose to ignore most of these recommendations, and instead enacted shortsighted patchwork legislation.

The operation of the present selective service law has been unfair and discriminatory in many respects. For example, there is no discretion for granting deferments in the hands of local selective service boards. There are no mandatory national criteria for deferments. This results in thousands of varying standards of deferment, with some boards granting exemptions while a neighboring draft board in the same state, and frequently in the same city, makes an opposite ruling in an identical case and lists a registrant as available to be called into service immediately. In other instances, standards of eligible draftees differ from one draft board to another. Consideration given to the problems of individual potential draftees differs from one draft board to the next.

Also, deferments too frequently favor those who can afford to attend college and those whose educations qualify them to enter critical occupations, so-called. The fact is, that young men from families with the financial resources are in a better position to secure deferment by going to college or by marrying young and having children.

The proposal introduced by the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Kennedy) for instituting a random selection by lottery, the induction of the youngest first, administrative reorganization of the Selective Service System, mandatory national standards for classification, and elimination of occupational deferments would be of considerable help. It is of interest to note that the President may determine them justified in the national interest, should very definitely receive priority for consideration by the Congress this year.

Young men should be inducted at the age of 18 in the present system of starting at age 26 and working backward. In each of the next several years, nearly 2 million young men will reach the age of 19. In 1970 that number will probably exceed 2 million. Of this number, three of 10 will probably be disqualified for physical or mental reasons.

Currently, about 20,000 men per year can qualify for the Active Reserve in the Army. By the end of the next school term, the required number of inductees would be selected by a lottery method from the pool of qualified 19-year-olds. Those not selected would know that they did not face induction in the future except in event of a national emergency and then could plan years ahead much better.

This system would remove the uncertainty from the lives of young men who today are unable to plan their futures because of the many years in which they are subject to induction. Those selected by the lottery method but who wish to attend college would be permitted to postpone their military service until after graduation in time of peace, but such deferments would be denied or suspended if conditions were such that the draft is necessary. Younger men would have many advantages from every standpoint. First and foremost from a standpoint of national defense, youngsters 18 and 19 who have acquired a high school education and some training are already of considerable fighting men. They are intelligent, readily trained, and respond in combat more vigorously, more fearlessly, and have greater capability than soldiers who are considerably older.

Furthermore, following their tours of duty and honorable discharges from our Armed Forces to the Active Reserve in civilian life they would no longer have the specter of being drafted hanging over them and possibly disrupting their family life. Comparatively few young men of 18 and 19 are married. There is no problem of dependents. If they are sentenced to a tour of 18 months or even 18 months in some foreign land our taxpayers do not bear the added burden they would have and do have when young men of 25, 26, and 28, many of them married and some with children, are drafted into our Armed Forces.

Intelligence is a requirement in modern warfare and national mandatory guidelines regarding deferment of illiterate and ignorant young men should be established, and those standards should be maintained everywhere. Without a doubt the local draft board that first exempted Cassius Clay because of his lack of intelligence took the correct action in rendering that decision. They were weak and wrong in giving in to public clamor. The net result was that lawyers who misrepresented Clay profited.

Also, under the Selective Service law, it is noteworthy that the local draft board that first enrolled the USO for boxing exhibitions at our military bases overseas and in this country the same as Joe Louis in World War II, this uneducated and moderate athlete would probably have been useless as a fighting man in combat.

Very definitely, I also advocate that the period of service under the Selective Service System should be for 18 months and not 2 years. It is noteworthy that of our allies, Great Britain and Canada have no draft laws, no conscription whatsoever. New Zealand provides conscription for a period of 12 months only. Belgium conscripts for 12 to 15 months only; Italy 15 months only. France conscripts her young men for 16 months; West Germany for 18 months; and the Netherlands provides conscription for a period of 18 months only. Belgium conscripts for 12 to 15 months only. The Saigon military junta has not drafted young men of 18 and 19. There has been no general mobilization. Those older men who have been ordered into service have been exempted from the draft upon payment of from $985 to $800, dependent upon the greed of the provincial leaders.

In an effort to eliminate one of the present system’s most blatant inequi-
ties regarding the drafting of graduate students, the administration has only created fresh injustices. It has raised grave difficulties for the Nation's colleges and universities and probably for the educational system as well. Some educators estimate that graduate classes may be cut in half next year in many institutions of higher learning. Government officials have set the figure closer to 30 percent, but if enrollment is cut even by a third, all universities will have to drastically curtail their graduate programs and in some cases eliminate them.

It is quite likely that the Army will have to make major cuts in these graduate programs than it actually has announced for.

Mr. President, were the lottery system in effect, young men would be able to plan for their futures including post-graduate work. It would provide a much more orderly method of conscription and establish a professional volunteer graduate schools from becoming mere time we shall end military conscription that young men serve in our Armed Services as well. Some edu- milities of State inactivity has been in the field of long-range economic analysis and planning. In one of the first such steps taken any- where, Jesse M. Unruh, the distin- guished representative of the California Assembly, with bipartisan assistance, has introduced legislation calling for the establishment in the legislature in that State of a joint economic committee. The bill states the following as its basic pur- pose:

The Legislature finds and declares that the maintenance of the policy of the State of California for full employment, maximum economic productivity and continued economic growth requires that the Legislature have available accurate and independent resources for the collection and analysis of economic data. The Legislature further finds that provision of such economic studies and forecasts can best be achieved through the establishment of a joint legislative committee adequately staffed with economists and other professional personnel, rather than through continued reliance on the state government for such economic information and advice, and to that end this chapter is enacted.

I hope that the legislation in California is successful and I hope that other States will take note of this additional major step down the road toward responsive and responsible government on the part of the legislature of our largest State. It has been my pleasure to have been able to discuss State governmental problems with Speaker Unruh on many occasions. He is, as every practicing student of political science knows, a giant among legislative leaders and a principal architect and advocate of State legislative reform. He is, as every practicing student of political science knows, the architect and advocate of a joint economic committee which is typical of the vision and leadership Jesse Unruh has demonstrated in State governmental re- form. I commend it to advocates of State legislative improvement throughout the Nation.

I ask that the text of assembly bill No. 265 and introductory remarks by Speaker Unruh be inserted at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT OF ASSEMBLY SPEAKER JESSE M. UNRUH CONCERNING ASSEMBLY BILL NO. 265, CREATION OF JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

For a number of years, during both Demo- cratic and Republican administrations, I have been extremely concerned over the ef- fect of the budget-making capabilities of the way in which the Department of Finance operates and is used by the executive. For some time legislators of both parties have expressed concern over the failure of this important agency to formulate valid revenue and expenditure estimates. I have been told by the Controller and by the Department of Finance several times during Governor Brown's Administra- tion, I have seen little improvement during the present Administration. Let me give you some examples of the difficulties which we in the Legislative have in dealing with, or trusting, the Department of Finance exclusively for fiscal data. In 1966 the Petris-Unruh tax reform bill was pend- ing before the Assembly. On the morning of the day the bill was scheduled to be heard in the Ways and Means Committee, then Chairman of Finance—by sleight of hand, or other unknown means—came up with a sudden General Fund surplus of more than $100 million, which was never seen—nor needed for our Medi-Cal program evaporate inexplicably and turn into a $31 million surplus. I am sure we were all chagrined to find that we had spent the time we had to find that we had spent the time we had wasted on a program which, at that time, the Administration knew full well would have none of these. Finally, several months ago the present Director of Finance called a news conference to announce that the Governor's Budget would have a $194 million surplus; in the next breath he "warned" that this was only a "paper surplus," none of which could be spent. His explanation was so clear that after 45 minutes of it, when he asked the assembled newsmen if they had any ques- tions, one newspaperman (as I say—"erupted in laughter").

I think I need not describe more of these instances. Whatever our partisan political affilia- tions, we are all agreed to the need to urge upon its constituents the necessity of intensive attention to urban affairs. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, in its recurring reports, points out various areas of needed improvement in Federal-State-local relations.

The traditional areas of State inactivity has been in the field of long-range economic analysis and planning. In one of the first such steps taken any- where, Jesse M. Unruh, the distin- guished representative of the California Assembly, with bipartisan assistance, has introduced legislation calling for the establishment in the legislature in that State of a joint economic committee. The bill states the following as its basic pur- pose:

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been performed and which I believe are most important to the Legislature. A principal new duty is for the committee and its staff to analyze the annual economic report of the Governor. It appears to us a very heavy duty to be rendered by him to the Legislature, and to hold hearings and make a report on it. This is identify to the analysis we are asked to make an expenditure policies of governments at local and federal levels--can we intelligently make long-term, valid expenditure and taxation decisions without it? The annual economic report now gathers dust on our shelves; I doubt if many of us have ever looked at it. This new committee will provide legislative scrutiny of that important report.

Other duties of the new committee and its staff:

1. Monitoring federal fiscal policies which may have an effect upon California's economy, and the Legislature's fiscal decisions;
2. Comparing actual and forecasted economic indicators with similar data developed by the Governor's Department of Finance;
3. Preparing an annual report of an evaluation by the committee staff of the accuracy of Department of Finance revenue and expenditure forecasts; and
4. Other vital duties of long-range expenditure projections, the development of priorities among state programs competing for funds, conducting studies of pendence and program budgeting, to include cost-effectiveness studies of state programs and agencies, and a number of other specialized studies.

Let me make it very clear that in offering this legislation I do not want in any way to be interpreted as being critical of the present Legislative Analyst or his staff. I believe Mr. Post has done an excellent job. But I believe that as a responsible legislative body—and an independent one—we must do more. Mr. Post has worked with my staff in developing AB 265 and his assistance has been invaluable. I want to express my continued support as the Joint Economic Committee and the overwhelming approval of the concept of this bill.

This is not a Democratic or a Republican bill, as the coauthors on AB 265 demonstrate. Rather, it is a measure which seeks to maintain and strengthen the independence of the Legislature to make informed policy decisions in the fiscal area. With a state budget of five and one-half billion dollars a year, we simply cannot afford—the taxpayers cannot afford—the state's fiscal policies to be based on partial information any longer. I believe this legislation will go a long way toward a responsible solution of this problem.

Assembly Bill No. 265
An act to amend Section 15001 of, to add Chapter 6 (commencing with Section 10650) to Part 2, Division 2, Title 2 of the Government Code, relating to aids to the Legislature.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. Article 7 (commencing with Section 15901) of Chapter 1, Part 1, Division 2, Title 2 of the Government Code is amended by adding Section 15901.1, relating to aids to the Legislature, to read:

"CHAPTER 6. JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
"10650. The Legislature finds and declares that the maintenance of the policy of the State of California for full employment, maintenance of economic productivity and continued economic growth requires that the Legislature have available accurate and independent resources for the collection and analysis of economic and fiscal data, and forecasts. The Legislature further finds that provision of such economic studies and forecasts can be much more efficiently handled by the establishment of a joint legislative committee, adequately staffed with economists and other professional personnel, rather than through cumbersome executive agencies of state government for such economic information and advice, and to that end this act is enacted.

"10651. There is hereby created a permanent joint committee of the Legislature, to be known as the Joint Economic Committee. The committee shall be composed of ten members, five of whom shall be Members of the Assembly and five of whom shall be Members of the Senate. The Assembly members shall consist of the following: the Speaker of the Assembly, the Chairman of the Appropriations and Budget Committee, the Majority Leader of the Assembly, and one Member of the Assembly appointed by the Speaker. The Senate members shall consist of the following: the President pro Tempore of the Senate, the Chairman of the Committee on Finance, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Revenue and Taxation, the Minority Leader of the Senate, and one Member of the Senate appointed by the Joint Committee on Rules. The chairman of the committee shall be elected biennially from the membership of the Senate by a majority vote of each house's delegation on the committee.

"10652. The Joint Economic Committee shall, on the effective date of this chapter, succeed to all powers, duties, and functions of the Joint Legislative Budget Committee.

"10653. The Joint Economic Committee shall, on the effective date of this chapter, succeed to all powers, duties, and functions of the Legislative Analyst.

"10654. The executive director shall, subject to approval by the committee, appoint technical and clerical staff necessary to assist him in the performance of his duties. At least two members of the staff thus appointed shall be professional economists, experienced in economic forecasting.

"10655. The Joint Economic Committee shall have the following general duties and responsibilities:
(a) The committee shall analyze the annual economic report of the Governor, employing public hearings and staff analysis, and shall submit a report on the economic report of the Governor to the Legislature. The committee shall include in its report any recommendations for legislative action at both the state and federal levels which it may deem necessary for the continued economic health of the state.
(b) The committee shall monitor federal legislation and federal executive decisions which may have an effect upon the state's economy, and its growth and development, including those affecting representation by the California Legislature before federal agencies and the Congress, where it deems appropriate.
(c) The committee shall prepare economic forecasts and related data, and shall compare such data with similar information prepared by federal agencies of the federal government and contained in the Governor's Budget and economic report. The committee's annual analysis of the Governor's Budget shall contain an evaluation by the executive director and his staff of the accuracy and adequacy of the revenue estimates and economic forecasts of state economic activity and other pertinent information contained in the Governor's Budget.
(d) The committee shall ascertain facts and make recommendations to the Legislature concerning the need for additional federal revenue support in meeting the state budget, the revenues and expenditures of the state, the organization and functions of the state, its departments, subdivisions and agencies, and the efficiency of state programs and agencies.
(e) The committee shall conduct continuing studies of program and performance budgeting systems, and shall undertake periodically to evaluate the cost-effectiveness of state programs and agencies.
(f) The committee may undertake other special studies, investigations, and hearings as it deems necessary to:
(1) Studies of state debt management
(2) Studies of state-federal-local fiscal relationships
(3) Studies of state economic growth where it can be influenced by the decisions of state government.
(g) The committee shall determine the efficiency of state government operations within the several agencies.
(h) The committee shall, in its deliberations and investigations, give particular attention to the impact of scientific and technological advances upon the conduct of state programs and upon the state's economy.
(i) The committee shall make provision for the committee's need to receive information promptly concerning legislative and administrative actions of other committees of the Senate and the Assembly, and to receive, in a timely manner, periodic reports and recommendations of other joint committees of the Legislature, to be distributed to the committee.
"10656. The Joint Economic Committee shall have the power to appoint subcommittees to serve among the regular and pro tem committees by a majority vote of each house of the Legislature; to conduct hearings within the state on problems within its jurisdiction; to issue subpoenas where necessary to compel the attendance of witnesses; and to compel the cooperation of state executive agencies in conducting its business.

"10657. The committee has a continuing existence and may meet, act, and conduct its business at any place within this state, during sessions of the Legislature or any recess thereof, and in the interim period between sessions.

"10658. The provisions of the Joint Rules of the Senate and Assembly are hereby amended to provide for the Joint Economic Committee.

"Scc. 3. Section 15001 of the Government Code is amended to read:

"15001. (a) The Governor, utilizing his staff and the resources of state agencies responsible to him in preparation thereof, shall transmit to the Legislature not later than the thirty calendar day of the first regular session an economic report setting forth:
(1) The rates and levels of employment, income, and purchasing power obtaining in the state and in the state's major economic regions; and
(2) Current and foreseeable trends in the levels of employment, income, and purchasing power.
(b) A review of the economic program of the state and its political subdivisions, as affected by the policies of the federal government, and a review of economic conditions affecting employment in the state in any considerable portion thereof during the preceding year and of
their effect upon employment, production, income, and purchasing power;

(4) A program for carrying out the policy of employment, together with such recommendations for legislation as he may deem necessary or desirable;

(5) A statement of economic forecasting data and the basis of the economic report, of which shall include supplementary or revised recommendations as he may deem necessary or desirable to achieve the policy of full employment.

(c) Upon receipt of the annual economic report of the Governor, the Joint Economic Committee shall conduct public hearings on the substance of the report, and no later than 15 days after receipt of the Governor's report the Joint Economic Committee shall issue a report on the economic report of the Governor. Such report shall include recommendations concerning the accuracy of the economic forecasts and such recommendations as may be made in the Governor's report, together with any recommendations concerning the Governor's report which the committee may wish to make.

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1056, S. 3262. I do this so that the bill will become the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The Assistant Legislative Clerk will be authorized to make appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

SUPPORT FOR SENATE RATIFICATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS IS VERY IMPRESSIVE

Mr. Proxmire. Mr. President, the support for ratification of the human rights conventions is indeed plentiful. The basic principles behind our Declaration of Independence and Constitution are the same as those which inspired men of our time to draft the human rights treaties because the democratic tradition seeks to protect the rights of the individual and to shield him from the arbitrary action of government. That is precisely the objective of these treaties.

The human rights treaties are backed by such respected American organizations as: The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Board of theYWCA, the National Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, and the United Church of Christ.

Such distinguished Americans as John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Dean Rusk, Arthur Goldberg, and Willard Wirtz have given their strong support to the ratification of these treaties.

I urge the Members of the Senate to add their "aye" to the American chorus of support for these treaties and ratify the Conventions on Genocide, Forced Labor, Freedom of Association, and Political Rights of Women.

THE AMERICAN AIM IN VIETNAM

Mr. McGee. Mr. President, the American aim in Vietnam, as we approach the new phase, resulting from President Johnson's statesmanlike removal of the war from political considerations. His act has freed his hands and, as Mr. Alsop points out, it has freed the hands of our negotiators. But it has not changed our purpose.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Alsop's column be printed in the Record.

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

NOTE TO "CROCODILE" HARRIMAN: "TELL HANOI TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT" (By Joseph Alsop)

HANOI, SOUTH VIETNAM. — In the whole new circumstances created by President Johnson's memorable and superb act of self-abnegation, a short memorandum for his chief peace negotiator, W. Averell Harriman, may perhaps serve.

"Dear Governor: In the first month of the golden Kennedy years, I had to tell one of the impatient new young men, who did not understand, that you were a bit like an old crocodile. I explained that you were quiescent-looking, even sonorous-seeming until the dictates of common sense or the great interests of the United States were attacked—whereupon the great jaws opened, and another fool found that he was figuratively missing a leg.

"Mac Bundy liked and popularized the nickname, and I am afraid it stuck. And if Hanoi rejected the President's invitation to send someone to talk peace with you, the remarkable qualities of 'The Old Crocodile' will be more than ever needed.

"It should be necessary to remind you of what you once said President Kennedy told you concerning Laos—that any kind of patch-up there would for the time being be a step to the future since Vietnam was the main theater, and the future of Laos and of all of Asia would be settled by the outcome of the struggle in Vietnam. That is what the President had in mind.

"You have naturally sought to halt their invasion of our neighbor to the South, as they wholly falsely promised to halt their invasion of Laos in the agreement that they signed with you. With this respect, the magnificent patriotism and disinterestedness the President has displayed gives you wonderful freedom of maneuver. If you do not take it, we do not need to tolerate the endlessly reiterated North Vietnamese program of fighting while negotiating.

"If we accept fighting while negotiating, it will be ten times, a hundred times worse than it was in Korea, and there we suffered more than 90,000 casualties after the talks began. But there, at least, we did not lose the war, whereas here, acceptance of anything short of victory will be less than automatic. The real purpose of this war's infinitely more complex and inter-penetrating pattern, which lends itself so perfectly to Communist treachery.

"You are here, I believe, as you were in Korea, where the North Vietnamese go home, bag and baggage, and if they cease to support domestic subversion in South Vietnam, they will have a good deal of time to get out to be worthwhile. They can take home with them those of the VC who have stained their hands with murder—and they are many—and any others who may wish to go. The people of South Vietnam will then be quite capable of settling their own affairs, and since they are a brave and intelligent people, with an immensely rich country, they should have a wonderfully prosperous future.

"In weighing this issue, there are two things to bear in mind. One is the fact that our country in which it is thought wonderfully laughable to deny that American forces in the field have suffered heavy defeat. In certain circles, in Washington and New York particularly, the notion of American success is thought downright ludicrous. One may be sure that this American view is not shared by average Americans.

"Please bear in mind that if Hanoi had believed its men could win the war prior to the President's acts, they would have continued. And if any American general tried anything like the Tet offensive in Occupied Vietnam, suffering comparable losses and failing to attain all its stated objectives—he would not just be relieved. He would be lynched.

"Second, please bear in mind that almost all Washington discussion of the northern bombing is both illogical and ill-informed. The plain facts are that Hanoi's greatest desire is to maintain its occupation of Laos and to stick with him despite your attachment to his illusion. He does not need to worry about your chief's electoral prospects (and I had just heard from home that you had decided to stick with him despite your attachment to Senator Kennedy)."

"You do not need to accept false negotiating currency, because it can be made to look like the real thing at the convention or for a while thereafter. You do not need to heed the councils of the defeat-at-any-price crowd, who will urge you to believe in promises that will have to be kept. You do not need to tolerate the endlessly reiterated North Vietnamese program of fighting while negotiating.

"If we accept fighting while negotiating, it will be ten times, a hundred times worse than it was in Korea, and there we suffered more than 90,000 casualties after the talks began. But there, at least, we did not lose the war, whereas here, acceptance of anything short of victory will be less than automatic. The real purpose of this war's infinitely more complex and inter-penetrating pattern, which lends itself so perfectly to Communist treachery.

"You are here, I believe, as you were in Korea, where the North Vietnamese go home, bag and baggage, and if they cease to support domestic subversion in South Vietnam, they will have a good deal of time to get out to be worthwhile. They can take home with them those of the VC who have stained their hands with murder—and they are many—and any others who may wish to go. The people of South Vietnam will then be quite capable of settling their own affairs, and since they are a brave and intelligent people, with an immensely rich country, they should have a wonderfully prosperous future.

"In weighing this issue, there are two things to bear in mind. One is the fact that our country in which it is thought wonderfully laughable to deny that American forces in the field have suffered heavy defeat. In certain circles, in Washington and New York particularly, the notion of American success is thought downright ludicrous. One may be sure that this American view is not shared by average Americans.

"Please bear in mind that if Hanoi had believed its men could win the war prior to the President's acts, they would have continued. And if any American general tried anything like the Tet offensive in Occupied Vietnam, suffering comparable losses and failing to attain all its stated objectives—he would not just be relieved. He would be lynched.

"Second, please bear in mind that almost all Washington discussion of the northern bombing is both illogical and ill-informed. The plain facts are that Hanoi's greatest desire is to maintain its occupation of Laos and to stick with him despite your attachment to his illusion. He does not need to worry about your chief's electoral prospects (and I had just heard from home that you had decided to stick with him despite your attachment to Senator Kennedy)."

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and Currency will recall that in January 1965, I introduced S. 558, the proposed Export Expansion Act. Title II of that bill proposed to amend the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 to enlarge the special fund for the financing of exports by $500 million, out of AID concessional terms; second, to specify that the new special fund for the financing of exports was available and where such exports are in direct competition with U.S. goods and services; third, for maximum flexibility in our own export financing facilities, indicated some reservations about enactment of the bill at that time. Administration officials generally stated that they were opposed to any intention to liberalize its existing facilities and practices and also in view of improved consultative arrangements between the interested agencies, it did not appear to be necessary to make the changes proposed in Title II of the bill at that time.

In February 1966, the proposal for the national interest fund, as contemplated by S. 558, received strong endorsement from both the National Export Expansion Council and the NEEC Action Committee on Export Financing. As the committee knows, the NEEC is a blue ribbon group of American businessmen and bankers, established by the Department of Commerce to provide advice on behalf of the American business community with respect to export expansion programs. The report of the NEEC Action Committee recommended creation within Eximbank of a thorough-going special fund of a special fund of at least $500 million for export credit guarantees to U.S. exporters and their commercial bankers to facilitate the financing of U.S. goods and services "under unusual situations." The recommendation stated that this special fund would be "as contemplated by the proposed Magnonson-Adams Export Expansion Act of 1965," and would be "the 'national interest' funds operated by the British and Canadian governments." Circumstances and categories of transactions where the special fund might be employed are listed. First, sales to countries phasing out of AID concessional terms; second, meeting foreign competition; and third, market penetration. The NEEC itself has held two subsequent discussions on the recommendations of the action committee. My colleagues and I have been holding hearings on the proposal for a special fund, Eximbank, and the advice of eminent businessmen and Government officials, all make it clear to me, and I hope to Senators, that the proposal for a national interest fund, advanced in our bill of 1965, restated upon a slightly different base, is one that has been more strongly substantiated by subsequent events.

I believe there is little doubt that the Eximbank has operated with effectiveness within its legislative charter. However, more flexibility is clearly needed to win more export sales for the United States. In my judgment, S. 3218, as drafted, is quite adequate to provide this type of flexibility and added flexibility to the U.S. export financing system. I therefore urge your favorable action on this bill.

I would like to add on final word of advice to the Administration of the proposed special account. The new account must result in genuinely additional exports for the United States. We must recognize the possibility that certain transactions to the Eximbank might simply be shifted to the new account which, in the absence of this new facility, Eximbank might have financed in any case from its regular resources. Such shifting and substitution must be avoided, if the special account is to fulfill its purpose of truly additional exports. The Export Expansion Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Commerce, should therefore be alert to this possibility in considering applications for financing from the special account. Turndowns of applications by Eximbank prior to Bank Board review should also be referred to the Advisory Committee for its consideration of the reasons for the turndown. In appropriate instances, the Advisory Committee might return a transaction to the Eximbank for further consideration under its regular account. A procedure along these lines would, I believe, go far in assuring that the use of the new account would result in genuinely additional exports for the United States which will be an improvement in our balance-of-payments and commercial benefit.

In summary, I feel today, as I did 3 years ago, that this type of financing for American exports is an important means of improving our balance of payments, and I am confident that consideration of S. 3218 by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency.

DEPRIVATION AND PERSONALITY
A NEW CHALLENGE TO HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Government Research, of which I am chairman, will hold hearings on "Depersonalization and Personality: A New Challenge to Human Resources Development." More than 20 experts in social work, educators, and Government officials will testify during the 6 days of hearings to begin next Monday, April 8.

The subcommittee will solicit from the witnesses, with a diversity of knowledge and experience, their insights on the nature of the psychological and sociological aspects of human resource development. We are particularly interested in these questions as they relate to the hard core unemployed. It is increasingly apparent that we need to offer more than just job skills to the unemployed and underemployed. Many individuals and families, deprived of opportunity, have lost hope and faith in themselves.

The President's Commission on Civil Disorders, on which I was proud to serve, released its report in March, accurately portraying the divisions and deep wounds which exist in our society. The Commission made many concrete recommendations for action to heal these wounds.

I also gave special emphasis to motivating the hard core unemployed. The report said:

A sure method for motivating the hard core unemployed has not yet been devised. One approach has been taken by the experience of the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Manpower Development and Training projects; a second approach has been to employ trained or untrained jobless people or employees to believe that he is not being trained for or offered a "dead end" job.

Our hearings will try to clarify some of the complexities surrounding this problem of nation's unbridged inquiry. First, what approaches or strategies are being or can be employed to help motivate people to improve their socioeconomic status? Second, what programs have been and can be designed to implement these approaches? Third, what research projects—such as motivational, crosscultural, and longitudinal studies—are being or can be conducted to deepen our insights and expand our understanding of the impact of deprivation and disadvantage on personality?

Many other questions emanate from the three dimensions of our hearings and will be explored. We do not necessarily expect to come up with definitive answers, but rather to focus attention on the problems, on the efforts now being made and innovative approaches needed. We hope the printed hearings will give a first hand view of the problems, on the efforts now being made and innovative approaches needed. We hope the printed hearings will give a first hand view of the problems, on the efforts now being made and innovative approaches needed. We hope the printed hearings will give a first hand view of the problems, on the efforts now being made and innovative approaches needed. We hope the printed hearings will give a first hand view of the problems, on the efforts now being made and innovative approaches needed.
peal the equal time doctrine with regard to candidates for President and Vice President. The principal argument brought forth against its passage at that time was the fact that it would put enormous pressure on an incumbent President to publicly debate the wisdom of his policies with his chief opponent. Many felt then and still believe today that such a confrontation might lead to an outburst by the incumbent in the heat of debate that could jeopardize our national interest and perhaps even our national security.

Mr. President, I have never found that argument very persuasive. The tempo of a presidential campaign sorely tries the patience of the casual voter and the ultimate victor is usually a man exceedingly well qualified to discuss the issues of the day without losing his self-control. In any event, Sunday's announcement has removed a roadblock. All the positive arguments for passage of S. 1859 still remain.

For example, the cost of political campaigns has soared in recent years, with a large part of the increase attributable to the growing reliance on television as a method of mass communication. In 1966, candidates of all parties spent a total of $32 million for spot announcements and political programs. This represents a 60-percent increase over the total spent in 1964, the last preceding non-presidential year, and almost equals the $34.6 million spent in 1964 for presidential and non-presidential campaigns combined. Of this sum, approximately 37 percent was spent by presidential and vice-presidential candidates alone.

Mr. President, many prominent officials in the broadcasting industry have indicated that they would willingly make free debating time available to candidates, particularly during presidential campaigns, but are currently deterred from doing so by section 315 of the Federal Communications Act of 1934 which permanently repealed the compulsory free time provision, though certainly if we are to meet our responsibility to encourage all men of ability and not merely men of means to participate in public affairs, it must be done to reduce the enormous costs involved. The primary purpose for repealing the equal time requirement is to encourage a thorough discussion of the issues by the two leading candidates. But the passage of such a law was under pressure, for after all, this is what the victor will be doing daily once he assumes office. Such meetings can restore a healthy and necessary element in the style and public value of presidential campaigns.

Thus, there are a number of reasons why the equal time provision should be permanently repealed. And, because of present conditions, this is a particularly appropriate time to act. If we continue to debate the issues, as we face with a presidential election involving an incumbent, and it is highly unlikely that the party in power, be it Republican or Democratic, will encourage the passage of legislation to reduce the political advantage by exposing the officeholder to a grueling face-to-face confrontation with his principal rival despite the fact that such an encounter is in the interest of an enlightened citizen.

Mr. President, last year this body unanimously passed the Election Reform Act of 1967. This was indeed a significant step toward improving the character and quality of the American democratic process. But we can and should do more.

Current law stifles, not stimulates, public debate. It encourages a growth, not a reduction, in campaign spending. It must be reformed. Let us act, therefore, to repeal, not merely suspend, the equal time provision— at least with regard to presidential and vice presidential candidates—and boldly put public before party interests.

LOSS PAYMENTS ON DROUGHT DAMAGE

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, nearly half of our Oklahoma farmers who carry Federal crop insurance have received loss payments on drought damage to their 1967 crops. Some 2,750 of the 5,600 insured crops were damaged severely for the 1967 crop totaling nearly $3 million, making it the second highest total of loss payments to be paid in Oklahoma in the last 20 years.

I call this to your attention because I think it illustrates aptly how well this program of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, U.S. Department of Agriculture, is functioning and because I know that some years are "loss years" for FCIC and some are not. The important thing is that for the 39 States in which one-third of a million farmers now carry $750 million in FCIC protection, the 20-year loss payout has averaged nationally about 98 cents per every premium dollar the farmers paid—which is how Congress asked that the program be operated when it was first established.

In good years, insured farmers have no need to be reminded by the people with knowing they can be in business the following year, come what may, but they also have valuable additional bank credit which they are using more and more for expansion and operating costs. In disaster years, of course, the loss payments they receive are more times than not a godsend and a lifesaver.

In Oklahoma, Federal crop insurance is offered in 38 counties on one or more of five separate crops. All 38 have wheat protection available; eight of the 38 offer cotton insurance; 18 offer grain sorghum insurance; two offer peanut insurance, and two offer soybean insurance. Two of these five crops, six counties on three crops, 12 counties on two of the crops, and in 18 counties only wheat protection is available.

More than $2,750,000 of the $3 million in loss payments paid for the 1967 crop year was paid to 2,445 wheat farmers—331 other losses which were paid on the other four crops total $115,000.

In 7 of the last 20 years, FCIC's loss payout in Oklahoma has exceeded the 1967 amount offered by insurance companies on these five crops, so they will continue to offer crop insurance.

It is gratifying to see such a voluntary program, paying its losses out of premium income, be so well accepted that it has more than doubled in scope nationally in the last 6 years. I think Congress can be proud it established Federal crop insurance to fill a long-felt need. And I know that the Department of Agriculture is pleased at how well it has been operating in recent years—filling a need which keeps increasing as farming becomes more expensive, and as the financial risks in farming grow.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY AT 10 A.M.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there being no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate adjourn until 10 o'clock a.m. on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, April 8, 1968, at 10 a.m.
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The American Dental Association Pays
Tribute to Senator Lister Hill

HON. GAYLORD NELSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Alabama (Mr. Hill) has compiled an unparalleled record of public service, both as a Representative and as a Senator.

Since his arrival in Washington in 1923 as a freshman Representative in the 68th Congress, Lister Hill has made giant strides in improving the lives of all Americans.

For the past 45 years he has dedicated himself to promoting the welfare of our Nation. Few men in our long history have so willingly given of themselves as has Senator Lister Hill.

In the House, he fought for Government operation of Muscle Shoals and helped finally to make this the core of the great Tennessee Valley Authority development. In the Senate, he was the principal advocate of an ever-widening program of Government medical research. He was the coauthor of the law that provides Federal funds for construction of hospitals. His record of accomplishments goes on and on, and will be indelibly printed in the annals of American history.

In the April issue of the Journal of the American Dental Association, a fine tribute is paid to Senator Hill. His record of accomplishments in preventing and treating tropical disease, and of research in this field is paid tribute to its distinguished Honorary President, the Honorable Lister Hill of Alabama.

In 1928 when, in the House, he led the struggle for the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine, Senator Hill was a pioneer in research in preventing and treating tropical disease.

It was Lister Hill who sponsored the measure, in 1948, to establish the National Institute of Health, an arm of the United States Public Health Service. Additional legislation through the years has made it possible to grow specialized areas to keep pace with the fruits of research. Senator Hill's unflagging interest has focused not only on the total program of the Institutes but on each of the specialized areas. It was at the recommendation of his Appropriations Subcommittee, for example, that Congress funded the National Institute of Dental Research for an independently housed National Institute of Dental Research.

The Research Facilities Construction Act of 1956 is another major achievement sponsored by Senator Hill as is the establishment of the modern National Library of Medicine. Such achievements go toward providing the tools that a highly trained professional team must have. A need that is perhaps even more basic is to assure a continuing supply of competent workers. Here, too Lister Hill has led, with credit for the Omnibus Health Act of 1956, The Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1962, the Hill-Burton program, and the Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966.

In the area of public health, the impetus to construction of public health centers under the Hill-Burton program has been a major factor in modernizing public health and medical education. As of June 1, 1968, more than 1,340 health centers and laboratories had been or were being built under the auspices of the Hill-Burton program. Senator Hill is also an architect of the Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Service Amendments of 1966.

As a result of these general efforts have been made, Lister Hill has pursued a compassionate interest in the handicapped, the mentally ill, and the mentally retarded. The Hill-Harris Act of 1963, authorizing financial assistance for the construction of a comprehensive network of facilities for the mentally ill, is precedent-setting legislation. He is the author as well, of the most comprehensive rehabilitation legislation Congress has ever enacted. He is the architect for the construction of rehabilitation facilities has provided a focal point for community efforts in all rehabilitation programs.

Senator Hill has led in enactment of legislation relating to training of teachers of the deaf and providing braille textbooks and other educational material for blind schoolchildren. It was his efforts that led to establishment of the National Technical Institute for the Deaf.

It has frequently noted that Lister Hill is in a strategic position to further America's health programs since he is Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and Chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee concerned with health expenditures. Though there is some prejudice in saying that the sun begins to shine when the earth is warm, if America enjoys today the continued legislation that Senator Hill has led for the extension of a Golden Age of Medicine, it is not so much because those Chairmanships were held by Lister Hill as it is that those Chairmanships, at this crucial point in our history, were invested with purpose and meaning by a man who understood clearly that this nation's potential is equal to its needs.

The Honorable Lister Hill of Alabama, known today as a principal architect of our National Health Act, has made his contributions in the years of our nation's health as a family heritage. Writing of him, William Proxmire, in the Senate Review, has said: "Lister Hill's identification with the nation's health was a family heritage. He has done it with unfaltering vision, courtly eloquence, tireless leadership, and hope. He has done it with unfaltering loyalty to the principles of the American Dental Association, a fine tribute to its distinguished Honorary President, the Honorable Lister Hill of Alabama."
There are several spheres of political activity in which the teacher can participate effectively. Active membership in a professional organization such as the National Education Association, which is sponsoring Teachers-In-Politics Weekend this coming April 5 through 7, can enlarge the base of the individual’s political influence. Teacher organizations not only work to improve the status of the profession and the quality of the system as a whole, but they also seek to provide the individual teacher with information on the newest methods and materials and to help her the support of colleagues throughout the country. A good example of the activities of such organizations are the teacher clinics which are being sponsored by the Hawaii State classroom teachers this weekend. These clinics will examine and discuss the role of the teacher as a good citizen.

Individual participation in community and national affairs is another area in which the teacher can be effective. Nineteen out of 10 teachers voted in the national election in 1964, as compared to seven out of 10 people in the general voting population. It was estimated that by 1967, almost 50,000 teachers had been candidates for public office. These figures show a national trend among educators toward a more active involvement in politics which I hope will continue to grow, and which I know the Teachers-In-Politics Weekend will provide significant impetus.

Teachers in Politics

HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, today, the National Education Association and its constituent state associations have launched a most worthwhile program called Teachers-In-Politics.

I think the purpose of this program can be summed up best by the following resolution concerning teacher activity during 1968.

This should be a year in which teachers make a new pledge to democracy, in which teachers assume cheerfully the duties that are a part of citizenship and in which city, state and nation will benefit from teachers leading free men to govern themselves with courage and vision.

Mr. President, in my home State of Kansas, the Kansas State Teachers Association is sponsoring six required political clinics tomorrow throughout the State to encourage teacher participation in political affairs and to motivate teachers to interest their students in politics.

In essence, this program allows our teachers to do their homework before exercising their rights as American citizens. These clinics will not be concerned with partisan politics but with the creation of a more responsible citizenry and a better government.

I wish to go on record as commending the National Education Association and the Kansas State teachers organization for this worthwhile and needed program.

Teachers in Politics—Positive Action for Democracy

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico Mr. Speaker, since the first political clinics were established in New England during the 1600’s, the American schoolteacher has been responsible for the guidance and development of the youth of our Nation. Through the patience and understanding of many millions of dedicated men and women, generations of children have learned the skills and values so essential to the continued vitality of our country. A wise man once noted that:

The most potent of all indirect influences in the development of our citizenry is the influence of a good teacher.

Today’s teacher faces a greater challenge than any of his predecessors, for the choices which confront us in contemporary life are some of the most difficult ever thrust upon a democracy. Our response to these choices may well decide the future course of our own, and the world’s history. Thus, the necessity of a responsible, well-informed citizenry is a crucial one, which can be met by the day-to-day efforts of teachers in classrooms in every part of the country.

The scope of the need is so great, however, that in many cases outside help has been necessary to enable schools and teachers to meet it effectively. Congress has recognized this crucial need and has provided Federal funds to assist in this undertaking. Believing that people are our most precious national asset, we have joined forces and channeled our energies toward a productive investment in the best education possible for the youth of our Nation.

The success of our endeavor will determine our future greatness and, in large measure, it will depend on our teachers. How well they impart the values and ideals of a democracy to impressionable children will be the deciding factor in whether our legacy will be a viable political instrument, responsive to the needs and desires of a people or a system of hardened and unmanageable rules, suited only to perpetuate the vested interests of a status quo.

In view of these considerations, it is with a great sense of pleasure that I salute the teachers of this country who, from Friday, April 5, to Sunday, April 7, are observing Teachers-In-Politics Weekend. Their recognition of, and participation in, the political process is the most effective means of attaining the goals which we desire for our children and ourselves is gratifying to me, both as a politician and as a parent. Not only do teachers constitute one of our most well-informed sources about the educational requirements of youth, but their active participation in the political life of our Nation will serve as an exemplary model to today’s and tomorrow’s leaders.

“Teachers in Politics” weekend will help bring home to us the fact that teachers, as a group, are becoming more and more politically aware and and more and more politically active. Opinion polls run by the National Education Association indicate that teachers themselves have undergone a rapid change of opinion as to their participation in politics. In 1956, only 33 percent thought teachers should be active in politics; in 1964, 67 percent were in favor of an active role. In the November 1964, national elections, nine out of 10 teachers went to the polls as compared to seven out of 10 persons of the general population of voting age. The potential value of active, informed participation in politics is heightened by the fact that this is an election year.

Observances scheduled for the weekend include a variety of activities at the State and local level. Political clinics are being organized in many States to observe the weekend. In New Mexico, a statewide meeting is planned for April 6 in Albuquerque, with participation by the present gubernatorial candidates and a discussion by the State precinct chairman.

I heartily endorse the concept of active, intelligent participation in politics for every American. And I am tremendously proud of the fine effort being launched by teachers throughout the land to make it not the exception, but the rule, for responsible citizens to exercise their freedom of choice not only at the polls, but in the precincts. We can justifiably say that it is a positive response to the challenge of a democratic society that will benefit not only the Nation, but each of our children as well as the teachers who inspire them.

Senator Prouoty Lauds Teachers-in-Politics Weekend

HON. WINSTON L. PROUTY
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, this weekend the National Education Association in conjunction with its State affiliates will be conducting a nationwide campaign to enlist teacher participation in political matters.

Teachers-in-Politics Weekend is an excellent idea and it shows great promise for the promotion of active participation and will serve to emphasize the importance of the teacher’s continuing role to play in the political decision making processes.

As the ranking Republican on the Senate Education Subcommittee it has been indeed a great privilege and honor for me to have been directly associated with
the National and State associations in helping to make the 1960's the educational decade of this country. Their help is of such unprecedented attention and support to the task of strengthening and improving education in the United States.

Finally, I wish to express my personal appreciation to the teachers of the Nation for their dedication in discharging their responsibility to equip our children in meeting the challenges of tomorrow.

**Discrimination in Employment**

**HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN**  
**NEW YORK**

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**Friday, April 5, 1968**

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on February 29 in a speech on the floor of the House I outlined the failure of the Federal Government to implement existing powers to curbed discrimination in employment. I pointed out the 101 and section 103(a) of the Model Cities Act require, as a condition of assistance, that model cities funds be used to open up jobs for residents of the target area.

Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, in a speech in New Orleans on March 30, raised very disturbing questions about the proposed administration of these requirements. The intent of the act is clear. I call upon the responsible administration officials to follow it. I include at this point excerpts from the address by Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, and a news story from the Washington Post of Friday, March 29, entitled "NAACP Charges Deal Robs Negroes of Jobs":

**EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY HERBERT HILL**

"NATIONAL LABOR DIRECTOR, NAACP, DELIVERED AT NAACP SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE, ROYAL HAVEN HOTEL, NEW ORLEANS, LA., MARCH 30"

The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 (public law 89-777) and section 101 and section 103(a) of the Model Cities Act require, as a condition of assistance, that model cities funds be used to open up jobs for residents of the target area.

Section 101 of Title I of the Act states that "The Purpose of This Title is ... to expand housing, job and income opportunities."

Section 103(a) states that "a comprehensive development program is eligible for assistance only if the program is of sufficient magnitude ... to make marked progress in reducing social and educational disadvantages, unemployment, and enforced idleness ... to serve the poor and disadvantaged in the area."

Section 103 also requires "maximum opportunities for employing residents of the area in all phases of the program and enlarged opportunities for union work and training."

It is clear that the purpose of the Model Cities Act is not simply to construct buildings, but also to provide gainful employment for unemployed or underemployed ghetto residents.

We believe that the unemployed residents of the areas affected by the Model Cities Act have priority rights to the jobs created by the expenditure of public funds in the Model Cities Program. This includes new construction as well as rehabilitation work. The wording of the Act is very specific on this point as it requires "Maximum opportunities for employing residents of the areas in all phases of the program and enlarged opportunities for union work and training."

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has informed the Subcommittee that local residents must be given "priority for jobs created by the expenditure of program funds."

At the present time confidential negotiations are taking place involving the building and construction trades unions of the AFL-CIO, the Associated General Contractors, Builders, the Associated General Contractors, together with other major contractor groups and representatives of United States Government agencies. The object of these negotiations is to the advancement of Colored People is in possession of a "Fifth Draft" copy of a proposed "Memorandum of Agreement on Rehabilitation Work" dated March 1, 1968, and designated "For Discussion Purposes Only.

This document becomes the basis for a national agreement between the building trades unions and the contractor associations with the approval and participation of the Federal Government, that discriminatory Negro workers working in the ghetto who are intended to be major beneficiaries of the Model Cities Act will be robbed, as they have been so many in the past, as a result of instructions to the new employment opportunities in publicly financed construction.

An analysis of the "Fifth Draft" of the "Memorandum of Agreement on Rehabilitation Work" dated March 1, 1968, reveals that:

1. the pact would assure the discriminatory bargaining control of all rehabilitation work opportunities in the Model Cities Program. These are the same unions that historically and at present control the hiring hall arrangements, and therefore deny Negro workers employment opportunities in this expanding sector of the national economy.

2. The Department of Justice has recently initiated litigation in Federal courts against major AFL-CIO construction unions in several cities because of discriminatory labor practices and it would be the height of folly to allow the unions to the requirements of civil rights law and federal executive orders. The abundant evidence makes it very clear that the nation must be protected from the operation of the hiring hall arrangement from the building trades craft unions remains intact. The proposed agreement would for all practical purposes reinstate the exclusive racial employment pattern into the Model Cities Program while fostering the illusion of concessions to the manpower requirements of the act.

3. The proposed agreement creates a new, separate labor classification, that of "trainee," into two groups: "advanced trainee" and "regular trainee." The Agreement does not require the unions to admit "trainees" to membership. It provides that "advice" is given to "trainees" as to who is an "advanced trainee" and who is a "regular trainee" without establishing objective criteria for determining who is trainee. There is no indication in the agreement as to who will determine when a "regular" trainee qualifies for the status of "advanced trainee.

4. The proposed agreement provides that "trainees" will not receive the fringe benefits given to union members but that "an explicit allowance shall be made in lieu of fringe benefits until some such arrangement has been made." It is evident that "trainees" will be permitted to work at the discretion of a labor union, and be eligible to receive substandard wages and welfare insurance coverage and to the same vacation and welfare benefits as is available to union members. Since it may be anticipated that most of the "trainees" will be residents of ghetto areas, this is clearly a discriminatory practice which results from the denial of union membership.

5. The proposed agreement states that ratios shall be established between the number of Negro jobs and white jobs in the relationship to journeymen. There is no indication that the present highly restrictive ratios established by the craft unions will be set aside when the proposed agreement is in effect. It is unlikely that the number of "trainees" will be admitted into the industry as a result of the proposed agreement, but rather as a new form of black labor. Even these very limited "concessions," however, will not apply to new construction. It is necessary to note that rehabilitation work represents a prime source of all employment in building and construction.

6. The proposed agreement provides that "trainees" who will be local residents could receive even lower wages than those indicated by the agreement, but there is no similar provision that white union members, if they receive guaranteed work weeks, would also have to take wage cuts. This can only be regarded as an example of racial discrimination.

7. The proposed agreement exempts from its coverage one of the most important new construction of public buildings, educational plants, highways, transportation facilities, other apartments and the like. Furthermore it only applies to new construction and not to existing agreements. This is clearly contrary to the intent of the Model Cities Act and indicates an extremely limited nature of the alleged "concessions" made by the building trades craft unions in regard to the legal requirements of the Model Cities Program.

8. Any ghetto resident who desires to make a formal complaint about the administration of the proposed agreement would be required to present his grievance to the very same parties to the contract who are administering the agreement and who will therefore be responsible for the alleged discrimination. The National Labor Relations Board has determined in several cases involving hiring hall procedures that by-guessed individuals can not be forced to seek redress of their grievances before the parties to the hiring hall arrangement. Does this not make the proposed Model Cities agreement граждански незаконным или незаконным?

9. The proposed agreement explicitly and implicitly makes it possible in a way to conditions permits the labor unions to establish union membership as a condition of employment on new construction and permits the unions to determine standards of employment for those admitted as "trainees" in return

This is clearly contrary to the intent of the Model Cities Act and indicates an extremely limited nature of the alleged "concessions" made by the building trades craft unions in regard to the legal requirements of the Model Cities Program.

This means that ghetto residents will be excluded from job opportunities in all of the types of construction work enumerated in the Act and is to be a major part of every Model Cities Program. This is clearly contrary to the intent of the Model Cities Act and indicates an extremely limited nature of the alleged "concessions" made by the building trades craft unions in regard to the legal requirements of the Model Cities Program.

Section 103 also requires "maximum opportunities for employing residents of the area in all phases of the program and enlarged opportunities for union work and training."
will instruct its local branches and state organizations to bring suit in the courts to prevent the Federal Government from subsidizing illegal discriminatory employment practices in public construction projects.

Given the growing racial crisis of America’s urban centers, and the recent report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, which concluded that “the pervasive effect” of unemployment and underemployment, “is inextricably linked to the social and economic realities of government agencies in these matters is nothing short of criminal. High public officials who fail to enforce the law in protecting the rights of Negro citizens are as guilty of breaking “law and order” as those who throw Molotov cocktails on city streets.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 29, 1968]

NAACP CHARGES DEAL ROBS NEGROES OF JOBS

(By George Lardner Jr.)

The NAACP accused the Johnson Administration of making a secret agreement that would “rob” Negroes of jobs under the Model Cities program.

Hill announced that the agreement, by virtue of the facts disclosed above, constitutes a direct negation of the concept of equal employment opportunity under the law and the specific requirements of the Model Cities Act. The experience of Negro workers throughout the country for more than four decades has made it absolutely clear that progress in eliminating the broad pattern of racial discrimination within the construction industry can not be made within the existing framework of union controlled “lily white” hiring halls and the illegal closed shop.

Significantly the Model Cities Act goes beyond the narrower concept of “equality of opportunity” and requires as a matter of stated public policy “priority” in jobs for unemployed Negro workers. This policy is clearly stated in the Act but the proposed agreement will impose exclusive union hiring halls and illegal closed shops in this sector of public construction which will make meaningless the job priority provisions of the Model Cities Act.

Representatives of the U.S. Department of Labor and of the Department of Housing and Urban Development have a clear obligation to reject any proposal which would nullify the requirements of the proposed agreement. Obviously as a practical matter the agreement cannot be made operative without the approval and participation of government agencies involved in the administration of the Model Cities Program.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls upon the responsible Federal officials to publicly reject the pending agreement or any similar agreement till the Johnson Administration nullifies this illegal discriminatory action in the administration of the Model Cities Program.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today places on the record its firm opposition to the proposed agreement and to indicate that the pending agreement or any similar agreement is unacceptable to the United States Government. Failure to do so can only be understood as a further act of administrative nullification of civil rights laws and executive policies adopted by the Administration which who will be spending vast public funds to subsidize racial discrimination.

If this is to be the case then the NAACP
School dropout rates continue to be seriously high. The projections for the 1965-75 period estimate that 7 million pupils may never enter high school and at least another 7 million may not receive diplomas. In light of our increasingly technological world, this figure represents a darkening prospect.

The need for imaginative programs has thus become apparent. Enriched programs are essential to keep students' interests and to plant within them the seeds of desire for a good education that will hopefully ripen into full awareness of the complexities of their existence. This can only come about if the teachers—the guiding influence of the students—have achieved for themselves the awareness necessary to plant the seeds. Their influence cannot be underestimated. The Massachusetts Teachers Association alone boasts a membership in excess of 16,000.

No one has the right to object to the projections for the 1965-75 period estimate that 2 million students have achieved for themselves the diplomas. In light of our increasing desire for, and need for, the best possible educational system, our society, which has become so dependent upon complex scientific and technological devices, obviously has a great need for highly trained people to use those devices. A world ever teetering on the brink of disaster as increasing numbers of nations come into possession of the awesome weapons of destruction, needs politicians and diplomats of the highest possible caliber, so skilled in the arts of politics and diplomacy that wars can be reduced to the negotiation table.

More than ever before, we live in an age when brains means much more than brawn, when education can mean the difference between survival and destruction, when the intellectual plays an active role in an age when brains means much more than brawn, when education can mean the difference between survival and destruction, needs politicians and diplomats of the highest possible caliber, so skilled in the arts of politics and diplomacy that wars can be reduced to the negotiation table.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the last 20 years have brought a vastly increased awareness of the need for, and the benefits of, the best possible educational system. Our society, which has become so dependent upon complex scientific and technological devices, obviously has a great need for highly trained people to use those devices. A world ever teetering on the brink of disaster as increasing numbers of nations come into possession of the awesome weapons of destruction, needs politicians and diplomats of the highest possible caliber, so skilled in the arts of politics and diplomacy that wars can be reduced to the negotiation table.

Much more than ever before, we live in an age when brains means much more than brawn, when education can mean the difference between survival and destruction, when the intellectual plays an active role in an age when brains means much more than brawn, when education can mean the difference between survival and destruction, needs politicians and diplomats of the highest possible caliber, so skilled in the arts of politics and diplomacy that wars can be reduced to the negotiation table.

Mr. President, the cruel and senseless assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King has shocked the conscience of America.

A great American who lived by the philosophy of non-violence, Dr. King brought hope and leadership to the civil rights movement in this Nation. Now he has been struck down by violence—by the assassin’s bullet.

It is an incident which will be recorded in history as an act which brought shame to the United States and only the conscience of a great nation can broaden that account in history to include the story of an incident which marked a turning point in man's relationship to his fellow man.

The conscience of the United States—not a white conscience or a black conscience—but an American conscience must now be heard throughout this land. It is very easy for leaders of our Government and for the man in the street to express grief, shock, and sympathy for the family of Dr. Martin Luther King in the wake of this act of murder and bigotry.

The test will not come in our words but in our deeds. The test is not the reaction of the Negro people—it is the reaction of America and Americans. The test is not who will be the next Negro leader. The test will be who joins in assuming American leadership.

The movement which Dr. King founded and guided will continue and will grow. The test will be the direction which that movement takes, and the
leadership which is given in directing that movement.

The American people—united and true to the principles upon which this Nation was founded—can give new strength to the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King—

The American dream.

If we fail to respond—or if we respond with much ado rather than in divisiveness—then freedom and equality will be achieved through another path—a path which Dr. King avoided all his life—a path repugnant to Dr. King and repugnant to the philosophy of nonviolence.

The choice is ours—every American's—and we must decide together. It should be an easy decision to make, but the test is whether we make that decision united and firm in the commitment which must be assumed and kept.

Dr. King's brutal slaying has presented this test to the conscience of America and a great nation will see to it that he did not die in vain.

Community Leadership Conference on the Security of the Citizen

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on February 22 I was privileged to co-chairman Murray Gordon and Mr. Celler, as our principal speaker.

Outstanding members of the bench and bar, government officials, and representatives of the academic community formed five panels to discuss crime prevention, the police, the courts, narcotics, and general problems of security in our community.

Obviously, no single conclusion emerged from all of this. The array of crimes that plague our society like so many diseases can no more be lumped together for diagnosis than can heartburn and diseases can no more be lumped together for diagnosis than can heartburn and diseases can no more be lumped together.
reality of anger among the poor. The basic problem of our society—one which will not get easier—is the alienation of the poor from our country, in spite of all its affluence, can doom 20 per cent of society to all of the conditions of crime. If we are concerned with today are due to the conditions of a deeper disease which we probably will not even discuss here, he said.

Mr. Sagalyn added that the apprehension of crime was regarded at one time as a primary objective of the policeman. More than a century ago, it was the policeman's duty to keep his area free of crime. But today, few police departments seem to consider crime prevention either their function or their responsibility. They pay it lip service, while they regard law enforcement as their principal duty. Their men are deployed not to prevent crime but to catch criminals, who have already committed crimes. In many departments, the men are rated on the basis of the number of arrests made.

We need a police system that can increase the crime rate to recognize that this approach has been a failure, Mr. Sagalyn said. We are losing the battle. Most communities have fewer than 100 policemen, and only 10 cities have more than 1,000 policemen. This is a real handicap, but adding a lot more men to police every city is not the answer. It is unlikely to have much impact if police continue to approach the problem as they have in the past.

Our efforts must be directed instead to realistic programs which will prevent crime. In every crime, two factors are involved: motivation and opportunity. Motivation, however, can be changed by the police; opportunity can be changed by the law. We can, however, greatly minimize the opportunity presented to a person happening on the scene is so inviting that he cannot resist the opportunity. And thus crime is committed, which would otherwise not have occurred.

Among the steps which Mr. Sagalyn recommends are environmental and physical controls which will make it very difficult to steal a car, to commit a crime on the streets, or in elevators, stair wells, parks and parking lots—where so many of the serious crimes have occurred. Mr. Sagalyn also mentioned that the police need to be equipped with the training, the authority and the discretion which can get them to strike a balance in dealing with crime.

Mr. Sagalyn noted that the police need to be able to work together with other agencies to deal with crime. They need to be able to work with the courts to ensure that the rights of the accused are protected. They need to be able to work with the community to understand the causes of crime and to develop programs to prevent crime.

Mr. Sagalyn also emphasized the need for professional training for police officers. They need to be educated about the causes of crime and the ways to deal with it. They need to be trained to be able to deal with the different types of crime and to be able to work with other agencies to deal with them.

The policeman is the most visible symbol of authority in our society. As a result, he bears the brunt of complaints that are due to frustration caused by a general evaporation of authority in almost every aspect of community life. But there is little the policeman can do about these basic frustrations. At the same time, the ruling courts have added to the policeman's burden. The Supreme Court has weakened the police power to protect the public. The courts have, of necessity, been lenient in cases of people who have committed crimes. It is tied to the public image of the policeman being a kind of a hero who can do anything.

For any meaningful resolution of our problems, we must change the values of everyone in our society, not just the policeman. In the short run, however, it is necessary to recognize that the police cannot do everything. Many of the functions they are now called upon to do, such as school discipline, illness on the streets, licensing, social work and routine details, are functions which need to be turned over to the appropriate specialists such as doctors, social workers and psychiatrists.

The problem of crime is a serious one, but it is not a problem that cannot be solved. We need a police system that can prevent crime, that can work with other agencies to deal with it, and that can be respected by the public. We need a police system that can be trusted to do the job that is expected of it.
EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

April 5, 1968

of those accused of crimes are psychopaths, but there is little or no research in this area. We must rely on our common sense, our humanitarian impulses, and our administrative facilities to deal with these individuals.

The purpose of criminal justice is not revenge. It is to deter others from committing crimes. Even when people are caught in the commission of crimes, they should not automatically be punished. The judge must have the choice.

Here, the problem is serious, who make serious nuisances to everyone else. The judge is the instrument of society. He must be people available to look after and guide society of those people who are incapable of whether the courts are too lenient with criminals who are placed on probation instead of being sent to prison.

But more money is still needed in the correctional system. For example, the prisoners at Rikers Island, which is a little above my reading level. They need more educational facilities. They should not be allowed to languish away.

Panel Will not solve the problem of crime. There is no easy solution, and we must search for an answer with light rather than with heat. Above all, we must be able to provide the necessary funds, Mr. Roberts said, in order to enable our courts and correctional institutions to do the job.

Mr. Oswald reminded us that in order to determine whether we are too soft with criminals, it is necessary first to say who is the "we" in our question. Does the "we" refer to those who are able to contribute to our national economic productivity of criminality? Does it exclude the advertising man more interested in selling his anti-drug story? Perhaps we need a more public paper more concerned about sensation than the effect of his stories, the movie and TV producers specializing in stimulating criminal tendencies, the parents and schools which have neglected to instill proper attitudes and concepts in children.

Actually, there are some degree of responsibility, and the problem of improving our youthful and adult criminals is also the problem of improving ourselves, Mr. Oswald remarked.

He said punishment, as distinguished from revenge, is a rational rather than an emotional activity. It is aimed at achieving all ends. It is necessary to pursue the possibility of whether addicts can be controlled. Members of the Methadone Program, senior physician to the hospital of Rockefeller University.

Mr. Belk remarked that it is common for a society, when it determines that a practice is undermining the health of its citizens, to call on the law as an ally of medicine. Narcotic drug addiction is a sociological and medical problem. Arguments about whether addicts are basically sick people or criminals serve no useful purpose and obstruct progress.

There is a need to create more doctors to assume leadership in bringing addicts through the long, difficult process of treatment. As the medical profession in exploring medical solutions to addiction is heartening. At the same time, the federal government has a new law—the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966—which affords more opportunities for the treatment of addicts and assists the states in their efforts to deal with this problem. The Act also separates marijuana offenders from narcotics violators by making persons charged under federal law may be sentenced to commitment to the Surgeon General for treatment in lieu of prosecution, and certain addicts who have been convicted of federal crimes may be sentenced to commitment for treatment. It is not our purpose and obstruct progress.

The act also separates marijuana offenders from narcotics violators by making persons convicted of marijuana violations and serving prison sentences to parole. It may not be in the nature of social problems that there will ever be an absolute answer to them and solutions are not enough. Many other steps have not been taken that could help prevent the continued use of narcotics. Government agencies have not done enough to prevent addiction, by alleviating the degradation of poverty, the decay of our cities, the disgrace of discrimination, and the medical problems. And they have not taken adequate measures to treat and rehabilitate narcotic addicts properly. But I encourage you that a great deal is now being done, Mr. Belk added.

Mr. Pierce said that narcotics addicts are responsible for much of the crime which occurs in the city. The police run out of narcotics in the search for the addict and drug traffickers. He is provided with the kind of support and assistance which may enable him to resist the temptation to resume drug use, Mr. Pierce said.

Mr. Dole described the Methadone Treatment Program of supervised, controlled administration of the synthetic drug methadone to addicts who are unable to abstain completely from drug use. At the present time, he said, 650 former hardcore criminal heroin addicts are in treatment. Before they followed the program, their cost to the society, $25,000 to $50,000 per year per person, not including the social costs of destroyed families, abandoned children and wasted talents.

Weekly chemical tests are used to make sure patients do not relapse to narcotics use. In New York City, with the cooperation of the health and employment of all patients are obtained at weekly intervals from counselors and physicians. The records of these tests show that methadone treatment has greatly reduced criminal behavior. But it is no panacea for addiction. The patients must be supervised. There are no facilities, and the people treated must be able to live in the community as much as possible. If the treatment does not work for some addicts, this is too much to demand, But 89 per cent of the addicts who started treatment on methadone have remained in the treatment, and for some addicts, this is too much to demand. But 89 per cent of the addicts who started treatment on methadone have remained in the treatment, and for some addicts, this is too much to demand.

But there are not enough facilities. The medical profession is still seeking the way to rehabilitate addicts. Some of the other 11 per cent undoubtedly would have been better off with institutional care.

Crime has been reduced significantly among the participants. During an experience of four years, there have been three convictions for the landing. There are not enough facilities.

I. There are no residence facilities, and the people treated must be able to live in the community as much as possible. If the treatment does not work for some addicts, this is too much to demand.

But there are not enough facilities. The medical profession is still seeking the way to rehabilitate addicts. Some of the other 11 per cent undoubtedly would have been better off with institutional care.

Answer. Mr. Pierce agreed and said that the Commission has the responsibility for the first three of these programs. The commission is studying whether methadone should be a single method of treating and rehabilitating all addicts. Thus, it is seeking to develop a variety of approaches. Altogether, there are not enough facilities. The medical profession is still seeking the way to rehabilitate addicts. Some of the other 11 per cent undoubtedly would have been better off with institutional care.

Question Period

Question (by Senator Bernstein). Would you discuss the increased use of marijuana in the country and the need to move to legalize its use on the grounds that it is no worse than alcohol or smoking?

Answer. Mr. Pierce said one of the basic problems is that the system is working against the users of marijuana. There aren't sufficient consequences, that the users of marijuana might be hurt in some other way. Then there are different situations, and the consequences of marijuana use may differ greatly. It is important to pursue the possibility of "abstinence," but consideration should also be given to other approaches such as counseling and corrected administration of drug substances.

New York State has embarked upon a mass media campaign to prevent drug use through education, treatment and rehabilitation, research and evaluation and law enforcement. The state Narcotic

Answer. Mr. Pierce agreed and said the
state commission has responsibilities for research and prevention as well as treatment of addicts. It is supported by a number of various programs, including information and education in the schools, sponsored or supported by the state and federal governments. In its 20 months of operation, it has distributed 150,000 pieces of literature about the drug problem and has completed two films for public information. The federal Narcotics Bureau has a speakers' bureau to address young people, PTAs and other groups. The bureau also has films available for police departments and community organizations.

Question. Is there anything churches and community organizations can do to help with this problem?
Answer. Mr. Rovner said both city and state are prepared to cooperate with these groups. There are many things groups can do in terms of public education.

Question (by Senator Bernstein). It has been said that methadone, a synthetic drug, is addictive in and of itself. Is that so?
Answer. Dr. Dole said methadone, properly used, produces a blockade that makes opiates ineffective for the user. Patients get no narcotics and can distiguish themselves from normal people and do not have the symptoms of addicts.

Question. Are you advocating a witch hunt for people who use drugs or are you willing to treat them as sick people?
Answer. Treat them as sick people, Senator Bernstein said. He also said that methadone, psychotherapy, group therapy, educational programs and rehabilitation of all types so they can readjust to their community when they are released from the rehabilitation center.

Question. How long is it necessary to test marijuana addicts before you find out whether it is harmless? The U.S. Army has been testing it since 1910 and has found it no more harmful than alcohol.

Answer. Senator Bernstein said all medical indications are that marijuana does create psychological changes and may lead to emotional dependency. Based upon this evidence, you cannot conclude it is harmless, and until it is proven harmless I will oppose any legalization of it.

Question (by Dr. Dole). What am I to do about the addicts desperately wanting to get into our methadone program? Shall I tell them it will not be available for two years, or something like that?
Answer. Mr. Belk said he is not too sure he would like to see another 500 methadone addicts. He suggested the position of the U.S. government—that methadone is a research program and has still to prove itself before it can be expanded.

Panel on General Problems of Security

This open discussion session was chaired by State Senator Harrison J. Goldin and Edmond Rovner, administrative assistant to Congressman Bingham.

Question. What kind of federal programs are being set up to halt violence in the ghetto?
Answer. Mr. Rovner said a great deal is being done, for example the summer job programs, but much of the responsibility must rest with local governments.

Question. What can be done to help police forces deter crime?
Answer. Mr. Rovner mentioned, as a short-range approach, the proposed Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill, which would provide federal assistance for state and local police forces, and, as a long-range federal effort, the Economic Opportunity Act, the whole spectrum of antipoverty programs.

Question. If crime has economic roots, what antipoverty programs have actually been established?
Answer. Mr. Rovner listed the Office of Economic Opportunity, job training, public and publicly assisted housing and job crea-
Arthur Murphy Tenants Association.
Narcotics Institute Program, Harry ACT, Inc.
National Council of Churches.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Association of Retired Civil Employees.
National Association of Social Workers.
New York City Department of Social Services.
New York City Police Department: 7th Division; 64th, 65th, 50th precincts.
New York City Speech Correction Teachers Association.
New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission.
North East Independent Democratic Club.
Our Lady of Mercy Convent.
Our Lady of Refuge—Holy Name Society.
Our Saviour Lutheran Church.
Parkside Day Center.
Pelham Parkway Jewish Center.
34th Precinct Community Council.
46th Precinct Community Council.
Presidents Council: School Districts 6 and 10.
Port Authority Police Benevolent Association, Inc.
Public Schools Nos. 7X, 24, 36, 41, 46, 57, 67X, 78, 91, 97, 122, 189.
Riverdale Council on Youth.
Riverdale Merchants Association.
Riverdale Neighborhood House.
Riverdale-Yonkers Sonders for Ethical Culture.
Sacred Heart of Mary Academy.
St. Edmond’s Church, Men’s Guild.
St. Elizabeth Church, Holy Name Society.
St. Francis of Assisi.
St. Gabriel’s Church.
St. Mary’s Church, Holy Name Society.
St. Margaret Mary School.
St. Nicholas of Tolentine.
St. Philip Neri School.
St. Simon Stock Church.
St. Stephen’s Methodist Church.
Tremont Methodist Church.
Theodore Roosevelt High School.
University Heights Community Association.
University Heights Presbyterian Church.
Victory Day Center.
Walton High School.
Washington Avenue Neighborhood Association.
West Bronx Council.
William Hodson Community Center.
Workmen’s Circle, Branch 1082.
Yeshiva University.
Young Israel of Kingsbridge.
Young Republican Club.
Zionist Organization of America.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Mount Saint Ursula High School.
Narcotics Institute Program, Harry ACT, Inc.
National Council of Churches.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Association of Retired Civil Employees.
National Association of Social Workers.
New York City Department of Social Services.
New York City Police Department: 7th Division; 34th, 65th, 50th precincts.
New York City Speech Correction Teachers Association.
New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission.
Northeast Independent Democratic Club.
Our Lady of Mercy Convent.
Our Lady of Refuge—Holy Name Society.
Our Saviour Lutheran Church.
Parkside Day Center.
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34th Precinct Community Council.
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St. Elizabeth Church, Holy Name Society.
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Washington Avenue Neighborhood Association.
West Bronx Council.
William Hodson Community Center.
Workmen’s Circle, Branch 1082.
Yeshiva University.
Young Israel of Kingsbridge.
Young Republican Club.
Zionist Organization of America.

I am happy that the Maine Teachers Association will participate in Teachers-In-Politics Weekend. Never before has our nation required a higher degree of citizen participation in politics—at the local, state, and national levels. Each individual should feel he has a definite role in shaping local institutions and local policy. Teachers-In-Politics Weekend will help in shaping local policy. By encouraging teachers to take an active interest in politics the National Education Association is performing a valuable public service.

THE FEDERAL HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION ACT OF 1965—A FRAUD

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Washington State Roadside Council has been one of the most active groups in the country working on outdoor improvements. Their efforts have helped parks, bicycle and hiking trails, billboard control, and underground wiring.

In this connection, the roadside council had a deep interest in the Federal Highway Beautification Act of 1965. The council predicted when the act was passed that it would be a disaster, and would actually retard highway beautification, and now, in its newsletter No. 15, it points out that this is just so. I believe Members of Congress and other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will find these comments of interest.

The full text of the article follows:

THE FEDERAL HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION ACT OF 1965 IS A FRAUD

The Federal Highway Beautification Act of 1965 in so far as it applies to billboard control is a fraud because of the circumstances of its passage, because it encourages billboard alleys, because it applies to outdoor advertising, roadside and roadside improvement have major defects and crippling loopholes.

The Washington Post said in an editorial on May 10, 1967: "The Highway Beautification Act, as it applies to outdoor advertising, has turned out to be one of the most disappointing statutes Congress ever enacted. It was known at the time the bill was enacted in 1965 that it contained some striking defects. Now some of the legislators who were interested in protecting highways from unsightly distractions are saying that the law is worse than no law at all. In some states it will actually create billboard advertising where none existed before."

This is strong language but the record backs it up.

Three years ago President Johnson sent a special message to Congress on Natural Beauty. Some of the proposals, like the one that landed in the highway beautification act, had been around for years, and some were new. The remarkable feature of the President's program was its "packaging." Take difficult

Teachers-In-Politics Weekend

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE
OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I was pleased to learn that the National Education Association has designated the weekend of April 5 to 7 as Teachers-In-Politics Weekend. This weekend, which will be observed throughout the country, is designed to focus the attention of teachers and politicians on the importance of recognizing that educational policy decisions are political decisions and that educators must take an active role in helping shape those decisions.
problems like water pollution, air pollution, billboards, junkyards, mining scars and hodwreckings. Put two together, and say that the issue is beauty, and who can come out for making the country honky-tonk seashores and put them all to

tence. The White House Conference on Nat-

the conference talked about how nice it

were among the 800 delegates to the conference.
The White House Conference on Nat-

board interests would support (Washington

Lowell K. Bridwell, is now the Federal High-

operators to draft legislation which the bill-

the top of the花园 clubs and the citizens' roadside

to keep highway departments and the Bureau of

were gathered in the East Room of the White

The single vote...
The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Yeat, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me.—Psalm 23: 4.

Almighty God, Father of all men, stung by the suddenness of tragedy and shocked by the fury of violence, we turn to Thee for help in this hour of our national need. May the spirit of wisdom guide us, the grace of understanding lead us, and the love of compassion direct our ways. For we do not look on the promised land of freedom for all, justice for all, peace for all, and finding the way give us courage to walk in it.

We pray that the comfort of Thy spirit may abide in the hearts of those who sometimes insensitive to the people's needs. NEA encouragement of political activity by teachers—whose jobs involve them intimately in society's problems—is to be welcomed.

Moreover, because of the Federal Government's massive entry into aid to education in recent years, teachers have a duty to use their hard-won knowledge of education's strengths and weaknesses to work for continuing improvement in education policy.

Finally, greater teacher involvement in politics would certainly yield results beneficial to our youngsters. With so many students already deeply involved in politics, the possibility of politically experienced teachers would, I believe, do much to steer student idealism into constructive, rather than destructive, channels.

I invite more teachers to run for public office, and I look forward to meeting more of my former colleagues in the halls of Congress in the not too distant future.

More Teachers Should Take Active Roles in Politics

HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, this weekend has been designated by the National Education Association as Teachers-In-Politics Weekend.

Not only do I approve of teachers participating in politics, I strongly urge more teachers to take active roles and give constructive leadership in the political life of our Nation.

Teachers are equipped to give guidance to the community and they have a responsibility to generate and instill in our students an interest in our Government. Great men in government, like President Lyndon Johnson and Senator Eugene McCarthy, are former teachers, as was former President Woodrow Wilson.

In my district, State Senator Albert Rodda is a product of the educational community. He has proven himself many times to be a great asset to the California State Legislature.

In Sacramento's Third Congressional District, I am always ready to assist teachers at all levels of education to promote better government through educational-political involvement.

A Tragic Action

HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., takes from our Nation much of its pride and much of its integrity. Our image is tarnished for all to see. That the tragic action stems from a tradition of violence and prejudice—and history of man's inhumanity to man—is beyond question.

This Nation can ill afford the loss of its leaders possessing true greatness. Let us hope for all that another with the vision—the calm courage of Dr. King—emerges to lead the cause to which he gave his all.

Much progress has been made toward understanding and equality—much must be made—with an ever-increasing sense of urgency and an understanding that human hopes and aspirations, legitimate in their objectives, cannot be held on leash. Dr. King preached nonviolence. Let us hope his dreams can be achieved by his methods. Failure would be a national tragedy, fully integrated in its destructive force.

The “Pueblo”—How Long, Mr. President?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 5, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 74th day the U.S.S. Pueblo and her crew have been in North Korean hands.