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Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13675
Folder ID Number: 13675-011

Folder Title:
Anniversary of 1964 Civil Rights Movement 6/30/89 [OA 63451

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REMARKS: ANNIVERSARY OF 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
THE EAST ROOM
FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 1989
2:00 P.M.

THANK YOU. THANK YOU -- EACH OF YOU -- FOR JOINING US AT THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THIS IMPORTANT OCCASION.

I'M VERY PLEASED TO SEE THE ATTORNEY GENERAL -- MY FRIEND DICK THORNBURGH -- AND OUR ABLE JUSTICE NOMINEE -- BILL LUCAS -- BOTH OF WHOM ARE COMMITTED TO THE VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS.

AND I'M DELIGHTED THAT -- AMONG OTHERS REPRESENTING THE FINE WORK OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE -- WE HAVE THEIR PRESIDENT -- THE REV. JOSEPH LOWERY -- COULD JOIN US AS WELL. Here with us today.

WE'RE ALSO HONORED TO HAVE THE REV. JESSE JACKSON WITH US AT THE WHITE HOUSE ONCE AGAIN.

WE GATHER HERE TODAY -- NOT ONLY TO COMMEMORATE AN ANNIVERSARY -- BUT TO CELEBRATE A MOVEMENT -- AND TO RE-DEDICATE OUR EFFORTS TO THE UNFINISHED WORK OF THAT MOVEMENT.

SOME OF AMERICA'S MILEPOSTS ARE EASY TO DATE. IN 1776 AMERICA INVENTED ITSELF -- A NATION FOUNDED UPON AN IDEA -- THE SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

NEARLY A CENTURY LATER OUR NATION FOUGHT ITS BLOODIEST WAR, THAT THE PROMISE OF THAT REVOLUTION MIGHT BE EXTENDED TO ALL PEOPLE. BUT FOR MANY AMERICANS, ANOTHER HUNDRED YEARS WERE TO PASS BEFORE THE PROMISE WOULD EVEN BEGIN TO BECOME A REALITY.

LIKE THE FIRST AMERICAN REVOLUTION, IT BEGAN WITH THE QUIET COURAGE OF ORDINARY CITIZENS. PERHAPS IT BEGAN ON DECEMBER 1, 1955 -- WHEN ROSA PARKS REFUSED TO GIVE UP HER RIGHTFUL PLACE ON A BIRMINGHAM BUS.

OR MAYBE IT WAS OCTOBER 1, 1962, WHEN JAMES MEREDITH TOOK DESTINY INTO HIS HANDS, AND REGISTERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI.

BUT BY THE SUMMER OF 1964, THE REVOLUTION HAD A NAME. IT WAS CALLED THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, AND THAT YEAR MARKED A WATERSHED FOR MANY AMERICANS. THE PREVIOUS AUGUST HAD SEEN 250,000 GATHERED -- JUST BEYOND THOSE WINDOWS -- TO HEAR MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. PROCLAIM A DREAM THAT WAS DUE EVERY AMERICAN.

THE FOLLOWING YEAR WOULD SEE THE MARCH ON SELMA -- AND WATTS WOULD BURN.

BUT IN 1964, THE DEBATE RAGED. GOOD PEOPLE, WITH HONORABLE INTENTIONS, STRUGGLED WITH ISSUES AS OLD AS THE REPUBLIC AND AS YOUNG AS THE MOVEMENT'S LEADERSHIP. THE BREAKTHROUGH CAME WHEN THE SENATE FINALLY INVOKED CLOTURE -- ENDING THE LONGEST DEBATE IN ITS HISTORY AND A 74-DAY FILIBUSTER.

AND THE RESULT WAS A STATUTORY PACKAGE -- SOON TO BE BOLSTERED BY VOTING RIGHTS AND OPEN HOUSING LEGISLATION -- THAT STANDS AS A LANDMARK IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

BUT IT WASN'T THE YEAR'S ONLY MILEPOST. THAT SAME SUMMER, THE BRUTAL MURDER OF THREE YOUNG CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS -- SO SINGULARLY APPALLING IN ITS SAVAGERY -- SHOCKED THE CONSCIENCE OF A NATION, AND BECAME CRITICAL TO OUR COUNTRY'S PROGRESS ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS LATER, THESE MILEPOSTS ARE IMPORTANT SYMBOLS OF HOW FAR WE HAVE COME AS A NATION -- AND REMINDERS OF HOW FAR WE STILL MUST GO.

IT IS APPROPRIATE TODAY THAT WE RE-DEDICATE OURSELVES TO THAT MOST AMERICAN OF DREAMS: A SOCIETY IN WHICH INDIVIDUALS ARE JUDGED NOT "BY THE COLOR OF THEIR SKIN -- BUT BY THE CONTENT OF THEIR CHARACTER."

THAT MEANS VIGILANT AND AGGRESSIVE ENFORCEMENT OF ALL CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS. AND IT MEANS THE SENSITIVE APPLICATION OF THOSE LAWS WHEN COMPETING RIGHTS OF INNOCENT PERSONS ARE AT STAKE. THE LAW CANNOT TOLERATE ANY DISCRIMINATION -- AND MY ADMINISTRATION WILL NOT TOLERATE ABUSE OF THAT PRINCIPLE.

WHILE CELEBRATING OUR ACHIEVEMENTS AND RECOMMITTING OURSELVES TO THEIR PRESERVATION -- WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE FULL PROMISE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT HAS STILL NOT BEEN ACHIEVED. THE HARD LESSON OF THE PASSING YEARS IS THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN ENOUGH TO WAGE A WAR AGAINST THE OLD FORMS OF BIGOTRY AND INEQUALITY.

THE LIVES OF THE DISADVANTAGED IN THIS COUNTRY ARE AFFECTED BY ECONOMIC BARRIERS AT LEAST AS MUCH AS BY THE REMNANTS OF LEGAL DISCRIMINATION.

AND FOR THAT REASON I CONTINUE TO SUPPORT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND MINORITY OUTREACH PROGRAMS. AND -- AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE -- WE MUST MOVE BEYOND THE PROTECTION OF RIGHTS TO THE CREATION OF OPPORTUNITY.

CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL AMERICANS WILL REQUIRE BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LEADERSHIP. AND IT IS TIME TO MOVE FORWARD ON A BROADER FRONT.

WE WILL BE SATISFIED WITH NOTHING LESS THAN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS -- AND THE REMOVAL OF FINAL BARRIERS TO SELF-RELIANCE.

THAT'S WHY MY ADMINISTRATION HAS PROPOSED NEW INITIATIVES IN EDUCATION -- THE KEY TO OPPORTUNITY -- TO BOOST PROGRAMS SUCH AS HEAD START, "MERIT SCHOOLS," ADULT LITERACY, AND HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

AND WE'VE ASKED CONGRESS FOR EMERGENCY URBAN GRANTS, TO HELP FREE OUR YOUTH FROM A NEW FORM OF ENSLAVEMENT -- THE SLAVERY OF DRUG ADDICTION.

ON OTHER FRONTS, WE ARE SUPPORTING LANDMARK NEW LEGISLATION -- TO EXTEND THE NATION'S CIVIL RIGHTS GUARANTEES TO THOSE MORE THAN 36 MILLION AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES -- BRINGING THEM INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. LAST WEEK WE ADDED OUR VOICE TO THOSE CALLING FOR PASSAGE OF THE HATE CRIMES ACT.

AND MY ADMINISTRATION'S COMPREHENSIVE CRIME PACKAGE ISN'T JUST ABOUT LAW ENFORCEMENT. EARLIER THIS WEEK, I SPOKE ABOUT THE IMPEDIMENTS TO PROVIDING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN -- IF A JUSTIFIABLE FEAR OF VIOLENT CRIME LEAVES THEM CONCERNED ABOUT WALKING TO A CAMPUS LIBRARY AT NIGHT -- OR RELUCTANT TO WORK LATE HOURS FOR FEAR OF GETTING OUT OF THE PARKING LOT SAFELY.

AND NEW PROGRESS IN CIVIL RIGHTS ALSO MEANS ANTICIPATING THE FUTURE -- A FUTURE IN WHICH MORE THAN 80 PERCENT OF THOSE ENTERING THE WORKFORCE WILL COME FROM THE RANKS OF WOMEN, MINORITIES, AND IMMIGRANTS. THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE WILL NOT BE JUST FINDING JOBS FOR OUR PEOPLE -- BUT FINDING PEOPLE FOR OUR JOBS.

THE WORKFORCE OF THE FUTURE CAN ALSO BENEFIT FROM THE UNIQUE ABILITIES OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES.

THE TIME-TESTED LAWS THAT GIVE CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTIONS CAN -- AND OUGHT TO BE --EXTENDED TO PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES. THIS WILL INVOLVE A CAREFUL BALANCE BETWEEN THE NEEDS OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES AND THE NEEDS OF BUSINESS TO MAKE REAL PROGRESS TOWARDS OPENING THE DOORS OF THE WORKPLACE.

IN THE 25 YEARS SINCE THE SUMMER OF '64, WE HAVE SEEN MUCH PROGRESS. IT IS TIME NOW TO MOVE FORWARD ON A BROADER FRONT -- TO MOVE FORWARD INTO THE CENTURY'S FINAL DECADE WITH A CIVIL RIGHTS MISSION THAT FULLY EMBRACES EVERY DESERVING AMERICAN -- REGARDLESS OF RACE -- WHETHER WOMEN, CHILDREN OR THE AGED -- WHETHER THE DISABLED, THE UNEMPLOYED OR THE HOMELESS.

[[FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS, I AM PROUD TODAY TO HONOR THIS YEAR'S ANNIVERSARY BY CALLING ON CONGRESS TO JOIN ME IN A NEW PARTNERSHIP -- TO REAUTHORIZE THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION -- WITH THE GOAL OF LAUNCHING A RENEWED CIVIL RIGHTS MISSION.]]

LAUNCHING A CIVIL RIGHTS MISSION THAT CAN KEEP PACE WITH A FAST-CHANGING WORLD AND WORKFORCE WILL REQUIRE COMMITMENT, COOPERATION AND CREATIVE THINKING.

AND BEYOND GOVERNMENT -- AND EVEN BEYOND THE PRIVATE LEADERSHIP OF DEDICATED REPRESENTATIVES SUCH AS THOSE HERE IN THIS ROOM -- ACHIEVING THE LONG-DELAYED DREAM OF CIVIL RIGHTS FOR EVERY CITIZEN WILL REQUIRE FULL SUPPORT FROM OUR BUSINESSES, SCHOOLS AND FAMILIES.

AS PRESIDENT KENNEDY PROCLAIMED -- IN A CALL TO CONSCIENCE WHEN HE PROPOSED THE LANDMARK LEGISLATION IN 1963 -- EVEN THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE OF LAWS COULD NEVER MEET THE CHALLENGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS.

THE PROBLEM, HE DECLARED, "MUST BE SOLVED IN THE HOMES OF EVERY AMERICAN IN EVERY COMMUNITY ACROSS OUR COUNTRY."

IN THIS, I ASK YOU AND EVERY AMERICAN FOR A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO THIS JUST CAUSE. AND I THANK YOU FOR COMING TO THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY -- AND FOR HONORING THE HISTORY OF THIS MOVEMENT WITH YOUR GOOD WORKS EVERY DAY.

THANK YOU -- GOD BLESS YOU -- AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

# # #

(McNally/Simon)
June 29, 1989, 9:00 a.m.
Draft Two (1964)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ANNIVERSARY OF 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
THE EAST ROOM
FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 1989
2:00 P.M.

Thank you. Thank you -- each of you -- for joining us at the White House for this important occasion.

We gather here today -- not only to commemorate an anniversary -- but to celebrate a movement -- and to re-dedicate our efforts to the unfinished work of that movement.

Some of America's mileposts are easy to date. In 1776 America invented itself -- a nation founded upon an idea -- the self-evident truth that all men are created equal. Nearly a century later our nation fought its bloodiest war, that the promise of that revolution might be extended to all people. But for many Americans, another hundred years were to pass before the promise would even begin to become a reality.

Like the first American revolution, it began with the quiet courage of ordinary citizens. Perhaps it began on December 1, 1955 -- when Rosa Parks refused to give up her rightful place on a Birmingham bus. Or maybe it was October 1, 1962, when James Meredith took destiny into his hands, and registered at the University of Mississippi.

But by the summer of 1964, the revolution had a name. It was called the civil rights movement, and that year marked a watershed for many Americans. The previous August had seen

250,000 gathered -- just beyond those windows -- to hear Martin Luther King, Jr. proclaim a dream that was due every American. The following year would see the march on Selma -- and Watts would burn.

But in 1964, the debate raged. Good people, with honorable intentions, struggled with issues as old as the Republic and as young as the movement's leadership. The breakthrough came when the Senate finally invoked cloture -- ending the longest debate in its history and a 74-day filibuster. And the result was a statutory package -- soon to be bolstered by voting rights and open housing legislation -- that stands as a landmark in the civil rights movement.

But it wasn't the year's only milepost. That same summer, the brutal murder of three young civil rights workers -- so singularly appalling in its savagery and arrogance -- shocked the conscience of a nation, and became critical to our country's progress on civil rights. Twenty-five years later, these mileposts are important symbols of how far we have come as a nation -- and reminders of how far we still must go.

It is appropriate today that we re-dedicate ourselves to that most American of dreams: A society in which every individual is judged not "by the color of their skin -- but by the content of their character."

Martin L. King. Bartlett's p. 909

That means vigilant and aggressive enforcement of all civil rights laws. And it means the sensitive application of those laws when competing rights of innocent persons are at stake. The

law cannot tolerate any discrimination -- and my Administration will not tolerate any backsliding on that principle.

While celebrating our achievements and recommitting ourselves to their preservation -- we must recognize that the full promise of the civil rights movement has still not been achieved. The hard lesson of the passing years is that it has not been enough to wage a war against the old forms of bigotry and inequality.

The lives of the disadvantaged in this country are affected by economic barriers at least as much as by the remnants of legal discrimination. And for that reason I continue to support affirmative action and minority outreach programs. And -- as I have said before -- we must move beyond the protection of rights to the creation of opportunity.

NAACP speech 7-12-88

Creating opportunities for all Americans will require both public and private leadership. And it is time to move forward on a broader front.

We will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity for all Americans -- and the removal of final barriers to self-reliance.

That's why my Administration has proposed new initiatives in education -- the key to opportunity -- to boost programs such as Head Start, "Merit Schools," adult literacy, and Historically Black Colleges and Universities. And we've asked Congress for emergency urban grants, to help free our youth from a new form of enslavement -- the slavery of drug addiction.

On other fronts, we are supporting landmark new legislation -- to extend the nation's civil rights guarantees to those more than 36 million Americans with disabilities -- bringing them into the mainstream of American society. And earlier today, we added our voice to those calling for passage of the Hate Crimes Act.

And my Administration's comprehensive crime package isn't just about law enforcement. Earlier this week, I spoke about the impediments to providing equal opportunities for women -- if a justifiable fear of violent crime leaves them concerned about walking to a campus library at night -- or reluctant to work late hours for fear of getting out of the parking lot safely.

And new progress in civil rights also means anticipating the future -- a future in which more than 80 percent of those entering ~~the workforce~~ newly created jobs will come from the ranks of women and minorities. The challenge of the future will not be just finding jobs for our people -- but finding people for our jobs.

The workforce of the future can also benefit from the unique abilities of persons with disabilities. The time-tested laws that give civil rights protections can -- and ought to be -- extended to persons with disabilities.

With 25 years since the summer of '64, we have seen much progress. It is time now to move forward on a broader front -- to move forward into the century's final decade with a civil rights mission that fully embraces every deserving American -- whether black or yellow, brown or white -- whether women,

children or the aged -- whether the disabled, the unemployed or the homeless.

[[For all of these reasons, I am proud today to honor this year's anniversary by calling on Congress to join me in a new partnership -- to reauthorize the Civil Rights Commission -- with the goal of launching a renewed civil rights mission -- a mission to the Year 2000.]]

Launching a civil rights mission that can keep pace with a fast-changing world and workforce will require commitment, cooperation and creative thinking. And beyond government -- and even beyond the private leadership of dedicated representatives such as those here in this room -- achieving the long-delayed dream of civil rights for every citizen will require full support from our businesses, schools and families.

As President Kennedy proclaimed -- in a call to conscience when he proposed the landmark legislation in 1963 -- even the most comprehensive of laws could never meet the challenge of civil rights. The problem, he declared, "must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country."

In this, I ask you and every American for a renewed commitment to this just cause. And I thank you for coming to the White House today -- and for honoring the history of this movement with your good works every day.

Thank you -- God bless you -- and God bless America.

# # #

ones. Companies that have grown by adding large numbers of flexible, lower-paid young workers will find such workers in short supply in the 1990s.

- *More women will enter the workforce:* Almost two-thirds of the new entrants into the workforce between now and the year 2000 will be women, and 61 percent of all women of working age are expected to have jobs by the year 2000. Women will still be concentrated in jobs that pay less than men's jobs, but they will be rapidly entering many higher-paying professional and technical fields. In response to the continued feminization of work, the convenience industries will boom, with "instant" products and "delivered-to-the-door" service becoming common throughout the economy. Demands for day care and for more time off from work for pregnancy leave and child-rearing duties will certainly increase, as will interest in part-time, flexible, and stay-at-home jobs.
- *Minorities will be a larger share of new entrants into the labor force:* Non-whites will make up 29 percent of the new entrants into the labor force between now and the year 2000, twice their current share of the workforce. Although this large share of a more slowly growing workforce might be expected to improve the opportunities for these workers, the concentration of blacks in declining central cities and slowly growing occupations makes this sanguine outlook doubtful.
- *Immigrants will represent the largest share of the increase in the population and the workforce since the first World War:* Even with the new immigration law, approximately 600,000 legal and illegal immigrants are projected to enter the United States annually throughout the balance of the century. Two-thirds or more of immigrants of working age are likely to join the labor force. In the South and West where these workers are concentrated, they are likely to reshape local economies dramatically, promoting faster economic growth and labor surpluses.

In combination, these demographic changes will mean that the new workers entering the workforce between now and the year 2000 will be much different from those who people it today. Non-whites, women, and immigrants will make up more than five-sixths of the net additions to the workforce between now and the year 2000, though they make up only about half of it today:

	1985 Labor Force	Net New Workers, 1985–2000
Total	115,461,000	25,000,000
Native White Men	47%	15%
Native White Women	36%	42%
Native Non-white Men	5%	7%
Native Non-white Women	5%	13%
Immigrant Men	4%	13%
Immigrant Women	3%	9%

Source: Hudson Institute.

Juxtaposed with these changes in the composition of the workforce will be rapid changes in the nature of the job market. The fastest-growing jobs will be in professional, technical, and sales fields requiring the highest education and skill levels. Of the fastest-growing job categories, all but one, service occupations, require more than the median level of education for all jobs. Of those growing more slowly than average, not one requires more than the median education.

Ranking jobs according to skills, rather than education, illustrates the rising requirements even more dramatically. When jobs are given numerical ratings according to the math, language, and reasoning skills they require, only twenty-seven percent of all new jobs fall into the lowest two skill categories, while 40 percent of current jobs require these limited skills. By contrast, 41 percent of new jobs are in the three highest skill groups, compared to only 24 percent of current jobs (see Figure 1).The changes ahead in the job market will affect different groups in the society in different ways. While young whites may find their jobs prospects improving, for black men and Hispanics the job market will be particularly difficult (see Figure 2). In contrast to their rising share of the new entrants into the labor force, black men will hold a declining fraction of all jobs if they simply retain existing shares of various occupations. Black women, on the other hand, will hold a rising fraction of all jobs, but this increase will be less than needed to offset their growing share of the workforce.

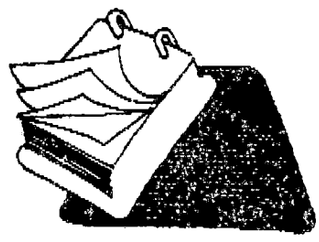
Six Policy Challenges

These trends in the emerging economy suggest six policy issues that deserve the greatest attention:

Stimulating World Growth: For more than a decade, American policymakers have been concerned with the U.S. balance of trade, the nation's deteriorating ability to compete with other nations, and the

** TOTAL PAGE.002 **

Labor Month In Review



LABOR FORCE PROJECTIONS. Bureau of Labor Statistics projections show that half of the labor force entrants between 1986 and 2000 will be women. The projections also show that women will make up 63 percent of the labor force growth during that period. Can both statements be true?

Yes, because relatively fewer women than men are expected to leave the labor force, said the BLS Office of Economic Growth and Employment Projections in a statement designed to clarify the confusion between labor force entrants and net change or growth.

A definitive measure of entrants would be a complex undertaking. However, rough estimates of projected labor force entrants have been developed by analyzing the projected changes in the number of whites, blacks, other races, and Hispanics in the labor force by age and sex between 1986 and 2000. For this analysis, Hispanics were separated from the racial group in which they reported in the Current Population Survey.

The labor force is projected to reach 138.8 million in 2000 in the BLS moderate growth alternative, 20.9 million more than in 1986. Because of the need to replace 28.3 million workers who are expected to leave the labor force over this period, however, the number of entrants will be considerably larger—49.2 million—or the sum of the growth and the number of leavers.

The number of entrants was calculated by summing the number of individuals expected to be added to each age cohort between 1986 and 2000. All those 29 years of age or under in 2000 (under 16 years of age in 1986) could not have been in the labor force and are unquestionably entrants. This group accounts for three-fourths of the entrants. For workers 30 to 49 years of age in 2000 (16 to 35 years of age in 1986), a smaller increase is projected, primarily reflecting higher labor force participation rates. For those age 50 and over in 2000 (age 36 and over in 1986), however, the number in the labor force declines and provides a measure of leavers.

	Age in 2000			
	Total	*16-29*	*30-49*	*50 and over*
Entrants	49,189	37,802	11,387	0
Leavers	-28,251	0	0	-28,251
Labor force change	20,938	37,802	11,387	-28,251

Of course, some individuals over age 29 in 2000 will have been part of the labor force in 1986 but not in 2000, because they left it or died. The replacements for these erstwhile workers are not included as entrants for lack of data, and, as a result, the number of entrants for the period 1986–2000 is understated. However, the understatement is certainly small in relation to all entrants, and the pattern of entrants by race, sex, and ethnicity is not affected to any significant degree.

Table 1 presents information about labor force entrants and leavers from 1986–2000 by race, sex, and Hispanic origin. The number of Hispanic entrants is five times that of Hispanic leavers, a result of the large growth in younger workers within this group. In contrast, the number of white male entrants barely exceeds the number of white male leavers because the population of young white males is declining and many in the large cohort of older white males are expected to be retiring.

Confusion originates from the erroneous assumption that the distribution of entrants by demographic group is the same as that for the increase in the labor force. As table 1 clearly shows, however, such is not the case. For example, Hispanic men are expected to contribute 8 percent of the entrants and 16 percent of growth in the labor force between 1986 and 2000. Conversely, white men are projected to account for almost one-third of entrants, but less than one-tenth of the labor force growth.

A disproportionately rapid growth of minorities is expected between 1986 and 2000. For example, Hispanic men are projected to increase from 4 to 6 percent of the labor force and white men to decline from 44 to 39 percent. □

Table 1. Projected labor force changes, 1986–2000

(Numbers in thousands)

Group	Entrants		Leavers		Net change	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	49,189	100.0	28,251	100.0	20,938	100.0
Male	24,182	49.2	16,440	58.1	7,742	37.0
Female	25,007	50.8	11,812	41.9	13,195	63.0
White	32,921	67.0	23,568	83.4	9,353	44.6
Male	15,775	32.1	13,841	49.0	1,934	9.2
Female	17,146	34.9	9,727	34.4	7,419	35.4
Black	6,276	12.8	2,767	9.8	3,509	16.6
Male	2,927	6.0	1,449	5.1	1,478	7.1
Female	3,349	6.8	1,318	4.7	2,031	9.7
Other races	2,830	5.7	558	2.0	2,272	10.9
Male	1,401	2.8	317	1.1	1,084	5.2
Female	1,429	2.9	241	.9	1,188	5.7
Hispanic	7,162	14.6	1,359	4.8	5,803	27.7
Male	4,079	8.3	833	2.9	3,246	15.5
Female	3,083	6.3	526	1.9	2,557	12.2

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

PAGE.002

STATEMENT OF
DR. JANET L. NORWOOD
COMMISSIONER
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

June 15, 1989

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am pleased to be here this morning to offer some comments on the issues being considered by the Committee. My remarks will be based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) program which projects labor force demographics and occupational employment demand to the year 2000. This work is a part of the biennial BLS analysis of future trends in the economy. I would also like to review some of the data limitations that impede a comprehensive analysis of the issues of concern here today.

Let me begin by clearing up what has become a common but incorrect interpretation of the statistics used to describe the demographic composition of new entrants to the labor force through the year 2000. BLS estimates (in the middle scenario of three alternative sets of projections) that the labor force will reach 138.8 million in 2000, 20.9 million more than in 1986, the base year of our latest set of projections. The data commonly but incorrectly used to describe the demographic composition of entrants over the

1986-2000 period are based only on this change of approximately 21 million. But, in addition to this increase in the size of the labor force, we estimate that 28.3 million workers will enter the labor force to replace workers who retire or leave the labor force for other reasons. The total number of entrants over the period, therefore, will be much larger than 21 million. In fact, we estimate that when the number of those needed to replace those who leave the labor force is added, the total number of entrants will number about 49.2 million.

The distinction between the total number of entrants and the net addition to the labor force is important because the demographic distribution of the total number of entrants by race, sex, and Hispanic origin is much different from the demographic composition of the net change of 21 million. The two concepts are different and must not be mistaken for one another. For example, black and Hispanic men and women combined will account for about one quarter (27.4 percent) of the new entrants, but as a proportion of the net labor force growth over the period, they will account for nearly one half (44.5 percent). On the other hand, white males (not including Hispanics) will account for almost one third (32.1 percent) of the total entrants between 1986 and 2000, but only for 9.2 percent of the net labor force increase. This is because many more white men than minority workers

will leave the labor force over the next decade. In fact, the BLS estimates that white males will comprise about half of those expected to leave the labor force from 1986 to 2000.

The use of total labor force entrants rather than the net addition to the labor force reduces the estimated proportion of new minority workers, many of whom often experience difficulties in the labor market. However, we should not underestimate the difficulties minorities face. Larger numbers of new minority workers will need to find jobs, and their problems will need to be addressed. The concern is that many of these new workers may not have the education and skills that will be required for the kinds of jobs that are expected to be available.

The BLS occupational projections serve to highlight this concern. We anticipate that 3 of the 9 major occupational groups comprising our occupational structure will have greater than average growth. Historically, these 3 groups -- executive, administrative, and managerial workers; professional workers; and technicians and related support workers -- have required considerable training and have also had above average earnings. Unfortunately, blacks and Hispanics now make up a relatively small share of employment in these occupations that are expected to be fast

growing. And they are overrepresented in the slower-growing, lower-paying occupations.

It is important to recognize that the occupations projected to have the most rapid growth have also had the highest educational requirements. These occupational groups have the smallest proportion of workers with less than a high school education and the highest proportion with a college education or beyond. Our black and Hispanic population, however, have a much greater proportion of workers with less than 4 years of high school (22.7 and 39.0 percent respectively) than the white population (15.8 percent). A much smaller proportion of blacks and Hispanics than of whites have completed 4 years or more of college. (The proportions are 14.3, 11.5, and 23.9 respectively). It is quite clear from these data that for some minority workers, lack of educational attainment can be a serious impediment to successfully competing for the most desirable jobs.

I should point out, of course, that good employment opportunities will not be entirely limited to the occupations requiring formal education and training. Only about one-fourth of all workers are now employed in these occupations. The construction trades, metalworking crafts, repairers, sales jobs, protective service occupations in

State and local governments, to name just a few, should have favorable job prospects. But many workers in these occupations, and others like them, are trained on the job by employers. Workers who do not have a good basic education, including language and mathematic skills, often do not qualify to enter employer training. A major issue we face for the remainder of this century, I believe, is increasing the educational and skill levels of labor force entrants who in the past may not have had the educational background required for the next century's jobs.

Of course, many other issues also have a bearing on the success or failure of minority workers to compete successfully in the labor market. Most of them are difficult to measure statistically.

As you know, it is far easier to recognize the need for statistical information than it is to develop it. For example, the BLS has been developing occupational projections for 4 decades, but the projections of the overall labor force are much more accurate than for the individual groups within it. This is the case in all data series, and is not unique to BLS's programs. The general thrust for faster growth of the highest skilled occupational groups is likely to be more accurate than the numerical projections for individual occupations. National data are

easier to develop and tend to be much more accurate than data for individual States. And the data for small areas are subject to even greater error.

Let me say that while we have one of the most advanced data systems in the world, there is always something about the labor market about which we want to know more. Career ladders and occupational entry patterns are not well understood. Our occupational structure is detailed and complex, and there is considerable evidence that the definitions of occupations frequently change. Even defining an individual labor market area is difficult and time consuming, especially when looked at occupation by occupation. We have a more extensive occupational wage data collection program than most other advanced countries of the world, but our knowledge of occupational wage and benefit practices is limited to broad occupational groups at the national level and to detailed analysis for a very small number of occupations in an even smaller number of areas. Indeed the detailed occupational data for local areas with comparable demographic distributions needed for in-depth analysis are only available every 10 years when decennial census data have been collected. And the further we move through the decade after a Census, the more unreliable the data since our population is mobile and our labor market is rapidly changing.

Mr. Chairman, I believe, as I know you do, that every citizen of this country must have equal opportunity to benefit from the jobs that our economy can provide. I can assure you that we at the Bureau of Labor Statistics are doing all that we can to provide the country with labor market information that can help to enhance that goal.

Bob Michel - star spangled Banner

Sonny M

Alan Dixon ← Bob Dole intro pres.

Pres.

(McNally/Simon)
June 26, 1989
4:30 p.m.
Draft One
(1964)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ANNIVERSARY OF 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
THE EAST ROOM
FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 1989
2:00 P.M.

Thank you. Thank you -- each of you -- for joining us at the White House for this important occasion.

We gather here today -- not to commemorate an anniversary -- but to celebrate a movement -- and to re-dedicate our efforts to the unfinished work of that movement.

Some of America's mileposts are easy to date. In 1776 America invented itself -- a nation founded upon an idea -- the self-evident truth that all men are created equal. A century later our nation fought its bloodiest war, that the promise of that revolution might be extended to all people. But for many Americans, another hundred years were to pass before the promise would even begin to become a reality.

Like the first American revolution, it began with the quiet courage of ordinary citizens. Perhaps it began on December 1, 1955 -- when Rosa Parks refused to give up her rightful place on a Birmingham bus. Or maybe it was October 1, 1962, when James Meredith took destiny into his hands, and registered at the University of Mississippi.

But by the summer of 1964, the revolution had a name. It was called the civil rights movement, and that year marked a

watershed for many Americans. The previous August had seen 250,000 gathered -- just beyond those windows -- to hear Martin Luther King proclaim a dream that was due every American. The following year would see the march on Selma -- and Watts would burn.

But in 1964, the debate raged. Good people, with honorable intentions, struggled with issues as old as the Republic and as young as the movement's leadership. The breakthrough came when the Senate finally invoked cloture -- ending the longest debate in its history and a 74-day filibuster by southern Senators. And the result was the most important civil rights legislation ever passed.

But it wasn't the year's only milepost. That same summer, the execution of three young civil rights workers -- so singularly appalling in its savagery and arrogance -- shocked the conscience of a nation, and became critical to our country's progress on civil rights. Twenty-five years later, these mileposts are important symbols of how far we have come as a nation -- and reminders of how far we still must go.

Subsequent legislation provided for open housing, voting rights, and other protections -- and vigilant enforcement has helped ensure that the law today tolerates no form of discrimination.

And yet full civil rights have still not been obtained. The hard lesson of the passing years is that it is a mistake to think it is enough to simply uphold the law.

The lives of the disadvantaged in this country are affected by economic barriers at least as much as by the remnants of legal discrimination. And for that reason I continue to support affirmative action and minority outreach programs. And -- as I have said before -- we must move beyond the protection of rights to the creation of opportunity.

Creating opportunities for all Americans will require both public and private leadership. And it must go beyond what some would call the traditional civil rights agenda.

We will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity for all Americans -- and the removal of final barriers to self-reliance.

That's why my Administration has proposed new initiatives in education -- the key to opportunity -- to boost programs such as Head Start, "Merit Schools," adult literacy, and Historically Black Colleges and Universities. And we've asked Congress for emergency urban grants, to help free our youth from a new form of slavery -- the slavery of drug addiction.

On other fronts, we are supporting new legislation -- to extend the nation's civil rights guarantees to those more than 37 million Americans with disabilities. And earlier today, we added our voice to those calling for passage of the Hate Crimes Act.

And my Administration's comprehensive crime package isn't just about law enforcement. Earlier this week, I spoke about the impossibility of providing equal opportunities for women -- if a justifiable fear of violent crime leaves them concerned about

walking to a campus library at night -- or reluctant to work late hours for fear of getting out of the parking lot safely.

And new progress in civil rights also means anticipating the future -- a future in which more than 80 percent of ~~those~~ the net new jobs created will be filled from ~~entering the workforce will come from~~ the ranks of women and minorities. The challenge of the future will not be finding jobs for our people -- but finding people for our jobs.

With 25 years since the summer of '64, we have seen much that was done and undone. It is time to move forward on a broader front -- to move forward into the century's final decade with a civil rights mission that fully embraces every disadvantaged American -- whether black, yellow or brown -- whether women, children or the aged -- whether the disabled, the unemployed or the homeless.

For all of these reasons, I am proud today to honor this year's anniversary by calling on Congress to join me in a new partnership -- to reauthorize the Civil Rights Commission -- with the goal of launching a renewed civil rights mission -- a mission to the Year 2000.

Launching a civil rights mission that can keep pace with a fast-changing world and workforce will require commitment, cooperation and creative thinking. And beyond government -- and even beyond the private leadership of dedicated representatives such as those here in this room -- achieving the long-delayed dream of civil rights for every citizen will require honest support from our businesses, schools and families.

As President Kennedy proclaimed -- in a call to conscience when he proposed the landmark legislation in 1963 -- even the most comprehensive of laws could never meet the challenge of civil rights. The problem, he declared, "must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country."

JFR
6-11-63

In this, I ask you and every American for a renewed commitment to this just cause. And I thank you for coming to the White House today -- and for honoring the history of this movement with your good works every day.

Thank you -- God bless you -- and God bless America.

# # #

1989 Almanac

UNITED STATES POPULATION

Changing Population Patterns

By John G. Keane

Director, U.S. Bureau of the Census

On January 1, 1988, the estimated resident population of the United States was 244.6 million people, an 8.0 percent increase over the 1980 census count of 226.5 million.

By mid-1986, the Dallas-Fort Worth area replaced Houston as the nation's 8th largest metropolitan area. Its population of 3.7 million was 725,000 higher than in the 1980 census. Only the Los Angeles area has increased more in population since 1980 (+1.6 million). Of the 38 metropolitan areas of a million or more, Dallas-Fort Worth's increase of 25 percent since 1980 was exceeded only by the Phoenix area (26 percent). About 77 percent of the U.S. population now live in metropolitan areas.

From 1980 to 1987, the South and West account for 15 million of the nation's 17 million population increase, or nearly 90 percent of the growth. California, Florida, and Texas together added 9 million residents. During this 7-year period, the South and West added 7.4 million population through net migration, while the Midwest and Northeast lost 2.5 million net migrants.

The annual rate of **residential mobility** declined to 18.6 percent between March 1985 and March 1986, down from 20.2 percent for the previous annual period. This decline was due to a drop in the rate of local moving (within the same county) from 13.1 percent for the 1984-85 period, to 11.3 percent for 1985-86. Local moving rates were very low during the early part of this decade (between 10.0 and 10.5 percent) before rising to the 1984-85 rate. The rate of moving from one state to another remained at about 3.0 percent per year, while the rate of moving between counties within the same state was 3.7 percent. Since 1980, this latter rate has remained fairly steady, fluctuating around 3.5 percent per year.

Between March 1985 and March 1986, **residential migration** within the United States also affected the shift of population between cities, suburbs, and the non-metropolitan portions of the country. Metropolitan areas in the aggregate gained population (+633,000) at the expense of non-metropolitan areas. However, the central cities of metropolitan areas lost population to both non-metropolitan areas and the suburbs (−1,366,000 persons), while the suburbs gained population from both of the other types of areas (+1,999,000).

The nation's **population center** has continued to move south and west in Missouri since the 1980 census, to about 10 miles northwest of Potosi in west-central Washington County as of 1985. (The center is where the country would balance perfectly if it were a flat surface and every person on it had equal weight.)

The nation's **Hispanic population** in 1980-87 increased 30 percent to 18.8 million. Growing over four times faster than the U.S. total, Hispanics may account for one-quarter of the nation's growth over the next 20 years. The Census Bureau's Hispanic projections show that their present 8 percent share of the population may rise to 19 percent by 2080. Even without migration for the next 100 years, the Hispanic population would continue growing at twice the national rate.

Disabled: A survey found more than 37 million Americans have a disability and that 13.5 million could not perform a basic physical activity or needed help to do so. Some 12.8 million had trouble seeing words in newsprint even with glasses, and 7.7 million had trouble hearing a normal conversation.

Education: Elementary and high school enrollment was significantly lower in 1986 than in 1980, while at college level it was higher. There were 27 million elementary school pupils in 1986, some 1.1 million less than in 1980, and 6.8 million below the 1970 peak. Nursery school and kindergarten had chalked up significant enrollment increases from 1980 to 1986; they enrolled 2.5 million children and 4.0 million children, respectively, in 1986.

Farms, Age, Households

The **farm population,** meanwhile, continue to fall, dropping 7 percent to 5.3 million from 1984 to 1985. It was the first significant loss of the decade. About one of every 45 people, or 2.2 percent of the population, lived on farms. Their 1983 median income of $18,925 was only three-fourths that of non-farm families.

The nation's **median age** on July 1, 1987 was estimated at 32.1 years compared with 30.0 in 1980. The aging trend should continue as more of the baby boom generation (1946-64) heads toward middle age. The 35 to 44 group grew the fastest, up 8.7 million or nearly 34 percent in 1980-87.

Data from the Current Population Survey indicate that there were an estimated 89.5 million **households** in the United States in March 1987. The total number of households has increased by about 8.7 million during the 7-year period since 1980, an average net increase of 1.2 million households per year. Fewer children per family, more one-parent families, and more persons living alone are all factors in the decline in the average number of persons per household which was 2.66 persons in 1987, compared with 2.76 in 1980.

Income

Real median family income rose 4.2 percent in 1986, the third straight annual increase, while the **poverty rate** fell 0.4 percent to 13.6 percent. Median family income was $29,460 up 6.2 percent from 1985 before adjustment for a 1.9 percent rise in consumer prices. Per capita income was $11,670. The number of people below the poverty level was 32.4 million in 1986.

A first-time report on **household wealth and asset ownership** found the median net worth of households to be $32,670 in 1984. Two-thirds of households reported home-ownership with median home equity of $40,600. Householders 55 to 64 reported median wealth of $73,660 compared with $5,760 for those under 35 years and $55,180 for those aged 75 and over.

After taxes, household incomes averaged $22,650 in 1985, up 0.9 percent after adjustment for inflation. Households paid an average of $6,950 in the four types of taxes covered by the census study. The proportions of pre-tax income paid were 13 percent for federal income taxes, 6 percent for FICA payroll taxes (Social Security), 4 percent for state income taxes, and about 2 percent for property taxes.

Among the 26.1 million married couples having both partners as wage earners in 1983, nearly five million wives earned more than their husbands. The average earnings of married couples was $28,570, rising to $39,390 if both husband and wife worked full time.

Benefits

About 90 percent of U.S. households, 79.8 million, received at least one noncash benefit in 1986. That was up 1.5 million in a year. About 17 percent of all households received means-tested noncash benefits; their median income was $8,970. About 7 percent received food stamps, while 22 percent of households with school-age children received free or reduced-price lunches. Of the 8.5 million households with Medicaid coverage, 27 percent had a householder 65 or older and 40 percent had a female householder with no husband present. About one of every four householders with children under age 19 received a means-tested benefit. There were 8.9 million such households in 1986.

Women and Minority-Owned Business

Women owned nearly one-fourth of all businesses (excluding corporations) in 1982—some 2.9 million. Women-owned businesses had $98.3 billion in gross receipts, or one-tenth of all business receipts. California had the most women-owned firms, nearly 400,000.

Hispanic-owned businesses generated $15 billion in sales and receipts. They accounted for 2.1 percent of the U.S. firms and 1.5 percent of revenues. Some 339,000 black-owned businesses accounted for $12.4 billion in receipts.

Just over a quarter-million businesses were owned by Asian Americans, American Indians, and other racial minorities excluding blacks. They had 1982 receipts of $17.9 billion. Chinese firms (52,839) accounted for one-third of these receipts. The Los Angeles-Long Beach metro area and California led the nation in the number of minority and women-owned businesses.

Marital Status and Living Arrangements

Today's young adults age 18 to 24 years old are less likely to be maintaining homes of their own and more likely to be living in the homes of their parents than in the past. In 1987, 54 percent lived with their parents and 32 percent maintained their own homes, compared to 47 percent and 43 percent, respectively, in 1970. Persons are also delaying marriage until later ages. The estimated median age at first marriage is the highest ever recorded for women, 23.6 years, and near the high for men, 25.8 years (the high for men was 26.1 years in 1890).

More new mothers are in the labor force. Some 48 percent who became mothers in the previous 12 months before a 1985 survey were back in the labor force, compared with 31 percent in 1976. About 12 percent of recent white mothers were unmarried compared with 55 percent of recent black mothers.

1990 Bicentennial Census

The Census Bureau is well along with plans to take the 21st decennial census in 1990. This count will mark the 200th anniversary of the first census in 1790 when George Washington was president and the young United States had just under 4 million residents.

Census workers in 1990 are expected to count about 250 million people and 106 million housing units.

In the spring of 1988, the Census Bureau conducted three "dress rehearsal" censuses—in St. Louis, central Missouri, and eastern Washington—as a final check of its equipment, procedures, questionnaires, and statistical processing methods. Bureau workers also began preparing a nationwide mailing list of all residential addresses, since the 1990 count (as in 1970 and 1980) largely will be taken by the mail-out, mail-back technique.

More automation and computers will be used in the 1990 census, and processing of the returned questionnaires will be speeded up to hasten the release of final totals for people and housing. Even so, a "census army" of some 400,000 temporary employees will be hired between summer 1989 and summer 1990.

The Bureau of the Census and the U.S. Geological Survey are participating in a joint effort that will produce and maintain a nationwide set of maps and related graphic and digital products needed to support both the Census Bureau's decennial and economic censuses and the Geological Survey's national mapping program. The agencies completed the initial cartographic data base in early 1988.

Further information about the 1990 census may be obtained from the 1990 Census Promotional Office, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233.

Estimated Population of American Colonies: 1630-1780

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (thousands)

Colony	1780	1770	1750	1740	1720	1700	1690	1670	1650	1630
Total	**2,780.4**	**2,148.1**	**1,170.8**	**905.6**	**466.2**	**250.9**	**210.4**	**111.9**	**50.4**	**4.6**
Maine (counties)	49.1	31.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	0.4
New Hampshire	87.8	62.4	27.5	23.3	9.4	5.0	4.2	1.8	1.3	0.5
Vermont	47.6	10.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plymouth and Massachusetts	268.6	235.3	188.0	151.6	91.0	55.9	56.9	35.3	15.6	0.9
Rhode Island	52.9	58.2	33.2	25.3	11.7	5.9	4.2	2.2	0.8	...
Connecticut	206.7	183.9	111.3	89.6	58.8	26.0	21.6	12.6	4.1	...
New York	210.5	162.9	76.7	63.7	36.9	19.1	13.9	5.8	4.1	0.4
New Jersey	139.6	117.4	71.4	51.4	29.8	14.0	8.0	1.0	...	...
Pennsylvania	327.3	240.1	119.7	85.6	31.0	18.0	11.4	...	...	...
Delaware	45.4	35.5	28.7	19.9	5.4	2.5	1.5	0.7	0.2	...
Maryland	245.5	202.6	141.1	116.1	66.1	29.6	24.0	13.2	4.5	...
Virginia	538.0	447.0	231.0	180.4	87.8	58.6	53.0	35.3	18.7	2.5
North Carolina	270.1	197.2	73.0	51.8	21.3	10.7	7.6	3.8	...	...
South Carolina	180.0	124.2	64.0	45.0	17.0	5.7	3.9	0.2	...	...
Georgia	56.1	23.4	5.2	2.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kentucky	45.0	15.7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tennessee	10.0	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Resident Population by Sex, Race, Residence, and Median Age: 1790 to 1987

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (thousands, except as indicated)

Date	Sex		Race				Residence		Median Age (years)		
				Black							
	Male	Female	White	Number	Percent	Other	Urban	Rural	All races	White	Black
Conterminous U.S.[1]											
1790 (Aug. 2)	NA	NA	3,172	757	19.3	NA	202	3,728	NA	NA	NA
1810 (Aug. 6)	NA	NA	5,862	1,378	19.0	NA	525	6,714	NA	16.0	NA
1820 (Aug. 7)	4,897	4,742	7,867	1,772	18.4	NA	693	8,945	16.7	16.5	17.2
1840 (June 1)	8,689	8,381	14,196	2,874	16.8	NA	1,845	15,224	17.8	17.9	17.3
1860 (June 1)	16,085	15,358	26,923	4,442	14.1	79	6,217	25,227	19.4	19.7	17.7
1870 (June 1)	19,494	19,065	33,589	4,880	12.7	89	9,902	28,656	20.2	20.4	18.5
1880 (June 1)	25,519	24,637	43,403	6,581	13.1	172	14,130	36,026	20.9	21.4	18.0
1890 (June 1)	32,237	30,711	55,101	7,489	11.9	358	22,106	40,841	22.0	22.5	17.8
1900 (June 1)	38,816	37,178	66,809	8,834	11.6	351	30,160	45,835	22.9	23.4	19.4
1920 (Jan. 1)	53,900	51,810	94,821	10,463	9.9	427	54,158	51,553	25.3	25.6	22.3
1930 (Apr. 1)	62,137	60,638	110,287	11,891	9.7	597	68,955	53,820	26.4	26.9	23.5
1940 (Apr. 1)	66,062	65,608	118,215	12,866	9.8	589	74,424	57,246	29.0	29.5	25.3
United States											
1950 (Apr. 1)	75,187	76,139	135,150	15,045	9.9	1,131	96,847	54,479	30.2	30.7	26.2
1960 (Apr. 1)	88,331	90,992	158,832	18,872	10.5	1,620	125,269	54,054	29.5	30.3	23.5
1970 (Apr. 1)[2]	98,926	104,309	178,098	22,581	11.1	2,557	149,325	53,887	28.0	28.9	22.4
1980 (Apr. 1)[3]	110,053	116,493	194,713	26,683	11.8	5,150	167,051	59,495	30.0	30.9	24.9
1985 (July 1, est)	116,160	122,576	202,769	28,870	12.1	7,097	NA	NA	31.5	32.4	26.6
1987 (July 1, est)	118,531	124,869	205,820	29,736	12.2	7,844	NA	NA	32.1	33.0	27.2

(NA) Not available. (1) Excludes Alaska and Hawaii. (2) The revised 1970 resident population count is 203,302,031, which incorporates changes due to errors found after tabulations were completed. The race and sex data shown here reflect the official 1970 census count while the residence data come from the tabulated count. (3) The race data shown for April 1, 1980 have been modified.

99th Congress
1st Session

COMMITTEE PRINT

S. PRT.
99-95

SENATE CLOTURE RULE

LIMITATION OF DEBATE IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

and

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF PARAGRAPH 2 OF RULE XXII OF THE STANDING RULES OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE (CLOTURE RULE)

Congressional Research Service
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Printed for the Use of the
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION
UNITED STATES SENATE

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1985

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ture. On February 15, Mansfield filed a cloture petition. He stated that unless the cloture motion received the support of at least 60 Senators, he would favor laying aside S. Res. 9. On February 7, the Senate refused by a 54-42 rollcall vote to invoke cloture on the pending motion to take up the resolution.

1964—Debate began March 9, 1964, on a motion by Majority Leader Mansfield to take up a House-passed civil rights bill (H.R. 7152). On March 16, after 16 days of debate the Senate by a 67-17 cloture rollcall agreed to take up the bill. Debate on the bill began March 30. By the tenth week of debate almost no significant floor action had been taken because Southern opponents were preventing final disposition of the bill and its amendments. During the 19th week of debate a compromise was worked out by the Democratic leadership, Senator Dirksen, the Minority Leader, and the Justice Department. The major changes in the bill were in the enforcement of Titles II and VII covering accommodations and fair employment practices. In both cases the Government was allowed to intervene only where there was a "pattern" of discrimination. On June 1, Mansfield announced he would file a petition for cloture on June 8. The Senate on June 10 for the *first time* in its history voted to shut off *debate* on a civil rights bill (71-29). This vote ended a 57-day filibuster on the bill itself. Including debate on the motion to take up, 74 calendar days were consumed by the filibuster on the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

1964—On August 13, 1964, debate began on a proposed amendment put together by the Senate Republican and Democratic leadership and the Justice Department, authorizing temporary stays in the execution of any court order requiring immediate population-based reapportionment of State legislatures. The amendment, co-sponsored by Minority Leader Dirksen and Majority Leader Mansfield, was proposed as a rider to the pending foreign aid authorization bill. Dirksen had support among Senators from all sections, many of them under heavy home State pressure to ease the immediate court pressure for reapportionment. Criticism was voiced by liberal Members of the Senate and a mild filibuster was launched by Joseph Clark, Wayne Morse, William Proxmire, Gaylord Nelson, Paul Douglas, Philip Hart, and Abraham Ribicoff. By a rollcall vote of 30-63, the Senate on September 10 rejected a cloture motion by Everett Dirksen to close off the Northern liberal filibuster.

1965—On April 22, 1965, debate began on the amended Administration voting rights bill (S. 1564). The Senate leadership of both parties opposed a poll tax amendment in the bill after the Justice Department expressed doubt about its constitutionality. Accordingly, an amendment sponsored by Majority Leader Mansfield and Minority Leader Dirksen, which added to the bill a Congressional declaration that poll taxes infringed on the constitutional right to vote, was adopted on May 19. Allen Ellender, Herman Talmadge, and Strom Thurmond led the opposition overall to the bill. A debate-limiting

tabled by voice vote, and the cloture petitions on the committee amendment were vitiated by unanimous consent. The measure was then passed on October 4.

Measures delayed or defeated by filbusters [1]

Measures	Year	Length of debate
Reconstruction of Louisiana	1865	5 days.
Repeal of election laws	1879	4 days.
Force bill (Federal elections)	1890-91	33 days.
River and harbor bills (3)	1901	1 day
	1903	Do.
	1914	11 days.
Tristate bill	1903	
Colombian Treaty (Panama Canal)	1903	
Ship subsidy bills (2)	1907	2 days.
	1922-23	2½ months.
Canadian reciprocity bill	1911	
Arizona-New Mexico statehood	1911	2 days.
Ship purchase bill	1915	33 days.
Armed ship resolution	1917	23 days.
Oil and mineral leasing bill and several appropriations bills	1918	
Anti-Lynch bills (3)	1922	4 days.
	1935	6 days
	1937-38	29 days.
Migratory bird bill	1926	
Campaign investigation resolution	1927	
Colorado River bills (Boulder Dam project) (2)	1927, 1928	
Emergency officers retirement bill	1927	
Washington public buildings bill	1927	
National-origins provisions in immigration laws, resolution to postpone	1929	1 day.
Oil industry investigation	1931	2 days.
Supplemental deficiency bill	1935	1 day.
Work relief ("prevailing wage" amendment)	1935	
Flood control bill	1935	1 day.
Coal conservation bill	1936	Do.
Anti-poll tax bills (4)	1942	9 days.
	1944	4 days.
	1946	3 days.
	1948	5 days.
Fair employment practices bills (2)	1946	18 days.
	1950	12 days.
Slot machine bill	1950	11 hours.
Tidelands oil bill	1953	25 days.
Atomic energy bill, amendment	1954	12 days.
Civil rights bill	1957	23 days.
Do	1960	40 days.
Senate rules, adoption of	1961	3 days.
Literacy test for voting	1962	15 days.
Communications satellite bill	1962	21 days.
Amend Rule 22	1963	18 days.
Civil rights bill	1964	83 days.
Reapportionment amendment	1964	26 days.
Voting rights	1965	26 days.
	1965	9 days.
Right-to-work	1966	15 days.
Civil rights	1966	9 days.
District of Columbia home rule	1966	2 days.
Amend Rule 22	1967	8 days.
Campaign fund financing	1967	20 days.
Open housing	1968	34 days.
Fortas nomination	1968	6 days.
Amend Rule 22	1969	12 days.
Haynsworth nomination	1969	7 days.
Carswell nomination	1970	18 days.
Cooper-Church amendment	1970	34 days.
Abolishment of electoral college	1970	16 days.
Family assistance plan	1970	8 days.
Shoe-textile import quotas	1970	7 days.
Fund for supersonic transport	1970	7 days.
Amend Rule 22	1971	30 days.
Military draft extension	1971	32 days.

Measures delayed or defeated by filbusters [1]—Continued

Measures	Year	Length of debate
Lockheed loan	1971	9 days.
Rehnquist nomination	1971	5 days.
Equal job opportunities	1972	23 days.
U.S.-Soviet Arms Pact	1972	9 days.
Consumer Protection Agency	1972	10 days.
Anti-busing	1972	5 days.
Voter registration	1973	10 days.
Public financing of campaigns (amendment to Debt Ceiling Bill)	1973	4 days.
Rhodesian chrome	1973	8 days.
Legal services	1973–74	9 days.
Genocide Treaty	1974	4 days.
Government pay raise	1974	5 days.
Public financing of campaigns	1974	13 days.
Public debt ceiling	1974	10 days.
Consumer Protection Act	1974	17 days.
Export-Import Bank extension	1974	4 days.
Supplemental appropriations (school desegregation amendment)	1974	5 days.
Regional railroad reorganization	1975	3 days.
Amend Rule 22	1975	16 days.
Tax Reduction Act	1975	3 days.
Consumer Protection Act	1975	5 days.
Personal Senate committee staff	1975	4 days.
New Hampshire senatorial contest	1975	23 days.
Voting Rights Act	1975	3 days.
Oil price ceiling	1975	6 days.
Labor-HEW/busing amendments	1975	9 days.
Common site picketing	1975	10 days.
Rail services bill	1975	2 days.
New York aid bill	1975	3 days.
Rice production bill	1976	5 days.
Antitrust Act amendments	1976	14 days.
Civil rights attorneys' fees	1976	7 days.
Vietnam draft evader pardon resolution	1977	5 days.
Amend Rule 22	1977	4 days.
Campaign financing	1977	8 days.
Natural gas deregulation	1977	14 days.
Panama Canal treaties	1978	38 days.
Labor law reform	1978	17 days.
Tax reduction	1978	5 days.
Energy tax conference report	1978	2 days.
Windfall oil profits tax	1979	21 days.
Nomination of William Lubbers to be General Counsel, NLRB	1980	6 days.
Civil rights of institutionalized persons, conference report	1980	8 days.
Soft drink products	1980	4 days.
Draft registration	1980	8 days.
Nomination of Don Zimmerman to NLRB	1980	6 days.
Alaska lands	1980	12 days.
Vessel tonnage/surface mining	1980	5 days.
Fair Housing Amendments	1980	6 days.
Nomination of Stephen Breyer to be U.S. Circuit Court Judge	1980	4 days.
Department of Justice authorization/busing	1981–1982	21 days.
State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations	1981	8 days.
Broadcasting of Senate chamber proceedings	1982	12 days.
Criminal Code Reform Act of 1982	1982	2 days.
Urgent Supplemental Appropriations, 1982	1982	3 days.
Voting Rights Act extension	1982	7 days.
Temporary debt limit increase	1982	17 days.
Antitrust contributions	1982	3 days.
Surface Transportation Assistance Act	1982	5 days.
Surface Transportation Assistance Act, conference report	1982	2 days.
Emergency jobs appropriations, 1983 (included amendment on interest and dividend tax withholding).	1983	7 days.
International Trade and Investment Act (included amendment on interest and dividend tax withholding).	1983	6 days.
Omnibus Defense Authorization (MX missile production)	1983	13 days.
Radio Broadcasting to Cuba	1983	5 days.
Natural Gas Policy Act Amendments of 1983	1983	Do.
Capital Punishment	1984	Do.
Hydroelectric Power Plants	1984	4 days.
Nomination of J. Harvie Wilkinson, III, to be circuit judge	1984	5 days.
Budget Act Waiver, Agriculture Appropriations, 1985	1984	7 days.
Financial Services Competitive Equity Act	1984	6 days.

The committee began hearings May 26 on proposals for a code of ethics governing Congress' members and employes. [See pp. 115D3-116B2]

Sen. Kennedy Injured. Sen. Edward M. (Ted) Kennedy (D., Mass.), 32, younger brother of the late Pres. John F. Kennedy, suffered serious injuries June 19 when a 2-engine Aero-Commander plane carrying him from Washington crashed in a fog into an apple orchard in Southampton, Mass.

Sen. and Mrs. Birch Bayh of Indiana, also passengers in the plane, received less serious injuries.

The pilot, Edwin T. Zimny, 48, of Lawrence, Mass., was killed in the crash, and Kennedy's administrative assistant, Edward S. Moss, 41, died 7 hours later from head injuries suffered in the crash.

Kennedy sustained fractures of 2 ribs, 3 vertebrae in the lower back and 3 transverse processes of the spine.

The Senators were *en route* to the Massachusetts Democratic state convention in West Springfield, where Bayh was to have delivered the keynote address. Delegates to the convention June 20 endorsed Kennedy by acclamation for nomination to a full 6-year term in the Senate. [See p. 141C-D1, F3]

Civil Rights

Senate Passes Rights Bill. An omnibus civil rights bill was passed by the Senate at 7:49 p.m. June 19 by 73-27 vote on the 83d day of debate, the longest legislative debate in Senate history.* Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (Ariz.) voted against the bill, a substitute measure which was sent to the House for reconciliation with the rights bill passed there Feb. 10. [See pp. 184F3-185C2]

Pres. Johnson, in San Francisco at the time of passage, hailed the Senate's action and called the bill "a challenge to all Americans to transform the commands of our laws into the customs of our land." "This bill goes further to invest the rights of man with the protection of law than any legislation in this century," he said.

The final vote (all Senators participating):

For passage: 46 D.—Anderson (N.M.), Bartlett (Alaska), Bayh (Ind.), Brewster (Md.), Bible (Nev.), Burdick (N.D.), Cannon (Nev.), Church (Ida.), Clark (Pa.), Dodd (Conn.), Douglas (Ill.), Edmondson (Okla.), Engle (Calif.), Gruening (Aleska), Hart (Mich.), Hartke (Ind.), Hayden (Ariz.), Humphrey (Minn.), Inouye (Hawaii), Jackson (Wash.), Kennedy (Mass.), Lausche (O.), Long (Mo.), Magnuson (Wash.), Mansfield (Mont.), McCarthy (Minn.), McGee (Wyo.), McGovern (S.D.), McIntyre (N.H.), McNamara (Mich.), Metcalf (Mont.), Monroney (Okla.), Morse (Ore.), Moss (Utah), Muskie (Me.), Nelson (Wis.), Neuberger (Ore.), Pastore (R.I.), Pell (R.I.), Proxmire (Wis.), Randolph (W. Va.), Ribicoff (Conn.), Symington (Mo.), Williams (N.J.), Yarborough (Tex.), Young (O.). **27 R.**—Aiken (Vt.), Allott (Colo.), Beall (Md.), Bennett (Utah), Boggs (Del.), Carlson (Kan.), Case (N.J.), Cooper (Ky.), Curtis (Neb.), Dirksen (Ill.), Dominick (Colo.), Fong (Hawaii), Hruska (Neb.), Javits (N.Y.), Jordan (Ida.), Keating (N.Y.), Kuchel (Calif.), Miller (Ia.), Morton (Ky.), Mundt (S.D.), Pearson (Kan.), Prouty (Vt.), Saltonstall (Mass.), Scott (Pa.), Smith (Me.), Williams (Del.), Young (N.D.).

Vs. passage: 21 D.— Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Eastland (Miss.), Ellender (La.), Ervin (N.C.), Fulbright (Ark.), Gore (Tenn.), Hill (Ala.), Holland (Fla.), Johnston (S.C.), Jordan (N.C.), Long (La.), McClellan (Ark.), Robertson (Va.), Russell (Ga.), Smathers (Fla.), Sparkman (Ala.), Stennis (Miss.), Talmadge (Ga.), Thurmond (S.C.), Walters (Tenn.). **6 R.**—Cotton (N.H.), Goldwater (Ariz.), Hickenlooper (Ia.), Mechem (N.M.), Simpson (Wyo.), Tower (Tex.).

*The debate started Mar. 9 and lasted 736 hours 10 minutes.

Just prior to the vote, Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) rose to praise the Senate minority leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.), who had helped fashion the substitute bill and had marshalled the Republican support needed for the historic cloture vote 9 days previously. "This is his finest hour," Mansfield said. "The Senate and the whole country are in debt to the Senator from Illinois." Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.), Democratic floor manager of the bill, sought to dissipate some of the anger that had built up during the debate. He appealed for a demonstration that "we can fight without rancor, win without pride and . . . lose without bitterness." Dirksen, the last to speak prior to passage, rejected arguments that parts of the bill were unconstitutional. He cited examples of other important legislation—Social Security, the Pure Food & Drug Act, Minimum Wage Law—that had also been attacked on the same ground. "Today they are accepted," he said, "because they were a forward thrust in the whole effort of mankind." "There is latitude enough in the Constitution to embrace within its 4 corners these advances," he said. "In the history of mankind, there is an inexorable moral force that moves us forward. No matter the resistance of people who do not fully understand, it will not be denied."

Between cloture and passage, the Senate voted on 115 amendments and had 106 roll-call votes. A Senate record of 34 roll-call votes was set June 16 (previous record: 16 roll calls in 1951 on a defense production bill). Almost all of the amendments were rejected by substantial margins.

The crucial poll was taken June 17 when the substitute bill, worked out by Dirksen and Administration representatives, was approved by 76-18 vote. The 18 opposed were all Southern Democrats; Goldwater was paired in support of the substitute with Sen. John G. Tower (R., Tex.), who opposed it.

Immediately after the vote June 17 Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), leader of the Southern bloc, told the Senate he found the substitute "more obnoxious than the House bill." He charged that it had been formulated "to make this a sectional measure aimed at the South." Humphrey responded that "it was with real heavy heart that I heard this bill described as a sectional bill. The process of legislation requires accommodation."

Goldwater, who had voted with the Southern bloc repeatedly in futile attempts to amend the bill, went to Gettysburg, Pa. June 18, the day before the final vote, to explain his position to ex-Pres. Eisenhower. Returning to the Senate, Goldwater announced June 18 that he would vote against the bill. He said: "I am unalterably opposed to discrimination of any sort, and I believe that though the problem is fundamentally one of the heart, some law can help—but not law . . . [with] provisions which fly in the face of the Constitution and which require for their effective execution the creation of a police state. . . . This vote will be reluctantly cast, because I had hoped to be able to vote 'yea.' . . . If my vote is misconstrued, . . . let me suffer its consequences. Just let me be judged in this by the real concern I have voiced. . . ." "The 2 portions of this bill to which I have constantly . . . voiced objections, and which are of such overriding significance that they are determinative of my vote on the entire measure, are those which would embark the federal government on a regulatory course of action with regard to private enterprise in the area of so-called 'public accommodations' and in the area of employment. . . ." ". . . The federal police force and an 'informer' psychology [which would be created by these provisions], are the hallmarks of the police state and landmarks in the destruction of a free society."

After Goldwater announced his stand, he received from Gov. William W. Scranton (R., Pa.) a telegram urging him "to repudiate" his opposition by voting yes on final passage since his views on the subject were "opposed to the traditional Republican philosophy of equal opportunity for all. . . ." Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R., N.Y.) said June 19 that Goldwater had "effectively abandoned the Republican Party on the most fundamental issue of our time." [See p. 194E1, A3]

Trespass Convictions Upset. The U.S. Supreme Court June 22 reversed trespass convictions of 42 sit-in demonstrators in 5 cases from Maryland, South Carolina and Florida.

By 6-3 rulings, the court upset:

(1) The 1960 convictions of 12 student demonstrators at a Baltimore restaurant (the majority said Maryland courts should re-examine the convictions in the light of a subsequently-passed state public accommodations law);

(2) The 1960 convictions of 2 Negro students refused service at a lunch counter in Columbia, S.C. (the majority held that state law at the time had not prohibited failure to leave private property on request);

(3) Convictions of 5 Negroes arrested at a Maryland amusement park by a park employe who was a county deputy sheriff (and thus a state agent involving the state in enforcement of discrimination).

The 2 other cases, resolved unanimously: (a) 5 Columbia, S.C. convictions were reversed for lack of evidence; (b) a Florida conviction was reversed because of evidence of state encouragement of segregation by means of a health regulation requiring separate white and Negro washrooms in a Miami restaurant where 18 sit-in demonstrators had been arrested.

None of the cases was resolved on the basis of whether the Constitution prohibited state-trespass prosecutions of persons demanding service without discrimination at privately-owned places of business. 6 of the justices, however, took sides on the issue in various opinions: Justices Arthur J. Goldberg and William O. Douglas and Chief Justice Earl Warren held that the Constitution prohibited such arrests in places of public accommodation; Justices Hugo L. Black, John Marshall Harlan and Byron R. White took the opposite view. [See p. 109G1]

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should withdraw from the Chinese territory which they have occupied all along the Sino-Indian border."

Following an earlier exchange of messages, a Communist Chinese note accepting a July 26 Indian offer to resume negotiations had been made public by Indian Prime Min. Nehru in Parliament Aug. 6. The Indian note had proposed: that the talks be held "as soon as current tensions [in the Ladakh area] have eased and the appropriate climate is created," that the conference be held "on the basis of a report of officials of the 2 countries." The report, based on an agreement reached between Nehru and Communist Chinese Premier Chou En-lai in Apr. 1960 and published by India Feb. 1961, supported the Indian position on the Ladakh dispute. It declared that Communist China had made "unwarranted claims to about 50,000 square miles of Indian territory and was in unlawful occupation of 12,000 square miles" in Ladakh. China, which had ignored the report, had finally published excerpts of it May 2 to support its own claims to the territory. India had assailed the Chinese version of the report as "garbled and truncated."

Nehru said during Parliament debate on Ladakh Aug. 13 that Chinese troops had again fired on Indian soldiers in Ladakh in the Pangong Lake area July 27 and northeast of Daulat Beg Oldi Aug. 4. An Indian protest brought a Chinese counter-charge that Indian troops had fired on Chinese soldiers on 4 occasions in the Chip Chak River area and the Glawan Valley area, Nehru said. Indian and Chinese troops engaged in sporadic clashes through September in the Ladakh region and along the Tibet-Bhutan border in the east. India claimed that 8 of its soldiers had been wounded, one seriously, by Sept. 29; a Communist Chinese press agency report asserted that 5 Chinese soldiers had been killed and 14 wounded.

Indian officials reported Sept. 18 that Chinese troops had established 34 checkposts since May in these areas of Indian-claimed Ladakh: Chip Chak, Galwan, Kara Kash and Pangong Lake. [See p. 249E2-E3]

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

The President

Relations with Business. Pres. Kennedy Sept. 26 told 350 magazine executives attending a White House Conference for Business Magazine Editors & Publishers that a "cardinal objective" of his Administration was the strengthening of the free market, which he called a "decentralized regulator" and "more efficient decision-maker than even the wisest central planning body." The President said he wanted "as close an understanding as possible" with business. Conceding that there was a traditional political antagonism between Democratic administrations and the business community, Mr. Kennedy said he wanted business' support on legislation to aid the economy. (Commerce Secy. Luther H. Hodges and Walter W. Heller, Council of Economic Advisers chairman, assured the conferees that the Administration was not anti-business.) [See p. 199D2]

Appointments. Ex-Amb.-to-USSR Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr., 62, was designated by Pres. Kennedy in Newport, R.I. Sept. 22 as an ambassador at large and special adviser on Soviet affairs to the State Secretary. [See p. 250D1]

Rep. Kathryn E. Granahan (D., Pa.) was designated by the President Sept. 28 to succeed Mrs. Elizabeth Rudel Smith Gatov as Treasurer of the U.S. [See p. 140F2]

The designation of career officer W. Walton Butterworth of New Orleans as ambassador to Canada was announced by the President in Houston, Tex. Sept. 11.

Other appointments:

Aug. 7—John deLaittre of Minnesota as a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (replacing Ira A. Dixon).

Dr. Edward Mills Purcell, Harvard physics professor and 1952 Nobel Prize winner, to the Science Advisory Committee (succeeding Dr. Franklin A. Long).

Aug. 12—Francis Henry Russell of Turner, Me. to succeed Walter N. Walmsley as ambassador to Tunisia.

Aug. 22—Thomas Killefer of Virginia as executive director of the Inter-American Development Bank.

Aug. 28—Sens. Albert A. Gore (D., Tenn.) and Gordon Allott (R., Colo.) as new members of the U.S. delegation to the UN General Assembly; Deputy Asst. State Secy. Carl T. Rowan as a new alternate delegate.

Aug. 29—Abba Philip Schwartz, 46, of Baltimore as administrator of the State Department's Bureau of Security & Consular Affairs.

Aug. 30—E. William Henry of Memphis, Tenn. to the FCC (succeeding John Cross); Export-Import Bank Executive Vice Pres. Walter C. Sauer, 57, as the bank's first vice president.

Sept. 10—Hobart Taylor Jr., 41, a Negro, as executive vice chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. (Taylor was to continue in his post as Vice Pres. Johnson's executive assistant.)

Sept. 21—John F. Henning, 46, director of the California State Industrial Relations Department, as Labor Undersecretary (succeeding W. Willard Wirtz, who became Labor Secretary).

Sept. 22—Dr. Leona Baumgartner, 60, first deputy commissioner of the N.Y. City Health Department for 9 years, as assistant administrator of the Agency for International Development (AID) in charge of the Office of Human Resources & Development for aid to developing nations in education, health, food, housing and jobs.

Sept. 25—Dr. Hollis B. Chenery, director of the AID's program review and coordination staff, as AID assistant administrator.

Sept. 26—A. Leon Higginbotham Jr., 34, a Negro, president of the NAACP's Philadelphia branch, to a 7-year FTC term (succeeding William C. Kern).

Sept. 29—William C. Doherty as the first U.S. ambassdor to Jamaica. (Doherty had been president of the AFL-CIO National Association Letter Carriers of the United States of America for 21 years until his resignation earlier in September.)

(Norbert A. Schlei, 33, of North Hollywood, Calif. was sworn in Aug. 24 as an Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Office of Legal Counsel to succeed Nicholas Katzenbach, who had become Deputy Attorney General. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy's special assistant, William G. Hundley, 37, was appointed Sept. 5 to be chief of the Criminal Division's Organized Crime & Racketeering Section; he succeeded Edwyn Silberling, who had resigned July 31.)

(Dr. Ragnar Rollefson, 56, a University of Wisconsin physicist, was named Sept. 14 to head a new State Department Office of International Scientific Affairs.)

West Virginia Campaign. Pres. Kennedy campaigned in Wheeling, W. Va. Sept. 27 on behalf of Rep. Cleveland E. Bailey (D.), whose opponent in a reapportioned district was Rep. Arch Alfred Moore (R.). Mr. Kennedy held that West Virginia had suffered "decline and rot" under "negative" Republican policies but that its "whole economic climate" had been transformed under "compassionate," "affirmative" Democratic policies. [See p. 324E3]

Mississippi Desegregation Crisis

15-Hour Riot in Oxford. Thousands of University of Mississippi students and other segregationists rioted in Oxford Sept. 30-Oct. 1 and fought federal law officers and troops in a savage protest against the court-ordered registration at the university of James H. Meredith, 29, a Negro. 2 persons were killed in the disorders.

Meredith's registration—blocked 3 times previously by Gov. Ross R. Barnett and Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi—was accomplished Oct. 1 and marked the first desegregation of a public school in Mississippi.* But the defiance of federal authority exemplified by the rioting and by Barnett's actions posed what was considered the most serious breach in federal-state relations since the Civil War.

A heavy guard of U.S. marshals had escorted Meredith when he took up residence on the campus Sept. 30. A few hours later—about 8 p.m.—the rioting erupted and continued during a nationally televised plea by Pres. Kennedy at 10:30 p.m. for the students and citizens of Mississippi to comply peacefully with federal law. Rioting on the campus and in downtown Oxford was not quelled until 3,000 federal troops and federalized National Guardsmen and 400 U.S. marshals restored order at about 11:00 a.m. Oct. 1.

The rioting brought death to 2 men—Paul Guihard, 30, a correspondent for Agence France Presse, found dead with a bullet in his back, and Ray Gunter, 23, a jukebox repairman from nearby Abbeville, shot in the head. More than 60-70 were injured, including 25 U.S. marshals, one seriously from a shotgun blast in the neck. 150 alleged rioters were arrested, including ex-Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker of Texas, who had commanded federal troops used in the Little Rock, Ark. school desegregation crisis in 1957 and who had resigned from the Army in 1961 following an official reprimand for conducting rightwing political orientation of his troops. (12 more persons, none believed to be students, were arrested Oct. 2.)

Barnett's firm defiance of the federal court orders requiring Meredith's registration had begun to evaporate Sept. 30. A few hours prior to the President's appeal Barnett's resistance was shaken by a series of firm federal steps: Mr. Kennedy, in the mounting tension, had federalized the Mississippi National Guard Sept. 30; the force of deputy U.S. marshals had been increased, and a staging base had been set up at the Memphis (Tenn.) Naval Air Station by 110 men of the 70th Battalion of Engineers, who arrived in Memphis from Fort Campbell, Ky. Sept. 28.

Barnett, in a statement issued Sept. 30, said: "My heart still says 'never,' but my calm judgment abhors the bloodshed that will follow"; "we are now completely

*Harry S. Murphy Jr., 35, a Negro, disclosed in New York Sept. 24 that he had attended the University of Mississippi as a full-time student in the 1945-46 school year under the Navy V-12 program. Murphy, light-complexioned, said that the university officials had not known he was a Negro and that his Navy records had listed him as "white" or "Caucasian."

surrounded by armed forces, and . . . we are physically overpowered. He urged Mississippi citizens and officials to try to preserve peace and avoid violence.

Less than an hour later, Pres. Kennedy, who had remained at the White House to keep in touch with the Mississippi situation and had spoken 3 times with Barnett by phone Sept. 29, addressed the nation on TV. Mr. Kennedy said: Meredith was on the campus, and the orders of the court "are beginning to be carried out"; "our nation is founded on the principle that observance of the law is the eternal safeguard of liberty and defiance of the law is the surest road to tyranny"; "Americans are free, in short, to disagree with the law, but not to disobey it"; "I deeply regret . . . that any action by the executive branch was necessary in this case," but "my responsibility as President was . . . inescapable." He closed with this appeal to the university students: "Show that you are men of patriotism and integrity" by upholding the law; "It lies in your courage to accept those laws with which you disagree as well as those with which you agree"; "let us preserve both the law and the peace, and then healing those wounds that are within, we can turn to the greater crises that are without and stand united as one people in our pledge to man's freedom."

The campus had been relatively deserted Sept. 30 when Meredith arrived. Many students were away for a football game Sept. 29 in Jackson. Returning students, joined by some adults, began gathering on campus Sept. 30 before the line of about 300 marshals encircling the administration building, the Lyceum. Tension mounted, heckling increased, and members of the crowd began pelting the marshals with rocks, bottles and bricks. At first, about 100 students took part in the disorder, but the number swelled to 2,500 during the mêlée.

At the height of the riot, 2 charges were made on the line of marshals and were repulsed by tear gas. (According to Edwin O. Guthman, the Justice Department's public information chief, who was in Oxford with the marshals), the marshals did not use tear gas until one of them had been hit on the helmet with an iron pipe.) The 2d charge was led by Walker at the head of a force of about 1,000 students. Students also seized a bulldozer from a nearby construction site and a fire engine and unsuccessfully tried to run the unmanned bulldozer into the line of marshals. The fire engine was run across the campus, which, by this time, was overcast with tear gas and strewn with debris. Then shotgun blasts and rifle fire was begun by hidden snipers, and the marshals retreated inside the Lyceum, upon which the snipers continued their fire. Small groups of students roamed the campus and committed acts of vandalism. A favorite target was cars: 5 autos and a mobile TV unit were burned with gasoline fire bombs. Other cars were stoned or overturned and their windows smashed.

The beleaguered marshals were reinforced at about midnight Sept. 30 by the arrival of the Mississippi National Guard's Troop E, 2d Reconnaissance Squadron, 108th Armored Cavalry, from Tupelo. Federal combat troops—elements of the 503d Military Police Battalion, which already had been moved from Fort Bragg, N.C. to Memphis—arrived at Oxford airport by helicopters Oct. 1 at 1:20 a.m. after having been prevented from landing on the campus by the dense smoke—and left immediately for the campus by bus. They were met with flying bricks, stones and molotov cocktails, and rifle fire was heard. The MPs moved in toward the fatigued marshals with fixed bayonets but did not fire. The remainder of the battalion arrived by convoy on the campus at about 4:30 a.m. after being detained by an ambush at a railroad trestle, where they had been pelted with heavy objects. After a final assault by 100 hard-core students was turned back at the Lyceum, the troops began rounding up rioters. At about 5:30 a.m. the rioting on the campus had ceased.

Rioting, however, broke out in downtown Oxford at about 9 a.m. Oct. 1 and continued until before noon. Soldiers, Negroes and newsmen were beaten and pelted. Cars and homes were damaged. Order finally was restored by troops firing over the heads of the mob.

Roadblocks were then set up outside town, and the square was ringed with troops. By this time, about 3,000 troops were in Oxford under the command of Brig. Gen. Charles Billingslea, assistant commander of the 2d Infantry Division at Fort Benning, Ga. In addition to the Tupelo unit, other guardists used were from the 2d Battle Group, 155th Infantry Regiment, from Amory. Federal troops used, in addition to the Fort Bragg MP unit: 716th Military Police Battalion, Fort Dix, N.J.; 720th Military Police Battalion, Fort Hood, Tex.; 2d Battle Group, 2d Infantry Division, Fort Benning, Ga.; 31st Helicopter Co., Jacksonville, N.C.

By Oct. 2, the troops in and around Oxford (population: 6,500) numbered about 13,500 and included the National Guard's 108th Armored Cavalry Regiment and federal forces of the First Infantry Regiment, Fort Benning, Ga. and 3,500 paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division. The paratroopers were withdrawn later Oct. 2 and 3 for "regroupment" in Memphis.

Walker's Arrest. Walker, who had appeared downtown in Oxford during the rioting, was arrested Oct. 1 at a checkpoint near midtown set up by the 2d Infantry 2d Battle Group. He was charged under 4 sections of Title 18 of the U.S. Code. The charges: assault or opposing federal officers, preventing a federal officer from discharging his duties, inciting or engaging in an insurrection against the U.S., conspiracy to overthrow or oppose by force the execution of U.S. laws. He was arraigned before U.S. Commissioner Omar D. Craig in Oxford Oct. 1, bail was set at $100,000, and he was taken to the Federal Bureau of Prisons in Springfield, Mo. that night. U.S. District Judge Claude Clayton in Oxford Oct. 2 ordered psychiatric examination of Walker and barred his release on bond until the examination were completed.

When the Mississippi crisis had arisen Walker had broadcast a radio appeal from Dallas, Tex. Sept. 28 for segregationists "to move" "to a stand" beside Barnett. Walker urged: "10,000 strong from every state in the union! Rally to the cause of freedom! The battle cry of the Republic: Barnett, yes! Castro, no! Bring your flag, your tent, and your skillet. It's now or never!" [See p. 249E1]

Aftermath. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy and Gov. Barnett engaged in a verbal duel Oct. 1 over the responsibility for the violence. Kennedy asserted in a statement that Meredith's entrance to the campus had been "arranged by" Barnett and that Barnett had "assured" the Justice Department that law and order would be maintained by state police. He charged that the state police had been withdrawn from the campus area shortly after the rioting began, were returned after the first violence had subsided and were withdrawn again when further violence erupted. During this latter period, he said, "approximately 150 of the police were observed sitting in their automobiles within ½ mile of the rioting and shooting." He praised the marshals' "restraint and judgment" and said their action was "in the finest tradition of the federal service."

Barnett, in a TV address taped Oct. 1 and broadcast partially that night, denied Kennedy's charges and asserted that the fatal rioting was caused by "inexperienced, nervous and trigger-happy federal marshals." He said: Mississippians were "enraged, incensed—and rightly so"; "free men do not submit meekly to the kind of treatment Mississippians received"; the bloodshed could be ended if Meredith and the troops were removed from the university; he had "begged" federal officials not to place Meredith on the campus until tension had eased; the violence flared from marshals' firing of tear gas at the backs of unarmed state patrolmen when a pop bottle shattered on the street as the patrolmen were "successfully moving the students," who were "noisy and boisterous, but not violent."

(Reporter Claude Sitton reported in the N.Y. Times Oct. 2 that 200 state troopers "stood by on and around the campus" during the rioting but "made no effort to break up the mob" and "pulled back from the riot scene shortly after 9 o'clock [p.m. Sept. 30], leaving the marshals to defend themselves." Sitton reported that the troopers' withdrawals were authorized by State Sen. George Yarborough, Barnett's official representative on the campus.)

Meredith Attends Classes. Meredith attended 2 classes after his enrollment Oct. 1 with no incidents except jeering and shouts of "nigger" from students. Meredith at first was escorted by U.S. Chief Marshal James J. P. McShane and another marshal, but his guard was increased to 75 marshals before he reached his first class. 4 marshals stood on duty outside but none inside his classrooms. He also attended classes peacefully Oct. 2 with an escort of marshals and with his car followed by an Army truck carrying 12 armed soldiers.

About 35-50 students demonstrated near Meredith's campus residence early Oct. 3 and burned him in effigy. Armed federal troops quickly dispersed the group without making arrests. Just after daybreak soldiers also removed a 2d effigy hanging from a building adjoining



(Wide World photo)

James Meredith, first Negro knowingly enrolled at University of Mississippi, is escorted by U.S. marshals Oct. 1 as he walks across campus to first class.

Meredith's. Meredith continued classes uneventfully Oct. 3.

A native Mississippian, born in Kosciusko, Meredith was married and the father of a son. His reason for enrolling at the university was that it offered him the best course in his major, political science. He had 3 semesters—a year and a half—to go to complete studies for a degree.

Early Registration Attempts. Meredith's 3 previous registration attempts had been blocked Sept. 20-26 by Barnett and Lt. Gov. Johnson.

Meredith, an Air Force veteran, had applied for admission to the university in Jan. 1961. After 2 of his applications had been rejected, he instituted a federal court suit charging racial bias. He was represented by NAACP lawers Jack Greenberg and Mrs. Constance Baker Motley. The U.S. Justice Department entered the case on his behalf later. U.S. District Court Judge Sidney C. Mize ruled in Dec. 1961 that the denials had not been solely on racial grounds. The U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals Jan. 12 upheld Mize's ruling but held unconstitutional the university's requirement that applicants submit letters of recommendation from alumni of the all-white institution. Mize reheard the case and refused Feb. 5 to order the university to admit Meredith. Mize's decision was upheld in New Orleans Feb. 12 by a 2-1 decision of a 3-judge panel of the 5th Circuit Court with Chief Judge Elbert R. Tuttle dissenting. State officials then sought to prosecute Meredith on a charge that he had violated state law in 1960 by listing his residence as Hinds County on his voter registration and Attala County on his university application. Prosecution of this charge was barred June 12 by the U.S. 5th Circuit Court. (Justice of the Peace Homer Edgeworth in Jackson convicted Meredith on the charge in absentia Sept. 20, but the conviction was reversed the same day by U.S. District Judges Mize and Harold Cox on Justice Department request.)

An injunction to force Meredith's admission to the school was issued in New Orleans June 25 by a 2-1 decision of a 3-judge panel of the 5th Circuit Court (Judge Dozier De Vane dissenting). The court held that Meredith had been rejected "solely because he was a Negro." U.S. District Judge Ben. F. Cameron in Meridian, Miss. issued 4 stays of this order. 3 of the stays were reversed by the 5th Circuit Court by Aug. 4. the 4th, issued Aug. 6, was appealed to the Supreme Court, and Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black Sept. 10 nullified Cameron's stays and ordered Meredith's admission to the university. In a statewide TV-radio address Sept. 13 Gov. Barnett (a) invoked, under a 1956 state resolution, the doctrine of interposition of state sovereignty between the federal government and the people of the state, and (b) proclaimed that all public schools and institutions of higher learning would henceforth be operated under state supervision answerable only to state laws. The governor said every public official should be willing to go to jail for the cause of segregation.

Barnett, 64, met with the university's trustees Sept. 17 but reportedly failed to gain their agreement to defy the desegregation order.

The legislature Sept. 18 indorsed Barnett's Sept. 13 proclamations and adopted legislation Sept. 19 to block Meredith's entrance to the university.

Chancery Court Judge L. B. Porter in Oxford Sept. 19 issued an injunction forbidding Meredith's admission to the university. Porter acted on the request of 47 white citizens of Mississippi, including many parents of students at the university. On Justice Department request, the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals voided Porter's injunction Sept. 20.

Just prior to the first attempt Sept. 20 to get Meredith admitted, Barnett had the Board of Trustees of Institutions of Higher Learning appoint him as special registrar for Meredith. He flew to Oxford and rejected Meredith's application at a 20-minute meeting in a campus building. Meredith was accompanied by U.S. Atty. St. John Barrett, Chief U.S. Marshal McShane and another U.S. marshal. A crowd of 2,000 students jeered Meredith on the campus. About 100 state and local policemen were on hand.

The Justice Department applied to Mize and to the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of appeals later Sept. 20 for contempt citations against university officials. A 3-judge panel of the Appeals Court in Hattiesburg Sept. 20 issued a show-cause order requiring the university's trustees to answer the charges, but in Meridian Sept. 21 Mize denied the request against the university's 3 top officials on the ground that they were powerless under Barnett's assumption of duty in the matter. On Justice Department request, the 5th Circuit Court then included the 3 officials in the proceedings against the trustees.

At the 5th Circuit Court's hearing in New Orleans Sept. 24, with 8 judges in attendance, the trustees and officials agreed to abide by "any order or any act that this court orders them to." The court, presided over by Chief Judge Tuttle, ordered the university to accept Meredith and to rescind its action in transferring registration authority to Barnett.

Barnett Sept. 24 ordered the summary arrest and imprisonment of any federal official who sought to arrest or fine any Mississippi official for defying court desegregation orders.

The first court action against Barnett, a proceeding the Justice Department had tried to avoid up to then, took place Sept. 25, on application of Meredith's NAACP lawyers, when a 3-judge panel of the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals (a) enjoined him, as well as other state and local officials, from blocking Meredith's entrance and (b) nullified any state injunctions blocking Meredith's entrance.

Meredith, accompanied Sept. 25 by U.S. Atty. John Doar and McShane, again attempted to register at the trustees' office in Jackson, but Barnett blocked the doorway and again denied him admission to the university. Barnett refused to accept copies of the 5th Circuit Court's restraining orders or of a summons to appear before the court. Meredith then returned to New Orleans. On Justice Department application, a different 3-judge panel of the 5th Circuit Court issued a contempt citation against Barnett the night of Sept. 25. Meredith Sept. 26 attempted to enter the university a 3d time, but he and McShane were halted near the main entrance in Oxford by Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson backed by 20 unarmed state troopers and about 15 county sheriffs. Johnson, announcing that he was acting on Barnett's orders, refused to admit Meredith and scuffled several times with McShane as he and the troopers blocked McShane's efforts to push through to the university. Johnson refusal to accept a copy of the contempt citation against Barnett.

The Justice Department later Sept. 26 obtained a contempt citation against Johnson from the U.S. 5th Circuit Court. The court also issued a 2d contempt citation against Barnett, who had evaded attempts to serve him with notice of the court's first action against him. A U.S. marshal trying to deliver the contempt citation to Barnett's office was blocked by state highway police.

A crowd of 2,500 awaited the scheduled 4th attempt of Meredith to register Sept. 27. 200 police equipped with clubs were deployed around the campus by Barnett, who, with Johnson and his top adviser on segregation matters, William J. Simmons, national administrator of the Citizens Council of America, also waited on the campus. But the Justice Department canceled the attempt Sept. 27 and said that the "force accompanying Mr. Meredith [25 U.S. marshals] might not be sufficient to accomplish its mission without major violence and bloodshed for the citizens of Mississippi."

Court Action Vs. Barnett. The 5th Circuit Court in New Orleans Sept. 28 found Barnett guilty of civil contempt and ordered him to purge himself of the charge by 11 a.m. Sept. 30 or be fined $10,000 a day and be committed to the custody of the U.S. Attorney General. The contempt finding was approved by the 8 judges hearing testimony, but 3 of them dissented on the imposition of a fine.

To purge himself the court ordered Barnett to direct his law enforcement officers and state officials to end resistance to and interference with the court's desegregation orders, to maintain law and order at the university and to cooperate with court and federal agents to attain Meredith's registration and attendance at the university.

Before hearing the case, Tuttle said that "the court has practically exhausted its powers in this matter" and "the burden now falls upon the executive branch of the government."

Barnett did not appear in court.

A 3-judge panel of the court tried Johnson in absentia Sept. 29 and found him guilty of contempt. It ordered him to purge himself or face a $5,000-a-day fine.

The 8-judge court Oct. 2 declined to dismiss the contempt cases against Barnett and Johnson, but it set another hearing for Oct. 12 with the judgments of arrest and fines to be held in abeyance. Neither defendant was in court, but the court's jurisdiction in the case was recognized by them for the first time by their representation by counsel, headed by Mississippi Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson. The court Oct. 2 held that the university officers and trustees were complying with the court's orders and freed them of civil contempt charges. [See Vol. XXI, pp. 26G3-27G1]

Reaction. Barnett's position in the crisis was supported Sept. 26 by Mississippi Democrats James O. Eastland and John Stennis in the U.S. Senate and Thomas G. Abernathy, Jamie L. Whitten, Arthur Winstead, John Bell Williams and William M. Colmer of the U.S. House.

Sens. Kenneth B. Keating (R., N.Y.) and Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.) urged Congress Sept. 26 to express support of the attempts to enforce the federal court's order.

Ex-Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower Sept. 27 called Mississippi's refusal to admit Meredith "absolutely unconscionable and indefensible."

2 Southern governors publicly expressed support for Barnett's stand: Gov. John Patterson of Alabama wired Pres. Kennedy Sept. 27 that Barnett was right and the federal government wrong and that if federal force were sent to Mississippi it would be "dictatorship of the foulest sort"; Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas said Oct. 1 that the federal government and not Barnett was responsible for Meredith's safety on the campus.

Gov. Bert Combs of Kentucky said Oct. 1 that "Ross [Barnett] is dead wrong" and "should stop playing Custer's last stand." Gov. S. Ernest Vandiver of Georgia Sept. 30 denounced Barnett's actions and upheld obedience to law.

The university's chapter of the American Association of University Professors Oct. 3 issued a statement deploring the situation and calling the attempt to blame the marshals for the riot "unfair and reprehensible . . . [and] false." They upheld obedience to the law.

In Jackson, Miss. Oct. 2, 200 Mississippians prominent in business or the professions met and signed a statement urging "all our mayors and local public officials . . . to advocate forthrightly and immediately the maintenance of law and order."

FOREIGN

Cuba

West Curbs Ships. Turkey became the first NATO nation to agree publicly to U.S. requests to bar the use of its Turkish Foreign Min. Feridun Cemal Erkin said in New York Sept. 27 that ships for carrying Soviet goods to Cuba. his government, in compliance with a request earlier in the month by U.S. Amb.-to-Turkey Raymond A. Hare, had prevailed upon private Turkish shipowners to withdraw voluntarily from the Cuban trade. Erkin said that about 10 Turkish ships bound for Cuba had been intercepted by Turkish authorities and forbidden to continue.

West Germany had adopted an ordinance requiring all its ships to obtain special permission to carry cargoes to Communist nations. The Bonn government said the regulation would "practically exclude" the shipment of strategic goods to Cuba. An official of West Germany's largest privately owned shipping enterprise (Columbus Line, Hamburg Line and RAO) announced in New York Sept. 29 that the lines' 70 ships would refuse to accept any cargoes for Cuba. The official—Walter A. Nielsen, vice president of the Columbus Line—said Pres. Kennedy. State Secy. Rusk and N.Y. members of Congress had been apprised of the companies' "total boycott" of Cuba.

Pres. Kennedy conferred in Washington Sept. 30 with Lord Home, British foreign secretary, on the actions of British vessels that continued to carry Soviet goods to Cuba. A communiqué issued after the talks said Mr. Kennedy and Lord Home "had agreed on the serious nature of developments in Cuba and they discussed ways and means of containing further expansion and subversion in the Caribbean area." Lord Home had conferred with State Secy. Rusk in New York Sept. 23 on the Cuban situation. After the short meeting, Lord Home said that Britain understood the U.S.' "preoccupation" with Cuba.

Rusk met Norwegian Foreign Min. Halvard Lange in New York Sept. 24 to persuade Norway to bar the use of its ships for the sending of strategic goods to Cuba. The Norwegian Shipowners Association said in Oslo Oct. 1 that Norwegian shipowners had been advised against sending their vessels to Cuba as the "situation is getting more and more unclear." The association de-

Business & Financial Summary

Week Ended Sept. 29

FINANCE:			
U. S. Treasury—	**This Week**	**Last Week**	**Year Ago**
Monetary gold stocks	*$16,068	*$16,067	*$17,451
Currency circulation	*$33,882	*$34,045	*$32,612
Federal Reserve System—	**Sept. 26**	**Sept. 19**	**Sept. 27, 1961**
Reserves	*$15,796	*$15,799	*$17,174
Govt. securities	*$29,102	*$29,668	*$27,081
Note circulation	*$28,815	*$28,929	*$27,593
Discounts & advances	*$773	*$69	*$84
Reserve ratio	33.3%	33.1%	37.7%
Banks	**This Week**	**Last Week**	**Year Ago**
Com'l & ind'l loans§	**$33,891	*$33,590	*$31,937
Agricultural loans	**$1,286	*$1,263	*$1,145
N.Y. bank clearings	*$17,696,350,141	$17,977,709,621	$15,649,137,820
England note circulation	*£2,294,226	*£2,296,242	*£2,303,745
N.Y. Stock Exchange—			
Stock sales (shares)	18,564,370	17,597,070	16,556,424
Stock avgs. (100 shares)**	216.66	220.90	256.02
Bond sales (par value)	$23,112,000	$22,084,000	$30,197,000
Bond avgs. (30 bonds)**	87.46	87.39	86.14
INDUSTRY:			
Auto output (cars & trucks)†	173,297	166,396	138,551
Crude oil (bbl. daily)	[b]7,376,410	7,307,760	7,144,960
Soft-coal output (tons)	[c]8,690,000	7,355,000	8,816,000
Electric output (kwh.)	*[b]16,439	*16,837	*15,025
Carloadings (cars)	[b]592,154	586,626	605,842
	Aug.	**July**	**Aug. 1961**
Ind'l output§[e]	119	119	113
Steel output (tons)	7,097,916	6,174,187	8,660,527
PRICES:	**This Week**	**Last Week**	**Year Ago**
Wheat (bu.)	$2.53⅜	$2.58⅛	$2.74¼
Corn (bu.)	$1.41⅞	$1.41⅜	$1.38⅜
Cotton (lb.)	$.3490	$.3495	$.355
Steel scrap avg. (ton)[e]	$25.50	$26.50	$39.50
Wholesale food index‡	[d]$5.97	$5.95	$5.95
Weekly whlsl. index (BLS)[f]	[d]101.0	101.0	99.9
BUSINESS:			
Dept. stores sales§¶	[b]117	113	111
Failures (Sept. 20)‡	311	270	337

Silver Price Drops. The price of silver in New York dropped 1¾¢ Sept. 28 to $1.1975 an ounce and 1¼¢ Oct. 1 to $1.185. In London, the price dropped 2.6¢ earlier Sept. 28 to the equivalent of $1.185 an ounce and 1.8¢ Oct. 1 to $1.167. The price drops were the first since July 24. Following the withdrawal Sept. 24 of the Bank of Mexico as a seller of silver in New York, the New York price had risen total of 5½¢ an ounce Sept. 25-27. In London it rose 4.1¢ an ounce during the same period. The price rises were attributed to heavy demand in a market in which sales were largely limited to current production; the price drops were attributed to profit-taking by speculators. [See p. 318G2]

U.S. Overseas Output Up. The Commerce Department reported Sept. 23 that foreign factories controlled by U.S. manufacturers had produced $25½ billion worth of goods in 1961. The total was $2 billion more than in 1960 and 40% more than in 1957. In Europe, the 1961 output of manufactured goods by U.S. firms totaled $10.7 billion, 70% more than in 1957; in Latin America, it rose from $3.2 billion in 1960 to $3.8 billion in 1961; in Canada, it remained stable at $8.9 billion. Other 1961 output totals: Great Britain $5.1 billion, Germany $2.3 billion, France $1.2 billion, Australia $1 billion. [See p. 280E-F2]

Corporate Capital. The SEC reported Sept. 18 that the net working capital of U.S. corporations had risen $2.2 billion during April-June to $141.1 billion June 30. Assets rose $4.8 billion, liabilities $2.7 billion. Corporations invested $8.3 billion in new U.S. plants and equipment during the quarter. [See p. 191F2]

Iron Ore. Iron ore on hand at iron and steel plants in the U.S. dropped from 57,318,337 gross tons July 31, 1961 to 56,927,863 tons July 31, 1962, according to the American Iron Ore Association. [See Vol. XXI, p. 283C1]

*In millions **N.Y. Herald Tribune †Ward's estimate ‡Dun & Bradstreet ¶1947-49=100 §Federal Reserve Board [a]Member banks, 107 cities, Sept. 19 [b]Sept. 22 [c]Sept. 15 [d]Sept. 25 [e]Iron Age [f]1957-59=100 [g]1957=100



Yuri A. Gagarin
(1934-1968)

Pact, east European mutual defense agreement, signed (**May 14**). Argentina ousts Perón (**Sept. 19**). President Eisenhower suffers coronary thrombosis in Denver (**Sept. 24**). Martin Luther King, Jr., leads black boycott of Montgomery, Ala., bus system (**Dec. 1**); desegregated service begun (**Dec. 21**). AFL and CIO become one organization—AFL-CIO (**Dec. 5**).

1956 Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of U.S.S.R. Communist Party, denounces Stalin's excesses (**Feb. 24**). First aerial H-bomb tested over Namu islet, Bikini Atoll—10 million tons TNT equivalent (**May 21**). Worker's uprising against Communist rule in Poznan, Poland, is crushed (**June 28–30**). Egypt takes control of Suez Canal (**July 26**). Israel launches attack on Egypt's Sinai peninsula and drives toward Suez Canal (**Oct. 29**). British and French invade Egypt at Port Said (**Nov. 5**). Cease-fire forced by U.S. pressure stops British, French, and Israeli advance (**Nov. 6**). Revolt starts in Hungary—Soviet troops and tanks crush anti-Communist rebellion (**Nov.**).

1957 Eisenhower Doctrine calls for aid to Mideast countries which resist armed aggression from Communist-controlled nations (**Jan. 5**). Eisenhower sends troops to Little Rock, Ark., to quell mob and protect school integration (**Sept. 24**). Russians launch *Sputnik I,* first earth-orbiting satellite—the Space Age begins (**Oct. 4**).

1958 Army's Jupiter-C rocket fires first U.S. earth satellite, *Explorer I,* into orbit (**Jan. 31**). Egypt and Syria merge into United Arab Republic (**Feb. 1**). European Economic Community (Common Market) established by Rome Treaty becomes effective **Jan. 1, 1958**. Khrushchev becomes Premier of Soviet Union as Bulganin resigns (**Mar. 27**). Gen. Charles de Gaulle becomes French premier (**June 1**), remaining in power until 1969. New French constitution adopted (**Sept. 28**), de Gaulle elected president of 5th Republic (**Dec. 21**). Eisenhower orders U.S. Marines into Lebanon at request of President Chamoun, who fears overthrow (**July 15**).



Fidel Castro
(Aug. 13, 1926)

1959 Cuban President Batista resigns and flees—Castro takes over (**Jan. 1**). Tibet's Dalai Lama escapes to India (**Mar. 31**). St. Lawrence Seaway opens, allowing ocean ships to reach Midwest (**April 25**).

1960 American U-2 spy plane, piloted by Francis Gary Powers, shot down over Russia (**May 1**). Khrushchev kills Paris summit conference because of U-2 (**May 16**). Powers sentenced to prison for 10 years (**Aug. 19**)—freed in **February 1962** in exchange for Soviet spy. Top Nazi murderer of Jews, Adolf Eichmann, captured by Israelis in Argentina (**May 23**)—executed in Israel in **1962**. Communist China and Soviet Union split in conflict over Communist ideology. Belgium starts to break up its African colonial empire, gives independence to Belgian Congo (Zaire) on **June 30**. Cuba begins confiscation of $770 million of U.S. property (**Aug. 7**).

1961 U.S. breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba (**Jan. 3**). John F. Kennedy inaugurated President of U.S. (**Jan. 20**). Kennedy proposes Alliance for Progress—10-year plan to raise Latin American living standards (**Mar. 13**). Moscow announces putting first man in orbit around earth, Maj. Yuri A. Gagarin (**April 12**). Cuba invaded at Bay of Pigs by an estimated 1,200 anti-Castro exiles aided by U.S.; invasion crushed (**April 17**). First U.S. spaceman, Navy Cmdr. Alan B. Shepard, Jr., rockets 116.5 miles up in 302-mile trip (**May 5**). Virgil Grissom becomes second American astronaut, making 118-mile-high, 303-mile-long rocket flight over Atlantic (**July 21**). Gherman Stepanovich Titov is launched in Soviet spaceship *Vostok II:* makes 17 1/2 orbits in 25 hours, covering 434,960 miles before landing safely (**Aug. 6**). East Germans erect Berlin Wall between East and West Berlin to halt flood of refugees (**Aug. 13**). U.S.S.R. fires 50-megaton hydrogen bomb, biggest explosion in history (**Oct. 29**).

1962 Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr., is first American to orbit earth—three times in 4 hr 55 min (**Feb. 20**). Adolf Eichmann hanged in Israel for his part in Nazi extermination of six million Jews (**May 31**). France transfers sovereignty to new republic of Algeria (**July 3**). Cuban missile crisis—U.S.S.R. to build missile bases in Cuba; Kennedy orders Cuban blockade, lifts blockade after Russians back down (**Aug.–Nov.**). James H. Meredith, escorted by Federal marshals, registers in University of Mississippi (**Oct. 1**). Pope John XXIII opens Second Vatican Council (Oct. 11)—Council holds four sessions, finally closing Dec. 8, 1965. Cuba releases 1,113 prisoners of 1961 invasion attempt (**Dec. 24**).

1963 France and West Germany sign treaty of cooperation ending four centuries of conflict (**Jan. 22**). Pope John XXIII dies (**June 3**)—succeeded June 21 by Cardinal Montini, who becomes Paul VI. U.S. Supreme Court rules no locality may require recitation of Lord's Prayer or Bible verses in public schools (**June 17**). Civil rights rally held by 200,000 blacks and whites in Washington, D.C. (**Aug. 28**). Washington-to-Moscow "hot line"

communications link opens, designed to reduce risk of accidental war (**Aug. 30**). President Kennedy shot and killed by sniper in Dallas, Tex. Lyndon B. Johnson becomes President same day (**Nov. 22**). Lee Harvey Oswald, accused assassin of President Kennedy, is shot and killed by Jack Ruby, Dallas nightclub owner (**Nov. 24**).

1964 U.S. Supreme Court rules that Congressional districts should be roughly equal in population (**Feb. 17**). Jack Ruby convicted of murder in slaying of Lee Harvey Oswald; sentenced to death by Dallas jury (**March 14**)—conviction reversed **Oct. 5, 1966;** Ruby dies **Jan. 3, 1967,** before second trial can be held. Three civil rights workers—Schwerner, Goodman, and Cheney—murdered in Mississippi (**June**). Twenty-one arrests result in trial and conviction of seven by Federal jury. President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy issues Warren Report concluding that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone.



John F. Kennedy
(1917-1963)

1965 Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and more than 2,600 other blacks arrested in Selma, Ala., during three-day demonstrations against voter-registration rules (**Feb. 1**). Malcolm X, black-nationalist leader, shot to death at Harlem rally in New York City (**Feb. 21**). U.S. Marines land in Dominican Republic as fighting persists between rebels and Dominican army (**April 28**). Medicare, senior citizens' government medical assistance program, begins (**July 1**). Blacks riot for six days in Watts section of Los Angeles: 34 dead, over 1,000 injured, nearly 4,000 arrested, fire damage put at $175 million (**Aug. 11–16**). Power failure in Ontario plant blacks out parts of eight northeastern states of U.S. and two provinces of southeastern Canada (**Nov. 9**).

1966 Black teen-agers riot in Watts, Los Angeles; two men killed and at least 25 injured (**March 15**). Michael E. De Bakey implants artificial heart in human for first time at Houston hospital; plastic device functions and patient lives (**April 21**).

1967 Three Apollo astronauts—Col. Virgil I. Grissom, Col. Edward White II, and Lt. Cmdr. Roger B. Chaffee—killed in spacecraft fire during simulated launch (**Jan. 27**). Israeli and Arab forces battle; six-day war ends with Israel occupying Sinai Peninsula, Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, and east bank of Suez Canal (**June 5**). Red China announces explosion of its first hydrogen bomb (**June 17**). Racial violence in Detroit; 7,000 National Guardsmen aid police after night of rioting. Similar outbreaks occur in New York City's Spanish Harlem, Rochester, N.Y., Birmingham, Ala., and New Britain, Conn. (**July 23**). Thurgood Marshall sworn in as first black U.S. Supreme Court justice (**Oct. 2**). Dr. Christian N. Barnard and team of South African surgeons perform world's first successful human heart transplant (**Dec. 3**)—patient dies 18 days later.

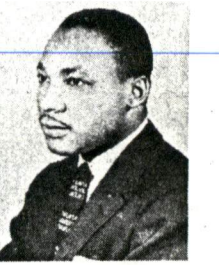


Lyndon B. Johnson
(1908–1973)

1968 North Korea seizes U.S. Navy ship *Pueblo;* holds 83 on board as spies (**Jan. 23**). President Johnson announces he will not seek or accept presidential renomination (**March 31**). Martin Luther King, Jr., civil rights leader, is slain in Memphis (**April 4**)—James Earl Ray, indicted in murder, captured in London on **June 8**. In **1969** Ray pleads guilty and is sentenced to 99 years. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy is shot and critically wounded in Los Angeles hotel after winning California primary (**June 5**)—dies **June 6**. Sirhan B. Sirhan convicted **1969**. Czechoslovakia is invaded by Russians and Warsaw Pact forces to crush liberal regime (**Aug. 20**).

1969 Richard M. Nixon is inaugurated 37th President of the U.S. (**Jan. 20**). Apollo 11 astronauts—Neil A. Armstrong, Edwin E. Aldrin, Jr., and Michael Collins—take man's first walk on moon (**July 20**). Sen. Edward M. Kennedy pleads guilty to leaving scene of fatal accident at Chappaquiddick, Mass. (**July 18**) in which Mary Jo Kopechne was drowned—gets two-month suspended sentence (**July 25**).

1970 Biafra surrenders after 32-month fight for independence from Nigeria (**Jan. 12**). Rhodesia severs last tie with British Crown and declares itself a racially segregated republic (**March 1**). Four students at Kent State University in Ohio slain by National Guardsmen at demonstration protesting April 30 incursion into Cambodia (**May 4**). Senate repeals Gulf of Tonkin resolution (**June 24**).



Martin Luther King, Jr.
(1929-1968)

1971 Supreme Court rules unanimously that busing of students may be ordered to achieve racial desegregation (**April 20**). Anti-war militants attempt to disrupt government business in Washington (**May 3**)—police and military units arrest as many as 12,000; most are later released. Twenty-sixth Amendment to U.S. Constitution lowers voting age to 18. U.N. seats Communist China and expels Nationalist China (**Oct. 25**).

1972 President Nixon makes unprecedented eight-day visit to Communist China (**Feb.**). Britain takes over direct rule of Northern Ireland in bid for peace (**March 24**). Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama is shot by Arthur H. Bremer at Laurel, Md., political rally (**May 15**). Five men are apprehended by police in attempt to bug Democratic National Commit-



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

During World War II, Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King commanded the largest naval forces ever assembled.

King had a volatile temper and an abrasive personality. But he was a man of manifest intellect and ability, and in the aftermath of the Pearl Harbor disaster President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him commander in chief of the fleet and Chief of Naval Operations (CNO). As CNO he automatically became a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Combined Chiefs of Staff (United States and Britain).

During World War II, King commanded the most powerful naval forces ever assembled, and in exercising his command he brought to bear his intelligence, experience, and professionalism. He nonetheless remained aloof and abrasive. A British sea lord described him as ill-mannered, ruthless, and arrogant. In apparent contravention of the "beat Germany first" strategy of the United States and Britain, he continually pressed for additional resources with which to conduct offensive operations against Japan. Still, he retained the professional respect of American and British leaders alike and was promoted to the newly created rank of fleet admiral in late 1944.

King retired from the Navy in December 1945. He later spoke out against proposals to unify the American armed forces, arguing that a service merger would limit the navy's effectiveness in a future war. Then, in 1947, he suffered a stroke. Other strokes followed, and on June 25, 1956, he died in Portsmouth, N.H. Admiral Emory S. Land, who had known King at Annapolis, wrote that King was "the greatest naval officer the United States ever produced."

JOHN EDWARD WILZ
Indiana University

Further Reading: Buell, Thomas B., *Master of Sea Power: A Biography of Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King* (Little 1980); King, Ernest J., and Whitehill, Walter Muir, *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record* (Norton 1952).

KING, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929–1968), Am... clergyman and Nobel Peace Prize winner... led the civil rights movement in the U... States for much of the 1950's and 1960's. He... born in Atlanta, Ga., on Jan. 15, 1929, the son... grandson of Baptist ministers. In 1948... graduated from Morehouse College at the... 19. Three years later he earned the bache... divinity degree at Crozer Theological Sem... and in 1955 he was awarded a Ph.D. at B... University. While studying in Boston he... and married Coretta Scott; they had four... dren.

As the son of "substantial" black p... young Martin was protected to some degree... the more scarifying experiences of segre... and racial hostility. But he was not compl... immune, for there were inevitable personal... periences through which he came to a k... awareness and a summary rejection of the... pressive prejudice and discrimination that... troubled his sense of moral propriety and s... justice.

At Crozer he developed a fascination for M... hatma Gandhi, whose life and teachings w... ultimately to influence his own destiny as a le... ing apostle of passive resistance.

The Montgomery Boycott. In 1954, before c... pleting his doctorate, King accepted the pas... ate of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church... Montgomery, Ala. In December 1955 a racial... crisis propelled him into the leadership of a c... wide boycott of the local transit company. The... precipitating issue was segregated seating on... public conveyances. The Montgomery Im... provement Association was organized to coord... nate policy and strategy, and King was elected... president. In the face of grave danger he enun... ciated a principle from which he never wavered... "We will not resort to violence. We will not... degrade ourselves with hatred. Love will be... returned for hate."

A year later, after many mass arrests, physical... attacks, threats, and other forms of intimidation... the boycott was successfully concluded. Blacks... and whites rode Montgomery buses on an unsegregated basis for the first time, after the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled unconstitutional Ala... bama laws requiring segregation on buses. The... Montgomery experience had taught black Amer... icans the power of organization, the efficacy of... sacrifice, and the dignity of suffering and nonvi... olence.

King's Leadership. Convinced of the need for... and the feasibility of a new civil-rights effort... based on a nonviolent philosophy, King orga... nized, in January 1957, the Southern Christian... Leadership Conference (SCLC) to broaden the... potential of the movement begun in Montgom... ery. He later moved his headquarters to Atlanta... where he became the associate pastor, with his... father, at Ebenezer Baptist Church.

For the next several years King helped lead... numerous protest demonstrations throughout the... South. He was frequently arrested and jailed,... and physical violence and possibility of death... were never far away. Often there was tragedy as... insistent passive resistance challenged estab... lished customs of racial exclusion. In Birming... ham, Ala., in 1963 the police used fire hoses and... dogs to rout black demonstrators seeking to de... segregate restaurants, hotels, and department... stores. A black church was bombed, killing four... little girls attending Sunday school. King and



UPI

In 1965, Martin Luther King *(pointing)* and his wife Coretta led 25,000 in an Alabama voter registration march.

several of his associates were jailed. While incarcerated, he wrote a celebrated document known as *Letter from Birmingham Jail*, a classic expression of his moral philosophy.

In 1965, King launched a voter registration drive in Selma, Ala. Following demonstrations, arrests, and "Bloody Sunday" (March 7), the campaign concluded with a "freedom march" of 25,000 people from Selma to Montgomery.

The most massive protest demonstration ever to occur in the United States was, in contrast, devoid of violence. On Aug. 28, 1963, some 250,000 Americans of all faiths, races, and creeds joined him and other civil rights leaders in an unprecedented demonstration of solidarity. From all over the country, citizens went to "March on Washington" in support of civil rights legislation. King delivered the most impressive oration of his career. "I have a dream," he said often during his fiery speech—a dream of the time when the evils of prejudice and segregation will vanish. Many of those present wept openly.

In 1964, King was recognized for his efforts to bring peaceful change to the United States; he received the Nobel Peace Prize, becoming at 35 the youngest person thus honored.

As the 1960's wore on, national interest in civil rights flagged; the United States became more and more preoccupied with the war in Vietnam. Urban riots, too, seemed to diminish public support of the civil-rights movement. King's first Northern campaign—against slum conditions in Chicago in 1966—met with little success and was abandoned. Criticized by some for accepting a major leadership role in the movement for peace in Vietnam, King defended his linking of the rights and war issues. He maintained that war priorities diverted resources from the fight to improve the lot of the country's black poor.

His creed of nonviolence was increasingly challenged by younger, more militant leaders who did not renounce the use of violence to achieve their goals.

Assassin's Victim. Early in 1968, King announced a "Poor People's Campaign," to be held in Washington. He hoped to dramatize the plight of U.S. poor of all races. As plans were being made final, King flew to Memphis to lead a demonstration of striking sanitation workers, most of whom were black. On April 4, as King talked with his staff on a balcony of the Lorraine Motel, he was shot and killed by an assassin. In July 1968, James Earl Ray, a white man, was charged with King's murder. In March 1969, Ray pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 99 years in prison.

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KING, Rufus (1755–1827), American political leader and diplomat, who advocated a strong central government in the early years of the republic. He was born in Scarborough, Mass. (now in Maine), on March 24, 1755. He graduated from Harvard College in 1777. Admitted to the bar, he served in the Massachusetts General Court. In the Continental Congress (1784–1787), he gained influence with his oratory and skillful diplomacy. A leader in framing the Constitution, he also introduced a resolution barring slavery in the Northwest Territory.

A New York resident from 1788, he served in the assembly and as a U.S. senator from 1789 to 1796. A principal Federalist leader, he supported Alexander Hamilton's program. He was an effective minister to Britain from 1796 to 1803.

An unsuccessful Federalist party nominee for vice president (1804, 1808), he returned to the Senate in 1813. At first opposing the War of 1812, he supported it when it became defensive in nature. In a notable speech he opposed abandoning Washington after it was burned. The last Federalist nominee for president (1816), he lost to James Monroe. Leaving the Senate in 1825, he was again minister to Britain. He died in Jamaica, N.Y. (now New York City), on April 29, 1857.

Donald Young, *Author of "American Roulette: The History and Dilemma of the Vice Presidency"*

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America

Jackson, Miss. Riots break out in protest. Dr. King leads massive March on Washington in support of equal rights for blacks and delivers his famous speech, "I have a dream . . . ."
4 U.S. and the U.S.S.R. agree to set up a "hot line," a direct telephone link between Washington and Moscow, to prevent the start of nuclear war by accident.
5 Sir Winston Churchill is made an honorary U.S. citizen.
6 U.S. sends task force to the Caribbean during Haitian-Dominican crisis.
7 U.S. protests the flights of two Soviet reconnaissance planes over Alaska.
8 U.S. aid to South Vietnam continues. U.S. recognizes the South Vietnamese provisional government following the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem's government.
9 Pres. Kennedy is assassinated (Nov. 22) in Dallas while riding in a motorcade with Gov. John B. Connally of Texas, who is severely wounded. Vice Pres. Johnson is sworn in as President. Lee Harvey Oswald, presumed assassin of Pres. Kennedy and held in police custody, is murdered by nightclub owner Jack Ruby.
10 Special commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, is named by Pres. Johnson to investigate Pres. Kennedy's assassination.

Elsewhere

Diem is murdered.
14 Organization of African Unity (OAU) is formed by 32 African countries to promote unity and economic cooperation.
15 France vetoes Britain's entry into the Common Market.
16 Ludwig Erhard becomes Chancellor of West Germany.
17 John Profumo resigns as British Secretary of War because of involvement in spy scandal. British Prime Minister Macmillan resigns and is succeeded by Sir Alex Douglas-Home.
18 Haitian exiles fail to overthrow Pres. Francois ("Papa Doc") Duvalier, dictator in Haiti since 1957.
19 Tshombe flees following successful UN operations in Katanga province.
[1961:HIST/14]
20 Civil war breaks out between Greek and Turkish Cypriots over Turkish rights on Cyprus.
21 Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland ends. Nyasaland becomes independent (1964) as country of Malawi.
22 Sukarno proclaims himself President-for-life of Indonesia.
23 Harold Adrian Russell Philby, Soviet spy with the British intelligence service, defects to the U.S.S.R.
24 Levi Eshkol becomes Prime Minister of Israel.

America

Cigars" series.
5 Rauschenberg's painting "Estate" takes a new direction called pop expressionism.
6 John Chamberlain, junk sculptor, creates "Silverheels," a bizarre assemblage of discarded auto parts.
7 Marisol, sculptor, creates "The Family," a combination of wood, sculpture, painting, and articles of clothing.
8 Red Grooms, realist artist, paints "Coney Island."
9 Mary McCarthy's novel *The Group* follows the lives of eight Vassar graduates.
10 Susan Sontag publishes *The Benefactor,* a novel about people who are unable to distinguish reality from fantasy.
11 Auchincloss publishes *Powers of Attorney,* a collection of short stories.
12 Edward Gorey, writer and illustrator, publishes *The West Wing* and *The Insect God.*
13 Popular TV series of the time include *The Twilight Zone, Mr. Ed, Perry Mason, Dr. Kildare, Gunsmoke, Leave It to Beaver, Bonanza, The Beverly Hillbillies,* and *The Dick Van Dyke Show.*

Elsewhere

biggest hits: "Please, Please Me" and "Love Me Do." In future years, the Beatles (Paul McCartney, John Lennon, George Harrison, and Ringo Starr) are extremely influential in the development of popular music.
17 Frederick Ashton, Eng. choreographer, produces *Marguerite and Armand,* a ballet featuring Rudolf Nureyev (defected from U.S.S.R. in 1961) and Eng. ballerina Margot Fonteyn.
18 Chagall designs murals for the ceiling of Paris Opéra.
19 Tanizaki Junichirō, Jap. novelist, publishes *Seven Japanese Tales.*
20 Britten composes *Symphony in D Major* for Sov. cellist Mstislav Rostropovich.
21 Natalia Ginzburg, Ital. writer, receives Italy's most prestigious literary award, the Strega Prize, for *Family Sayings.*
22 Soviet authorities begin a campaign to suppress "artistic rebels."
23 Major films (directors) include: *Tom Jones* (Richardson); *The Leopard* (Visconti); *8½* (Fellini); *The Silence* (Bergman).

1964

1 Twenty-fourth Amendment to the Constitution is ratified. **[1962:HIST/3]**
2 Pres. Hoffa of Teamsters is convicted of fraud in the misuse of union funds and of jury tampering. He begins 13-year prison term in 1967 and retains Teamsters presidency until 1971 when he resigns.
3 Supreme Court rules that both houses of a bicameral

11 Aleksei Nikolayevich Kosygin succeeds Khrushchev as Soviet Premier and shares power with Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party.
12 Northern Rhodesia becomes independent as the republic of Zambia, with Kenneth Kaunda as President.
13 Kenya becomes independent, with Kenyatta as Pres-

1 The Supremes, a Motown trio headed by singer Diana Ross, record a string of hit songs including "Baby Love," "Stop in the Name of Love," and "Come See About Me."
2 "Beatlemania" sweeps the U.S. as the album *Meet the Beatles* sells two million copies

12 Beatlemania spreads throughout the world as the Beatles break all existing sales and popularity records with such hits as "She Loves You" and "I Want to Hold Your Hand."
13 Swiss composer Rolf Lieberman completes *Symphonie des*

Science & Technology — America

4 DeBakey develops a mechanical heart that is implanted in the chest to help the patient's own heart.
5 Arecibo Observatory, Puerto Rico, installs a radio telescope with the world's largest antenna—1000 ft. in diameter.
6 Woodward synthesizes colchicine, a pain reliever for patients with gout.
7 America's first commercial hydrofoil boat, the *Albatross,* is launched.
8 Polaroid introduces color film.
9 Enders, Weller, and Robbins develop an effective measles vaccine.
10 FDA claims that there is no direct cause-and-effect relationship between birth control pills and blood clots.
11 Chrysler tests 50 experimental gas turbine cars.
12 Color TV is relayed via satellite for the first time.
13 Gordon Cooper completes 22 orbits in 34 hours and 20 minutes aboard Faith 7. He is the first astronaut to control his flight manually, and he lands almost directly on his splashdown target.
14 Nobel Prize, Physics: E. Wigner (Amer.), M. Goeppert-Mayer (Amer.), and J. H. Jensen (Ger.) for work with atomic nuclei.

Science & Technology — Elsewhere

cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova.
17 Martin Schwarzbach, Ger. geologist, publishes *Climates of the Past.*
18 Nobel Prize, Physiology or Medicine: Alan Hodgkin and Andrew Huxley, Eng. biophysicists, and Eccles, for their research into the chemistry of nerve impulses.

Miscellaneous — America

lar languages—English in the U.S.—in place of Latin for parts of the Mass and for the sacraments.
4 Most expensive motion picture to date, *Cleopatra,* opens in New York City and in theaters nationwide; film cost $37 million.
5 John Pennel is the first to pole-vault 17 ft.; using a fiberglass pole, he clears 17 ft. ¾ in.
6 Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton is first U.S.-born person to be beatified (the step before sainthood) by the Roman Catholic Church. **[1975:MISC/2]**
7 Jack Nicklaus, is the youngest man to win the Masters golf tournament in Augusta, Ga.

Miscellaneous — Elsewhere

12 Ferry capsizes and sinks in upper Nile, Egypt; more than 200 people die.
13 Religious denominations in India: Hindu, 366 million; Moslem, 47 million; Christian, 10 million; and Buddhist, 3 million.
14 Greek liner *Lakonia* sinks in the North Atlantic; 150 lives lost.
15 Tigran Petrosian (U.S.S.R.) wins world chess championship; keeps title until 1969.
16 Earthquake in Skopje, Yugoslavia, kills 1100 people.
17 Education report in Britain recommends that children not be allowed to leave school before age 16.



The Beatles, world-famous British singing group

1964

1 Gell-Mann proposes the existence of quarks, three basic particles that make up the subatomic particles called hadrons. He also discovers the omega-minus particle whose existence had been predicted by an open position in one family of the *Eight-Fold Way.* **[1961:SCI/4]**

15 J. Piccard designs the mesoscaphe, a sightseeing bathyscaphe.
16 John Hutchinson, Eng. botanist, publishes *The Genera of Flowering Plants.*
17 A. Hodgkin publishes *Conduction of the Nervous Impulse.*
18 The Soviets launch Voshkod 1, the first 3-

1 Report by surgeon general's special committee, *Smoking and Health,* strongly links cigarette smoking with cancer (as well as other diseases) and calls for federal regulation.
2 California becomes the state with the largest population.
3 There are 162 million

11 Pope Paul VI makes pilgrimage to the Holy Land.
12 At 18th Olympic Games in Japan, strong swimming and track and field teams win 36 gold medals for the U.S. Soviet Union takes 30 gold medals, Japan 16.
13 British scientists leave England in large

	America	Elsewhere	America	Elsewhere
	state legislature must be apportioned by population. **4** Senate invokes cloture to end 75-day filibuster by southern Senators of Civil Rights Act. Congress passes Act which prohibits discrimination in public places for reason of color, race, religion, or national origin. **5** Warren Commission Report states there was no conspiracy in the assassination of Pres. Kennedy. It finds Oswald a lone assassin. **[1963:HIST/9 & 10]** **6** Republican Party nominates Sen. Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona for President. **7** Three North Vietnamese PT boats attack U.S. destroyer *Maddox* in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin. U.S. jets bomb PT boat bases and oil depot in North Vietnam. Congress passes resolution (Tonkin Gulf Resolution) which gives Pres. Johnson power to use any action necessary to repel armed attack on U.S. forces. **8** Economic Opportunity Act provides funds for youth programs, Job Corps, and community action programs in poverty-stricken areas. **9** Johnson and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota are elected President and Vice President, respectively, on the Democratic ticket. Johnson wins 486 electoral votes to Goldwater's 52. Only Roosevelt, in 1936, won more electoral votes. **10** District of Columbia votes for the first time in a presidential election.	ident. **14** Island of Malta becomes independent within the British Commonwealth of Nations. **15** Tshombe returns to the Congo, and Pres. Kasavubu names him Premier of a government of national reconciliation. **16** Zanzibar and Tanganyika unite to form the republic of Tanzania. **17** UN intervention brings a ceasefire between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. **[1963:HIST/20]** **18** Nehru dies and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri becomes Prime Minister of India. **19** Political fighting among socialists, leftists, and conservatives in Italy brings four-year period of social unrest and instability. **20** Ian Smith is elected Prime Minister of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). **21** Harold Wilson becomes British Prime Minister after Douglas-Home resigns. **22** Eisaku Sato becomes Prime Minister of Japan. **23** China supports Pakistan's proposal to permit Kashmir to choose its own allegiance in a referendum. **24** Faisal becomes King of Saudi Arabia. **25** Gustavo Díaz Ordaz is elected President of Mexico.	in one month. **3** Edward Durell Stone, architect, designs the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. **4** Broadway musicals this year include *Hello Dolly,* starring Carol Channing, *Fiddler on the Roof,* starring Zero Mostel, and *Funny Girl,* starring Barbara Streisand and featuring a score by Styne and Merrill that includes the song "People." **5** Cheever continues his study of suburbia in the novel *The Wapshot Scandal.* **6** Larry Poons, exponent of op art, paints "Nixes Mate." **7** Kubrick directs *Dr. Strangelove,* a satirical film about the nuclear threat, starring Peter Sellers. **8** Michelangelo's "Pietà" is brought to New York for the Vatican exhibit at the World's Fair. **[1498:ARTS/1]** **9** *Mary Poppins,* a film starring Dick Van Dyke and Julie Andrews, becomes the most successful Disney film to date. **10** Paddy Chayefsky writes *The Americanization of Emily.* **11** Isherwood publishes *A Single Man,* a highly regarded novel about the loneliness of a homosexual intellectual.	*Echanges,* an unusual work calling for 156 machines conducted by a computer. **14** Lessing publishes *Children of Violence,* a novel. **15** Britten composes *Curlew River,* a work that combines elements from Japanese Nō and English medieval dramas. **16** As discothèques become more popular, jobs for live musicians begin to disappear. **17** Sartre refuses the Nobel Prize in Literature. **18** Peter Weiss, Ger. writer, completes the play, *Marat/Sade.* **19** De Sica's Oscar winning film, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow,* stars Marcello Mastroianni and Sophia Loren. Other major films (directors) include: *The Umbrellas of Cherbourg* (Demy); *A Hard Day's Night* (Beatles); *Red Desert* (Antonioni); *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (Pasolini).
1965	**1** Viet Cong attack U.S. military compound in South Vietnam. Pres. Johnson orders air raids on North Vietnam and sends U.S. troops to	**11** Rhodesia unilaterally declares its independence from Britain, which calls it an act of rebellion and imposes oil embargo.	**1** Frank Herbert, science-fiction author, publishes the highly acclaimed novel *Dune.* **2** Arthur Schlesinger,	**15** Weiss writes *The Investigation,* a play based on the Frankfurt trials of Auschwitz war criminals.

Science & Technology

America

2 U.S. Navy begins its *Sealab* experimental program to determine if people can live and work for extended periods at the bottom of the ocean.
3 Nuclear-powered lighthouse is built in Chesapeake Bay.
4 A fluid computer that uses liquids and gases instead of electricity is developed.
5 U.S. Public Health Service charges that insecticides have killed thousands of fish in the Mississippi River since 1960.
6 Muriel Roger, geneticist, transplants individual genes from one cell to another.
7 Methadone therapy is introduced as treatment for heroin addiction.
8 Polio vaccinations have cut new cases from 35,592 in 1953 to fewer than 100 in 1964.
9 Echo 2 is launched. It is the first communications satellite that will be used jointly by the U.S. and the Soviet Union.
10 Ranger 7 crashes into the Moon after taking 4316 photographs.
11 Nimbus 1, an experimental weather satellite, is launched.
12 OGO-1, an orbiting geophysical observatory, is launched.
13 Mariner 4 is launched on a 325-million-mile journey to photograph Mars.
14 Nobel Prize, Physiology or Medicine: Konrad Bloch (Amer.) and Feodor Lynen (Ger.) for discoveries about fatty acid and cholesterol metabolism.

Elsewhere

man space mission. The cosmonauts aboard include Vladimir Komarov, Konstantin Feoktistov, and Boris Yegorov.
19 Cousteau publishes *World Without Sun.*
20 W. Hess publishes *The Biology of the Mind.*
21 The Mohole project is suspended due to its great expense and technological difficulties.
22 Following a change of power in the Soviet Union, Lysenko loses his influence over the scientific community. Soon, the more conventional genetic theories are allowed to be taught in Russia.
23 Nobel Prize, Chemistry: D. Hodgkin, for her determination of the chemical structures of penicillin and vitamin B_{12}.
24 Nobel Prize, Physics: Basov, Prokhorov, and Charle Townes (Amer.), for their work in quantum electronics that led to the development of the laser and maser. **[1952:SCI/14; 1953:SCI/3]**
25 Nobel Prize, Physiology or Medicine: Feodor Lynen, Ger. biochemist, and Konrad Bloch, Amer. biochemist, for their research on cholesterol and fatty acid metabolism.

Miscellaneous

America

television sets in use; more than 500 million radios.
4 Earthquake strikes Alaska at Anchorage, the state's largest city; 117 persons die.
5 Six persons win $100,000 each in the first legalized sweepstakes in U.S. horseracing history at Rockingham Park, N.H.
6 Verrazano-Narrows Bridge between Brooklyn and Staten Island, N.Y., opens. It is 6690 ft. long.
7 Popular rock 'n' roll dances have animal names: the Dog, the Monkey, the Chicken; favorites are the Watusi and the Frug.
8 New York World's Fair opens. General Motors' Futurama (as in 1939) is the most popular attraction.
9 Thieves steal jewels from collection of rare stones in Museum of Natural History, New York City. Value of jewels, $410,000; they include world's largest sapphire, the 565-carat Star of India.
10 Cassius Clay (later known as Muhammad Ali) wins the heavyweight boxing title from Sonny Liston, but World Boxing Association withdraws recognition of Clay's title when he plans a rematch with Liston.

Elsewhere

numbers for the U.S.—the "Brain Drain."
14 Prison sentences totaling 307 years given to 12 mail-train robbers in England; for 1963 holdup that netted bandits £2.5 million.
15 300 spectators killed in riots at soccer match in Lima, Peru.

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1 Arno Penzias and Robert Wilson discover radio waves going in all directions through the universe. This finding

13 Loris S. Russell, Can. scientist, claims that dinosaurs were warm-blooded animals.
14 In a fine example of

1 Series of 37 tornadoes sweep through midwest killing 271 persons, injuring 5000.
2 105 cadets resign from

8 Elizabeth Lane becomes first woman to be appointed High Court Judge in England.
9 Mont Blanc Tunnel

History and Politics

America

fight. U.S. halts bombing and makes peace effort to end Vietnam War. North Vietnam rejects U.S. terms, and U.S. resumes bombing and builds up troops in Vietnam. Large antiwar demonstrations break out in the U.S. U.S. B-52s begin mass bombing of Viet Cong.

2 Dr. King leads march from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., to protest discrimination against blacks in voting registration.

3 Medicare is established; it provides hospital and medical care for persons 65 or older, financed through Social Security.

4 Blacks riot for six days in the Watts section of Los Angeles. National Guard restores order.

5 Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development is created, with Dr. Robert C. Weaver as Secretary (he is the first black Cabinet member).

6 John V. Lindsay is elected Mayor of New York City on the Republican-Liberal ticket.

7 Malcolm X, preaching brotherhood between blacks and whites, is shot and killed in New York City. **[1961:HIST/6]**

8 McCarran-Walter Act is amended, abolishing the national origins quota system. **[1952:HIST/2]**

9 Goldberg resigns from the Supreme Court to become U.S. Ambassador to the UN. Abe Fortas is appointed to the Court.

10 Voting Rights Act expands registration of black voters, especially in the South. Federal offices are set up to prevent abuses by registrars.

Elsewhere

12 India and Pakistan fight for control of Kashmir.

13 Gen. Suharto opposes pro-Chinese policies of Pres. Sukarno, crushes Communist coup, and replaces Sukarno as ruler of Indonesia.

14 Houari Boumedienne leads successful coup against the regime of Ahmed Ben Bella and becomes President of Algeria.

15 Premier Mobutu overthrows Pres. Kasavubu and assumes control of the Congo (now Zaire). **[1964:HIST/15]**

16 Civil war breaks out between rightists and leftists in the Dominican Republic. OAS forms peace-keeping force and works out a compromise agreement.

17 De Gaulle is reelected President of France.

18 King Constantine II of Greece dismisses Premier George Papandreou, who allegedly heads the Aspida (Greek army officers wishing to depose the king and set up a leftist regime).

19 Nicolae Ceauşescu is made chief of the Communist Party in Rumania. He becomes head of state in 1967.

20 Fighting occurs between Iraqi troops and the Kurds, who want a unified and autonomous Kurdistan.

21 Gambia gains independence.

22 Nikolai Viktorovich Podgorny becomes President of the Presidium (now the Politburo) of the Supreme Soviet.

The Arts

America

Jr., biographer, publishes *A Thousand Days* about Kennedy's administration.

3 Jerzy Kosinski, writer, publishes *The Painted Bird,* based on his nightmarish childhood in Nazi-occupied Europe.

4 Petula Clark, singer, makes the popular recording of the song "Downtown."

5 Paul Zindel, author, writes the Pulitzer Prize-winning play, *The Effect of Gamma Rays on Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds.*

6 *Ariel,* a collection of poems by Sylvia Plath, is published posthumously by her husband, Eng. poet Ted Hughes.

7 Sonny Bono and his wife Cher, singers, achieve fame with their song "I Got You, Babe."

8 The Astrodome, the first completely covered stadium in the world, opens in Houston, Texas.

9 The Broadway musical *Man of La Mancha* stars Richard Kiley and features the song "The Impossible Dream."

10 Neil Simon writes the play *The Odd Couple.*

11 Claude Brown, writer, tells of his Harlem upbringing in *Manchild in the Promised Land.*

12 Robert Indiana, pop artist, paints "The Demüth Five."

13 Dali creates his first major sculpture, a bronze bust of Dante.

14 Alex Haley ghostwrites *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.*

Elsewhere

16 Pinter completes the popular play, *The Homecoming.*

17 Henze and Auden collaborate on the opera, *Bassarids,* based on *Bacchae,* a play by Euripedes (c. 480–406 B.C.).

18 The Rolling Stones establish themselves as a major Eng. rock group with the hit record, "Satisfaction."

19 Onuora Nzekwu, Nigerian novelist, publishes *High Life for Lizards.*

20 Behan's memoirs are published in *Confessions of an Irish Rebel.*

21 David Mercer, Eng. playwright, completes *The Generations,* a trilogy of social dramas.

22 To celebrate the 750th anniversary of the Magna Charta, Auden writes the play, *Left-Handed Liberty.*

23 Boulez composes *Éclat,* for 15-piece chamber orchestra.

24 The Beatles continue their popularity with such hits as "Nowhere Man" and "Michelle."

25 Fontana completes the sculpture, "Spatial Concept (White and White)."

Science & Technology

America

lends support to the big bang theory.
2 Schmidt discovers quasar 3C-9, the fastest and most distant galaxy yet detected. It is speeding away from the Milky Way at 80% of the speed of light, or about 150,000 miles per second.
3 Sandage discovers blue galaxies. They are similar to quasars, but do not give off radio waves.
4 As UFO sightings increase, Joseph Hynek and other scientists claim that UFOs may be signs of intelligent life on other planets.
5 NASA's high-altitude research laboratory (a modified jet) carries 30 scientists from 5 countries in a race with a total eclipse over the South Pacific.
6 V. Grissom and John Young manually maneuver Gemini 3 during its three orbits of the Earth.
7 Early Bird is the first commercial communications satellite launched by INTELSAT (International Telecommunications Satellite Organization).
8 Edward White is the first American to walk in space when he spends 23 minutes outside the Gemini 4 spacecraft.
9 G. Cooper and Charles Conrad complete 120 orbits in an 8-day flight aboard Gemini 5.
10 Gemini 7, piloted by Frank Borman and James Lovell is launched on a 14-day mission.
11 Pioneer 6 is launched to study interplanetary space.
12 Nobel Prize, Chemistry: R. Woodward for developing methods of synthesizing organic substances.

Elsewhere

international cooperation, a British Skylark space probe equipped with German and Belgian instruments is launched from an Italian site.
15 France becomes the third country with space exploration capabilities with its launching of the satellite A-1.
16 The Soviet space probe Venera 3 becomes the first probe to land on another planet's surface when it strikes Venus.
17 The Soviets launch Voshkod 2. Cosmonauts Pavel Belyayev and Aleksey Leonov, make the first walk in space during this mission.
18 Tetrahydracannabinol (THC), the active ingredient in marijuana, is synthesized in Israel.
19 G.P. Thomson writes of his father in *J.J. Thomson and the Cavendish Laboratory in His Day.*
20 Nobel Prize, Physics: Shin'ichirō Tomonago, Jap. physicist, for making the theory of quantum electrodynamics consistent with the theory of relativity.
21 Nobel Prize, Physiology or Medicine: Jacob, Monod, and Andre Lwoff, Fr. biologist, for their discovery of the genetic control over the production of proteins and enzymes.

Miscellaneous

America

U.S. Air Force Academy in cheating scandal.
3 Robert Manry of Cleveland, Ohio, reaches Falmouth, England, after an 11-week singlehanded crossing of the Atlantic Ocean, in his 13½-ft. boat, *Tinkerbelle.*
4 U.S. spends more than $26.2 billion for public school education—$654 per student.
5 At about 5:15 P.M. on Nov. 9, massive power failure in northeastern U.S. blacks out New York State, most of New England, and parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, affecting nearly 30 million people.
6 There are more than 5 million color television sets in U.S.; networks predict that by end of 1966, all evening programs will be broadcast in color.
7 Membership in religious bodies is 120.9 million: Protestants, 66.8 million; Roman Catholics, 44.8 million; Jews, 5.5 million; Eastern Orthodox, 3 million; Eastern rite Catholics, 497,527; and Buddhists, 60,000.

Elsewhere

opens, linking France and Italy. Burrowing 7.2 mi. through Europe's highest mountain (15,781 ft.), took 6-1/2 yrs. to build and cost $60 million.
10 Cyclone strikes East Pakistan; 12,000-20,000 people die.
11 Britain agrees to adopt the metric system over ten years.
12 First flight around the world over both the North and South Poles.
13 Roof of newly built church in Rijo, Mexico, collapses during early morning mass, killing 58 persons.
14 Soviet Union displays giant airplane, said to be largest and heaviest in world. It is 187 ft. long, with a wingspan of 211 ft., and can carry 720 passengers or 80 tons of cargo.
15 People's Republic of China wins 5 out of 7 world championship titles in table tennis series.
16 Snowslide sweeps a bus carrying ski tourists more than 150 ft. down a mountain road near Obertauren, Austria; 140 persons die.
17 Death penalty abolished in Britain.
18 Cigarette advertising on commercial television banned in Britain.

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THE TIMETABLES OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Laurence Urdang, Editor

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

SIMON AND SCHUSTER • NEW YORK

a national "war against poverty."

11 JANUARY 1964
Science/Technology The Surgeon General announces proof that cigarette smoking causes lung disease.

13 JANUARY 1964
Science/Technology The Federal Trade Commission announces that it will require statements concerning the hazards of smoking on all packages of cigarettes.

23 JANUARY 1964
National The 24th amendment, eliminating the poll tax for eligibility in Federal elections, is ratified.

28 JANUARY 1964
International Soviet planes down a United States Air Force jet training plane over Erfurt, East Germany, killing three crew members.

13-FEBRUARY 1964
Arts/Culture President Johnson asks Congress to appropriate partial funding for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington. The cost of the new center is estimated at $34 million, of which half will be provided by the government.



ecret Service man leaps onto car bearing stricken President Kennedy and his wife.

25 FEBRUARY 1964
Sports The World Heavyweight Championship boxing title is won by Cassius Marcellus Clay, who defeats Charles (Sonny) Liston, the current titleholder.

29 FEBRUARY 1964
Science/Technology At a press conference, President Johnson reports that Lockheed Aircraft has succeeded in developing a jet capable of 2000 miles per hour.

9 MARCH 1964
National The Supreme Court, in *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*, rules that public officials may not recover payment in libel suits unless they can prove actual malice was involved in publishing defamatory falsehoods about their public actions.

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON, 1908-1973

As the tears of a mourning nation greeted him, Lyndon Baines Johnson assumed the Presidency with a confidence based on the knowledge of his past success in public office. This tireless Southern Democrat's approach as a legislator had been a direct one; he would use the same open, aggressive tactics in dealing with the pain and frustration experienced by a country. It worked until the country became embroiled in the bitter controversy over a war, and then these tactics proved inadequate.

Raised in rural Texas and the son of a schoolteacher, Johnson's marriage to Claudia "Lady Bird" Taylor helped to smooth out some of the rougher edges of this man's hearty personal style. First elected as a United States Representative from Texas in 1938, Johnson served five full terms before his election to the Senate. Respected by his colleagues for his persistence, he used his influence and shrewd political maneuvering to gain passage for various legislative packages. His reputation helped him gain the post of Senate Majority Leader and made him the popular choice for John Kennedy's running mate in the 1960 election. Upon his assumption of the presidency after Kennedy's assassination Johnson steadfastly followed his predecessor's lead in providing opportunities for the disadvantaged, declaring a Federal "war on poverty."

With Hubert Humphrey as his running mate in the 1964 race for President, "LBJ" as he was familiarly known, proved his overwhelming popularity (even as the Vietnam War began to surface on the political horizon); he garnered 486 electoral votes to Barry Goldwater's 52. In the month following his inauguration, Congress passed a raft of legislation. Among these measures were acts protecting voting and housing rights for black Americans, establishing an anti-poverty program, and funding medical care for the aged. But despite this forward-thinking domestic legislation, there lurked the unavoidable issue of Johnson's stepped-up war in Vietnam. Taking a consistently hawkish position on the war, Johnson used the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution to initiate the bombing of North Vietnam, and despite increasing protest across the country from doves and liberals, the president systematically increased the number of Americans troops serving in South Vietnam. He did so in the belief that this was the one way to prevent the spread of Communism in Southeast Asia. But after three years of dissent and civil disruption, Johnson faced the results of his investment in an unpopular war. In March 1968 he called for a cease fire and, at the same time, surprised the nation with the announcement that he would not be up for re-election. The heavy toll on Johnson during his years in office was clearly apparent during this televised speech; his lined, tired face bespoke days and nights of conflict and anxiety endured on behalf of the nation.

Considered a politically tragic figure at the end of his term, Lyndon Johnson was nevertheless proud of his record. His social welfare programs had upgraded the lives of many Americans, and many considered that his unswerving energies in this area at least partially exonerated him from the more severe criticism surrounding his Vietnam War policies. In the four years remaining to him after he left the White House, LBJ wrote his memoirs and spent time on his Texas ranch. He suffered a heart attack in April 1972 and died on January 22, 1973, at San Antonio, Texas.

16 MARCH 1964
National President Johnson sends a special message to Congress for a $962,000,000 "war on poverty."

23 MARCH 1964
International The United States joins 115 nations at Geneva for a United Nations conference on Trade and Development.

27 MARCH 1964
Regional A severe earthquake in Alaska kills 66 people, with damage of nearly $500 million.

5 APRIL 1964
Population General Douglas MacArthur dies at Walter Reed Hospital. He is 84.

8 MAY 1964
Regional The President winds up a two-day tour of Appalachia. At a speech in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, Johnson asserts "the time has come for us to see that every American gets a decent break."

19 JUNE 1964
Civil Rights The Senate passes 73-27 the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. President Johnson terms this passage "a challenge to all Americans to transform the commands of our laws into the customs of our land."

22 JUNE 1964
Civil Rights Three young civil rights workers, in Mississippi for the summer voter registration drive, are reported missing after being released from a jail. Their bodies will be found on August 4 in a newly built earth dam near Philadelphia, Mississippi. And on December 4, 21 white men—most of them members of the Ku Klux Klan, and including a local sheriff and his deputy—will be arrested for conspiring to abduct and kill the three youths.

2 JULY 1964
Civil Rights President Johnson signs the Civil

D.O.J. DRAFT (It arrived after my first draft was completed. —EMcN.) McNally

PROPOSED REMARKS FOR THE PRESIDENT ON THE
ANNIVERSARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Twenty-five years ago today, Congress passed, and President Johnson signed, the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A full generation has been born and come to maturity since 1964. This generation would not know -- without being taught about it in their history classes -- that at one time, blatant racial discrimination bordering on apartheid was both legal and widely accepted in our beloved country. Indeed, we have reason to rejoice, on this anniversary, that a generation has been largely spared the evils of pervasive segregation that once characterized so much of our society.

I want to acknowledge the presence here today of a few of those who were present here at the signing of the Civil Rights Act twenty-five years ago, as well as some of the veteran staff of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division and Community Relations Service who have done so much to enforce this law.

That much social injustice remains to be corrected should not blind us to the very real differences between 1964 and today. Let us pause for a moment to reflect upon those days.

Ten years earlier, the Supreme Court had held that schools segregated by law could not be equal and could not be tolerated. But in the years following that decision, there had been little change. By 1964, though the civil rights movement was in full swing, and the name of Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr. was already well known, Congress had done virtually nothing to advance the cause of racial equality. The civil rights bill, proposed by

President Kennedy early in 1963, was given no serious attention in his lifetime. Indeed, the bill was to be the first omnibus legislation to address the subject of racial discrimination in almost a century. Even then, it ultimately passed only after many weeks of heated debate that threatened to go on indefinitely. The day the bill passed, three civil rights workers were missing in Mississippi and their bodies had not yet been found.

Much of the atmosphere of those days is recaptured in the stirring speech President Johnson delivered just prior to signing the civil rights bill into law. Reading it the other day, I was struck by the fact that the president clearly anticipated that there might well be resistance -- even violent resistance -- especially to that part of the bill that would have the most immediate and visible effects: integration of public accommodations and facilities. For that reason, President Johnson stressed that the purpose of the Civil Rights Act was not to punish and not to divide the nation, but "to end divisions, divisions which have lasted all too long." "We will achieve these goals," he said, "because most Americans are law-abiding citizens who want to do what is right."

That day, urging all Americans to comply with the Civil Rights Act, President Johnson articulated the following credo of human rights and racial equality which he believed the Act embodied:

Today in the far corners of distant continents the ideals of [the great] American patriots still shape the struggles of men who hunger for freedom.

* * * Yet those who founded our country knew that freedom would be secure only if each generation thought to renew and enlarge its meaning.

* * *

Americans of every race and color have worked to build a nation of widening opportunities.

Now a generation of Americans has been called on to continue the unending search for justice within our own borders.

We believe that all men are created equal, yet many are denied equal treatment.

We believe that all men have certain unalienable rights, yet many Americans do not enjoy those rights.

We believe that all men are entitled to the blessings of liberty, yet millions are being deprived of those blessings, not because of their own failures but because of the color of their skin.

The reasons are deeply imbedded in history and tradition and the nature of man. We can understand without rancor or hatred how this all happened. But it cannot continue.

Our Constitution, the foundation of our Republic forbids it. The principles of our freedom forbid it. Morality forbids it. And the law I will sign tonight forbids it. * * *

* * *

The purpose of this law is simple. It does not restrict the freedom of any American so long as he respects the rights of others. It does not give special treatment to any citizen. It does say the only limit to a man's hope for happiness and for the future of his children shall be his own ability.

It does say that those who are equal before God shall now also be equal in the polling booths, in the classrooms, in the factories, and in hotels and restaurants, and movie theatres, and other places that provide service to the public.

Today, the basic premises of the Civil Rights Act are almost universally accepted. Only the most extreme "hate" groups would, today, blatantly deny others those rights they claim for themselves. On the other hand, people who put their bodies on the line twenty-five years ago, to integrate a soda fountain or to help others register to vote, today hold offices to which they, themselves have been elected. The Civil Rights Act has served as a catalyst for this change. Its success has inspired other groups, such as disabled Americans, to look to Congress and to the legal system for protection against discrimination.

While its basic premises are well accepted, there is still sometimes disagreement and debate when it comes to interpreting the Civil Rights Act. As recently as the last two months, the Supreme Court was deciding cases that resolved some of these disputes. A certain amount of continued debate over interpretation is inevitable. Those who write and pass our laws cannot possible anticipate every situation to which those laws are going to apply.

We think, though, that the <u>greatest</u> debates are probably now behind us. We look forward, in the next several years, to solid and straightforward enforcement of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as well as the later Civil Rights Acts. The government will continue to prosecute members of those "hate" groups who criminally interfere with the rights of others. In addition, Congress has given the federal government new authority to prevent discrimination. In housing, for example, Congress has

prohibited discrimination on the basis of handicap and against families with children.

It used to be conventional wisdom that the law could not change "the hearts and minds of the people." The Civil Rights Act, though, clearly did change our conduct. And after twenty-five years, it is impossible to say that our "hearts and minds" are unaffected. While much remains to be done, I really believe that there has been no time in our history when we have had so broad a consensus that the law should protect individuals' rights to be treated fairly and not on the basis of outworn racial, gender, religious, and other stereotypes.

The words President Johnson spoke in this room twenty-five years ago, need to be repeated to new generations of Americans on significant occasions such as this anniversary. Much of what he hoped for then has come to pass. The rest is as appropriate today as it ever was.

> My fellow citizens [he said,] we have come now to a time of testing. We must not fail.
>
> Let us close the springs of racial poison. Let us pray for wise and understanding hearts. Let us lay aside irrelevant differences and make our nation whole.

The nation today expresses its gratitude to those who struggled twenty-five years ago to bring forth legislation that makes our society more just and more free.

1964 Facts on File

Salinger to Senate. Democratic Gov. Edmund G. Brown of California appointed Democratic Senate nominee Pierre Salinger Aug. 4 to complete the last 5 months of the term of the late Democratic Sen. Clair Engle.

The U.S. Senate Aug. 5 approved Salinger's appointment by 59-29 vote, and he was sworn in. The vote was on straight party lines with 2 exceptions: Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel (R., Calif.) and Sen. Milton R. Young (R., N.D.) sided with the Democratic majority. The Republican minority objected to Salinger's seating on the ground that he was not a legal resident of California and not a registered voter there. The Senate agreed to refer the question to the Subcommittee on Privileges & Elections for a report by Aug. 13.

George Murphy, Salinger's Republican Senatorial opponent in the November election, filed in Los Angeles Superior Court Aug. 5 a suit seeking to invalidate Salinger's interim appointment on the ground that he was not a qualified voter in the state. [See p. 102B3]

Primaries. Among primary election results:

Iowa (June 1)—Gov. Harold E. Hughes (D.), 42, and State Atty. Gen. Evan Hultman (R.), 39, won unopposed elections for their parties' gubernatorial nominations. In a 6th Congressional District election, for the seat of retiring Rep. Charles B. Hoeven (R.), Sioux City Mayor Stanley L. Greigg, 31, won the Democratic nomination over 2 opponents; the 7-way Republican race was inconclusive (no candidate got the necessary 35% of the vote).

Montana (June 2)—Gov. Tim Babcock (R.), 44, was unopposed for renomination. The Democratic gubernatorial nomination was won by Dr. Roland R. Renne, 58, ex-president of Montana State College and ex-Assistant Agriculture Secretary. Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield, 61, won renomination by a 7-2 margin over ex-Rep. Joseph Patrick Monaghan, 58. The Republican Senatorial nomination was won by State Rep. Alex Blewett Jr., 51.

North Carolina (June 27)—Dan K. Moore, 58, a former state judge, defeated L. Richardson Preyer, 45, a former federal judge, in a Democratic gubernatorial run-off after they had led in a field of 6 in the May 30 primary but had failed to win a majority. The Republican nomination was won May 30 by Robert L. Gavin, 48, in the first GOP gubernatorial primary ever held in the state.

South Dakota (June 2)—The Republican gubernatorial nomination was won by Lt. Gov. Nils A. Boe, 51, with 54.2% of the vote, over ex-Gov. Sigurd Anderson (45.8%). Ex-Lt. Gov. John F. Lindley, 45, won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination over Mitchell Municipal Court Judge Merton B. Tice, 65.4% to 34.6%.

Texas (June 6)—Winners of run-offs: Houston oilman George Bush (62.2%), 39, over Jack Cox (37.8%), 43, unsuccessful 1962 GOP candidate for governor, for the Republican Senatorial nomination; conservative Rep. Joe Pool (57.0%), over moderate Robert W. Baker (43.0%), 43, for the Democratic at-large House seat; conservative state Rep. Eligio (Kika) de la Garza (64.6%), 34, over liberal State Rep. Lindsey Rodriguez (35.4%), for the Democratic nomination in the 15th Congressional District (Rep. Joe M. Kilgore was retiring); conservative Richard White (51.4%), 41, ex-state representative, over liberal state Rep. Malcolm McGregor (48.6%), for the Democratic nomination in the 16th Congressional District.

Republican Energy Policy. A "new and constructive federal" power policy was proposed June 25 by the Critical Issues Council of the Republican Citizens Committee. The policy was drafted by a task force on energy, headed by Lewis L. Strauss. The council called for a detailed study of power generating methods and "due consideration to the demonstrated achievements of private industry" in reducing power costs. "The wise production and use of electrical energy calls for sound working relationships between private enterprise and government," the council said. [See p. 203G2-B3]

Racial Unrest

Bodies of 3 Found. FBI agents Aug. 4 found 3 bodies in an earth dam recently built 5 miles southwest of Philadelphia, Miss., where 3 civil rights workers had disappeared June 21.

Pathologists and FBI identification experts examined the bodies in Jackson, Miss. Aug. 5 and identified them as those of the 3 missing rights workers, Michael H. Schwerner, 24, and Andrew Goodman, 20, both white and both of N.Y. City, and James E. Chaney, 21, a Negro, of Meridian, Miss.

The *Jackson Daily News* reported that the 3 men had been shot to death and the bullets removed, but the FBI declined Aug. 5 to give the cause of death. County Coroner Fulton Jackson, Sheriff L. A. Rainey, Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price and a 6-man coroner's jury visited the dam site Aug. 4 and 5; Jackson said they were not sure what was the cause of death.

Roy K. Moore, chief of the special FBI field office in Jackson, said Aug. 4 that the bodies were found as the result of weeks of systematic searching throughout the countryside by FBI agents. But there were several reports Aug. 5 that an informer had been paid a reward of $25,000-$30,000 to lead FBI agents to the grass-covered graves.

Mississippi Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. pledged Aug. 4: "If these are the bodies of the 3 civil rights workers . . . , the investigative forces of the state of Mississippi will exert every effort to apprehend those who may have been responsible for their deaths." [See pp. 213B3-214D2]

Jersey City Riots. Racial violence flared in Jersey City, N.J., late Aug. 2 after a rumor of police brutality against a Negro who had just been arrested. Widespread looting and clashes between Negroes and police were reported in 3 separate outbreaks of violence during the night. Violence was repeated Aug. 3 and 4. At least 56 persons were injured, including 22 policemen and a Negro youth who was shot and seriously wounded. 36 persons were arrested. 68 stores were damaged and 18 looted.

(About 50,000 of Jersey City's 300,000 residents were Negroes, and there were repeated charges of police brutality made by Negroes. The city had been declining economically for more than 30 years.)

Mayor Thomas J. Whelan Aug. 3 called the riot an "isolated incident" caused by hooligans. But Police Lt. Raymond Blaszak said the rioting had been planned in advance by young agitators.

Negro leaders, clergymen and city officials met the evening of Aug. 3 to discuss means of averting a repetition of the rioting. But the meeting ended quickly, and Whelan said: "As far as I am concerned they [the Negroes] presented us no formal demands."

Rioting broke out again that evening on a more violent scale, and Negroes concentrated on attacking policemen and whites instead of looting stores. Youths threw bricks, stones and Molotov cocktails at policemen, and policemen fired shots into the air. Teams of civic leaders, Negro lawyers, clergymen, and representatives of CORE and the NAACP tried to persuade the rioters to disperse. An estimated 450 policemen from Jersey City and surrounding communities tried to quell the rioting. Policemen from N.Y. City were reported in the area as observers to see whether any of the persons involved in the recent New York riots were instigating the Jersey City violence.

Whelan declared at a news conference Aug. 4: "To all Negroes in Jersey City, may I say that I not only sympathize with your cause—I support it. But I will neither support nor tolerate outbreaks of violence or terror by any citizen or any group of citizens, . . . black or white. . . . This is . . . hoodlumism versus law and order, and I am determined that law and order will win."

Scattered violence on a smaller scale took place the evening of Aug. 4. Roving groups of Negroes threw Mototov cocktails in the streets and there was some gunfire by policemen.

Whelan met with a delegation of clergymen Aug. 5, and they said afterwards that they had been encouraged by his willingness to listen to their point of view. But Fred Martin, the city's only Negro councilman, accused Whelan of actually prolonging the riots. Martin charged: "Whelan and his boys . . . think they can still get away with the police beating the hell out of Negroes with clubs. Well, they can't. . . . When things calm down again, we're going to hit him on everything—schools, housing,

U.S. Treasury Statement

	June	June 1963	Fiscal Year 1964	Fiscal Year 1963
Total deposits	$ 14,590,772,615	$ 13,014,258,066	$128,338,123,795	$120,541,525,144
Net deposits	$ 14,179,772,257	$ 12,651,311,429	$121,192,565,659	$113,991,192,269
Indiv. income taxes:				
Withheld	3,862,532,052	3,460,461,200	54,240,889,707	50,443,255,601
Other	1,915,139,356	1,865,083,636	16,124,155,712	15,142,129,550
Corp. income taxes	6,158,162,805	5,429,802,179	24,290,887,998	22,283,596,023
Excise taxes	1,229,573,307	1,189,617,110	13,894,166,793	13,347,419,784
Customs	120,908,738	89,072,045	1,285,324,443	1,237,182,664
Net withdrawals	$ 9,151,876,763	$ 7,850,286,944	$123,598,060,878	$118,076,644,550
Military (including military foreign aid)	3,756,024,083	3,196,992,717	49,978,959,951	50,412,439,056
Economic foreign aid	155,208,722	148,787,616	1,934,463,648	1,985,509,431
Veterans	430,925,313	451,762,284	5,337,966,814	5,229,990,932
Interest on public debt	437,959,964	381,167,161	8,263,962,831	7,628,219,580
Increase in public debt			5,138,233,393	6,584,285,474
Decrease in public debt	534,106,923	418,703,747		

Gross public debt and guaranteed obligations $311,810,858,314 (including $311,449,140,766 statutory limitation); previous year $305,391,718,570
Gold reserve $15,461,239,587; previous year $15,733,068,381
Treasury balance $11,140,567,950; previous year $12,297,269,030

dical College researchers Vincent du Vigneaud mone studies. For their research in atomic ments, Polykarp Kusch and Willis Lamb, Jr., the Nobel Prize in Physics.

'ARY 1956
I In a vote that appears to support segrega- : Virginia legislature passes an amendment state support for private education. This ent follows the United States Supreme Court dering desegregation of public schools. The is resulted in the temporary closing of Vir- chools.

JARY 1956
hts The University of Alabama enrolls its student, Autherine Lucy, who is suspended days of violent unrest and near rioting.

UARY 1956
A Federal court in New Orleans rules state laws supporting segregation, banned preme Court in 1954.

JARY 1956
After disclosures that Senator Francis Case Dakota was offered campaign funding by oil President Eisenhower vetoes a bill that removed Federal price controls from inde- tural gas production.

ARY 1956
President Eisenhower announces he is will- a second term.

1956
s The National Association for the Ad- of Colored People (NAACP) has brought the University of Alabama on behalf of ucy, suspended on February 6. Ms. Lucy from the university.

1956
l President Eisenhower turns down a srael to purchase military arms from the s. It comes after the Soviet Union has itary equipment to Egypt.

1956
156-day strike at Westinghouse Electric nds as union and company spokesmen ontract.

1956
e *Daily Worker* is seized by the Internal ice. The IRS claims nonpayment of New York, Chicago and Detroit, mem- wspaper staff post funds sufficient for

higan, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Kansas,

Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee are hit by tornadoes, leaving over 45 people dead or missing, thousands homeless and extensive property losses.

5 APRIL 1956
National Labor columnist Victor Riesel, an opponent of racketeering, loses sight in both eyes as the result of acid thrown in his face by an attacker.

8 APRIL 1956
Regional Six Marine recruits drown at Parris Island, South Carolina, while on a disciplinary march. Platoon sergeant Matthew McKeon is charged with negligent homicide.

11 APRIL 1956
Regional President Eisenhower gives approval to a power project for the upper Colorado River. It will provide irrigation for the region.

19 APRIL 1956
International One of the most publicized marriages of the century occurs between Hollywood actress Grace Kelly and Prince Rainier III of Monaco. Kelly won an Academy Award in 1954 for Best Actress.

2 MAY 1956
Ideas/Beliefs At its annual conference at Minneapolis, the Methodist Church calls for an end to all segregation in the church. This reflects a growing concern for civil rights among spiritual as well as secular leaders.

4 MAY 1956
Science Two private nuclear power plants are approved by the Atomic Energy Commission. One will be built by Consolidated Edison at Indian Point, New York, and will cost $55,000,000.

28 MAY 1956
National President Eisenhower signs an Agricultural Act to establish a soil bank. This will aid in the reduction of farm surpluses, which will help United States farmers maintain price stability.

9 JUNE 1956
National The President is hospitalized after an attack of ileitis and undergoes surgery.

11 JUNE 1956
Science The American Medical Association convenes at Chicago. Doctors Jonas Salk and Leonard Schule announce that they expect the Salk vaccine to eliminate polio within three years.

30 JUNE 1956
Aviation A record disaster over the Grand Canyon kills 128 people when two airliners, a TWA Super-Constellation and a United Airlines DC-7, crash in flight.

17 JULY 1956
International Egypt accepts an offer of financial aid from the United States for the Aswan High Dam. The United States has offered $56,000,000; the World Bank will add $100,000,000.

19 JULY 1956
International Because of Egypt's connection with

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

It hardly seemed like a very remarkable incident, but when Mrs. Rosa Parks was arrested on December 1, 1955, for refusing to yield her seat to a white man on a Montgomery bus, it triggered a ten-year campaign by blacks against the South's segregation laws. Encouraged by a Supreme Court decision the previous year (*Brown* v. *Board of Education at Topeka*) outlawing segregated public schools, the NAACP took Mrs. Parks's case to test Alabama's "Jim Crow" busing law. Local black leaders, including a young pastor named Martin Luther King Jr., also organized a city-wide bus boycott to protest the arrest. For the next year, the city's blacks walked, carpooled or taxied to work while bus company revenues plummeted to 35 percent of their former level. Then in November 1956 the Supreme Court struck down Alabama's laws requiring segregated buses.

The boycott had been so successful that in 1957 black leaders formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to continue a "direct action" assault on segregation. Strictly adhering to a philosophy of nonviolence, the organization sponsored a wide range of protests against "Jim Crow" public facilities. Then in February 1960, a "sit-in" by four black college students at a "whites only" lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, brought a wave of similar demonstrations throughout the South. The following year, the newly formed Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee helped sponsor a series of "freedom rides" to implement a federal directive ordering desegregation on all interstate buses.

The freedom rides, like most of the other black demonstrations, brought violent reprisals from Southern whites; the terrorism, however, generated a huge groundswell of support for the civil rights movement in the North and put pressure on Congress to act on behalf of the blacks. A brutal assault by Birmingham police on nonviolent marchers in the spring of 1963 particularly outraged public sentiment and led Kennedy to push for the passage of a strong Civil Rights Bill. That summer, some 250,000 demonstrators staged a march on Washington to rally support for the law, and in July 1964 Congress responded by passing the comprehensive Civil Rights Act outlawing discrimination in all public facilities. The murder of three civil rights workers in the summer of 1964 during a massive black voter registration drive again underscored the need for federal intervention. In 1965, Congress enacted a tough Voting Rights Act, making possible for the first time since Reconstruction the full participation of blacks in state and federal elections.

After the passage of the Voting Rights Act, discrimination still remained, but it was now more economic and informal than legal. Although King wished to continue the struggle, his leadership and nonviolent tactics came under increasing criticism after 1965 from more militant black crusaders. The splintering of the black movement, rising black militancy and the ghetto riots of the late 1960s all combined to undermine support for further reforms, but there could never again be any legal denial of the fundamental civil rights of American minorities.

commands for every wrong a remedy, but in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens and there are no remedies at law. Unless the Congress acts, their only remedy is in the street.

I am, therefore, asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public—hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores, and similar establishments.

This seems to me to be an elementary right. Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure, but many do.

I have recently met with scores of business leaders urging them to take voluntary action to end this discrimination and I have been encouraged by their response, and in the last 2 weeks over 75 cities have seen progress made in desegregating these kinds of facilities. But many are unwilling to act alone, and for this reason, nationwide legislation is needed if we are to move this problem from the streets to the courts.

I am also asking Congress to authorize the Federal Government to participate more fully in lawsuits designed to end segregation in public education. We have succeeded in persuading many districts to desegregate voluntarily. Dozens have admitted Negroes without violence. Today a Negro is attending a State-supported institution in every one of our 50 States, but the pace is very slow.

Too many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court's decision 9 years ago will enter segregated high schools this fall, having suffered a loss which can never be restored. The lack of an adequate education denies the Negro a chance to get a decent job.

The orderly implementation of the Supreme Court decision, therefore, cannot be left solely to those who may not have the economic resources to carry the legal action or who may be subject to harassment.

Other features will be also requested, including greater protection for the right to vote. But legislation, I repeat, cannot solve this problem alone. It must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country.

In this respect, I want to pay tribute to those citizens North and South who have been working in their communities to make life better for all. They are acting not out of a sense of legal duty but out of a sense of human decency.

Like our soldiers and sailors in all parts of the world they are meeting freedom's challenge on the firing line, and I salute them for their honor and their courage.

My fellow Americans, this is a problem which faces us all—in every city of the North as well as the South. Today there are Negroes unemployed, two or three times as many compared to whites, inadequate in education, moving into the large cities, unable to find work, young people particularly out of work without hope, denied equal rights, denied the opportunity to eat at a restaurant or lunch counter or go to a movie theater, denied the right to a decent education, denied almost today the right to attend a State university even though qualified. It seems to me that these are matters which concern us all, not merely Presidents or Congressmen or Governors, but every citizen of the United States.

This is one country. It has become one country because all of us and all the people who came here had an equal chance to develop their talents.

We cannot say to 10 percent of the population that you can't have that right; that your children can't have the chance to develop whatever talents they have; that the only way that they are going to get their rights is to go into the streets and demonstrate. I think we owe them and we owe ourselves a better country than that.

Therefore, I am asking for your help in making it easier for us to move ahead and to provide the kind of equality of treatment which we would want ourselves; to give a chance for every child to be educated to the limit of his talents.

Roll-Call Vote After 83 Days of Deba

HISTORY OF BILL: A YEAR OF WORDS

6-20-64

HR 7152 Offered Casually in the House by Celler

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 19 — No one said a word, scarcely anyone even noticed, when HR 7152, the civil rights bill, began its long legislative journey a year ago tomorrow.

The House was busy with other things that day. It was suspending duties on metal scrap and chicory; extending a law on placement of foster children; talking about the Civil War centennial at Gettysburg and the 100th birthday party that West Virginia had given the day before.

Sometime during the 47-minute session, Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, strolled to the front of the House and casually dropped HR 7152 into a small box on the side of the Speaker's desk. The "HR" stands for House Resolution, the number indicates that the bill was the 7,152d introduced in the House since the start of its current session.

That was the legislative beginning.

The fact that HR 7152 made a largely unheralded entry into history was not because of any complacency about civil rights. It was the most talked-about topic of the year.

Other Bills Also Offered

Congress was flooded with civil rights bills by the time HR 7152 put in an appearance. The Judiciary Committee alone had 172 civil rights bills, many of them introduced by Republicans. The Senate Judiciary Committee had 20. And there were other civil rights bills scattered among other House and Senate committees.

HR 7152, bearing the Kennedy Administration's stamp of approval, attracted little attention because, just the day before, an identical bill had been introduced in the Senate by Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana.

Both the Mansfield and Celler bills were drafted at the Justice

Passage of Rights Bill Intact Surprises Congr

Measure Somewhat Broader Than Proposals Presented by President Last Year

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 19 — Leaders of the civil rights forces on both sides of the aisle in both chambers of Congress were still somewhat unbelieving today over what had happened, but especially over what had not happened, during the rights bill's long journey.

Not only had the bill been passed essentially intact, but in some ways it was a broader and stronger bill than the draft sent to Congress by President Kennedy a year ago.

The original Administration bill made no provision for a Fair Employment Opportunities Commission. The President and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, were reluctant to include a fair-employment section, because they feared that, even if it were approved by the House, it might imperil the whole bill in the Senate.

Kennedy Had Reservations

Furthermore, although the Administration draft included a section authorizing a cutoff of funds from federally aided programs administered in a discriminatory manner, it was known that President Kennedy had reservations about this section because a cutoff could hurt innocent recipients of the aid.

In the House Judiciary Committee, a fair-employment title was added to the bill, and the Administration felt constrained to go along for political reasons. It could not offend liberal Democrats and it needed the support of liberal Republicans.

Moreover, many House Republicans developed strong feelings about the Federal funds cutoff. They believed that racial discrimination in programs financed by undiscriminating tax levies could not be justified.

Nevertheless, when the bill came to the Senate last February, it was assumed that the fair-employment and cutoff titles were the most vulnerable. In fact, they were widely regarded as sections that could be sacrificed to save three parts of the bill that the Justice Department regarded as crucial if the Negro was to secure his constitutional rights.

What Three Titles Will Do

These three titles banned discrimination in public accommodations; required voting reg-

sota and Thomas H. Kuchel of California, the bill's majority and minority floor managers.

Accommodations Title Intact

The public - accommodations title, banning discrimination in motels, hotels, restaurants, theaters, sports arenas and gas stations, also came through intact.

The substitute, on Mr. Dirksen's insistence, made it mandatory that states with fair-employment and public-accommodations laws should have the first chance to handle a complaint. It also extended the time allowed for local action and for persuasion by the Federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and the Community Relations Service.

The second major change was in enforcement powers. The Dirksen substitute allowed the Attorney General to intervene in suits filed by individuals seeking relief from discrimination in jobs or public accommodations. But, unlike the House bill, it did not permit him to initiate such suits.

On the other hand, Mr. Dirksen acceded to the Justice Department's argument that the Attorney General should have the right to initiate suits where he found a "pattern" or "practice" of discrimination.

A third important Dirksen amendment specified that any cutoff of Federal funds must be limited to the locality and the program where the discrimination occurred. This was to insure that there would be no statewide cutoff.

Senate Cut Parts of Bill

While it is true that one or two anomalies got into the bill during its nine days on the House floor — such as the amendment permitting an employer to refuse to hire an atheist — these were taken out by the Senate.

In the same way, it is contended that the Senate substitute improved and refined the

As a matter of fact, these changes merely made explicit what had been the intention of

Richard B. Russell, Demo... Georgia, the Southern ... might have been able ... or at least temper, the ... employment and Federal ... titles. They believe he ... have done this if he h... set his face against the ... bill and refused to concede ... there was a moral issue ... southern Negroes had ... grievance, and that the ... in many areas, been ... equal protection of the ...

If Mr. Russell and his ... ers had been willing to ... ate in solving the p... some members believe, he ... have found a sympathe... sponse, especially from ... licans who were con... about the bill's extens... Federal power.

But when he declined ... this, when virtually a... Southern amendments w... rected at evading the p... and allowing the So... states to continue the pr... that had brought the is... crisis point, then the h... the civil rights forces ... strengthened.

Many See Vindicatio...

Most members of Co... the Southerners except... lieve the civil rights bill ... finally emerged, is a ... vindication of the legi... process that has been so ... under attack in the la... years.

They concede that ... got a little out of han... fall when a House Ju... subcommittee sent to th... committee a bill the ... Department regarded a... law and dangerous, beca... gave the Attorney G... powers he did not want a... lieved he should not have.

But what matters, th... fenders of Congress emp... is that sounder counse... vailed, and that, in the ... the bill that emerged fro... committee and passed ... House was a better bill ... the Administration had se...

This was achieved, me... of both parties agree; th... bipartisan cooperation of ... normally found only on ... ures affecting the nation ... curity.

Obviously Mr. Dirksen ... been widely praised. But ... has also been recogniti...

Department, a half-mile down Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol.

Some sections of the identical bills were shaped in the Civil Rights Division office, headed by Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall. Other sections were drafted in the office of the legal counsel, Assistant Attorney General Norbert A. Schlei.

Then, the bills were given a final going-over by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and Deputy Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, and, after conferences with President Kennedy, the bills were sent to Capitol Hill for introduction in the Senate and House.

The Mansfield bill, S 1731, got the headlines, but it was HR 7152 that was to make the full legislative circuit.

It is paradoxical that HR 7152 was born in silence, for it was destined to generate millions of words in the halls and committee rooms of Congress.

The volume of time and words devoted to HR 7152 and allied civil rights bills is staggering:

¶Six Congressional committees, sitting for 81 days, heard 269 witnesses. Printed transcripts of those hearings cover 5,791 pages of eight volumes, weighing 13¼ pounds.

¶The House filled 477 pages of The Congressional Record with civil rights debate lasting 73 hours 41 minutes over nine days, Jan. 31 to Feb. 10.

¶The Senate, up to today, filled 2,890 pages of The Congressional Record with civil rights debate. The debate lasted 736 hours 10 minutes over 83 days, March 9 through today.

Debate Was Exhausting

The cost to the Government and to individuals or private organizations in getting the legislation through Congress is impossible to compute.

Telephones were constantly busy with long-distance calls. The hearing witnesses, most of them traveling at their own expense, invested many thousands of dollars on transportation. Mountains of supplies were used.

Taking the Government Printing Office estimates of $16 a page for printed transcripts of hearings and $90 a page for The Congressional Record, the printing cost alone, up today, was $352,756.

The physical toll on those who took part in debate would be difficult to estimate, too. House members suffered little, since debate lasted only nine days. But the Senate debate, the longest in its history, was physically exhausting to many of the Senators.

istrars to apply the same standards to whites and Negroes on literacy tests and voter-applications forms, and gave the Attorney General new authority to initiate school-desegregation suits.

The feeling that the titles on fair employment and the cut-off of Federal funds might be sacrificed was based on the known aversion of many Middle Western Republican Senators to both of them, but particularly to the employment title as an unwarranted interference with private business.

Yet these titles not only survived but also came through largely unscathed as a result of the reworking given them by Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the minority leader, and the Justice Department in the course of preparing the substitute to the House bill. Mr. Dirksen and Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the majority leader, sponsored the substitute, along with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minne-

the Justice Department. But officials conceded that Mr. Dirksen improved the bill by clarifying it. And his changes helped to win the critical Republican votes for the closure invoked last week by a vote of 71 to 29.

Although the Southerners introduced 483 amendments and called up more than 100 of them for roll-call votes, they were able to make only one significant change in the bill. That was an amendment guaranteeing that defendants in criminal-contempt proceedings arising out of violations of any title except that on voting should have a jury trial.

For contempt in voting-right suits, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 still governs. This states that the judge has discretion to give a jury trial, but the defendant must have a second trial with jury if the judge in a nonjury trial imposes a penalty of more than 45 days in jail or a fine of more than $300.

Some Senators think Senator

the role played by Humphrey, who conducted self at all times so as to passions in check.

But the outstanding peacemaker was play Senator Mansfield, who at the outset that he would main above the battle and keep the lines open to ful Southerners whose would be later needed vital legislation that th in a position to forw obstruct. For this reas Mansfield turned over Humphrey the job of ch gotiator and floor captain.

And it is not forgot the Administration how tively William M. Mc ranking Republican mem the House Judiciary Com worked with the ch Emanuel Cellar, Demo Brooklyn. Sharing the istration's gratitude are Lindsay of Manhatta Charles M. Mathias of land, younger members House Judiciary Committ

Digest of Civil Rights Bill's Provisio

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 19—Following is a summary of the principal provisions of the civil rights bill passed by the Senate today:

Title I—Voting

Prohibits registrars from applying different standards to white and Negro voting applicants and from disqualifying applicants because of inconsequential errors on their forms. Requires that literacy tests be in writing, except under special arrangements for blind persons, and that any applicant desiring one be given a copy of the questions and his answers. Makes a sixth-grade education a rebuttable presumption of literacy. Allows the Attorney General or defendant state officials in any voting suit to request trial by a three-judge Federal Court.

Title II—Public Accommodations

Prohibits discrimination or refusal of service on account of race in hotels, motels, restaurants, gasoline stations and places of amusement if their operations affect interstate commerce or if their discrimination "is supported by state action." Permits the Attorney General to enforce the title by suit in the Federal courts if he believes that any person or group is engaging in a "pattern or practice of resistance" to the

pools. Authorizes the Attorney General to sue for enforcement of these rights if private citizens are unable to sue effectively.

Title IV—Public Schools

Empowers the Attorney General to bring school desegregation suits under the same conditions as in Title III. Authorizes technical and financial aid to school districts to assist in desegregation. The Senate strengthened a provision in the House bill saying that the title does not cover busing of pupils or other steps to end "racial imbalance."

Title V—Civil Rights Commission

Extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission until Jan. 31, 1968.

Title VI—Federal Aid

Provides that no person shall be subjected to racial discrimination in any program receiving Federal aid. Directs Federal agencies to take steps against discrimination, including—as a last resort, and after hearings—withholding of Federal funds from state or local agencies that discriminate.

Title VII—Employment

Bans discrimination by employers or unions with 100

judge court. The added the "pattern-or tice" condition and the power to sue fro commission to the At General.

Title VIII—Statist

Directs the Census B to compile statistics o istration and voting by in areas of the country nated by the Civil Commission. This migh used to enforce the forgotten provision o 14th Amendment that that discriminate in shall lose seats in the of Representatives.

Title IX—Courts

Permits appellate r of decisions by Federal trict judges to send ba the state courts crimina fendants who have atte to remove their cases o ground that their civil r would be denied in trials. Permits the Att General to intervene in filed by private persons plaining that they have denied the equal protecti the laws.

Title X—Conciliati

Establishes a Commu Relations Service in the C merce Department to conciliate racial disputes. Senate removed a House