

use that strength in defense of U.S. national interests and international peace.

In the last 20 years or so Mr. Johnson's predecessors were, in most cases, rather power shy. They were apologetic about America's enormous military strength and tremendous economic and industrial capacity.

Wherever and whenever limited American military strength had to be used—as, for example, in Greece and Turkey, in Berlin, Korea, and the Middle East—this was always under the auspices of some "international" sponsorship.

The idea was conveyed that there was something basically wrong in the use of American military strength. Yet the only wrong thing about it was the fact that the idea itself was wrong.

The use of military strength is not "wrong" by itself. It depends on who uses it, how, and for what purpose.

In this field (the use of military strength) the record of the United States is second to none. The United States is not a colonial or imperialistic power, it holds no foreign country in bondage and it never has waged wars for conquest.

Contrary to what leftwingers and "liberals" say, the world is not afraid of American military power. To the contrary—all supporters of freedom and democracy, as well as all enslaved nations—in Europe, in Asia, and everywhere else—always have welcomed and welcome now the display and the exercise of American military power. This is so because they know that American power is their friend and protector.

The quick, forceful, and determined use of American military power in southeast Asia and the Caribbean will—we can be certain—greatly increase American influence throughout the world.

All our true friends will welcome with relief and satisfaction the news that, at long last, the President of the United States is following a foreign policy worthy of the leader of the free world—a policy based on the use of adequate U.S. strength where aggressors have to be stopped and where Communist conspiracies have to be defeated.

The success of this policy can best be judged by the angry and desperate howls coming from the Communist camp. The Communists are hurt—badly—and they shriek the louder because they did not expect such a hard blow to come from the United States just now.

For many years, the Reds were accustomed to American inaction in the face of their growing provocations. But now the man in the White House shows that he can act—and now. When shot at, he shoots back right away, without even consulting the United Nations.

And as L.B.J.'s guns are the best in the world, and his aim is deadily accurate, the Reds are beginning to realize they are in the wrong game.

This soon will bring the Communist leaders to an "agonizing reappraisal" of their policy toward the United States.

The one thing that the Communists don't want—and cannot afford to have—is a real showdown (a "confrontation," as Washington diplomats would say) with the United States. They will change their policy when they see that a confrontation might be inevitable. We then shall be on the road toward a more peaceful world.

[From the Indianapolis Star, May 14, 1965]

L.B.J.'S SPEECH WAS EFFECTIVE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

(By Michael Padev, Star foreign editor)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson's speech before the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists yesterday was a very skillful and a very effective step of public diplomacy.

The President said things and proposed policies which are meant to—

1. Further deepen the rift between Moscow and Peking.

2. Make the Hanoi Communist regime think twice before agreeing to accept any military help from Red China.

3. Strengthen the "peace party" among North Vietnam's Communist leaders.

Contrary to what liberal experts on Communist affairs predicted, the escalation of the Vietnam war has not drawn Soviet Russia and Red China together. To the contrary, it has moved them further apart.

The Red Chinese press is now full of scornful attacks on the Soviet leaders, who are accused of kowtowing to the American imperialists and of being scared to help the glorious Communist comrades in North Vietnam against the American "paper tigers."

But Red China is not helping North Vietnam either. Though the Soviet press has so far been silent on the matter, Soviet and East European Communist diplomats have been pointing out in talks with Western officials that it is the Red Chinese who seem to be scared, in spite of the bombastic war propaganda.

By stressing that Red China is the only danger to peace in Asia, President Johnson has given a diplomatic "helping hand" to the Soviet leaders in their difficult struggle against Peking.

This is a very clever political move. The United States should do its utmost to worsen the quarrel between Soviet Russia and Red China. Disunited Communists are much less dangerous than united Communists.

It is also obvious that all is not well between Red China and the Hanoi Communist government.

The U.S. bombing offensive against Communist targets in North Vietnam has made Hanoi suffer very dearly for its "war of liberation" in South Vietnam.

Red China also supports this "war of liberation." But there are no Red Chinese casualty lists, no Red Chinese bridges are bombed, and no Red Chinese communication lines are destroyed.

As the U.S. air offensive against Hanoi continues and is extended, the North Vietnam Communist leaders cannot fail to see that their country is the only victim in a war which is supposed to be common Communist property.

The unequal share of sacrifices, hardships and privations is never a good basis for a lasting alliance between states.

Sooner or later the Hanoi Communists leaders will point out to their Chinese comrades that a peaceful settlement with the United States might prove to be the only way to save North Vietnam from destruction and devastation.

Red Chinese propaganda about the United States being a paper tiger must sound very hollow in Hanoi just now for it is the Hanoi leaders who know, from painful experience, that the paper tiger has very sharp teeth, indeed.

By offering again "unconditional discussions" for peace, coupled with an imaginative and constructive American plan for technical assistance to an international cooperative development project in southeast Asia, President Johnson has appealed directly to the "peace party" among Hanoi's Communist leaders.

There should be no doubt that such a "peace party" does exist in Hanoi. We often believe, mistakenly, that all Communists think and act alike. But this is not true, especially in times of stress, emergency or war.

We can be sure that there is, at present, a very strong group of North Vietnam Communist leaders who doubt, or who begin to

doubt, the wisdom of continuing the "liberation war" in South Vietnam.

Mr. Johnson's speech was meant to strengthen the hand of exactly this group of Hanoi leaders.

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 18, 1965]

NEGOTIATIONS ON VIETNAM

President Johnson's call for unconditional peace talks on Vietnam, combined with the idea that "there is no purely military solution in sight for either side," is being wildly misinterpreted by some people in this country and abroad.

Critics of administration policy have seized on these two phrases to bolster their hope that a sellout in Vietnam is in the making. If a negotiation can be started, they say, it will be based on our recognition of a military stalemate in Vietnam. Whether or not the Communist Vietcong is accepted as a party to the negotiation, its status as a political power will be conceded.

The United States, these people believe, will be willing to accept participation of the Vietcong as a major element of a coalition government in South Vietnam which will ultimately lead to the reunification of the country under the leadership of Hanoi.

The President, in our opinion, means no such thing. A willingness to negotiate unconditionally does not mean that we are prepared to accept any and all conditions to achieve peace in Vietnam. And to say that no purely military solution is in sight does not mean that the United States is resigned either to a Vietcong victory or an indefinite stalemate.

The President, in short, is not seeking a negotiation in order to consecrate a defeat. Much of his speech last Thursday was devoted to the task of pointing out that the struggle against the Vietcong is being waged on political, economic, and social levels which are concurrent and complementary to the military war. Nothing that he has said should be interpreted to mean that this struggle against Communist domination will not be ultimately successful.

No negotiation undertaken under the present circumstances is likely in any event to produce a final settlement of the Vietnamese problem. The United States, as the President has made clear many times, cannot accept any formula which compromises the freedom and independence of South Vietnam.

What may be negotiable are the terms for a cease-fire in the south, together with an end to infiltration of men and arms from North Vietnam and the bombing of North Vietnamese installations.

It is possible also that the groundwork could be laid for elections in South Vietnam within a reasonable time after a cease-fire. Such elections held under international supervision would determine the role of the Vietcong in any future South Vietnamese government. It would also, very probably, determine the issue of reunification according to the wishes of a majority of South Vietnamese.

It is quite understandable that a solution along these lines should satisfy neither the Communists nor those who would like to see a surrender of South Vietnam. The reaction from Hanoi and Peking so far indicates that the Communists for their part have by no means abandoned their hopes of conquest. And they at least do not seem to be under the illusion that they can win at the bargaining table what they cannot win on the battlefield.

ADJUSTMENTS REQUIRED FOR FULL EQUALITY

MR. MONDALE. Mr. President, James Reston recently devoted his widely read column in the New York Times to an

to the VA office in Montgomery, Ala. To make himself presentable enough to hold a job with many contacts, Erwin spent more than 2 years in a veterans' hospital after the war undergoing skin-grafting surgery on his burned and disfigured face. In a B-29 on a bombing mission over Japan a phosphorus bomb caught and ignited in the plane. To save the plane and the other men in its crew, Erwin groped for the burning bomb, picked it up, and carried it forward to the copilot's window with his hands and clothing in flames, and dropped it outside.

Most of the medalholders are members of the Medal of Honor Society, which meets every 2 years at reunions and publishes a quarterly bulletin and newsletter to keep the highly exclusive group informed of each other's doings. The current president of the society is Thomas J. Kelly, a New Yorker who worked his way through law school after winning the Medal of Honor and now serves as an Administrator in the Manhattan office of the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

Even among the annals of Medal of Honor citations for the past century, which crowd every page with unbelievable stories of selfless daring, the account of Kelly's award-winning exploit under fire stands out.

As a 21-year-old medical aid man, Kelly was attached to an armored infantry platoon which was caught by a surprise attack while crossing an open clearing in Germany. The platoon and Kelly ran from the plateau-like exposed ground to the protection of a downhill slope, leading dead and wounded Americans behind them.

Going back into the clearing to bring the wounded to safety meant crawling and running under fire from the surrounding woods for a distance of 300 yards, but Kelly decided to try it. On his first trip he led out a group of seven blinded and shocked casualties who were able to walk under his guidance. Then he went back across the exposed terrain again and again, carrying and dragging the wounded soldiers. Two other GI's, who tried to help him, were both killed. Kelly made 10 trips in all, rescuing 17 fallen men from the field of sweeping machine-gun fire and exploding mortar shells.

"YOU KNOW WHAT'S RIGHT"

"I thought of Sister Saint Peter, one of the nuns who taught me in parochial school," he said recently. "I could feel her gold ring tapping against my forehead, as it did when she was trying to teach me something, and I could hear her saying, 'Tom Kelly, you know what's right and what's wrong. There are wounded men out there—go and get them.'"

As president of the Medal of Honor Society, Kelly hears more about the problems of medal winners than anybody in the Pentagon or the Veterans' Administration. Many of the war heroes in his fraternity feel that they get too much recognition—of the wrong kind.

"Wearing the Medal of Honor can be harder than winning it," Kelly said. "A medalholder sometimes finds his commanding officer, or his boss in civilian life, leaning over backward, making sure he isn't treated any better than anybody else because of his medal."

"If he makes a mistake, or gets into trouble, he's likely to be given a rougher punishment than he would have gotten if he didn't have the medal. He's always carefully walking a tightrope in the glare of the spotlight."

TROUBLE MAKES HEADLINES

An automobile accident or a bankruptcy, a divorce trial or a friendly party turning into a noisy brawl, any of the misfortunes that ordinarily wouldn't be mentioned in the newspapers can make headlines if a Medal of Honor hero is involved.

"The ones you read about are the few who are having personal troubles," Kelly says, "so people think many Medal of Honor men

have a terrible time trying to adjust to civilian life. Nobody writes about all the rest of us who are quietly raising families and worrying about the mortgage payments like everybody else."

The Medal of Honor heroes best known by postwar newspaper readers are indeed the ones plagued by the most troubles, such as tobacco-chewing Charles E. "Commando" Kelly, from Pittsburgh, the 36th Division's one-man army in Italy. Chuck Kelly, as he was called in his outfit, has occupied more space in newspapers since the war than during it—thanks to his prolonged struggles with unemployment, illness, and financial woes. Sgt. Alvin C. York, who died last September at the age of 76, became almost as famous in the last 20 years for his income tax litigations as he was for his World War I heroism. Sergeant York's feat of 1918 was hailed by Marshal Foch as the greatest accomplishment of any soldier in all the armies of Europe. In a 4-hour skirmish in the Argonne Forest in 1918, York and a few companions killed 25 Germans and captured the rest of an enemy machinegun battalion, 4 officers and 128 enlisted men.

A modest and unpretentious Tennessee mountaineer, York firmly refused after the war to capitalize on his Medal of Honor. Finally he was persuaded that a movie biography, starring Gary Cooper, could inspire patriotism. For the film rights to his life story, York was paid some \$150,000, most of which he gave away to worthy causes and needy friends.

Then York was hit by an income tax and interest bill for \$172,000. His case dragged through courts for years. The Internal Revenue authorities finally agreed to settle for \$25,000, raised by public donation.

Probably the most shaky postwar readjustment attempted by any Medal of Honor recipient was the one tackled by Audie Murphy. Murphy, who won more decorations than any other soldier in World War II, received his Medal of Honor award for holding a woods attacked by the Germans almost singlehandedly, personally killing or wounding 50 of the enemy. He left his cotton-growing hometown of Farmersville, Tex., after the war and went to Hollywood to become a movie star.

Now 40—he was only 20 when he won the Medal of Honor—Murphy is comfortably and solidly established in filmland and as a millionaire cowboy movie star, the only horse-riding actor still working regularly in motion pictures. He appears in four or five westerns a year, low-budget films that are shown mainly in small-town theaters.

Murphy was regarded as a "hot" prospect when he first came to Hollywood, and Murphy's friends believe that he might have become a glamour star if he had patronized the right people in Hollywood. But he kept the right people at arm's length and never regretted it.

"I have only a nodding acquaintance with Hollywood-type people," Audie once said. "I say nodding to them and they say nodding to me."

Murphy enjoys his role as a western performer. His peaceful existence in Hollywood is marred only by gossip column mentions of a Medal of Honor hero being thrown out of Sunset Strip nightclubs. It is another holder, but everyone thinks the columnists are writing about Murphy, who never goes to nightclubs.

Murphy makes a point of never identifying himself publicly with his Medal of Honor, which he has given, along with his other medals, to his two young sons. He avoids meetings of the Medal of Honor Society and turns down invitations to appear in his reserve uniform at parades. However, he went to a PTA meeting in Gardena, Calif., recently and made a speech on "What the Constitution Means to Me."

SALUTE TO GLORY

The most impressive salute ever given to Medal of Honor holders and perhaps from the looks of things, the last one, was a special reception attended by 240 wearers of the award at the White House on May 2, 1963, the largest gathering of the medalists in one place in the history of the United States. As the heroes of six wars filed past President Kennedy, shaking his hand, some in wheelchairs and others on crutches, the President's sister-in-law, Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy, made a remark which well described the emotion of the spectators:

"It is like watching a million flags march by."

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VIETNAM POLICY

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, when Thomas Paine said, "There are the times that try men's souls," he was describing the pressures of life nearly 200 years ago. That great patriot might be dismayed to find, were he alive today, that the pressures and crises have multiplied; that these times are far more trying, perhaps, than the relatively placid days of the American struggle for independence.

But Tom Paine would be cheered, I believe, by the courage, the patience, the skill, and the fortitude of this Nation's Chief Magistrate, Lyndon B. Johnson.

I am thinking particularly of our President's policy in the Vietnamese conflict: wielding forcefully this country's awesome strength and destructive power, yet always holding out the hand of peace, offering to our adversaries a reasonable and workable settlement, if they will but agree to negotiate.

This, I believe, is statesmanship of a high order; and I believe that in these "times which try men's souls," we can draw strength from our President's conduct in his office.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD two excellent articles, by Michael Padev which reinforce and expand upon these views. The articles were published in the Indianapolis Star of May 5 and 14.

I also commend to other Senators an excellent editorial entitled "Negotiations on Vietnam." It was published in the Washington Evening Star of May 18. I also request that this editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Indianapolis Star, May 5, 1965]

ANALYSIS OF TACTICS: JOHNSON REVOLUTIONIZES FOREIGN POLICY

(By Michael Padev)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson has completely revolutionized American foreign policy in the last 3 months—since the beginning of the bombing raids on Communist North Vietnam.

Southeast Asia, and now the Caribbean, are the regions where this new Johnson policy has been tried. But its repercussions are bound to be worldwide, and its effect on the future course of international developments is certain to be decisive.

What Mr. Johnson has done is to put the United States squarely "on the map" as the greatest power—fully aware of its overwhelming strength and willing, as well as able, to

analysis which I commend to the attention of all Senators.

The Senate has just completed action on one of the most decisive bills of this half century—the Voting Rights Act of 1965. With the enactment of this bill, we shall see one phase of the epic struggle for full equality for Negro Americans—indeed, for all Americans—draw to a close. This legislation should, once and for all, bring success to the unflagging determination of our Negro fellow citizens to achieve full equality in the polling place. But, as Mr. Reston has astutely observed, we cannot assume that equality in the polling place will lead to immediate equality in the marketplace and in the social sphere.

We must face the fact that full social, political, and economic equality—the rightful desire of every American citizen—will become an accomplished fact only after a very long and difficult period involving major adjustments in every segment of our national life. As Mr. Reston rightly asserts, that period is about to ensue.

Therefore, I request unanimous consent that Mr. Reston's article, entitled "Washington: The Push to the Left," be printed in its entirety at this point in the RECORD.

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

WASHINGTON: THE PUSH TO THE LEFT
(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON.—The American Negro's fight for legal equality is in its closing phase, and the push to the left will soon begin. With the passage of the voting rights bill most of the legal barriers will be down, but the major barriers to economic and social equality will remain.

The battle in the courts, beginning in 1954, and the battle in the streets have been spectacularly successful, but they are also highly misleading.

Despite the progress toward desegregation of the public schools, lunch counters, hotels and other places of public accommodation, the economic segregation of the American Negro is in some ways worse than it was 11 years ago.

BETTER OFF, BUT

He is, of course, better off than he was a decade ago, but more Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954. The black slums are not narrowing but expanding. The gap between white and Negro unemployed is increasing. And more Negroes are working at unskilled jobs, highly vulnerable to displacement by automatic machinery, than ever before.

Much has happened in these past 11 years in the legal and political fields. The power of the conservative coalition in the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives and the same coalition in the Congress as a whole has been greatly reduced if not broken. The power of the local communities over the Negro has been weakened by the Federal courts and the Federal legislature.

MEANS AND ENDS

So much attention has been focused on these struggles, however, that the legal barriers have seemed to be an end in themselves rather than merely the means to an end. In fact, it has been widely asserted that the achievement of legal equality would somehow lead to economic equality, and this highly dubious assumption is what the Negro leaders are now out to destroy.

"The Negro," says Bayard Rustin, a leading tactician of the civil rights movement, writing in "Commentary," "today finds himself stymied by obstacles of far greater magnitude than the legal barriers he was attacking before: automation, urban decay, de facto school segregation. These are problems which, while conditioned by Jim Crow, do not vanish upon its demise. They are more deeply rooted in the socioeconomic order; they are the result of the total society's failure to meet not only the Negro's needs, but human needs generally."

This raises the interesting question of what the Negro will do with his vote when he gets it, and how he will react to President Johnson's domestic policies, and consensus tactics.

The President has always argued that the vote was the key to the Negro's problems in the South. Let him get the vote, Mr. Johnson has said ever since he was in the Senate, and Members of the Congress will gradually see to it that the grievances of the Negroes are removed.

The key word in this doctrine is "gradually," and it is here that the conflict is likely to arise.

Rustin defines the potential conflict between the pace of the President and the urgent demands of the Negro community clearly enough:

"We need to be calling," he says, "for public works and training, for national economic planning, for Federal aid to education, for attractive public housing—all this on a sufficiently massive scale to make a difference."

Rustin is talking about "replacing" the New York slums with public housing at a cost of \$17 billion. He quotes Michael Harrington as estimating the cost of a successful war on poverty in the United States at about \$100 billion.

In short, the Negro revolution in America is likely to go the way of most social and economic revolutions, which do not slow down when they achieve their preliminary goals but increase the tempo with every success.

POLITICAL ACTION

The Negro protest movement is now likely to become a much better organized political movement. Its aim will be to create a coalition with labor, liberal, intellectual, and religious leaders that will have a decisive voice not only in presidential and congressional elections but in putting through economic and social programs of a much more radical nature and in a much shorter span of time than anything the Johnson administration has thought about so far.

The conservative "Establishment" in the Congress, as the Negro leaders see it, has been defeated. The legal tools for more effective political action will soon be in their hands, and an effort will no doubt soon be made to push the President to the left from his favorite political ground in the center.

THE WORLD SITUATION AND FUTURE U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

MR. SCOTT. Mr. President, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to an address delivered by Gov. William W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, at the 10th anniversary luncheon of the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania on May 28. Governor Scranton's speech is a thoughtful analysis of the forces shaping contemporary world events and it suggests several operational premises to guide the formulation of future American foreign policy. I ask unanimous consent that Governor Scranton's address be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS BY GOV. WILLIAM W. SCRANTON AT THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY LUNCHEON OF THE FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, PA., MAY 28, 1965

It is indeed fitting that, on this 10th anniversary of the founding of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, we should offer our congratulations to its director and to all those who have participated in the work of the institute over the last decade. But this day should also be the occasion to attempt to discern more clearly the forces now at work in the world, and to look ahead, to consider policies appropriate to the United States in the years which lie before us. So urged, we turn our thoughts to the changes unfolding in the world around us and to the kind of world in which we as Americans hope to live during the remaining years of the 20th century, and especially during the next decade. Only with a clear vision of the order toward which we aspire can we develop policies and strategies to meet the problems before us.

For a generation now, the United States, as the leader of the free world, has been locked in struggle with the Communists. This struggle has raged in a world swept by convulsive currents of change, the collapse of the old order, the wave of rising expectations in the lands of underprivileged peoples, the explosive growth of populations and the onrush of technology. For the last generation, two power constellations have dominated international politics: the West and the Communist bloc. The stakes of the present struggle within our world are no less than the future organization of mankind.

It is not given to men to foretell the future with any precision. Who in 1935 predicted the shape of events a generation later? Perhaps a generation hence many centers of power will replace bipolarity. In Asia, Europe, and perhaps in other regions, new powers may well contest both the United States or the Soviet Union's right to shape the world of the future. Already disputes have erupted within the Communist and the Western World. Powers presently lesser than the Soviet Union and the United States have developed aspirations to a greater role in world politics.

Nevertheless, the ability to shape the future, if it rests with any one or two powers, remains to a very considerable extent in the hands of these two nations. The side which succeeds in harnessing the revolutionary forces which now sweep across this planet will place its stamp on generations to come.

The task confronting the United States, therefore, is to design its policy and strategy so as to assure the emergence of a world community compatible with our values. The contest is essentially political, and the crucial question is how best can human society be organized to satisfy the needs and aspirations of people.

Yet the policy and strategy chosen to advance our conception of man must be related to military capabilities. The military posture possessed by both sides influences the action undertaken by each power in every important confrontation. The Soviets appear to have committed themselves in recent years to the achievement of military superiority. We as Americans received an instructive lesson in the importance of military superiority during the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. Without the strategic preponderance available to the United States at that time, President Kennedy could hardly have turned back this direct threat to U.S. survival.

Throughout the past those who have mastered the technology of the age have held in their hands the means to forge the history of their times. Superior technology gave the European peoples the advantage over the rest of mankind as Europe emerged from the Middle Ages. Only the Europeans had the means of transportation and the weaponry necessary for the expansion of their Western civilization throughout the globe. Europe remained the power center of the international system so long as technological supremacy rested in European hands. Clearly it is the mastery of advanced technology which gives both the United States and the Soviet Union such powerful voices in world affairs today.

In recent years the notion gained respectability that there exists a "technological plateau"—that regardless of technological innovation the nuclear stalemate between the United States and the Soviet Union will remain basically unaltered. No notion could be more dangerous to the security of the United States. It runs absolutely counter to the history of science and technology, whose forward thrust has been both cumulative and accelerative at a pace almost beyond our comprehension.

Just a decade ago, before the advent of the intercontinental ballistic missile, similar thoughts were expressed. There is little evidence that the Soviets have accepted the notion of a "technological plateau." Their research in space, rocketry, and other fields goes forward at a rapid pace. Soviet efforts to develop antimissile systems and spacecraft which may have military uses continue.

Fortunately, the United States, despite the assertions of those who maintain that a technological stalemate exists between the two leading powers, is still committed to the maintenance of its existing military-technological lead over the Soviets. Yet we must reexamine our programs for long-range research in order to assure the effective utilization of our vast capabilities for technological innovation. We must take stock of the technological resources at our disposal in order to determine whether we as a nation are achieving optimum results.

We in Pennsylvania have a major role to play in this vital area. The electronic data processing age had its start at the University of Pennsylvania where the very first computer was designed. In the long run the computer revolution may well have a more dynamic impact on world affairs than even the unleashing of the atom.

We must attempt to pool the technological resources of our European allies with our own. Europe, the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution and the origin of many of the great technological breakthroughs of the 20th century, is still a leading center of scientific research. Closer collaboration in technology between the United States and its European allies could assure the West technological supremacy in many important fields for generations to come.

The relationship between the power which technology places at our disposal and the values which inform our thought has always posed one of man's most difficult philosophical problems. It is important, especially since the advent of nuclear weapons, to ask ourselves what are the appropriate objectives for which power should be used?

Obviously, basic among our objectives is to insure the survival of this country and its values. But we are not alone. The United States, in the second half of the 20th century, is the guarantor of the security of scores of nations around the globe. In particular, the United States guards the civilization of the Western World.

Basic to an answer to the question of the uses to which power should be put is an understanding of our spiritual and political heritage. Western civilization has enabled

men, more than any civilization before it, to give dignity and meaning to individual lives. Respect for the sanctity of human life, the right to an inviolate personal life, and freedom of speech, of conscience, of opinion, of belief, of religion, and association are values which have been most fully developed and practiced in the modern West.

It is in the Western World that the most impressive advances have been made in political institutions, the conditions of everyday life for the masses of the people have been improved, and modern technology has advanced most rapidly. It is the civilization of the West which, through its contact with peoples in other continents, has aroused dormant civilizations and spurred their peoples to a quest for modernization.

The West, not the Communists, has revolutionized the world. It would be tragic indeed if the Communists were to capture revolutions which have their *raison d'être* in values transmitted from the West to the slumbering societies of the precolonial period.

The task before the United States, therefore, is to restate in terms intelligible to peoples around the world the common ideal of human progress under freedom. The United States, as leader of the free world, should offer mankind a vision more alluring than that of the Communists. The success of the American experiment, the achievements of the modern West, and the universal ideas embodied in Western civilization hold out to all men a vision of a future which the Communists cannot match.

The purpose of our power should be to establish conditions for a peaceful world in which pluralism and diversity can flourish. Only the United States and its allies, not the Communists, can offer such a promise to the rest of mankind. Such is the relationship between power and values in the nuclear age.

If the United States, in the years ahead, is to realize the kind of world in which its own values may flourish and in which there are diverse opportunities for other peoples, several operational premises must guide our thought in the day-to-day process of policy formulation.

First, we must be prepared to persist in our efforts. All too often we Americans react to each international crisis of and by itself, giving little thought to how it fits in with the longer-range problems which confront us. Having identified the major goals and having established our policy priorities, we should be prepared, if necessary, to persist in a given course of action. A policy that is worth pursuing must be pursued with tenacity if it is to contribute to the realization of the kind of world we wish to build over the next decade and in the remaining years of this century.

To shift policy suddenly and unpredictably does little to gain either the trust of our allies, the confidence of neutrals in our purposes or the respect of our adversaries. Sudden shifts in strategic doctrine and the changing military demands which we have made upon our NATO allies for a variety of purposes, from the building of conventional forces to the creation of a multilateral nuclear force, have tarnished the image of a nation sure of its goals and of the policies necessary to their attainment.

In sum, we must persevere in advancing long-range policies for the achievement of long-range goals.

Second, we must match power with goals. All too often in the past we have committed ourselves to impressive foreign policy objectives, without building the power or making available the resources necessary to assure their attainment. In an effort to achieve a political objective, conflict may sometimes ensue. Where the stakes are great, we must be prepared to commit military capabilities

commensurate with the task. Similarly, if we seek to assist new nations in the formidable task of political and economic development, we must commit economic and other capabilities commensurate with the task.

Third, the United States should make a greater effort than it has in the past to relate its economic, political, and military policies to an integrated strategy designed to achieve long-range objectives. All too often we have viewed economic, political, and military policies as separate instruments of statecraft. Each of these policy categories is fraught with complexity. It is difficult enough to acquire a grasp of the wide range of problems and to develop appropriate policies in any one of these categories. Yet it is crucial to the successful operation of foreign policy that policymakers understand how to weld economic, political, and military actions into an organic whole.

Fourth, the United States should seek the maximum consensus wherever possible with its major allies, especially those in Western Europe.

The United States should begin, as a matter of priority, a search for a consensus with its allies on vital issues which affect the West as a whole. From a new spirit of cooperation new machinery for closer consultation on political, military, and economic questions with America's allies could be fashioned. We should press now for a joint examination with our allies for alternative proposals for strengthening the Atlantic Alliance.

The North Atlantic area remains the world's foremost reservoir of industrial, technological and military power. This great port city of Philadelphia along with London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg and the other great cities on the Atlantic and its adjacent seas link together the most dynamic civilization that history has ever known. This core region of Western civilization possesses the resources adequate to the building of a world in which diversity and pluralism can become the heritage of all men. It would be tragic indeed if the potential benefits of the Atlantic Alliance were to be stillborn.

Yet such a tragedy is possible. In 1969, when NATO will reach its 20th anniversary, member nations can give 1 year's notice of withdrawal. Unless some of the thorny issues which now beset the Alliance are resolved, at least some NATO countries may wish to terminate their membership.

Therefore, it is essential that the NATO countries meet to consider needed changes in the alliance before another year passes.

Finally, we must develop a clearer understanding of the linkage between foreign and domestic policy. It has been suggested, in recent months, that we should center more of our efforts upon the many pressing domestic problems confronting us. Some Americans deplore the expenditure of vast sums of money for a trip to the moon while domestic programs such as the raising of living standards for underprivileged persons and renewal of our urban areas remain uncompleted. There are other major domestic issues, such as civil rights, which rank high on the agenda. But we must establish a sensible relationship between our domestic and foreign tasks. The men who draft the Constitution placed the goal of providing for the common defense in its very preamble. We must safeguard our Nation in order to have a Nation in which debate on internal problems can continue. If we do not remain powerful we may not have the opportunity to resolve domestic problems to the satisfaction of the majority of our citizens. For the foreseeable future we must simultaneously devote our resources to the problems which press upon us at home and abroad, while striving to make our country

the country of origin and in the U.S.A. This practice of selling in export markets at prices below those prevailing in the exporting country, when accompanied by injury or threat of injury to the industry of the importing country, is regarded as "dumping" and is condemned by most nations. And although prohibited by the signatory countries to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and by Federal law, such pricing of imports continues.

International trade is vital. No country today is self-sufficient, and every country benefits by buying and selling in world markets. But competitors should compete under comparable pricing laws. If they do, there should be no objection to foreign steel competition.

Steel is indeed a highly competitive business. It is subject to the many varied price and cost factors that confront all competitive industry. Interference with this competitive mechanism can only result in reduced benefits for the consumer and the investor, reduced job opportunities for the worker, and reduced economic growth for the Nation.

ROGER M. BLOUGH,
Chairman, Board of Directors,
United States Steel Corp.

NEW YORK.

FIVE YEARS AS A NATION: THE IVORY COAST

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Saturday, August 7, was the national independence day for the Republic of Ivory Coast. This new nation under the able leadership of President Felix Houphouët-Boigny has earnestly undertaken its international responsibilities as a sovereign state. Six weeks after her independence in 1960, the Ivory Coast was admitted to the United Nations and was later elected to a seat on the Security Council for the term beginning January 1964. Within Africa the Ivory Coast commands great respect, for President Houphouët-Boigny since his early career in preindependence days has been a dynamic and devoted leader for regional cooperation on the African continent, maintaining that the only true road to African solidarity is through step-by-step economic and political cooperation with recognition of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sister African states.

To this nation which shuns involvement in cold war issues yet remains a friend of the West the United States has provided modest economic aid, supporting the Ivory Coast's program of rapid, orderly economic development. With an economy already more diversified than any other in west Africa, the Ivory Coast has undertaken to increase public expenditure and encourage greater private investment in the growing industrial sector, looking forward to 1970 as the terminal date for foreign assistance needs.

Mr. President, it has long been the belief of Americans that a people's interests are best served and the potentialities for liberty most promoted through self-determination of political and economic policy. It is this belief, inextricably bound up with our own heritage, that causes us to take pride in the achievements of such newly independent nations as the Republic of Ivory Coast. I know that many Americans join with me in saluting the people of

the Ivory Coast as they celebrate their national independence.

THE CHALLENGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on Sunday night, August 8, 1965, I had the privilege of attending the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Convention in Chicago, Ill. In an address to the convention, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY brought to our attention in meaningful fashion the real challenge facing the human rights movement in the United States. He emphasized that although we have created an adequate body of legislation for equal legal rights, we must begin to create a climate of equal respect in which the capacities of all men, whether Negro or white, for creativity and the pursuit of excellence may flourish and grow.

We should remember that the law, in addition to being a coercive force, must function as well as a teacher. By directing the actions of the citizen, it must produce a change in attitude. Without a change in public attitude, all the legislation in the world cannot guarantee racial equality. Up to now, we have accomplished the legal abolition of the practices of segregation, and we have obtained a grudging tolerance, a lowering of formal legal barriers, a removal of "white only" signs from drinking fountains, school doors, and waiting rooms. We must do more than achieve minimum compliance with the law, motivated more by the fear of jails than by an honest request for one's fellow man. While this is necessary and worthy of our first efforts, it is merely an initial goal.

Beyond this lies the true meaning of "integration." Beyond this lies acceptance—acceptance of every fellow citizen as a man with heart and mind, body and soul. This goal may remain unreachd when every lunch counter in the Nation has dropped its formal barriers to Negro entry. It may remain unreachd when every Negro is allowed the full and equal right to vote and participate in the political process of his State and city. It may, as well, remain unreachd when the last Negro has stepped off the sidewalk and tipped his hat to the passing white man. But we must begin now to reach the day when we have a nation in which every man is accepted at his own worth.

Mr. President, I call the attention of the U.S. Senate to this remarkable speech, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, CONVENTION, ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, CHICAGO, AUGUST 9, 1965

It is an honor and a pleasure to be back with Alpha Phi Alpha tonight. In 1948, I spoke before your annual convention at Atlantic City.

At that time you were concerned with awakening Negroes to the potentialities of full citizenship and fine education, with providing money through scholarships and loans to the talented who could benefit most from advanced learning, and with fighting legal battles to strike down discriminatory barriers.

At that time I was about to first enter the U.S. Senate.

At that time this country was slowly becoming aware of the critical social issue of the postwar period—the full entrance of the Negro into American society.

Tonight, 17 years later, we have come a long way.

We have seen legalized prejudice and discrimination stricken from the statute books of America.

Many people of courage and dedication, with black skins and with white, have risked—and sometimes lost—their lives in assaulting the barriers of legalized discrimination.

The dignity and the compassion—the manifestation of true fraternal love—which has characterized these efforts is a source of pride to all Americans.

With the series of Supreme Court decisions culminating in the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954—and with the sequence of congressional actions leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—this initial phase of the civil struggle is now drawing to a close.

Much remains to be done until these decisions of our Government are fully implemented—and, as the President's civil rights coordinator, I can report to you tonight that determined efforts are being made within the Federal structure.

But now the American people have been called to answer another, more challenging question: Do we have the imagination, the commitment, and compassion to construct a society which gives full meaning to the phrase "full citizenship," where every citizen has an equal opportunity in fact—not just in law?

For the first time in history, this Nation possesses the intellectual strength and the economic resources to create the conditions in which every American can be a full partner in the enterprise of democracy.

We possess the knowledge and the wealth. But do we also possess the determination and the will to complete this task?

To be sure, a number of Negroes have overcome great handicaps and are able to compete on equal terms with other citizens. Indeed, all the men of Alpha—represented by such men as Thurgood Marshall, Whitney Young, Martin Luther King, John Johnson, and Judge Perry B. Jackson, Judge Sidney A. Jones, and Judge L. Howard Bennett—are notable representatives of the American Negro community today capable of both producing and enjoying the benefits of American society.

We know of the encouraging increase of Negro enrollment in college and in professional schools, of the rising income level among Negroes, of more challenging and responsible jobs available to Negroes, and of the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes as compared to the population in general.

We know that Negro Americans are succeeding despite the handicaps of prejudice, of closed doors, of limited or nonexistent educational opportunities, and of the deep psychological wound of being a Negro in a period where this usually meant second-class citizenship and back-of-the-bus treatment.

But despite the advances of this Negro minority, we know also the pathos of countless citizens in this country. These people are almost a nation unto themselves—an underdeveloped country of urban ghettos and rural slums whose inhabitants are only dimly aware of the advances in civil rights and are only rarely touched by them.

President Johnson spoke about the stark dimensions of this other America in his Howard University address. He pointed to the uprooted, the unemployed, and the dispossessed. He pointed to staggering problems of unemployment, of disease, of illit-

again the need for maintaining a strong U.S. merchant marine.

I have spoken before about the supply requirements of a modern army, which necessitated the use of 600 cargo ships for logistic support of our troops in Korea.

There is another critical use for American vessels, however, and that is for troop transport. Although Secretary of Defense McNamara said 4 years ago that all future troop transport would be by air, last week the entire 1st Cavalry Division, with 400 helicopters and all of its supplies, embarked for Vietnam—by ship.

Helen Delich Bentley, the maritime editor of the Baltimore Sun, reported on this embarkation and other possible requirements for use of the merchant marine in the Vietnam war effort. I believe that Mrs. Bentley's article is a valuable reminder of the increasing strategic importance of a strong American merchant fleet.

I ask unanimous consent that Mrs. Bentley's article be printed in the Record.

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

FIRST CAVALRY TO GO BY SEA—DIVISION TO EMBARK SOON FOR VIET WAR

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

WASHINGTON, August 3.—The 1st Cavalry (Airmobile) Division, its 400 helicopters and all of its support supplies, will be sent to Vietnam by sea with embarkation of the troops to begin next week.

Only a "limited number of advance personnel" will make the 6,000-mile trip by air. President Johnson last week announced that he ordered the 1st Cavalry Division "immediately" to the Vietnam front. It will be the first full division on the battle scene, a Department of Defense spokesman said tonight. There are units of divisions but no full division there, he added.

PORTS NAMED

The first units of the 1st Cavalry Division, stationed at Fort Benning, Ga., will be embarked on the ports of Charleston, S.C., and Savannah, Ga., aboard at least two of the six troop transports that are being removed from their normal Atlantic operation to enter Vietnam service.

Loading of the helicopters will also take place next week aboard the Navy aircraft carrier *Boomer* in Mayport, the naval base adjacent to Jacksonville, Fla., and aboard Military Sea Transportation Service aircraft ferries at Mobile, Ala.

Aircraft engineering personnel will accompany the craft loaded on each of the vessels. In addition, some 35 to 40 "formerly strike-bound" freighters have been chartered by the MSTSS to pick up the support equipment needed for the 1st Cavalry Division and the units already in Vietnam.

TO GET SUPPLIES

Those loading for the division will pick up their supplies at East and Gulf seaports also beginning next week, it was said.

The six troop transports are capable of handling an entire division of 15,000 men by a simple conversion which requires about 24 hours of work by the ship's crew. It is referred to as "immediate emergency berthing" and enables the crew to make necessary changes to the cabins and troop quarters that will permit them to at least double their normal capacity when carrying military personnel.

COUP FOR SHIPPERS

The fact that the first major movement of troops being sent to the Asian battlefront is going by sea rather than air is considered a major coup for the shipping industry which has been waging an uphill campaign emphasizing the continuing need for passenger ships as well as cargo vessels for defense purposes.

More than 4 years ago, Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, told a congressional committee that there was no further need to build or subsidize American-flag passenger ships because all troop movements in the future would go by air.

A year later at the height of the Cuban missile crisis, the Defense Department had alerted the owners of American-flag passenger liners to stand by for their employment if troops were to be sent to the nearby Caribbean island.

The SS *United States*, which has been immobilized by a seamen's strike since June, is capable of transporting an entire division with all of its equipment after only 1 week of conversion work to transform her from a luxurious Atlantic liner to a troop transport.

TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND TRANSPORTED

The six troop transports which are being removed from their regular Atlantic service ferried 200,000 military personnel and their dependents between Europe and the United States last year. They are all operated by the Military Sea Transportation Service.

Should it become necessary to provide more space in each of these transports, they will have to be sent to shipyards so additional decks can be welded in their holds.

Then the capacity of each again will be doubled.

In addition to the 35 to 40 strikebound freighters, 15 additional cargo ships have been taken out of the reserve fleets and are being reactivated in private shipyards for participation in the Vietnam crisis.

The 1st Cavalry Division with the "Airmobile" inserted in the middle of its name is described as being "a new organization with a very large group of helicopters" and a "fast moving, light outfit."

ROGER BLOUGH EXPLAINS STEEL COMPETITION—HITS FOREIGN DUMPING

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, it is important that the United States, as a nation dedicated to the free enterprise system under which our economy has grown and flourished, not lose sight of the need to preserve the chief ingredient of this development—spirited but fair competition. Many of the laws to which our domestic producers are subject are dedicated to this end. Yet only the basic Antidumping Act of 1921 is available to insure that foreign producers, while protecting the price levels in their home markets, do not use U.S. markets as a dumping ground for their surpluses.

On this score, I noted with particular interest the "Letter to the Editor" from Roger M. Blough, chairman of the United States Steel Corp., which appeared in the May issue of *Nation's Business*. In it he outlined the multifaceted nature of present-day competition in steel, and cited the danger of continued pricing of imports at dumping levels. He pointed out:

Competitors should compete under comparable pricing laws. If they do, there

should be no objection to foreign steel competition.

Mr. President, this is the underlying approach of our continuing efforts to amend the U.S. Antidumping Act. It is basic to the support given S. 2045 by Senator HARTKE, the principal Democratic sponsor, and me as the principal Republican cosponsor. The same holds true for many of our colleagues in Congress, including the 30 other Senate cosponsors of S. 2045, the 1965 Antidumping Act Amendment. As we consider its aims to make the U.S. law a fairer, more effective antidumping measure, let us keep in mind the consequences of dumping which interferes unfairly with this competitive mechanism that we have so long nourished.

I heartily invite my colleagues' attention to Mr. Blough's statement in the belief that its lucid analysis will be of benefit to discussions of the nature of the dumping problem and the threat of its growth with which many of our American industries, as well as American labor, are faced.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Blough's letter be printed in the Record.

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

UNITED STATES STEEL CHAIRMAN EXPLAINS COMPETITION

To the Editor:

To compete successfully in today's dynamic and ever-changing marketplace, it is not enough to produce a usable quality product. A company, to survive in today's competitive arena, must arm itself with every modern weapon available to it and, at the same time, have in reserve the most imaginative and resourceful minds in its field, probing and searching the unknown for the answers to its customers' present and future demands.

In the case of the steel companies, competition has meant a long succession of innovation, of intense struggle for markets. Yesterday's facts are not the facts of today, and today's facts are not those of tomorrow. For, as in other industries, the steel industry's customers, markets, marketing, materials, finance, technology, management, economics, and the labor force are ever in flux, ever changing.

In the competitive free enterprise system, market prices result from prices sought by the sellers and prices that buyers are willing to pay. For while a producer is free to seek whatever prices he thinks are attainable, the market always has the final word.

Steel, for example, sells at thousands of prices inasmuch as it is available in literally thousands of shapes, sizes, strengths, finishes, and chemical compositions. For the most part, steel products are tailored to individual customer specifications. Steel prices frequently differ by region; they are not static; they fluctuate. To be sure, prices for particular products tend to converge under competition. But actual prices of steel products often vary among producers and from published prices.

Competition in steel, as in most industries, is worldwide. For practically all of the first six decades of the 20th century, the U.S. economy was a net exporter of steel mill products. Starting with 1959 and in every year since, imports have exceeded exports. Much of the imported steel has been sold at prices substantially below those prevailing in

render on the vital item of financing the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations as meaning that our will is weak, our resolve is uncertain, and our protestations of earnestness can be eroded and defeated by the passage of time and the plaintive complaints of certain other member countries.

For the information of the country and the Congress, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial by Bill Knowland, entitled "U.S. Capitulation at U.N.," may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

U.S. CAPITULATION AT U.N.

The reported upcoming shift in policy by the United States to give up its long fight to get the Soviet Union to pay its fair share of United Nations peace-keeping operations signals another setback for the world organization.

The Soviets, their allies, and several other countries have refused to contribute to peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. The sum charged to the Russians is \$72,236,000 of which \$21.6 million would be for this year.

Other countries that have refused to pay their share of the peace-keeping operations are Czechoslovakia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine (two Russian republics with Assembly seats), Rumania, Poland, Cuba, Hungary, Albania, France, and South Africa.

The switch in U.S. policy, expected to be announced Monday by new Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, would be a clear-cut victory for the U.S.S.R. and those nations that followed her lead. The Russians refuse to pay their share on the grounds that only the Security Council can authorize peace-keeping operations. The United States and most other U.N. members argue that the General Assembly can act when the Security Council is unable to do so because of vetoes.

If the Russians are allowed to win their point, it will mean that in the future U.N. peacekeeping operations will be virtually impossible unless Russia and the United States agree on them. Any agreement between the two countries would be highly improbable if Communist forces were the aggressors as they are, for example, in Vietnam.

The Soviets would also score a prestigious coup if allowed to make their point since they have offered to make a voluntary contribution to help the U.N. out of its financial crisis (which the Russians helped bring on).

Since the reported switch in policy has not been formally announced, it is not too late for the Johnson administration to change its mind. It is the Tribune's position that the Soviet Union, and the other member nations in arrears over the peace-keeping question, should either live up to article 19 of the U.N. Charter or forfeit their voting rights in the General Assembly as provided by the charter.

All members of the United Nations agreed to the charter when they signed it. They should not be permitted to break their agreements when the whim strikes them.

The United States should reconsider its plans for capitulation.

THE OUTBURST OF ANGUISH IN LOS ANGELES

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, like America is all across our land, I have been called by the frightening events that have taken place in Los Angeles the last several days.

It is hard to believe what we have been seeing on television and reading about in the newspapers.

It is hard to believe that this has been happening in America. But it has.

No one can excuse what has happened in Los Angeles. But we can try to understand why it happened.

For no one can say that we were not warned. We have been warned time and time again that these slums, these ghettos, were breeding "social dynamite."

Two months ago, President Johnson spoke out on the dangers in the "break-down of the Negro family structure" in so many parts of the country. And Negro writers and leaders have told us time after time that our deepest, most intransigent Negro problem is the slums of our great cities.

Now we have seen the "social dynamite" blow up. It took only a small spark to ignite it—the arrest of a motorist on suspicion of drunken driving. But the explosion has been seen and heard all over the world.

When such a disaster occurs, the most important immediate need is to bring it to an end, to restore order. For under no circumstances can we condone such willful destructiveness, such total defiance of law and order. We must support the city of Los Angeles in all its efforts to restore order.

But restoring order is only a temporary answer. If we put down the violence while ignoring the conditions which breed violence, then our action today will be but a prelude to greater disasters tomorrow. We must go further, we must attack the seeds of poverty and discrimination which cause such tragedies, if we are not to reap a further harvest of bitterness and shame for America.

Through our poverty program, through the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, through coordinated efforts by Federal, State, and local governments, we must make a determined assault on these conditions.

At the same time, Negro leaders must bend every effort to make the Negro slum residents understand that violence leads only to more violence, that mob action works against his interests and the interests of Negroes everywhere.

And we must not allow those who are opposed to improving the lot of the Negro to exploit this terrible tragedy for their own ends. Already there are those who blame these slum explosions on the work of the civil rights movement and the President and the Congress, for their efforts to assure true equality for all Americans.

This is demagoguery. The only thing we can blame on the civil rights movement is the act of making America—white and black—aware of the plight of the American Negro. Thus to blame the civil rights movement for what happened in Los Angeles is like blaming the man who turns in a fire alarm for setting the fire. And while this new awareness of injustice may tend to increase the dissatisfaction and resentment of the downtrodden slum Negro, who among us can say we would not feel the same were we forced to live in such an environment while the rest of the Nation seemed to live in comfortable indifference.

I must emphasize again that I say this

not in defense of what occurred in Los Angeles, but so that we might understand it—and in order to understand why a Negro slum resident suddenly lashes out in irrational rage and hatred, we must put ourselves in his shoes.

The truth is not that we have done too much. Rather, we have not done enough. It is not that we have gone too fast, but that we have moved too slowly in attacking the poverty and discrimination which are responsible for such explosions.

For as Mr. Tom Wicker noted in a magnificent article in the New York Times today:

The weekend rioting (in Los Angeles) was a terrible reminder that in the century since emancipation we have only substituted misery and hopelessness and hatred for the bondsman's chains.

This year we passed a law which I hope will give virtually every Negro the opportunity to vote. We are rightly proud of this act, and of the years of nonviolent Negro protest which made its enactment possible. But it is not enough.

The Negro of Los Angeles could already vote. But what good is this if he is born in a broken home, crowded into a filthy slum, sent to an inferior school which is but a reflection of the unhappy community where he is forced to live? What good is it to have rights if one grows up in such squalor, and nourishes such a deep and terrible bitterness against the "white man" who made things this way?

As President Johnson said in his speech at Howard University 2 months ago, "White America must accept responsibility" for these conditions. And even today, when we talk about how much we have already accomplished, we must ask ourselves how many Negroes who want to leave the slums, who have the money and the will to do so, have run into a wall of racial discrimination, a "white noose" surrounding their Negro ghettos which bars their escape.

This is our responsibility, and we must face it.

We cannot point to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and feel that we have done the job. For as the President noted, passage of these two measures "is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."

That beginning is freedom—

The President said—

and the barriers to that freedom are tumbling down. But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, or do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

In short, Mr. President, we must do more—we must as the President phrased it:

Help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is about to secure; to move beyond oppor-

tunity to achievement; to shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin; to dissolve, as best we can, the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong—great wrong—to the children of God.

And we must begin by breaking the chains of poverty which bind most of the Negro community in America. The poverty which shuts them in slums, which cripples their capacities and which prevents them from acquiring the training and skills needed to participate in American life.

And the only way of achieving this goal is, to borrow Mr. Wicker's words again, "by social and economic processes of agonizing slowness, uncertain efficacy, limited popularity—processes like the war on poverty that are in any case subject to all the pettiness and blindness of human nature."

We do not claim that the poverty program is perfect, Mr. President. But as Franklin Delano Roosevelt said:

Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold blooded and the sins of the warm hearted on a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent mission of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

I submit, Mr. President, that the war on poverty may well be even more important in freeing the American Negro than the Emancipation Proclamation, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It will certainly be more difficult, for the barrier of poverty is not only more difficult to see; it costs more to break than did the legal barriers which we have struggled so long to eliminate.

We are moving to the new phase of the struggle for equality in America, from fighting for legal rights to emphasizing the conditions which prevent men from exercising these rights.

The poverty program has brought new hope to thousands of young people from slum areas—Negro and white—by giving them a chance to learn the skills necessary to make good in today's America. It is based on the concept of "community action," on the need to organize the people of an impoverished area and encourage them to take the lead in the solution of their problems.

We cannot claim that this is a perfect program. There is much we have yet to learn about the best way of giving deprived human beings a real chance. And the present poverty program is probably not big enough to do the whole job. But it is a start.

Mr. President, today the Congress will vote on the question of whether or not to continue and expand this vital program. We must vote "yes."

This must be our answer to Los Angeles. We cannot respond to this outburst of anguish by continuing the old ways of discrimination and deprivation which brought it about. Instead we must attack the tragedy at its roots. We must, by our action in the Senate, try to open the doors of hope for these

people, so that they may enter into the richness that America is and can be. And in so doing, we will refuse the time bombs which are ticking away in the slums of our cities.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial and a magnificent article by Tom Wicker, both appearing in the New York Times of today, be printed in the RECORD.

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

ORGY OF HATE

The lunatic fury that has spread death and pillage through Los Angeles is being put down in the only way that it can be—through the swift and inexorable application of police power. Whenever a mob rises to terrorize the community, the response must be both immediate and uncompromising. The certainty that the resources of the city law-enforcement agencies will be supplemented, to the maximum necessary extent, by the armed might of the State and Federal Governments is essential if hoodlumism is not to extend into anarchy and the mass victimization of the law abiding.

The second and vastly more complicated part of the task of riot control now confronts Los Angeles and every other large city in which fetid racial ghettos breed the frustrations that erupt in violence, bloodshed, and looting. This assignment involves the eradication of the poverty, the undereducation, the rootlessness, and the despair that grip those whom life has defeated or who never even sought to break out of the bleakness into which they were born. President Johnson has once again summoned the Nation to war on these ingrained evils. Their conquest will be slow, but the national commitment to victory is as absolute as its resolve not to temporize with mob excesses. The ultimate disarmament of the slums will come with the triumph of hope and opportunity for all Americans.

THE OTHER NATION: NO PLACE TO HIDE FROM IT

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, August 16.—Last June, in one of the great Presidential speeches of our time, Lyndon Johnson told the Howard University graduating class that their hard work and good fortune had only made them a minority within a minority. There was a "grimmer story," he said, that had to be told.

The "great majority of American Negroes," he said, had been and still were "another nation: deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope."

AGAINST ESTABLISHED ORDER

It was that other nation that rose up last weekend in Los Angeles and brutally smashed all that it could find of the established order. And it is that other nation, sullen, brooding, explosive, that America in its faith and in its works must now try to recover, to understand, to assist, and thus to obliterate.

The world may be crying out, as Rev. Billy Graham insisted on Sunday, for "salvation" from lawlessness and from a racial situation that is "out of hand"; something may be, as he predicted, "about to give." If so, then let us take our text from Mrs. Willie Mae Colston, a Negro who lives in the Los Angeles riot areas. When the distraught Gov. Pat Brown asked her what should be done, she replied:

"You know the song that says 'Where can we go but to the Lord' or something like that? Well, we have no place to hide."

TERRIBLE REMINDER

There is, indeed, no place to hide from the other nation, particularly in the idea that there is some "salvation" from it. The other

nation is there. It will not go away. It is not confined to the South or to the Watts district or to Harlem—it is all around us. And the weekend rioting was a terrible reminder that in the century since emancipation we have only substituted misery and hopelessness and hatred for the bondman's chains.

The problem is that, having created the other nation, the white man cannot live with it—as the riots also indicate—except by harsh repression and force. That is the way of South Africa, not of the land of the free and the home of the brave. But the white man can obliterate the other nation and make this one America only by social and economic processes of agonizing slowness, uncertain efficacy, limited popularity—processes like the "war on poverty" that are in any case subject to all the pettiness and blindness of human nature.

It is easier to cry out for salvation or to demand that the cops and the courts get tough. It is easier to urge Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King to discipline their people. It is easier to lump Negroes together as lawless brutes who have done nothing to deserve the good life in affluent America.

IDEA AT STAKE

But what is really at stake is not just the fortunes of 20 million black Americans, or the protection of property, or the maintenance of some tenuous racial peace, important as those things are. What is at stake is the ability of the American idea, expressed in thousands of legal, social, political and economic institutions, to function.

There is probably a connection, for instance, between the demonstrations in front of the Capitol last week and the Los Angeles riots. The demonstrations were not violent but "nonviolent"; they were not talking about Negroes but about Vietnam; their grievances—as disclosed by their speeches and oratory—were more imaginary than real. Nevertheless, they were like the men of Watts in that they did not rely upon or trust or respect the established processes of politics and law.

That is the meaning of the thunder out of Los Angeles. The institutions and processes of American society have not made the Negro free but have created the other nation. That "American failure," as President Johnson called it, has created a widening current of mistrust and despair and defiance that is corroding the idea of liberty and justice for all, and the confidence in "due process of law" which alone can make people wait on, much less abide by, that process.

TO END THE WRONG

"It is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American Nation," President Johnson said at Howard, pledging himself to the task. What he intends to do may be less important than the intention, for probably not since the bank holiday in 1933 has the established order in America been more drastically challenged; and now as then much of that order has to be changed if we are to preserve the rest.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND PLANS OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, David O. McKay, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, submitted a report to the National Commission on International Cooperation detailing the current activities and future plans of the church in the field of international cooperation. The report is self explanatory and I ask unani-

Daniels had been active in the church and was a member of the parish choir.

PARISH SPONSORS

After Daniels had decided to study for the ministry, the local parish became one of his sponsors and the Reverend Chandler McCarty assisted him in his application for enrollment as a student.

[From the Keene (N.H.) Sentinel, Aug. 21, 1965]

JONATHAN DANIELS CALLED: MAN WITH CHRISTIAN COMMITMENT

ATLANTA.—Jonathan Myrick Daniels, 26, a serious theology student from Keene, N.H., recently wrote of Alabama, "There are good men here, just as there are bad men."

Daniels, who had spent most of the past 6 months in Alabama as a civil rights worker, was shot to death on a Hayneville, Ala., street Friday.

He was in Alabama as a representative of the Atlanta office of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. The society described him as "studious" and "a man with a Christian commitment."

Writing to the society, Daniels explained, "We are beginning to see as we never saw before that we are truly of the world, and yet ultimately not of it."

"We have activists who risk their lives to confront people with a challenge of freedom and a nation with its conscience. We have neutralists who cautiously seek to calm troubled waters. We have men of reconciliation who are willing to reflect upon the cost and pay for it."

A senior student at the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Cambridge, Mass., Daniels first came to Alabama in March. He became concerned over the civil rights work to be done and requested permission from Cambridge authorities to finish his school semester by correspondence. It was granted.

MOVING EXPERIENCE

Working with whites and Negroes in Alabama's black (soil) belt became a moving experience for the dark haired young man. He commented, "Sometimes we take to the streets, sometimes we yawn through interminable meetings. Sometimes we confront a posse, sometimes we hold a child."

Officials of the society said Daniels never expressed fear for his life, "but he was aware of the dangers, and he took those precautions he could take."

Daniels recently attended the National Conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at Birmingham. While there, he commented to a friend about the possibility of being shot at by nightriders.

"I always keep my car windows up," Daniels said, "at least that would give a little protection."

TRADED CARS

Only last week he traded in his battered little foreign car for a new auto.

"It probably won't do any good but everybody knew my car," he said at the time, expressing his awareness of the danger.

An official said "he wore a seminary student's black and white collar. Everybody knew who he was."

[From the Keene (N.H.) Sentinel, Aug. 21, 1965]

DANIELS WAS RIGHTS WORKER IN SELMA, ALA

As early as March of this year, Jonathan Daniels was in Selma, Ala., doing civil rights work.

As prayer vigils were being held throughout the Nation for the slain Rev. James Reeb, of Boston, Daniels was in Selma, and in a telephone conversation with his mother he said he and his companions "were unable to attend church" in that city of 28,000 as they were turned away.

It was March 14, Daniels told his mother the police had the city barricaded and "bottled up tight." He said he was living in the Negro section of the city, describing the people there as "wonderful." Daniels said he would not dare to enter the section of the city in which the white population lives.

All members of the seminary group from Boston except for Daniels and one other had returned to classes. The two had decided to wait for reinforcements reported to have left from Boston, although he said he doubted if the groups would get into Selma because of the police lines thrown up.

Daniels did come back to Boston that week, but only for 2 days. With blessings and contributions for expenses from fellow seminarians, he left again with plans to stay in Selma for 6 to 8 more weeks.

He hurried back in order to join other civil rights demonstrators who marched from Selma to Montgomery on March 21.

The former Keene student combined his project activities with educational work among students and adults in Selma under the supervision of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed by Martin Luther King, Jr.

Daniels instructed Negro adults in classes intended to assist them in coping with voter registration problems or questions they might encounter and also to help them prepare for citizenship.

The classes followed instructional periods on "nonviolence and civics."

[From the Keene (N.H.) Evening Sentinel, Aug. 21, 1965]

MRS. LIUZZO SHOT NEAR HAYNEVILLE

HAYNEVILLE, ALA.—Jonathan M. Daniels, 26, died here, the victim of a shotgun blast yesterday.

Hayneville is a sleepy town about 20 miles west of Montgomery and is the seat of Lowndes County which is about 80 percent Negro. It was one of the first counties designated to receive Federal voting registrars under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Population there is 950.

On March 25, 10 miles down Highway 80 from Hayneville, Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo was killed by nightriders as she returned from Selma to Montgomery to pick up participants in the Freedom March to Alabama's capital.

The trial of the first of three Ku Klux Klansmen accused in Mrs. Liuzzo's slaying ended in a hung jury in Hayneville last May.

[From the Keene (N.H.) Sentinel, Aug. 21, 1965]

"DOC" DANIELS WAS BELOVED OBSTETRICIAN

Dr. Phillip B. Daniels, father of Jonathan M. Daniels who was killed yesterday in Alabama, died in Keene in December of 1959 at the age of 55.

Dr. Daniels was a general practitioner in Keene from 1932 until shortly before his death, but he was best known as an obstetrician.

No one ever dared to venture a guess on the number of babies "Doc" Daniels delivered.

He was a city physician in the mid-30's, and joined the Army Medical Corps during World War II. He was a major with the 14th Armored Division and saw action in the European-African Theater and the Middle East Theater.

He was wounded in action in the spring of 1945 in the Battle of the Rhineland, and was awarded the Purple Heart and the Bronze Star.

On "Doc" Daniel's 55th and last birthday, July 14, 1959, the Keene Evening Sentinel said in an editorial:

"Nothing we could say here about the quiet kindness of Doctor Daniels has not already been said at one time or another by his associates, friends, and the host of parents whose children he has brought into the world

during his many years of faithful practice in Keene.

"Hundreds of years ago, however, a man by the name of Hippocrates made a profound statement which was in the form of advice to civilization's healers of men. The many friends of Doctor Daniels feel strongly that few physicians have adhered more closely than he has to those words:

"Sometimes give your services for nothing, calling to mind a previous benefaction or present satisfaction. And if there be an opportunity of serving one who is a stranger in financial straits, give full assistance to all such. For where there is love of man, there is also love of the art. For some patients, though conscious that their condition is perilous, recover their health simply through their contentment with the goodness of the physician. . . ."

A QUIET EXPERIMENT IN RACIAL BROTHERHOOD

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, in the past year, while the eyes of the world have been too often fixed on the problems of Selma, or Harlem, or Los Angeles, a quiet experiment in racial brotherhood has been taking place in Worthington, a community of 10,000 people in southwestern Minnesota. It has made few headlines, nor have Worthington's citizens sought them. But their achievement can bring inspiration and hope to thousands of communities throughout America, so I would like to pay tribute to it today.

Ten months ago, Armour & Co. opened a new meatpacking plant in Worthington. The company brought with it a number of workers transferred from other Armour plants, including 39 Negroes. They were the first Negroes ever to live and work in the city.

The people of Worthington were faced with a fundamental challenge—would they live up to the American ideal of fair and equal treatment of all their citizens, or would their new Negro neighbors, like so many elsewhere even today, be treated as people apart, compelled to carry the weight of unjust discrimination.

The leaders of Worthington recognized this challenge. And instead of waiting to see if trouble would develop, they took determined action to prevent it. Their newspaper, the Worthington Daily Globe, told its readers that the integration of their community was an opportunity for them to demonstrate their fundamental decency. Clergymen preached tolerance and equal opportunity from their pulpits. Community organizations let it be known that they would welcome Negro members.

An automation committee, including representatives of Armour & Co., the United Packinghouse Workers, and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, prepared the way with careful advance planning. Home builders and real estate agents, overwhelmingly, joined in a policy of open occupancy, determined to prevent the creation of a Negro ghetto in their community. The Minnesota State Committee Against Discrimination offered repeated counsel.

But, most important of all, the citizens of Worthington, by their actions, showed they were willing to put aside their

prejudices and judge their new neighbors on their own individual merits. As of last month four Negro families had bought homes—in four different neighborhoods. Six more have rented homes. More of the workers are planning to move their families to Worthington when the town's present housing shortage is alleviated.

Mr. President, 1 year is a short time. Ten families is a small number. We cannot pretend that Worthington has solved its problems for all time; continued good will and cooperation among the townspeople will be essential. Nor can we say that what Worthington has done can be accomplished as easily in Los Angeles, or Selma, or New York, or even Minneapolis.

But for thousands of American communities, Worthington's experiment in brotherhood can be a model of a city facing up to its responsibilities, welcoming its new residents whatever race they may be, living out in practice the best ideals of our American heritage.

Mr. President, I have read three articles in Minnesota newspapers which give particularly fine descriptions of the Worthington experience. Two are by Lew Hudson of the Worthington Daily Globe. One is a column by Robert King in the Minneapolis Tribune. I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From the Worthington Daily Globe, July 19, 1965]

**CITY BECOMES MULTIRACIAL WITH NO
"EXTRAORDINARY" DIFFICULTIES**

(By Lew Hudson)

Few things are as difficult for a family as a move to a strange community.

It is particularly difficult if the move is a sudden one, if it is from a large city to a small one, and if the move is to another State where tax systems and governmental services are different.

Then, if you happen to be of a minority race moving into a community with little background of multiracial living, the problem may become still more difficult.

All Armour workers who have moved to Worthington since the plant opened here 9 months ago have faced these problems. The workers who are Negroes have faced additional problems that are unique to persons of their race. These are the first Negroes who have ever live or worked in the community.

Armour lists 39 Negro employees on its payroll in Worthington. About 10 of these have moved their families to the city. More will make the move when housing becomes available.

Of the 10 families who have moved, 4 have purchased homes. There are Negro families living in most sections of the city. Some admitted to uncertainty as to what they expected when moving here and also surprise as to what they found.

The curiosity of people has been disturbing to Mrs. Edward Jones. A former resident of Kansas City, she said, "I expected to be ignored in Worthington. What I didn't expect was to be stared at."

Mr. and Mrs. Jones are the parents of four children, two boys and two girls. Initially, like many Armour workers, Jones came to Worthington alone and took a room at one of the hotels.

After a couple of weeks, Jones decided he liked the community and started looking for

a house. It took him until December to find a house for rent on Dover street. On December 4, he moved his family to town.

"The neighbors on Dover were very good to us," Mrs. Jones said. "People dropped over to get acquainted and several brought Christmas cookies."

As time went along, the Jones family started looking for a home which would better meet their needs. They report the real estate agent they contacted was willing to show them any house on his listings. They said they had no problems with owners.

In early spring, they decided to buy a home on Clary Street, just across from the high school. They now are settled and Mrs. Jones says she is beginning to get acquainted with some of the neighbors. She says some have brought over garden produce.

Jones says his children "get along all right" with other children in the neighborhood. Mrs. Jones says that other than the fact that the word "nigger" has been used occasionally, she has had no worry regarding how her children are accepted. She said she thinks use of this discredited name stems more from ignorance than from malice.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Jones say they are happy in Worthington, but Mrs. Jones cannot get over the uncomfortable feeling of being stared at. She finds it difficult to understand why people do so. "Haven't they ever seen a Negro?" she asked.

For many of the Armour workers, hotels were the first homes they had in Worthington. For some, they still are. Housing, and more particularly rental housing, remains scarce for everyone.

Sam Sheppard, a Negro from Kansas City, remembers well the first 3 weeks he was in Worthington. That was last fall when he came here alone and lived at a hotel.

After 3 weeks, he was able to find a small kitchenette apartment, rented from Mrs. Belle Gibbons at 1227 Third Avenue. As soon as he found the place Sheppard brought his wife to Worthington. An older couple, the Sheppards have no children at home.

Mrs. Sheppard immediately went to work to help other workers find homes. She put in several hours each day at the union hall downtown where she manned the telephone to help accumulate listings of available housing.

One day a call came in from a local resident wanting to sell a home at 907 Seventh Avenue. The Sheppards went out to look at it and quickly closed the deal to buy. They thus became the first Negro family to buy a home in Worthington.

Mrs. Sheppard said they had no difficulty in making a deal. "The man wanted to sell and we wanted to buy," she said with a smile.

They moved in November. It was a cold day but the warmth of their welcome was unmistakable. Mrs. Sheppard said some of the neighbors invited them to come over at noon for lunch on moving day. Since then, Mrs. Sheppard says most of the neighbors have dropped in to get acquainted and some brought Christmas food and cookies just before the holidays.

Now, she says, neighborhood visiting is commonplace. When the Sheppards leave town for the weekend, they leave the key to their home with neighbors who "look after things."

The Sheppards say they like smalltown living. The big cities are crowded and noisy, they point out, but Worthington is peaceful. "There aren't any bad people here," Mrs. Sheppard observed.

She expressed her philosophy of getting along with people by saying, "I figured when I came here that I was the kind of a person who could find friends anywhere."

R. T. Hamblin expressed a similar feeling. He said, "I don't care what a man thinks about me as long as he takes an honest posi-

tion. I don't like people who say one thing and think another."

He went on to say, "I have found if I can talk with a man and both of us can get acquainted, we generally get along all right."

Hamblin was faced with a somewhat different problem when he came to Worthington last fall. He had to find a place to live because his wife was expecting a baby soon.

He found a small basement apartment in the 1500 block of Okabena Street and the woman who owns it is one of the persons in the town for whom he has especially high regard. Another is the Reverend Lloyd Johnson of the First Baptist Church, the church which the Hamblins attend.

In midwinter Mrs. Hamblin gave birth to a girl. It was thought to be the first Negro child born at the Worthington hospital. The apartment then was too small, and Hamblin had to find another place.

After looking for several weeks he finally decided to buy a home in the 800 block of Grand Avenue. Hamblin said he has noticed many people diving slowly past his home. "I know," he said, "that they are more interested in seeing how a Negro lives than anything else, but it doesn't bother me."

He went on to say, "I just want to be accepted as a man. I like to pick and choose my friends on the basis of what kind of persons they are, not on the color of their skin. I want other people to do the same."

Hamblin reported the neighbors had not gone out of their way to get acquainted but that he had met some of them and was getting along satisfactorily.

A couple of other incidents have pointed up something of the community's feeling about its new Negro citizens. In early winter, Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Bailey lost all their possessions when the home they were renting at Org burned down. A community fund drive was immediately started and money donated helped to get the Baileys reestablished in another rented home on the west end of the lake.

The Bailey's daughter, Sheree, was the subject of a minor argument when girls in two different Brownie Scout troops "fought it out" to see which troop would get what they counted the honor of enrolling Sheree as a member.

After only 9 months it is impossible to measure accurately the community's acceptance of its Negro citizens. While some organizations have policies concerning Negro members, others have not. Negroes have not sought membership in many organizations.

Vin Brown, local American Legion membership chairman, says the Legion is open to any veteran qualified by his military service. "I posted a notice at the plant last fall inviting Armour men to join the Legion," Brown said, "but no Negro has responded as yet." He went on to say that if one does, he will be accepted.

John Anderson, Worthington VFW commander, says, "Any person, Negro or white, who is qualified by his military service can join our post and make full use of our clubrooms." He went on to say, "We also accept transfers of membership from other posts. We have invited Negroes known to be qualified to join but none have done so."

Newcomers' club President Mrs. Duane Sermon says all new residents of the city are invited to take part in club activities. "We always call three months in a row offering to pick folks up and bring them to meetings," she says. "So far only one Negro woman has become a member. Another has attended a couple of meetings. One of the ladies has been invited and has joined a card club which is an outgrowth of our club and which meets from time to time in private homes." She went on to say that all Negroes are welcome.

Churches in the community have opened their doors. The Reverend Mr. Johnson of

the First Baptist Church said he has about 10 Negro families and individuals attending services at his church. This is the largest group of Negroes in any church in the city. "So far," he reports, "none have actually joined our congregation." He went on to explain that Baptists normally have stronger congregational loyalties that they do denominational and that this is probably the reason none have transferred their memberships to Worthington.

Mr. Johnson says his church board has taken action to make it clear that any Negro will be welcome to join. He says his congregation has accepted Negroes readily. Some of the Negro women have been attending social functions of the church.

At the Mission Baptist Church, the Reverend A. W. Winkelman comments he has two Negro families that have visited, but neither has joined the church. His board has also taken a position that all persons will be accepted on the same basis. Those who have visited were invited by members of the congregation, Mr. Winkelman said, and he has noted "no adverse reaction" among his people.

The Reverend Wayne Ireland said he has had Negroes visit the Methodist church from time to time but none have joined as yet. He said they have not taken part in social activities, but that his people have expressed readiness to accept any person who may wish to share in the life of the church. "People have gone out of their way to make them feel at home," he said, "and I have performed one wedding of a Negro couple."

The Right Reverend Monsignor J. Stanley Hale, of St. Mary's Catholic Church said one family has transferred to his congregation. "I can't see that they have been treated any differently than any other new member," he said.

These are some (not all) of the organizations open to Negro members. There are some that are known to be closed. Among them are the Elks and the Odd Fellows lodges which are bound by their national charters to prohibit all persons not of the Caucasian race from membership.

There is no statute which requires private organizations to accept memberships from any person. The only way to find out whether a door is open or closed is to knock and seek admittance.

The law requires equal treatment only in what has been determined to be the public sector of our society. Discrimination is prohibited in housing, employment, schools and public accommodations.

Both Hamblin and Jones said they know of no incidents of discrimination among their fellow Negroes involving areas covered by State or Federal law.

[From the Worthington Daily Globe,
July 19, 1965]

CAMPBELL, ARMOUR MAKE WORTHINGTON "24-HOUR CITY"

Pick any time of the day or night and you will find people abroad on the streets of Worthington.

Once, about the only persons out in the hours after midnight were the police and a few adventurous young people. Now, they have been joined by working people.

The city is a 24-hour-a-day community, one of the earmarks of an industrial town. While some of the all-night workers are busy at such places as the powerplant and all-night cafes, most are connected with the two major food processing plants, Campbell Soup and Armour & Co.

Campbell starts its first shift at 7 a.m. and runs it until 3:40 p.m. The second shift comes on at 5 p.m. and works until 2 a.m. The cleanup crew starts in at 10:30 p.m. and continues until 6:30 a.m.

At Armour's, the day shift comes on at 6 a.m. and works until 3:18 p.m. A few work-

men start at 5:30 a.m. The cleanup crew is at it by 5:30 p.m. and stays on until 2 a.m.

The regular night shift at Armour's was temporarily discontinued this spring but will probably be reinstated later when hog supplies improve.

Even without it, Worthington remains a bustling place around the clock throughout the year.

[From the Minneapolis Tribune, Aug. 12, 1965]

WORTHINGTON SCORES A "BROTHERHOOD" COUP (By Robert King)

Like a refreshing breeze, an experiment in brotherhood at Worthington, Minn., hit most of the State's front pages late in July. The story of Worthington's success in becoming at least a partially integrated community was welcome contrast to the daily stories of civil rights conflict elsewhere.

Occasion for the story was the first anniversary of Armour's packing plant, an event which brought the first Negro workers and families to the previously all-white city of 10,000.

During the year, the firm transferred 39 Negro workers to Worthington. Ten moved their families to the city, and four of them bought homes—each in a different part of the city.

All realtors and builders, except one, joined in declaring an open occupancy policy; churches and civic organizations have welcomed participation by Negroes and neighborhoods have been kind to their Negro neighbors.

"What it boils down to is that we have made a good adjustment," said one Worthington business leader, "even though there are only 10 families involved and even though we found we have prejudices just like every other town. We just faced up to it, that's all."

How did Worthington come to face up so well?

The story involves many people: the city's newspaper, a company-union automation committee, a realistic and helpful approach by the State Committee Against Discrimination (SCAD), a sensible business community and the kind of townspeople who could bring this comment from one of their new neighbors: "There aren't any bad people here."

Initial groundwork for the move was laid by the company-union automation committee. The group, financed by the company, includes representatives of the company, the United Packinghouse Workers, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and a member from the public who acts as chairman.

Though it was formed to develop retraining and placement programs for workers displaced by automation, the committee tackles other social problems as well. "In this case, we met with the chamber of commerce, the newspaper and city officials," said one member, "and we got excellent cooperation."

His assessment of the program, and the first year of experience, is that it has worked surprisingly well.

SCAD, in the person of its director, James McDonald, who has since left for a position with the poverty program in North Carolina, was also a factor.

"McDonald gave us our best advice," said a business leader. "He talked frankly to a small group of us about the Negro point of view, and made us sensitive to their problems."

Mrs. Viola Kanatz, present SCAD director, says this case points to a very important function of the committee, that of acting to avoid problems rather than merely as a mediator of complaints.

An Armour official in the new plant agrees that the move—called an experiment in brotherhood by the Worthington Daily

Globe—has been successful. "I haven't heard one complaint from the workers," he said.

Everyone interviewed gives credit to the newspaper for helping to pave the way. One year ago, the Globe challenged the community in an editorial, saying the move by Armour presented an opportunity for the city to prove its mettle.

Looking back over the year, the Globe recently said that the city's success in avoiding serious problems "has been due to the fact that we had a good community to start with, the newcomers we received were of the same goodwill * * * and just about everybody in town apparently decided that all we needed to do was to be good American citizens."

Being good citizens had many advantages for Worthington. The city's economy has been stimulated by the plant and its payroll, which will soon reach \$2 million yearly. Four new businesses have been established to serve the plant, and, according to one businessman, "We've got plenty of people looking at us for plant location now * * * because we lived up to our responsibility."

[From the Worthington Daily Globe, July 20, 1965]

BUILDERS, REALTORS STAND FIRM AGAINST DISCRIMINATION (By Lew Hudson)

It was just 1 year ago that Worthington got its first official word as to the approximate number of Negro workers to be included among the starting work force at the new Armour plant.

Company and union officials met last summer with local public officials, realtors, builders, clergymen, and other community leaders. At that meeting, it was concluded that Worthington must avoid creation of a Negro district, or ghetto. Such a development was considered not only morally indefensible but economically ill advised.

Instead, it was hoped Negro families would move into varying sections of the city on the basis of their financial ability to buy or rent and their personal desires as to location.

To date, this hope has been realized. Of the four families which have purchased homes, one is across from the high school, another is near Central Elementary school, a third is in the 700 block of Seventh Avenue near the lake and the fourth is in the 800 block of Omaha Avenue. Rental properties occupied by Negroes are equally dispersed through the city.

Only two types of housing remain solidly white. As yet, no Negro has purchased or rented a home in a new real estate subdivision. No Negro person lives in the residential districts of highest real estate value (homes of \$25,000 or more).

Should a financially qualified Negro seek to buy property in either of these two types of districts he apparently will be able to do so.

When asked for their position on sale of new homes, local builders went on record for open occupancy. Orville Appel, Wilfred Eshelman, Don Johnson, Lampert Lumber Co., Joe Roos, Schuster Bros., Dale Eckerson, Bowyer Bros., Art Leistico, Pat Selfert, Elbert Peterson, Gramstad Lumber Co., and Wendell Becker issued a statement in which they said, "We building contractors agree that sales of property and construction of homes shall be without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin."

Other builders issued individual statements. Gary Roos said, "Business is business and a Negro's money is just as green as mine. If he's got the money, I've got the time."

Mel Stangeland said, "If a Negro buyer comes to me and he is financially qualified, then I'm building him a house."

Builder John Van De Brake declined to comment on his policy.

Financing institutions are drawing no color lines. H. Marvell Tripp, Sr., of the Worthington Federal Savings & Loan Association says, "We are absolutely colorblind." He said financing for housing is based strictly on financial qualification.

He went on to relate that he has had only one inquiry about financing from a Negro customer.

Harry Dirks, president of the First National Bank, said his institution has had several inquiries but no formal applications have yet been submitted. If one is made, Dirks said it would be handled without regard to the race of the applicant.

Duane Amundson, executive vice president of the State Bank of Worthington, said, "We have a policy of no difference in treatment of Negro and white applicants for housing loans. Financial qualification is our only guideline."

He went on to say that his bank, through its real estate division, has handled the sale of one house to a Negro buyer so far.

Realtors have done more rental business with Negro families than they have sales of property. To date, four properties have been bought by Negroes. Two were handled by realtors.

Staubus Realty, 1026 Fourth Avenue, and the State Agency, 229 10th Street, each completed one Negro purchase. Ralph Brunner of Worthington Realty, in the Hotel Thompson building, had a house sold to a Negro woman but reported the woman changed her mind about remaining in Worthington and canceled the deal. Brunner said the initial downpayment posted by the buyer was returned, though such a refund was not required by law.

Most of the realtors have had the opportunity to show property to Negro prospects. Barlow Thurber, 415 11th Street, said he has shown houses to three Negro families. Weppeler's Realty, West Lakeshore Drive, has shown houses to five or six different Negro families according to owner Bill Weppeler.

Brunner said he has shown property to more than six Negro families. Staubus Realty and the State Agency each have shown homes to about a half dozen Negro families, according to Harold Staubus and D. S. Amundson.

J. C. Hagge of Hagge Realty, 1002 Fourth Avenue, noted he has shown property, but none of the showings has resulted in a sale.

Those realtors who said they have not yet shown homes to Negro customers include W. H. Rohlik Land Agency, 1008 Fourth Avenue, and Gary Prins Real Estate, 1234 Oxford Street.

Rohlik said he has received a few inquiries, but that none of them led to actual showings. Prins said he had no inquiries into purchase of homes but had received some rental prospects.

The six realtors who have shown property to Negro prospects generally concurred that the reason for so few sales was due to the fact the prospects could not meet financial requirements to close the deals.

In some cases, it was noted, Negro prospects still had to dispose of their former dwellings before they could afford to buy here.

All eight local realtors reported they have no specific policies relative to selling homes to Negroes. The consensus was they would do business with anyone who met financial qualifications.

Half of the realtors, however, indicated they have encountered sellers who request their property be shown only to white prospects.

The number of white only requests on the part of sellers was estimated at 1 in 50, 1 in 100, just a few, and very few, according to the 4 realtors who said they had run into this situation.

One agent said, "I won't argue with them. It's their property. The way they want to sell it is their business."

Another said, "Just a few listings are subject to restrictions and those are not only against Negroes but against anyone who would change the basic environment or social structure of the neighborhood."

Still another observed that if he is told not to sell to a Negro, he doesn't list the house on the open market because he "doesn't want the door slammed in my face" when he brings prospects to see the house.

As a practical matter, the realtors pointed out that white only listings are infrequent. Far more often, the seller's attitude seems to be, "I don't care who you sell my house to as long as he has the money," they said.

All realtors said they were opposed to a Negro ghetto or a special Negro district. In addition to being socially unfavorable, the realtors agreed that the threat of damage to property values within and surrounding the district would be greater.

Realtors report only light public pressure brought to bear upon them relative to selling houses to Negroes. One had made such a sale said he had one white family criticize him for doing so. The family was not even an immediate neighbor of the Negro family.

There are indications that more pressure is placed upon realtors in the matter of renting houses or apartments than in selling. One realtor, who claimed he had no "white only" listings for sale, did note that some persons who wanted his help in locating renters had requested no Negroes.

A far bigger problem appears to be the availability of rentals in Worthington. Most realtors observed that they had no rentals, restricted or not.

Realtor Prins summed up the rental scarcity here with this comment, "If I had 10 rentals available, I could fill them all right now."

The consensus of city realtors is that there are ample houses on the market here for any and all prospects who can meet financial requirements. There are admittedly some sellers who do not wish to do business with Negroes, but those instances are rare.

Real estate sales among Negroes have not been as brisk as some had anticipated. The major factor does not revolve around prejudice, but rather on the desire of Negroes to rent, rather than to buy property at the present time.

Weppeler put it this way, "The demand to buy houses just isn't as great as was anticipated."

Brunner said he had noted no real estate panic in neighborhoods in which Negroes have purchased homes. Fairly typical is the feeling expressed by Doug Christoffer, Worthington Insurance man.

Christoffer will be moving into a new home being erected on Omaha Avenue, just across the street from a Negro family. Christoffer said the fact that there was a Negro living in the neighborhood was of no concern to him in his decision to move there.

ROBERT KENNEDY DISCUSSES THE WATTS RIOTS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, millions of words have been written about the riots in the Watts area of Los Angeles. Each writer, of course, tends to view the causes and cure of Negro discontent from his own perspective. Someone has said that the economist defines the problem in terms of inadequate economic opportunities, the sociologist in terms of a failure of communication between Negroes and whites, the psychiatrist in terms of Negro family and personality patterns and the police official as a breakdown of law and order.

Each of these disciplines can shed a useful light on the problems, but few men are able to weave the various strands of thought together and present a coherent and balanced picture of what happened at Watts.

The junior Senator from New York, ROBERT KENNEDY, has made a remarkable speech on the Watts riots. He speaks with the experience and authority of one who had the day-to-day responsibility for nearly 4 years of determining our Government's attitudes and policies toward the civil rights movement. He has presented an analysis of the problem of Negro discontent in our major metropolitan areas that skillfully combines the insights of the economist, the sociologist, the psychiatrist, and the law enforcement officer. I ask unanimous consent that his speech before the New York State Convention of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows be printed at this point in the Record.

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

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY, STATE CONVENTION OF INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS, SPRING VALLEY, N.Y., AUGUST 18, 1965

"To visit the sick, to relieve the distressed, to bury the dead and educate the orphan"—these have been the commands of your order for nearly 150 years. In those years, you have grown and prospered in New York and in the Nation—because your principles are true—and because you have been true to your principles.

So I think I can thank you not just myself as a citizen, but for all New York for the work you have done. Your old age homes—your summer camp programs for poor children—your scholarship funds and assistance to medical research—these things have enriched the whole community. And your work has gone beyond conventional charity; your youth pilgrimages to the United Nations help to build in thousands of young people an awareness of world affairs and the place of the United States in the world.

It is because the International Order of Odd Fellows is such a concerned, active, group that I want to speak to you tonight about some of the events of the last week: about the dead and the orphans of the rioting in Los Angeles; about the sick and the distressed of all our urban ghettos; about the hatred and the fear and the brutality we saw in Los Angeles; and about what we can and must do if this cancer is not to spread beyond control.

For it is clear that the riots of the last weekend were no isolated phenomenon, no unlucky chance. They began with a random argument between a drunken driver and a policeman; they could as easily have begun with a fight in a dance hall—as did the riots in Rochester; or with a policeman shooting a boy armed with a knife—as did the riots in New York; or with a fire engine knocking over a lamp post and killing a pedestrian—as did the riots in Chicago.

All these places—Harlem, Watts, South Side—are riots waiting to happen. To look at them is to know the reason why.

First, these are places of poverty. We know that the rate of Negro unemployment is twice the white rate—that the rate of Negro unemployment since World War II has been about 10 percent, far higher than the white rate has ever been outside of the great depression. But do we realize also—can we comprehend—that in many census tracts in the core of our cities the unemployment rate may be 25 or 30 or even 40 percent? In the Watts area of Los Angeles, the rate was 34 percent. And in Watts—as in the other areas of this kind—



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 111

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1965

No. 165

BEYOND LOS ANGELES

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, many of America's most influential columnists and reporters, and many Senators on this floor, have spoken of the urgent need for action to avert further catastrophes like the rioting last month in Los Angeles. I myself discussed this matter at length in my floor statement of last August 17.

Today I would like to call the attention of the Senate to one of the most illuminating discussions I have yet seen on the immense challenge which lies before us, a column by Richard Wilson in the Washington Star of August 20, entitled, "The Next Step: Erasing the Intolerable."

Mr. Wilson says:

One can wring one's hands over the riots, speak of the need for respect for law and order, or deplore the animalistic and criminal impulses that sent the pillagers and arsonists careening through the streets.

But, he adds:

The point is that the safety and welfare of the whole community depends upon improving the conditions of life in those immense areas of our big cities—and small ones, too—where existence is becoming increasingly intolerable.

Our effort to improve these conditions, Wilson states, must be "direct and prompt." He cites the need for "massive programs for improved education and for keeping Negro children in school," better housing, relief from overcrowding, beautification and cleaning up, and strong efforts "to restore the stability of Negro family life and use welfare programs constructively instead of destructively."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this fine article be given the wide circulation it deserves through its publication in the RECORD.

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

NEXT STEP: ERASING THE INTOLERABLE (By Richard Wilson)

All through this long hot summer, and weeks before the rioting in Los Angeles, President Johnson has had task forces at work on the problem of the Negro in the city.

New legislation is being prepared on cushioning the shocks of population shifts into cities that cannot fulfill the hopes and aspirations of Negroes who are moving into them. The President has said that he considers the problem of the Negro in the city one of the two or three most important matters to be taken up in Congress next year. It may be the most important.

Evidently the President has some new measures in mind to improve educational opportunities for Negroes, and to cope with the increasing crime, disease, and social and family breakdown which are so characteristic of large urban Negro concentrations in virtually every city of the country.

We are quite clearly passing out of the stage of guaranteeing and enforcing, even by unconstitutional methods, the constitutional rights of Negroes and moving into the second stage of directly addressing the social, human, and emotional aspects of the Nation's most difficult domestic problem.

This would have happened without the Los Angeles riots. One can wring one's hands over the riots, speak of the need for respect for law and order, or deplore the animalistic and criminal impulses that sent the pillagers and arsonists careening through the streets.

One can say that the Reverend Martin Luther King has opened Pandora's box, or go along with the sociologists in finding that the seething discontent in the cities is attributable to the widening gap between newly aroused Negro expectations and stark Negro reality. This is all beside the point. The point is that the safety and welfare of the whole community depends upon improving the conditions of life in those immense areas of our big cities—and small ones, too—where existence is becoming increasingly intolerable.

These conditions would have existed and do exist without relation to enforcing the constitutional and legal rights of Negroes; or any broad concepts of social equality, or any dream world of universal intermixture and brotherhood. Every metropolitan area in the country has a rotten heart of poverty and degradation, a locus of violent crime and disorder that threatens the existence of the city itself—the place where so many millions must work and make their livelihoods whether or not they reside there.

These festering centers of the great cities have grown and continue to grow beyond the capacity of local authorities to control or improve them. No large city in the United States has enough competent police to control crime, nor enough competent welfare workers or preachers or doers-of-good to repair the shattered fabric of Negro family life in the city.

Nor will a statute book full of laws guaranteeing the right to vote, the right to go into all public places, the right to equal education, the right to equal employment opportunity, the right to live where one pleases remove the rotten heart of our cities. In many cities where conditions are the worst, Negroes have had full constitutional rights for many years.

The approach will have to be direct and prompt. It means massive programs for improved education and for keeping Negro children in school. It means massive efforts to restore the stability of Negro family life and the use of welfare programs, constructively instead of destructively.

It means physical improvement of the areas, most of all relief from overcrowding, poor sanitation, rat infestation. It means beautification and cleaning up.

Housing must be improved; it is absolutely intolerable. Order must be maintained and that means more police, whether white or Negro.

The experts will tell you that the answer does not lie in abandoning these areas of Negro concentration and dispersing the residents throughout the community at large in our generation or the next. We cannot wait for that, it will be too slow coming.

It is the unfortunate truth that the Negro ghettos will continue to exist, and conditions in them will grow worse, for many years to come unless determined action reverses the trend.

The cities themselves seem unequal to the task without Federal help, inspiration and direction, and that appears to be the next stage in addressing the problem.

1.22222



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 111

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1965

No. 180

PARTICIPATION BY ST. OLAF COLLEGE STUDENTS IN THE SUMMER EDUCATION PROGRAM OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, last summer 65 students from St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn., participated in the summer education program of Tuskegee Institute.

This program was aimed at enriching the educational background of culturally deprived Negro youngsters in a 10-county Alabama area.

Now that the first wave of young men and women seeking to make known to the Nation the abuses existing in some parts of the South has ended, these young students from St. Olaf College represent the second phase of our drive to bring equality to all Americans, regardless of race or color. Education will be particularly crucial for the Negro in the United States, and I think the Senate of the United States should be made aware of their efforts.

I ask unanimous consent that the attached statement on the summer education program between Tuskegee Institute and St. Olaf College be printed in the RECORD.

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

SUMMER EDUCATION PROGRAM—TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE AND ST. OLAF COLLEGE

The class counted in German, "ein, zwei, drei," a common enough classroom exercise. But this was an uncommon class.

The 12 students were 14- to 17-year-old Negroes. The classroom—a plot of grass under a moss-covered pine tree. The place—rural Lowndes County, Ala., just 3 miles up the road from where Mrs. Viola Luzzo was murdered. The teacher—a white college sophomore from St. Olaf College in Minnesota.

The teacher, Galen Brooks, Sioux Rapids, Iowa, was tutoring students in English, German, speech, civics, and algebra. He is one of 600 college students tutors in the summer education program of Tuskegee Institute. Among the tutors are 530 Negroes, mostly from Tuskegee, a college of 700 students in eastern Alabama, and 70 white students, 65 of whom come from St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minn.

The experimental program is aimed at upgrading the education of culturally disadvantaged Negroes in a 10-county Alabama area. Meeting in schools, churches, homes, and outdoors in hastily erected tent shelters, the summer education program (SEP) has enrolled 5,700 students from elementary to adult levels. Financed federally through the Office of Economic Opportunity and Office of Education, the program operates through 50 tutoring centers and 7 mobile units.

The program is defined by its organizers as an educational program rather than a conventional form of civil rights activity. "We're a second front in the civil rights movement," said SEP coordinator, Dr. P. B. Phillips, dynamic, peripatetic, 32-year-old dean of students at Tuskegee. "We're purely an educational program. Our tutors are forbidden to demonstrate. But our program can be considered part of the civil rights program because it is concerned with human rights—the right to learn."

While the tutors, both Negro and white, do not participate in demonstrations, rallies, or voter registration drives, there is ample evidence that the effect of their working together is being felt by both the white and Negro communities. A Negro high school teacher from Phenix City noted that Negroes were suspicious of the white St. Olaf students in the program's early stages. But the St. Olaf students, he said, have worked side by side with the Negroes, made good on their promises, and the influence is being felt.

A white high school teacher, who joined SEP as a teaching supervisor, said that he asked himself, "Are these freedom riders or teachers?" when the St. Olaf students arrived at Tuskegee to begin training. He said they have proved that they are in Alabama for a serious purpose and did not come to cause trouble.

Moving forces behind the large number of St. Olaf students in SEP were Lee Norrgard, 1967, Hopkins, and Steve Stoddard, 1966, Zumbrota, Minn. Each was an exchange student at Tuskegee last spring. Both helped recruit the tutors and Norrgard is SEP's photographer.

SEP is an unconventional program with unconventional teaching methods. Individualized tutoring sessions are the aim. The small classes are informal, with chairs arranged around the tutor rather than in fixed classroom order. Tutors attempt to avoid typical classroom situations since about one-third of their students are dropouts. They try to reach these dropouts with unconventional methods, as they do those students who, because of ill-equipped schools and teachers, are three to four grades behind expected achievement levels.

Said Carol Jean Larsen, 1965, from Bismarck, N. Dak., "The methods we learned in practice teaching don't work here. Students know the alphabet, but don't know the sounds associated with the letters."

Dave Kjerland, 1965, from Owatonna, Minn., said of his adult classes: "We start with the alphabet and then go backwards to associate sound and letter."

About two-thirds of the tutors live on the Tuskegee campus and travel by rented car or school bus to tutoring centers. The rest, including a number of St. Olaf students, live with Negro families in the rural communities near their teaching centers.

The typical tutor's day begins about 5:30 a.m. Tom Nibbe, 1965, LaCrosse, Wis., for example, drives tutors to their centers and picks up students from 6 to 9:30 a.m. Then he drives a truck transporting a drama group and acts in two play performances. Three nights a week he tutors an adult class. Saturdays are spent in preparing reports and training manuals for future programs.

In evaluating the tutors, the single characteristic of the St. Olaf students noted most often by their Negro teacher-supervisors was resourcefulness. The supervisor at Wacoochee High near Salem, Ala., said: "We give them what little we have, and they improvise the rest." The tutors make up much of their own teaching material since textbooks are relatively hard to come by.

The tutors in English are teaching it essentially as a second language would be taught. Those working both with small children and adults have prepared their own phonics materials, since none available are written specifically for the Negro child or unskooled adult.

Virginia Hall, 1965, Fargo, N. Dak., and Carol Jean Larsen, commute 130 miles each day and spend the travel time working out new games to teach their fourth graders arithmetic and spelling. To solve the transportation problem four tutors, Pam Bergquist, 1965, Bethesda, Md.; Lucille Thilquist, 1967, Hopkins, Minn.; Karin Sundquist, Virginia, Minn.; and Connie Opdahl, 1965, San Bernardino, Calif., bought an old car. Christened "Booker T" after the founder of Tuskegee, the car is the pride and problem of their Macon County teaching center.

Stuart Taylor, 1968, Shawnee Mission, Kans., and Peter Eggen, 1966, Niagara, Wis., had no classroom, so they built seven tent shelters and converted two small houses for teaching. Taylor was named "Tutor of the Month" for July for teaching and recruiting skill.

One of the objectives of SEP is the preparation of techniques and materials for teaching in this tutorial situation. Each of the tutors will prepare reports for the government on the materials they have developed for their classes.

Transportation of the tutors has been one of the major problems, as has transportation of students. Most of the students have to be transported to the teaching centers, often a considerable distance.

Without exception, the St. Olaf students in the program have been enthusiastic about it despite transportation and organization problems. Tutors comment on the sheer fun of working with the Negro children. Those tutors teaching night classes are moved by the eagerness and appreciation of the adult students.

Several plan to change their vocational choice to teaching after this experience on the teacher's side of the desk.

In addition to tutoring, the SEP program includes cultural presentations. A choir and instrumental ensemble has been organized and directed to Steve Fuller, St. Olaf, 1965, from San Bernardino, Calif. The choir made up of both Negro and white tutors, presents two concerts a day in teaching centers, and prefaces each concert with tutoring sessions on classical music. A typical audience will run from 40 to 100 people, many of whom may be hearing the names Mozart and Haydn for the first time.

Four of the mobile units are drama groups, each doing one-act plays. The companies conduct sessions on drama and play production followed by presentation of their play. Each group does two shows a day.

Another mobile unit is the bookmobile which attempts to supplement the libraries of the schools being used and brings books to the outdoor teaching centers.

An unusual mobile unit is a health and hygiene team. Manned by both Tuskegee and St. Olaf students, the unit discusses health and hygiene problems, family organization and attitudes, and both girls and boys present information on proper dress and grooming. Several of the girls in the unit are nurses and answer health and hygiene questions particularly related to the small, overcrowded homes that most of the tutees come from.

About a dozen of the St. Olaf students live off the Tuskegee campus with Negro families, usually in rural settings. They claim they didn't really become involved in the program until they joined the Negro community in this manner. Jeff Strate, St. Olaf, 1966, of Edina, Minn., and Charles Larson, 1965, of Thief River Falls, Minn., live with a family in a 100-year-old log house 5 miles from their school and the nearest telephone. Their spotlessly clean room was decorated with Utrillo prints and laundry hanging from the single light cord. Both Jeff and Chuck said that they wouldn't exchange this summer for any other experience.

Jeff summed up his responses, saying "After 2 weeks one of my adult pupils wrote his name for the first time in his life. He said to me, 'You are here as an answer to my prayers.' Boy, how could I possibly not love teaching here?"

Jeff and Chuck have been invited to watermelon busts, fishing trips, and revival meetings by their hosts. They report some "hazards" in going to the Negro revivals, however, since they are made so welcome that they must meet everyone in the congregation and share food with all before they can gracefully leave.

Most of the St. Olaf students attend church by going to Negro revival meetings in the rural areas. Since they live within the Negro community, they feel they are not welcome in the white churches.

Why? Why did 65 students from a single northern college head south for the summer? Each had his own reasons. Usually tutors mention several elements: curiosity about the South and its different culture, the challenge of a difficult situation, a good job (tutors receive about \$600 plus board and room). Some had convictions in varying degrees about civil rights.

After the summer's work, there will be few without strong convictions on civil rights. One group of Oles, quizzed by St. Olaf's Director of Special Studies Richard Buckstead on an inspection trip, insisted, "We changed the first week." Greater open-mindedness and self-confidence were claimed by the tutors.

The Oles had some adjustments to make. "It's a shock to be a 'minority,'" said Dave Kjerland, "and feel the restrictions on where you can go."

Sandy Oftedahl, 1965, Rosemount, Minn., commented, "It's quite a shock to be a fourth grader ask you 'What's it like to be a white person?'"

One immediate byproduct of SEP will be increased exchange of students between Tuskegee and St. Olaf. While two exchanges were made last year, during 1965-66 plans are underway for 25 students from each school to attend the other for a semester.

Most of all the St. Olaf students will bring home with them memories of a job well done.

Each has had his heart warmed by some individual act of appreciation. Perhaps Dave Kjerland's incident tells the tale best. A 40-year-old farmhand walked through a rainstorm to find Dave at a choir concert. His lifetime schooling was 3 weeks in SEP. He

wanted to show Dave a theme he had written. It was a 14-line essay on "My Community," laboriously printed with many spellings and grammatical errors.

Luckily Dave paused halfway through his reading to congratulate the obviously elated writer. When he got to the last line, he found it hard to speak. The Negro writing for the first time in his life had written, "we have our fine teachers. they are wite, we love them."



MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Copyright in the Walter F. Mondale Papers belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org