

CIVIL RIGHTS

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area, and were there any Government of officials involved?

In addition to the fines collected for overplanting I want to know how much extra this overplanting cost the Government under our support program.

The Department letter which the Senator from Arkansas has put in the Record today is the first indication as to the extent of the fines they have assessed.

Let us roll back the cloak of secrecy on some of these situations. I hope they will do so before they are through, and I am determined that they shall.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I thank the distinguished Senator. I especially thank the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] for yielding to my colleague from Arkansas and to me.

Mr. CLARK. I am always happy to yield to the Senator.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 2) to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress.

Mr. CLARK. For the benefit of other Senators, and so that the Senate page boys may alert the two cloakrooms, I should like to say, after having discussed the matter with the majority leader and with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONROE], the Senator in charge of the concurrent resolution, there will be no votes today on the pending business.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### SHOCKING BRUTALITY IN SELMA, ALA.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, in this morning's newspapers I read with consternation and dismay the news of another shocking incident of brutality in Selma, Ala. A group of some 500 Negroes planned a march from Selma to Montgomery in protest against the unconscionable deprivation of their voting rights. Governor Wallace of Alabama had forbidden the march, and dispatched State troopers and volunteer officers of the Dallas County sheriff's office.

The news accounts stated that the Alabama police authorities had stopped the protest march and the Negroes had stood unmoving and silent. Without warning and without provocation, the troopers and sheriff's officers rushed forward and attacked the Negroes. The Negroes were trampled, beaten, and terrorized by these outrageous tactics. We are told that white spectators watching this shocking display whooped and cheered with joy.

When law enforcement officials in these United States of America find it necessary to turn on a peaceable group of citizens, who have no weapons and who indicate no signs of impending aggression or violence, find it necessary to use nightsticks, tear gas and whips to attack and brutalize these citizens, then the very foundation and root of our American democracy is in jeopardy.

Now more than ever it seems to me that the bare assurance of civil rights for the southern Negro, coupled with the assurance of the right to vote in Federal elections, is not enough. In the last few weeks we have seen police brutality enough to last us for centuries.

It is time we recognize that it is the local elected official—not the Federal marshal or Federal judge—who daily dispenses justice or injustice to the Negro. It is the State police, the local sheriff, the local chief of police, the local school board members, the local voting registrar who set the pace in closing the glaring gap between the Federal "right" and local "practice" under which that right is denied.

We know that the forces of oppression in the South will continue their sordid efforts of intimidation, brutality, and murder. We know that the many courageous leaders in the Negro community—and, I might say, in the white community as well—and in the human rights movement will continue their efforts to speak out, to protest, and to declare the rights of mankind.

The only question facing us in the Congress is what we and the decent and honorable people who know better will do. We can no longer remain silent in the face of such outrageous denials of basic human rights and decency, and I think the situation should command the immediate attention of the Senate of the United States.

Sadly enough, this situation has reached the point where Negro citizens in the South who wish to assemble peaceably for the purpose of adjusting grievances must bring along doctors and nurses and medical supplies and ambulances. It has reached the point where the bare exercise of rights as a human being and as a citizen of the United States brings the threat of physical injury and even death. Mr. President, at this point I ask unanimous consent to have reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the news account of this incident from the Washington Post.

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

TEAR GAS, CLUBS HALT 600 IN SELMA MARCH: STATE TROOPERS BEAT AND INJURE MANY NEGROES

(By Leon Daniel)

SELMA, ALA., March 7.—State troopers and mounted deputies bombarded 600 praying Negroes with tear gas today and then waded into them with clubs, whips, and ropes, injuring scores.

The troopers and possemes, under Gov. George C. Wallace's orders to stop the Negroes "Walk for Freedom" from Selma to Montgomery, chased the screaming, bleeding marchers nearly a mile back to their church, clubbing them as they ran.

Ambulances screamed in relays between Good Samaritan Hospital and Brown's Chapel

Church, carrying hysterical men, women, and children suffering head wounds and tear gas burns.

In Atlanta, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., announced that he would lead a new march from Selma on Tuesday and called on clergymen from throughout the Nation to join him.

#### HOSPITAL TREATS 50 TO 60

(A hospital spokesman told the Washington Post in a telephone report that between 50 and 60 marchers had been treated for injuries that included broken arms and legs and severe head gashes.

(None of the victims was considered in serious condition, but "there is a great deal of pain and suffering," the spokesman said. About a dozen marchers were reported admitted to the hospital.

(Most of the injuries appeared to be the result of heavy blows, the spokesman said. No gunshot wounds were reported.

(The Reverend Richard Boone, Alabama project coordinator for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, estimated that 90 to 100 marchers had been injured.)

Among the injured was Chairman John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who suffered a possible skull fracture.

At his office in Montgomery, Wallace said "those folks in Selma have made this a 7-day-a-week job but we can't give in 1 inch. We're going to enforce State laws."

#### HORSEMEN MOVE IN

The Negroes had just reached the end of the long bridge that leads out of Selma's business district when they were confronted by 50 blue-helmeted State troopers.

The troopers gave them 2 minutes to disperse. The Negroes did not disperse, and about 2 dozen troopers, swinging their clubs, rushed the head of the column.

Pushing and clubbing, they drove the Negroes back about 50 yards and then began firing tear gas. The tear gas bombs boomed like gunshots and a dense cloud of yellow smoke enveloped the screaming Negroes.

Then the troopers charged into the gas-dazed Negroes again, and from behind the column Sheriff Jim Clark's horse-mounted civilian possemes charged in, swinging clubs.

The hysterical Negroes broke and ran back to the church. Those who fled in other directions—between buildings—were quickly headed off by the hard-riding possemes.

As the Negroes streamed through the town toward the church where they started their march, the possemes darted in at them, clubbing them down. Several witnesses said they saw the horsemen use bullwhips and lengths of rope to flog the fleeing Negroes.

Several hundred white bystanders cheered and hooted as the Negroes were driven back to the church. But the white crowd made no attempt to break through police lines.

It had been expected earlier that Dr. King would lead today's march, but the civil rights leader said tonight that he had remained in Atlanta to take care of his church responsibilities and to "mobilize national support for a larger thrust forward." He said his aids argued him out of leading today's march at the last minute.

Dr. King also announced that he will go into Federal court immediately to seek to restrain Governor Wallace from blocking Tuesday's march.

In his statement tonight, Dr. King said: "In the vicious maltreatment of defenseless citizens of Selma, where old women and young children were gassed and clubbed at random, we have witnessed an eruption of the disease of racism which seeks to destroy all of America. The people of Selma will struggle for the soul of the Nation. It is fitting that all Americans help to bear the burden. I call, therefore, on clergy of all faiths, representative of every part of the

these and all other investigations we have a duty to protect sources of information and the innocence of those who are falsely accused. To make available these reports if they might be made public would not be in keeping with this responsibility. Therefore, I must respectfully decline to make the requested information available to you.

I appreciate your concern in this matter and can assure you that appropriate action is being taken by this Department to resolve all irregularities disclosed by the investigations. As I stated in my January 25, 1965, letter to you we would be glad to add to the scope of our review and particular items which you believe should be explored.

Sincerely yours,

LESTER P. CONDON,  
Inspector General.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, Mr. Condon takes the position that their report was forwarded to the Department of Justice and therefore he cannot make any of the information available. I talked to them on the telephone and suggested that they come down and we discuss the matter. I felt that with all the widespread violations that it was inconceivable that it could have happened without some official's knowledge. Mine was a very proper question.

I understood that there were reports indicating that some employees did know. Certainly Congress has right to an answer. Again they refused the information and stated that they would not discuss the matter. It was top secret, apparently.

Now we find that their justification is that this is all in the newspapers anyway. What kind of department are we running? Certainly if it has been publicized as they say in the newspapers they could have answered my letter.

I do not, for one moment, question the intentions of the Senator from Arkansas. I say again—not only was there no reflection intended but there is also no two men in the Senate for whom I have higher regard than the two Senators from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN and Mr. FULBRIGHT].

I wish to make that clear. I know that they, too, would wish to make sure that all the information which is pertinent be made public and those who are responsible be taken to task. I did not know that they had had conferences in their offices with the Department. That is perfectly proper. But why is it that I, as a Senator, was denied the right to have some information on this same problem? I would strongly suggest that in the future the Department of Agriculture recognize that they have a responsibility to answer these letters when they receive them from Senators even though the Senators may be members of the minority. As one in the minority I intend that my letters be answered and that they be answered directly to me and not through some other Senator.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Let me say to the distinguished Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] that I thank him for his comments concerning the two Senators from Arkansas. I know in my own mind that the Senator intended no reflection upon either of us. However, let me point out that in view of the Senator's

statement, the Senator did request information which they have not yet given to us. The letter concerning the wide publication in Arkansas does not refer to all of the facts made known in this letter, but does refer to the fact that the full publication in the press concerning a large amount of overplanting and about a thorough investigation being in progress has been publicized.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator is correct, but they now give some important statistics.

Mr. McCLELLAN. With respect to what the Senator asked; namely, to what extent have laws been violated, No. 1; maybe they are not prepared to tell to what extent, yet, because they have not completed the investigation.

Then, what large planners have been violating these laws. They have not given us the names of them yet. On some I am sure they have determined them and on others there is still a question as to whether they actually did violate or did not. They still have that information to give us, then the question on Government officials being in collusion and stupid, I am sure they are still investigating that matter. I do not believe the Senator would necessarily seek to have all that information released to the public before the cases are processed further.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I wish to emphasize that I did not ask the Department to release this information to the public. If they had come down and said that the investigation was still continuing and explained the background I would have cooperated with them. I have cooperated with them in the past. But I do not like the blunt statement they gave in this case: "I must respectfully decline to make the requested information available to you."

Even after I called them they would not come down and tell whether it goes beyond the Arkansas area.

In that same statement I referred to a report of the Comptroller General on another phase of their operations about which they had done nothing.

The Department was allowing large-scale shipments of cotton by producers and storage operators in the southwestern area, an arid area, to be made to the more humid southeastern area, where they could add 9 to 12 pounds of extra moisture to the cotton and where they could get a higher support price. In that way they were able to collect money for the extra moisture that was added to the cotton. This was not intended under the farm program. Over \$1 million went down the rathole in connection with that procedure.

All the Department had to say was, "We will see to it that this does not happen again." This could not have happened in the first place without either collusion or stupidity on the part of some official. Farmers in the southwestern area were allowed to transport cotton to the southeastern area, where the weather is more humid, and in that way they added more moisture to the cotton and were able to collect more money under the support program.

Someone knew that that was going on. Someone is responsible. The Department should tell us how it happened. If controls are so lax that it did not know anything about it until some of us on the outside called it to the attention of the Department something is wrong.

With all due respect to the Senators from Arkansas, I say to the Department that if it is doing nothing wrong it should not be ashamed to discuss it. When the Department gets a letter from a Member of the Senate that letter is to be answered—at least if it is my letter I intend to get an answer.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I appreciate the comments of the distinguished Senator. He has referred to some other matters in the letter which did not pertain to Arkansas, and of course I made no inquiry about them. I merely wished to set the record straight by saying this has been one of the most thorough investigations in Arkansas that has ever been conducted anywhere. It may not yet have disclosed all the facts. There may be some reason why some of them should not be disclosed, but I have a sort of off-the-record feeling that probably the Department did its best in Arkansas because of some special reasons which I could mention.

At any rate, I trust that it will, as expeditiously as possible, wind up the investigation in Arkansas, because we are approaching a new crop year. Although there are definitely some who have not lived up to their obligations in obeying the rules with respect to planting only the acreage allotted to them, there are, at the same time, a good many farmers who should not be made to suffer because of the transgressions of a few others. We are as eager to have this matter expedited and cleared up as is any one else, so that the program can begin to function properly again, and so that those who are innocent may not be penalized because of the actions of a few who have violated the law or the regulations.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, on that point, I say to the Senator from Arkansas that we are in complete agreement. I will even join the two Senators from Arkansas in pointing out that no doubt there have been scores of so-called violations involving a fraction of an acre or merely an acre or 2 acres, which are unintentional errors. Being familiar with farming operations, I know that that could happen with a farmer who was doing his best to comply with the law. I do not in anyway advocate that those farmers who are trying to live up to their obligations should be punished or publicly censured for an unintentional error in acreage.

But, as the Senator has pointed out, in the case of a hundred or more acres being overplanted, they are not accidents. These were deliberate violations, and we have a right to know who did it.

The Government has already collected close to half a million dollars in fines; they know from whom they have collected those fines. There is nothing improper about asking who the violators were. Does this go beyond the Arkansas



country to join me in Selma for a ministers' march on Montgomery Tuesday morning."

When the Negroes reached the church, the less seriously injured hurled a brick and bottles at the pursuing possemen. Within moments, a contingent of nearly 50 troopers and possemen, under the orders of Sheriff Clark, marched down the street outside the church in a phalanx. The Negroes quickly cleared the sidewalks, darting into houses, the church, and its adjacent parsonage.

The Negroes started out today to walk the 50 miles to Montgomery to protest to Wallace the denial of Negro voting rights in Alabama. Wallace announced yesterday he would not allow the march, and authorized his troopers to use "all necessary means" to stop it.

When they reached the foot of the bridge, Highway Patrol Maj. John Cloud raised a bullhorn to his mouth and ordered the Negroes to stop.

"This march you propose is not conducive to safety," he said. "This march will not continue. You have 2 minutes to disperse."

Hosea Williams, a Negro leader at the head of the column, asked Cloud if he could "have a word with you."

"You may disperse or go back to the church or we will break it up," Cloud replied. "There's nothing to talk about."

Silence fell across the road as the 2 minutes passed, the Negroes and the troopers staring at each other. Then Cloud ordered the troopers in.

About two dozen ran into the line of Negroes, shoving them back and clubbing them. The possemen advanced from the rear.

The Negroes retreated about 50 yards, then stopped. Suddenly the troopers began firing round after round of tear gas into the crowd.

The Negroes, coughing, choking, and screaming, stumbled, fell, trooper charged in every direction. The troopers charged from the front and the possemen galloped in from the rear.

Selma was quiet but tense tonight. Sheriff Clark started broadcasting radio appeals late in the day asking everyone to stay off the streets tonight.

However, many of the Negroes who had taken part in the march gathered tonight at Brown's Chapel Church for a mass meeting.

#### PROFESSOR TELLS WHY HE MARCHED

SELMA, ALA., March 7.—Dr. Frederick Kraus has remained silent on the issue of civil rights during his 12 years as a professor at the University of Alabama, but he says his conscience now has forced him to take a public stand with the Negro in his drive for equality.

Kraus is a member of a new group known as Concerned White Citizens of Alabama. The group of about 70 staged its first demonstration march in Selma Saturday and indicated this was only the beginning of its work.

"We have remained silent for a long time, trying to give moral support to the Negroes," Kraus said in an interview.

"I personally felt it was time to show that a group of demonstrators can have a face other than that of the Negro," he said.

"There were a lot more people who wanted to march with us, but they were afraid," he said. "Next time it will not be so."

Kraus is a professor of dentistry at the university medical center in Birmingham. He was joined in the march by two other Alabama professors, Dr. Ted Klitzke, head of the department at the university's main campus in Tuscaloosa, and Dr. Ed Carlson, a physics professor.

MONDALE. I would like to call your attention to the following paragraphs:

State troopers and mounted deputies bombarded 600 praying Negroes with tear gas today and then waded into them with clubs, whips, and ropes inflicting scores.

The troopers and possemen, under Gov. George C. Wallace's orders to stop the Negroes "walk for freedom" from Selma to Montgomery, chased the screaming, bleeding marchers nearly a mile back to their church, clubbing them as they ran.

Ambulances screamed in relays between Good Samaritan Hospital and Brown's Chapel Church, carrying hysterical men, women, and children suffering head wounds and tear gas burns.

Mr. President, Sunday's outrage in Selma, Ala., makes passage of legislation to guarantee Southern Negroes the right to vote an absolute imperative for Congress this year. The citizens of Minnesota and of the United States can no longer tolerate the trampling of human rights by southern law enforcement officers in the name of law and order. This is totalitarian oppression at its worst—it is what we fought against in World War II and it is what we are fighting against in the cold war today.

Mr. President, in the President's moving state of the Union address he called upon the Congress, not once, but twice, to enact legislation to insure the right to vote for those who are denied it in the United States. I believe that the instances of outrageous behavior in Selma, Ala., eloquently underscore the importance of the President's plea.

Yesterday was a sad day for America. It was a day of which we shall always be ashamed.

I suppose we could be content with the observation that the State troopers of Alabama produced an enormous psychological weapon which the Communists will surely use. But I do not believe it is enough for us to predicate our activities on what is good or what is bad for the Communist Party. Rather, we should base our activities on what is basic to the freedom, the welfare, and the decency of American society. I am proud of those in the South, both white and black, who have been brave enough to stand strong and without compromise in the common plea for the civil rights of all Americans. I hope that we can say in justice and decency that help is coming.

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

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I have listened with great interest to the Senator's eloquent comment on the most unfortunate—to put it mildly—occurrences in Alabama yesterday. I wonder if my friend will agree with me that the Congress of the United States will have to pass some proposed legislation assuring voting rights if we are to bring that situation under control.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania for that inquiry. I believe the evidence clearly reflects the need for such legislation. We are all proud of the fact that in 1964 Congress took the most forward looking step since the Civil War to advance the cause of human rights by the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But in the course of the adoption of that

legislation, it was necessary to make some compromises that now appear to have been costly. Of particular importance was the compromise that was made in the field of enforcing voting rights. As former head of the civil rights section of the U.S. Department of Justice, Mr. Burke Marshall pointed out in a brilliant document entitled "Federalism and Civil Rights," it is necessary to make further improvement by way of legislation in that field if we are to accord to the Negro in the South his right to vote. Surely the activities of recent days have underscored that need with clarity.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. I have been interested in the apparent impatience of some of our Republican friends on the other side of the aisle—impatience indicating a keen desire to move ahead with additional voter registrar legislation. Speaking for myself only, I would hope very much that the Department of Justice and, indeed, the President, would move expeditiously to send such proposed legislation to Congress. I understand there is still not complete agreement in the executive branch as to what the terms of the proposed legislation should be. This is an extremely complicated subject. I can understand how wise lawyers might differ on the appropriate provisions. But I hope that we shall have such a bill before us pretty soon. If we do not, speaking for myself and several other Democrats who were active in that fight for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, we shall introduce our own bill.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania for that comment. I am confident that this administration is concentrating on the matter of preparing legislation in this field to be presented to Congress. The activities that we have just witnessed on the past Sunday ought to underscore the need for prompt action in this field.

#### VFW HONORS THE HONORABLE JOHN W. McCORMACK

Mr. BASS. Mr. President, most Members of the Senate are, I am confident, aware that the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK will, on Tuesday, March 9, be the recipient of one of our Nation's outstanding awards.

The occasion is the annual congressional banquet of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. The banquet is to be held at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. At the banquet, the national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who is well known to many Members of the Senate—John A. Jenkins, of Birmingham, Ala.—will present the VFW's Congressional Award to Speaker McCORMACK.

Mr. President, I am sure that Members of the Senate will agree with me that Speaker McCORMACK is fully qualified for this high award, because its inscription, "for outstanding service to the

Nation," accurately describes his contributions and achievements during his long years of able and faithful service to our Nation.

It is my understanding that a very large number of the Members of the Senate and the House will be present at the VFW banquet on Tuesday evening, to join with VFW Commander Jenkins in honoring Speaker McCORMACK.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, the text of the statement of VFW Commander Jenkins in announcing that the 1965 VFW Congressional Award will be made to the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

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

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—John A. Jenkins, Birmingham, Ala., commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, announced Tuesday that Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, JOHN W. McCORMACK, of Massachusetts, had been selected by the organization's National Council of Administration to receive the VFW's second annual "Congressional Award."

The recipient of the first Congressional Award was Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona. In addition to a large plaque depicting the U.S. Capitol, a \$1,000 scholarship is established in the name of the recipient for graduate study in government or political science. The award carries the simple inscription "for outstanding service to the Nation." It will be presented to Speaker McCORMACK, March 9 on the occasion of the organization's annual dinner in Washington honoring Members of Congress who served in the Armed Forces.

In announcing the selection of Speaker McCORMACK, Commander in Chief Jenkins said, "It is the hope of our National Council of Administration that by granting this award it will call attention not only to the dedicated service of the recipient, but to other deserving Members of the Congress who share the accomplishments for which the VFW Congressional Award is made each year."

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 2) to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I return to the discussion of the pending business, which is Senate Concurrent Resolution 2, submitted by the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] and a large number of additional Senators, and to the pending motion, which is my motion to strike the proviso which begins on line 24, page 2.

Before the debate was interrupted in order to extend courtesy to some Senators who wished to speak on other subjects, I had said that this proviso, which in effect provides that the committee shall have no power to make recommendations with respect to the rules, parliamentary procedures, practices, and/or precedents of either House, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House, would prohibit the proposed joint committee from looking into those matters which, in my judgment,

are the principal difficulties which have reduced Congress to what I have described as the "sapless branch" on our tree of government.

I point out again that it is difficult, indeed, if not impossible—I suggest it is impossible—to make any full and complete study of the organization and operation of Congress, as the resolution provides, if the committee to be appointed under the resolution is forbidden to make any recommendations with respect to the heart of congressional reform which, in my judgment, consists of the need to revise and modernize the rules, parliamentary procedures, practices, and/or precedents of either House, and matters being considered on the floor of either House.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, does the Senator from Pennsylvania wish to yield at this time, or does he wish to complete his statement?

Mr. CLARK. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Oklahoma; then I shall complete my statement.

Mr. MONRONEY. The Senator has repeated two or three times that this proposal would prohibit the committee from studying anything other than what is completely outside the practices, procedures, or rules of either House.

Mr. CLARK. I thought I said "making recommendations."

Mr. MONRONEY. No; the Senator said "study and make recommendations." If I am incorrect, I apologize. I thought I understood the Senator to say "study." That was the point I wished to make, to keep the record straight. There is no prohibition against listening to or studying any testimony that might affect Senate rules, practices, or procedures. Obviously, a large number of political scientists will come before us to testify, as they did in previous years when the question of reorganization was being considered. They did not come to speak in behalf of one reform, but in behalf of many reforms.

Obviously, there will be critical discussion of committee reform; and that will be all right. I shall be happy to receive any critical testimony concerning committee organization, the same as I should be with respect to rule XXII, or with respect to evidence that might be derogatory to the House Committee on Rules.

During the entire 1946 process, when Senator La Follette was chairman of the committee and I was vice chairman, witnesses were at liberty to testify with full latitude. But when it came to writing the report, we based our recommendations on those matters within the scope of our authority. We made our recommendations without transgressing the restrictions that were imposed when the resolution was adopted.

Today, the Senator from Pennsylvania has criticized the language on page 5 of the committee report. I quote from his statement in the minority views:

We realize that the resolution of 1945 setting up the La Follette-Monroney committee contained a similar exclusion. But it requires no more than a casual scanning

of the provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to conclude that much of the useful work accomplished by that committee was done in violation of limitations in the committee's charter.

As the Senator well knows, I have always said—and I believe it to be true—that fully 50 percent of the committee work related to realignment, reorganization, and definition of the jurisdiction of the various committees, together with a 50 percent reduction in the total number. The Senator has previously stated—in testimony before the committee—that the language of the bill did not permit us to do this. He is laboring under a misapprehension because not only was the first proviso:

That nothing in this concurrent resolution shall be construed to authorize the committee to make any recommendations with respect to the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, and/or precedents of either House, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House \* \* \*

But, the second proviso, also: "that the language employed herein shall not prohibit the committee from studying and recommending the consolidations and reorganization of committees," was in the original La Follette-Monroney Act. So the study was specifically authorized to make recommendations as to the structure of the committees and their various jurisdictions. To have done otherwise would have been to prevent the major achievement of reorganization.

These other matters discussed by the Senator from Pennsylvania are generally so well known that they do not require study by a reorganization committee. Any time we have the votes, as the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania knows, we can modify or change a Senate rule. Any time we have the votes, we can change or modify rule XXII. Any time the House has the votes, as has happened a number of times, to invoke the 21-day rule, that action can be achieved.

Once the reorganization ball is rolling, many things that might not come within the strict limits of the jurisdiction of the resolution will come in later as a by-product of the mood of reorganization that Congress engenders. We begin to achieve one end, although we may be initially prohibited from including a second or a third goal. But the spirit of reorganization and improvement of the internal operation of Congress takes hold, and in that spirit we find a willingness to act on other matters.

For that reason, the Senator from Pennsylvania might not be losing as much as he thinks by accepting the restrictions that were included in the original La Follette-Monroney charter of 1945 and in the act of 1946. Much was accomplished by the enactment of some 38 reforms. Much more was accomplished after the passage of the act by the enactment of many other reforms not contemplated in a strict interpretation of the charter under which we worked at the time, but which became a part of the House and Senate rule.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator from Oklahoma has made two points. With re-



Whereas control of certain wild animals is necessary for the prevention of rabies in hu-  
wildlife, and livestock: Now, therefore,

*Resolved by the Senate of Texas, the House of Representatives concurring,* That the legis-  
lature of Texas express its approval of the  
request by the Bureau of Fisheries and Wild-  
life for the continuation of the predator and  
rodent control program, which has effectively  
aided sportsmen, ranchers, stockmen, and the  
general economy, and oppose any reduction  
or lessening of adequate support thereof;  
and be it further

*Resolved,* That copies of this resolution be  
forwarded to the President of the U.S. Sen-  
ate, to the U.S. Senators from Texas, to the  
Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives,  
and to the dean of the Texas delegation in  
the U.S. House of Representatives.

PRESTON SMITH,  
Lieutenant Governor,  
President of the Senate.

#### RESOLUTION ON BRACERO LABOR

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the  
League of United Latin American Citi-  
zens of San Antonio has recently adopted  
a resolution concerning bracero labor.  
In order that the entire Senate may  
share the views of council No. 2 on this  
important issue, I ask unanimous con-  
sent that the resolution be printed at  
this point in the RECORD.

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

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas there is now pending in the  
Congress of the United States proposed leg-  
islation for the importation of bracero la-  
borers from Mexico; and

Whereas the contention by the proponents  
of this legislation that the domestic stoop  
labor force is inadequate, is false and a  
subterfuge; and

Whereas Lulac Council No. 2 is well aware  
that there are now in Texas thousands of  
unemployed migratory farm laborers; more  
than sufficient to meet the needs of all em-  
ployers, farmers and growers and the only  
reason why this availability of domestic labor  
force is not being utilized is the refusal of  
these employers, farmers and growers to pay  
decent wages; and

Whereas the true effect of the proposed  
legislation is to subject the thousands of  
Americans of Mexican descent whose liveli-  
hood depends on this type of work to star-  
vation wages and a substandard way of living  
wholly incompatible with decency and  
health. That the American of Mexican  
descent of the State of Texas pleads for an  
opportunity for economic growth and for  
a full share in the participation of the new  
society: Therefore, be it

*Resolved,* That Lulac Council No. 2 does  
hereby opposes any and all proposed legis-  
lation calling for the importation of bracero  
laborers or the importation of any other  
labor force and petitions our Congressmen  
and Senators to actively work and vote for  
the defeat of this legislation. That copies  
of this resolution be mailed to Lyndon B.  
Johnson, President of the United States, Sen-  
ator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH, Senator JOHN  
TOWER, and U.S. Congressman HENRY B.  
GONZALEZ.

(Adopted at a regular meeting of Lulac  
Council No. 2 on Friday, March 5, 1965.)

ALEX ALCOCER,  
President, Lulac Council No. 2.  
PETE TIJERINA,  
Chairman, Lulac Council No. 2.

#### RESOLUTION URGING RELAXATION OF LIMITS ON VETERANS' IN- COMES FOR ELIGIBILITY TO RE- CEIVE PENSIONS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, recently  
I received a most thoughtful resolution  
adopted by Galveston Barracks No. 1447,  
of the Veterans of World War I of the  
U.S.A.

So that other Senators may share the  
views of the members of Barracks No.  
1447, I ask unanimous consent that the  
resolution be printed at this point in  
the RECORD.

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

GALVESTON BARRACKS No. 1447,  
VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I OF THE U.S.A.

The following resolution was adopted on  
March 11, 1965, by Galveston (Tex.) Barracks  
No. 1447, Veterans of World War I of the  
U.S.A.:

"Whereas existing legislation (sec. 503 of  
title 38, U.S.C.) sets limits on war veterans'  
incomes for eligibility to draw the veterans  
pension well below the poverty level now rec-  
ognized as a basic for economic opportunity  
needs;

"Whereas many pensioners and annuitants,  
because of the poverty income level set by  
existing law, are not eligible to enjoy the  
benefits of cost-of-living increases granted  
to an individual under public or private re-  
tirement, annuity, endowment or similar  
type plans or programs, and some veterans  
must either forego or waive such paid-in  
benefits as those offered under certain public  
or private retirement plans; and

Whereas veterans with only the small pen-  
sion for support find themselves in utterly  
dire circumstances and are all but humili-  
ated by a Government pledged to give reason-  
able recognition for services rendered in the  
interest of national security: Be it

*Resolved,* That either the aforementioned  
income limitation be raised to more reason-  
able levels, so as to remove the poverty pen-  
alty and stigma, or that a law be enacted by  
the Congress to amend section 503 of title 38  
of the United States Code to exclude from  
consideration as income for the purpose of  
determining pension eligibility, all amounts  
paid to an individual under public or private  
retirement, annuity, endowment, or similar  
type plans or programs. (Attention is in-  
vited to H.R. 5677, already offered and sched-  
uled for study by the Committee on Veterans'  
Affairs. It is recommended that this bill be  
amended to afford relief for veterans who  
are ineligible for retirement pay under pro-  
grams other than the pension legislation.)"

MORRIS H. MILLER,  
Commander,  
DONALD J. NELSON,  
Adjutant.

#### RESOLUTION URGING THE PRESI- DENT AND OTHER OFFICIALS TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF CITI- ZENS OF ALABAMA TO ASSEMBLE AND VOTE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on be-  
half of my colleague [Mr. McCARTHY]  
and myself, I present a resolution,  
adopted by the Senate of the State of  
Minnesota, urging the President, the  
Vice President, and the Attorney Gen-  
eral of the United States and the Gov-  
ernor of Alabama to protect the rights  
of citizens of Alabama to assemble and

to vote. I ask that the resolution be  
printed in the RECORD.

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

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 5

Resolution urging the President, Vice Pres-  
ident, and Attorney General of the United  
States and the Governor of Alabama to  
protect the rights of citizens of Alabama  
to assemble and to vote

Whereas the constitutional rights of cer-  
tain citizens of Alabama to vote and to peace-  
ably assemble are being forcibly repressed  
by that State, in a violent manner intolerable  
to freemen; and

Whereas such forcible repression is in vio-  
lation of the oaths of office of the Governor  
of that State, and the public officials acting  
under him, to support and defend the Con-  
stitution of the United States; and

Whereas it is the duty of government to  
protect the rights of the citizen against abuse  
and oppression, no matter what its source;  
and

Whereas the public authorities of Alabama  
have been unwilling to assume that duty,  
and instead appear to be harassing and in-  
juring those who assert their rights, in a  
manner befitting a totalitarian police state;  
and

Whereas the passage of the Civil Rights  
Act of 1964 makes it clear that the voting  
rights of our people and their freedom to  
assemble peaceably shall not be abridged:  
Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and of the State  
of Minnesota that,* The public authorities of  
Alabama be urged to recognize the civil rights  
of all their citizens, That they subordinate  
their fears and intolerance to the truth of  
Judeo-Christian ethics and precepts and that  
they take the steps necessary to protect their  
citizens and preserve their rights before it  
becomes immediately necessary to interpose  
further Federal force, and lacking immediate  
State action, that the President be urged to  
instruct the Attorney General to take im-  
mediate steps to implement the powers of  
the Federal Government to protect the rights  
of American citizens, through the use of U.S.  
marshalls and such other law enforcement  
agents as are legally and properly required  
to carry out the law and to secure the rights  
of Americans who find themselves deprived  
of their basic freedom; be it further

*Resolved,* That the secretary of the senate  
be instructed to send copies of this resolu-  
tion to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson,  
President of the United States, the Honora-  
ble Hubert H. Humphrey, the Vice President  
of the United States, the Honorable Nicholas  
Katzenbach, the Attorney General of the  
United States, the Honorable George C. Wal-  
lace, the Governor of Alabama, and Mem-  
bers of Congress from the State of Min-  
nesota.

CY TORREY,  
Secretary of the Senate.

#### THE 144TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, today is  
the 144th anniversary of Greek inde-  
pendence. It is a happy occasion for the  
people of Greece, and for all who love  
freedom.

Our form of government in the United  
States is, in large part, derived from the  
Greeks. Our democratic system is based  
largely on the principles laid down by  
the great Greek philosophers and states-  
men of ancient times. The founders of  
our country, notably Hamilton and

Washington, were greatly influenced by the ideals of freedom, liberty, and national independence practiced by the statesmen of ancient Greece.

In the largest sense, the whole Western World is indebted to Greece for the enlightenment of man and the advancement of civilization.

Greece began its inspiring history when she threw off the chains of subservience to the Ottoman Empire on March 25, 1821. Archbishop Germanos of Patras joyously raised the flag of freedom over the monastery of Kalavrita at the end of the bitter 6-year Greek War of Independence.

From 1827, when free Greece elected Demetrios Capodistrias as President, the nation has built slowly but surely against the heavy odds of poverty and wars.

Greeks and Americans often have stood together when freedom and peace were threatened. In World War II, the outnumbered Greek Army helped defeat Mussolini's Fascist legions.

Americans and Greeks fought shoulder to shoulder when they defeated the Communist attempt to subjugate Greece. As a nation, Greece has strengthened the Western alliance far out of proportion to its size and its 8 million population, and has fought communism longer than any other nation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

America owes much to Greece for the important roles that one and a half million Americans of Hellenic background have played in our society. They have distinguished themselves in every area of human endeavor, from cancer specialist to military hero, from musician to congenial restaurateur.

Today, Greece's ideals of liberty and justice, which have never been destroyed by force of tyranny and aggression, continue to offer hope and inspiration to all people of the world wanting to be free.

#### THOMAS W. MILLER, ONE OF NEVADA'S MOST DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, last week's American Legion convention in Washington, D.C., brought one of the more colorful leading figures in Nevada to the Capital. Thomas W. Miller, of Reno, a member of the Legion's national executive committee, is not only one of Nevada's most distinguished citizens but also is among the oldest living former Representatives from the State of Delaware.

Mr. Miller is currently serving as chairman of the Reno Park Commission, only one of the many public services he has performed for my State since moving to Nevada in 1934.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a February 20 news story published in the Wilmington, Del., Evening Journal describing the career of Mr. Miller.

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

#### EX-CONGRESSMEN KEEP INTEREST IN PUBLIC LIFE: MILLER BOSSES PARKS IN RENO

(By Tom Greer)

The five living former U.S. Representatives from Delaware share some common background characteristics.

All are native Delawareans, four of them Wilmingtonians. All are Republicans. Four served as commissioned officers during wartime.

They share another characteristic: a continuing taste for public life. Each pursued a career in some facet of government or politics after ending his service in the House of Representatives.

The lives of these five former lawmakers will be examined in a series of articles, beginning today with that of the eldest.

It has been 50 years since Thomas W. Miller, 78, went to Washington as U.S. Representative from Delaware but the half century hasn't dulled his zest for public service.

Miller lives in Reno now and he's as sharp as a needle from a Nevada cactus—or a leaf of Delaware holly. He is well informed about Delaware affairs, as well as those in his adopted State.

"I subscribe to the Wilmington Morning News," he said in a telephone conversation recently. "I realize you're not related to the late A. O. H. Grier (veteran News-Journal editor and writer) by the spelling of your name."

"The death of my good friend Senator C. Douglass Buck was a great shock. I feel a deep sense of tragedy, for I grew up with him," he added in the next breath.

On another tack, still in the same 30 seconds: "I see my friend Bill Frank went to Panama. Say hello to Bill for me."

Born in Wilmington June 26, 1886, Thomas Woodnutt Miller is the son of the late Charles R. Miller, a former Delaware Governor. He attended public schools here and graduated from Yale University in 1908.

He served as secretary to Representative William H. Heald, of Delaware, 1910-12, and during that period studied law in Washington. He was Secretary of State of Delaware from 1913 to 1915.

When he was elected U.S. Representative in 1914 he was the youngest elected to the 64th Congress. Part of his single 1915-17 term coincided with his father's term as Governor.

Harking back to his congressional years, Miller recalls that with the advent of World War I, companies trading in munitions with the Allies came under attack on the floor. One such incident occurred in December 1915, when Representative Clyde H. Tavenner, Democrat, of Illinois, renewed his attacks, with particular reference to the Du Pont Co. Miller said that in one of his initial remarks on the House floor, he replied so vigorously that Speaker Champ Clark sent the sergeant at arms with his mace to separate the two Congressmen.

In another instance, Miller said he engaged in a floor fight supporting the Du Pont Co. when an embargo bill that would have prevented munitions shipments to the Allies was being debated. Representative Dorsey W. Shackelford, Democrat, of Missouri, was needling Miller for his opposition to the bill. "The gentleman from Delaware represents a State with three counties when the tide is out and two when it is in," said Shackelford.

Miller replied, in part: "He (Shackelford) has to impute unfair motives to me but he was perfectly willing to have an embargo on everything else except the great Missouri mule, the animal that hauls the engines of war."

Miller was identified early with the pre-

paredness movement and was one of the originators of the military training camp program. He served his own military apprenticeship at Plattsburgh, N.Y., in 1915.

It wasn't all work in Washington, though. Miller was a member of the Republican congressional baseball team, pitching and playing right field. In the 1916 game in Washington—which the Republicans won 9 to 6—he caught the ball thrown out by President Woodrow Wilson.

Miller recalled that he placed in nomination the name of Gen. T. Coleman du Pont as Delaware's favorite son presidential candidate at the Republican National Convention in Chicago in June 1916. He said that Du Pont received a smattering of complimentary votes from a half-dozen other States.

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, Miller enlisted as a private in the infantry. He rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel, was cited for gallantry and meritorious conduct and awarded the Purple Heart.

After the war he was a cofounder and an incorporator of the American Legion, serving as vice president and presiding officer of the Paris caucus, at which the Legion came into being.

Miller is the only man in the Nation to have held the highest Legion post in two States. He was State department commander of Delaware in 1932-33 and held the same office in Nevada in 1943-44.

He was also a member of the Legion's national executive committee from Delaware, from 1919-28, and still serves in a similar capacity from Nevada.

Long having had interests in mining and ranching, Miller moved to Nevada in 1934, where he became active in that State's conservation movement. He is the originator of the Nevada parks system and served as chairman of the Nevada State Park Commission until his official retirement in 1959.

He is now chairman of the City of Reno Park and Horticultural Commission, a member of the Washoe County Republican Committee, a member of the board of the desert protective council (a conservation group), a member of the home service committee of the Red Cross, a junior warden and vestryman of Trinity Episcopal Church, Reno.

Miller likes to travel and hunt big game, "Deer and elk mostly, and sage hen sometimes," he says identifying the last as western game bird.

Miller goes to the park and horticultural commission offices in Reno's city hall every day, he said, and also has a private office in the park.

Miller was married to Katherine Marie Tallman in Wilmington, October 4, 1913. A year after her death in 1945, he married Eleanor Taylor, of Reno. There are two children by his first marriage, Comdr. Thomas Lloyd Miller, U.S. Navy, retired, of Miami, Fla., and Stonington, Conn.; and Mrs. George P. Bissell, Jr., of Greenville. He has six grandchildren, the eldest of whom is Russell Tallman Miller, a resident of Nevada and the father of the elder Miller's two great-grandchildren.

Miller returned to Wilmington briefly last summer and while here, culled from his stored personal papers those he considered worth keeping. He is well known in Delaware and has many friends here, although he has outlived many of his contemporaries in Delaware politics.

Miller now is busy with plans for his annual trip to Washington next month as chairman of the American Legion's national legislative liaison committee.



April 5, 1965

#### THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I am most honored to be listed as a cosponsor of S. 1564, the Voting Rights Act of 1965. I believe that it is absolutely necessary that this Congress act promptly and decisively to guarantee to all Americans the true enjoyment of their God-given, human, and constitutional rights. I am supported in this position by an overwhelming majority of the citizens of the State of Minnesota. As but one indication of their support for my position and the position of President Lyndon B. Johnson, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Minneapolis Spokesman of March 18, 1965, be reprinted at this point in the Record. Cecil E. Newman, editor of the Minneapolis Spokesman, wrote the editorial; and I think he is to be commended for that and for his lifelong dedication to the cause of equal rights for all. I am proud to have this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Congress of the United States his dedication and the dedication of all our Minnesotans to these principles.

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

##### A PRESIDENT'S FINEST HOUR

Monday night the President of the United States, Lyndon Baines Johnson of Texas, made perhaps the greatest speech a Chief Executive of this great Nation ever made, on the unresolved right of the Negro to full voting rights in this country—rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

No other President speaking to Congress and the American people has ever before so honestly, unequivocally, and courageously laid the issue so squarely and fully on the line—for all to see and heed.

Pulling no punches, Mr. Johnson placed the violation of the rights of the Negro to the ballot, the accepted practice in a number of States, right out where the whole world could see it. And in doing so, he arrayed himself and the power of his office definitely on the side of the Negroes who have been denied the right to vote by intimidation, murder, beatings, economic reprisals, and trick tests set up and designed by State legislatures and vote registrars for the sole purpose of keeping the Negro disfranchised.

There was no compromise in the southern accent and voice of a southern born President who, although admittedly proud of the region of his birth, recognizing its strengths and weaknesses, was prepared to disregard all except the rights which he said all Americans must enjoy equally, if this Nation was to live up to its great promise and national law.

In President Johnson's message there was not a word of comfort to the Wallaces, the

Eastlands, the Ervins, the Ellenders, the Stenises, the Smathers of his own party or the Strom Thurmonds of the Republican Party. Most of this crowd sat on its collective hands

as other Members of the Congress, the judiciary, the Cabinet, and the gallery arose spontaneously to its feet to applaud when President Johnson praised the Negro for his struggle to get the United States in line with the aims and promises of its Constitution.

In commenting on the long struggle for human rights in this Nation he told the people of the Nation that, "The real hero of this struggle is the American Negro." As true as this statement is, no President before Johnson had ever so frankly and forcibly reminded the country of the Negro's magnificent courage under extreme adversity, and those auditors who were touched by the magnificence, truth, and courage of his statement could not help but stand and applaud.

We doubt that in the years ahead Lyndon Baines Johnson will ever have a finer hour than he had Monday night. His "we shall overcome" was also a tribute to those brave Negroes and whites who have led and marched in behalf of freedom and justice, now. He accepted the genuine applause with a sober dignity that reminded one of the long hard road still ahead.

We felt rather proud of being an American Monday night despite our obvious continued concern against the injustice which is practiced against our Negro people, as President Johnson pointed out in all 50 of our States. Our pride was based on what we believe is the ability of this Nation and its people "when the chips are down" to make a final determination based on truth and justice. This has happened all through the history of this Nation and the time has come for it to happen in the instance of the American Negro—for no force as President Johnson said, "can keep back the tide of freedom and justice."

He asked the Congress to pass as soon as possible a voting rights bill which would insure the right to vote of every American citizen who can write his name, in all elections; local, State, and National. If such legislation is passed, and it must be enacted, the final barriers to full citizenship will have been pushed aside to allow every qualified American man and woman of voting age to participate in the selection of public officials. This will greatly affect the peace, harmony, and unity of the country which has long been divided by the denial of constitutional rights, to part of the country's citizenry.

The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to President Johnson and the aroused public opinion which convinced him that he had to take a strong position and promised him the support which made his Monday night speech such a great document of true statesmanship.—CECIL NEWMAN.



So I got on a plane in the morning and Mrs. Dirksen met me at O'Hare. We had this nine-passenger station wagon. There was a young chap from WENR (a Chicago FM radio station)—riding with us. Mrs. Dirksen asked "Did the President have anything political to say?"

I dropped my voice, and I said, "He seemed rather curious when I said I want to get back home to campaign. He said, 'What are you squawking about? You're in.'" Well, this little boy heard it. So he couldn't wait for that station wagon to stop, and he got that on the station in a hurry.

Sidney Yates, (the Chicago Congressman who was Dirksen's opponent) said that Dirksen was a contemptible liar. That's the language that was used. When Sidney heard about it, he called Lawrence O'Brien (the President's liaison aide for Congress). Well, Lawrence didn't know anything about this. It was between me and the President. No one else was around. Nobody knew anything about it except Kennedy and myself.

Well, you know when your blood pressure is up something gives you a charge. And the mind can range over a whole epic of history and come up with something that seems suited to the occasion and just like that I thought of that damn story that Lincoln told down in Quincy, Ill., about two fellows were gassing back and forth.

One said, "Let me give you a riddle. If you call a sheep's tail a leg, how many legs does a sheep have?" he said, "five." The other fellow said, "Oh, no, he doesn't. Calling a sheep's tail a leg don't make it a leg."

I said, "If Sidney Yates calls me a liar that doesn't make me a liar." Now that's all I know about it.

Question. I'd like to get you back to Goldwater for just 1 minute. Didn't you have any reason to believe before that campaign started that it was going to be the disaster it turned out to be?

Answer. No. No. I didn't feel that he was not going to win. I felt he was going to make an excellent race. What happened afterward was the result partly of careless expressions and perhaps a little distortion in the press. I think that if they had taken the trouble to get to the core of it, perhaps a lot of this would not have happened.

For instance, his remark about social security. Well, how perfectly insane for anyone to even think that a President of the United States can repeal the social security system.

#### EXTREMISM ERROR

Question. Senator, do you think he made a mistake in refusing to repudiate the extremists who were supporting the Republican campaign?

Answer. Well, you know I puzzled and pondered and I wondered where in the world he ever got that expression \* \* \*

Question. In his acceptance speech, the extremist remarks?

Answer. \* \* \* and I finally ran into the same thing almost verbatim. I think you will find it in Roman history and it was used by the historian Livy (Titus Livius, 59 B.C.-17 A.D.). So somebody—whatever put it together—must have been charging through these quotations for ready speakers, probably saw it there and said, "That sounds pretty good," never thinking about its implications.

Now, it's pretty difficult to disown your own baby after you give it birth. That's the trouble in this business. When you get in those holes, especially if there's a big chunk of pride wallowing around in you most of the time, you just don't back up. You think the best thing to do is fight it through.

See what it was that Macbeth said to Lady Macbeth, "I'm in deep, steeped in so deep, that should I wade no more, returning were as tedious as go o'er."

Question. Senator, what has the Republican Party done since November to merit better support in 1966 than it had in 1964?

Answer. First, time is a great healer. You had to heal the hurts in your own party first.

Question. What about the so-called image to the voters themselves?

Answer. The press and the news media create the image. If it's going to be changed, you're going to have to help change it. We could shout from now till doomsday, unless there's some communication. That has been the weakness of the Republican Party—the communication of the real stuff to the people.

Question. Is that improving?

Answer. Yes. It is improving. There's a better press; there's a better understanding. I think there is a better attitude on the part of the public toward the party. Now you are beginning to see a few signs without having to put too much effort into it. They had an election in Berwyn the other day, just outside Chicago. Elected a Republican mayor and a majority of the city council. That was quite an achievement.

#### CAN GOP COMPETE?

Question. On the national scene, Senator, how are you going to compete with the Great Society that offers everybody everything and really offers to the Americans a millennium.

Answer. Oh, there are a number of factors. First, I don't know if you accept the thesis, "Parties do not defeat each other, parties defeat themselves." They offend the public.

Question. Do you feel the Republicans offended the public in 1964?

Answer. No, they frightened them—which is quite a different thing. I've said over and over again that I haven't seen an analysis of the 1964 election with which I could agree. I talked with people and I thought I saw pretty well that you had a fear complex operating. George Bernard Shaw once said that fear is the only universal passion and it's true.

Now, the minute that crack came about social security, what happened? "Why, he's going to take away our social security." It went like wildfire. They were afraid.

He made that crack about the Tennessee Valley Authority. Barry Goldwater knows about as well as I do that you could never sell TVA to private interests. You couldn't get beyond the Senate door with that. But it frightened them in the Tennessee Valley. Then there came that trigger-happy statement which was embellished. The next conclusion was, "He'll get us into war."

I think that Barry had his own answer at the Gridiron Club when he said, "You all know me, I'm that trigger-happy SOB, Barry Goldwater." They laughed like hell. All they had to do was to think what's going on in Vietnam.

Trigger-happy, more marines, more marines. When that statement was pinned on him, we had less than 20,000 out there. There are 32,500 now, and more are going in. That's this trigger-happy guy.

But when they had Barry on the defensive, he couldn't attack. He was so busy defending himself on these various charges that we never did get to put our story across and I thought we had a good story.

Why should his vote on civil rights obscure the fact that I got all except six Republicans to vote for the bill? That was the party image, not Barry Goldwater. But did it get to the country? No.

#### DIXIE REPUBLICANS

Question. Are you going to get a Republican resurgence in the South?

Answer. It's hard to tell. It will develop slowly, I think. There could be a resurgence. Now we've got those five young Republican Congressmen from the South. But did you notice the Gallup poll this morning with respect to voting rights? That in the South 49 percent favor legislation. Well, it almost knocked my hat off when I saw that figure.

When (Southern Republicans) come in here to see me I say, "Have a real confrontation with them. Go down there and speak your piece. And fortify what you have to say

with logic and stand up and take it or chin. They'll admire you for it. Don't back the issue."

Question. Senator, are there any other two things that you would particularly like to get done still that you haven't done in your career?

Answer. I don't know. Shall I make up a must list for you? You know I sometimes think in an obverse direction. By that I mean this: There's a quotation that sticks in my mind: "There are occasions when there must be a negative brake on progress." And by that I mean that we are moving forward so fast, and so far at one time, that there is danger unless we set the signals and try to halt it a little bit—not destroy it—but slow it down.

I have tried to make that part of my function. Because as Edward Gibbons said in his great history, "Progress is made, not by what goes on the statute books but more often by what comes off." So I've tried to think of that in terms of a weapon in the interest of the country.

So everybody wants to get stuff on books. They want to have their tag on it. Well, it's all well and good. There's some things I think perhaps ought to get off the books. Maybe my ultimate epitaph will be: "He tried to help his country by trying to keep it from making mistakes."

#### SENATOR'S AILMENTS

Question. A lot of people here in Washington have been worried about your health and about you. A lot of things have been written about that. If they had been true, you would have been carried out at least 2 weeks ago.

Answer. If it would have been true, I would have been carried out 2 years ago.

Question. Well, now I know I tried to make a compilation of all your health problems and maladies, and I think I ended with nine. I thought it would be easier to list the things you didn't have.

Answer. Yeah. You're probably correct.

Question. First of all, you look pretty well right now compared to how you looked when you got out of the hospital. You must feel better. Do you?

Answer. Yes. I said, I thought that according to the report I had everything except floating kidney and housemaid's knee. But I feel quite good. I do have this fracture and I got 20 pounds of steel in that damn girdle I wear and I'll have to wear it another 4 or 5 months because there is no medication for a fracture. It has to calcify and close and it just takes so long.

Question. How long has it been since the doctor told you you had to quit smoking?

Answer. Oh, God. He must have told me 50 years ago.

Question. Anybody recently? I noticed you smoked several cigarettes while we were here.

Answer. Oh, yes. They tell me all the time to quit.

Question. What is your attitude toward it?

Answer. Oh, I'm getting around to it.

#### REV. DAVID PREUS PROTESTS REEB MURDER IN ALABAMA

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, over a month ago I rose to address the Senate with consternation and dismay over the news of the brutal beating of 600 praying civil rights marchers in Selma, Ala. I said then that the only question facing us in Congress is what we and the decent and honorable people who know better will do. I was heartened then after by the vocal and public support for correction of the ills that the Selma situation so well illustrated. At this point, Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to a moving eulogy for

Now that developed a rather interesting intimacy with the President because you can pick a man's mind day after day without knowing what makes him tick. He knows my weaknesses and shortcomings and certainly I know his. Out of it there ripened a very durable friendship that has continued from that day to this even though I sometimes say things that hurt him. Maybe he winces a little bit, but when I say it, it will be in the interests of the country.

As an example, he did not like the statement I made last week about his Baltimore speech (offering unconditional discussion on Vietnam). You may recall that I suggested that perhaps they were sounding the trumpets of retreat and why did they have to put in a billion-dollar bundle and make it appear that they were going to try to buy peace in Vietnam?

I had a telephone conversation with his appointments secretary the other day. He said, "the boss is sitting right here." I asked whether he wanted to talk with me and he said, "No, he's hurt." I said, "He might get hurt a good deal worse before it's all over because I have to say what I think about a situation."

Those are no love taps he dishes out to me either on occasion, as you well know. But that's the great art of legislating and not letting the sun set on your anger and always keeping yourself in a poised position for the benefit of the country.

#### THE TREATMENT

Question. Senator, he has been pictured as a wizard in bringing people around to what he wants them to do. You know—the famous L.B.J. treatment. Have you ever experienced that?

Answer. Well, I'm afraid the press jumps on an expression, gives it currency, and magnifies it out of all proportion. I think I first invented that phrase "the Texas twist." Well, there's no treatment about it, goodness knows. Because it's administered without ether.

It's a case of where the President, if he doesn't like the way one of his own party members casts a vote, can call him up and can use language that sounds just a little tough and testy. His boys know they've been talked to when he talks to them.

I have had occasion for Members on his side to change their votes when actually they were voting in my corner and then come over very apologetically to tell me what happened. I know what happened. So that's really not a treatment; that's just a little verbal twist to say, "You'd better get right with the gods that be or difficult things can happen to you."

That's the rougher side of political life. There are several ways of going about it. You can threaten, or you can use an oil can. From the standpoint of the abrasive effect of either of these approaches, I prefer the oil can.

Question. How often do you talk with the President on the telephone?

Answer. It depends on the course of events. There are occasions when either I have called him or he has called me six, seven times in a single day.

Question. Had he given you any kind of advance notice about the Baltimore speech?

Answer. No. Nor did I get a copy until later in the day.

Question. Would you have been a little happier if you had?

Answer. It wouldn't have made any difference. First, when we were having a bit of a rowdy-dow last night at the White House, he said, "You didn't read my speech." I said, "That's what you say. I not only read your speech, but I listened to every word and I still stand by what I said. And the way the British papers and others are giving you the old business on this billion dollar lure, shows that I wasn't the only one in the world who looked under the chair."

#### CHANGING SIDES

Question. Senator, you yourself have observed that at times people have accused you of being a political chameleon because you have changed your position from time to time. Could you discuss that?

Answer. Did I ever tell you what Lincoln put in his message to Congress in 1862? Lincoln said, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new so we must think anew and act anew." And then he added this one precious sentence. He said, "We must first disenthrall ourselves and then we shall save the country."

That's as good today as it was then. New circumstances develop new duties, new obligations, new changes of view and, as I've said so often, the only people who do not change their minds are either in the involuntary institutions by an order of the court or they are occupying a spot in the cemetery. I hope that will never happen, meaning that I can't change my mind when the occasion arises.

Question. Senator, will you describe the evolution of your philosophy as a trend from the right toward the center over the last 15 years?

Answer. I have always abjured any kind of a label. When I've been asked I've said, a thousand times, "I'm a garden variety Abraham Lincoln Republican. Don't tag me right. Don't tag me left. Don't tag me center. Because those terms came over here like a virus from the Old World and I don't believe they fit a free country."

I have convictions. I try to have a sense of history and certainly I try to keep abreast of the legislative history of the country and get as good a perspective as I can.

Now just to illustrate the point. I went back to read some of the debates in the McKinley administration when Harvey Wiley was the chief chemist for the Department of Agriculture. And Congress was dealing with the first Food and Drug Act. It's absolutely incredible, the things that were said on the floor of the Senate as to the right of a merchant to adulterate his sugar if he could get away with it.

Well, you know we have risen to a far better moral position since then and I try to keep abreast of the moral imperatives of history also.

Now, take civil rights. We have the 1957 act, the 1960 act, the 1964 act. I had a modest bit to do with each one of them, particularly the 1964 act. And I had a voting rights bill drafted and ready this spring before the White House ever got around to it. So I was no Johnny-come-lately. They finally all gathered in here, and I think that was mainly the overtone of what happened in 1964. Because they said, "Well, if the minority leader isn't with us, we don't get a bill."

So this had happened all over again, and most of these meetings to work out a voting rights bill have happened right here around this table.

But I get letters that say to me, "Do you think you're going to get any votes out of this?" Fancy people talking to me that way at my age. [He is 69.] As if that concerns me a hoot. I do what I do because I think it's the right thing to do from the standpoint of the country.

And to put the moral capsheet on it, there is a little clause in the Preamble to the Constitution which says we ordain this Government in order to promote domestic tranquility. If anybody thinks it's going to be tranquil until we've had a fundamental solution for some of these problems, on which they've been demonstrating, I can only say he better get it out of his mind.

Question. Do you believe that in the field

of education you have undergone a historical evolution of your thinking?

Answer. Somewhat, but there are still things about it (the new Federal aid to education law) that bother me. We've got to see whether the heavy hand of the Federal Government is going to try to give direction to our whole educational system including the curriculums. Now, if that's the case, then I think you're going to see a very considerable shuffle.

#### SUPPORTING BARRY

Question. Senator, how do you reconcile your crucial support for Senator Goldwater last year with your position on the civil rights question?

Answer. First, Barry Goldwater earned the right to have the nomination. He worked at it. No meeting was too small for him to address. Second, he was quite diligent in his senatorial duties and he showed his convictions from time to time on most subjects. Third, he seemed to captivate nearly every kind of an audience.

Nearly every component in the party was on his wagon, more or less. There wasn't any question in my mind that there was even a runner-up in that campaign. That was No. 1. No. 2, he was a friend. No. 3, he was a senatorial comrade.

Question. If he were a friend, he would have supported you on civil rights, wouldn't he?

Answer. Well, he had an excellent community service record out in his own community as notably desegregating the Arizona National Guard. There are no color lines in the Goldwater stores. And finally, I did not know exactly what he was going to do on civil rights.

We had discussed it off and on in the back room, but I thought surely I could have him for cloture (the vote that ended the southern filibuster against the 1964 civil rights bill). After that, I thought he would surely support me on the bill itself, but he felt the parts of it were unconstitutional.

Question. Senator to get back to the historical perspective, have you wondered what your place would be in history? Has it motivated you in any of the things that you have done?

Answer. First of all, there is a natural force. You know in the Apostle Paul's great letter to the Corinthians, he said, "When I was a child, I spake as a child."

You can just take that as a thesis and spell it out. You mature as you grow and you see in a wider, longer perspective. I think you get a better sense of mission and a better sense, I believe, of the moral imperatives that push any country and any people along the road to higher ground.

Now there are modifications and changes in our country from time to time. New needs, then, develop because of congestions of people, the necessity for jobs, that sort of thing. As it changes, as Lincoln said, you rise with the occasion. If you don't you're going to drop with a thud.

#### KENNEDY'S BACKING

Question. Senator, there was a widespread suspicion—and more than that—that President Kennedy would just as soon have seen you reelected in 1962 and that somehow this was communicated to you.

Answer. Well, you know, we were in session so late that year that I hardly had any time to campaign. At long last we got this curtain down and I think I had about 3 weeks to cover a little ground.

Now, in that period he sent that jet out because of this Cuban problem. We had a meeting each day and as the leadership was leaving the White House he said, "Ev, wait, I want to talk to you." I said, "I want to go home if I can. I have to campaign." He said, "You don't have to campaign. You're in." I said, "Look, mister, it isn't quite like that in a State like Illinois. I can tell you."



James Reeb, delivered by Pastor David Preus, of the University Lutheran Church of Hope, in which he called attention to the need for Americans to carry the torch of human dignity, of human freedom, and of justice. I ask unanimous consent that Pastor Preus' remarks be printed at this point in the Record.

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

**EULOGY FOR JAMES REEB—CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY ON CAPITOL STEPS, ST. PAUL, MINN., MARCH 13, 1965**

(By David W. Preus, pastor)

James Reeb was beaten with a long, ugly club by a man who had never seen him. He was beaten, not because he was known and disliked. He was beaten for his convictions. That club was aimed at every man who shares those convictions and so lives. That is why we feel inside ourselves that the bell tolls not just for James Reeb, but for all of us.

The beating and death of James Reeb shows forth the terrible fruits of hate—irrational, unseeing hate.

The beating and death of James Reeb bares the terrible fruits of injustice—practiced, defended, held up for praise.

The beating and death of James Reeb declares the terrible fruits that accrue when good men keep quiet, doing nothing, letting evil reign by default.

James Reeb joins a growing list of martyrs who have fallen in this present battle for justice. Just a week ago it was Jimmie Lee Jackson, shot down while he sought to register to vote. Not long ago it was Medgar Evers, and the three civil rights workers, and others. There were the innocents—not venturing into troubled areas, gathered at church to learn of the Prince of Peace—four little girls dead, five blinded.

As James Reeb lay on his deathbed an associate said of him, "He has a healing personality, but his convictions are like iron." That is a great statement to make about a man. The record seems to bear them out.

James Reeb had a healing personality because he cared about people. The head counselor at St. Olaf College, under whom James Reeb served, said of him, "Jim was the best counselor we had, because he had the deepest concern for the people around him." How else do you explain a man and his wife, born to privilege, taking their four children and living and working in a hive of under-privilege. He moved into a store front office under the auspices of the American Friends Society to join an impoverished people in their battle for good life in a depressed, discouraged, downtrodden urban neighborhood. Of him it was simply said, "He was good for people." That was the reason for going to Selma—to be good for others. That is what a healing personality is, a person who has learned how to care about people, to be good for others.

James Reeb was an unassuming man but he carried his convictions like a royal torch-bearer. He carried his convictions in his life and acts.

James Reeb carried the torch of human dignity. He believed there was one race, the human race. He believed that participation in that human race in this United States meant equal value in the sight of God and equal rights before the laws of the land. He believed that no man could be diminished without diminishing us all. Because he so loved he went to Selma to stand with those being beaten by men sworn to protect them. His life, his death, stands as testimony to the dignity of man, the equality of man before God and the law. He has passed the torch on to you.

James Reeb carried the torch of human

freedom. He knew that freedom cannot be had for some and not for others. He identified himself with the cause of human freedom. He sought freedom for the Negro forcibly kept from the Alabama polling booth. He sought freedom for the impoverished of Boston, Mass., caught in the terrible circle of bondage that the poor know so intimately. He sought freedom for white Americans too. The white Americans who are locked in a bondage of fear and hate that turns life to hatred and brutality. How can one speak of freedom for a man who looks at another man and sees not a fellow human, but a boogeyman, a caricature of a creature that does not exist except in the crazed imagination of people who have heard lies all their lives. He carried the torch of freedom, and he passed it on to you.

James Reeb carried the torch of justice. He knew there was no dignity for man, no lasting freedom, except where justice was assured every man. The right to vote, to assemble peacefully to move and live and work. Justice meant equality of educational opportunity, equality of job opportunity, equality of housing opportunity, equality in public accommodations, equality legislatively secured and enforced by a law abiding populace. He carried the torch of justice and he passed it on to you.

Memorials will rise in different places to remind us of James Reeb. One memorial he would have sought—the living memorial of men and women and children carrying the torch he passed, healing personalities with convictions like iron.

#### TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION—RESOLUTION OF THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a resolution of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, memorializing the U.S. Congress to provide for technical and financial assistance for soil and water conservation.

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

##### RESOLUTION 2

Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to provide for technical and financial assistance for soil and water conservation

Whereas the conservation of soil and water is of vital importance to the maintenance of a strong economy in Minnesota; and Whereas 10 million acres of cropland in Minnesota has been damaged by the loss of from one-fourth to three-fourths of the topsoil through soil erosion; and

Whereas many thousands of landowners are clearly showing by individual and community action that these losses can be greatly reduced through proper land use and the application of needed soil and water conservation practices; and

Whereas it has been further demonstrated that the application of these soil and water conservation practices require technical and financial assistance to insure widespread results; and

Whereas any curtailment in the availability of such technical and financial assistance from Federal sources would cause irreparable damage to the State and Nation's soil and water conservation work; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, That the Congress of the United States is urged to enact legislation to provide sufficient technical and financial assistance for soil and water conservation measures to continue to be made available to landowners; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state send a copy of this resolution to each Minnesota Senator and Congressman in the U.S. Congress.

L. L. DUXBURY, JR.,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.  
A. M. KERR,  
President of the Senate.

Approved April 9, 1965.

KARL F. ROIVAAAG,  
Governor of the State of Minnesota.

#### TAXATION OF PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS — RESOLUTION OF THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a resolution of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, memorializing the U.S. Congress to pass Senate bill 177, House bill 697, or House bill 4969.

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

##### RESOLUTION 1

Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to adopt S. 177, H.R. 697, or H.R. 4969

Whereas self-employed individuals have for more than 20 years been discriminated against under Federal tax law because they could not adopt retirement plans covering themselves unless they incorporated or formed associations taxable as corporations; and

Whereas the Internal Revenue Service in November 1960 issued the so-called Kintner regulations which laid down guidelines to be used in determining whether or not groups of self-employed individuals would be eligible to be taxed as corporations; and

Whereas the Legislature of the State of Minnesota in reliance on the guidelines contained in the Kintner regulations and in order to remove the discrimination against professional persons under Federal tax law, passed in 1961 a Professional Corporation Act relating to physicians and in 1963 a Professional Corporation Act relating to attorneys; and

Whereas the Internal Revenue Service on February 3, 1965, issued amendments to the Kintner regulations which would deny to physicians and attorneys organized under one or the other of the Minnesota Professional Corporation Acts and acts of other States similar thereto the right to be taxed as a corporation under Federal tax law and thus nullify the action of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota; and

Whereas there has been introduced into the 89th Congress S. 177, H.R. 697, and H.R. 4969 which would amend the definition of corporation in the Internal Revenue Code to make clear that professional corporations are included therein and would as a result require the Internal Revenue Service to recognize corporations formed under either of the Minnesota Professional Corporation Acts and acts of other States similar thereto as corporations for the purpose of the Internal Revenue Code; Be it

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, That the Congress of the United States be urged to enact S. 177, H.R. 697, or H.R. 4969; Be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the State of Minnesota send copies of this resolution to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, to Senator McCarran and Mondale, and to all Members of the House of Representatives from the State of Minnesota.

A. M. KERR,  
President of the Senate.  
L. L. DUXBURY, JR.,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved April 1, 1965.

KARL F. ROIVAAAG,  
Governor of the State of Minnesota.

MAY 24 1965

United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 111

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1965

No. 92

## House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, May 24, 1965, at 12 o'clock noon.

## Senate

FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1965

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

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

Lord of all life, in the white light of Thy searching, we would pause at mid-day to examine our inner desires and motives, that in this temple of a people's hope and trust we may stand with pure hearts and clean hands.

Help us, we pray, that in these trying days we may rise above all that is base and small, to toil together in glad and eager harmony for the honor, safety, and welfare of our Nation and of all the peoples of this stricken earth, who will unite in mutual good will, determined to open the gates of a new life for all mankind.

Grant unto Thy erring and willful children moral control and a ruling passion for world brotherhood, lest the awful instruments of death and destruction, now held in frail human hands, scourge the planet and melt the fruitful earth into brittle glass.

Make us alive and alert to the spiritual verities and values which underlie all the struggle of these epic days, as on the anvil of vast issues there slowly takes shape the new and better world that is to be when Thy kingdom comes.

In the dear Redeemer's name, we ask it. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. HART, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, May 20, 1965, was dispensed with.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States, submitting a

nomination, was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, notified the Senate that, pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 397, 89th Congress, the engrossed bill (S. 1734) to conserve and protect domestic fishery resources, was herewith returned to the Senate.

The message announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 435) to extend the boundaries of the Kaniksu National Forest in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 8122) to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

### HOUSE BILL PLACED ON CALENDAR

The bill (H.R. 8122) to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and placed on the calendar.

### VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate the unfinished business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I send to the desk a cloture motion filed under rule XXII and ask that it be read.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The cloture motion will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the motion, as follows:

### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close the debate upon the bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

(1) MIKE MANSFIELD; (2) EVERETT M. DIRKSEN; (3) PHILIP A. HART; (4) THOMAS H. KUCHEL; (5) LEVERETT SALTONSTALL; (6) PAT McNAMARA; (7) JOHN O. PASTORE; (8) FRANK E. MOSS; (9) JACOB K. JAVITS; (10) HUGH SCOTT; (11) HIRAM L. FONG; (12) CLAIBORNE PELL; (13) EDMUND S. MUSKIE; (14) WAYNE MORSE; (15) JOHN SHERMAN COOPER; (16) STEPHEN M. YOUNG; (17) CLIFFORD P. CASE; (18) EUGENE J. MCCARTHY; (19) WALTER F. MONDALE; (20) DANIEL BREWSTER; (21) FRED R. HARRIS; (22) DANIEL K. INOUE; (23) PAUL H. DOUGLAS; (24) JOSEPH S. CLARK; (25) GAYLORD NELSON; (26) JENNINGS RANDOLPH; (27) ABRAHAM RIBICOFF; (28) FRANK J. LAUSCHE; (29) THOMAS J. DODD; (30) VANCE HARTKE; (31) JOSEPH D. TYDINGS; (32) EDWARD V. LONG; (33) BIRCH BATH; (34) EDWARD KENNEDY; (35) LEE METCALF; (36) GORDON ALLOTT; (37) HARRISON WILLIAMS; (38) QUENTIN BURDICK.

Mr. HART subsequently said: Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator



from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] and the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BRADICK], I ask unanimous consent that their signatures may be permitted to be added to the cloture motion filed today under rule XXII with respect to the voting rights bill.

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

Mr. ALLOTT subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my signature may be added to the cloture motion notwithstanding the fact that it has already been filed.

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

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, at this point I should like to propound a parliamentary inquiry.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Chair maintain order so that we may hear?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is correct. The Senate is not in order. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator from Illinois is recognized. Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I should like to query the acting majority leader with respect to the status of amendments that have already been submitted, and also with respect to amendments that may be submitted hereafter, so far as the cloture motion is concerned. My understanding is that there must be 62 amendments still pending. They have been submitted; they have not actually been presented. My query is as follows:

Under the rule, would the amendments which have been submitted qualify and could they be called up in the event cloture were finally imposed?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Amendments that have been submitted must be read, unless unanimous consent is obtained that they be considered as read.

Mr. DIRKSEN. So every amendment must be presented and be read if it is to qualify, if cloture is adopted.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without unanimous consent, the Senator is correct.

Mr. DIRKSEN. All amendments which thereafter might be submitted would obviously be "out of court."

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Amendments may be offered from now until the vote is taken at 1 o'clock on Tuesday, but under the same rule the amendments would have to be read unless unanimous consent is granted.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, is a unanimous-consent request in order to consider all amendments now pending or which have been submitted as qualified under the rule?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. May I do so at this time?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Such a request is in order.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I do not know how many of the amendments will be offered. That question is for the authors of the amendments to determine. However, in

order to avoid the necessity of having all of the amendments presented and read, would a unanimous-consent request to have them considered en bloc as qualified under the rule, if Senators wish to call them up, be in order?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Such a request would be in order.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments, considered en bloc, be regarded as qualified under the rule.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that their—

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I object.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The objection comes too late. The Chair asked, "Is there objection?" paused momentarily, and no objection was forthcoming.

Mr. ERVIN. I did not understand the unanimous-consent request.

I should like to propound a parliamentary inquiry.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. ERVIN. Will amendments hereafter submitted be covered by the unanimous-consent order?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. No. It is the understanding of the Chair that the unanimous consent granted qualifies only the amendments that have been submitted heretofore, prior to the filing of the cloture motion. The unanimous-consent order does not affect any amendments to be filed hereafter and before 1 o'clock on Tuesday.

#### LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements during the transaction routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

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

#### REPORT OF CIVIL AIR PATROL

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the National Commander, Civil Air Patrol, Ellington Air Force Base, Tex., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that organization, for the calendar year 1964, which, with an accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

#### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

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

By Mr. DIRKSEN (by request):  
S. 2005. A bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 in order to provide special loans to cattle farmers; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See the remarks of Mr. DIRKSEN when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 2006. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction or credit against tax for contributions to National and State political committees; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. SMATHERS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. YARBOROUGH:

S. 2007. A bill extending the benefits of the Emergency Officers' Retirement Act of May 28, 1928, to certain former officers of the Army; to the Committee on Armed Services.

S. 2008. A bill for the relief of Carlyle G. Stark; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HART:

S. 2009. A bill for the relief of Myung Sook Yun Pak; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 2010. A bill for the relief of Fun Wat Hoy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DODD:

S. 2011. A bill to permit certain small business corporations which attempted to make elections under subchapter S of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to take further action to make such elections effective; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. DODD when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BIBLE:

S. 2012. A bill to prohibit certain practices creating artificial shortages in the supply of coins of the United States; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. BIBLE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MAGNUSON (by request):

S. 2013. A bill to amend section 4 of the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956 to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make loans for the financing and refinancing of new and used fishing vessels; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S.J. Res. 83. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation commemorating the 175th anniversary, on August 4, 1965, of the founding of the U.S. Coast Guard at Newburyport, Mass.; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

#### AMENDMENT OF CONSOLIDATED FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION ACT

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I send to the desk, and I do so only on the basis of request, a bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act, in order to provide special loans to cattle farmers.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2005) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 in order to provide special loans to cattle farmers, introduced by Mr. DIRKSEN, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.