

TABLE V.—Breakdown of 110 Federal grant-in-aid programs with fiscal 1962 spending totals, as arranged by CQ categories—Con.

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Public Health (research)—Continued | |
| Nursing services and resources | \$6,466,211 |
| Chronic disease and health of the aged | 310,153 |
| Community health practices and research | 4,129,093 |
| Accident prevention | 937,435 |
| Air pollution | 1,634,162 |
| Milk, food, interstate and community sanitation | 2,212,838 |
| Occupational health | 1,211,850 |
| Radiological health | 1,335,815 |
| Water supply and water pollution control | 1,809,408 |
| Hospital and medical facility research | 925,805 |
| General research support grants | 15,000,055 |
| Construction of health research facilities | 29,978,351 |
| Total | 464,315,087 |
| Public Health (services): | |
| Control of venereal disease | 2,568,834 |
| Control of tuberculosis | 4,001,003 |
| Community health practices and research | 15,785,357 |
| Mental health activities | 6,650,161 |
| National Cancer Institute | 3,436,142 |
| National Heart Institute | 4,566,458 |
| Water supply and water pollution control | 4,355,961 |
| Chronic disease and health of the aged | 4,808,440 |
| Hospital activities (construction) | 167,575,281 |
| Waste treatment works (construction) | 42,103,315 |
| Total | 255,850,952 |
| Public health services and research total | 720,166,039 |
| Food distribution: | |
| School lunch program | 167,501,083 |
| Food stamp program | 13,152,695 |
| Value of commodities distributed | 181,832,875 |
| Value of commodities donated | 199,904,523 |
| Special milk program | 90,626,895 |
| Total | 663,018,071 |
| Education: | |
| Colleges of agriculture and mining | 14,519,000 |
| Cooperative vocational education | 40,178,617 |
| Assistance for school construction (impacted areas) | 42,084,492 |
| Maintenance and operation of schools (impacted areas) | 226,307,926 |
| Library services | 8,196,654 |
| Defense education activities | 65,833,507 |
| Expansion of teaching in education of the mentally retarded (to States) | 554,382 |
| Expansion of teaching in education of the mentally retarded (to individuals) | 361,422 |
| Defense education activities | 40,530,653 |
| Cooperative research | 3,724,461 |
| Fellowships and assistance to schools (Atomic Energy Commission) | 8,850,506 |
| Research grants awards (National Science Foundation) | 140,501,848 |

TABLE V.—Breakdown of 110 Federal grant-in-aid programs with fiscal 1962 spending totals, as arranged by CQ categories—Con.

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Education—Continued | |
| Fellowship awards (National Science Foundation) | \$10,204,868 |
| Total | 601,848,336 |
| Agricultural conservation: | |
| Agricultural conservation program | 237,850,237 |
| Conservation reserve program | 332,683,936 |
| Great Plains conservation program | 6,238,903 |
| Total | 576,773,076 |
| National Guard: | |
| Air Force | 217,724,712 |
| Army | 336,747,078 |
| Total | 554,471,790 |
| Public and rural housing and urban renewal: | |
| Urban renewal program | 162,532,113 |
| Urban planning assistance | 6,903,110 |
| Public Housing Administration (annual contributions) | 154,262,784 |
| Rural housing grants | 62,940 |
| Total | 323,760,947 |
| Conservation practices: | |
| National forest fund (shared revenues) | 25,279,109 |
| National grasslands (shared revenues) | 416,545 |
| State and private forestry cooperation | 14,026,413 |
| Watershed protection and flood prevention | 38,783,821 |
| Lease of flood control lands (shared revenues) | 1,611,813 |
| Federal aid in wildlife restoration, fish restoration, and management | 19,792,421 |
| Migratory Bird Conservation Act, etc. | 497,655 |
| Mineral Leasing Act | 39,065,885 |
| Special funds (shared revenues) | 16,018,695 |
| Tennessee Valley Authority (shared revenues) | 6,740,153 |
| Total | 162,232,510 |
| Veterans benefits: | |
| State homes for soldiers and sailors | 7,365,937 |
| Approval and supervision of training establishments | 1,086,303 |
| Automobiles, etc., for disabled veterans | 668,838 |
| Readjustment benefits and vocational rehabilitation | 149,971,680 |
| Total | 159,092,758 |
| Agricultural extension work, research: | |
| Agricultural experimental stations | 34,460,282 |
| Cooperative agricultural extension work | 66,297,249 |
| Total | 100,757,531 |
| Vocational rehabilitation: | |
| Office of vocational rehabilitation | 65,077,625 |
| Grants for special projects | 7,612,908 |
| Training and traineeships | 9,464,061 |
| Total | 82,154,594 |

TABLE V.—Breakdown of 110 Federal grant-in-aid programs with fiscal 1962 spending totals, as arranged by CQ categories—Con.

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Child care: | |
| Maternal and child health services (to State) | \$23,851,671 |
| Services for crippled children (to State) | 24,091,677 |
| Child welfare services (to State) | 18,645,853 |
| Maternal and child health services (to individuals) | 985,966 |
| Services for crippled children (to individuals) | 544,115 |
| Maternal and child welfare services (to individuals) | 131,304 |
| Juvenile delinquency and youth offenses | 1,109,365 |
| Total | 69,359,951 |
| Other programs: Following are the 14 programs not included in the broader categories listed above: | |
| Cooperative projects in marketing (Department of Agriculture) | 3,388,010 |
| State marine schools | 541,478 |
| Civil defense | 16,789,813 |
| Disaster relief | 14,381,924 |
| American Printing House for the Blind | 670,000 |
| White House Conference on Aging | 31,245 |
| Bureau of Indian Affairs | 7,571,190 |
| Federal airport program | 57,857,651 |
| Payments to States under Federal Power Act (shared revenues) | 54,261 |
| Grants for research and management counseling (SBA) | 444,848 |
| Miscellaneous grants ¹ | 95,249,287 |
| Sugar Act program | 77,927,715 |
| State marine schools (subsistence for cadets) | 675,662 |
| Area Redevelopment Act | 3,354,161 |
| Total | 278,874,755 |

¹ Primarily Federal payments to the District of Columbia tax collections for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands and payments to certain U.S. territories.

CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I suppose nearly every newspaper in America had a comment on the freedom march in Washington last week. One of the most thoughtful and in my judgment one of the finest editorials printed anywhere was written by the Milwaukee Journal. I shall read the first and last paragraphs of that fine editorial:

A quarter-million Negroes have just taught other Americans their finest lesson in the whole meaning of the first amendment "right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

The last paragraph reads:

The most dangerous error now would be to settle back with a sigh of relief and say, "Well, that's over." It isn't over; it has just begun. How far inside the door does crisis have to come before democracy will act to cure itself?

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this fine editorial may be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

THE AMERICAN WAY

A quarter-million Negroes have just taught other Americans their finest lesson in the whole meaning of the first amendment—"right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Wednesday's huge Washington demonstration added immeasurably to the dignity and impact of the onrushing struggle for Negro equality now. This was done by the superb self discipline of the marchers with no slightest loss of spontaneity and fervor and grim purpose.

The complacent white man who takes his freedom for granted, if he was thinking as he watched and listened Wednesday, must have envied these people their thrilling consciousness of freedom's worth. Those who still have to seek it do indeed know best what it is.

The great event was not least a triumph over the extremist and rabble rousing fringe of Negro leadership. Randolph and Wilkins and King are leading their race not against democracy but within it and for it, relying on its own processes. Their followers who thronged the capital are good Americans now, wanting only to be whole Americans.

One remark of Wilkins' perfectly expressed how their struggle seeks to serve democracy. Addressing himself sympathetically to southerners in and out of Congress who are merely afraid to speak and vote for Negro equality, he said with a little smile but not at all in jest: "We will emancipate you." The Negroes' cause is freedom for their white fellow citizens—freedom from fears and discriminations that deny it to others.

Heartening was the prominent role of religious leaders of all faiths. For the pendency of civil rights legislation in Congress was only the pretext of the march. Primarily it was a call to national conscience, a "massive thrust," in Randolph's phrase, to stir the whole American people into awareness of a righteous and imperative cause. It achieved that effect dramatically.

Through TV's "equal time" coverage the country could hardly have failed to note how pathetic, and foreboding, were the comments of the Southern and even some Northern Senate leaders, instinctively mouthing the same tired old nonsense about how Congress won't be intimidated and how comparatively well off American Negroes are.

The most dangerous error now would be to settle back with a sigh of relief and say, "Well, that's over." It isn't over; it has just begun. How far inside the door does crisis have to come before democracy will act to cure itself?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that a thoughtful, sensitive, penetrating analysis of the civil rights march, written by Ira Kapenstein, an outstanding reporter for the Milwaukee Journal, may be printed in the RECORD.

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

CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH WON'T BE FORGOTTEN—
DEMONSTRATION WAS ORDERLY, INSPIRING,
DEEPLY SADDENING, WRITER SAYS

(By Ira Kapenstein)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The civil rights revolution engulfed the Nation's Capital Wednesday.

It was peaceful. It was orderly. It was so poignant, so dramatic that it will never be forgotten.

"We Shall Overcome," sang the marchers, some 200,000 strong. They sang with emotion, with conviction. The melody lingers on. It will reverberate for generations to come.

In a city where history is made every day, a whole new chapter was written. The great-

est civil rights demonstration ever held left an indelible imprint.

It was tremendously inspiring, yet deeply saddening.

Inspiring because a people was rising up in a peaceful way to demand what they believe is due them.

DEMOCRACY AT WORK

Saddening because 100 years after the abolition of slavery hundreds of thousands of Negroes had to come to the Lincoln Memorial to demand equal rights.

It was democracy at work. The splendid success of the march on Washington was in its peacefulness. The demonstrators, black and white, did themselves proud.

There were no riots, no ugly incidents. The marchers left Washington as they had found it—in peace.

Only the weeks and months ahead will tell whether the march accomplished its primary goal of persuading Congress to adopt strong civil rights legislation in this session. But the civil rights leaders certainly could not have hurt their cause.

The 150 Members of Congress who went to the rally—and the 385 who did not attend—could not help but be shaken by the great tidal wave that swept across Washington Wednesday.

The message was clear: It was "freedom now" and it was "pass the bill" and it was "the world is watching."

UNFORGETTABLE SCENE

The scene at the Lincoln Memorial was unforgettable. As far as the eye could see, from the top of the memorial steps, the multitude was packed together. They filled the memorial grounds so tightly that hundreds fainted and had to be carried off over the heads of other demonstrations.

They converged on either side of the Reflecting Pool, almost all the way back to the Washington Monument. They overflowed toward Constitution Avenue on one side and Independence Avenue on the other.

The demonstrators were under great physical strain. Many of them had ridden buses or trains all night. They stood for several hours on the Monument Grounds before the march began. They walked the eight-tenths of a mile to the memorial in a hushed pilgrimage. Then they stood for another 4 hours or more.

After it was all over, they went back to their buses or trains or cars for the long rides home. A few more affluent ones flew.

MAHALIA JACKSON STOPS SHOW

But it was hard to find anyone who complained. They knew that what they had set out to do had been done so well. The many weeks of tremendous preparation had paid off.

In the montage of the day's climactic events, there is one picture that stands out with clarity. It is of Mahalia Jackson.

The Negro gospel singer stopped the show. She captured the hearts of the people. She sent their spirits soaring. When she was done, the tempo of the rally had quickened so much that it was breathtaking.

Miss Jackson sang one song with such great emotion that the crowd would not let her go. She was brought back for an encore. She was given the mightiest ovation of the day.

The words of Miss Jackson's songs were hard to distinguish over the loud speaker system, but it mattered little. The rhythm, the spirit, the love came through so clearly that it brought tears to the eyes of many.

It was left to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., to bring the rally to a thundering climax. He accomplished his mission.

"I HAVE A DREAM"

When Mr. King said "I have a dream" that one day all men will be equal, the crowd dreamed with him.

They roared their consent when he told them that their job was to make come true the words from the old Negro spiritual—"Free at last. Free at last. Thank God, I'm free at last."

The march on Washington is over. Its leaders hope that the past will be the prologue of a great era for the peaceful revolutionaries.

A. Philip Randolph, the aged and scholarly Negro leader, said the demonstration had achieved its basic objective before the march even started.

It has "awakened and aroused the conscience of the Nation on the question of freedom and equality for the Negro," Randolph said.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Sheboygan Press also had a superlative editorial pointing out how admirably handled and organized was the civil rights march, and what a fine reflection it was on the people involved. I ask unanimous consent to have that editorial printed in the RECORD.

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

MARCH WAS ADMIRABLY HANDLED

The much heralded march on Washington in behalf of the cause of equal civil rights for Negroes has come and gone and has left various reactions—mostly favorable.

From the standpoint of dramatizing the claim that many civil rights have been denied the Negro since as far back as the end of the Civil War, the gathering and parade in the Nation's Capital proved a decided success. The event brought home to the Nation that the Negro is tired of waiting any longer—he wants equal rights now. The fact that approximately 200,000 persons, including many white people of various religious faiths, were present for the occasion could not help but be impressive concerning the justice of their cause.

The manner in which the participants conducted themselves was admirable. It was a peaceful gathering with no violence and no evidence of mob spirit. It could be variously described—in its progressive stages—as resembling a church picnic, a religious revival and a political rally.

When one considers the huge mass of people attending and the fact that they were there to espouse a cause, this was indeed remarkable. This orderliness did not just happen by itself. It showed careful preparation of all participants beforehand and excellent cooperation between leaders of the march and Washington and Government officials.

In each city where groups originated to join the march, they were carefully briefed that this was to be a peaceful gathering with no violence or show of mob spirit. On the trains and buses that took them to Washington, they were given a refresher course in the same vein. That they had learned their lesson well was proved by their flawless conduct in Washington.

Prior to the day of the march, many people viewed with alarm the possibilities of such an occasion, and with reason. They realized that there is potential danger in any large gathering brought to one city from all over the United States. They feared that a minority group, not necessarily connected with the cause of the marchers, might incite mob spirit and a riot. No one could anticipate how well schooled the parade participants had been in the importance of their proper behavior while in Washington.

True, there were troublemakers present who would have liked nothing better than to incite a riot which would harm the Negro's cause. George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party, was there

with a group, but Washington police took care of him in short order. They allowed him to conduct his own sideshow to which nobody paid any attention. When he was prevented from getting near the marchers, he finally gave up and with his small group of followers, dejectedly headed back to his Arlington, Va., headquarters. Likewise, Communists who passed out literature, received no attention from the marchers.

The effect of the demonstration on the Negro cause? What influence it may have on Congress is problematical. However, A. Philip Randolph, 74, Negro director of the march and president of the AFL-CIO Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, had this comment: "The march has already achieved its objective. It has awakened the conscience of the Nation."

It may well be that he has a strong point there. Remember, these demonstrators were not in Washington as enemies of the people or the Government or to overthrow any part of the existing Government. They were merely there to demand, in peaceful public assemblage, rights that they have been denied for 100 years.

If nothing else, the march on Washington proved that the Negro—not only the highly intelligent and intellectual, but the Negro in all walks of life—can accept responsibility. They proved that by their exemplary conduct in Washington, of which they can be justly proud.

TELEVISION'S SPLENDID CONTRIBUTION TO CIVIL RIGHTS UNDERSTANDING

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this morning in the Chicago Sun-Times, an article appeared reporting on the fact that NBC not only had a fine 3-hour documentary on civil rights last night, but also carried it at an enormous cost to NBC, because it was necessary to forgo all advertising. This is a great contribution by private enterprise to better understanding in America. Many of us have criticized the television industry for various things, but when the industry does something such as this—considering how well the documentary was done; being balanced, thoughtful, and penetrating—the industry deserves commendation.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, written by Richard Elden, entitled "TV Nets Pick Up Some Big Costs," published in the Chicago Sun-Times, may be printed in the RECORD.

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

TV NETS PICK UP SOME BIG COSTS (By Richard Elden)

Sponsors decline to pick up the tab for TV's special coverage of the civil rights story. Almost all of these public affairs programs have been without sponsors.

Monday evening, for example, NBC presented its unprecedented 3-hour documentary, "The American Revolution of 1963."

Only 1 commercial minute on the prime-time program was sold—to Abbott Laboratories. Since it would have been impractical to have an isolated 1-minute commercial on a 3-hour show, Abbott was asked to withdraw.

Gulf Oil, which backs many NBC "instant specials," and Bell & Howell, a consistent news and public affairs sponsor, declined to become associated with the Labor Day special.

For its public service decision to give the Nation's No. 1 problem a big play NBC lost an estimated \$500,000.

Last Wednesday the network's all-out coverage of the march on Washington also went begging for a sponsor.

CBS devoted 5½ hours to the dramatic demonstration in the Capital while NBC gave it 5 hours and ABC 4 hours.

Except for the initial portion, broadcast during Calendar (CBS) and the Today Show (NBC) none of the TV coverage of the march had national sponsorship.

Another civil rights program that has been unable to find a sponsor is the current five part ABC series, "Crucial Summer." The fourth installment will be presented next Sunday from 9:30 to 10 p.m.

This virtual abandonment is not surprising, according to network officials. Documentaries are hard to sell under any circumstances.

Said one network spokesman: "Documentaries don't deliver a mass audience. Therefore it's a little bit harder to get advertisers."

However, there are signs that some of the forthcoming programs are managing to obtain sponsors.

The 1-hour ABC special on October 21, "Crisis: Behind the Presidential Commitment," will be sponsored by Xerox. And CBS Reports, a sponsored series, will devote a program to civil rights shortly after returning to the air this fall.

But nevertheless a reluctance on the part of sponsors to get involved in the civil rights controversy still exists. One trade publication comments:

"The fear of the advertiser is that the dramatic footage of the actual strife gets people riled up, in the core of their stomach, and such an experience might alienate customers and outlets of national advertisers, especially in the South."

TRIBUTE TO JOHN MICHAEL DOAR

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I am very proud of the fact that a man from Wisconsin, who is a prominent lawyer—and I concede a Republican; at least, his associations in Wisconsin have been Republican—has been a leader in the civil rights fight. He has been the representative of the Department of Justice "on the spot" more than any other member of the administration. I refer to John Michael Doar, from New Richmond, Wis. He has done an excellent job under fire again and again, at great personal risk to himself. He has probably prevented violence "on the spot" more than anyone else. He has won the support and admiration of both whites and Negroes alike under these tense circumstances.

He is so outstanding that although he is a Wisconsin native, not a New Yorker, the New York Times has featured him this morning in a biography. I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the RECORD.

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

UBIQUITOUS RIGHTS AID: JOHN MICHAEL DOAR

The white man was surrounded by Negroes bent on avenging the murder of Medgar W. Evers. Sidestepping bottles and rocks, he moved along Parish Street, in Jackson, Miss., urging the mob to lay down its weapons.

At the street's end, a double line of police stood ready to move in with clubs and guns. "My name is John Doar, D-o-a-r," he shouted above the curses and jeers. "I'm from the Justice Department, and anybody around here knows I stand for what is right."

The scene, the man, the dialog, could have come from the imagination of a scriptwriter. But friends of John Michael Doar insist there's nothing theatrical about the performance of the Assistant Attorney General in the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department.

Observers sometimes liken his manner to that of Gary Cooper, or his voice to that of James Stewart. They then add immediately that his total lack of self-consciousness and his aversion to publicity make comparisons with any actor misleading.

Yet his daily routine often sounds like a tour by a summer stock company.

"John Doar's in Birmingham," one reporter told others at dinner recently.

"No, he's in New Orleans," another said. "No, I saw him here in Jackson," a third spoke up.

"You're all right," said a fourth. "He was in Birmingham this morning, argued a case in New Orleans this afternoon and arrived in Jackson tonight."

ACTIVE IN MEREDITH CASE

Yesterday he was in Tuskegee, Ala., where Gov. George C. Wallace delayed the opening of the public schools.

Last fall he was at the side of James H. Meredith when the Negro was turned away at the University of Mississippi by Gov. Ross R. Barnett. When Mr. Meredith finally entered Ole Miss on September 30, 1962, Mr. Doar again was there, sharing his dormitory room while a riot raged all night.

Top Negro leaders praise Mr. Doar for his honesty and his conviction. "He hears the dialog, and he understands it," one Negro leader, who has been critical of other Government officials, said.

However, Mr. Doar has detractors. Impatient young Negroes in Jackson, for example, thought his intervention with the mob was unwarranted. "What did he really accomplish?" one asked. "He got the police off the hook, that's all."

Segregationists in northern Mississippi took some pleasure in the early difficulties Mr. Doar had as he argued the Government's case in voter registration suits.

Reprimanded by one judge for failing to produce sufficient evidence, Mr. Doar has since showed up in court with stacks of affidavits and exhaustive records. "He goes in with evidence by the bale now," a court reporter said. "I'll bet that judge is sorry he opened his mouth."

Mr. Doar was born on December 3, 1921, in Minneapolis. He grew up in New Richmond, Wis., was graduated from Princeton University, and served as second lieutenant in the Army Air Corps in World War II.

After discharge from the service, he went West, graduating from the University of California's Law School at Berkeley in 1950.

Explaining his choice of school, he says, "California was the best place to make a fortune."

RETURN TO WISCONSIN

When his father, also an attorney, became ill, Mr. Doar returned to New Richmond to assist him in his practice. He stayed 10 years.

In the spring of 1960, Harold Tyler, chief civil rights attorney in the Eisenhower administration, called a friend of Mr. Doar's and offered him the division's No. 2 spot.

Since the administration was in its final months, the other man declined but suggested Mr. Doar.

"I liked trial work, and I knew this would be tough trial work," Mr. Doar said later. "Also, I had some clear ideas about civil rights in this country. It just appealed to me."

When Robert F. Kennedy became Attorney General, he appointed Burke Marshall to replace Mr. Tyler. Mr. Doar calls Mr. Marshall "the greatest 40-year-old lawyer in the country." Although he is a Republican, Mr.