

An Africanists' Guide to the 91st Congress

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Introduction

The purpose of this guide is to provide an outline of Congress relevant to African issues and a discussion of how an Africanist or anyone else interested in Africa can attempt to influence American policy towards Africa.

Procedures

Contrary to some notions members of Congress do read their mail and react to it. On the Nigerian-Biafran conflict the widely based Congressional response was to some degree a result of mail which came in from all over. If a member is already basically disposed towards an issue, the mail he gets determines which of the many non-crucial issues will get any kind of priority. The big issues, defense, tax reform, etc., occupy his immediate attention. Beyond that Congressmen select their priorities on the basis of their own interests and the responses of their constituents.

Generally members of Congress should be cultivated in several ways. First, an Africanist might just open correspondence with his representatives expressing his interest with American policy towards Africa. Second, specific areas of interest might be brought to his attention. Articles on various matters might be included with a request that they be put in the Congressional Record. The Record game is an old one but is an effective device to get educating materials about Africa to a wider audience. Many aides and even Congressmen and Senators read through the Record. Third, members of Congress can and should be contacted to support and even initiate specific bills. Anyone who wishes to see a change in policy in any area must cast his proposals in specific legislative terms. Contact at this stage is often best facilitated by calling the relevant staff aide.

Another broad area of procedure is encouraging the relevant subcommittee chairman to hold hearings on specific matters. Here too priorities are often established by the professionals or careerists in a certain area initiating proposals for specific hearings on a specific topic. An example would be to encourage the international finance subcommittees of the Banking and Currency Committees to investigate the activities and relationships of American mining companies in southern Africa.

The Main Purpose Today

Africa today is not a front page story. Neither is the "special relationship" with Africa as well cultivated as, say, the special relationships with Israel or Ireland. Perhaps a more enlightened foreign policy towards Africa can not be achieved today or tomorrow. Therefore, the main purpose of some of the efforts today might be to serve the educative function. Foreign policy does not emerge full grown from the foreheads of our solons. The seeds of change in policy need to be planted and cultivated. At the same time conditioning needs to be done so that if Africa does emerge on the front pages in some crisis, there is the basis for a rational response by our Congress.

At the very least, any action supporting independent Africa must relate to the contemporary junction of race relations in this country. As Peter Edelman has written:

"We would do well, just in our own self-interest, to be nurturing black self-respect in America by embracing black nations abroad."

Some Home Truths About Africa and Washington

1. Some people say that Africa is on the lowest rung of the ladder of priorities in Washington. It might be more correct to say that Africa is not on the ladder at all. Foreign countries, far-away places with strange sounding names, are not an issue in Washington unless (a) they represent a "threat" to American "security", (b) they are undergoing a bloody crisis which is being covered by the mass media, or (c) they enjoy a historical special relationship with the United States (Ireland is the best example perhaps).
2. The Executive always supports the status quo. When a crisis arises they usually seek a return to the status quo. Government as a bureaucracy, just acts to support what is. Executive planning usually occurs only in a crisis situation. Long range planning, and acting to anticipate probable events is too open ended a process. It involves an existential commitment. Existential politicians are an oddity. Existential bureaucrats do not exist.
3. As a corollary to the above, any change in policy with respect to American relationships in southern Africa would be abnormal. Our current relationships there are "normal". "Neutral" relations are not normal. To achieve neutral relations with South Africa would be abnormal. An abnormal act needs to be justified. Abnormal policy has to be imposed by Presidential leadership, or else has to be engendered by public-cum-Congressional opinion. One does not ask the bureaucracy as such to consider abnormal policies.
4. There is a mood in Washington which is against foreign, entangling alliances, military commitments, defense spending and foreign wars. Some have characterized this mood as neo-isolationist. That is an emotive misnomer. The real disenchantment is with the American Empire which suddenly seems to be a fait accompli. The solons seek a respite to determine where this Empire came from, what should be done with it, and where it is going. Everyone is thrashing around trying to understand events. They seek a way to conceptualize foreign policy so that these events can be understood, and dealt with in a prudent and consistent fashion. The old verities no longer suffice. This means that a policy towards Portugal cannot be developed until a conceptualization has been achieved which will allow such a policy to be consistent with policy towards say, Greece and Trinidad.

5. Related to the above is the truth that the Senate is actively seeking to reclaim its role as advisor to the Executive on foreign policy. The internationalists used to be automatically aligned with the White House against the old isolationists. The old isolationists have, for the most part, passed away. Now the internationalists in the Senate realize that there are many variants of internationalism. Some of the variants being tried are:

a-The Limits and Arrogance of Power

McCarthy-Fulbright are the best examples of this variant. They seek to issue legislative disclaimers against the unilateral burden of world leadership.

b-The Tender Imperilaism, of Policy by Platitudes

This reflects the use of American power as an umbrella under which American economic interests can extend themselves in a *laisse faire* fashion, accompanied by platitudes about "peace" and "greatness"; No meaningful initiatives are to be taken to upset the Great Power system.

c-Static Interventionism

This variant is a short-sighted attempt to preserve the alliance structure throughout the world. Diplomacy becomes only a means to maintain a predominant military posture in all parts of the world. This variant, like "b", assumes the need to keep the world safe from American investment.

d-Cowboy Interventionism

"b" and "c" together may lead to this sub-variant as in Vietnam. Reinforced by simple social science theories about development like Rostow's Stages of Growth.

e-Existential Initiatives

An acceptance of America's unique historical role leading to a confrontation (through diplomacy) with reality on the basis of moral principles even when consequences cannot be predicted.

f-SDS Neo-Marxism

This variant seeks to dismatle the international marketing system as dominated by the West. Not articulated as yet by anyone in the Congress.

6. Another aspect of the shifts in Congressional foreign policy issues is reflected in the Cranston Resolution on Diplomatic Recognition and the Muskie-Mondlae Export Expansion Bill. They reflect the liberal sentiment that trade/contact with other nations is "good". This causes certain hesitation on how to treat South Africa.

7. So-called liberal ideas are absorbed into the Congress in a two stage process. First, the small group of liberal-radical progressive Congressmen (called the dirty dozen by some) may pick up the issue. If cultivated they will speak to the issue, introduce relevant legislation, insert items in the Record, etc. Many ideas may get no further than this. Others however may get to the second stage which is when the wider group, the militant moderates, take up the issue. The militant moderates, although still a minority, provide a broader forum. Not only do they provide some of the same functions as the dirty dozen, the militant moderates provide the wherewithal to launch floor fights in behalf of legislation.
8. The real enemy for many of the "rational moral" issues is not the right wing but indifference. Right wing know-nothing-ism is too easily detectable to be effective. Indifference is a more important enemy. Yet another enemy is the comfort of accepting the Establishmentarian position, which is an inactive liberalism.
9. The combination of a Republican Administration and a Democratically held Congress may lead to two phenomena with respect to liberal causes. One might be that the liberal Democrats will be much more vocal in support of some issues. It is always easier to castigate the other party's administration. The other phenomenon is that a Republican Administration, moderate on many issues, may seek to give away a few liberal issues in order to diffuse its image. Further, Republican Presidential leadership on an issue may be enough to beat the Southern Democrats - conservative Republican alliance with a pragmatic Republican-moderate Democrat alliance. For instance, in March, 1969 a funding bill for the International Development Association was passed 247-150 (R- 85 to 94; D-162 to 56) even when a majority of voting Republicans joined a majority of Southern Democrats in opposition to it. A similar bill failed to receive action in the 90th Congress.
10. Today the controversial issues are military spending and commitments, tax reform, etc. Tomorrow's issues are not predictable but two candidates might be: the international-corporate-financial complex and institutional racism. Cultivation of these issues may help bring a focus onto the southern African problem just as the military commitment issue will allow some focus on the U.S. bases in Portugal.

Where It's At.

This section includes some indicators of African interest in today's Congress. Like all indicators the one included here might be a little superficial but no better indicators exist.

1. Congressional Record Presentations. How important is it if a member of Congress inserts an African item in the Record? Such insertions do serve an educative function. According to a list prepared by

Barney Coleman, special assistant to Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Joe Palmer, in the 1968 session of Congress 148 presentations were made. 104 were by Representatives and 44 by Senators. 89 were Democrats and 59 were Republicans. Most of these offered 1-3 presentations.

Presentations above 4 were as follows:

Barrett O'Hara (defeated 1968)	43
John Rarick (Wallace supporter)	40
Harry Byrd	25
Strom Thurmond	10
Thomas Dodd	9
Mike Mansfield	9
Edward Derwinski	6
George Murphy	6
James Scheuer	66
William Fulbright	5

The right-wing obviously feels such presentations/insertions are important.

Those with 4 insertions included Carl Curtis, John Dow, Dante Fascell, F. Brad Morse, Ben Rosenthal, Hugh Scott, and John Sparkman.

2. Co-sponsors of Bingham-Kennedy Amendment to Revoke South African Sugar Quota. This amendment, introduced April 18, 1969, is the first direct action against U.S. involvement in South Africa in the 91st Congress.

Senators

Edward Kennedy
Edward Brooke
Alan Cranston
Charles Goodell
Philip Hart
Jacob Javits
Walter Mondale
Frank Moss
Claiborne Pell
Harrison Williams, Jr.
Stephen Young
Hugh Scott
John Sherman Cooper

Representatives

Jonathan Bingham	Allard K. Lowenstein
Frank Brasco	Richard D. McCarthy
George Brown, Jr.	Abner Mikva
William Clay	Richard Ottinger
John Culver	Bertram L. Podell
Charles Diggs, Jr.	Ogden R. Reid
Thaddeus J. Dulski	Peter W. Rodino, Jr.
Don Edwards	Benjamin Rosenthal
Leonard Farbstein	William Ryan
Donald Fraser	Ferdinand St. Germain
William J. Green	James H. Scheuer
Robert Kastenmeier	Robert Tierman
Edward Koch	

3. Request to Continue Ban on U.S. Naval Stops in South Africa. A letter to Secretaries Laird and Rogers was initiated by Congressmen Fraser and Rosenthal on April 22 and signed by -

Glenn M. Anderson
Jonathan Bingham
John A. Blatnik
George Brown, Jr.
Phillip Burton
Daniel E. Button
William L. Clay
Augustus Hawkins
Henry Helstoski
Joseph E. Karth
Robert Kastenmeier
Edward Koch
Clarence Long
Allard Lowenstein
Richard D. McCarthy
Abner Mikva
John E. Moss

Jeffery Cohelan
John Conyers, Jr.
Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
Bob Eckhardt
Don Edwards
Donald Fraser
Seymour Happer
Robert N.C. Nix
Richard Ottinger
Ogden R. Reid
Henry Reuss
Benjamin Rosenthal
Edward Roybal
William Ryan
James Scheuer
Lester L. Wolff

In 1967 a similar request was signed by 38 Congressmen. Not included in 1969 were:

Frank Brasco
John Dow (not re-elected)
Edith Green
Henry Gonzalez
Don Irwin (not re-elected)

James O'Hara
Joe Resnick (not re-elected)
Herbert Tenzer (not-re-elected)
Frank Thompson.

New to the 1969 list are:

Glen Anderson
William Clay
Edward Koch

Al Lowenstein
Abner Mikva

4. 1967 Rhodesian Sanctions Resolution. As another reference point 58 Congressmen endorsed a resolution in favor of U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia on July 24, 1967. These included:

Anderson Nedzi
Cohelan Green (Ore.)
Tunney Moorhead
Corman Kastenmeier
Burton Fraser
Edwards Bolling
Brown Helstock
Hawkins Thompson
Roybal McCarthy
Matsunaga Resnick
Brademas Wolff
Long Reid
Boland Addabbo
Mosse Brasco
Congres Multer

Ryan
Halpern
Nix
St. Onge
O'Hara (Mich.)
Culver
Gude
Conte
Diggs
O'Hara (Ill.)
Blatnik
Holland
Eilberg
Gonzalez

Karth
Gallagher
Rodino
Frelinghuysen
Ottinger
Tenzer
Horton
Sulton
Dingham
Gilbert
Rosenthal
Scheuer
Green (Pa.)
Reuss

More recent indications of Africa interest include:

(a) Diggs introduced an amendment to the Federal Aviation Act which would have the affect of restricting South African Airlines. Co-sponsors included:

John Culver	Lucien Nedzi
William Ryan	Augustus Hawkins
Abner Mikva	John Brademas
Peter Rodino	Glenn Anderson
Patsy Mink	Leonard Farbstein
Allard Lowenstein	Shirley Chisholm
William Moorhead	Richard Ottinger
Benjamin Rosenthal	Spark Matsunaga
Louis Stokes	Jacob Gilbert
Donald Fraser	F. Bradford Morse
Phillip Burton	Ogden Reid
Dante Fascell	George E. Brown, Jr.
Charles H. Wilson	Thomas Ashley

(b) Bingham and Reid circulated a letter to the presidents of the 10 banks providing credit to South Africa. Co-signers were:

John Brademas	Charles Mosher
John Conyers	Thomas O'Neill, Jr.
Charles C. Diggs, Jr.	Charles W. Whalen, Jr.
Donald Fraser	

(c) Vernon McKay has Ford and Carnegie money to bring together a group of Congressmen regularly on African issues. Included are:

Sen. Frank Moss	Rep. John C. Culver
Sen. Charles McC. Mathias	Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
Sen. Thomas Eagleton	Rep. Donald Fraser
Rep. Jonathan Bingham	Rep. William Hathaway
Rep. E. Ross Adair	Rep. F. Bradford Morse
Sen. Edward Brooke	Rep. Ogden Reid
Sen. Clifford Case	Rep. Charles W. Whalen
Sen. Frank Church	Sen. Gale McGee
Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen	Rep. Charles Mosher
Sen. Edward Kennedy	Sen. Edmund Muskie
Rep. William S. Mailliard	Rep. Thomas O'Neill
Sen. George McGovern	Sen. James Pearson
Rep. John Brademas	Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal
Rep. John Conyers	Rep. John Tunney

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Sen. Frank Church	Sen. Gale McGee
Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen	Rep. Charles Mosher
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Rep. William S. Mailliard	Rep. Thomas O'Neill
Sen. George McGovern	Sen. James Pearson
Rep. John Brademas	Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal
Rep. John Conyers	Rep. John Tunney

5. Black Congressmen. For the record the black members of Congress are:

Augustus Hawkins	Los Angeles (Watts)
Charles Diggs	Detroit
John Conyers	Detroit
Robert N.C. Nix	Philadelphia
Bill Clay	St. Louis
Louis Stokes	Cleveland
William Dawson	Chicago
Adam Clayton Powell	New York
Shirley Chisholm	New York
Edward Brooke	Massachusetts

6. Congressional Districts with At Least 5% Black Population in 1960. (excluding southern states)

	<u>Negro as Percent of Total Population</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>		
5th	17.6	P. Burton
7th	24.8	J. Cohelan
8th	7.2	G. Miller
14th	6.2	J. Waldie
16th	5.1	B. Sisk
22nd	62.9	A. Hawkins
26th	6.3	T. Rees
30th	15.6	E. Roybal
<u>COLORADO</u>		
1st	6.1	B. Rogers
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>		
1st	6.6	E. Daddario
3rd	6.2	R. Giaimo
4th	6.3	L. Weicker
<u>DELAWARE</u>		
1 at large	13.6	W. Roth, Jr.
<u>ILLINOIS</u>		
1st	87.1	W. Dawson
2nd	19.8	A. Mikva
3rd	20.2	B. Murphy
4th	6.8	E. Derwinski
6th	28.0	D. Ronan
7th	29.4	F. Annunzio
9th	5.6	S. Yates
24th	13.0	M. Price

INDIANA

1st	19.2	R. Madden
11th	21.6	A. Jacobs

KANSAS

2nd	5.2	G. Mize
3rd	8.3	L. Winn

KENTUCKY

1st	9.7	F. Stubblefield
2nd	6.1	W. Natcher
3rd	16.3	W. Cowager
6th	10.8	J. Watts

MARYLAND

1st	22.9	R. Morton
2nd	5.1	C. Long
3rd	26.5	E. Gaimatz
4th	26.7	G. Fallon
5th	10.7	L. Hogan
7th	33.2	S. Friedel

MASSACHUSETTS

9th	12.8	J. McCormack
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MICHIGAN

1st	52.3	J. Conyers
4th	5.3	E. Hutchinson
7th	8.9	D. Riegler
8th	5.3	D. Harvey
13th	54.9	C. Diggs
15th	5.0	W. Ford
16th	9.2	J. Dingell

NEBRASKA

2nd	6.4	G. Cunningham
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NEW JERSEY

1st	13.6	J. Hunt
2nd	14.4	C. Dandman
3rd	8.0	J. Howard
4th	8.2	F. Thompson
8th	6.6	C. Joelson
10th	17.5	P. Rodino
11th	24.7	J. Minish
12th	5.5	F. Dwyer
13th	11.9	C. Gallagher

NEW YORK

5th	12.2	A. Lowenstein
6th	5.0	S. Halpern
7th	20.8	J. Addabbo
8th	6.0	B. Rosenthal
10th	30.9	E. Celler
11th	24.0	F. Brasco
12th	15.9	S. Chisholm
14th	12.9	D. Rooney
18th	66.9	A. Powell
19th	7.1	L. Farbstein
20th	16.2	W. Ryan
21st	12.3	J. Scheuer
22nd	25.2	R. Ottinger
26th	9.7	O. Reid
27th	5.3	M. McKneally
41st	16.7	T. Dulski

OHIO

1st	15.7	R. Taft
2nd	12.9	D. Clancy
3rd	13.2	C. Whalen
7th	6.3	C. Brown
9th	9.4	T. Ashley
12th	14.5	S. Devin
14th	8.7	W. Ayres
15th	9.3	C. Wylie
19th	10.6	M/ Kirwan
20th	22.1	L. Stokes
21st	28.2	
22nd	9.0	C. Vanik

PENNSYLVANIA

1st	31.2	W. Barrett
2nd	50.2	R. Nix
3rd	36.9	J. Byrne
5th	11.8	W. Green
9th	12.1	R. Watkins
14th	23.1	W. Moorhead
20th	7.4	J. Gaydos

WASHINGTON

7th	5.1	B. Adams
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WEST VIRGINIA

3rd	6.2	J. Slack
5th	11.7	J. Kee

WISCONSIN

5th	15.4	H. Reuss
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7. Southern Congressmen With Above 50% ADA Quotient Which of the Southern Congressmen might be open to initiatives against U.S. involvement in Southern Africa

	<u>State-Dist.</u>	<u>ADA</u>	<u>Major Center</u>
Fascell	Flor-12th	75	Miami - Kew West
Gibbons	Flor-6th	58	Tampa
Pepper	Flor-11th	75	Miami
Perkins	Ky-7th	50	Ashland
Boggs	La-2nd	67	New Orleans
Albert	Ok1-3rd	58	McAlister
Fulton	Tenn-5th	50	Nashville
Brooks	Tex-9th	58	Beaumont
Eckhardt	Tex-8th	100	Houston
Gonzalez	Tex-20th	100	San Antonio
Karen	Tex-23rd	58	Laredo
Patman	Tex-1st	50	Texarkana
Wright	Tex-12th	50	Fortworth
Young	Tex-146h	58	Corpus Christi

8. Nigerian/Biafran Relief. The response to this crisis has gone much beyond nominal African interest. It may not be a good indicator of whom would also be interested in the southern African problems.

The stronger resolution offered was one by Senator Dodd which called for the U.S. government to use its good offices and diplomatic resources in the interests of an immediate cease-fire.

The Dodd Resolution (Jan. 31, 1969) was sponsored in the Senate by:

Dodd - Conn.	Miller - Iowa
Bennett - Utah	Moss - Utah
Byrd - W. Va.	Murphy - Ca.
Fong - Haw.	Nelson - Wis.
Gravel - Alaska	Pastore - R.I.
Hart - Mich.	Ribicoff - Conn.
Hartke - Ind.	Stevens - Alaska
Inouye - Haw.	Williams - N.J.
Magnuson - Washington	

The Pearson Resolution, urging increases in relief supplies, was introduced January 22 by -

Pearson - Kan.	Curtin - Nebr.
Brooke - Mass.	Dole - Kans.
Allott - Colo.	Eagleton - Mo.
Bayh - Ind.	Fannin - Ariz.
Bellmon - Okl.	Gravel - Alaska
Bennett - Utah	Griffin - Mich.
Boggs - Del.	Gurney - Fla.
Byrd - W. Va.	Hansen - Wyo.
Case - N.J.	Hart - Mich.

Church - Idaho
Cooper - Ky.
Cranston - Ca.
Hughes - Iowa
Inouye - Ha.
Javits - N.Y.
Kennedy - Mass.
Mathias - Md.
McCarthy - Minn.
McGee - Wyo.
McGovern - S.Dak.
Metcalf - Mont.
Miller - Iowa
Moss - Utah
Murphy - Ca.
Muskie - Maine
Nelson - Wis.

Hartke - Ind.
Hatfield - Ore.
Hruska - Nebr.
Packwood - Ore.
Pell - R.I.
Percy - Ill.
Randolph - W. Va.
Ribicoff - Conn.
Scott - Pa.
Schweiker - Pa.
Spong - Va.
Stevens - Alaska
Talmadge - Ga.
Thurmond - S.C.
Tydings - Md.
Williams - N.J.
Young - Ohio

On the House side the relevant resolution for relief aid was offered by Congressmen Morse and Fraser on January 23, 1969. Co-sponsors included:

Democrats

Brown, Ca.
Conyers, Mich.
Farbstein, N.Y.
Fascell, Fla.
Feighan, Ohio
Foley, Wash.
Fraser, Minn.
Fulton, Tenn.
Giaimo, Conn.
Gilbert, N.Y.
Gray, Ill.
Green, Pa.
Hanley, N.Y.
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway, Maine
Hawkins, Ca.
Hicks, Wash.
Jacos, Ind.
Johnson, Ca.
Karth, Minn.
Kastenmeier, Wis.
Koch, N.Y.
Mikva, Ill.
Minish, N.J.

Mink, Hawaii
Moorhead, Pa.
Murphy, Ill.
Nedzi, Mich.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger, N.Y.
Pepper, Fla.
Podell, N.Y.
Rees, Ca.
Rodino, N.J.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal, N.Y.
Ryan, N.Y.
St. Germain, R.I.
Stokes, Ohio
Thompson, N.J.
Tunney, Ca.
Udall, Ariz.
Vanik, Ohio
Waldie, Ca.
Wilson, Ca.
Wolff, N.Y.
Yates, Ill.

Republicans

Broomfield, Mich.
Duncan, Tenn.
Fish, N.Y.
Frelinghuysen, N.J.
Gude, Md.
Halpern, N.Y.
Heckler, Mass.
Hogan, Md.
Horton, N.Y.
Keith, Mass.
Lukens, Ohio
McCloskey, Ca.
McDade, Pa.
McKneally, N.Y.
May, Wash.
Meskill, Conn.
Mize, Kan.
Morse, Mass.
Mosher, Ohio
Railsback, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Roginson, N.Y.
Ruppe, Mich.
Schwengel, Iowa
Stafford, Vt.
Stanton, Ohio
Teague, Ca.

Those names underlined supported a Scheuer resolution on September 26, 1968 calling for a U.N. initiative and peace observers.

Also sponsoring the Scheuer Resolution were:

Tim Lee Carter
Del Clawson
James Cleveland
Don Daniels
Fred Derwinski
Bob Eckhardt
Don Edwards
Lee Hamilton
Henry Helstoski
Edna Kelly
Peter Kyros

Robert Leggett
Richard McCarthy
Tom MacDonald
John Moss
Robert Nix
Ed Potter
Tom Kelly
Joe Resnick
Don Riegle
Charles Whalen
John Zwach

VI. The House of Representatives.

Above and beyond the indicators of Africa interest, it is necessary to further classify the members of the House by their potential position.

1. The Catalytic Ten.

These ten Congressmen maintain an active interest in African affairs in one way or another. They are responsible in various ways for some of the initiatives in Congress on African issues.

Benjamin Rosenthal (D-N.Y.) (224-2601) sits on the African Subcommittee and has maintained a long-time interest in Southern African problems. He and Don Fraser have been the prime movers behind many of the Congressional initiatives. Paul Gorman, more recently a campaign aide to Senator McCarthy, used to handle this area for Rosenthal. Now Cliff Hackett, with experience in the Congo, is handling African issues.

Donald Fraser (D-Minn.) is Chairman of the Democratic Study Group. He has been to Africa. His relevant aide is Gerald Elliot (7224-4750).

Charles Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.) is now Chairman of the African Subcommittee. Previous to his Chairmanship Diggs was not too visibly active but has taken an initiating role as Chairman. Since January 1969 he visited Nigeria-Biafra, held hearings on the sugar quota and South African Airways and has initiated a number of other actions. He has recently asked each Executive Department to inform him of any existing or pending relations with their Departments and South Africa. Most of his staff is based in Detroit but Mrs. Tillick and Mrs. Long (224-2261) handle his Washington agenda. Melvin Benson (224-5021) is the staff consultant from the House Foreign Affairs Committee assigned to Diggs. Diggs' new legislative assistant is Jill Spier.

John Culver (D-Iowa) sits on the African Subcommittee and, like Fraser, comes from a relatively white constituency. He strongly articulates the relationship of our South African policy to black Americans. His aide is Judy Assmus (224-2911).

Jonathan Bingham (D-N.Y.) has a long-time interest in foreign affairs. He initiated the amendment to revoke South Africa's sugar quota. His aide is Roger Majak (224-4411).

Allard Lowenstein (D-N.Y.) has always maintained an interest in southern Africa. He travelled to South West Africa some years ago and wrote Brutal Mandate about his experiences there. His aide, Emory Bundy (224-3811) is also an old African hand whose most recent experience was with the Rockefeller Foundation in Uganda.

Ogden Reid (R-N.Y.) is one of a few Republicans who worry about Africa. His aides are Laurie Stepehnson and Carol Tuchman (224-6506).

F. Bradford Morse (R-Mass.) sits on the African Subcommittee and maintains an active interest in Africa. His aide is Toby Mayman (224-3411).

Robert N.C. Nix (D-Pa.) the black Congressman from Philadelphia is less active but he, on occasion, has put material in the Congressional Record prepared by black students. His office number is (224-4001).

John Brademas (D-Ind.) is active in a slightly different fashion. He has a broad interest in international affairs and education. He was one of the Congressmen who placed material about Eduardo Mondlane in the Record. His relevant aides are Jack Schuster and Jean Fitzgerald (224-3915).

2. The Committed 39.

Inclusion here is because the Congressmen listed usually go along with initiatives by the catalytic ten. For instance, each of the below either co-sponsored the Bingham-Kennedy amendment and/or signed the Fraser-Rosenthal letter requesting the Department of State and Defense to continue to avoid naval stops at South African ports.

<u>Names</u>	<u>Aide</u>	<u>Telephone</u>
Glenn Anderson D-Ca.	Michael Weiss	224-6676
John Blatnik D-Minn.	James Oberstar	224-6211
Frank Brasco D-N.Y.	Frank Kilroy	224-5471
George Brown D-Ca.	Raymond Sebens	224-5464
Dan Button R-N.Y.	George Linn	224-4861
Philip Burton D-Ca.	Frank Kieliger	224-4965
William Clay D-Mo.	Michael McPherson	224-2406
Jeffery Cohelan D-Ca.	Jeffrey Newman	224-2661
John Conyers D-Mich.	Larry Horiitz	224-5126
Thaddeus Dulski D-N.Y.	Frank Fortune	224-3306
Don Edwards D-Ca.	Alisa Stickney	224-3072
Bob Eckhardt D-Tex	Julius Glickman	224-4901
Leonard Farbstein D-N.Y.	Ethel Maness	224-5635
William Green D-Pa.	Warren Eisenberg	224-6271
Henry Gonzalez D-Tex.	Gail Beagle	224-3236
Seymour Halpern D-N.Y.	Edward Kelly	224-2536
Augustus Hawkins D-Ca.	Jaunita Barbee	224-2201
Henry Helstoki D-N.J.	Joseph Brzostowski	224-5061

<u>Name</u>	<u>Aide</u>	<u>Telephone</u>
Robert Kastenmeier D-Wis.	Morris Amitay	224-2906
Edward Koch D-N.Y.	Lorri Garrison	224-2436
J. Karth D-Minn.	Edward Tonat	224-6631
Clarence Long D-Md.	Carolyn Marino	224-3061
Richard McCarthy D-N.Y.	Wendall Pigman	224-5265
John Moss D-Ca.	Lawrence Billett	224-7163
Abner Mikva D-Ill.	Joseph Lundy	224-4835
James O'Hara D-Mich.	Calvin Bellamy	224-2106
Richard Ottinger D-N.Y.	Wm. Kitzmiller	224-5536
Bertram Podell D-N.Y.	Frank Silfey	224-2361
Henry Reuss D-Wis.	Donald Robinson	224-3571
Peter Rodino D-N.J.	Merle Baumgart	224-3436
William Ryan D-N.Y.	Daniel McIntosh	224-6616
Ed Roybal D-Ca.	Austin Hogan	224-6235
Ferdinand St.Germain D-R.I.	Donald Winn	224-4911
James Scheuer D-N.Y.	Jerry Koenig	224-3816
Frank Tompson D-N.J.	William Deitz	224-3765
Lester Wolff D-N.Y.	Howard Paster	224-5956

This group and its consolidation in support of Congressional initiatives should be a primary priority.

3. The Concerned 18.

This group is concerned enough about Africa to respond to certain international initiatives. They either endorsed the Congressional Resolution on Rhodesian sanctions or the resolution favoring a Nigerian-Biafran cease-fire.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Aide</u>	<u>Telephone</u>
William Anderson D-Tenn.	James Robinson	224-2811
John Tunney D-Ca.	Vincent Griffith	224-2305
James Corman D-Ca.	Alice Gordon	224-5811
William St.Onge D-Conn.	Richard Stock	224-2076
S. Matsunaga D-Ha.	Roberta Gutekunst	224-2726
G. Gude R-Md.	Sarah Evans	224-5341
Ed Boland D-Mass.	John Walsh	224-5601
L.lvio Conte R-Mass.	Carol Beauchamp	224-5335
L. Nedzi D-Mich.	James Pyrros	224-6276
Edith Green D-Ore.	Bland Ballard	224-4811
William Moorhead D-Pa.	William Maloni	224-2301
J. Eilberg D-Pa.	Michael Giuffrida	224-4661
Richard Bolling D-Mo.	Wes Barthelmes	224-4535
C. Gallagher D-N.Y.	Elizabeth May	224-5801
P. Rrelinghuysen R-N.J.	William Kendall	224-7300
Frank Horton R-N.Y.	David Loveheim	224-4916
J. Addabobo D-N.Y.	Helen MacDonnel	224-3461

4. The Conscienable:

The following have either an ADA quotient of 67 or above (1968) or are members of the "liberal" Republican Wednesday Group. We exclude any Congressmen cited above.

ADA > 67%

California

Udall, D. (92)

Hanna, D. (67)

Johnson, D. (67)

Leggett, D. (92)

McFall, D. (83)

Miller, D. (75)

Sisk, D. (75)

VanDeerlin, D. (75)

Waldie, D. (92)

Hobfield, D. (83)

Rees, D. (92)

Wilson, D. (83)

Colorado

Evans, D. (75)

Connecticut

Daddario, D. (83)

Giaimo, D. (58)

Irwin, D. (92)

Florida

Fascell, D. (75)

Pepper, D. (75)

Hawaii

Matsunaga, D. (92)

Mink, D. (100)

Illinois

Gray, D. (67)

Price, D. (83)

Annunzio, D. (92)

Dawson, D. (92)

Kluczynski, D. (83)

Murphy, D. (92)

Pucinski, D. (67)

Rostenkowski, D. (83)

Yates, D. (100)

Indiana

Jacobs, D. (92)

Madden, D. (83)

Iowa

Smith, D. (75)

Louisiana

Boggs, D. (67)

Maine

Hathaway, D. (92)

Kyros, D. (67)

Maryland

Fallon, D. (67)

Friedel, D. (92)

Farmatz, D. (75)

Massachusetts

Burke, D. (75)

Donohue, D. (75)

Macdonald, D. (92)

O'Neill, D. (83)

Philbin, D. (75)

Michigan

Riegle, R. (50)

Dingell, D. (75)

Ford, R. (75)

Griffiths, D. (92)

Missouri

Sullivan, D. (75)

New Jersey

Daniels, D. (83)

Howard, D. (83)

Joelson, D. (83)

Minish, D. (75)

Patten, D. (83)

New York

Dow, D. (100)

Hanley, D. (83)

McCarthy, D. (83)

Resnick, D. (67)

Tenzer, D. (100)

Carey, D. (83)

Celler, D. (92)

Gilbert, D. (92)

Kelly, D. (83)

Scheurer, D. (83)

Ohio

Ashley, D. (100)

Feighan, D. (92)

Kirwan, D. (67)

Vanik, D. (58)

Pennsylvania

Dent, D. (92)

Morgan, D. (83)

Rhodes, D. (67)

Barrett, D. (92)

Byrne, D. (100)

Washington

Adams, D. (92)

Foley, D. (92)

Hansen, D. (67)

Hicks, D. (83)

Meeds, D. (75)

West Virginia

Staggers, D. (67)

Wisconsin

Zablocki, D. (83)

Wednesday Group

Andrews, N.D.

Bell, Ca.

Cahill, N.J.

Dellenback, Ore.

Esch, Mich..

Findley, Ill.

Harvey, Mich.

McDade, Penna.

Mailliard, Ca.

Mize, Kans.

Mosher, Ohio

Quie, Minn.

Robison, N.Y.

Schneebeli, Penna.

Schwengel, Iowa

Shriver, Kans.

Stafford, Vermont

Stanton, Ohio

Taft, Ohio

Whalen, Ohio

VII. The Senate

1. The Activists.

So far the Senate has not produced any group like the "Catalytic Ten" in the House. One reason for this is that the average Senator must often look at many more issues than a Congressman and therefore can not dwell for too long on any one non-front page story. On the other hand, the average Senator tends to be considerably more sophisticated than the average Congressman and will take a modicum of interest in any one foreign policy issue.

Regarded as "activists" of African issues are:

1. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) Kennedy first surfaced on the African issues with regard to the Nigerian-Biafran issue. He is Chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees. Lately he has taken up the broader interest in Africa once held by his brothers when they were in the Senate. (JFK-Algeria and South Africa by RFK). Senator Kennedy himself went to Africa before he ran for the Senate in 1961. He plans to take his Refugee Subcommittee to Africa sometime in the future. His Subcommittee staffer is Dale DeHaan (224-4118). His office aide who worked with him on the amendment to revoke the South African sugar quota was Carey Parker (224-4543). Kennedy right now is searching for a broader conceptualization of African issues.

2. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) is a respected Republican spokesman on foreign policy issues. As a U.S. delegate to the U.N. in 1968 he spoke out strongly against American involvement with South Africa. He would like to see a full scale Senate debate on American foreign policy with South Africa. His staffer, Bill Miller (224-2542), a former foreign service officer, has been devoting all of his time so far to the ABM issue.

3. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and

4. Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.) are hot on the South African issue. Goodell of course has gotten a lot of publicity out of his efforts in behalf of Biafran relief. His staffer is Heidi Wolff (224-4451). Javits is now on the Foreign Relations Committee and has maintained an interest in South Africa. However he doesn't sit on the African Subcommittee. But he is also a member of the Labor and Public Welfare and Joint Economic Committees. His legislative assistant is Emil Frankel (225-6542).

5. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.) made a good speech on African policy after his trip to Africa in 1968. He has not been too visible since that time. However he maintains a discreet letter-writing role to Nixon on various aspects of African policy. His call for self-determination in Mozambique and Angola brought him about 200 letters of protest from the Portuguese community in Massachusetts. His staffer is Marilyn Dexheimer (224-2742).

2. Supporters of African Initiatives.

This group includes those co-sponsors of the Kennedy-Bingham amendment.

A. Granston D-Ca.	Rom Pyne	224-3553
P. Hart D-Mich.	Florence Roth	224-4822
W. Mondale D-Minn	Steve Engelberg	224-5641
C. Pell D-R.I.	William Young	224-4642
H. Scott R-Pa.	Mrs. Reid	224-6324
Williams R-N.J.	Thomas Boyd	224-4744
S. Young D-Ohio	Paul Korody	224-2315

3. Potential Supporters of South African Initiatives.

J. Pearson R-Kans.	Jay Morris	224-4774
F. Moss D-Utah	Grant Midgley	224-5251
E. McCarthy D-Minn.	Louise Fitzsimmons	224-3244
C. Case R-N.H.	Bill Korn	224-3224
F. Church D-Idaho	James Hamersley	224-6142
M. Hatfield R-Ore.	Samuel Mallicoat	224-3753
G. McGovern D-S.Dak.	Bob Sherman	224-2921
Pastore D- R.I.	Thomas Meehan	224-2823
A. Ribicoff D-Conn.	Taggart Adams	

4. Cautious Liberal Center

It is difficult to systematically assess how any Senator will come down on any given issue. On the basis of their ADA quotient, position on ABM and support for IDA, we could describe the group below as the "cautious liberal center".

Aiken
 Bayh
 Burdick
 Eagleton - has time to develop an African outlook
 Gravel
 Gurney
 Fong
 Ford
 Harris
 Hughes - tomorrow's leading figure
 Magnuson
 Mansfield - always interested in Africa
 Mathias - beginning to show an interest in Africa
 Packwood
 Percy - his daughter plays with Africa through Crossroads
 Proxmire
 Schweiker } liberals from industrial states with black votes
 Saxbe }
 Symington - concerned with U.S. bases abroad
 Tydings

Nelson
Inouye
Metcalf
Randolph
Yarborough

5. Moderate Conservative Center

Bellmon	Fulbright
Griffin	McIntyre
Smith	Prouty
Stevens	Jackson
Cook	

6. Conservative Moderates

McGee	McClellan
Hartke	Jordan
Young	Jordan
Spong	Hollings
Sparkman	Hansen
Montoya	Baker
	Dole
	Cotton
	Cannon

7. Right-Wing Advocates

Anderson	Ellender
Mundt	Eastland
Curtin	Dominick
Thurmond	Dodd
Talmadge	Dirksen
Stennis	Byrd
Russel	Byrd
Murphy	Boggs
Miller	Bible
Long	Bennet
Hruska	Tower
Holland	
Goldwater	
Fannon	
Erwin	

VIII. House Committees

A Note on Committees. Congress is committees. It is the committees which both dilute and magnify democracy. . The committee structure is important for several reasons. First, bills introduced get referred to committees and the committee may or may not hold hearings on the bill, and may or may not report out the bill. Unless a bill is reported out, it may never be voted on. A few procedures do exist for circumventing committees when bills are bottled up but these measures are difficult and awkward. Committee staff runs to the right wing.

Second, a member's membership on committees' determines his priorities and interest. Third, committees are the device by which Congress can investigate or publicize a matter. Fourth, the right committee chairman can be very useful indeed. Some of the membership may automatically go along on an issue if the chairman of the relevant subcommittee or committee espouses it.

1. Full Committee on Foreign Affairs

Thomas Morgan, Pa., Chairman

Clement Zablocki, Wis.	Edward Roybal, Ca.
Wayne L. Hays, Ohio	John Culver, Iowa
L.H. Fountain, N.C.	Lee Hamilton, Ind.
Dante Fascell, Fla.	John Tunney, Ca.
Leonard Farbstein, N.Y.	Abraham Kazen, Jr., Tex.
Charles C. Diggs, Mich.	Jonathan Bingham, N.Y.
William Murphy, Ill.	Lester Wolff, N.Y.
Cornelius Gallagher, N.J.	Gus Yatron, Pa.
Robert Nix, Pa.	E. Ross Adair, Ind.
John Monagan, Conn.	William Mailliard, Ca.
Donald Fraser, Minn.	Peter Frelinghuysen, N.J.
Benjamin Rosenthal, N.Y.	William Broomfield, Mich.
J. Irving Whalley, Pa.	Paul Findley, Ill.
H.R. Gooss, Iowa	John Buchanan, Ala.
E.Y. Berry, S.Dak.	Robert Taft, Jr., Ohio
Edward Derwinski, Ill.	Sherman P. Lloyd, Utah
F.B. Morse, Mass.	J. Herbert Burke, Fla.
Vernon W. Thomson, Wis.	William Roth, Jr., Del.
James G. Fulton, Pa.	

2. Africa Subcommittee of Foreign Affairs Committee

Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Mich., Chairman

William T. Murphy, Ill.	J. Irving Whalley, Pa.
Robert Nix, Pa.	F.N. Morse, Mass.
Benjamin Rosenthal, N.Y.	William Broomfield, Mich.
John Culver, Iowa	Edward Derwinski, Ill.

Melvin Benson, Staff Consultant, Rm. 2170, 225-5021

3. Foreign Economic Policy Subcommittee

Robert N.C. Nix, Pa., Chairman

Clement Zablocki, Wis.	Edward J. Derwinski, Ill.
John C. Culver, Iowa	E.Y. Berry, S. Dak.
John Tunney, Ca.	Robert Taft, Jr., Ohio
Gus Yatron, Pa.	John Buchanan, Ala.

Franklin J. Schupp, Staff Consultant

4. International Organizations and Movements

Cornelius E. Gallagher, N.J., Chairman

Dante B. Fascell, Fla.
L.H. Fountain, N.C.
Donald Fraser, Minn.
Benjamin Rosenthal, N.Y.
Edward Roybal, Ca.
Abraham Kazen, Jr., Tex.

H.R. Gross, Iowa
Peter Frelinghuysen, N.J.
Paul Findley, Ill.
J. Herbert Burke, Fla.

Marian A. Czarnecki, Staff Consultant

5. Agriculture Committee

W.R. Poage, Tex., Chairman

John McMillian, S.C.
Thomas Abernethy, Miss.
Watkins Abbitt, Va.
Frank Stubblefield, Ky.
Graham Purcell, Tex.
Maston O'Neal, Ga.
Thomas Foley, Wash.
Eligio de la Garza, Tex.
Joseph Vigorito, Pa.
Walter Jones, N.C.
G.V. Montgomery, Miss.
B.F. Sisk, Ca.
Bill Alexander, Ark.
Bill D. Burlison, Mo.
Allard Lowenstein, N.Y.
John Rarick, La.

Page Belcher, Okla.
Charles Teague, Ca.
Catherine May, Wash.
William Wampler, Va.
George Goodling, Pa.
Clarence Miller, Ohio
Robert Mathias, Ca.
Wiley Mayne, Iowa
John Zwach, Minn.
Thomas Kleppe, N.Dak.
Robert Price, Tex.
John Myers, Ind.
Keith Sebelius, Kans.
Martin McKneally, N.Y.
Wilmer Mizell, N.C.

6. Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Harley Staggers, W. Va., Chairman

Samuel Frieŕel, Md.
Torbert MacDonald, Mass.
John Jamman, Okla.
John E. Moss, Ca.
John Dingell, Mich.
Paul Robers, Fla.
Lionel Van Deerling, Ca.
J.J. Picke, Tex.
Fred B. Rooney, Pa.
John Murphy, N.Y.
David Satterfield, Va.
Daniel Ronan, Ill.

William L. Springer, Ill.
Samuel Devine, Ohio
Ancher Nelsen, Minn.
Hastings Keith, Mass.
Glenn Cunningham, Nebr.
James Broyhill, N.C.
James Harvey, Mich.
Albert Watson, S.C.
Tim Lee Carter, Ky.
G. Robert Watkins, Pa.
Donald Brotzman, Colo.
Clarence J. Brown, Ohio

Brock Adams, Wash.
Richard Ottinger, N.Y.
Ray L. Blanton, Tenn.
W.S. Stuckey, Ga.
Peter Kyros, Maine
Bob Eckhardt, Tex.
Robert Tiernan, R.I.
L. Richardson Preyer, N.C.

Dan Kuykendall, Tenn.
Joe Skubitz, Kan.
Fletcher Thompson, Ga.
James F. Hastings, N.Y.

7. Transportation and Aeronautics Subcommittee.

Samuel N. Friedel, Md., Chairman

John Dingell, Mich.
J.J. Pickle, Tex.
Daniel Ronan, Ill.
Brock Adams, Wash.

Samuel Devine, Ohio
Glenn Cunningham, Nebr.
Albert Watson, S.C.
Dan Kuykendall, Tenn.

8. Committee on Banking and Currency

Wright Patman, Tex., Chairman

William Barrett, Pa.
Leonor Sullivan (Mrs. John), Mo.
Henry Reuss, Wis.
Thomas Ashley, Ohio
William Moorhead, Pa.
Robert Stephens, Jr., Ga.
Ferdinand St. Germain, R.I.
Henry Gonzalez, Tex.
Joseph Minish, N.J.
Richard T. Hanna, Ca.
Tom Gettys, S.C.
Frank Annunzio, Ill.
Thomas Rees, Ca.
Nick Galifianakis, N.C.
Tom Bevill, Ala.
Charles Griffin, Miss.
James Hanley, N.Y.
Frank Brasco, N.Y.
William Chappell, Fla.

William Widnall, N.J.
Florence Dwyer, N.J.
Seymour Halpern, N.Y.
William Brock, Tenn.
Delwin Clawson, Ca.
Albert Johnson, Pa.
J. William Stanton, Ohio
Chester Mize, Kan.
Benjamin Blackburn, Ca.
Garry Brown, Mich.
Lawrence Williams, Pa.
Chalmers Wylie, Ohio
Margaret Heckler, Mass.
William Cowger, Ky.
J. Glenn Beall, Jr., Md.

9. Subcommittee on International Finance

Henry S. Reuss, Wis., Chairman

Thomas Ashley, Ohio
William Moorhead, Pa.
Henry Gonzalez, Tex.
Richard Hanna, Ca.
Thomas Rees, Ca.
Jonathan Bingham, N.Y.

Seymour Halpern, N.Y.
William Widnall, N.J.
Albert Johnson, Pa.
J. William Stanton, Ohio
Chester Mize, Kan.

10. Science and Astronautics

George Miller, Ca., Chairman

Olin Teague, Tex.	James Fulton, Pa.
Joseph Karth, Minn.	Charles Mosher, Ohio
Ken Hechler, W. Va.	Richard Roudebush, Ind.
Emilio Daddario, Conn.	Alphonso Bell, Ca.
John Davis, Ga.	Thomas Pelly, Wash.
Thomas Downing, Va.	Donald Rumsfeld, Ill.
Joe Waggonner, Jr., La.	John Wydler, N.Y.
Don Fuqua, Fla.	Guy Vaner Jagt, Mich.
George Brown, Jr. Ca.	Larry Winn, Kans.
Earle Cabell, Tex.	Jerry Petis, Ca.
Bertram Podell, N.Y.	Donald Lukens, Ohio
Wayne Aspinall, Colo.	Robert Price, Tex.
Roy A. Taylor, N.C.	Lowell Weicker, Conn.
Henry Helstoski, N.J.	Louis Frey, Fla.
Mario Biaggi, N.Y.	
James Symington, Mo.	
Edwin Koch, N.Y.	

11. Defense Subcommittee of Committee on Appropriations

George Mahon, Tex.	Joseph Addabbo, N.Y.
Robert Sikes, Fla.	Glenard Lipscomb, Ca.
Jamie Whitten, Miss.	William Minshall, Ohio
George Andrews, Ala.	John Davis, Ga.
Daniel Flood, Pa.	John Roodes, Ariz.
John Slack, W. Va.	

12. Foreign Operations Subcommittee of Committee on Appropriations

Otto Passman, La.	Ogden Reid, N.Y.
Fred Rooney, Pa.	Donald Rumsfeld, Ill.
Julia Butler Hansen, Wash.	Frank Horton, N.Y.
Jeffrey Cohelan, Ca.	Florence Dwyer, N.J.
Clarence Long, Md.	

IX

IX Senate Committees

1. Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee

Clinton Anderson, Chairman

Richard Russell, Ga.	Margaret Chase Smith, Maine
Warren Magnuson, Wash.	Carl Curtis, Nebr.
Stuart Symington, Mo.	Mark Hatfield, Oreg.
John Stennis, Miss.	Barry Goldwater, Ariz.

Stephen Young, Ohio
Thomas Dodd, Conn.
Howard Cannon, Nev.
Speassard Holland, Fla.

Charles Mathias, Md.
William Saxbe, Ohio

2. Subcommittee on Department of Defense (Appropriations)

Richard Russell, Chairman

John McClellan, Ark.
Allen Ellender, La.
John Stennis, Miss.
John Pastore, R.I.
Warren Magnuson, Wash.
Mike Mansfield, Mont.

Stephen Young, Ohio
Margaret Chase Smith, Maine
Carl Mundt, S. Dak.
Gordon Allott, Colo.
Roman Hruska, Nebr.

3. Subcommittee on Foreign Operations

Gale McGee, Chairman

Allen Ellender, La.
John McClellan, Ark.
Speassard Holland, Fla.
Joseph Montoya, N.Mex.

Hiram Fong, Ha.
Norris Cotton, N.H.
James Pearson, Kans.

4. Subcommittee on Departments of State, Justice and Commerce, The
Judiciary and Related Agencies (Appropriations)

John McClellan, Chairman

Allen Ellender, La.
John Pastore, R.I.
Mike Mansfield, Mont.

Margaret Chase Smith, Maine
Roman Hruska,
Clifford Case, N.J.

5. Senate Banking and Currency Committee

John Sparkman, Chairman

William Proxmire, Wis.
Harrison Williams, N.J.
Edmund Muskie, Maine
Thomas McIntyre, N.H.
Walter Mondale, Minn.
Ernest Hollings, S.C.
Harold Hughes, Iowa
Alan Cranston, Ca.

Wallace Bennett, Utah
John Tower, Tex.
Edward Brooke, Mass.
Charles Percy, Ill.
Charles Goodell, N.Y.
Robert Packwood, Oreg.

6. Subcommittee on International Finance

Edmund Muskie, Chairman

John Sparkman, Ala.
Harrison Williams, N.J.
Walter Mondale, Minn.
Harold E. Hughes, Iowa
Alan Cranston, Ca.

Edward Brooke, Mass.
Wallace Bennett, Utah
John Tower, Tex.
Charles Percy, Ill.

7. Senate Commerce Committee

Warren Magnuson, Chairman

John Pastore, R.I.
Vance Hartke, Ind.
Philip Hart, Mich.
Howard Cannon, Nev.
Russell B. Long, La.
Frank Moss, Utah
Ernest Hollings, S.C.
Daniel Inouye, Ha.
Joseph Tydings, Md.
William Spong, Va.

Norris Cotton, N.H.
Hugh Scott, Pa.
Winston Prouty, Vt.
James Pearson, Kans.
Robert Griffin, Mich.
Clifford Hansen, Wyo.
Howard Baker, Tenn.
Charles Goodell, N.Y.

8. Subcommittee on Aviation

Warren Magnuson, Chairman

Philip Hart, Mich.
Vance Hartke, Ind.
Ernest Hollings, S.C.
Daniel Inouye, Ha.
Joseph Tydings, Md.

Norris Cotton, N.H.
Winston Prouty, Vt.
James Pearson, Kans.
Clifford Hansen, Wyo.
Howard Baker, Tenn.

9. Senate Finance Committee

Russell Long, Chairman

Clinton Anderson, N. Mex.
Albert Gore, Tenn.
Herman Talmadge, Ga.
Eugene McCarthy, Minn.
Vance Hartke, Ind.
J.W. Fulbright, Ark.
Abraham Ribicoff, Conn.
Fred Harris, Okla.
Harry Byrd, Va.

John Williams, Del.
Wallace Bennett, Utah
Carl Curtis, Nebr.
Everett Dirksen, Ill.
Jack Miller, Iowa
Len Jordan, Idaho
Paul Fannin, Ariz.

10. Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Chairman, J.W. Fulbright

John Sparkman, Ala.
Mike Mansfield, Mont.
Albert Gore, Tenn.
Frank Church, Idaho
Stuart Symington, Mo.
Thomas Dodd, Conn.
Claiborne Pell, R.I.
Gale McGee, Wyo.

George Aiken, Vt.
Karl Mundt, S. Dak.
Clifford Case, N.J.
John Sherman Cooper, Ky.
John Williams, Del.
Jacob Javits, N.Y.

11. Subcommittee on African Affairs

Thomas Dodd, Conn.

Karl Mundt, S. Dak.

12. Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization

James Eastland, Chairman

John McClellan, Ark.
Sam Ervin, N.C.
Edward Kennedy, Mass.
Philip Hart, Mich.

Everett Dirksen, Ill.
Hiram Fong, Ha.
Strom Thurmond, S.C.

Subcommittee on Labor (Labor and Public Welfare)

Jennings Randolph, W. Va.
Claiborne Pell, R.I.
Baylond Nelson, Wis.
Walter Mondale, Minn.
Thomas Eagleton, Mo.
Alan Cranston, Ca.

Jacob Javits, N.Y.
Winston Prouty, Vt.
William Saxbe, Ohio
Henry Bellmon, Okla.
Richard Schweiker, Pa.

14. Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy (Joint Economic Committee)

J. Caleb Boggs, Chairman

Henry Reuss
William Moorhead
William Widnall
Donald Rumsfeld
W.E. Brock

John Sparkman
J.W. Fulbright
Herman Talmadge
Stuart Symington
Abraham Ribicoff
Jacob Javits
Jack Miller