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 educational 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. Executive planning as a bureaucracy, just acts to support what is. 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 relations 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 Encoherence 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 Imperialism, of Policy by Platitudes

This reflects the use of American power as an umbrella under which American economic interests can extend themselves in a laissez 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 dismantle 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 phenomenons 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**

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<th>Edward Kennedy</th>
<th>Jonathan Bingham</th>
<th>Allard K. Lowenstein</th>
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<td>Edward Brooke</td>
<td>Frank Brasco</td>
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<td>Thaddeus J. Dulske</td>
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<td>Frank Moss</td>
<td>Don Edwards</td>
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<td>Claiborne Pell</td>
<td>Leonard Farbstein</td>
<td>William Ryan</td>
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<td>Harrison Williams, Jr.</td>
<td>Donald Fraser</td>
<td>Ferdinand St. Germain</td>
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<td>Stephen Young</td>
<td>William J. Green</td>
<td>James H. Scheuer</td>
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<td>Hugh Scott</td>
<td>Robert Kastenmeier</td>
<td>Robert Tierman</td>
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<td>John Sherman Cooper</td>
<td>Edward Koch</td>
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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 -

Glen 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 Cohelen  
John Conyers, Jr.  
Charles C. Diggs, Jr.  
Bob Eckhardt  
Don Edwards  
Donald Fraser  
Seymour Hapirn  
Robert N.C. Mix  
Richard Ottinger  
Ogden R. Reid  
Henry Reuss  
Benjamin Rosenthal  
Edward Roybal  
William Ryan  
James Scherue  
Lester D. Wolff

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

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

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  
Cohelen  
Turney  
Corman  
Burton  
Edwards  
Brown  
Hawkins  
Roybal  
Matsumaga  
Brademas  
Long  
Boland  
Mosse  
Congres  
Mudzi  
Green (Ore.)  
Moorehead  
Kastenmeier  
Fraser  
Bolling  
Helstock  
Thompson  
McCarthy  
Resnick  
Wolff  
Reid  
Addabbo  
Brasco  
Multer  
Ryan  
Halpern  
Moodhead  
St. Onge  
O'Hara (Mich.)  
Culver  
Gude  
Conte  
Diggs  
O'Hara (Ill.)  
Blatnik  
Reid  
Eilberg  
Gonzalez  
Karle  
Gallagher  
Rodino  
Frelinghuysen  
Ottinger  
Tenzer  
Horton  
Sulton  
Singham  
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John Culver</th>
<th>Lucien Nedzi</th>
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<td>William Ryan</td>
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<td>Abner Mikva</td>
<td>John Brademas</td>
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<td>Peter Rodino</td>
<td>Glenn Anderson</td>
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<td>Patsy Mink</td>
<td>Leonard Farbstein</td>
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<td>Allard Lowenstein</td>
<td>Shirley Chisholm</td>
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<td>William Moorhead</td>
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<td>Benjamin Rosenthal</td>
<td>Spark Matsunaga</td>
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<td>Louis Stokes</td>
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<td>Donald Fraser</td>
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<td>Phillip Burton</td>
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<td>Dante Fascell</td>
<td>George E. Brown, Jr.</td>
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<td>Charles H. Wilson</td>
<td>Thomas Ashley</td>
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(b) Bingham and Reid circulated a letter to the presidents of the 10 banks providing credit to South Africa. Co-signers were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John Brademas</th>
<th>Charles Mosher</th>
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<tr>
<td>John Conyers</td>
<td>Thomas O'Neill, Jr.</td>
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<td>Donald Fraser</td>
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(c) Vernon McKay has Ford and Carnegie money to bring together a group of Congressmen regularly on African issues. Included are:

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<td>Sen. Thomas Eagleton</td>
<td>Rep. Donald Fraser</td>
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<td>Sen. Edward Brooke</td>
<td>Rep. Ogden Reid</td>
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Sen. Frank Moss  
Sen. Charles McC. Mathias  
Sen. Thomas Eagleton  
Rep. E. Ross Adair  
Sen. Edward Brooke  
Sen. Clifford Case  
Sen. Frank Church  
Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen  
Sen. Edward Kennedy  
Rep. William S. Mailliard  
Sen. George McGovern  
Rep. John Brademas  
Rep. John Conyers  
Rep. John C. Culver  
Rep. Donald Fraser  
Rep. William Hathaway  
Rep. F. Bradford Morse  
Rep. Ogden Reid  
Rep. Charles W. Whalen  
Sen. Gale McGee  
Sen. Edmund Muskie  
Rep. Thomas O'Neill  
Sen. James Pearson  
Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal  
Rep. John Tunney
5. **Black Congressmen.** For the record the black members of Congress are:

- Augustus Hawkins
- Charles Diggs
- John Conyers
- Robert N.C. Nix
- Bill Clay
- Louis Stokes
- William Dawson
- Adam Clayton Powell
- Shirley Chisholm
- Edward Brooke

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congressional District</th>
<th>Negro as Percent of Total Population</th>
<th>Incumbent</th>
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<td><strong>CALIFORNIA</strong></td>
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<td>5th</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>P. Burton</td>
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<td>24.8</td>
<td>J. Cohelan</td>
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<td>G. Miller</td>
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<td>14th</td>
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<td>J. Waldie</td>
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<td>16th</td>
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<td>B. Sisk</td>
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<td>22nd</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>A. Hawkins</td>
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<td>26th</td>
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<td>T. Rees</td>
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<td>30th</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>B. Roybal</td>
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<td><strong>COLORADO</strong></td>
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<td>R. Giaimo</td>
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<td><strong>DELAWARE</strong></td>
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<td>2nd</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>R. Nix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>J. Byrne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5th</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>W. Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9th</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>R. Watkins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14th</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>W. Moorhead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20th</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>J. Gaydos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Washington | 7th | 5.1  | B. Adams        |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Virginia</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>6.2</th>
<th>J. Slack</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5th</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>J. Kee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Wisconsin | 5th | 15.4 | H. Reuss        |
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State-Dist.</th>
<th>ADA</th>
<th>Major Center</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fascell</td>
<td>Flor-12th</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbons</td>
<td>Flor-6th</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>Flor-11th</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perkins</td>
<td>Ky-7th</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boggs</td>
<td>La-2nd</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert</td>
<td>Okl-3rd</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulton</td>
<td>Tenn-5th</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks</td>
<td>Tex-9th</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fakharid</td>
<td>Tex-8th</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonzalez</td>
<td>Tex-20th</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>Tex-23rd</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patman</td>
<td>Tex-1st</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>Tex-12th</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>Tex-146th</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:


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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brown, Ca.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Broomfield, Mich.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conyers, Mich.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Duncan, Tenn.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Farbstein, N.Y.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fish, N.Y.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fassell, Fla.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Frelinghuysen, N.J.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fascell, Fla.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gude, Md.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fawver, Ohio</strong></td>
<td><strong>Halpern, N.Y.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foley, Wash.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Heckler, Mass.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fraser, Minn.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hogan, Md.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fulton, Tenn.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Horton, N.Y.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Giaimo, Conn.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Keith, Mass.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gilbert, N.Y.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lukens, Ohio</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gray, Ill.</strong></td>
<td><strong>McCloskey, Ca.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Green, Pa.</strong></td>
<td><strong>McDade, Pa.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hanley, N.Y.</strong></td>
<td><strong>McKnealy, N.Y.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hansen, Wash.</strong></td>
<td><strong>May, Wash.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hathaway, Maine</strong></td>
<td><strong>Meskill, Conn.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hawkins, Ca.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mize, Kan.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hicks, Wash.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Morse, Mass.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jacobs, Ind.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mosher, Ohio</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Johnson, Ca.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Railsback, Ill.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karth, Minn.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Reid, N.Y.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kastenmeier, Wis.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rogers, N.Y.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Koch, N.Y.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rupple, Mich.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mikva, Ill.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Schwengel, Iowa</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Minish, N.J.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Stafford, Vt.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mink, Hawaii</strong></td>
<td><strong>Stafford, Vt.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moorhead, Pa.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Stanton, Ohio</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Murphy, Ill.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Teague, Ca.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nedzi, Mich.</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>O'Hara, Mich.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>O'Neil, Mass.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ottinger, N.Y.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pepper, Fl.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Podell, N.Y.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rees, Ca.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rodino, N.J.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rooney, Pa.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rosenthal, N.Y.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ryan, N.Y.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St. Germain, R.I.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Stokes, Ohio</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Thompson, N.J.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Turney, Ca.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Udall, Ariz.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Vanik, Ohio</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Walsh, Ca.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wilson, Ca.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Wolff, N.Y.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yates, Ill.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  Robert Leggett
Del Clawson    Richard McCarthy
James Cleveland Tom MacDonald
Don Daniels    John Moss
Fred Derwinski Robert Nix
Bob Eckhardt   Ed Potter
Don Edwards    Tom Kelly
Lee Hamilton   Joe Resnick
Henry Helstoski Don Riegle
Edna Kelly     Charles Whalen
Peter Kyros    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 (224-4750).

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 \textit{Brutal Mandate} about his experiences there. His aide, Emory Bundy (224-3011) 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 \textit{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 \textit{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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Aide</th>
<th>Telephone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glenn Anderson D-Ca.</td>
<td>Michael Weiss</td>
<td>224-6676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Blatnik D-Minn.</td>
<td>James Oberstar</td>
<td>224-6211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Brasco D-N.Y.</td>
<td>Frank Kilroy</td>
<td>224-5471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Brown D-Ca.</td>
<td>Raymond Sebens</td>
<td>224-5464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan Button R-N.Y.</td>
<td>George Linn</td>
<td>224-4861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Burton D-Ca.</td>
<td>Frank Kieliger</td>
<td>224-1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Clay D-Mo.</td>
<td>Michael McPherson</td>
<td>224-2406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeffery Cohelan D-Ca.</td>
<td>Jeffrey Newman</td>
<td>224-2661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cunfiers D-Mich.</td>
<td>Larry Horitz</td>
<td>224-5266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thaddeus Dulski D-N.Y.</td>
<td>Frank Fortune</td>
<td>224-3306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Edwards D-Ca.</td>
<td>Alisa Stickney</td>
<td>224-3072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Eokhardt D-Tex.</td>
<td>Julius Glickman</td>
<td>224-1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonard Farstein D-N.Y.</td>
<td>Ethel Maness</td>
<td>224-5635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Green D-Pa.</td>
<td>Warren Eisenberg</td>
<td>224-6271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Gonzalez D-Tex.</td>
<td>Gail Beagle</td>
<td>224-3236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seymour Halpern D-N.Y.</td>
<td>Edward Kelly</td>
<td>224-2536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus Hawkins D-Ca.</td>
<td>Jaunita Barbee</td>
<td>224-2201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Helstoki D-N.J.</td>
<td>Joseph Brzostowski</td>
<td>224-5061</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This group and its consolidation in support of Congressional initiatives should be a primary priority.

### 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.

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

**Maine**
- Hathaway, D. (92)
- Kyros, D. (67)
- Fallon, D. (67)
- Farmatz, D. (75)
- Massachusetts

**Pennsylvania**
- Dent, D. (92)
- Morgan, D. (83)
- Rhodes, D. (67)
- Barrett, D. (92)
- Byrne, D. (100)
- Washington

**Colorado**
- Evans, D. (75)
- Daddario, D. (83)
- Giaimo, D. (58)
- Irwin, D. (92)

**Connecticut**
- Dingell, D. (75)
- Ford, R. (75)
- Griffiths, D. (92)
- Missouri

**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)

**Maryland**
- O'Neill, D. (83)
- Meeds, D. (75)
- Washington

**Massachusetts**
- Riegle, R. (75)
- New Jersey
- Daniels, D. (83)
- Howard, D. (75)
- New York
- Dow, D. (100)
- Hall, D. (75)
- McCarthy, D. (83)
- Resnick, D. (67)
- Tenzer, D. (100)
- Carey, D. (83)
- Celler, D. (92)
- Gilbert, D. (92)
- Scheurer, D. (83)
- 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

**Washington**
- Adams, D. (92)
- Foley, D. (92)
- Hansen, D. (75)
- Hicks, D. (83)
- Meeds, D. (75)
- Staggers, D. (83)

**West Virginia**
- 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 cannot 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 (224-4515). 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).

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

A. Cranston D-Ca.  Rom Pyne  224-3553
F. Hart D-Mich.  Florence Roth  224-4822
W. Mondale D-Minn  Steve Engelberg  224-5641
C. Pell D-R.I.  William Young  224-6642
H. Scott R-Pa.  Mrs. Reid  224-6324
Williams R-N.J.  Thomas Boyd  224-4744
S. Young D-Ohio  Paul Korody  224-2315


F. Moss D-Utah  Grant Midgley  224-5251
E. McCarthy D-Minn.  Louise Fitzimmons  224-3244
C. Case R-N.H.  Bill Korns  224-3224
F. Church D-Idaho  James Hamersley  224-6142
M. Hatfield R-Cre.  Samuel Mallicoat  224-3753
G. McGovern D-S.Dak.  Dcb Shorman  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".

Alkon
Bayh
Burdick
Engelton - has time to develop an African outlook
Gravel
Gurney
Fong

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
Symington - liberals from industrial states with black votes
Saxbe
Symington - concerned with U.S. bases abroad
Tydings
Nelson
Inouye
Metcalfe
Randolph
Yarbrough

5. Moderate Conservative Center
Bellmon
Griffin
Smith
Stevens
Cook

6. Conservative Moderates
McGee
Hartke
Young
Spong
Sparkman
Montoya

7. Right-Wing Advocates
Anderson
Mundt
Curtin
Thurmond
Talmadge
Stennis
Russell
Murphy
Miller
Long
Hruska
Hollings
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

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

2. Africa Subcommittee of Foreign Affairs Committee

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William T. Murphy</td>
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<td>F. N. Morse</td>
<td>Mass.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward Derwinski</td>
<td>Ill.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melvin Benson</td>
<td>Staff Consultant, Rm. 2170, 225-5021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Foreign Economic Policy Subcommittee

Robert N.C. Nix, Pa., Chairman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Ala.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Franklin J. Schupp</td>
<td>Staff Consultant</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

[Table continues with other members' names and details]
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.  
Allan Lowenstein, N.Y.  
John Rarick, La.  

Page Belcher, Okla.  
Charles Teague, Ca.  
Catherine May, Wash.  
William Wampler, Wash.  
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 Fricel, Md.  
Torbert MacDonald, Mass.  
John Jamman, Okla.  
John E. Moss, Ca.  
John Dingell, Mich.  
Paul Roberts, Fla.  
Lionel Van Deerling, Ca.  
J.J. Pick, 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 Brophy, N.C.  
James Harvey, Mich.  
Albert Watson, S.C.  
Tim Lee Carter, Ky.  
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  
Rob Eckhardt, Tex.  
Robert Tiernan, R.I.  
L. Richardson Preyer, N.C.

7. Transportation and Aeronautics Subcommittee.

Samuel N. Friedel, Md., Chairman

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

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.  
Ferdinand St. Germain, R.I.  
Henry Gonzalez, Tex.  
Joseph Mirisch, N.J.  
Richard T. Hanna, Ca.  
Tom Getty, 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.

9. Subcommittee on International Finance

Henry S. Reuss, Wis., Chairman

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

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

George Miller, Ca., Chairman

Olin Teague, Tex.  
Joseph Karth, Minn.  
Ken Hechler, W. Va.  
Emilio Daddario, Conn.  
John Davis, Ga.  
Thomas Downing, Va.  
Joe Waggonner, Jr., La.  
Don Fuqua, Fla.  
George Brown, Jr. Ca.  
Earle Cabell, Tex.  
Bertram Podell, N.Y.  
Wayne Aspinall, Colo.  
Roy A. Taylor, N.C.  
Henry Helstoski, N.J.  
Mario Biaggi, N.Y.  
James Symington, Mo.  
Edwin Koch, N.Y.

James Fulton, Pa.  
Charles Mosher, Ohio  
Richard Roudebush, Ind.  
Alphonso Bell, Ca.  
Thomas Pelly, Wash.  
Donald Rumsfeld, Ill.  
John Wydler, N.Y.  
Larry Winn, Kans.  
Jerry Petis, Ca.  
Donald Lukens, Ohio  
Robert Price, Tex.  
Lowell Weicker, Conn.  
Louis Frey, Fla.

11. Defense Subcommittee of Committee on Appropriations

George Mahon, Tex.  
Robert Sikes, Fla.  
 Jamie Whitten, Miss.  
George Andrews, Ala.  
Daniel Flood, Pa.  
John Slack, W. Va.

Joseph Addabbo, N.Y.  
Glenard Lipscomb, Ca.  
William Minshall, Ohio  
John Davis, Ga.  
John Roodes, Ariz.

12. Foreign Operations Subcommittee of Committee on Appropriations

Otto Passman, La.  
Fred Rooney, Pa.  
Julia Butler Hansen, Wash.  
Jeffrey Cohelan, Ca.  
Clarence Long, Md.

Ogden Reid, N.Y.  
Donald Rumsfeld, Ill.  
Frank Horton, N.Y.  
Florence Dwyer, N.J.

IX  
IX Senate Committees

1. Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee

Clinton Anderson, Chairman

Richard Russell, Ga.  
Warren Magnuson, Wash.  
Stuart Symington, Mo.  
John Stennis, Miss.

Margaret Chase Smith, Maine  
Carl Curtis, Nebr.  
Mark Hatfield, Oreg.  
Barry Goldwater, Ariz.
Stephen Young, Ohio
Thomas Dodd, Conn.
Howard Cannon, Nev.
Speassard Holland, Fla.

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.  
Bayland 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