



## League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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9/6/68

# CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SEN

the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] be added as a cosponsor of the resolution.

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

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## RESOLUTION

### SENATE RESOLUTION 389—RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING OF A REVISED EDITION OF "EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENTS" AS A SENATE DOCUMENT

Mr. McCARTHY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 389), which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES. 389

*Resolved*, That a revised edition of Senate Document 164 of the Eighty-seventh Congress, entitled "Equal Rights Amendments—Questions and Answers Prepared by the Research Department of the National Woman's Party", be printed as a Senate document.

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United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

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No. 206

## Senate

(Legislative day of Tuesday, December 15, 1970)

The Senate met at 9 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Eternal Spirit, "Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God." Thy grace and wisdom are sufficient for all our needs. Make us humble before Thee that we may know both our strength and our weaknesses.

Spare us, O Righteous God, from self-righteousness, from moral arrogance, from unloving dogmatism, from all hostility to one another, concealed or revealed. Help us in this place to open our lives before Thee and before one another. Keep us sincere, honest, and brave in all our ways, mindful of the purpose for which we work, the cause to which we are dedicated, the Nation we serve, and the peaceful and righteous world to which we aspire.

In the name of Him whose name is called Wonderful, Counselor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Saturday, December 19, 1970, be approved.

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

### COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

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

NOTICE THAT THE 9 A.M. TO 10 A.M. PERIOD TOMORROW WILL BE SET ASIDE FOR TRIBUTES TO SENATORS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, I wish

to reiterate what the deputy majority leader said on Saturday; namely, that tomorrow, the hour between 9 and 10 a.m. will be set aside for tributes to some of our departing Members.

### ORDER SETTING TIME FOR VOTE ON CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Therefore, the 1-hour limitation on the cloture motion will begin at 10 a.m. and the vote thereon will be held at 11 a.m. or shortly thereafter. I ask unanimous consent that that be the order.

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

The Chair would inquire of the Senator from Montana as to how the time will be divided.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Between the majority and minority leaders or whomever they may designate. I designate the Senator from Nevada (Mr. BIBLE).

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

### ORDER FOR CONSIDERATION OF VETO OF MANPOWER BILL—PRINTING OF VETO MESSAGE AS SENATE DOCUMENT (S. DOC. NO. 91-118)

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, during a conversation with some Senators late last week the question of the President's veto of the manpower bill came up, and I believe I agreed that I would go along with their expressed wishes. I therefore ask unanimous consent that at an appropriate time later today a period of not to exceed 1½ hours, at the most, be set aside for the discussion of this matter, with the time to be divided between the majority and minority leaders, and that the Senate prepare itself for the consideration and disposition of this matter.

Mr. SCOTT. To begin at what hour?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Later this afternoon.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the veto message be printed as a Senate document.

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

### ORDER FOR DIVISION OF TIME ON TRIBUTES TO SENATOR YARBOROUGH TOMORROW

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, as I understand it, an order has been entered to convene the Senate tomorrow at 9 a.m., and I therefore at this time ask unanimous consent that after the disposition of the reading of the Journal, 1 hour be set aside so that Senators may have the opportunity to pay tribute to the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH); and that, following that period, which is not to extend beyond the hour of 10 o'clock, the time for the next hour then be devoted to the consideration on the cloture motion.

Mr. SCOTT. There is no objection. The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. Would the same disposition of control of the time during the first hour be in order?

Mr. KENNEDY. It would be controlled by the majority leader.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. At this time, under the previous order, the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) is recognized for 1 hour.

### TRIBUTES TO THE DISTINGUISHED SENIOR SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA, EUGENE MCCARTHY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, at the end of this Congress a great American, one of America's greatest, my friend and a friend of all my colleagues, retires from the Senate, completing 22 years in Congress, in which he established one of the most remarkable parliamentary records in our Nation's history. These have been 22 years in which his name and his leadership were found on virtually every piece of social and economic reform legislation, every piece of legislation designed to expand this Nation's civil rights and civil liberties, the rights of minorities and the powerless, and the rights of women. In every respect, during these years, he sought to expand the opportunity of the people of this country to obtain the fairest and fullest life.

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From personal choice, he has announced his decision to retire from the Senate. I know that his friendship, his inspiration, and his contribution here will be missed by me and by all my colleagues.

It is not necessary for me to recount his leadership in the issues to which I have just made reference. It is not necessary to repeat what is already known about his leadership in the House, where he and a few others established the Democratic Study Group, of which he was initially its chairman, an organization which even today is a leader in the quest for more responsive legislation in all fields.

I recall that the present occupant of the chair, the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF), joined with the then Representative McCARTHY in the creation of that organization.

The point I should like to make, which stands out above all, is the courage and vision which Senator McCARTHY showed with respect to the war in Vietnam and with respect to this Nation's distorted priorities. It was in this area where he made his toughest, his most difficult, and his most courageous personal decision. It is precisely in this area where, above all, he has left his mark upon our society and upon every American. For this act of singular courage, every Member of this body, every citizen of this country, and indeed, virtually everyone in the world owes him an enormous debt. This Nation had to be brought to its senses. It had to understand that we were engulfed with pride in pursuing a disastrous, costly, and tragic war in which this Nation's interests were not involved, but from which we seemed hopelessly unable to extricate ourselves.

It was EUGENE McCARTHY who showed us the way to recovering our senses, our true pride, and a deeper understanding of America's role in the world.

He did so at enormous personal sacrifice and in one of the most remarkable demonstrations of political courage I have seen in our country. Indeed, the work of EUGENE McCARTHY upon the course of the war in Vietnam stands as one of the great examples of what one man can do if he has the courage and the vision to do it.

I was one of those that needed to be brought to his senses on the issue of Vietnam. And I speak for all Minnesotans and, I think, for most Americans when I express my profound admiration and appreciation to him for what he has done for our Nation and for me.

Mr. President, I have now served as his junior Senator for nearly 6 years. During all of this time Senator McCARTHY has been fair and kind to me. It is said that it is often difficult for a junior and senior Senator from the same political party to get along. That has not been true with us. We have had some political differences, but I think we have agreed or come to agree on nearly all matters which affected the people of our State and our Nation. But perhaps even more important in the relationship of two Senators, he has always treated me with the utmost respect and fairness. As his

junior Senator, I owe a great debt to the example which he has provided me.

It is not only in a public sense but also in a personal sense that I am proud to stand with my colleague and salute this great American, and, may I say, for all of the citizens of my State, perhaps one of the greatest Senators ever produced by the State of Minnesota.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the relationship existing between the junior Senator from Minnesota and the senior Senator from Minnesota can be described in a somewhat parallel manner by the relationship existing between the two Senators from Montana. I am delighted that on this particular occasion the Senator presiding over this body is my colleague, because between him and Senator McCARTHY while they served together in the House there was a very close relationship and a decided community of interest primarily in establishing and leading the Democratic study group.

I also had the privilege of serving with Senator McCARTHY in the House of Representatives where I first made his acquaintance and got to know him fairly well.

I was very much impressed with his integrity, with his grasp of issues, and with his courage.

GENE McCARTHY has not been the ordinary Senator. He has gone his way on occasion. He has undertaken to espouse issues which generate great opposition. But he has done so with an open heart, an open mind, and with the firm conviction that what he was doing was right, and he was right.

When GENE McCARTHY became a candidate for the Presidency, he did so after a great deal of study, consideration, and, I am sure, travail. It was no easy decision to make. It was no easy campaign to undertake.

While he did not achieve the nomination, I believe he achieved something much more worthwhile, and that was bringing home to the American people the issue which had divided this country, which has and still is costing us tens of billions of dollars, and which had cost us tens of scores of thousands of lives, and it still does.

He has performed as a Senator, as a scholar, as a teacher, and as a statesman with aplomb, with understanding, and with distinction.

I was very much disappointed when I heard for the first time many months ago that Senator McCARTHY would not be a candidate for reelection, because I thought he should have continued to represent the people of Minnesota and the Nation as well. I thought he should have continued to contribute of his energies, his abilities, and his talents to this body. But on the basis of his own judgment, he decided otherwise.

We will miss GENE McCARTHY, whom I am proud to call friend. We will miss him because of the many contributions he has made.

It is my opinion that history will truly evaluate this great Senator from Minne-

sota and, in doing so, will accord to him his proper niche in history, and it will be a most important niche.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, this Record and other sources from which history is drawn will speak in a magnificent manner concerning GENE McCARTHY.

We here in this Chamber are familiar with each of those dramatic chapters. I shall leave to those other sources the big and the striking and the public aspect of the man.

I would for a moment just like to speak on a very personal note about a very good friend. For I suppose 10 years it has been my happy fortune to sit at the desk next to GENE McCARTHY. Even if I had some notion that I had the talent to speak fully of the depth of my feelings, I would reject the idea, for I have heard him many times with an aside destroy some of the full blown expressions that run around this Chamber.

I shall miss him as a friend sitting to my right. I speak also for my children and, I think, most of the young people of America, but certainly for the Hart children.

Not many years ago the oldest of our children were among the group who had a very strong doubt that this system of ours, whatever its magnificent objectives, had the capacity to achieve any measure of success.

GENE McCARTHY turned my children around. He gave them hope.

I hope very much that he will find a continuing place in our public life, because there continues to be a very real need for this kind of interest. It is not required that one be in the Senate in order to provide hope for young people and for the helpless and to give the dramatic talent that is his.

I voice the petition that he not obscure himself in some cloistered library cell.

I voted for him in Chicago. I am glad I did. Lest he misunderstand the implications, I hope I shall vote for the man who sits to my left (Mr. MUSKIE) the next time we have the opportunity.

But I guess what I am really saying is that I speak for the Hart family and the great many families in our country like our family in thanking GENE McCARTHY and in urging him to "stay with it."

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator for those words.

I am glad to yield to the senior Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, Senator EUGENE McCARTHY is certainly one of the most unusual Senators I have known in the years I have been here. He is a very different kind of person. We know of his extraordinary intelligence and understanding; we know he is a man of deep and genuine compassion, which has been demonstrated many times.

We know from that remarkable campaign of 1968 how, as Senator MONDALE pointed out, Senator McCARTHY showed what one man who is really devoted and dedicated to a cause can do.



Many times in the past couple of years young people have asked me, as I am sure they have asked other Senators, what real hope there is in our system and, "What can we really do about the Vietnam war?" The obvious answer is to point to what Senator McCARTHY did in his great campaign in 1968. We all know that the course of the Vietnam war has been turned around and I am convinced the McCarthy candidacy had more to do with it than any one thing by far.

We are also aware of the sharp wit, sometimes cutting wit, of the Senator from Minnesota. Some of us have been victims of it; I have been a victim of it once or twice in a light way. We know of his great charm, but more than anything, I think Senator McCARTHY, in my view, is a man who is very helpful to us because he does not take himself too seriously or any of the rest of us too seriously. Perhaps the best way to summarize that is to say I could not imagine him doing what I am doing now, not that he does not have deep respect and admiration for others, but somehow he has too much a sense of humor, proportion, and I suppose a sense of the small impression any man can make on the course of human history, to be very fulsome in his expressions of esteem.

So I join other Senators in paying my tribute to a remarkable man who has had a profound, salutary, healthy, and wholesome effect on all of us. He has certainly elevated the dialog and discussion here and he has helped all of us to have a better sense of proportion and to not take ourselves too seriously, pomposity, and self-importance being what it is, that is as significant a contribution as anyone can make.

I thank the Senator for yielding to me.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I yield to the chairman of the Committee on Public Welfare, one of the most committed and humane men of the Senate who served during the 12 years with my colleague, Senator McCARTHY, and who now will be retiring with him.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Minnesota for yielding.

It is a great privilege to participate in honoring a truly great and decent man. Having in August of 1968 become the only Senator in this body who publicly endorsed Senator McCARTHY during his campaign and who spoke for him, I believe I have some particular right to speak here.

I liken him to the great giant we had in this body from my State of Texas, Sam Houston, and I would like to digress for a moment to draw that parallel. In 1854, when the Kansas-Nebraska Act to repeal the Missouri Compromise of 1850 and open Kansas and Nebraska to slavery was pending in Congress, a deal was made between the Whigs and the Democrats that they would pass this measure and stop the dissension over slavery. Sam Houston agreed, however, that such action would only reopen and extend this question. He spoke all one night, until sunup the next day in a one-man filibuster against this measure. He said:

If you repeal this measure, it will so inflame the North that they will form a new party. The Whigs are already dead. They will form a new party and, while they may not win in 1856, they will alert the people.

And he said:

In 1860 that new party will win the Presidency on this issue of slavery.

He went on to say to his southern friends:

You will secede. You think the North will not fight, but they will, and you will be ruined and you are ruining yourselves with this Kansas-Nebraska Act.

That was in 1854. He foretold the entire course of events up to 1865. His term ended in 1859. From that day forward, every major newspaper in Texas except one called him the "traitor-knave" for being against secession. Sam Houston spoke out against secession when the issue loomed large. In 1857 the legislature met and elected his successor, 2 years before his term expired to show their contempt for him. And when Texas seceded in 1861, he refused as Governor to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. He was thrown out of office and stoned in the streets of Austin as he walked from the capitol to the Governor's mansion.

So, too, did Senator McCARTHY play the role of a statesman when he spoke out against an unjust war, a war without a moral basis, a war the President was waging contrary to his promise not to commit American men to that war in Asia.

When Senator McCARTHY came to Houston in August of 1968 and spoke, I had the privilege of introducing him to the massive rally there. The crowd was so big that while the newspapers estimated the size to be 20,000, but a judge told me he stepped off a square yard and would count the people, move over 50 yards, step off another square yard and count the people, and that by his counting and estimation, there were 50,000 people at that rally. That was the greatest political rally ever held in the State of Texas for a presidential candidate who had not won the nomination.

On that historic night, Senator McCARTHY reached the hearts of the people of Texas. We had elected a President in 1964 on a promise never to send our men to fight in South Vietnam. We elected another President in 1968 who promised to settle that war. Senator McCARTHY changed history by compelling both candidates of both major parties in 1968 to promise they would settle the war if elected.

Once the people had elected President Nixon, I wished him well and I made speeches in which I expressed my hope that he would fulfill his promise to end the war. Unfortunately, however, he immediately escalated the war by increasing from January 1969 to May 1969 the number of men in combat. He sent over tens of thousands more Americans into battle than his predecessor in the White House had ever sent to Southeast Asia.

The honeymoon period was on. One does not bother a President the first 6 months in office. But finally, when the

number of troops was escalated, the press began to alert the people to his fact in May of 1969, and the President began to pull out minuscule numbers of troops.

We see these great headlines all over the country even now to the effect that we are deescalating the war, that we are pulling out 7,000 men—that in vast headlines—but in tiny print to read that we were going to have 344,000 men left. So that has been the story of the President's deescalation plan. At the present rate of withdrawal, it will take four more Presidents to get the men home.

Each time these last two presidential elections the people have elected men that they thought would not engage us in the war, but would disengage us. The Senator from Minnesota forced the issue on each party candidate singlehandedly in 1968, joined by others later. He forced the issue on whether these candidates in 1968 would get us out of that morass that others had promised never to get us engaged in. For this he holds a unique place in history.

I mentioned a great hero of Texas who opposed secession. Texas history books brush that off with one line, the greatest things he ever did. He was elected Governor to try to prevent Texas from seceding, to try to save the union.

History should be written to honor acts of people that were just and right, not only those that bring temporary popularity to a politician.

So I hope that the writers of the history of the 1968 campaign will write the verities of life and write about the one candidate who, though he lost, brought about the hope in the hearts of the American people that they could be ex-orbiated from the quicksands of Southeast Asia. How can we expect the lessons of the past to benefit us in the future if men such as Sam Houston and Gene McCarthy, who took the right course, but the unpopular course, are given only one line in the history books? We should have written in the books of history brave and just acts of rights and justice done for this Nation.

I honor the Senator from Minnesota for the courage he has shown. Many joined him later, but he had the courage to be the first voice. When he first spoke out, people said he was wild. Pretty soon, by having the courage to speak out, it became apparent that a majority of the American people agreed with him. He was someone speaking on the side of justice and right and the people listened.

We owe it to ourselves and to our young people to continue to appeal for justice and build a national image of peace, and honor. Now we are building an image much like that which the Kaiser did when he told the German troops, during the Boxer Rebellion, to go to China and "remember the Huns. Make your reputation." We ought to purge ourselves of that kind of image.

The Senator from Minnesota tried to turn the course of history of his country toward a just course, and I honor him for the courage he displayed. His message will long be remembered.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Texas for those kind words and insights.

I yield now to the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Young), who, like the senior Senator from Minnesota, is retiring after an inspiring career in the House of Representatives and in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I thank the distinguished junior Senator from Minnesota very much.

May I say that over many years I have held my colleague, Senator GENE McCARTHY, in the highest admiration. Years ago he and I served together in the House of Representatives. We became good friends at that time. He served his State and the Nation for 10 years, I believe, in the House of Representatives, and then on November 4, 1958, he and I came into the Senate together.

In 1958 it happens that for the first time in the history of this Republic 15 men of the same political party, men who had never before had served in the Senate of the United States, were elected Senators from their various States. We have been a close group. We call ourselves the class of 1958. We meet together and have had some very fine parties together.

I remember one morning about 2 a.m., following a good party of the class of 1958, when each one in turn called up former President Harry S. Truman, in Independence, Mo. He probably did not like it very much at first that we got him out of bed, but in the end he was happy with us, as one after another attributed out election to the Senate to Harry Truman.

I behold in this Chamber, close by, the distinguished Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE). We had a wonderful party in his home recently.

I manifest my deference and devotion and high admiration to our colleague GENE McCARTHY of Minnesota. He is really and truly a poet. I am not a poet. But as one of the Fearless Fifteen, as we term ourselves, the class of 1958, if Senators will indulge me, I shall read in part a poem I wrote. I was told by our lovely hostess, Jane Muskie, that we must each bring a poem. In addition to bringing a so-called poem, I also sang that night. I shall skip my song but I will read my poem:

#### THE FEARLESS FIFTEEN

It was '58, in the early fall  
Fifteen men rode proud and tall  
That class of '58

The economy had grown sour  
But them were the days of Eisenhower  
They did what they could to patch the crack  
And everybody waited for Joe's son Jack  
That class of '58

Jack came along and things picked up  
Dick went home, his wounds to pluck  
The Fearless Fifteen had done it again  
They put the bad guys out and the good guys in  
That class of '58

Wherever they went it was always the same  
Bad guys everywhere feared their name  
No Republican dared to slumber  
The Fearless Fifteen had every number  
And so over the years and across the land  
Fighting for right, they took their stand  
That class of '58

With apologies to a true poet, GENE McCARTHY, I have read a few couplets of mine.

May I say seriously now that I am one who rejoiced in the great victory won by GENE McCARTHY in the New Hampshire primary in 1968. I feel that to some extent I manifested my rejoicing in that fact because I immediately sought to be a delegate to the Democratic National Convention, unfortunately held in Chicago, in 1968. The fact is that I was elected chairman of the Ohio delegation, but, very definitely as chairman, I was a leader who had lost his troops. Thirty-one of the Ohio delegates to the Democratic Convention were pledged to the nomination of EUGENE McCARTHY for President of the United States.

We thought we were pledged, but when the showdown came in our caucus, it was evident to all who would be the nominee for President, and so, instead of having 31, the caucus showed 18 stood for GENE McCARTHY. Then it was my sad duty to announce the result of the Ohio poll, and I said to John J. Gilligan, who was a delegate there, "Jack, you are a candidate for office this year; I am not. You will be on television all over Ohio; so you announce the poll." He said, "I am heartsick, Steve. I hope you will do it."

On one occasion in particular, I recall Senator McCARTHY's commitment to policy change within the framework of our democratic system. Directly after the balloting at the 1968 Democratic Convention a number of us including Senator McCARTHY, John J. Gilligan, who in a few weeks will become Governor of Ohio, and I tried very hard to have the convention adopt the peace plank in the platform. We were successful. It has always been my feeling, Mr. President, that had the Hubert Humphrey subordinates running things in his behalf not been so arrogant, had they accepted our views and written the peace plank into our national platform then Hubert Humphrey would have been elected President and Ed MUSKIE Vice President.

So feelings were deep there. As I have often said—I witnessed some of the rioting and some of the police brutality close to my room in the hotel—frankly I had the worst time during 6 days and nights at the Chicago convention I had had at any time during a like period since I was in the Anzio Beachhead early in 1944. It was a bad experience, and I am glad it is behind me.

But I want at this time to attest my admiration for EUGENE McCARTHY. I knew him, as I have stated, when we both served in the House of Representatives. I know also that he is the author of a fine publication which I enjoyed much and profited from reading, a book he wrote some years back, entitled "A Liberal Answer to the Conservative Challenge."

It has been my privilege in the Senate to vote with him on many, many occasions; and I know that GENE McCARTHY is a man of great courage as well as a most personable colleague. As one incident to indicate the sort of courage he has, he was one of five Senators who voted hopelessly, but voted anyway, to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

Senator McCARTHY, however, did not allow defeats in his campaign for the nomination to diminish his sincere desire

for peace, or cause him to reject a search for national solutions. A lesser man might have used his position as leader of a substantial segment of the population to encourage divisiveness and suggest more radical solutions. Senator McCARTHY did none of these things. He did not choose to fan the fires of hatred resulting from our policies in Vietnam, nor did he seek to set American against American. Few would deny that he would have had the power to do so. Instead, he has attempted to persuade our younger generation to continue to seek nonviolent solutions to our pressing political problems. Insofar as our young people have done so—and I think that they generally have despite the attempts of irresponsible officials to increase this alienation—the senior Senator from Minnesota should receive a large share of the credit.

Mr. President, EUGENE McCARTHY has done a great deal to turn this country toward peace. I admired him for his stand at a time when there were few who would stand with him. I admire him today when the verdict upon our policies has shown him to have been courageous and right.

Mr. President, I consider that EUGENE McCARTHY is one of the truly great Americans of our time, and, with others of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in this Chamber, I simply express, not only my admiration of him as an American statesman, but also the fact that I have confidence that a fine future is ahead of EUGENE McCARTHY; and so, to GENE McCARTHY I say, "Godspeed, and happy landings in all things."

Mr. MONDALE. I am delighted by those kind remarks of the retiring Senator from Ohio and, unknown to me, the retiring poet laureate of the U.S. Senate.

I am happy to yield to the junior Senator from Ohio.

Mr. SAXBE. Mr. President, I would just like to interject at this point in the well deserved tribute to the senior Senator from Minnesota the fact that we are also going to miss my colleague, the senior Senator from Ohio. He has certainly been a tower of strength to me; he has helped me in every way that he could. We have not always agreed, but we have agreed to the point where it is sometimes embarrassing.

I wish to say that my first contact with Senator Young was when we were opponents in a statewide race—my first statewide race—in 1956. Our contact then was pleasant, and it has continued that way to this time, and I know will continue hereafter.

So, as a tribute to you, Senator Young, I want to say that I and my whole family appreciate your help in getting me started, and to say that your friendship is valued, and I hope that it will continue.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Ohio.

I now yield to the distinguished assistant majority leader, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY).

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, President Kennedy used to say that every man can make a difference, and each man should try to do so.

Senator McCARTHY has demonstrated well to the American people that one



man can make a difference, by the extraordinary contribution that he made to this country and to changing our policies within this country in 1968.

I know that any of a score of Senators could stand here and list the great achievements of Senator McCARTHY in committee rooms and on the floor of the Senate, could list the speeches that he has made showing his vision and compassion about many of the great problems that we face as a Nation; but perhaps I am singularly qualified to comment on the measure of the man from having been, for the period of a few short but terribly important months in 1968, on the other side of a barrier.

I think all of us, having been through political wars, know the extraordinary test that they provide for us as individuals and for the causes which we espouse. I must say, having had the opportunity, through many weeks and months, under the most difficult, trying, and often desperate circumstances, whether in the primaries of Indiana, South Dakota, and Nebraska, and the various State conventions that were held, back out to Oregon, and then to California, that in such a campaign you cannot help but develop some understanding of the measure of your competitor. After coming through that period, I can say with the deepest sincerity that I emerged from the trauma of what was 1968, with the greatest respect for the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, for his great and deep conviction about a matter of the first priority for this Nation, and for the manner in which he handled himself and the people who were most closely identified with his cause.

Senator McCARTHY is a man whom some Senators know a good deal better than others, but we all know him as a sensitive man, an artist, and a poet, and it was perhaps because of those characteristics that he sensed the mood of the people and the outrage of this war more deeply and perhaps earlier than some of the rest of us.

He served well the cause which he was so deeply concerned about—the cause of peace. To him and his coworkers, the realization that some measure of progress has been made in moving us somewhat closer to the cause of peace is really a great tribute to his selflessness and sincere conviction.

I rise today to pay tribute to a man whom I have grown to respect because I feel that he has provided to the whole dialog of American political life a sense of light and reason on one of the most perplexing problems of our time.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Massachusetts for those kind and insightful words.

I am glad to yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, it has been my honor, pleasure and privilege to serve with Senator McCARTHY in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, and to serve with him in intimate committee sessions of both the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Finance. I think it is often in the committee work that a Senator's most

sterling work comes to notice and comes to fruitfulness.

Here is a man who has been truly knowledgeable, not only in affairs of a political arena, but also of finance, foreign policy, economics, and the security, the aspirations, and well-being of the mass of our people.

The service with him has been a rewarding one for me, rewarding in helpfulness, mutual assistance, guidance, and inspiration.

Along with a relatively few members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator McCARTHY, both in the committee as a Senator and as a contender in the political arena, contributed to an alteration of American history. He and a relatively few of this brave little band may have saved our country from a war with Red China. Whether this be true, no one can now know or will ever know. At least, the trend toward an ever widening, ever escalating war was altered. Sadly, we are yet involved in that war. But the American people are now convinced that the war should be ended. A part of that conviction comes from the glorious record of Senator EUGENE McCARTHY.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Tennessee.

May I say to the Senator, as he, too, retires from the Senate, how much those of us who served with him admire his magnificent, brilliant, and courageous service to this country. We shall never forget his performance.

Mr. GORE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MONDALE. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, one of the great satisfactions of serving in the Senate is the opportunity one has to know men of great qualities and abilities and to share sometimes in their friendship.

I consider EUGENE McCARTHY one of the outstanding Members of the Senate I have known since World War II. We know that he is a man of simplicity, one who is unassuming and yet capable of bringing into play all the force and strength of his mind, his character, for great causes. He is a master of understatement, but all of us who have heard him will never forget his eloquence and passion for causes in which he believes.

I have enjoyed knowing him in committee work and have valued very much the warmth of his personality, and his friendship.

EUGENE McCARTHY will be remembered in history. He has joined the small group of men in the history of our country—Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt, among others—who have been able to arouse and gain the support of the people of the country for natural causes and to provide them inspiring leadership. I believe that as one man, sounding his call in 1967 and 1968, arousing the interest of the people, particularly the younger people, he has more than any other since 1960, to bring the people into active participation in politics.

So today I regret his going, but I know that in some place—and it may be here—he will continue to exert his tremendous and great influence for our country.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Kentucky.

I yield to the distinguished Senator from Maine.

Mr. MUSKIE. I thank the distinguished Senator from Minnesota for yielding.

I rise, Mr. President, primarily as a member of the class of 1958, to which Senator Young made reference a few moments ago. We do consider that, as a class, we bear an unusual distinction, which Senator Young, in his own inimitable way, has described.

Incidentally, at this point I should like to say how very much I have enjoyed serving in the Senate with STEVE YOUNG. He described himself as an old man. In the fall of 1958, when we were all first elected to the Senate, he said he intended to serve only one term in the Senate. That was not enough. It was not enough for him, and it was not enough for his constituents. So he served another term, and then gracefully decided to retire.

He had the energy and optimism of youth. He had the abrasiveness which only a man of his years is entitled to enjoy in the U.S. Senate. But he is a wonderful human being. So I take this occasion to pay my tribute to him.

With respect to GENE McCARTHY, we have known for 2 years that this day was coming. Yet, it is difficult to absorb the knowledge that it is here.

Senator HART, GENE McCARTHY, and I became something of a triumvirate in January of 1959. Perhaps it was because we were summer bachelors together in those early summers when the Senate labored while our families went home. But I have always felt that we had special ties of friendship and of value. The fact that the three of us have sat side by side in this back row, which supposedly is reserved for young and freshmen Senators, is testimony to our refusal to be separated even in the Senate Chamber.

The story of the GENE McCARTHY of 1967 and 1968 has been written and will be rewritten many times. He made a lonely decision. He challenged an incumbent President of his own party. He made history. I doubt that many, if any, of us expected him at the time to lay down that challenge. Yet, once we were fully aware of the depth of his concern about the war, it was no longer a surprise, because we knew the man.

I have regarded GENE as a friend, not as a political friend or a senatorial friend, but as a friend. I enjoyed his company. He was comfortable to be with. But he could also be uncomfortable. He was congenial, but he also could be withdrawn. He was a man of many moods, often preferred to be alone. He did not solicit friendship. But his friendship was the rewarding friendship of a man with great capacity for understanding and sympathy.

He is an unconventional politician. He is impatient with the conventional privileges, prerogatives, and pretensions of political place and power. He could never really be a "Senate man." He could only be his own man. For him, the political process and political power are only the means to an end, that end being the im-



provement of the human condition—and he sought even that end in unconventional ways.

One can seldom predict what GENE McCARTHY will do. He cannot always predict it himself. We cannot, because he will not move from cause to effect as the rest of us do. He may not, because he always seeks to identify the higher purpose which shapes the affairs of man, and that is so often hidden.

GENE is a remarkable man, who will continue to do remarkable things. We will all miss him, especially we of the class of 1958, who came to know him as a man who had the courage to make lonely decisions.

He once said to me that a Senator has not really proved himself until he has stood with a minority of not more than three in a Senate rollcall vote.

GENE McCARTHY has proved himself in matters of conscience and consequence. He sets a standard for us all.

That is how we will remember him.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Maine.

Now, Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES).

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Minnesota for yielding to me.

I have had the opportunity this morning to listen to those who have spoken on behalf of Senator McCARTHY, those who have known him for years, longer than I have had the privilege of making his acquaintance, who have served with him in both House and Senate.

I am keenly impressed not only by the kindness, gentleness, and courage of this particular man, but also by the impression he has made on his colleagues over this period of years.

As we look throughout history, we see all the nations of the earth at various times in their growth and their decline faced with difficult decisions. Our own young Nation has faced many. But in 1967 and 1968, the very soul of the American people was being tried. We were mixed in our emotions. At that point, I was not one of the earlier supporters of the great Senator from Minnesota. My alignments were in other directions. I, too, was a late arrival at the conclusion that this war was intolerable, that it was morally wrong, and for other reasons; and that the soul of our Nation was being tried and the responsibility of its leadership was to offer alternatives. But how, where, and with whom?

Then there came men out of this trauma, willing to express themselves and be criticized, many of them from the floor of the Senate, and many of them who are seated here this morning, and others who have been struck down in other ways tragically in recent history, political and otherwise.

Thus, I came to the conclusion that the leadership essential was that which not only understood what was happening in this Nation but what was happening all over the earth; namely, that mankind cannot continue, merely for the sake of military might and destruction, to destroy his brothers; that there must be other goals, that there must be other purposes.

If the sacrifice of a personal career and the criticisms of millions who will stand against him is the price that must be paid, and to have the courage and willingness to pay that price and make that sacrifice, then GENE McCARTHY was and is such a man.

It is his own decision that he is leaving the Senate, not his decision that what he did was wrong, because it is continuing to be proven he was right. Not only did he challenge the morality of a war, he also challenged the morality of our own political party and its structure, the fact that we were ruled by political bosses, that we were, in fact, tied up so that the people could not express their will. That reform is continuing to take place. Although we have not totally succeeded, it is going on. The will of the American people as expressed by democratic registration will eventually lead to an open and free America, because he had the courage to lead the way to challenge the system, the political bosses, and the structure of our time. That is continuing.

Yes, he challenged the soul of the Nation as many others have done.

Yes, in that he suffered defeat of a kind—but I believe that that defeat was greater than a victory. History will point to that. In my opinion, the changes that have taken place and the ultimate conclusions that this Nation will raise will be those conclusions that were pointed out years ago, by men like GENE McCARTHY, GEORGE MCGOVERN, Robert Kennedy, and others in this body who had the will in those days to see, to know, and to believe that our directions must be changed.

For some, the price has been heavy. But the real testimony today is to the strength and the spirit of this man, the conviction of his soul, and the very love of humanity itself in what he has done. He has displayed this in many ways. His spirit will continue to walk. Change will continue to take place. Millions of young Americans who have been "dealt out" as hopeless will be "back in." They are still with us. They will not be judged by the hair on their faces but the hope in their hearts, not by the length of the hair on their heads but the courage of their own morality. And when that day does arrive in America and we stand on the floor of the Senate to remember those who have gone before, GENE McCARTHY will always stand high in the history of America and the history of his contributions for the sake of mankind.

I am proud to have had the opportunity to have nominated GENE McCARTHY at the Democratic National Convention in 1968 and to have served with him for this brief period in the Senate.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Iowa very much.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STEVENSON). The time of the Senator from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time be extended not beyond 10:25 a.m.

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

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President. I am happy now to yield to the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS).

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I am very glad that the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) has brought us all together on this occasion. It is an occasion of great sadness for the country that GENE McCARTHY is leaving the Senate. It is an occasion which is being rightly marked by all of us today who have served with GENE McCARTHY in this body to pay tribute to him, even though we will continue to serve here.

The wit and wisdom, the compassion and the courage of GENE McCARTHY have altered things in this country which have sorely needed to be altered. Those qualities are rare in any man serving in a legislative body. They are rare in this body.

The words of Homer come to mind:

Grief to his foes; to his friends great joy.

I believe that has been GENE McCARTHY's record here. It will continue to be in the days ahead into whatever endeavors he may be led.

We all will miss him.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Oklahoma.

Now, Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY).

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I would be remiss this morning if someone from the other side of the aisle did not wander over to the Democratic side and pay tribute to one of our colleagues who, regrettably, is leaving the Senate. I would be particularly remiss if I did not do so, in view of the fact that throughout the course of the past 2 years, I have tried, throughout the country and particularly in my State, to encourage young people on the college campuses to engage directly in the political process.

I have, time after time, tried to manifest to them the value of their participation. I used as an example the way in which the distinguished Senator from Minnesota brought young people into politics through the primary election itself where they could engage in the nitty gritty of politics and learn the ropes from the bottom up.

I admonish young people at the same time that, when they campaigned for candidates with their slogan, "Win with Gene," suggesting their slogan represented a solution to the problems in any one of the areas where they campaigned, they were involving themselves in the political process by selling a candidate as one would sell a product. Thus, they should do the job as salesmen in the best way possible by establishing a rapport with the people to whom they were talking trying to sell the candidate.

The message which the distinguished Senator from Minnesota carried throughout the country with such enthusiasm brought young people for the first time into the political process where their voices could be heard. And their voices were heard in the political process.

Today, as young people despair because of their feeling that they are unable to conduct a campaign in the country, I seek to restore the faith of the young people by pointing out what the young people have accomplished. They literally brought about the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by their voter registration drives in the South. No one can

seriously question the tremendous impact their activities had on the legislation. And their drive for environmental controls resulted in strong, new legislation being enacted into law in this body.

I think we all owe a great debt of gratitude to the distinguished Senator from Minnesota for originally having the concept of involving youth in the political process, to permit their protests to be manifest in a way that would produce dramatic results.

We should be eternally grateful to Senator McCARTHY. I would not be surprised if the action taken in the House and the Senate in bringing the vote to the 18-year-olds—which I hope will be sustained today by the Supreme Court of the United States—was directly inspired by his campaign which distinguished itself for its enthusiasm, vigor, and for its engagement of young people in the political process.

I am filled with admiration for his ability to appeal to the young people. It is an example that I certainly feel will be followed by all political figures in this country from this time forward.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Washington.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I presume that there will be the usual unanimous-consent agreement that Senators may have their remarks about our friend, the Senator from Minnesota, printed in the RECORD. I have some remarks that I would like to make.

Mr. President, I was born in Minnesota, and we do a lot of fishing up there.

The toughest fish in Minnesota is the pike, and it is the best eating. I always thought that the greatest contribution of the Senator from Minnesota was that he was a pike.

A pike is a fish that swims into a shallow, sluggish area and nudges the inhabitants there, to come alive and think, come out of their lethargy, if they are to survive—this is GENE McCARTHY's contribution to American politics.

Mr. President, I will have further remarks to make later.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I yield now to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I have a very warm, friendly, and kind feeling for Senator McCARTHY. I think that all of us do. That is one of the real tests of an effective Senator.

I think that Senator McCARTHY has exercised a very fine influence here. I consider his very fine sense of humor to be an asset. I consider him to be a wise man.

Senator McCARTHY has helped me in passing on matters here. He has rendered outstanding service in his quiet way in some of the problems that came before our Select Committee on Standards and Conduct in trying to handle some very difficult matters. He was outstanding in writing the rules—written standards we proposed along that line—the first that the Senate had ever attempted in written form. They were adopted in the Senate.

Senator McCARTHY was always responsible and steady and fair. In writing those difficult rules, he showed respect, responsibility, and a high tactical ap-

proach, but always with a deep sense of fairness.

I thank him for those things as well as for many other things that have been mentioned. I thank him as a fellow Senator for what he has done here for the Nation and for all of us.

I certainly wish him well in his endeavors. I certainly hope that he has further contributions to make in political life.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Mississippi.

I now yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I have been very impressed this morning in listening to the remarks of my colleagues in the Senate about Senator McCARTHY.

The Senator from Minnesota is often described as a man who is difficult to understand, something of an enigma. It seems to me that what has emerged here this morning is a very clear profile of a man whose colleagues appreciate him and understand him for the remarkable qualities he has manifested.

Recurring throughout all of these remarks and tributes to GENE McCARTHY are references to his wit, his high intelligence, and his gracefulness.

I think that of all of the Members of the U.S. Senate, there is no one whose place at the present time is so secure in history as is that of the Senator from Minnesota. He has accomplished a very unique achievement at a rather early age. Because of the courage and intelligence he manifested in 1967 and 1968, no matter what else happens, he has already been assured of a very high place in the history of this Nation. That, I suppose, is the highest aspiration that any of us can hope for. To have achieved that at a relatively early age, as he has, seems to me to be the highest possible tribute and sense of satisfaction that could come to anyone.

I remember the very first encounter I had with Senator McCARTHY some years ago, as a young Member of the House of Representatives when I gave my maiden speech. We were talking about a matter that was very controversial at the time—the agricultural program in this country. We had a rather unpopular Secretary of Agriculture then.

In that grim debate, Senator McCARTHY demonstrated, for the first time, as far as I was concerned, the matchless wit that all of us have come to admire. From that day to this, I have known no one in the Congress of the United States who could match his humor and intelligence.

Beyond that, he possesses the courage that was described by Hemingway as "grace under pressure."

He could have been made to look ridiculous in the venture he undertook 2 years ago but for his sense of patriotism and sense of history. His sense of values has stood him well throughout his career.

I consider it a great honor to have been a colleague of his and I look forward to a great many years of satisfying associations with him in the future.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator.

I yield to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the State of Minnesota has sent a number

of outstanding men to the Senate. One of them is EUGENE McCARTHY, who will certainly be long remembered for the contributions he has made to the Nation and the Senate.

EUGENE McCARTHY has played a unique role in this Nation's recent history. He is one of the men who did the most to help focus public attention on our disastrous course of action in Southeast Asia. His leaving the Senate raises serious question about the judgment our system arrives at.

He has rare qualities of perception that are sorely needed in this age. He is a man of letters in the tradition of some of our greatest American leaders. We will miss his voice of reason in the Senate.

I regard him as a friend. He served on the Committee on Foreign Relations, but perhaps more important than simply his personal friendship, which I value highly, I feel in many important issues we have shared and continue to share similar views about what is in the national interest, which after all is what we are here for and it is what is expected of Senators.

I believe all people in and out of the Senate will feel we have lost a person with deep perception with respect to what is in the national interest.

I have always felt there is no real difference in Senators as far as objectives are concerned, those objectives being the welfare of the country and humanity generally; but there is a difference with respect to what is needed to promote that welfare.

I have always felt assured by the thought that GENE McCARTHY and I—and I do not want to identify with him completely—shared on many occasions views of what were and what are the best policies to promote the welfare of our country.

I will miss him and Americans throughout the country will miss his voice in the public arena. However, I still feel he will find some public endeavor through which he can make a great contribution.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I wish to say a few words on this occasion about my dear friend from Minnesota. He has been here about the same length of time I have been here. I suppose that he and I have disagreed on about as many occasions as two men can, but in disagreement he has not been disagreeable. He has always had a twinkle in his eye and a smile. He always accused me of shaking my head when I support him when he is talking, and when I hear the other side, that I shake my head as supporting that side also. This is a part of the nature of the man.

He has a most remarkable sense of wit and built-in philosophy and understanding of other men. He fights hard for those things in which he believes. He is a crusader in every sense of the word. I had the privilege and pleasure 2 years ago of having him as my guest in a place almost as beautiful, I think equally with his, out in Nevada. We have had some great conversations.

I think this is a man who will be judged kindly by history as a man who was so



firm in his convictions and belief that somewhere along the way his view would prevail.

I do not know what the future holds for him. He is a man who out in Nevada we would say has some mystery about him, but whatever he does he has my best wishes and the best wishes of my wife Lucille, who happens to be from Minnesota.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senate for setting aside this time today to permit colleagues who wished to do so to express tribute to a great Senator.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, GENE McCARTHY and I served together in the House of Representatives before we came to this body. We came to the U.S. Senate together as Members of that large class of 1958. I have enjoyed these years of serving with GENE McCARTHY. I was one of those, and I am sure there were many others, who, in conversations with GENE, from time to time, expressed hope he would change his mind and remain a Member of this body with us.

But he is a man who knows his own mind and he is a man who knows his own heart. He has chosen his course and I trust it will be the best one for him.

GENE McCARTHY is a man of remarkable ability, a man of great wit, and a very warm personality. I think he proves the truth of that verse of scripture that states, "He that hath friends must show himself friendly."

We shall miss Senator EUGENE McCARTHY. He has made his mark upon our party, he has made his mark upon our country, and he has made an indelible mark upon the hearts of all in the Senate who are privileged to call him friend.

Mr. President, I shall briefly transgress the rules of the Senate by addressing Senator McCARTHY in the second person. We are admonished by the precedents not to do that.

GENE, as you leave, may I just say this to you. It is in the form of a wish, perhaps, or a prayer. I know it is joined in by all of my colleagues.

The hours are like a string of pearls,  
The days like diamonds rare,  
The moments are the threads of gold,  
That binds them for our wear,  
So may the years that come to you  
Such wealth and good contain  
That every moment, hour, and day  
Be like a golden chain.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from West Virginia.

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

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 1 additional minute.

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

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, several other Senators have asked for an opportunity to be recognized, the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER) among them.

I ask unanimous consent that they may be permitted to include remarks at this point in the RECORD before we go to the pending business.

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

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, finally may I say this. In Minnesota we pride ourselves with having a special commitment to the education and enlightenment of our citizens, and to the supreme values of compassion and human justice, and to the greatest cause of all—the cause of peace. I think our State produced as many or more spokesmen for these things than any other State.

Perhaps the embodiment of that effort and all that my wonderful State stands for is best expressed and best personified by this man we honor today. Minnesota has produced none greater than GENE McCARTHY, and I thank him.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, during his 12 years as Senator from Minnesota, GENE McCARTHY has not been what we would call an orthodox Senator.

In fact, he has been a rather individualistic Senator, and I think we should give him credit for that.

He has never been willing to sacrifice his own beliefs in exchange for acclamation from people that he inwardly disagreed with.

He has performed a unique service.

I am not speaking of his work on the Senate floor, but about his work with the young people of our country.

He has tried and tried successfully to interest thousands of them in our processes of government and the responsibility of the citizen.

And I expect that after he voluntarily leaves this body on January 3, he will continue to work with the youth of the Nation.

Yes, GENE McCARTHY may have been an unorthodox Senator, but he has played a useful role in awakening the political conscience of millions of young people and for that we are very grateful.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I welcome the opportunity to join in tribute to the retiring senior Senator from Minnesota, EUGENE J. McCARTHY. His taking leave from this chamber does not mean retirement in the usual sense, of course, because Senator McCARTHY has many distinguished years ahead of him. If the past has any bearing on the future, we are on secure ground in predicting that the Senator from Minnesota will be much in our attention in the years ahead.

The touchstone of Senator McCARTHY's career is the politics of conscience. And in this era of impassioned rhetoric, widespread intolerance and violent confrontation, his is a voice urging us to exorcise our demons, lower our voices, and conduct our affairs in an atmosphere of reasoned tolerance. When future historians comb the annals of the stormy present, they will find in his career an uncommon dedication to right. They will find candor and eloquence, sobriety and wit, politics and poetry. They will find an individual's hope in a period when too many were gripped by despair; and confidence in the possibility of reform from within when too many lost faith in reason and turned to radical faiths. Now we seem to be seeing the first faint signs that the mindless binge on violence is coming to an end. We seem to be seeing the dawning realization that the young accomplished much more with

Senator McCARTHY in 1968 than a few of them have done on their own in the months since.

EUGENE McCARTHY is an individualist in an age of conformity. His background is wide and his opinions range over many fields. No one would expect, least of all the Senator himself, to find other people in agreement all of the time. Nevertheless the integrity and wisdom he brought to this chamber leave an enduring legacy for us all. I am grateful for having served alongside Senator McCARTHY and for the enjoyment of his friendship. And I join my colleagues in wishing him well in his future pursuits.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, it was my privilege and pleasure earlier today to preside over a session in which many of my colleagues paid tribute to Senator GENE McCARTHY upon his pending departure from the Senate at the end of this Congress—if this Congress ever ends. Most of those who lauded Senator McCARTHY and his splendid record as an active political figure concentrated upon the campaign of 1968 when he literally turned the country around and was the catalyst that demonstrated that the majority of the people of the United States were opposed to our activities in Vietnam. His courage in taking a very lonely stand in the New Hampshire primary, his leadership throughout the campaign have been mentioned several times and deserve such mention.

Not enough mention, however, has been made of the early McCARTHY, GENE McCARTHY as a leader before 1968. If I may be permitted to recall some of his activity in those earlier years, it will be no surprise to anyone that he made the decision he did in 1968 and that he has exercised the leadership he has in recent years.

As a freshman Congressman in 1953, I went to see the then Representative McCARTHY to talk about committee assignments. He was already a leader and to show the scarcity of Democratic representation in the House from the Northwest, the only representatives on the Ways and Means Committee from the whole great western area were Congressman Cecil King of California and McCARTHY of Minnesota. It was finally decided that I would be in Congressman King's area for assignment to committee and GENE had nothing to do with sponsoring me. But that first meeting was an important one. He could see that I was in need of help and guidance and he was generous and kind enough to give it to me. He called me back to his office and under the guise of discussing some of the legislative problems before the 82d Congress he gave me wise and experienced advice. I later learned that a good many other members had benefited from such guidance because during the first session of the 82d Congress whenever a question arose someone would always say, "Let us see what GENE has to say about it."

An example is a liberal statement that was issued in 1957 just before President Eisenhower's state of the Union and budget messages. Several congressmen, including former Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, FRANK THOMPSON of New Jersey, James Roosevelt, and



others wanted to have a Democratic program. So we all went to see GENE and he wrote a draft of a program that was adopted substantially in its entirety. It soon became known that GENE McCARTHY had written most of the document and during the 85th Congress it became known as the "McCarthy manifesto."

A study of the McCarthy manifesto will show what an innovative and imaginative legislator GENE McCARTHY was. Many of his suggestions met with determined resistance from some of his Democratic colleagues. Yet looking back with the advantage of 20/20 hindsight we can see that he had the wisdom and the sagacity to foresee the impact of programs that was denied to many of us.

And that is how the Democratic Study Group was formed. Those who wanted to talk it over with GENE began to meet in his office and soon there were a group of regulars who met and discussed legislation.

Therefore it was no surprise to those of us who knew and loved GENE McCARTHY that he embarked on the long journey that led to the confrontation in Chicago and a repudiation of the war in Vietnam. He had led other less publicized but equally important crusades.

In all the years of my friendship with GENE McCARTHY I have most enjoyed his wit. Daily he has an original and pertinent comment on some current event. He strolls into the Senate, makes his observation and moves on and our day is the better for his presence.

Senator McCARTHY has made a significant contribution to our time. He has been a unique and distinguished Senator. I have been proud to have been his friend. He will be missed in the Senate and I will miss him personally. I wish him good fortune in his continued endeavors.

I ask unanimous consent that the so-called "McCarthy manifesto" of 1957 together with the signers thereto be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

PROPOSED FOR THE DEMOCRATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE 85TH CONGRESS

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey? There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am highly honored to have been chosen to place in the Congressional Record today a proposed program for the Democrats in the House of Representatives during the 85th Congress. This program has been endorsed by 80 of my colleagues.

This program was first announced on January 8, prior to the state of the Union and budget messages.

The program covers foreign policy and national defense, immigration, civil rights, improved civil service, education, health and housing, taxes, labor, business and industry, agriculture, public works, resources, atomic energy, veterans benefits, and government operations.

The President's state of the Union and budget messages recommended the passage of a number of the proposals contained in the program we are recommending. Among the President's recommendations, for in-

stance, were revision of the immigration laws, civil rights legislation, aid to school construction, revision of the Taft-Hartley Act, the extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act, atomic energy, and statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

The proposed program for Democrats in the House of Representatives in this Congress goes beyond the administration's recommendations in a number of areas including the treatment and compensation of Government employees, revision of the labor relations law, housing, revision of the tax laws, tax relief for small business, an improved unemployment program, assistance to industry in depressed areas, and the revision of farm legislation. The program also calls for a repudiation of the administration's partnership approach to the development of natural resources, and its replacement by what the signers of the proposed program describe as a return to the historic resources development partnership, including farmer cooperatives, public power districts, private enterprise, and the Federal Government.

The program also calls for congressional action to provide for greater responsibility in the executive offices and action to make clearer the administration's accountability to Congress and the people of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the signers of this proposed program are convinced that if a sufficient number of the so-called modern Republicans join in support of the program there will be no difficulty in securing passage of legislation to carry it out.

Signers of the proposed program for the Democrats in the House of Representatives in the 85th Congress are STEWART L. UDALL; JOHN E. MOSS; JOHN F. SHELLEY; JOHN J. McFALL; B. F. SISK; JAMES ROOSEVELT; CECIL R. KING; CHET HOLIFIELD; CLYDE DOYLE; D. S. SAUND; BYRON G. ROGERS; WAYNE N. ASPINALL; GEORGE P. MILLER; GRACIE PFOST; WILLIAM L. DAWSON; BARRATT O'HARA; JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI; THOMAS J. O'BRIEN; JAMES B. BOWLER; THOMAS S. GORDON; SIDNEY R. YATES; CHARLES A. BOYLE; RAY J. MADDEN; WINFIELD K. DENTON; J. FLOYD BREEDING; CARL D. PERKINS; EDWARD P. BOLAND; CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.; LOUIS C. RABAUT; JOHN D. DINGELL; JOHN LESKIE, JR.; MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS; THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ; EUGENE J. McCARTHY; JOHN A. BLATNIK; ROY W. WIER; COYA KNUTSON; FRANK M. KARSTEN; LEONOR K. SULLIVAN; A. S. J. CARNAHAN; GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER; LEE METCALF; LEROY H. ANDERSON; PETER W. RODINO, JR.; HUGH J. ADDONIZIO; FRANK THOMPSON, JR.; LESTER HOLTZMAN; VICTOR L. ANFUSO; EUGENE J. KEOGH; EDNA F. KELLY; EMANUEL CELLER; ABRAHAM J. MULTER; JOHN J. ROONEY; ALFRED E. SANTANGELO; LEONARD FARBSTEIN; LUDWIG TELLER; HERBERT ZELENSKO; JAMES C. HEALEY; ISIDORE DOLLINGER; LEO W. O'BRIEN; WAYNE L. HAYS; CHARLES A. VANIK; THOMAS L. ASHLEY; AL ULLMAN; EDITH GREEN; CHARLES O. PORTER; WILLIAM A. BARRETT; KATHRYN E. GRANAHAN; JAMES A. BYRNE; EARL CHUBOFF; WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.; HERMAN P. EBERHARTER; GEORGE M. RHODES; ELMER J. HOLLAND; GEORGE S. McGOVERN; DON MAGNUSON; HENRY S. REUSS; LESTER R. JOHNSON; CLAIR ENGLE.

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR THE DEMOCRATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 85TH CONGRESS

For the first time since 1848, when party designation was vague and ill-defined, the voters of the United States have not given the President-elect a Congress of his own party. This situation is especially significant so far as the House of Representatives—the people's branch of the Government of the United States—is concerned. It indicates approval of the record of the 84th Congress, controlled by Democrats, and approval of the program projected by the Democratic candidates in the campaign of 1966.

We believe it important that the projected program of the majority of the party in control of the House of Representatives be publicly stated at the beginning of the first session of this Congress. The statement which follows contains proposals which are within the range of authority and of the responsibilities of the House of Representatives. It presents a program which is, we believe, supported by a majority of the Democratic Members of the House of Representatives and also by a majority of those voters among the citizens of the United States who in the last election voted to elect this Democratic majority.

#### FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

We favor the maintenance of adequate defense forces and believe that this can best be accomplished by maintaining balance among the three branches of the armed services. We believe, also, that unless the world situation improves significantly, there should be no reduction of the personnel in the armed services. We will support legislation and appropriations necessary to accomplish these purposes.

We will continue to give strong and consistent support to the United Nations. We urge the administration to work through this agency whenever feasible, not only in the military and diplomatic fields, but also in economic and cultural areas.

We believe that our friendship with the countries of Western Europe need not be sacrificed and that these nations need not be humiliated in the eyes of the world in order to win for the United States the friendship of the uncommitted peoples of the rest of the world. We therefore favor the continuance of an adequate aid program to meet the needs of our Western European and other allies, especially those needs which result from the loss of Near Eastern oil supplies.

We propose that instead of indiscriminate condemnation of colonialism, the Eisenhower administration offer positive aid to countries holding colonial possessions, so that the economic shock of abandoning such possessions can be cushioned and, at the same time, protection given to persons and property in the colonial areas during the transition to independence. We will give our support to such efforts.

We favor an expanded point 4 program, and we are hopeful that the Eisenhower administration, after 4 years of hesitation and contradiction, will develop and present such a program to the Congress.

We favor the passage of legislation necessary to encourage and facilitate world trade, and we will propose legislation to meet the special problems of United States industries and workers affected by liberalization of trade policy.

We are for statehood for Alaska and for Hawaii.

#### IMMIGRATION

We will propose legislation and work for the revision of immigration and naturalization laws to eliminate the national origins rule and to provide flexibility in the admission of displaced persons, refugees, and other deserving cases.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL SERVICE

We will propose measures and work for the enactment of legislation designed to eliminate illegal and unconstitutional discrimination affecting the right to vote and the right to engage in gainful occupation, and designed, also, to insure full protection of the law of the enjoyment of the security of person and of the rights of citizenship.

We favor legislation to protect the national security and, at the same time, in keeping with recent Supreme Court decisions, to protect Government employees and other citizens from the violation of rights and from the abusive practices of the Eisenhower administration.

We favor an increase in the compensation of Government employees to meet the increased cost of living and to compare with the compensation paid to persons performing similar work in nongovernmental employment.

We favor the recognition of the right of employee organizations to represent their members and the granting to Government employees of the right to full participation in the political life of the nation.

#### EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND HOUSING

We favor the enactment of legislation to assist States and local communities in building schools and providing essential health and safety facilities to all school children. This legislation should be similar to that proposed in the last Congress. It should not include the unsound financial provisions recommended in the first Eisenhower education bill in the 84th Congress or the unworkable proposal for the distribution of funds incorporated in what was described by the Republican candidate as the "one clear call to action" on education.

We favor an expanded program of Federal aid for medical education, hospital construction, and health services.

We shall support increased benefits under the social security program, the extension of coverage, and the raising of the wage base upon which benefits depend.

We will propose and support an expanded and improved Federal housing program designed to meet the special needs of low-income and middle-income families, and senior citizens. We will also support an expanded urban redevelopment program.

We will oppose efforts to destroy the effectiveness of laws designed to protect consumers and businessmen from exploitation and unfair practices.

#### TAXES

We favor revision of the tax law to close the loopholes in the 1954 act, to eliminate unwarranted privileges, and to provide tax adjustment for small businesses.

We favor the elimination of the most burdensome and inequitable excise taxes.

As the budget and general economic conditions indicate, the income tax should be reduced.

#### BUSINESS, INDUSTRY, AND LABOR

We will undertake to assist small independent businesses by strengthening the Small Business Administration, and by inquiry with a view to the improvement of the antitrust laws and of their administration, as well as the administration of various Government commissions and agencies affecting small businesses.

We will propose and seek to enact legislation to assist in promoting industry and creating jobs in depressed areas of the United States and in areas of underdevelopment and unemployment.

We propose to strengthen the unemployment-compensation system, to extend its coverage and improve its benefits, and to adjust it to meet the problems of automation and industrial change.

We favor the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and its replacement by labor-relations legislation that is favorable to labor, to management, and to the public.

We favor the extension of the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act, together with an increase in the minimum wage to conform with increased productivity and the rising cost of living.

#### AGRICULTURE

We will propose and support the enactment of legislation to improve the farm program so as to assist the farmers of the United States to secure parity of income.

We favor legislation to improve the water- and soil-conservation program, to insure that the soil bank be used for the purposes for

which it was designed, rather than an instrument of political expediency.

The problems of drought relief and crop insurance would be met by the expansion, the improvement, and the effective administration of the existing drought-relief and crop-insurance programs.

We favor an expanded school-lunch program and other programs for the disposal of agricultural surpluses.

#### PUBLIC WORKS

We will work for a stepped-up, sound program of public-works projects in rivers and harbors, hydroelectric, flood control, and public buildings to better utilize existing resources and provide better and more adequate facilities and services to meet the needs of an ever-increasing population in an expanding economy.

We will continue work to build up momentum for an effective, long-range, expanded, and accelerated Federal-aided highway and public-roads program.

#### RESOURCES

We propose to abandon this administration's limited partnership with the commercial utilities and return to the historic resources-development partnership between farmer cooperatives, public-power districts, private enterprise, and the Federal Government.

We believe in the principle of multiple-purpose use of the land and water resources of our river basins, with special emphasis on the protection of our watersheds for domestic, agricultural, recreational, and industrial uses, and in the comprehensive development and management of these resources to get maximum flood control, irrigation and reclamation, power, forest production, grazing, mining, and fish and wildlife conservation and recreation.

We will continue to work for the adoption of a generous Federal program to assist Indian tribes in the full development of their human and natural resources and prompt settlement of Indian claims against the United States, including negotiations and compromise in the best interests of both parties.

We will again oppose altering treaty or other Federal-Indian contractual relationships without the free consent of the tribes concerned and will oppose programs similar to those supported by the Eisenhower administration to weaken Federal control over public grazing lands, national forests, and other resources now held for the people of the United States by the United States Government.

#### ATOMIC ENERGY

In addition to the continued development of a balanced and flexible stockpile of nuclear weapons, we will propose legislation to accelerate the domestic civilian atomic-energy program by the construction of prototype reactors, to increase the production of fissionable material for further nuclear experimentation, and to bring about greater cooperation in this entire field, in domestic operations and in cooperation with our allies. We will also seek a comprehensive survey of radiation hazards from bomb tests and reactor operations.

#### VETERANS

We will continue to press for legislation to compensate veterans and their dependents for the physical, economic, and the other losses which they have suffered as a consequence of military service.

#### GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

We will propose legislation to make the Congress more effective and to provide for greater efficiency, economy, and responsibility in the executive offices, and to make clear the administration's accountability to the Congress and to the people of the United States.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, most men of high public office are intelligent. Most have the capacity to assimilate and synthesize the current state of knowledge. But few are intellectuals in the true sense of the word. Few have the ability to add to the state of knowledge. GENE McCARTHY is a member of this small minority.

Moreover, GENE is not only an original thinker but a gifted stylist as well. He can break through the suffocating sameness of conventional rhetoric and speak and write true eloquence. He has helped to elevate the language of politics.

And being a man of dignity, compassion, and fine sentiment, he has helped to improve the image of politicians in the American mind.

As a student of history, he understands the capriciousness of human events. A man of honor and conscience he knows that the only truly lasting reward in life is in knowing that one has met the world on one's own terms and has been true unto himself.

GENE McCARTHY is a skilled politician, a deeply conscientious public servant, a poet of distinction, a man of incisive wit and humor, and an intellectual in the classical tradition.

But above all, he is, more than most, his own man. And in the final analysis this is the finest accolade that one can earn.

Mr. President, the Senate will miss GENE McCARTHY but I know that we will continue to hear from him. He will continue to add to our store of political wisdom. He will continue to elevate the standards of public dialog.

SENATOR McCARTHY HAS BEEN A LEADER IN ATTEMPTS TO BRIDGE GENERATION GAP

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in observing that Senator EUGENE J. McCARTHY will be missed in the Senate. This tall, soft-spoken Minnesotan has served for a decade in the House of Representatives and for almost 12 years in the Senate. He is, at the same time, a distinguished author whose observations on government and politics provide provocative stimulus to democratic process.

Recognition of his scholarly talents in economics and education came with his appointment as a member of the Senate Finance and Foreign Relations Committees.

Within a year after coming to the Senate, it was my privilege to serve as a member of the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, with Senator McCARTHY as chairman. This committee, created by a resolution of the 86th Congress, held a total of 27 days of hearings in 24 cities across the Nation. Its report, submitted by Senator McCARTHY on March 3, 1960, is a valuable reference work for economists and social scientists. It analyzes the causes and conditions of joblessness and rightly defines it as a human and social problem, not merely an economic one. I commend this detailed work under the leadership of Senator McCARTHY as a former accomplishment applicable to today's rising unemployment problem.

I recall an occasion in May of 1965 when Senator McCARTHY accompanied



me to Weirton, W. Va., and gave a delightful and informative talk to the Weirtonian Lodge of the Order of Italian Sons and Daughters of America. He has always received a warm welcome in West Virginia.

During his colorful career in public service, EUGENE McCARTHY has provided the Nation with another important function. He has been, at a critical time in our country's turbulent history, a leader in his attempts to bridge the so-called generation gap. While some deplored the actions of young and involved students, Senator McCARTHY set about teaching them how to make their idealism for the public good, how to make their hopes and aspiration a reality. He has helped to demonstrate that youth can be an effective force in our democratic system.

As GENE leaves the Senate, I am heartened by the knowledge that this very decent and human citizen will continue to focus his considerable intellectual skills on the problems of mankind. Senator McCARTHY will be missed by his friends on the Hill.

#### IN PRAISE OF EUGENE M'CARTHY

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I speak on this occasion with conflicting emotions. I always welcome an opportunity to laud my esteemed friend and colleague EUGENE McCARTHY. But, on this occasion, I speak out of a deep sense of regret over the circumstances which prompted him to retire from the Senate.

EUGENE McCARTHY, a very private man in a very public office, has generated reams of curbstone analysis regarding his political psyche. Be that as it may, the name of this extraordinary man has already been written large in the annals of the Senate, where the forum proved too limited to contain the force in him.

For Senator McCARTHY achieved his eminent position in our politics outside the Senate. By taking his case against the war in Vietnam directly to the American people, he became the most important political figure in the United States in 1968. EUGENE McCARTHY lost his race for President. He failed even to win his party's nomination. Yet, more than any other man, Senator McCARTHY, in that tumultuous year, changed the course of the Nation.

His willingness to carry the torch for peace, his relentless, reasoned argument against the insane arithmetic of the war, aroused the conscience of the people. His opposition represented a great act of faith that in a democracy the people can be entrusted to pass a sensible judgment on the gravest issues, even in the midst of an ongoing war.

Largely because of that singular and courageous act of faith, the American people, shown the horrendous consequences of a misbegotten war, have drawn back their elected leaders from the abyss of Vietnam. For this, EUGENE McCARTHY deserves a larger measure of credit than any other American. Whatever political offices were denied him in the process, I believe he has won history's larger verdict.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the many nice and well deserved tributes paid to our beloved friend, the senior

Senator from Minnesota, Senator EUGENE McCARTHY.

GENE, as we all know him, is one of the most friendly, likable, and intelligent Members of the Senate. He has a rare and very enviable sense of humor and wit. It has always been refreshing to visit with him when on occasion, and this is quite often, he wanders over to the Republican side of the Chamber and carries on a friendly dissertation on our differing views. This is only one of the many friendly, likable traits about GENE McCARTHY that we will all miss.

While my views and those of my friend GENE McCARTHY on general political philosophy differ considerably, I have always enjoyed a very warm personal friendship with him.

Senator McCARTHY is one of the really able Members of the Senate and a powerful advocate of the liberal philosophy to which he has dedicated his life. I know of no Member of the Senate who has more effectively and earnestly championed his cause. I consider him to be a truly great Senator. He has represented his State very diligently and effectively and has been looked upon nationwide as a powerful advocate of the political philosophy he espouses.

No one will miss him more than I and I wish him well in all of his undertakings in the future.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my friend and colleague, Senator EUGENE McCARTHY, who in 11 years of devoted service has made a lasting contribution both to this body and to the whole country. I have always admired GENE McCARTHY. For he not only acts on principle but invests considerable thought in the development and expression of his principles. His contemplative presence will certainly be missed in these Chambers.

Such a contribution is noble by any standards. But GENE McCARTHY has gone beyond the Senate and made a courageous, nationwide effort to live by his beliefs. In 1968, GENE McCARTHY renewed our pride in this country and its politics. He reminded us all that an election in a democracy should be the most noble and far-reaching educational experiment of all. In short, GENE has demonstrated the power of ideas in history.

These past years have seen a wide variety of assumptions about successful campaign strategies. Some of the strategies have led us to doubt our own powers of leadership. But GENE had the courage to personally refute those visions of safe, issueless victories. Adlai Stevenson in 1956 said:

The idea that you can merchandise candidates for high office like breakfast cereal—that you can gather votes like boxtops—is, I think, the ultimate indignation to the democratic process.

GENE proved that such merchandising is not only an indignation, but that it is by no means always successful.

For among the far-reaching legacies of the McCarthy campaign have been party reform, an assumption by this country that the war must end, and a desire to discover new insurances of citizen participation. In a decade when all generations are looking for new forms to better ex-

press their evolving aspirations, the McCarthy movement stands as a powerful promise that those forms do exist and only require renewed cooperation and trust.

Whatever our personal beliefs, we should all join to thank Senator EUGENE McCARTHY for the contribution he has made to remind each of us as citizens that on our shoulders lies the destiny of our Nation.

#### TRIBUTE BY COMMITTEE ON FINANCE TO SENATOR M'CARTHY

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, the Committee on Finance met in executive session Friday, December 11, and approved a resolution expressing gratitude for the service that Senator EUGENE McCARTHY has given to the committee. He has been an invaluable companion in developing legislation relating to trade, Government finance, and social welfare. He has served on the Committee on Finance since January 14, 1959, and has been a Member of this body for 12 years. His service has been most distinguished.

The resolution adopted by the Committee on Finance in behalf of EUGENE McCARTHY reads as follows:

Whereas, Eugene J. McCarthy, of Minnesota, has served honorably and faithfully as a member of the Committee on Finance since January 14, 1959, and

Whereas, Eugene J. McCarthy generously devoted his knowledge and energy to the consideration of the many complex issues before this Committee during this period, and

Whereas, Eugene J. McCarthy has unceasingly advanced the development of legislation relating to trade, government finance, and social welfare in execution of the broad responsibilities of this Committee; Now, therefore, it

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance hereby expresses to Eugene J. McCarthy its sincere appreciation and gratitude for his outstanding contributions to the fulfillment of the obligations of this Committee, and for his faithful and devoted service as a member of this Committee.

Senator McCARTHY, as all of you know, has a very sharp and keen wit which helps to relieve the most strenuous of situations. His good-natured company is always welcome. Perhaps more important, he has always taken a stand on the domestic or foreign issues of the day, no matter how different the stand might be from the conventional party line. Time and again, he has demonstrated his ability to stand up and be counted, and I have never known him to fail to do so.

Although many times I have disagreed with the propositions advanced by Senator McCARTHY, his speeches were always delivered with an eloquence that won him many supporters. His efforts on behalf of single people brought about one of the most significant changes wrought by the massive Tax Reform Act of 1969.

I hope Senator McCARTHY continues to give us his best advice and wisdom unsparingly. I know I personally will miss his keen wit and his ability to maintain a sense of humor in the most trying circumstances.

I valued his support highly in my efforts a few years ago to work out a fair and equitable system of financing political campaigns for the office of the Presidency of the United States. He had the



vision to recognize the importance of the sort of changes I was proposing. He knew the influence of money in a political campaign and of the many conflicts of interest facing a candidate who accepted large contributions from persons likely to be looking for political favors in the future. We tried to get the influence of money out of the President's election.

I also valued his support in the race for assistant majority leader.

He must continue to make himself available to us, for I as one, will continue to look for his help in crystalizing and understanding the great issues which our committee and this body are called upon to decide. EUGENE McCARTHY has been in Congress for 22 years—10 years in the House, and then 12 years more in this body. His experience and public dedication will be missed.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to a Senator who has made an indelible imprint on American politics, and, even more important, who rendered a great national service in 1968 at a tense moment of the crisis with youth in our country by establishing so many young people in the American political process. At a time when many young Americans were developing an increasing sense of alienation, he swept them up in a feeling that the system can be made to work, that voices will be heard, and that even international conflict can be turned around if only people care enough and work hard enough for peace.

Senator McCARTHY has earned national universal respect. I value my years of service and friendship with him. I wish for him many continual years of success and fruitful living. He cannot fail to be of service to our country and to freedom wherever he is.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 5 minutes.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Minnesota may have 5 minutes.

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

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I wish I could take more time that I might respond, particularly to those who have spoken here. The public record is rather clear as to how my colleague from Minnesota has sustained me through the years in the Senate and on some issues outside the Senate. The record of men like Senator HUGHES of Iowa, made in a difficult time, is also clear. I will not speak of all my colleagues today, but I would now particularly want to express my thanks to the leadership, Senator MANSFIELD, Senator KENNEDY, and Senator BYRD of West Virginia, for the assistance they have given me, most of it never made public, and for their great understanding and great courtesy.

I would speak also in tribute to Senators who have been chairmen of committees on which I have served, and on which I will serve for the rest of this year: Of the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FULBRIGHT), chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations particularly, for

his consideration and support, and also for his leadership in very difficult areas, both inside and outside the Senate; of the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG), chairman of the Finance Committee, with whom I have worked for the 12 years I have been in the Senate; also, of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS), chairman of the Committee on Standards and Conduct.

If I had time I would have something positive to say about every Member of the Senate. I have been given publicity, and I will not say justly or unjustly, for having criticized, the Senate and Senators; the positive things I have said have often been ignored. In fact, I have been criticized more for good things I have said about Senators or Senate action which the critics thought were bad than for bad things or critical things I have said about Senators or Senate actions which the critics thought were good.

Now that I am leaving the Senate I am one of the few who are not complaining about the length of the session. I would just as soon serve until January 3. I am not anxious to have it end. I am quite content to stay here for the remaining 3 or 4 days in which I shall officially be a Member of the Senate.

What the Senate is doing and has been doing through the year, perhaps at a pace that might have been somewhat different, is in accordance with the constitutional intent and purpose and also, in the best tradition of the Senate, to stand in judgment for the country over the judicial system of this country, to judge how national policy, particularly foreign policy, should be conducted, to judge the personnel of the Government, and also to stand in reserve judgment over the action of the House of Representatives.

I will conclude by saying that as I leave the Senate it can expect from me the most positive kind of support for this body and a continuing interest in problems with which you will have to deal.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD remain open until the end of this Congress and that the tributes be printed as a Senate document.

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

#### THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF SWEDEN

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a review of the book, "The Government and Politics of Sweden," by Joseph B. Board, be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks. I think the book indicates some extremely relevant activities on the part of Sweden, relevant to our own problems in this country. I would hope that those who are interested in these problems would take note of the problems in Sweden.

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

#### SWEDEN STILL WORKS

(Review of the book: "The Government and Politics of Sweden". By Joseph B. Board, Houghton Mifflin, 261 pp. \$7.95.)

(By Steven Kelman)

Tell someone that you're studying about Cuba or China, and you'll receive immediate nods of interest and understanding. Tell someone you're interested in Sweden, and puzzled reaction will probably be "Why?" New books about Cuba or China receive widespread attention from critics and large-scale promotion by "with-it" publishing houses. But when the American journalist Frederic Fleisher came out several years ago with an excellent report entitled *The New Sweden* reviews were few and far between, and sales were sparse. It is a safe bet that this new book by Joseph Board, chairman of the department of political science at Union College, will be generally ignored.

It's a shame. For those who follow the latest developments in the lands of Fidel and Chairman Mao profess to be concentrated with seeing how other countries have dealt with problems which America faces. Now it is doubtful whether the Cuban experience has much in it to teach anyone, except by force of negative example. But to maintain that the problems of an underdeveloped country like Cuba have anything to do with the problems of the world's leading industrial nation is not just doubtful but absurd.

When we talk about Sweden, on the other hand, we're talking about a country in the same ballpark we're in. Sweden's per capita GNP lies second in the world, right behind ours. Sweden, like us, has big and bulging cities, serious threats to its natural environment, rapid rural-urban migration, and other problems which industrialized countries face. And while the country's small size makes it easier to deal with problems, Sweden's one-time ethnic homogeneity has disappeared with the influx of southern European immigrants who have come to Sweden seeking jobs. One out of every ten residents of Sweden today arrived as an immigrant after 1945.

Facing many of the same "inputs" as American society, the Swedes seem to have worked things to get "outputs" of a rather better quality. Unemployment has remained under 1.5 percent throughout the Sixties. The rate of housing construction has been the highest in the world, and was not affected by the recent tight money as it was in America. The revolt of youth is hardly as tenth as severe as in America or other Western European countries, and the phrase "generation gap" is hardly mentioned. The standard of health care is the world's highest.

How do they do it? Of course, a detailed answer would be not only lengthy but incredibly difficult. But, simply put, the Swedish successes are the result neither of some ill-defined national character nor of the special conditions of Swedish society—but rather very specific, imitable government and private policies.

Take unemployment. The low unemployment rate has hardly been a coincidence. The Swedish government constantly maintains a group of public works projects "on the shelf," fully planned and ready to be activated as soon as the unemployment rate hits a certain level. Similarly, the tax system allows industry to put aside a certain amount of its profits, tax free, into a "reserve investment fund," on condition that the funds be invested by the company in new plants and equipment when unemployment threatens to get too high.

The policies towards unemployment have a useful side-effect. The trade unions, aware that the government will not allow the unemployment rate to rise very high, are released from the necessity of opposing tech-

# Clark MacGregor

for U.S. Senator



***Full time for Minnesota***





## **"Why I'm running for The United States Senate"**

I believe in two basic ideas.

First, that you, as one of the 3,700,000 Minnesotans, deserve a full time Senator. A full time, full term effort is the very least you should expect from the man you elect to this office. Unfortunately, Minnesota has not been receiving this kind of effort. I intend to bring to this office the same full time attention I have given my work in the United States House of Representatives during the past 10 years.

Secondly, I believe the best government is one which responds to the hopes, dreams and concerns of the people it represents. As your Senator, I will carry out completely my obligation to reflect your thinking—the thinking of the people. I also believe that all Minnesotans, regardless of their personal political beliefs, will find a more responsive ear in the United States Senate today by having a Republican Senator represent them.

I also believe that you and your neighbors have the ability to deal with your local problems. And that you are concerned about others in your community who are less fortunate than you.

If you elect me, I will work hard; keep in touch with you personally; work aggressively for legislation which will benefit all Minnesotans; and plan ahead for the future of our state.

*"The Third District Congressman is a competent, impressive political leader who is well respected in the national Republican party."*

—Mankato Free Press  
(June 15, 1965)

**Clark MacGregor—Full time for Minnesota**



## "You have to keep in touch with people"

A U.S. Senator has a deep-rooted responsibility to the people of his state.

A responsibility to know what you are thinking.

A responsibility to know what you want for your family, your city, your state.

A responsibility to be your voice in the federal government.

A responsibility to talk with you, visit with you and discuss problems with you—both individually and collectively.

To do this, Clark MacGregor always maintains an open door policy. He is always available for direct consultation in his office.

To assure a continuing, direct relationship with the people and problems of his district, he spends a lot of time in his district office in Minnesota, face to face with people and their problems.

Unlike some politicians, he has not ignored the youth. He has visited 40 high schools and colleges, listening to students and discussing issues with responsible representatives of today's youth.

He is deeply concerned with the safety of *all* citizens. As such, he is a major author of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

His deep-rooted feeling for his fellow man is reflected in his total commitment to human rights. As a major draftsman of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, he has acted on behalf of the individual.



**"MacGregor is a good Congressman, he is popular and personable but more important, he is reasonable."**

— Murray County Herald  
(Feb. 10, 1966)

**"The ability of MacGregor to draw independent and some Democrat votes has been responsible for his winning at the polls."**

— North Hennepin Post  
(Sept. 18, 1968)



## "Getting things done for Minnesota is what counts"

Solving today's problems and challenges demands complete dedication to the job of Senator. It demands a man who can and will get things done.

Clark MacGregor has already dedicated himself to this task. He has displayed his concern for the major problems that confront Minnesotans. He has been working on them as a United States Congressman since 1960.

MacGregor is actively working towards solutions in these major areas: environmental quality, inflation, government efficiency, and the mis-use of tax money.

On a national scale, he is regarded as one of the most influential members of Congress. Both the AP and the UPI news services have identified him as "a leading Republican" and "a prominent GOP House Member."

In addition to the leading roles he played in the Civil Rights Act and the Safe Streets Act, MacGregor has also achieved an enviable record of action in these areas:

- A prime author of the Immigration Reform Act
- Active in extending voting rights
- A prime advocate of higher ethical standards in government
- Co-author of a constitutional amendment to reform the archaic Electoral College system of electing the President
- Has taken effective action to get common sense gun and ammunition laws.

More than just a talker. *Clark MacGregor is a doer!*

**"This newspaper has the utmost of respect for this man."**

— Murray County Herald  
(Sept. 2, 1965)

**"It was Minnesota Congressman Clark MacGregor who emerged as the Republican Champion of an effective civil rights measure..."**

— Minneapolis Spokesman  
(Nov. 7, 1963)

## **"Experience? MacGregor has the kind a Senator needs"**

During his 10 years in Congress, he has served or is currently serving in the following capacities:

- Member, House Judiciary Committee since first coming to Congress
- Active in sub-committee work on human rights and responsibilities; constitutional amendments; immigration; copyrights and patents; crime control and prevention
- Member, House Committee on Banking and Currency; active in work on housing, urban renewal, mass transit and inflation control measures
- Chairman, Minnesota Republican Congressional Delegation
- Past Chairman, House Republican Task Force on Urban/Suburban Affairs
- Member, House Republican Task Force on International Trade
- Former member, Republican National Committee Task Force on Crime and Delinquency
- Member, Platform Executive Committee, Republican National Convention, 1964



*Editorial about Congressmen Quie and MacGregor*  
*"Both are outstanding Congressmen with important seniority rights. They render valuable public service in their present positions and are young enough to look forward to future opportunities to try for other offices if they should desire."*  
 St. Paul Pioneer Press  
 (Feb. 27, 1966)

**Clark MacGregor—Full time for Minnesota**



## **"A man is the sum total of his previous background"**

Clark MacGregor is solid Minnesota. He was born in Minneapolis, July 12, 1922; his parents were born and raised in St. Cloud.

He was co-valedictorian of Washburn High School. At Dartmouth College, he received a B.A. degree with honors in 1946. He continued his studies at the University of Minnesota Law School, receiving a LL.B. degree in 1948.

Served in the U.S. Army from 1942 through 1945, where he was awarded a direct battlefield commission in Burma.

Married in 1948. Practiced law in Minneapolis from 1948 to 1961, and was always active in bar associations and civic organizations.

He first ran for public office in 1960, defeating a veteran DFL incumbent regarded as unbeatable after 12 years in Congress. He was re-elected in '62, '64, '66 and '68.

Clark MacGregor has never lost an election! He's a winner.

## **"What are the MacGregors like?"**

He is proud of his family. And, rightfully so.

His wife, the former Barbara Porter Spicer of Duluth, shares his deep and total commitment to serving the people of Minnesota. Her encouragement and perception are a constant source of inspiration to MacGregor.

His three daughters—Susan, Laurie and Eleanor—help keep him attuned to the thoughts and needs of America's youth.

The MacGregors all work together, as a family unit, in total harmony. For the benefit of Minnesota. For the benefit of each and every individual living in this beautiful state of ours.



**Clark MacGregor—Full time for Minnesota**



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To

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MacGregor Volunteer Committee  
4510 West 77th Street  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55435

# How can you help Clark MacGregor and Minnesota?

Clark MacGregor will welcome your help. Here are some of the ways.

- Help the local MacGregor committee
- Put a bumper sticker on your car
- Wear a MacGregor button
- Distribute literature
- Talk about MacGregor's accomplishments
- Fund raising
- Telephoning
- Help at MacGregor rallies
- Enlist others for the MacGregor team
- Vote on Election Day, November 3, for MacGregor

Write to the MacGregor Volunteer Committee  
4510 West 77th Street  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55435

or call 612-927-4051 and tell us how you would like to help.

Prepared and circulated by:  
MacGregor Volunteer Committee  
4510 West 77th Street  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55435  
Judd Ringer, Chairman



## THE SENATOR for Minnesota



## THE SENATOR for Minnesota





**he cares  
about Minnesota and its future  
...he cares about America and  
the world living at peace.**





## he cares about people.



To serve the people is no empty phrase to Hubert Humphrey. To help a widow get her social security benefits, to get a young soldier home when his father died, to find a job for a dispossessed farmer, to help a young couple get medical treatment for their retarded baby — this has been the true meaning of his life.

## he cares about Minnesota.

As Mayor of Minneapolis, Senator and Vice President, Hubert Humphrey worked hard and successfully to bring important projects to Minnesota. Among them, the Space Center at the University, the Bureau of Mines Laboratory and the Water Quality Laboratory. Humphrey's efforts brought new industries, more jobs and a higher quality of life to every part of our state.



## he cares about the cost of living.

A cruel inflation is damaging our economy and hurting many Minnesotans. Those suffering most from the ever-rising prices are the elderly and people living on fixed incomes. The highest interest rates in 100 years are a disaster to small businessmen and young families unable to finance a home of their own. As your Senator, Humphrey will insist that the Government take immediate corrective action.

## he cares about education.



Hubert Humphrey's entire life has been closely involved with education. He sponsored the National Defense Education Act, and promoted scholarships for needy and deserving students. He believes we need more money for education, not less. This money must come from the federal government, which has a broad national tax base. Without federal aid for education, taxes on homes will increase or the quality of education will deteriorate. To fail our children today is to fail America tomorrow.

## he cares about rural America.



The saddest thing of all is the sight of farm auctions and For Sale signs in Minnesota. The key to the full development of rural America is improved farm income — a price support system for basic crops. Healthy rural communities will attract new industries, new jobs, new residents and bring rural areas into the mainstream of American life. The future of the family farm in Minnesota must be preserved.

## he cares about law and order.

It must be clear that bombings, crime, looting and destruction will not be condoned. Violence begets violence. And this American democracy will not be badgered by a disruptive and turbulent few. No matter where lawlessness occurs — on the campus or in the streets — the extremists must be contained. And lawbreakers must be punished.

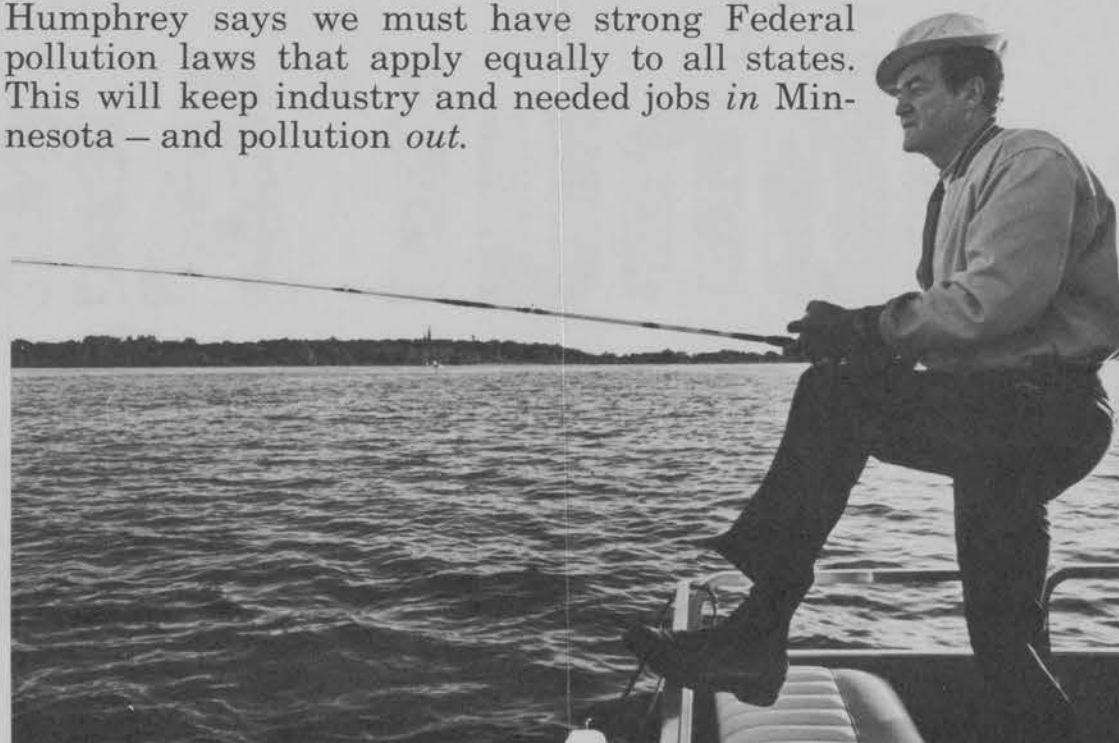
## he cares about peace.



Americans have made it absolutely clear that they want an end to the war in Southeast Asia. To Hubert Humphrey, the first priority of our government must be to end that war. To the man who authored the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and sponsored the U.S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, there is but one goal. The killing must stop — now.

## he cares about pollution.

Every generation has an obligation to conserve the soil and preserve the purity of the water and the cleanliness of the air. Hubert Humphrey says we must have strong Federal pollution laws that apply equally to all states. This will keep industry and needed jobs in Minnesota — and pollution out.



## he cares about the elderly.

Hubert Humphrey sponsored the initial Social Security bill which provided medical insurance. From that bill, and from his continued efforts, Medicare was finally enacted. Today, with inflation cruelly cutting into the resources of those on fixed incomes, Humphrey advocates a simple proposal: as the cost of living increases, so should Social Security benefits. To ignore the needs of those who gave us life is to fail humanity.



## he cares about labor.



Unemployment has reached Minnesotans in every village, town and city. Business is suffering and profits are down. This is the tragic result of the Republican administration's default in economic leadership. Hubert Humphrey says every working man must have a good job to sustain his family, educate his children and partake of the goodness of life.

## he cares about health.

The increase in medical costs is more than double the rise in the cost of living. The price of staying alive is now more than millions of families can afford. Hubert Humphrey believes a practical, progressive system of health care for all Americans is now an urgent national priority.

## he cares about our children and the America we will pass on to them.



**Vote for Hubert Humphrey for U.S. Senator.**





Sincerely,  
Hubert H. Humphrey



### Legislative Accomplishments

- ❑ Co-author of Omnibus Crime Control Bill, 1968
- ❑ Prime author of Civil Rights Bill of 1964
- ❑ Prime author of Immigration Reform Act of 1965
- ❑ Active in extending voting rights — Acts of 1965 and 1969
- ❑ Prime advocate of higher ethical standards in government
- ❑ Co-author of constitutional amendment to reform electoral college system of electing President
- ❑ Leader in Congressional and executive re-organization drive
- ❑ Leading advocate of election law reform
- ❑ Effective action to get common sense gun and ammunition laws



### Clark is a prominent Republican

- ❑ Chairman of Minnesota Republican Congressional Delegation
- ❑ Past Chairman of House Republican Task Force on Urban-Suburban Affairs
- ❑ Midwest Chairman, Nixon for President Committee, 1968
- ❑ Deputy Chairman, Nixon-Agnew Key Issues Committee, 1968-69
- ❑ Assistant Floor Manager for Richard Nixon, Republican National Convention, 1968
- ❑ Member, House Republican Task Force on International Trade
- ❑ Member, Republican National Committee's Task Force on Crime and Delinquency
- ❑ Member, Platform Committee, Republican National Convention, 1964
- ❑ Authored chapter on Human Relations — Republican Papers, 1968

# MacGregor

## YOUR SENATOR FOR THE 70'S







### MacGregor is a native Minnesotan

- ☐ Born, Minneapolis, July 12, 1922
- ☐ Co-Valedictorian, Washburn High School
- ☐ Served in the United States Army 1942-45 — commission on battlefield for guerrilla work in Burma
- ☐ Graduated Dartmouth 1946, B.A. with honors
- ☐ L.L.B. University of Minnesota Law School, 1948
- ☐ Married Barbara Spicer of Duluth, 1948
- ☐ Father of three daughters—Susan, Laurie and Eleanor

### MacGregor is an experienced Member of Congress

- ☐ Third District Congressman — 1961-1970
- ☐ Leading member of House Judiciary Committee
- ☐ Member, subcommittees on human rights, crime control and constitutional amendments
- ☐ On Advisory Board of the Institute of American Strategy
- ☐ Advisory Council for Radio Free Asia
- ☐ Recipient in 1965 of FREEDOMS FOUNDATION at VALLEY FORGE AWARD



### MacGregor can do more for you and Minnesota

- ☐ He is in tune with President Nixon and his team — personally, politically, philosophically.
- ☐ Ten years of effective work in Congress make Clark familiar with the operation of government and the people who make decisions.
- ☐ Clark is a man who keeps in touch with the people he represents.
- ☐ Clark knows at first hand the problems of our state.
- ☐ He is respected and highly regarded in both houses of Congress.
- ☐ Experience, knowledge and associations will make Clark a Senate activist.

Prepared and Distributed by the  
MacGregor Volunteer Committee  
4901 West 77th Street  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55435  
C. Judd Ringer, Chairman



# *HHH, MacGregor Campaign Staffs*

e One

fishing delightedly  
a boat, seemingly  
casual and folksy;  
too is purposeful,  
e Humphrey's cam-  
n strategists doubt  
MacGregor could be

In the six weeks leading up to  
election day, Minnesota voters will  
witness an intense campaign for the

## Humphrey

U.S. Senate waged by Hubert  
Humphrey and Rep. Clark Mac-  
Gregor. Much of the emphasis will



be guided by the candidates them-  
selves and by the following key  
members of their campaign staffs.

## MacGregor





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MRS. WILLIAM WHITING, president of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota, and Mrs. Earl Colburn, member of the State Board, are greeted by Senator McCarthy during a League conference held in Washington.





JACK WARNER (second from right), president of Warner Bros. Pictures, Inc., joined Senator Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.), Senator McCarthy, Senator Thomas Kuchel (R.-Calif.) and Senator Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) during the movie executive's recent visit in Washington.

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 10, 1970

DEC 15 1970

Mrs. O. J. Janski, President  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
555 Wabasha Street  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Mrs. Janski:

I appreciate having your views regarding the trade bill.

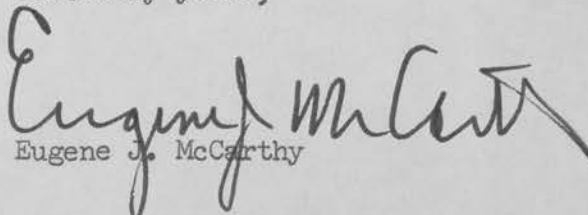
Yesterday the Senate Finance Committee reported H. R. 17550 for consideration by the Senate, and the measure included trade provisions. I supported the effort in Committee to separate the trade bill from the social security bill, although I do not think that was a very important issue since under the Senate rules it would have been a simple matter to offer an amendment on the floor to restore it.

The action taken by the Committee is somewhat restrictive, but the way is really left open for the President to act almost as freely as he is now free to do.

I think it inevitable that as a voluntary quota device has been used more and more by the Executive as a restrictive device, that the Congress would take some action in a way related to these voluntary quotas. The trade provisions, as they stand at this point in the Finance Committee bill, will not in any way restrict international trade in any vital area.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

  
Eugene J. McCarthy

EJM:hr



M  
E  
M  
O

TO: Senator Eugene McCarthy  
U. S. Senate  
Washington D. C.  
FROM: Mrs. O. J. Janski, President  
LWV of Minnesota  
SUBJECT Trade Bill

**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA**

555 WABASHA

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

PHONE: 224-5445

DATE 12-3-70

We urge your active participation in defeating pending Trade Bill.

12/6  
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 15991

Senator and poet, but a statesman and a man of peace.

In a recent issue of McCalls, there appeared a new poem by our colleague titled "Ares." This remarkable work reflects on the insane arithmetic of war and deplores a world prepared to take more lives than there are to lose. I commend the poem to the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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



12/10

# OF REMARKS

ver of California is among  
fireplace accessory industry,  
100,000 screens a year and  
And Fred Meyer is pre-  
tely wealthy man.  
employees have been with him  
s. And it's out in the plant  
ads more evidence that peo-  
claw to accomplish some-

ed by the plant production  
rioka, a Japanese who's been  
5 years. "When I got married,  
paigne for all my guests. Four  
e." He's a great guy." Morioko  
employees are members of  
the Metal Polishers union, but  
een a strike or even an arbi-

ve names roll by. Gus Gimarelli  
and Robert Rios and Ernesto  
A Chicano in charge of this. A  
harge of that. An Oriental running  
else. And there's Millie Robinson,  
with the company, boss of the paint  
ent

g corporations they hire labor experts  
around hanging labels like "fully in-  
ed work force" on such situations and  
figure out how they come into being.  
the little factory on Potrero St., nobody  
ries about it. "We never set out to hire  
y particular kind of people," says Fred  
eyer. "They all just kind of wandered in  
ere."

EUGE POETA

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Wednesday, December 10, 1969

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, Con-  
gressman PODELL of New York, on May  
20, 1968, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL  
RECORD the poem of our colleague, the  
senior Senator from Minnesota, GENE  
McCARTHY, entitled "Three Bad Signs."  
This poem has now been awarded a prize  
by the National Endowment for the Arts.  
This award confirms Congressman  
PODELL's evaluation of Senator Mc-  
CARTHY as one who "belongs in the front  
rank of American lyric poets."

As the Senator from Idaho, Mr.  
CHURCH, has said, there is no record of  
another Senator achieving this distinc-  
tion. For most of us poetry is not our cup  
of tea.

Senators have written erudite tomes,  
economic studies, historical reminis-  
cences, essays, doggerel, but never has a  
Senator earned a prize for poetry.

In achieving distinction as a genuine  
poet, Senator McCARTHY can bask in the  
opinion of Oliver Wendell Holmes who  
said:

There was never a poet who had not the  
heart in the right place.

The poem, "Three Bad Signs" inserted  
in the RECORD by Congressman PODELL  
and the poem "Ares" called to our at-  
tention by Senator CHURCH, are genuine  
poetic accomplishments.

It used to be that poetry had to rhyme  
and scan. It was Dorothy Parker who  
declared:

## FIGHTING WORDS

Say my love is easy had,  
Say I'm bitten raw with pride,  
Say I am too often sad—  
Still behold me at your side.  
Say I'm neither brave nor young,  
Say I woo and coddle care,  
Say the deevil touched my tongue—  
Still you have heart to wear.  
But say my verses do not scan  
And I get me another man!

The poetry of McCARTHY is not that of  
the scanning and rhyming variety. It is  
the modern poetry of T. S. Eliot, e. e.  
cummings, Marianne Moore, and others.  
It is of an excellence entitled to be con-  
sidered with these paragons.

Therefore, I was disturbed that the  
Washington Star commented on Mc-  
CARTHY's prize-winning poetry as fol-  
lows:

## POET McCARTHY

The National Endowment for the Arts has  
awarded a \$500 prize to Senator Eugene  
McCarthy for his poem, "Three Bad Signs."  
This confirms a long-held suspicion of ours  
that McCarthy is better at being a poet than  
he is at the other trades he's dabbled in,  
such as baseball and politics.

It has been reported that McCarthy, on  
being informed of his windfall, express the  
hope that politicians would now stop criti-  
cizing his poetry. That seems fair enough.  
Only those with some knowledge of poetry  
are properly qualified to comment on the  
work of a poet.

By the same token, it would seem reason-  
able to suggest that Poet McCarthy should  
stop sounding off on the work of professional  
politicians.

I wonder what test the Evening Star  
would put on professional politicians.  
GENE McCARTHY has won five elections  
to Congress and two elections to the U.S.  
Senate. That is playing in the profes-  
sional league for quite awhile. In addi-  
tion, he has made a substantial showing  
in the presidential league. If not being  
professional means not winning a presi-  
dential nomination then there are few  
professional politicians. If being a pro-  
fessional means success in the highest  
professional challenge, then GENE Mc-  
CARTHY meets the test.

As only an amateur in the poetry busi-  
ness, I salute Senator McCARTHY.

As one professional politician to an-  
other, I salute a pro for his achievement  
in an area in which most of us are  
dilletantes.

Euge Poetu.

## LETTERS TO PARIS

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 10, 1969

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, during the  
week of the 24th of November, I took  
great pride in calling the attention of  
this body to the "We Love America  
Week," which blossomed in Joplin, Mo.,  
and spread to many neighboring cities  
and States.

The observance was highly successful, attested to by the fact that more than 73,000 red, white, and blue armbands were distributed and worn by the people of the area.

Now, the city of Neosho, Mo., has added a bit more luster, to the already shining example set by the patriotic Americans of southwest Missouri.

The Optimist Club of the city of Neosho in Newton County, has had a quantity of letters printed to be distributed to the Neosho area residents. The letter is addressed to the North Vietnam delegation to the Paris peace talks. The letter pledges support to the American peace effort and requests open inspection of the North Vietnam prison camps by the International Red Cross.

The individuals who live in the area, have been requested to sign and mail them to Paris. It is hoped by the Neosho, Mo., Optimist Club, that hundreds of these letters will be mailed.

Mr. Speaker, I commend these people on their resourcefulness and offer a copy of the letter, to be read by the Members of this body.

The letter follows:

Mr. XUAN THUY,  
North Vietnam Delegation, Paris Peace Talks,  
Paris, France.

DEAR SIR: I am just an average American who has become concerned over the conditions of the Vietnam War. Like any decent American or human being, I desire the war to be over, but I believe in a just and honorable peace for all men, both North and South. Therefore, I pledge my support for our valiant American effort to bring peace in Vietnam as well as the rest of the world. I also pledge my support of the policies of the past administration of President Johnson and the present administration of President Nixon.

There is one thing that bothers me extremely, and that is the condition of our American prisoners in North Vietnam. I appeal to your basic goodness as a member of the human race to open the prison camps for inspection by the International Red Cross. Also, I further appeal to you as a fellow human being to release our prisoners as a measure of good will. Please, sir, make an effort for the benefit of the good people of both America and Vietnam to ease the tragic conditions of this terrible war.

Sincerely,

YOUNG PEOPLE DO UNDERSTAND  
ISSUES OF TODAY

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 10, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, because of the work on the tax bill that has taken us far beyond a normal adjournment date, many of us have been forced to cancel speaking engagements of long standing that were made months ago when we thought surely this Congress would conclude its business at a reasonable time.

One of the addresses which I was scheduled to make was at the Flowing Wells High School in Tucson, Ariz. Unfortunately, I was forced to cancel that speech, but the patriotic program was

held anyway and a fine speech in my place.

Shortly afterward, I received an "answer" to my remarks from Stephanie Daniel, a student at Flowing Wells High School. Miss Daniel, I believe, demonstrated an insight and lucid understanding of the problems facing America. Her remarks were particularly welcome because they reflected so much about certain social and political elements in today's society.

I was impressed with Miss Daniel's presentation. I feel other members of the Senate will share my appreciation for her statement and I ask for their consent that her remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

AN ANSWER TO SENATOR FANNIN  
(By S. Daniel)

Senator Fannin, honored guests, Dr. Mr. Meneley, faculty, and the Students of Flowing Wells High School. On behalf of Flowing Wells High School, I thank you for your provocative words, your philosophy and your challenge.

We are a restless generation, a generation in search of true knowledge. We listen to your words of wisdom, your words of experience. And with your words and your suggestions, we will attempt to guide the United States toward a more complete, successful and accomplished society. The time is now for positive thinking and constructive action on the part of our nations youth. If we are to survive, if we are to continue in the greatness of our Founding Fathers, if we are going to be the World Leader, if we are to have peace at home and abroad, we must bind the wounds of the Generation Gap, and accept the guiding hand of all generations. We will need your help, you the "older" generation. And we will need your patience, for sometimes we appear too eager, too aggressive, and too thoughtless. But our youthfulness cries out for action now. Action to rebuild our cities. Action to eradicate air pollution, action to feed the hungry, and action to find jobs for the jobless.

We know these programs take time. And let me also say to those who would destroy the nation with lawlessness, our nation was built on laws and rules of conduct, and without the protective hand of Law and lawmakers, our nation's future is one of anarchy and total destruction. Little is gained, and much is lost when we ignore the property rights of every individual, and take up the rioter's call of "Change through destruction". The many problems of our society can be healed, but must be healed, with laws to abide by and strong men to guide us.

We hear your challenge, Senator Fannin. We answer your call for understanding between peoples and nations. As the class of 1969 moves into the '70's with footprints small in size, we realize that one day our footprints will be the giant steps that will cure cancer, stop the common cold, rebuild our cities, make people laugh again, smile at one another, and say, "Hi brother", what can I do for you today?", and really mean it! Let us from this moment on, move into a new era of greatness for our country. Let the 1970's be remembered as the turning point in American History. A turning point from want, from destruction, from suspicion, from gaps between ages and races, and a move towards a century of goodness, love, peace and understanding. We thank you Senator Fannin, for "lighting the first candle for us". Now it is up to my generation to take up the light, and shine ahead and up, instead of behind and down.

Thank you.



# Sen. McCarthy's Office Defends <sup>1/29</sup> Franked Mailing

Sen. Eugene McCarthy, D-Minn., Tuesday rejected a claim by state Republican Chairman George Thiss that the senator exercised "bad judgment" in using the franking privilege to mail copies of one of his books to Minnesota organizations.



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SENATOR EUGENE J. MCCARTHY - DFL

Washington Address:  
411 Old Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20510

Home Address:  
Federal Courts Building  
St. Paul, Minn.  
Phone: 228-7176

Biography (from Minnesota's Legislative Manual, 1965-66)

Born in Watkins, Minnesota, March 29, 1916. Attended elementary and secondary schools in Watkins. BA degree, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1935; MA degree, U. of M., 1938. Teacher in public high schools and private colleges for ten years. Civilian technical assistant in Military Intelligence Division of War Dept., WW II. Acting head of sociology department at College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, at time of his election to Congress in 1948. Re-elected in 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956 to represent 4th Congressional District. In the House, member of Committees on Post Office and Civil Service, Agriculture, Interior and Insular Affairs, Banking and Currency, and Ways and Means. Represented US Congress at international meetings: delegate to London Interparliamentary Conference, 1956; official observer at GATT, Geneva, 1957; delegate to NATO Parliamentarians' Conferences, Paris, 1956 and 1957; delegate to international conference of World Health Organization, Minneapolis, 1958. Elected US Senator 1958; re-elected 1964. Chairman, Senate Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, 1959-60. Married Abigail Quigley of Wabasha, Minn., 1945. Four children: Ellen, Mary, Michael, and Margaret.

Current Committees: Committee on Finance  
Foreign Relations Committee  
Chairman African Affairs Subcommittee  
Member International Organizational Affairs Subcommittee  
Select Committee on Standards and Conduct

Among the bills he sponsored in the last session of Congress:

Civil Rights Act of 1967  
Help for university programs on foreign development  
To establish a US Committee on Human Rights to prepare for participation by the US in International Human Rights Year, 1968  
Constitutional amendment guaranteeing equal rights for men and women  
Making the corn tassel the national floral emblem

On Senate roll call votes on key issues in 1966 he:

Voted against the proposed constitutional amendment to permit states to apportion one legislative house on factors other than population (Dirksen Amendment which was defeated 55 to 38).  
Voted for appropriations for the rent supplement program.  
Voted against two-year authorization of the foreign economic aid program.  
Voted for minimum wage increase and extension of coverage.  
Announced for the Food for Peace Act.  
Voted to invoke cloture on civil rights debate.

Within the past month, August, 1967, he has:

Urged more realistic aid programs for Africa.  
Urged restoration of funds which were cut by the Foreign Relations Committee from the administration requests for the foreign aid program.  
Called for careful and thorough study of recent riots with Congress and the nation concentrating on the injustices which are the source of violence.  
Questioned the feasibility of the Heller plan and similar federal-state tax-sharing proposals with greater federal participation an alternative.

7/20  
**Sen. McCarthy: Is It All Over or All Yet to Be?**

By SUSAN BROWNMILLER  
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In an uninspiring term  
for the Senate, McCarthy



three times," Abigail Mc-  
Carthy sighs. "Each time  
the order in which Mc-  
Carthy once served as a



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strings attached, were transferred to other programs to which strings were attached so that the localities could be better controlled by the officials in Washington.

Thus, there has been no saving of money to the taxpayers by what has been done or what has been attempted in the last several years.

I repeat. Funds have been taken from a program which had no strings attached

and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) as members of the National Advisory Commission on Low-Income Housing.

#### THE U.S. TERRITORIAL EXPANSION MEMORIAL COMMISSION—APPOINTMENT BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. Pursuant to Public Resolution 32 of the 73d Congress the Chair appoints the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) to the U.S. Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission in lieu of the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MORSE) retired.

#### SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 61—INTRODUCTION OF A JOINT RESOLUTION TO PROPOSE A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT PROVIDING FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for equal rights for men and women. Joining me in sponsoring the proposed amendment are 41 Senators as of February 27.

Mr. President, the purpose of the amendment is to establish equality of rights for men and women under the Constitution and the Federal and State statutes and to guarantee enjoyment of rights already defined.

Although there has been substantial improvement in the status of women in this century, it was more than 130 years after the Constitutional Convention that the 19th amendment, guaranteeing the right of women to vote, was ratified. The fact that a constitutional amendment was needed to guarantee this right is an indication of the difficulty encountered in trying to make progress.

There was hope that the passage of the 19th amendment would result in general revision of laws and practices so that discrimination against women would end. However, as recently as 1964, Congress found it necessary to include in title VII of the Civil Rights Act, provision to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race. This provision prohibits discrimination in connection with employment, referral for employment, membership in labor organizations, and participation in apprenticeship or other training programs. This legislation does not reach to many employment situations which are not covered by title VII, and discrimination against women continues to exist not only with respect to employment opportunities, but also to property rights, inheritance rights, the right to own and control one's earnings, educational opportunity, jury service, and in other areas.

The resolution we are introducing today is the same as the joint resolution that was introduced in the 88th, 89th, and 90th Congresses. Last year the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments favorably reported the proposed amendment, and in 1964 it was reported favorably by the Committee on the Ju-

diciary. In its report at that time the committee dealt with the need for adoption of this amendment, and I ask unanimous consent that the report (No. 1558, 88th Congress, 2d sess.) be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

#### PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION RELATING TO EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN

##### PURPOSE

The purpose of the proposed joint resolution is to submit to the State legislatures an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which, if adopted, would insure equal rights under the law for men and women.

##### STATEMENT

The substantive section of the proposed amendment is quite simple and straightforward. It reads as follows:

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress and the several States shall have power, within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Senate Joint Resolution 45 was introduced in the 88th Congress by Senator McGee for himself and 35 other Senators as cosponsors. During the past 10 years, the Legislatures of Connecticut, Delaware, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland have adopted resolutions memorializing the Congress to submit this amendment to the States for ratification.

This proposal has been before the Congress since the 19th amendment to the Constitution extended voting rights to women. In recent years, resolutions proposing this amendment were reported favorably by the Committee on the Judiciary in the 80th, 81st, 82d, 83d, 84th, 86th, and 87th Congresses. In the 81st and 83d Congresses, the amendment passed the Senate with a floor amendment, but it was never acted upon by the House of Representatives. In the 86th Congress, the same floor amendment was adopted by the Senate and then the resolution was recommitted to the Committee on the Judiciary upon motion of its principal sponsors. (The provisions of this floor amendment or "rider" are discussed subsequently in this report.)

Adoption of this amendment will complete women's long movement for legal equality. Like the 14th amendment, the restrictions of this proposed amendment apply only to governmental actions. It would not apply to private or to individual action.

The 14th amendment provides a body of case law as to what constitutes "State action" and its precedents will be available for judicial determination of the scope of this amendment.

There remain many well-known vestiges of ancient rules of law which treat women as inferiors. In many States, a woman cannot handle or own separate property in the same manner as her husband. In some States, she cannot engage in business or pursue a profession or occupation as freely as can a member of the male sex. Women are classified separately for purposes of jury service in many States. Community-property States do not vest in the wife the same degree of property rights as her husband enjoys. The inheritance rights of widows differ from those of widowers in some States. Restrictive work laws, which purport to protect women by denying them a man's freedom to pursue employment, actually result in discrimination in the employment of women by making it so burdensome upon employers. Such protective restrictions hinder women in their competition with men for supervisory, technical, and professional job opportunities.

Your committee has considered carefully the amendment which was added to this proposal on the floor of the Senate in the 81st, 83d, and 86th Congresses. Its effect was to preserve "rights, benefits, or exemptions" conferred by law upon persons of the female sex. This qualification is not acceptable to women who want equal rights under the law. It is under the guise of so-called "rights" or "benefits" that women have been treated unequally and denied opportunities which are available to men.

Just as equal protection of the law under the 14th amendment is not a mathematical equality, this amendment does not contemplate that women must be treated in all respects the same as men. Nor does it mean that all legal differentiation of the sexes will be abolished. "Equality" does not mean "sameness." "Equal" rights does not necessarily mean "identical" rights. For instance, a law granting maternity benefits to women would not be an unlawful discrimination against men. As a grant to mothers, it would be based on a reasonable classification despite its limitation to members of one sex.

Nor would the amendment mean that criminal laws governing sexual offenses would become unconstitutional. The public has such an interest in relations between the sexes that the conduct of both sexes is subject to regulation under the police power apart from any considerations of unequal treatment or protective status.

In the past, it has been suggested that this amendment would require equal treatment of men and women for purposes of compulsory military service. This is no more true than that all men are treated equally for purposes of military duty. Differences in physical abilities among all persons would continue to be a material factor. It could be expected that women will be equally subject to military conscription and they have demonstrated that they can perform admirably in many capacities in the Armed Forces. But the Government would not require that women serve where they are not fitted just as men with physical defects are utilized in special capacities, if at all.

Your committee wishes to emphasize one additional fact. The proposed amendment would confirm equal rights under law for both men and women. In instances where laws are burdensome to meet solely because of their sex, they would benefit from the amendment. For instance, alimony laws probably could not favor women solely because of their sex. However, a divorce decree could award support to a mother if she was granted custody of children. This would be incidental to the children's support. Matters concerning custody and support of children properly should be determined solely with a view to the welfare of the children, without favoritism to either parent solely because of sex.

Both major political parties have repeatedly supported this proposal in their national party platform. The United States, as a signatory to the United Nations Charter, has confirmed its faith in equal rights of men and women. Nevertheless, we withhold from our women a constitutional guarantee of equal treatment under the law and thus lag behind such countries as Burma, Egypt, Japan, Greece, Pakistan, and West Germany.

An impressive list of women's organizations have recorded their support of this proposal in the past. Among them are the following:

Alpha Iota Sorority.  
American Association of Women Ministers.  
American Federation of Soroptimist Clubs.  
American Medical Women's Association.

Mr. McCARTHY. Many organizations and individuals have worked over the years to secure the adoption of this resolution by the Congress and for submis-

sion of the amendment to the States. It is time that the objective of these efforts be achieved and that equality of rights for men and women under Federal and State statutes be assured as a constitutional right.

I do hope that the Senate this year will move beyond action by the committee and face up to this proposition on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of Senators who are cosponsors of this amendment be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

#### COSPONSORS

Senator Bible, Senator Boggs, Senator Burdick, Senator Case, Senator Cooper, Senator Dole, Senator Dominick, Senator Fulbright, Senator Gurney, Senator Hansen, Senator Hart, Senator Hartke, Senator Hatfield, Senator Hughes.

Senator Inouye, Senator Mathias, Senator McGee, Senator McGovern, Senator Mondale, Senator Montoya, Senator Moss, Senator Mundt, Senator Murphy, Senator Muskie, Senator Nelson, Senator Pastore, Senator Pearson, Senator Prouty, Senator Proxmire, Senator Randolph, Senator Ribicoff.

Senator Schweiker, Senator Smith, Senator Sparkman, Senator Stennis, Senator Stevens, Senator Tower, Senator Tydings, Senator Williams of Delaware, Senator Young of North Dakota, Senator Young of Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 61) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women, introduced by Mr. McCARTHY (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I wish to add my voice in support of the statement that has been made by the lady of the Senate. One of the Alaskans whom I respect greatly had the honor of participating in nominating her on the floor of the Republican convention. I look forward to being able to work with her and with the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. McCARTHY) to achieve the amendment that he seeks to our Constitution, and I am joining with him as a cosponsor today.

The lady from Maine (Mrs. SMITH), with her usual modesty, has paid tribute to Susan B. Anthony here today. And, as Mrs. SMITH has stated, she is a Member of this body because of the dedication of Susan B. Anthony to the fight for equal rights for women. We are all proud to have Mrs. SMITH continue this battle for she proves that Susan B. Anthony's fight was not in vain—and she carries the banner high for all women of America.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I am proud to be a cosponsor of the resolution offered by the senior Senator from Minnesota (Mr. McCARTHY) to secure equal rights for women.

This ideal was the lifelong goal of Susan B. Anthony, whose name is synonymous with women's rights. Miss Anthony began her fight for women's suffrage when she was only 17 years old, and now, almost a century and a half

later, we have still fallen short in our efforts to secure those rights.

At a time when we are considering broadening the franchise by lowering the voting age, and strengthening it by instituting the direct popular election of the President, it is right that we should insure that those ideals to which we have paid lipservice are guaranteed in fact.



of refugees into an area one-quarter of the original homeland, from disrupted planting, and from the cutting off of trade routes by the Nigerian forces. It is reported that over a million Biafran civilians have perished from starvation and a million more deaths may occur within the next few months. Not since World War II has a civilian population been so affected by war.

The American people have responded compassionately by contributing to relief efforts, which operate under the most difficult conditions, to airlift food and medicine to Biafra. The U.S. Government also has donated food and equipment to relief organizations on both sides of the fighting line.

Unfortunately, this relief effort can alleviate only a fraction of the suffering, for as long as the fighting continues only a small part of the desperately needed supplies can be brought in. As long as official U.S. policy awaits a "military solution," present relief efforts will remain superficial and inadequate, if not contradictory to official policy.

It is time to reexamine our policy of "one Nigeria," which has resulted in our accepting the deaths of a million people as the price for preserving a nation that never existed.

The pattern of American diplomacy in this area is a familiar one, not very different from that in Vietnam. It began with misconception, was followed by self-justification, and is ending in tragedy. Political preconceptions have kept us from realistic examination. They have kept us from recognizing that the boundaries of Nigeria imposed artificially by a colonial power are not so sacred as to justify the deaths of several million people. The price of unity is too high.

When independence was attained in 1960 Nigeria was a colonial amalgamation of several hundred relatively autonomous peoples, who had by no means developed a national consciousness. It was the Easterners who were the best educated and who had left their crowded homeland in large numbers to occupy middle-level skilled jobs throughout the country, who most looked forward to "one Nigeria." It was the people of the northern region, where indirect rule had strengthened the conservative and authoritarian structure of the society, who were most regionally oriented and who threatened frequently to secede from the Federation of Nigeria unless they dominated it.

The first 6 years of the Nigerian Republic were characterized by shifting political coalitions, ethnic conflict, regional jealousies, and governmental corruption. A coup by nationalist officers, mostly easterners, in January 1966 was welcomed throughout Nigeria as the beginning of a new order. Although the new national leader, General Ironsi, was an Ibo, his policy was more nationalistic and unitary in outlook than that of his predecessor, and his largely inherited cabinet contained few Ibos. Ironsi's attempts at reform, however, threatened entrenched leaders who backed a countercoup in July 1966. This second coup was a tribal matter, with 200 Ibo Army officers killed.

In the fall of 1966, 30,000 Ibos and other easterners residing in the north were killed. The easterners living outside their homeland lost trust in the federal government and 2 million of them returned to the east, suffering loss of jobs and property and in many cases physical injury. They understandably moved away from the commitment to the federal government which had not restored mutual trust among the regions and tribes.

At a conference at Aburi, Ghana, in January, 1967, a confederated union with equality among the regions was agreed upon. However, the Aburi agreement was soon abrogated unilaterally by the government in Lagos with the promulgation, without consultation with the east, of a 12-state system particularly designed to confine the Ibos to a small area and to break their influence. The easterners felt excluded from the government and seceded in May, 1967, declaring the independent Republic of Biafra. Spokesmen for the Government of Tanzania stated when that country gave diplomatic recognition to Biafra that "When the state ceases to stand for the honor, protection, and the well-being of all its citizens, then it is no longer the instrument of those it has rejected. In such a case the people have the right to create another instrument for their protection—in other words, to create another state."

Secession was followed quickly by war in July 1967. The "quick, surgical police operation" of ending secession, expected to take several weeks, has been followed by five "final offensives" and a war which is now almost 2 years old. Armed with British tanks and bullets and with Russian Mig's piloted by Egyptians, the Nigerians have surrounded the Biafrans and cut them off from traditional sources of food and outlets to the sea. A strategy of siege, designed to produce military victory, has produced massive starvation unparalleled in modern warfare. Refugees make up more than 50 percent of the population of Biafra, yet the Biafrans continue to struggle for their right to exist. Though the Nigerians occupy many deserted towns, the Biafrans control the countryside and the villages. Their will and determination have discredited the advocates of "quick kill" and the prophets of imminent collapse. Biafra continues to maintain a stable administrative structure. The Biafran army remains intact and effective.

The Nigerians claimed originally that the Biafran leaders represented a small, elitist clique who acted in their own self-interest without popular support, and this claim was accepted by the British and American Governments. It was thought that the secession would end soon. Now, although their capital has been moved three times, although they are surrounded and completely cut off from normal sources of food and trade, although they are bombed daily by jet fighters, although their young and old have died of starvation, the Biafrans have survived. They make their own oil for transport and their own crude weapons to fight with. They desert their towns to the enemy rather than collaborate.

tioned.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished senior Senator from Tennessee for having raised a most important question.

A case involving the Supreme Court Justices is not one which under the Constitution is one for the Justice Department alone to settle.

One of the most important and special constitutional responsibilities of the Senate, in addition to that of foreign policy, is to pass on men who are appointed to the U.S. courts, and most importantly on appointments to the Supreme Court itself.

I agree with the Senator from Tennessee when he states that it is not enough simply to say that the resignation takes care of the current case. The Senate must be concerned about the operations of the Court itself. It must be concerned about the operation of the Department of Justice in its relation to the Court.

About 8 months ago the Senate was asked to approve the appointment of Mr. Fortas as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The information now public was not given to us then. We must be concerned about the process by which nominees for the Court are presented to us.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I listened to the remarks of the Senator from Tennessee concerning the case of former Justice Fortas with interest.

While I do not associate myself with all the remarks and conclusions which the Senator from Tennessee makes, or the emphasis he placed in certain parts of his speech, I do agree with the main thrust of his speech, and that is that in order to do justice to the people of the United States and not to former Justice Fortas himself, all the facts should be made public.

#### BIAFRA

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, during the past year, the horrors of the Nigerian-Biafran war have become clearer. Widespread starvation has resulted from the compression of millions



function properly and the high quality of education maintained.

An editorial in the Fort Smith, Ark., Times Record, discussing this expense, made the point that while there are increasing demands by colleges for money, taxpayers also are faced with increasing financial burdens.

The editorial mentions several ways for tax-supported colleges to provide some self-help in the solution of their financial problems so the taxpayer may be relieved of part of the heavier burden that he is called on to bear.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Crisis at the Colleges? It's a 'Crisis' for the Taxpayer, Too," published in the Fort Smith Times Record of May 2, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

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

"CRISIS" AT THE COLLEGES? IT'S A CRISIS FOR THE TAXPAYERS, TOO

While talk of a "financial crisis" at the state colleges and universities continues, as an urge for increasing the sales tax by one-third, it seems to stress a need for a look over the entire situation.

Nobody, of course, wants to reduce the quality of higher education in the state. But there are several angles to a fund need (which exists everywhere) and "more tax money" isn't the only one.

It would seem a good time for the institutions to look carefully over their programs to see if there are courses or other costs which add little to the quality of education but do mean a considerable boost in expenditures. And if so, cut them out.

It's possible a good look at administrative costs would be in order, as to whether there are considerable expenditures which mean little to education itself and which could be eliminated.

And it's possible a new look is needed at the tuition issue—whether tuition should be increased at the state-supported institutions.

It's fairly low at all the Arkansas schools. Granted that it's desirable that it should stay within reason—but it could be that the increases which have been made in tuition do not match those in costs or in other expenses and that some raises there are advisable—for students from Arkansas, possibly, and certainly for students from outside the state (whose families have contributed no tax support to the institutions).

Any proposal "about tuition at once raises remarks about 'the poor' and 'closing the door of opportunity'—which don't seem very valid in the light of the numerous grants, loans, and other aids available to make higher education available for just about any qualified student.

For the others, perhaps it is advisable for somewhat higher payments to be made by those using the educational facilities, at the same time greater and greater support is being provided by the taxpayers at large.

We suppose everyone understands the pressing and increasing demands which have been made in recent years on the colleges and universities. The need for more money each year is evident.

But the taxpayers also face heavily increasing demands. A tremendous share of their incomes is going into tax payment now. And their individual costs each year are rapidly going up, too. A one-third boost in the sales tax would add an additional heavy load.

There ought to be a happy medium to the problem. And the finding of the happy medium is partly the job of the institutions.

A general look over the whole situation—and the possible source of economies and

tuition revenue—would seem to be well in order. The taxpayer is hard hit, already.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 6 minutes.

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

#### THE FORTAS RESIGNATION

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, our Republic is having troubled days. Indeed, these are vexacious times for the American people. The last few days have been particularly trying for the senior Senator from Tennessee. For he has seen one of his trusted friends fall upon ill fortune and be forced by either pressure or by his own conscience to take the unprecedented action in our history of resigning as a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The resignation of Justice Fortas was, under the circumstances, a source of relief for the senior Senator from Tennessee. It also removed the degree of restraint necessarily incumbent upon a Senator; it would appear, for so long as there appeared a distinct possibility of an impeachment procedure. Now that the resignation has been made and Mr. Fortas has written a letter of explanation, the senior Senator from Tennessee is free to express some views and feels the duty so to do.

On the basis of his own explanation, serious improprieties in conduct for a Justice of our highest court are clear. It is difficult to understand how Mr. Fortas, possessed as he is of such keen perception and of such an awareness of the strict code of conduct imposed by both principle and practice upon a judge, could have failed to see a digression from propriety, or, if seen, could have yielded even temporarily to the temptation. The canons of the American Bar Association, which holds that a judge must not only be innocent of wrongdoing but must hold himself above reproach, were, we may be sure, clear to this man of eminent legal attainment and keen powers of discernment. However severe the standard of conduct for a judge, particularly a Justice of our highest court, such standards are necessary for the maintenance of confidence in our system of justice.

There is deep sadness that one possessed of such brilliant talent and at the same time one whose life is filled with public goodwill and many, many private charities and one who has stood many times without pay as a champion of the lowly and unpossessed, should now be fallen from grace. Compassion would indicate that the matter should now be quieted.

But, Mr. President, the public interest must be paramount. Public confidence in institutions of government is necessary for the efficacy, if not the very survival, of our system of self-government. And public confidence in the U.S. Supreme Court, in the opinion of the senior Senator from Tennessee, has been severely shaken by the Fortas affair. Some have expressed the view that the resignation of Mr. Fortas will now repair that damage. This would surely be a welcomed conclusion, and perhaps it is partially true; let us hope to a large degree. But the resignation, praiseworthy as it may

be, the senior Senator from Tennessee, let it be repeated, does not know the contents of the files on Mr. Fortas, nor does he know the extent to which Attorney General John N. Mitchell or others may have engaged in activities which may or may not have transgressed the separation of powers, or which may or may not have amounted to intimidation and threats, on the one hand, or concealment of information to which the public is entitled, on the other. Suspicion in all these regards is rife in this Capitol.

Though such information has not been made available to the senior Senator from Tennessee, other Senators have privately asserted their knowledge of the contents of the files. Certain publications appear to have had access to them.

The senior Senator from Tennessee calls upon President Nixon and Attorney General John N. Mitchell to open the files. Painful as this may be, the public interest requires it because public confidence in both the Court and the Department of Justice has been shaken. This cloud can be cleared only with disclosure.

Full disclosure should be forthcoming immediately by the Justice Department both with respect to any other untoward acts or conduct of Justice Fortas, if any, and with respect to the acts of the Department of Justice and the President in this affair. An investigation by the Senate should not be necessary to produce such disclosure. But unless such a public disclosure is soon forthcoming, I call upon the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate to conduct a searching public inquiry to clear the air of doubts, rumors, and suspicions. Justice to the Justice Department, justice to Justice Fortas, and, most important of all, confidence in our Government require it.

I should like to read, Mr. President, a portion of an editorial entitled "The Fortas Tragedy," published in today's Washington Post. It begins as follows:

Even on the basis of his own explanation, there were grave improprieties in the conduct of Mr. Justice Fortas which made his resignation from the Supreme Court imperative. Whether there was worse than impropriety, as the Justice Department has hinted,

They fight on despite the human misery. This is not an elitist struggle.

From the beginning of the civil war, the British have supported the federal military government of Nigeria, partly for economic reasons and partly because of an emotional or intellectual stake in a unified Nigeria, which is represented as a triumph of the British colonial technique of indirect rule and of the successful transition from colonial rule to independence. The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Joseph Palmer, who was our first Ambassador to Nigeria, personally shared this commitment to "one Nigeria." He accepted the analogy of the secession of Biafra to the secession of the American Confederacy, entirely overlooking the fact that Nigeria, unlike the United States, was not unified by a common language, culture, and historical tradition, and had no background of stable, capable government.

Furthermore, 30,000 South Carolinians had not been massacred in 1861, and the inhabitants of the Southern States were neither pushed out of the Union nor were they living in fear for their physical security as is the case with the Biafrans in Nigeria. The U.S. State Department accepted a historical analogy without taking into account the complicated background to the secession. By putting its diplomatic and political weight behind the Nigerian position, the United States has committed itself to a purely military solution. In the summer of 1967, the Economist pointed out that the time for mediation was before war and destruction rigidified the positions of Nigeria and Biafra. Had the United States recognized this, perhaps we could have persuaded our British ally to put pressure on both sides for renegotiation of an Aburi-type agreement. However, we concurred in the hard line of Lagos, which inevitably resulted in complete rigidity and hostility.

We were and are, in fact, not neutral. The United States has been neutral only in refraining from shipping arms. Whereas Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. continue to send in arms, we have officially accepted the Nigerian explanation of the situation and have used our influence to gain acceptance for this viewpoint among other African nations.

Any review of past events clearly demonstrates the bankruptcy of American policy of "one Nigeria—at any cost." The "one Nigeria," which upon the most optimistic projections might survive from the war would have little resemblance to the carefully balanced federation of regions which many people had envisaged as essential to independence. The "one Nigeria" of the future would have to be postulated upon the inequality of different tribes. The Ibos and other eastern tribes who cooperated in forming Biafra would be stigmatized and penalized in many ways. The Ibos would—according to the new proposed division of the country into states—be confined to a crowded, infertile region smaller than their ancestral homeland, with no access to the sea. They would be deprived of all but token participation in the reconstituted unitary state.

At a recent planning conference in Nigeria, it was declared that it will be 25 years before Ibos can be given positions in Nigeria. Whereas the Nigeria of 1960 was ruled by civilians, one can anticipate that the Nigeria of the future will be ruled primarily by a military clique which has been greatly strengthened during the war by the increase in armaments and by enhanced military discipline. The "one Nigeria" which might arise, if the wishes of the present Federal Government of Nigeria are fulfilled, is undesirable even if it could be brought about at no cost whatever. And to accept it at the cost of millions of further casualties, in my judgment, is indefensible, and time has run out.

The United States should immediately call for an arms embargo. We should actively seek a truce. We should use our good offices to promote negotiations for resolving the differences. We should press for a deescalation of great power involvement. We should seek to form a multinational effort to provide the logistic support required for an adequate relief effort. We should accept Biafra's right to a separate national existence and look to possible early recognition of Biafra by the United States and other nations.

The reaction to these proposals by those who have shaped American policy in West Africa heretofore can be anticipated.

They will say that Biafran independence will be a first step toward the Balkanization of Africa.

They will say that the Rivers tribes and other minority tribes of the east will suffer if Biafra gains its independence.

They will say that these proposals will undermine the position of our British ally in Africa.

They will claim that U.S. diplomatic recognition of Biafra will constitute intervention into a purely African problem.

Let us look at each of these objections.

The prediction that Biafran independence would lead to the Balkanization of Africa is obviously the discredited domino theory transferred to a new locale. There is no more reason to think that it is correct or that it is an adequate basis for present policy in West Africa any more than it is in Asia. Local grievances, local animosities, and local injustices are more important than outside influences in accounting for revolutionary developments within a country. It is significant that four African countries—Tanzania, Zambia, Ivory Coast, and Gabon—have recognized Biafra. Each of them has large minority groups, but none of them seemed to fear that its recognition of a secessionist regime elsewhere would encourage secession within its own boundaries.

As regards the question of economic stagnation and retrogression, it should be recognized that eliminating the hostility generated by an artificial political union could release energy for economic development. Certainly the technical ingenuity of the Easterners will be stimulated by the independence of Biafra. Furthermore, independence does not preclude economic association. The Biafrans have already indicated their willingness

to cooperate with Nigeria on vital problems of transportation and communication, particularly the use of the Niger River. Almost any advantage that can accrue from "one Nigeria" can also be achieved by regional economic arrangements such as a common market and a regional development board for redistributing revenues. Even without such arrangements it is clear that Nigeria is viable without the eastern region, since it has great resources, including vast amounts of oil in the midwestern region; it has been able to forego the eastern oil revenues for 2 years while fighting a costly war, and it would evidently be in far better economic condition without the expense of the war.

It is hard to credit the claims of the Federal Government of Nigeria that Biafra is governed solely by and for Ibos, who subjugate the minority tribes. In any case, the national preference of the minority tribes is a question which can be settled through plebiscites supervised by the United Nations or the Organization of African Unity. Even without some minority tribes, Biafra would be a populous country by African standards, larger than three-fourths of the African countries. Only 10 of some 40 African countries would be larger.

The argument that American recognition of Biafra would undermine the position of our British ally depends upon two premises, both doubtful. The first is that essential British oil interests would be threatened by Biafran independence. However, as pointed out before, much of the oil is in the Midwest, nor have the Biafrans expressed any intention of expropriating British oil. In any case, this should hardly be a major consideration of American foreign policy in this case.

The second premise is that the British support the Federal Government of Nigeria has diminished Soviet influence upon that government. However, all that can be said with assurance is that the Federal Government of Nigeria has shrewdly played off the Soviet Union against Great Britain in order to receive as many arms as possible from both. Who will come out ahead in this game of influence is uncertain.

In my opinion, the interests of the United States and of Great Britain may best be served by disentangling the Nigerian-Biafran war from the cold war and by reducing great power intervention in the area. It would be better to use this area as a testing ground for reducing tensions among the great powers—since their interests are less serious here than elsewhere—than to perpetuate cold war maneuvers out of habit. In addition, many African countries are already resentful of the involvements of the great powers in their lands and might welcome a reduction of great power competition in the Nigerian conflict.

To argue that diplomatic recognition of Biafra would constitute intervention into purely African affairs is irrelevant; nonrecognition is also intervention. There are faults of omission as well as of commission. The United States has already intervened repeatedly in the area: first by propping up General Gowon



when he assumed power; later by backing him when Nigeria abrogated the Aburi agreements; and also by exerting pressure on a number of African nations not to recognize Biafra.

The steps I propose are diplomatic, not military. Our goal should be the recognition of Biafra which has demonstrated that it represents the interest of its people. We should begin by seeking an arms embargo. Our goal should be a truce with a view to reasonable negotiation. We should seek to deescalate great power involvement. We should provide massive relief. The alternative—to continue to give passive military support and active diplomatic support in the name of unity—is no longer defensible.

#### PRESIDENT NIXON'S TELEVISION ADDRESS TO THE NATION

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, Wednesday night President Nixon spoke wisely as he discussed the status of the Vietnam war and made proposals to end that war. His remarks were honest. They were constructive. They indicated a flexibility of approach which gives promise of breaking the impasse at Paris.

Speaking as one who has been critical of the handling of the Vietnam war over a period of 3 years, I can now say that I have confidence that President Nixon is doing his utmost to bring the war to an end and to do it responsibly.

I was especially pleased to hear the President say that "the time is approaching when South Vietnamese forces will be able to take over some of the fighting fronts now being manned by Americans." And I was pleased to hear the President say that he has ruled out attempting to impose a purely military solution. These are important points with which I agree completely.

The President's report to the Nation was certainly the most comprehensive Presidential statement on the war so far. It was a contribution toward a peaceful solution of the conflict. And it was a contribution toward public understanding of the complex issues involved.

Mr. President, I am very pleased to offer every possible degree of support that I can to the President of the United States.

#### STATEMENT BY SENATOR PEARSON

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Kansas (Mr. PEARSON) is in his home State today. He has asked that I have printed in the RECORD a statement he made on Wednesday evening, May 14, following the President's statement to the Nation.

His statement reads:

The American people tonight heard an honest, forthright, and fair statement by that person who bears the greatest responsibility of us all in regard to war and peace in Vietnam. And I think as we heard his message tonight we need to remind ourselves that the options of 1963 are not the options we have available in 1969. It was a policy statement that represents a major shift, a flexible and new proposal regarding two old principles: the first was that we seek no military relationship with South Vietnam in the future, and the second was a reaffirmation of the concept of self-determination for the

people of South Vietnam. I think we can expect Hanoi, the NLF, and indeed Moscow itself, to issue immediate negative responses. But negotiations will continue in public and private and it seems that what the President needs most tonight is the support of the American people.

#### WASHINGTON: THE AFFLUENT CITY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, some recently released statistics about this Capital City have just been called to my attention which should help us place the Washington problem in a sharper and clearer perspective.

Washington is viewed by many as a city that has a very serious poverty problem, and of course it does. Many persons have the impression that as the only big city in the Nation with a majority of its population black and many of its people relatively newly arrived from a depressed rural background, the poverty problem must be worse than in the other big cities of the Nation.

Mr. President, the conclusion is wrong. The fact is that of all the 16 cities in this country with a population between 500,000 and 1 million, Washington is the richest, and by far the richest.

The affluence of this city is not a statistical mirage produced by averaging a few very high incomes with many very low ones.

The fact is that the average estimated income per household in 1969 in Washington is the highest of all of the 16 cities in the half million to 1 million population classification.

It is this year a whopping \$14,222, and that is a big \$1,370—or more than 10 percent—higher than Pittsburgh, which is second. Those figures are for this year, 1969.

For 1967—the latest year in which we have statistics on cash income—Washington ranked first in the number of families with incomes over \$10,000, with 31.3 percent.

One of the remarkable features of this prosperity is that the city of Washington has been moving ahead more rapidly than its sister cities in the past 10 years.

Ten years ago, this city, which now ranks first in family income, ranked fifth out of 16 comparable cities in median income and third in the percentage of families with income above \$10,000 per year.

But not only does Washington have more of the affluent than any other city of similar size. What is more impressive in view of the general impression, is that Washington has fewer poor persons in proportion to its population than any other comparable city except Milwaukee.

In both Washington and Milwaukee, only 15.2 percent of the families fall into the less than \$3,000 per year category.

This means, Mr. President, that Washington has almost twice as many affluent families—that is, those who earn \$10,000 and above—as poor families which make less than \$3,000.

Furthermore, this city has enjoyed even greater progress in the reduction

of poverty as compared with other cities than it has enjoyed in the increasing proportion of its families having incomes in excess of \$10,000.

In 1959, seven of the 16 comparable cities had a lower proportion of their families with income of less than \$3,000 per year than Washington. By 1967, there were none of the 16 comparable cities with a lower proportion of its families in this poverty classification than Washington.

So not only is Washington better off, it also appears to be improving more rapidly than any comparable city in the Nation.

Again, Mr. President, this does not mean that this city does not have a poverty problem. Of course it does, and it is serious. But it also suggests that Washington is in a financial position to do more about that poverty problem itself—I repeat, itself—than comparable cities.

The irony is that this city, which has the financial potentiality to do more about solving its poverty problems and its other problems than other cities, has far, far less political power to do this than any other city in the country.

The city does have discretion to raise or lower its property tax. This authority should be used by the city much more aggressively than it has been. But, in all fairness, the property tax is a limited and highly regressive tax. In other revenue areas the District of Columbia has only the humiliating right to come to Congress on bended knee and ask for the right to raise more revenues to meet its problems.

And on that same bended knee it must come before the Appropriations Committees of House and Senate to ask the right to use the funds Congress will permit it to use to meet its own problems.

Mr. President, when one considers that even the Washington government that comes before Congress is an appointed agent of the Federal Government—not elected by the people of the District—one can realize how thin the thread of power to act on its own problems is for this, the richest comparable city in America.

It is also interesting, in view of the common association of poverty with the Negro, that Washington has a far, far higher proportion of black citizens than any other city in America. In fact, it is the one major city in America which has a majority of its population black.

So it is not only the blackest city in this sense. It is also the richest comparable city. And this black city has the smallest proportion of its families suffering poverty incomes of any comparable city.

The serious poverty problem of Washington looks good as compared with that of comparable cities. But to those who know how tragic poverty is here in Washington, this simply reinforces the gravity of the nationwide poverty problem.

If Washington is the best this Nation can do in reducing poverty after nearly 10 years of uninterrupted prosperity, what a long way this Nation has to go to meet the tragedy of its poor.



**Eugene McCarthy Stood Up for Labor****HON. DON EDWARDS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, April 24, 1968*

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of the *Machinist* includes an insightful analysis of the position that Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY has consistently taken in behalf of labor. This article expresses a great deal about MCCARTHY the man, as well as his approach to an issue that continues to be important in our society, and I am sure it will be of interest to many. I insert this article into the *RECORD* today, as follows:

[From the *Machinist*, Apr. 25, 1968]

**EUGENE MCCARTHY STOOD UP FOR LABOR**

In August, 1966, as pressure was building in Congress to break the great airline strike U.S. Sen. Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota tried to stem the anti-union tide.

He arranged for some of his colleagues to meet in the Senate Office Building late one afternoon to hear the union side of the dispute directly from IAM representatives.

On the Senate floor, he warned that Congressional strikebreaking proposals were hurting chances for a settlement.

"If, for another week or so, we stopped what we are doing, and let the airlines and the Machinists get together, they would come to their own settlement," he told the Senate.

McCarthy's pleas failed to carry the Senate. But his prediction came true a few days later. The House of Representatives temporarily removed the strikebreaking threat and gave the parties a chance to reach their own settlement.

Eugene McCarthy began fighting on labor's side in 1947 as a supporter of Hubert Humphrey, then Mayor of Minneapolis and leader of Minnesota's unique Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party.

A soft-spoken college professor of economics, McCarthy had no previous experience in partisan politics. Nevertheless, he became a DFL candidate for Congress and won the seat from an incumbent Republican.

McCarthy has been winning elections ever since.

His current race for the Democratic Presidential nomination is based largely on his opposition to the war in Vietnam. He calls the war "morally indefensible" and "against the national interest."

Although many trade union members will disagree vigorously with his Vietnam position, they will find little disagreement with his labor record in Congress.

**MCCARTHY AS CONGRESSMAN**

McCarthy served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1949 to 1958. On 56 key issues compiled by *THE MACHINIST* during those ten years, McCarthy voted "Right" from labor's point of view all 56 times.

Though he authorized few major bills in the House, McCarthy worked consistently to improve unemployment compensation and to better the conditions of imported Mexican farm laborers.

As a member of the Ways and Means Committee, he pressed for changes in the nation's tax laws, seeking to make them fairer to wage earners and family farmers. McCarthy was an early sponsor of a proposal to close tax loopholes for the rich while raising personal income tax exemption.

Soon after he arrived in Washington, McCarthy became a leader of Democratic liberals in the House. He organized them into

April 24, 1968

CONGRESS

can be proud of what you are doing in behalf of the freedom and security of America.

It is highly appropriate that Mrs. Mary Lou Yeager is sponsor of this ship. She represents a distinguished Navy family with deep roots in the State of Kansas. Mrs. Yeager is the wife of Lieutenant Howard B. Yeager who currently is on duty with the Naval Supply Systems Command in Washington. Her father-in-law was the late Vice Admiral Howard A. Yeager, who had a distinguished naval career of 39 years. Admiral Yeager and his wife, Mary Jean Bailey, were both native Kansans. They lost their lives in a tragic fire in their quarters at Great Lakes, Illinois, a year ago this week. We know that Mary Lou Yeager will give *Wichita* the spirit, the heart, the integrity and the grace every good ship must have.

It is a high honor for me to participate in this colorful and historic launching ceremony for several reasons.

First, it brings back the memories of my years of military service in World War II as a naval officer with the United States fleet in the Pacific. Of course, I still carry a warm spot in my heart for the Navy. Like many servicemen during those war years, I had time to reflect upon what I would do with my life when Peace was restored. It was during that time that I charted for myself a course which has resulted in a career of 20 years in the public service.

Second, I am proud to be here today because *Wichita* is my hometown, and it is an important part of the 4th Congressional District of Kansas, the District I represent in the United States Congress.

*Wichita* is the largest city in Kansas with a population of over 280,000 people. It has long played a vital role in the defense of our country. Although *Wichita* is almost at the center of the largest wheat-growing state in the nation, it is the "Detroit of the aviation industry". During World War II, 10 percent of all warplanes for the nation were built in *Wichita*. Today, it continues to build planes, helicopters and other weapons for the war in Vietnam—but it also manufactures business and commercial aircraft which are known around the world.

The good people of *Wichita* are proud and pleased that this fine ship will carry around the world the name of their City which is already known the world around.

I know that Commissioner Walt Keeler, who is here as the official representative of the City of *Wichita* and City Commission, shares in these sentiments of pride and pleasure. His presence in Quincy demonstrates the genuine interest of the people of *Wichita* in this great ship.

Most of all, I am honored to be here today because we are to witness the launching of a fine new ship which is much needed by our Navy, and which will bear the proud name of a distinguished Navy cruiser that gallantly served our country from 1935 to 1947. The first *Wichita* earned 13 battle stars and other awards during operations in World War II.

She was decommissioned on February 3, 1947, after long and faithful service. The name of *Wichita* was stricken from the Navy Register on March 1, 1959. It was not forgotten. Today, nine years later it returns to the list as this modern supply ship. It is capable of providing one-stop replenishment for destroyers through either modern transfer-at-sea techniques or helicopters operating from their landing-launching platforms.

The *Wichita* will supply the fleet with fuel and furnish other needed provisions including torpedoes and guided missiles.

How appropriate it is that she will bring the fuel which is so vital to fleet operation. I am confident the *Wichita* will carry some of this petroleum from Kansas which is the seventh largest oil-producing state in the nation. And a good portion of that industry is headquartered in the City of *Wichita*.

April 24, 1968

CONGRES

a group known jokingly as McCarthy's Marauders, but more formally as the Democratic Study Group. The group remains active today on behalf of liberal causes.

#### M'CARTHY AS SENATOR

In 1958, McCarthy moved to the U.S. Senate after challenging and upsetting Republican U.S. Sen. Edward Thye. In the ten years since, THE MACHINIST has listed 50 key Senate votes.

McCarthy voted "Right" from labor's viewpoint on 41 of these votes and "Wrong" twice. He was absent for seven of the key votes.

One of McCarthy's principal campaigns in the Senate has been to update the federal-state unemployment insurance system. His bills have sought to raise both the amount and the duration of benefits, to extend coverage to millions now excluded and to set new federal standards. His latest proposal, introduced last fall, also would end the arbitrary denial of unemployment compensation to employees involved in labor-management disputes.

McCarthy has been a leader over the years in efforts to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the section that encourages states to prohibit the union shop and make the open shop compulsory.

Speaking on the Senate floor during the 1966 debate, McCarthy strongly defended the union shop:

"If both sides agree that a union shop is beneficial to the operations of the business and that it is helpful in solving disputes and securing a better relationship, why should state law be permitted to intrude and tell both management and labor, The law forbids you to bargain and reach agreement on this point?"

McCarthy spoke eloquently, asking repeal of Section 14(b) "in the interest of better labor-management relations, in the interest of consistency of law and primarily in the interest of fairness." But the repeal campaign, like others before it, died, the victim of a Senate filibuster.

McCarthy has long been famous, not only for his eloquence, but also for his wit. In 1960, when his Presidential ambitions first came to the surface, he touted himself as a likely Presidential prospect because "I'm twice as liberal as Humphrey, twice as bright as Symington and twice as Catholic as Kennedy."

Nowadays, on the Presidential stump, McCarthy uses wit more sparingly.

"It is a lot easier to be funny when the opposition is in power," he told a reporter recently. "Also, the times are different and the issues are changed. Vietnam is such a somber subject."



had a great love for the Akron community and instilled these same feelings in their young executives.

Today those former young executives are the leaders of these companies and join with all of us in promoting the welfare of the Akron community.

The present chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the B. F. Goodrich Co., J. Ward Keener, is a fine example of this great policy. He started with this great company over 30 years ago as research analyst and progressed through the years until he reached his present position.

Mr. Keener, nationally recognized as one of America's greatest industrialists, has devoted a great share of his time to governmental and civic affairs. Today he is a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy and also serves as a member of the Balance-of-Payments Advisory Committee to the Secretary of Commerce. He also has recently been appointed to the board of directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland.

J. Ward Keener serves our Akron community well. He has joined with his fellow Akron industrialists in working to make Akron an ever better community. We are particularly indebted to him for the financial assistance that he has given to the 404-acre Opportunity Park. Eventually this great project will be worth over \$200 million and will give employment to over 15,000 people.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, we are indeed grateful to J. Ward Keener for the many benefits that he has brought us.

Just this month, Nation's Business, the country's oldest and largest business magazine, issued a special edition entitled "200 Years of Business Leadership." In this edition, they had asked Mr. Keener to prepare a story on the future of the rubber industry. I am certain that Mr. Keener's views will be of interest to my colleagues. The Nation's Business article follows:

#### FUTURE OF INDUSTRIES—RUBBER

(By J. Ward Keener, chairman, the B. F. Goodrich Co.)

"Ceiling unlimited—visibility fair" is an apt way to describe the opportunities for continuing growth in the rubber, plastics and chemical industries.

Because these materials and the products made from them are basic to many of our leading industries, the future of these

# 'Anger, Pique, Ambition, Laziness' Cited as Clues to McCarthy Puzzle

By E. W. KENWORTHY

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON, D.C. —

they are judging the senator's actions against his proclaimed objectives last year. "unimportant."

form," that the issue was

Many McCarthy followers believe there was an issue in

McCarthy does not publicly admit to such desire. Last Saturday, at a New York state convention of the



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League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha Street, Saint Paul, Minnesota 55101  
October, 1968

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

SENATOR EUGENE J. MC CARTHY — Democratic-Farmer-Labor

Committees: Finance  
Foreign Relations

Congressional Activity - 1968:

Key: X: for  
0: against  
NV: not voting

- NV 1. Civil Rights Bill - 1968 (Announced for)
- X 2. Dairy Product Quota legislation (defeated 37-38)
- X 3. Fortas nomination, vote on cloture (defeated 45-43)

Bills Introduced and other special activities:

Involved in other areas of public service.

November 22, 1967

Honorable Eugene McCarthy  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator McCarthy:

As you know, the League of Women Voters of Minnesota has faithfully supported the foreign aid programs for many years. We were concerned about Congress' cutting and restricting the authorization bill this year. Now there is the threat of the House's version of an appropriations bill which has far more drastic cuts and limitations. The League feels that the aid programs cannot be cut any more without a tragic waste of the efforts and resources that have gone into our commitments abroad. Certainly the poor nations of the world deserve better of us than this severe curtailment.

We are fully aware of your efforts this year to provide for more adequate financing of the foreign aid programs. We appreciate your vote against reducing the development loan fund, your vote to restore \$65 million to the Alliance for Progress, and your vote to increase the technical assistance program. Although these votes did not prevail, we thank you for your support of the programs. We hope you will do your utmost to keep the appropriations bill as close to the authorization bill as possible.

Sincerely,

Mrs. O. J. Janski  
President

# 1/9/68 McCarthy's Campaign a 'Disaster'

By JACK NEWFIELD

In a column in the (Greenwich) Village Voice

Let the unhappy, brutal truth come out. Eugene McCarthy's campaign is a disaster. It has been run as if King Constantine was the manager.

sistance kids out of the streets and into the political system.

But then he hired a government bureaucrat like Page who red-baits a reform Democrat like Lowenstein. McCarthy can't have it both ways. He can't win the





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Baseball players strike do  
Great Sioux League - 1st Brown

Not dead hand of past, but  
violent hand of future pulls at  
us -  
Africa, China, L.A. - problems  
on us in

Political decision - based on 3 major  
disciplines - increasing bearing on  
politics

1 - Economics - longer business  
cycle - Maxists criticism of  
class strikes, exploitation, artificial  
war & stimulation -

2 - History - looks to need of the  
past to make better judgment -  
US has been against from history -  
could choose to involve or not -  
WW I - in & out ) Sued to  
WW II - in go in 1941

2-3 Vietnam  
2-3 in more for growth - not  
18-15 - under - needs push on to present

War has depressed growth -

That loss reduces Reagan  
was potential 503 2-3  
yes - argument didn't prevail

now know we can't withdraw  
need to know what our power &  
limits

3 - Moral philosophy -  
aid in moral judgments -  
8 civic problems &  
judgment of methods -  
Benefactor  
1 - If informed will act on it -

Assume  
2 - Good will of knowledge people  
will act on it.  
Recent years growing trust.  
Civil Commitment - civil right to  
educate all to the potential.  
basic means of protecting individual

~~WBL~~  
M. Cortes  
WBL - Jr. College  
Sept. 18, 1967

409 Birchwood Ave.,  
White Bear Lake, Minnesota  
August 7, 1967

The Honorable Eugene J. McCarthy  
441 Senate Office Building  
Congress of the United States  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator McCarthy;

I have recently assumed the responsibility for furthering action by the members of the League of Women Voters throughout Minnesota on positions the League holds on the national level. As a long time friend of the League, I'm sure you are aware of many of these concerns - programs to increase the educational and training <sup>of</sup> ~~opportunities~~ for disadvantaged people, programs for conservation and development of water resources and improvement of water quality, foreign aid, expanding trade, home rule for District of Columbia, etc.

To help keep our members informed about these <sup>League</sup> interests in Congress and the role our Minnesota Senators play in them, I would appreciate being placed on your newsletter mailing list. It would also be interesting to receive copies of speeches or statements you have made, bills you have introduced, etc. on these issues. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

*Mrs. Ralph Ebbott*

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott  
Congressional Action Chairman



RUSSELL B. LONG, LA., CHAIRMAN

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TOM VAIL, CHIEF COUNSEL

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

August 10, 1967

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott  
Congressional Action Chairman  
League of Women Voters of Minnesota  
409 Birchwood Avenue  
White Bear Lake, Minnesota 55110

Dear Mrs. Ebbott:

I appreciate receiving your letter concerning your work with the Minnesota League of Women Voters.

I am pleased to add your name to my mailing list, and I hope that you will feel free to call upon my office for information at any time.

Under separate cover I am sending you several recent speeches and statements I have made which I hope will be helpful to you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

  
Eugene J. McCarthy

EJM:mgc

ADDRESS OF SENATOR EUGENE J. McCARTHY

Senate action on the foreign aid program emphasizes the need for continuing attention to the problems and the challenge of the emerging nations. I believe Africa is the one area where, because of our relatively recent and limited involvement, the possibilities of improving the situation are most apparent.

Our aid program began with the Marshall Plan. We have just observed the 20th anniversary of Secretary Marshall's speech at Harvard University which began it all. The 1948-1952 European Recovery Program was a great success. It was a vast program of aid for a limited time to the industrialized economies of Western Europe. Although factories, fuel, and raw materials had been destroyed, a network of inter-industry relations and commercial and technical services was easily reconstituted.

The conditions and ideological challenges that confront the aid program today have changed radically since its inception. Today we deal almost exclusively with the underdeveloped world. The emergence of these peoples is part of a process which is shaping the social, political, and economic institutions for the great majority of mankind. The underdeveloped countries are no longer the exclusive concern of the colonial administrator or the anthropologist; rather they are now the concern of the governments of the more advanced countries as well as of the historian and the economist.

We must respond properly to the new challenge. We cannot view the ascent of the developing nations in American terms, interpreting its tendencies, potentials, and characteristics within the framework of American political, social and economic experience. We must be on guard against the belief that, were it not for the machinations of the Communists and the mistakes of our diplomats, there would be a natural gravitation toward American ways, a spontaneous embrace of American ideas. If the scholarship of the last five years concerning economic development teaches us anything, it is that what is happening is far removed from our own experience.

M O R E

From the Office of  
SENATOR EUGENE J. McCARTHY  
411 Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20510  
Telephone: (202) 225-3244

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
August 11, 1967

McCARTHY SUPPORTS MORE FUNDS FOR ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS  
AND FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (DFL-Minn.) today joined Senator John Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.) in urging restoration of funds which were cut by the Foreign Relations Committee from the Administration requests for the foreign aid program.

The two Senators, both members of the Foreign Relations Committee, expressed support for increased funds for the Alliance for Progress and the technical assistance program.

In individual views added to the Committee report on the foreign authorization bill, Senator McCarthy said he also believes that "the 75 percent investment guarantee in the present law should not be cut to 50 percent, as recommended by the Committee, and that the Senate should restore the 75 percent limit when the bill is considered on the Senate floor."

To facilitate participation of private enterprise in development of economic resources and productive capacities of less developed friendly countries, the President is authorized under the law to guarantee investments in expansion, modernization or development of existing enterprises. Each project must be approved by the President.



AUG 21 1967

From the office of  
SENATOR EUGENE J. McCARTHY  
411 Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
Telephone: (202) 225-3244

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
AUGUST 17, 1967

McCARTHY URGES RESTORATION OF  
\$33 MILLION CUT FROM TECHNICAL  
ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Senator Eugene J. McCarthy [DFL-Minn.] today called for restoration by the Senate of \$33 million dollars in Technical Assistance cut from the pending foreign aid authorization by the Foreign Relations Committee.

In a Senate speech supporting an amendment to set the Technical Assistance authorization at \$243 million instead of the \$210 million recommended by the Committee, Senator McCarthy declared that "if there is a necessity to reduce foreign aid, it is my view that the Technical Assistance program is one of the last places to make a cut."

"Many changes and adjustments have been made in the Foreign Aid program since President Truman recommended the Point 4 program for technical assistance in 1949," McCarthy said, "but this program remains one of the most beneficial of our efforts over the years. Of all the billions of dollars expended for various types of foreign aid, the amounts for this program have been among the most constructive."

Following are excerpts from Senator McCarthy's  
remarks:

M O R E

"To offer scientific and technological analysis and to share knowledge and skills represents assistance in its purest form.

"It is a form which is least subject to criticism as being imperialistic and most open to favorable response by developing nations. And it is one of basic importance in the effort to assist the hungry, the diseased, and the illiterate people in the world to attain a better way of life.

"The technical assistance program is directly involved with those areas for maintaining human life and development of human dignity: food, health, and education. If there is a necessity to reduce foreign aid, it is my view that the technical assistance program is one of the last places to make a cut.

"The technical assistance program with its emphasis on agriculture and on increasing the production of food in developing nations is an essential part of the War on Hunger. The peoples of these nations want more efficient means of growing and marketing food. They seek new and improved sources of food.

"They are aware of their problems of agriculture, food supply and population, of health and diet, of the need for skills and training so they can adopt new methods. But they need technical assistance to help them secure these objectives. The food problem is necessarily of concern to us, and it is one in which we can and should take leadership."



Senator McCarthy meets with  
Mrs. O. J. Janski of Minneapolis during  
the National Legislative Conference of  
the League of Women Voters held in  
Washington.



May 14, 1970

The Honorable Eugene J. McCarthy  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator McCarthy:

The Minnesota delegation to the League of Women Voters national convention wishes to thank you for meeting with us Wednesday, May 6, to receive our petitions requesting Congressional representation for D.C. We are concerned to see that there will be some positive results coming from this drive. You will be interested to know that our members collected 29,906 signatures throughout the state.

Almost universally we found that the public had no idea that the District did not have a voice in Congress. The public was very willing to urge change when the situation was explained. We hope you will use your influence to urge action in the Senate, preferably as a separate Constitutional Amendment. We also favor change in the method of voting for president, but we feel it best to keep these two issues separate.

It was a pleasure to meet your assistant, Mr. Heinz, at our breakfast, May 5, and to hear of the current status of the equal rights for women amendment.

Our convention was a full one with many memorable events. High among these for the women from Minnesota was the opportunity to meet and speak with you. Thank you for giving us your time.

cc. Mrs. Childs

Bailey  
Hermann  
Sullivan  
L. W. J. Opler  
Dahl  
Gymer  
L. Smith  
Gauski  
Ebbott

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ralph Ebbott  
National Action Chairman  
LWV of Minnesota