

cally helpful effect on numerous mentally ill people.

I personally had reservations concerning the application of this program on Indian reservations. But on the same trip we went into the largest Sioux Indian Reservation, and there we learned again how even a few "seedmen" volunteers can, with their good will, inspiration, and enthusiasm, perform practical measures to help in the almost unbelievable poverty, in all departments, on Indian reservations.

Our committee, which has dealt with migratory labor problems, has seen over the years how a few volunteers in migratory labor camps can do so much to bring a bit of needed education to the youngsters—and perhaps even to the adults. They can provide nursery day care for the very young, and assist in state health and sanitation projects also.

I hope all Senators will have an opportunity to look over the hearing record and note the unanimity of views across the country of people with knowledge in the field of social problems. More than 50 organizations have enthusiastically endorsed the bill. They are all listed in the hearings record and on pages 12 to 14 of the committee report. It is significant that those who are most knowledgeable in social work have been most articulate and strong in their endorsement.

Among the groups, church people are prominent. They are hopeful that the legislation will be passed, and that we shall be able to spark, through volunteers, an even greater community response to severe human needs and problems.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PROXMIER in the chair). Does the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am happy to yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I join the Senator in the sentiments he has expressed. If the bill is enacted into law, I hope the President, in considering the appointment of a Director for the National Service Corps, will keep in mind the very excellent example of completely nonpartisan leadership—as high minded as that of those who serve—which has been so heavily responsible, in my opinion, for the success of the Peace Corps.

I thank my colleague.

CIVIL RIGHTS—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am happy to yield.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] may be added as a cosponsor of S. 1665, to require that all State or local programs supported with Federal funds shall be administered and executed without regard to the race or color of the participants and beneficiaries, which I introduced on June 4.

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

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] may be added as a cosponsor of S. 1801, to effectuate the provisions of the sixth amendment of the U.S. Constitution requiring that defendants in criminal cases be given the right to a speedy trial; and S. 1802, to protect the integrity of the court and jury functions in criminal cases, which I introduced on June 26.

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

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, although all these bills have been printed, the names of the additional cosponsors will be included at the next printing.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator from Oregon has joined me in his bill to prevent Federal funds from being utilized for State programs which are segregated. I would like to say a word on the subject, because it is becoming quite a raging issue. I have joined the Senator from Oregon on his bill, just as I joined my colleague [Mr. KEATING] on his amendment to the omnibus civil rights bill along these lines, because I feel very deeply that the only hope for civil rights legislation is in bipartisanship; and I want to do everything I humanly can to demonstrate by act and deed my deep feeling on that score.

Neither side alone has the votes to pass civil rights legislation. In my opinion, it is a fact that, in every way open to us, we shall need to keep this bipartisan coalition together so that we may ultimately get somewhere.

I hope very much—and I know how the Senator from Oregon feels about this, but I am putting it in words—that all Members on both sides of the aisle will keep very clearly in mind that this is a burning issue on the domestic scene—as burning an issue as is nuclear testing on the international scene. The only way we are going to get anywhere is by keeping the goal very clear. Call it nonpartisan or bipartisan, the fact is that neither side alone has the votes, and we must be together on the issue.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Jersey yield to me a moment?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. In connection with what the Senator from New York has said, it is an honor to be associated with him in his advocacy of civil rights legislation. I know of no peer of the Senator from New York in the civil rights legislation field. But I would have my colleagues take note of the fact that what my bill seeks to accomplish is to prevent the Federal Government from violating the law. If one of us were to ask a Senator to join him in an illegal act, the Senator who was asked would look askance and be horror-stricken. But Members of this body, every time they vote for Federal funds for projects involving segregation, in my opinion, are guilty of perpetrating an illegal act, for 9 years ago the Supreme

Court declared segregation to be unconstitutional, and therefore illegal. Yet we sit here in the Senate, on bill after bill, and vote millions of dollars of Federal taxpayers to continue an illegality. It is about time that we put Members of the Senate on the spot, and the senior Senator from Oregon intends to do it. He intends to go from coast to coast to call the roll of Members of the Senate who continue to vote to expend illegally Federal taxpayers' money and who continue an unconstitutional act on the part of the Congress.

Members will not be asked to vote on this issue program by program, but on the whole broad issue of funds going into segregated programs and activities.

This issue is becoming one on which we can no longer do any dillydallying. The issue is whether or not the Congress will keep faith with its right hand when its Members take the oath in this body to uphold the law. We cannot justify the appropriation of moneys for the continuation of Federal projects in which there is segregation. Let the people speak in respect to the rollcall that will be made in the Morse bill and similar proposals that seek to bring to an end the illegality that now exists in this country and that has characterized the treatment of civil rights in Federal programs.

As the Senator from New York has heard me say before, the time has come for the white people of America to deliver the Constitution of the United States to the colored people of America; and I do not intend any longer to sit here and permit politicians to get by with what they have been getting by for years in the Senate and covering it with the alibi, when they get back home, "It is the best we could do."

I will tell Senators what the best we can do is. It is to act in accordance with the law; and the Supreme Court has made perfectly clear that segregation is unconstitutional. I intend to do what I can to take that record across this Republic in the months ahead, before the election of 1964. I do not care whether a Senator is a Republican or a Democrat—he ought to be beaten for reelection in 1964—others will be up for reelection in 1966 and others in 1968—if he does not uphold the law as laid down by the Supreme Court.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I have done precisely that, as recently as last Wednesday in connection with the Labor-HEW appropriations bill. The reason I made the comment about bipartisanship is that I had the feeling that Members of Congress, when they vote, have an idea that party loyalty requires them to stand by the administration—it might have happened just as well on our side of the aisle if our party were in the majority—and that they have to stand by and vote to table this kind of amendment.

I think the Senator from Oregon has, with his eloquence and warmth, highlighted what I have tried to do, but which I am delighted to join him in highlighting—the fact that, of all the things done in the racial field, with all the fuel added to the fire, this is the worst. It is incon-

lar workers or duplicate or replace an existing service in the same locality.

The Service Corps will be a means whereby the local community can draw on the knowledge and skills of the entire Nation. But the program is designed so that these trained volunteers will work with a community, in a program developed by the community itself. A great deal of careful study has gone into this program. More than 50 ideas for projects were submitted to the President's Study Group on a National Service Corps by various State and local, public and private organizations throughout the Nation. Twelve of these suggested projects are outlined in detail in the hearing record. A glance at these projects will show the very practical work that corpsmen would be doing. On an Indian reservation, they could act as instructors for self-help housing programs, run nursery schools and clinics; in a hospital for the mentally retarded they would help regular personnel as teachers aids and recreational aids; working with migrants, they would give basic education to adults and vocational guidance to the youngsters.

It is important to remember that these projects are not the brain children of a bureaucratic planner. They were worked out by men and women of wide experience who know the help that trained volunteers can be to them in tackling the problems of a community.

Mr. President, there are many Americans, young and old, who are anxious and able to help our less fortunate citizens. The Corps will draw not only upon enthusiasm of our young people, but upon the wisdom and experience of retired persons. There are a vast number of people both young and old ready to help if given a way.

Obviously, 5,000 men and women cannot solve all the age-old problems of human suffering. But their example will have an effect far beyond their number. If every corpsman inspires 10 others to work in their own hometowns, or to join the helping professions, the cost of this program will have repaid itself 10 times over.

I know that the dedicated work of the Service Corps volunteers will show that our material success has not blinded us to the sufferings of others. This program will be a true expression of the ideals which have made this Nation great.

The proposed legislation has been considered as carefully as any measure with which I have been associated. I am sure that Senators are familiar with its genesis and the steps that have been taken in developing the program to the point where it is now under general debate in the Senate. In first addressing himself to this noble project, the President called upon members of his Cabinet to develop policy for it. The Cabinet members so selected chose from their departments persons of great talent to undertake the staff work that is necessary to insure that the noble idea would not be emotionalized, but would become hard, tough, and practical in its development. That study group, while small in number, was

uniquely dedicated to this cause. Once created, the study group has developed ideas which were embodied in the legislation that came to the Senate. The measure was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and assigned to the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor for further legislative action.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I am a cosponsor of this particular measure. I believe it represents an effort to translate the idealism which has been so prominent in the Peace Corps and which has worked so well abroad to the domestic service of the United States. I am satisfied, too, that the scheme which is proposed to the Congress parallels, as far as is practical, the successful pattern evolved in respect of the Peace Corps, which I believe is one of the more successful initiatives of the United States in the employment, in its foreign aid and foreign development efforts, of the idealism, skill, and interest of young Americans. There is an ample number of projects which can profit greatly from the dedication which the National Service Corps will inspire.

I feel, too, that it will be a very important channel through which volunteer services of young and old alike may go into areas—many of which have been described—of want, need, illness, and underprivilege, which are enclaves of backwardness in terms of economic advance, such as the areas of migratory farm workers. There the volunteers can be of great benefit.

I am very much for the bill. I am a cosponsor, as I said.

I have only two reservations, Mr. President.

I think perhaps, if we needed a description of what is being done, the words "practical idealism" would describe it. I hope very much that the practical idealism which is represented in the National Service Corps will not be marred by asking the dedicated people who will be involved to serve in establishments or institutions which follow a practice of racial segregation.

This is something about which I expressed my deep concern in the committee. It is something which is the subject of an amendment I have had printed, which is on the desk.

I realize that the argument can be made that those who are afflicted should receive help, and that this should be the case even if they are afflicted in a segregated institution. But I think the temper of the times is such that we are engaged in a struggle in which there must be some casualties, and those who are the subjects of segregation are the readiest to accept the "casualty" of being unable to obtain the ministrations of the National Service Corps when there is a pattern of racial segregation.

I hope very much that some way may be found of working out what it seems to me would be so opposite to the patriotic dedication which is represented by the Corps.

The other subject to which I hope my colleagues in the Senate will give a little

thought is the possibility that we are dealing domestically—not abroad, as we did with the Peace Corps—with an analogy to the National Guard and the ROTC. We could allow States to undertake some of the responsibility for training corpsmen and using them within the respective States. I have prepared an amendment upon that score.

I hope to hear the discussion in respect to the bill, to determine whether there is a sufficient amount of interest in the Senate, since the amendment was turned down in the committee, to justify my offering the amendment. I think the plan is a very sound one, to allow States to participate in the process of selection and training, and to allow them to retain the trainees within the States, at the same time maintaining the cachet of this elite corp, the National Service Corps, exactly as we do with respect to National Guard officers and men as they relate to the military forces of the Nation.

The advantage would be that we would stimulate a great increase in the number of people who could be trained, the speed of their training, and the speed of their utilization, and we could invoke State as well as national pride in respect to the trainees.

So, with those two reservations, Mr. President, which I have described—which are not, in my opinion, reservations in any way to change the quality and character of the plan—having proved the validity of the idea in terms of inspiration to youth and in terms of its usefulness to those it serves through the Peace Corps, I believe we have arrived at the point where the National Service Corps is the next logical step in terms of undertaking to give our youth an opportunity to show their dedication and their idealism.

I am grateful to my colleague for yielding. I am confident that by the time the vote occurs on the bill we shall have completely closed ranks in full support of it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I am grateful, indeed, for those comments by the senior Senator from New York. I am grateful also for his strong support of the proposed legislation, his sponsorship of it, and the contributions he made in the committee deliberations.

As the Senator knows, after the bill was drafted 24 Members of the Senate joined in cosponsorship of the proposed legislation.

The subcommittee which received the bill held 9 days of hearings. The record is most complete. Not only did the subcommittee hold formal hearings in the Capitol, but also members of the subcommittee, together with members of a committee from the House of Representatives, went on a field trip, to see for themselves how the program could be useful in certain areas. I am sure that Members of Congress who went on the trip will never forget the experiences we had at Osawatimie State Mental Hospital in the State of Kansas and how, beyond question, it was proved to us that even one volunteer can have a dramati-