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THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1965

RACIAL DISORDER AND MOB ACTION IN AMERICUS, GA.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the southwest Georgia city of Americus has become another in a long and unhappy line of American communities to be set upon by racial agitation and violent disorder.

The tragic victim of militant and arrogant advocates of a philosophy that threatens to destroy the American ideal that ours is a Nation of laws and not of men, upon which is based the freedom of all Americans regardless of race, creed, or color, Americus, Ga. has been made the scene of racial disorder and mob action. Already there has occurred a brutal and senseless killing of a young U.S. Marine ensign who was shot down in cold blood while standing on a street corner. Two Negroes have been charged with his murder.

We pray that violence will end in this strife-torn city, that peace and order will be returned, and that whatever differences exist between citizens will be resolved in accordance with the processes of civilized law, and not according to the law of the jungle. We pray that there will be no more deaths, and that the good citizens of Americus, of both races, will look to their minds and their hearts and their consciences for a solution to problems of human relations, and that those who are bent upon pitting neighbor against neighbor, who make a profession out of inciting riots and dissension, will cease and desist.

According to newspaper accounts, the difficulties in Americus arose over voter registration procedures. I have stated before, and I repeat here today that I favor the full and unhindered right to vote of every qualified American citizen, and wherever this right is being denied there should be corrective action. The right to vote is guaranteed by the Constitution and well-protected by statutory law, including the so-called Voting Rights Act which now lies on the President's desk, which is enforceable in every court in the land, both State and Federal.

I can find no justification for the wave of rioting which has swept the country over alleged deprivation of constitutional

rights, not so long as the American system survives and there are amicable remedies at law. There can be no justification for taking the law into one's own hands. This can only result in anarchy and destroy the freedom of all.

Mr. President, there appeared in the August 2 edition of the Columbus, Ga., Enquirer an excellent editorial concerning Americus and the increasing threat to law and order in the United States.

I commend this editorial to the attention of the Senate, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

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

The Disunion-Mobster.

"If we can't build Americus, we should tear it down."

Speaking was a member of the Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

He was preaching violence in a town which has already known violence and tragedy. He was stoking the flames of a hot furnace. He was admitting that the ultimate goal of SNCC and other groups of that variety is not equality, but chaos.

In Mississippi, a pamphlet distributed by a related group was urging Negroes to refuse serving in the Armed Forces. "No one has a right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other colored people in Santo Domingo and Vietnam so that the white American can get richer," the pamphlet said. "We will be looked upon as traitors by all the colored people of the world if the Negro people continue to fight and die without a cause.

"And if they answer democracy (in the cause), tell him the truth. We don't know anything about communism, socialism and all that, but we do know that Negroes have caught hell right here under this American democracy."

And under this American democracy, the writer of that pamphlet, and the spewers of dissension and hate and violence can continue to run free and practice their treason.

Yes, treason, for there is no milder word to describe the direction which part of the civil rights movement is now taking.

Under communism, they would be hauled away and shot, but democracy's saving feature is a tolerance of nearly any internal tactic designed to tear down the dominant authority.

But there is a limit, even in a democracy. And that limit is close at hand for the more radical civil rights groups who, perceiving that their legitimate demands are practically achieved, are blowing the uglier and more

frightening side of their nature. The mask of the fighter for rights has been removed to reveal the destroyer of law and order.

The Mississippi pamphlet quite obviously sought to depict the fight for equality as a fight between the white and colored peoples of the world, not an argument between Americans of varying color. There is a vast and important difference in the two approaches.

The Red Chinese have sought to depict the world struggle as one between the light and colored races. Most American Negroes have rejected that theory and placed their faith in achieving full status as U.S. citizens, so they can continue to share in the bounty and adventures of the greatest nation of the earth, and the nation which gave them birth.

But the American dream—the American Negro's dream—can be shattered by the excesses of one side just as surely as by the excesses of the other side.

The disunion-mongers are taking freedom's name in vain. They shout a proud word while exercising the harshest tyranny the globe has known.

Whatever the American white man's sins against the American Negro, he has produced for the Negro a hountiful and proud nation, and the Negro should not forget that.

As the average demonstrator wheels his late-model car into the driveway of a 6-room house with no holes in the roof, and goes into a home-cooked meal and watches television while having a late snack, and his children finish their school lessons, he should think long and hard about what freedom is, before he shouts that he hasn't got it.

Slogans come easy, but the reality of freedom rests on more than slogans, and freedom's fruits are not harvested by all who march in its behalf. Many are willing to march and shout but are not prepared to pay the true and enduring price for freedom, which is in fact, more than slogans, and freedom.

The American Negro is way ahead of the great majority of the people in the world, white or colored, simply because he lives in this land of opportunity—and freedom.

And it's about time someone in high authority told him so, instead of hunching with guilt every time a minor shortcoming is cited.

Somebody like President Lyndon B. Johnson, for instance.



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Senate

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RACIAL RIOTING IN LOS ANGELES

Mr. TADMADGE. Mr. President, the entire Nation is shocked and horrified by the racial rioting in the city of Los Angeles. In the wake of this holocaust, in which more than 30 lives have been lost and which still rages in some parts of the Los Angeles area, various and sundry so-called explanations and excuses have been offered by experts in the fields of law enforcement, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, urban affairs, and economics.

Regardless of how learned the expert or how scholarly the presentation, I, for one, cannot comprehend how poverty, squalid conditions, unemployment, cultural or economic need, or alleged discrimination—as deplorable as they are—can be justification for lawlessness and rioting. I, for one, Mr. President, have yet to be given an acceptable excuse for taking the law into one's own hands. In our country under the American system of government, there is no such excuse.

However, I believe the Washington Evening Star in an editorial last Saturday came close to the heart of the matter. The Star in my opinion put its finger on a dangerous trend in America at the present time which we have seen manifested in Los Angeles, Springfield, Mass., Chicago, Ill., New York City, Selma, Ala., Americus, Ga., and indeed throughout all parts of the United States.

The Star, calling attention to a growing contempt for law and the rights of law-abiding people, asked this very pertinent question:

What is the effect on respect for law when prominent members of the clergy announce they will not obey a law if they disagree with

it? What is the effect when the Supreme Court, as well as lower Federal courts, overturn convictions for law violations on the flimsiest of bases, or, as in one instance, for one stated reason?

Does this sort of thing encourage the hoodlum type to think that respect for law is for the birds? We think so.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Record.

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

LOS ANGELES RIOTS

The most heinous aspect of the savage rioting and looting which has swept Los Angeles is the utter senselessness of the thing.

It started Wednesday evening when a white policeman tried to arrest a Negro motorist on suspicion of drunken driving. And it really took off from there.

At least 16 people are dead, including a deputy sheriff and a woman caught by a falling wall. Property losses will run high into the millions. The Negro rioters would set fire to buildings, and then stone and shoot at firemen responding to the calls. Also stoned were ambulances trying to aid the injured. Police cars were special targets, many being wrecked or burned. Finally, when the police conceded they could not control the mobs, National Guard men were called in last night and for the moment at least an uneasy peace prevailed.

To try to put this thing into some kind of perspective, Los Angeles has a Negro population of about 250,000, or roughly 12 percent of the total. The largest number of rioters at any one time is not believed to have exceeded 7,000. Thus, the hoodlums have constituted a relatively small minority. And there is probably much truth in the comment of a housewife who said: "It's the rowdy teenagers all gassed up on airplane glue and gin who provoke the trouble." The

news photos indicate this is true. So does a report in the New York Times which stated that the Watts area of Los Angeles, where the trouble started, is not at all typical of the Negro city ghetto. There are some pockets of extreme night club catering to the debauch, most of the Negroes "live in neighborhoods that would represent a dream of suburban life to even a Negro."

So one must look behind the conventional excuses offered when something of this sort happens. What are the real reasons which touched off what a Los Angeles Negro editorial called an "inexorable outbreak?"

One certainly has hatred of all people, white or black, but especially white. Another is total contempt for law and the rights of law-abiding people. This contempt is peculiar to Los Angeles. It crops out in many places, although generally in less severe form.

In short, the rule of law, to which so much lipservice is paid, seems to be breaking down in Los Angeles and throughout the Nation. This is something which might properly concern the President's new Commission on Crime. What are the real reasons? Blame? Discrimination? Underprivileged? These questions are part of the story. We must, however, not forget the Commission's other responsibility. What is the effect on respect for law when prominent members of the clergy announce they will not obey a law if they disagree with it? What is the effect when the Supreme Court, as well as lower Federal courts, overturn convictions for law violations on the flimsiest of bases, or, as in one instance, for no stated reason? Does this sort of thing encourage the hoodlum type to think that respect for law is for the birds? We think so.

At any rate, it has become clear in Los Angeles that the rioters will give way to nothing except superior force. And in that event the superior force must be applied—followed, one may hope, by severe punishment of those who may be found guilty of criminal activity.