Natl. Item - 1960

The Reader's Digest

38TH YEAR JANUARY 1959

An article a day of enduring significance, in condensed permanent booklet form

Our fumbling fiscal policy has carried us a frightening distance toward disastrous inflation. We *must* solve this problem, and solve it quickly

Do You Want a Ten-Cent Dollar?

Condensed from The Saturday Evening Post

Roswell Magill
Chairman, Tax Foundation, Inc.

THE United States presents a curious spectacle today. Here is the richest country in the world either unwilling or unable to raise enough money in taxes to pay its current governmental costs. Our federal deficit this year is expected to be about 12 billion dollars—*considerably more than the total expenditures of the federal government 20 years ago.*

For the first time in our history, and just when we are trying to prove that our economy will outperform that of the Communist states, Congress has had to raise the total debt limit twice in the same year: first to 280 billion dollars, then to 288 billion. Sen. Harry F. Byrd has estimated that in five years, at expected spending levels, the debt will reach 350 billion dollars. This is a fantastic $6250 for every American family—more than the average family's annual income. Are we headed downhill on the slippery road to disastrous inflation that so many countries have traveled be-

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fore: the road that leads to a 25-cent, ten-cent, one-cent dollar?

In 20 years the value of the dollar has been cut in half. Just since the end of World War II the dollar's purchasing power has been reduced by 23 cents. If fumbling governmental fiscal policy should encourage that deterioration to continue, in 25 or 30 years our present 48-cent dollar might be worth only a dime.

What can be done to get the government back on an even fiscal keel?

(1) Should we increase taxes?

Many citizens, convinced that they are overtaxed already, cry for tax reduction. The present tax burden, including all hidden and direct taxes, takes about one third of the average person's income. He works 12½ hours of his 40-hour week just to pay for government. On a daily basis, the tax burden is even more depressing. The Tax Foundation has shown that in an eight-hour day the average $4500-a-year man must work for the government 2 hours and 29 minutes. By contrast, to pay for food he works 1 hour and 39 minutes; for housing, 1 hour and 25 minutes; for clothing, 37 minutes.

A major difficulty is that our principal taxes cannot be raised to produce much more revenue without wrecking the economy. Our tax system is like an old rubber band, which has been stretched so long and so often that there is no stretch left in it. Since enactment of the income tax in 1913, our system has consisted fundamentally of: the income tax, which now produces 79 percent of total federal revenue; a series of special excise taxes, producing six percent of total revenue; taxes at very high rates on sales of liquor and tobacco, producing seven percent; and taxes on transfers of property by gift during life, or at death, producing two percent.

To raise an additional 12 billion dollars (the amount of this year's deficit) from the present federal income tax would require the confiscation of everyone's taxable income in excess of $4000, or an increase in the corporate rate from the present 52 percent to 82 percent. The result of income taxes of that magnitude would be economic chaos. They would destroy all stimulus to risk-taking, new investment and business expansion—the most potent forces in the economic development of our country.

A few hundred million dollars could be raised by increasing gift and estate taxes. Since the taxes on liquor and tobacco already approximately equal the cost of the product, they cannot be used effectively to produce much more revenue. The rates of our existing special excises could be raised a little, but we have found that some excises, such as the taxes on freight and passenger transportation, so discourage activities we want to foster that Congress has had to repeal them. The latest revision of the excise tax laws resulted in an estimated loss, not a gain, in revenue.

So, raising taxes is not a very acceptable solution.

(2) Can we solve the problems

HOW THEY HATE US IN RED CHINA!

BY JOHN STROHM

A dismaying report on firsthand discoveries behind the Bamboo Curtain

For the first time in more than nine years an authorized American journalist has penetrated behind the Bamboo Curtain and emerged to report the facts of life in Red China. The facts are grim and startling.

When last summer the State Department granted John Strohm permission to visit Communist China, his chances of obtaining a Chinese visa seemed impossibly remote. Strohm's approach to the problem was audacious. He sent a cable direct to Mao Tse-tung, saying that he would like to see the progress of China's farm program. Two weeks later—for reasons which are still obscure—he was notified that his visa application had been approved.

Representing The Reader's Digest and the Newspaper Enterprise Assn., Strohm traveled widely in China. He was allowed to talk freely with Chinese at every level. This account of his experiences confronts America more starkly than ever with an ominous and growing menace in the Far East.

Communist China is a nation organized to work and to hate. No human beings have ever been held in more complete mental and physical bondage than the subjects of Mao Tse-tung. All 640 million of them are being driven in a mass attempt to leap forward into the 20th century. It is a bold experiment in human manipulation, and it has signal meaning for every person in the United States. For no-

be as well off as he was before. It is plain to see what happens to the retired man, the widow on a fixed income, the insurance policy or annuity payable in a fixed number of dollars.

The best way to weaken America as a nation is to convince our citizens that our governmental promise to pay, our currency, has lost its integrity. There would not be much use in saving if we suspect that the dollars which we put aside with such difficulty won't be worth a dime in purchasing power at the time we need them—to raise a family, to send our children to school, to pay our own way when we retire.

Hence, it looks as if the government had better take the other fork of the road, uphill and stony as it may be: *reduce expenditures, and levy such taxes as are needed to pay for current costs.*

An immediate objective might be a 75-billion-dollar budget for the next fiscal year. This five-billion-dollar reduction of the present budget would require the utmost effort of both the President and Congress. It would also require strong support from the individual citizen, who might keep in mind that every reduction of one billion dollars in federal spending is the equivalent of a $20 bill in the pocket of the average family.

Since federal, state and local taxes are all so high, Congress will need to make an extraordinary endeavor, in levying any further taxes, to damage our economy as little as possible. It is vital to permit and if possible to encourage our economy to grow. If private enterprise flourishes in this country, if plants are steadily renewed and improved through investment—"plowing in"—of profits, the U.S. Treasury, now more heavily interested in corporate profits than all private stockholders put together, will reap increasing revenues, even though tax rates remain constant.

Finally, Congress must face the tremendous task of looking deeply into the problems of tax structure and fiscal policy. The most promising solution might be the creation of a Commission on Federal Tax and Fiscal Policy, organized along the lines of the Hoover Commission, whose recommendations have led to savings of billions of dollars through improved efficiency and reorganization of the executive branch. Proposals to set up such a special nonpartisan group of the highest distinction have already been made in Congress. They deserve careful attention.

A nation such as ours cannot concede that its fiscal problems are insoluble. We must apply our best brains to the project and stop trying to patch up an inadequate, archaic system. Surely American intelligence can be mustered to provide the government with a sound fiscal system, to match a sound economy and a sound defense organization.

expense. There are now in storage, government-owned, for every American family, 24 bushels of corn, 19 bushels of wheat, 4¼ pounds of dried milk, 3½ pounds of cheese and 2¼ pounds of butter.

This is just not reasonable. Nor is it reasonable that more than half the patients in veterans' hospitals are being treated for non-service-connected disabilities. Nor is it reasonable that the federal government should continue to add to the 100-odd federal-aid programs to states that can better finance and administer their needs locally.

The President in his budget for the current year made a series of recommendations which held hope for lower expenditures. Mainly, his proposals were of three types: reduction in some of the federal-aid programs, largely by the transfer of entire programs to the states; limitations on the extent of federal loans and loan guaranties; curtailment of direct-spending programs.

In general, Congress ignored these proposals. In some instances it moved in the direction of *greater* federal participation in local projects. Thus, instead of eliminating a program of federal aid for local sewer systems—certainly a subject of local rather than national concern—Congress voted to enlarge it.

By accepting the President's proposals for cutbacks, and adding some of its own, an economically minded Congress could bring expenditures down to 70 billion dollars. That is probably a spending minimum. It is not impossible to attain. In fact, pre-Sputnik, it was the administration's target.

(3) Do we really want to continue as we have been doing: borrowing what is needed and passing along the cost of today's government to our children to pay tomorrow with, say, a ten-cent dollar?

The federal government has paid much of its way by borrowing ever since 1931. In seven of the past eleven years we have had to pay for a budget deficit by borrowing. Have we found this to be a satisfactory way of life? We have not.

When the government does not collect enough taxes to pay current expenses, it issues governmental promises-to-pay to cover the difference. Such promises may be called savings bonds or certificates of indebtedness or long-term bonds. Whatever the name, we accept them at their face value so long as we believe that the government will live up to its promises.

Since the Treasury has issued so many, however, and since Congress is obviously reluctant to levy enough taxes to pay currently for the steadily increasing governmental costs, the value of these obligations has gradually declined. This is what is behind the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar over the past 25 years.

The resulting inflation has rightly been called the cruelest tax of all. Just because of taxes and inflation the person who earned $5000 in 1946 would have to earn $7343 today—nearly 50 percent more—simply to

by reducing governmental expenditures? Just what expenditures can be cut?

In the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1959, the federal government will spend almost 80 billion dollars. Although defense spending, estimated at 46.8 billion, is obviously the largest part of the budget, it is by no means responsible for the recent big increases. In the last five years *non*-defense spending has jumped by a startling 12½ billion dollars—from 20 billion dollars to more than 32 billion. The biggest increase in this area has been in the farm programs, which have risen by 3¾ billion dollars and now amount to 6½ billion dollars per year. Federal spending on housing and commerce has gone up three billion dollars; labor and welfare expenditures, up nearly two billion; veterans' services and benefits, up 900 million.

Now these civil expenditures do not represent pure Congressional wastefulness. When, for example, Congress increased the Social Security payments (and the taxes to pay for them), Congressmen had an eye on the forthcoming elections: they calculated that the number of citizens who wanted to see larger payments was greater than the number who would resent the increased taxes. We are a big nation of enormous wealth; why shouldn't we live the good life? Let's have guns and rockets, but let's have butter, too—lots of it.

And let's have lots of roads. The cost of the federal highway program, not now included in the budget, jumped from 586 million dollars in fiscal 1954 to an estimated 2½ billion this year. Last year Congress suspended the pay-as-we-go feature of this program, ensuring even greater costs in the future. We all want good roads; but do we have to have them so quickly that we must pile up more debt to get them?

Furthermore, is it essential that we have some 2,250,000 civilians on the federal payroll at a monthly cost of about one billion dollars? Is it necessary to pay federal employes an average of $90 a week while the average in private industry is $78? This kind of spending has increased the cost of federal payrolls in the past ten years from $162 per American family per year to $255 per family. Isn't it time for us to distinguish *essential* expenditures from *desirable?*

Under present world conditions, it is hard to justify a reduction in military spending. But we might be able to hold national security costs at the present level. This would require that money for new programs and weapons should come from cutbacks in expenditures for other military projects. A sizable sum was saved this way in the present budget.

It is primarily in the area of non-defense spending that Congress might make real cuts. There is nothing inevitable about the 6½ billion dollars to be spent for agriculture this year, nor the nearly four billion for housing and commerce. The farm price-support program (changed for the better in 1958) has piled up unnecessary surpluses at the taxpayers'

Ruth

NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

LOYALTY—SECURITY

D.C. SELF-GOVERNMENT

BUDGETARY PROCEDURES—ITEM VETO

TAX RATE LIMIT

TREATY-MAKING POWER

C.R. No. 1 *"Modification of federal loyalty-security programs to limit scope, standardize procedures, apply 'common sense' judgment, and provide the greatest possible protection for the individual."*

This CR stems indirectly from the League's underlying concern since its inception for the essentials of individual liberty. During periods of tension, the League has selected various aspects of the subject for concentrated attention—ranging over the years from academic freedom and freedom of speech to the entire Bill of Rights.

At the 1954 Convention, the League adopted a program item designed to develop an understanding of the relationship between individual liberty and the public interest. In connection with this item, the Leagues participated, along with other organizations, in a community-wide education program known as Freedom Agenda.

At the 1956 Convention, the League chose to move from a broad concern with the essentials of individual liberty to an "action" item focused on an appraisal of the federal loyalty-security programs, based on the League's recognition of the twin values of security and liberty. The loyalty-security CR, as adopted at the 1958 Convention, is a direct outgrowth of the 1956-58 agenda item and embodies in its wording the agreement reflected in the League's Statement of Position on Loyalty-Security of January 1958.

Of the various liberty and security problem areas on the horizon in 1956, that of the federal loyalty-security programs was selected by the League as the most challenging area for concentrated attention. The five programs which the League chose for study—Government Employee, Atomic Energy, Industrial Security, Port Security, and Military Personnel—were created during the late 1940's and early 1950's to cope with the threat of Communist infiltration of the federal government and of military and defense-connected establishments.

Almost ten years had gone by since the first program was set up to meet what was then regarded as an emergency situation. Yet the basic regulations and underlying concepts had remained unchanged. In fact, the programs had continued to expand until in 1956 they covered an estimated 10 million people—one out of every ten adults in the country.

Meanwhile, widespread criticism of the programs had developed—criticism that the programs had become unwieldy and too expanded in scope; that their administration was uneven and in some instances not fair; that the basis of judgment in security cases was lacking in adequate safeguards for the rights of the individual employee.

Within the framework of the interdependence of liberty and security, Leagues proceeded to make a careful study of the evolution and current operation of the programs—criticisms and defenses of them as well as arguments for and against various proposals for change.

After a year and a half of study by Leagues all over the country, League areas of agreement had emerged clearly and the League was ready to state its position.

The position reached by the League is expressed in the Statement of Position on Loyalty-Security issued by the national Board January 17, 1958:

"In the interest of strengthening national security and maintaining our traditional concepts of freedom, the League of Women Voters of the United States believes that the federal loyalty-security programs should be modified so as to:

(1) limit the coverage to sensitive positions and provide for more realistic classification of information;

(2) institute more uniform procedures in the administration of the programs;

(3) apply a 'common sense' standard in judging the individual; and

(4) develop procedures which will provide the greatest possible protection for the individual."

LOYALTY—SECURITY

D.C. SELF-GOVERNMENT

BUDGETARY PROCEDURES—ITEM VETO

TAX RATE LIMIT

TREATY-MAKING POWER

The Statement of Position elaborated each point:

"*Limited Scope:* The League believes that national security and individual liberty would both benefit by limiting the coverage of the loyalty-security programs to sensitive positions.

"In order to assure that the number of sensitive positions be kept to a minimum, there should be regular review of job sensitivity as well as of classified information, with objective of declassification wherever possible.

"*More Uniformity and Coordination:* The League believes there is need for greater uniformity and consistency in interpreting and administering policies, in clearance and screening practices of agencies, and in the classification of material.

"*'Common Sense' Standard:* The League believes that a 'common sense' judgment should be made in determining whether an individual is a loyalty or security risk. Rather than adhering to hard and fast rules, a balanced judgment should be reached only after due weight has been given to all evidence, to the nature of the position, and to the value of the individual to the government or industry.

"*Procedures:* The League believes that the programs should give greater protection to the individual, whether an employee or an applicant for employment. These protections should include the right to confront one's accuser, with the exception of regularly established confidential informants; the right to subpoena witnesses; the right to counsel; the right to know the exact nature of the charges; the right of appeal. Pending resolution of his case, the accused should be shifted to a nonsensitive position during the investigation or else suspended with pay.

"*Attorney General's List:* The League believes that the Attorney General's List should not be used unless extensive revisions are made, such as including in the list the origins of each organization, its history and aims, as well as the period and general nature of its subversive activity. Also the list should be revised periodically and kept up-to-date."

League action based on the loyalty-security position was taken in the spring and summer of 1958 in opposition to legislation to re-extend the government employee security program to nonsensitive positions. The 1956 Supreme Court decision in Cole vs. Young had limited this program to sensitive positions.

The question of an extended or limited coverage continues to be an unresolved issue.

Under this CR the League may support or oppose legislation which relates to the League position. This would include support of legislation to further protect the rights of individuals and opposition to legislation which would define every government job as sensitive.

C.R. No. 2 *"Self-government for the District of Columbia; extension of national suffrage to citizens of the District."*

League interest in suffrage for citizens of the District of Columbia is almost as old at the League itself. The 1924-25 Program included *"District of Columbia Suffrage: to give the District representation in the Congress and the Electoral College, with access to the Supreme Court of the United States."*

National suffrage for citizens of the District of Columbia can be achieved only through adoption of a constitutional amendment. The Constitution provides that *states* shall send members to the Electoral College and to Congress. Since the District is not a state, its people have no representation. Some District residents are able to vote by absentee ballot in the states, but those to whom Washington is a "home town" are disfranchised.

District citizens pay taxes, serve in the Armed Forces, and are subject to the same laws as other American citizens, but they have no voice in either national or local affairs.

The Constitution gives Congress the power "to exercise exclusive legislation" over the District, but the Su-

preme Court has ruled that this power may be delegated. All proposed self-government legislation has provided that congressional action may override decisions of any locally elected city council.

Until 1874, citizens of the District of Columbia controlled their local government through elected officials. At that time, because of the size of the District debt incurred for necessary public works, a group of residents asked Congress to take over the local government and the debt. Congress agreed and has served as a city council for the District ever since. District legislation is screened by four congressional committees—the Senate and House District Committees and the Senate and House Appropriations Committees. Three Commissioners appointed by the President carry out congressional directives.

In 1938, the League Convention broadened the District suffrage item "to authorize support of local as well as federal suffrage." This reflected the growing desire of District citizens for self-government, and the increasing burden on Congress of administering the city government.

Since 1946, when legislation proposing District home rule has been before Congress, the League has testified in support of the principle of self-government and the need to achieve it in the District.

C.R. No. 3 *"Measures granting the President authority to veto items in appropriation bills."*

The League's specific interest in congressional budgetary methods began when this subject was selected for concentrated study by the 1952 Convention: *"Measures to improve the budgetary procedures of the Congress."* At that time there was a great deal of public interest in reducing the cost of government. The methods by which Congress reviews the federal budget had been criticized as being outdated and inadequate.

After study of the problem, League members agreed that the chief difficulty is in the lack of coordination in congressional review of the budget—what might be called the "piecemeal approach" of Congress. Examples of this approach include: the handling of appropriations in individual bills; almost completely separate considerations of taxing and spending; splitting the process of authorizing a particular governmental program and approving the appropriations necessary to pay for it; and the House and Senate Appropriations Committees' separate and often duplicating actions on the President's budgetary requests.

League work in this field during 1952-54 did not result in active support of any single piece of legislation. However, an *Open Letter* was sent to members of Congress in March 1954 enumerating the points on which League members had reached substantial agreement. The letter said:

"1. Congressmen need a better opportunity to weigh the benefits of various proposals against their costs and to determine the relative merits of such proposals.

"2. Congress should have better methods for relating taxation and spending measures.

"3. In making authorizations, Congress should be able to appraise the total federal spending which will actually result through such legislative action. The inclusion of expenditure estimates in some authorization bills has been a step in the right direction. In making appropriations, the ultimate cost of a project or program should be pointed out clearly to the Congress.

"4. Better coordination between the houses of Congress on budgetary matters would save time, avoid duplication of effort, and lead to more informed deliberation on appropriation bills.

BUDGETARY PROCEDURES—ITEM VETO

TAX RATE LIMIT

TREATY-MAKING POWER

"5. Congressmen should accept full responsibility for positions taken on appropriations. Roll call votes would make this information available to their constituents.

"6. Congress should continually recognize its responsibility in improving its own procedures. When Congress sets up rules it considers to be good, it should either abide by them or change them. Citizens are confused by such practices in Congress as the attachment of legislative riders to appropriation bills, in spite of congressional rules against such riders.

"There is also agreement in the League on the desirability of granting the President the power to veto individual items in appropriation bills, if this proposal is combined with some of the more comprehensive changes outlined above."

Under this CR the League submitted a statement in support of the item veto to the House Judiciary Committee in May 1957.

In view of the fact that the only action taken under this CR had been in support of the item veto, the scope of this CR was reduced by the 1958 Convention to support of the item veto if combined with comprehensive changes in the budgetary procedures of Congress.

C.R. No. 4 *"Opposition to constitutional limitation on tax rates."*

As depression and defense demands in the 1930's and 1940's resulted in greatly increased federal expenditures, a movement began in several states to initiate a constitutional amendment which would prevent the federal government from levying taxes of more than 25 percent on any one individual income. State Leagues which had been working on state tax items did not have the authority to act on such resolutions when they came before their legislatures because federal policy was involved. Action by the national Board was necessary in order to authorize state action.

To meet this unique situation, the national Board, on the basis of a recommendation by the 1953 Council, authorized opposition to legislation which would amend the federal Constitution to set a percentage limit on federal income taxes. Since that time, several state Leagues have opposed tax limit legislation in their own state legislatures. State Leagues were particularly active and effective in 1957 when a well-organized, concerted drive was under way to get such legislation passed by state legislatures. The national Board has not taken any specific legislative action in the Congress on this matter.

League opposition to the 25 percent tax limit legislation was based on the inadvisability of freezing into the Constitution an arbitrary percentage limitation on federal income taxation. Also a maximum percentage on income taxation would not be in accordance with the principle of "ability to pay."

This CR authorizes a state League to work in opposition to tax-limit resolutions before its state legislature. Action to rescind, when appropriate, may also be supported by state Leagues. It should be pointed out that this CR is in a different category from the others. The state Board (not the national Board) has the responsibility for promoting and directing work in opposition to this measure if it should arise within the framework of state government. If activities in this field should shift from state legislatures to the Congress then the national Board might decide to testify in the event further congressional hearings are held.

TAX RATE LIMIT

TREATY-MAKING POWER

C.R. No. 5 *"Opposition to constitutional changes that would limit the existing powers of the Executive and the Congress over foreign relations."*

From the fall of 1952 to early 1954 the League of Women Voters studied the issues involved in the proposed amendment to the Constitution which would limit the President's treaty-making powers—the so-called Bricker Amendment. In January, 1954, the national Board announced League opposition, stating that the weight of expressed League opinion "is clearly against the Bricker Amendment as not only unnecessary but as dangerous for the future security of our country."

The reasons are as follows:

"1. The power of the national government to conduct foreign relations must be maintained as provided in the Constitution. The Bricker Amendment would deprive the national government of its full power to carry out treaty obligations in important areas of national policy and would leave to the states the choice of implementation.

"2. The constitutional system of checks and balances between the executive and legislative branches of the national government must be safeguarded. The Bricker Amendment would alter the traditional concept of the balance of powers by removing functions from the Executive and transferring them to the Congress. It is essential that the President retain his authority to fulfill his constitutional responsibilty to act in times of national emergency as well as in the day-to-day conduct of foreign affairs.

"3. The negotiation and ratification of treaties should not be made more cumbersome. The Bricker Amendment would hamper our present treaty-making procedure, already surrounded by constitutional and legislative safeguards, by adding steps which would cast doubt on the ability and willingness of the United States to carry out its international obligations.

"4. The interests of the United States are best served by a foreign policy based on the principle of international cooperation. The Bricker Amendment would impair this principle. It is based on fears that the U.N. Charter and other international agreements could invade our constitutionally protected individual and states' rights. The League of Women Voters does not share this fear.

"5. The Constitution should be amended only when need is clearly shown. This need has not been established."

The 1956 and 1958 Conventions reaffirmed League opposition to the principle expressed in the original and later versions of the amendment.

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NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

What Are They? The Continuing Responsibilities are selected issues on which the League has already taken a stand and which are being watched with a view to further action. By Convention action, they may be deleted, reduced in scope, or returned to the Current Agenda. They are automatically reviewed every six years.

Where Did They Come From? In 1952 the national Program contained literally dozens of separate issues on which the League had taken a stand, ranging from the short ballot to participation in the United Nations. The 1954 national Convention decided that it would retain only those national issues in which the current membership was interested and prepared to take further action. The Convention selected eight such issues and gave them the name of Continuing Responsibilities. Another was added in 1956.

By Convention action in 1958, the inflation-deflation CR was dropped; the budgetary procedures CR was reduced in scope; and the CRs on the United Nations, collective security, economic development, and world trade were incorporated into the foreign policy Current Agenda item.

What Is the League Likely To Do About Them? The national Board may call for action on CRs if there is a strong threat to a position taken by the League, or if the League can make an unusually effective contribution. Successful action, however, depends upon membership preparation.

For further background on the CRs, consult The Program Record and the Publications Catalog.

How Can Leagues and League Members Keep Up With CRs? THE NATIONAL VOTER, the League publication which goes to every member of the League of Women Voters, carries articles from time to time intended to give current developments in the fields covered by the CRs. Members are urged to keep a file of the VOTER and to use the index, which is carried once or twice a year, for reference.

Legislation before Congress related to the CRs is covered in Keeping Up With League Program, a VOTER feature carried while Congress is in session. Bills and Committee Reports mentioned in the VOTER may be obtained free when ordered by number by writing to the Senate and/or the House Document Room, Washington 25, D.C. Committee hearings may be obtained from the Senate or House Committee which conducted them.

The VOTER also carries announcements of League testimony given before congressional committees. The full text of these statements may be obtained from the League office. League testimony is useful because it gives the official League position on current legislative proposals and usually some background on the issues involved.

FACTS ABOUT HOME RULE

FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

November 1958

1. "Home Rule" means local self government - a right long denied to the people of the District of Columbia. D.C. Home Rule bills typically provide for a locally elected legislature and delegate in the House of Representatives, a local school board responsible to the residents of the community and a local executive, either elected by the residents or appointed by the President.

2. At present, the entire U. S. Congress acts as city council for the District and half-heartedly enacts all local laws for the District.

3. Intended by the Founding Fathers, actually enjoyed by the residents for 72 years and "temporarily" suspended in the 1870's, Home Rule for Washington has been declared constitutionally valid by the Supreme Court as recently as 1953. In 1958, for the fourth time in nine years, the Senate by an overwhelming and bipartisan 61-22 majority, approved Home Rule for Washington. But again, as in the past, the House District Committee buried the bill, denying the House even an opportunity to debate and vote on the issue.

4. President Eisenhower, former President Truman, and numerous outstanding Washington civic, professional, and religious groups endorse Home Rule, as do national groups such as the Conference of Mayors of the U.S., the League of Women Voters, and both political parties.

5. Denied the right to elect their own representatives to deal with their city's problems, the 820,000 people of the District are powerless to deal with pressing local issues -- more money for schools and teachers, acutely needed additional judges for the juvenile court, the blight of spreading slums in the nation's capital, water pollution, traffic, zoning and other neglected ills of the District of Columbia.

6. Despite Washington's needs, the Federal Government fails to pay its fair share of the cost of running the capital of the nation. Owning or exempting from tax about 52.8 percent of the property, it contributes only about 12 percent of the city's revenues. The balance of the revenue (88.3% in fiscal 1958) is raised from taxes paid by residents of the District of Columbia -- yet they are denied a voice in the spending of their money. Although it outranks 10 states in population and pays more federal taxes than 24 states, Washington, the capital of the United States, lacks even the basic right of local self government.

League of Women Voters
of the United States

Time for Action

Memorandum

[redacted]

March 26, 1959

TO: Local and State League Presidents
FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips
RE: Foreign Aid -- Continued Action

The House of Representatives March 24 approved $100 million of the $225 million supplemental appropriation for fiscal 1959 which the President had requested for operation of the Development Loan Fund through June 30, 1959. The House Appropriations Committee had included no money for the Fund in the large Second Supplemental Appropriation bill, which carried more than 300 specific money grants for various agencies and programs. Rep. Rooney (D., N.Y.) proposed the amendment on the floor, which restored part of the Development Loan Fund request to the bill. His amendment was passed by a bipartisan vote of 191 to 85. A request for a roll call vote was denied.

It now goes to the Senate and will be referred to the Senate Appropriations Committee.

LETTERS TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE SHOULD REACH THEIR WASHINGTON OFFICES NOT LATER THAN APRIL 7.

An attempt will be made in the Committee and, failing there, in the Senate, to restore the full amount of $225 million requested by the President. If the Senate agrees to the full amount there will be a better chance of getting at least a higher sum than the $100 million approved by the House in the final version of the bill: that is, the Senate will have a strong trading position in the Conference between Senate and House members, when differences in the two versions are ironed out.

LETTERS TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE SENATE ARE NEEDED AND SHOULD FOLLOW ON THE HEELS OF THE ONES TO THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

IF YOU CAN TALK WITH YOUR SENATORS ABOUT THIS DURING THE EASTER VACATION (March 27 - April 7) SO MUCH THE BETTER.

******** ******** ******** ******** ********

The Mutual Security Program legislation, authorizing and appropriating funds for the foreign aid program for fiscal 1960, has not been introduced in bill form yet. However, the House Foreign Affairs Committee has begun hearings on the President's request, which was sent to Congress in a message March 13. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will begin hearings after Easter. These two Committees handle the authorizing legislation. Later the two Appropriations Committees will consider bills granting funds to carry on the Program.

The Development Loan Fund's present authorization expires June 30, 1959. It must be renewed through the Mutual Security authorizing legislation if the Fund is to be continued to do the job of granting loans repayable in local currencies for growth projects in developing countries for which it was set up. Applications for

such loans received by the Fund but not processed because of lack of capital, now amount to about $1.5 billion. On March 24, the day the House passed the Supplemental Appropriation bill, C. Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the Fund's uncommitted capital was about $800 thousand. Congress last year, in granting only $400 million of the $625 million authorized, had told the Administration that if more money was needed a request for the supplemental amount would be considered this year. It was this statement that influenced many Representatives to vote for the additional money for the Fund, as they considered it a pledge which it was necessary to honor.

Statements made on the floor during the debate on the supplemental bill bode no good for the big fiscal 1960 Mutual Security bill which will be considered during the next few months. Several Representatives who voted for the fiscal 1959 supplemental request announced that they had never voted for foreign aid before, and probably would not again. These included Reps. Taber (R., N.Y.), Bow (R., Ohio), and Bentley (R., Mich.).

The sum requested for the Development Loan Fund in the fiscal 1960 Mutual Security legislation is $700 million under a one year authorization. There may be an attempt to authorize an extension of the Fund's operation for five years and to increase its capital substantially during consideration of the legislation. Some members of Congress believe that this is the next step toward giving our foreign aid program the continuity and long range aspect which seems to be needed for greater effectiveness. This might be something to discuss by mail or interview with any Congressmen who have not committed themselves to opposition of the program.

At this time it is most important to explore with your Congressmen, particularly new members, the general purpose of the aid program, and where it fits into our over-all foreign policy. So many charges have been made about waste and mismanagement in the program that there is danger of losing sight of why the program was established and what it is intended to accomplish.

The foreign aid fight is just beginning and probably will continue through most of this session.

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SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Democrats:

Carl Hayden, of Arizona
Richard B. Russell, of Georgia.
Dennis Chavez, of New Mexico.
Allen J. Ellender, of Louisiana.
Lister Hill, of Alabama.
John L. McClellan, of Arkansas.
A. Willis Robertson, of Virginia.
Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington.
Spessard L. Holland, of Florida.
John Stennis, of Mississippi.
Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas.
John O. Pastore, of Rhode Island.
Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee.
A.S. Mike Monroney, of Oklahoma.
Alan Bible, of Nevada.
Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia.
Thomas J. Dodd, of Connecticut.
Gale W. McGee, of Wyoming.

Republicans:

Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire.
Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts.
Milton R. Young, of North Dakota.
Karl E. Mundt, of South Dakota.
Margaret Chase Smith, of Maine.
Henry C. Dworshak, of Idaho.
Thomas H. Kuchel, of California.
Roman L. Hruska, of Nebraska.
Gordon Allott, of Colorado.

Ruth

Time For

ACTION

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF THE UNITED STATES

[redacted]

March 12, 1959

To: Local and State League Presidents
From: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips
Re: FOREIGN ECONOMIC AID

The Immediate Problem: The first test in the 86th Congress of support for foreign economic aid legislation came March 9 when a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee voted to cut the President's request for a $225 million supplemental appropriation for the 1959 fiscal budget of the Development Loan Fund to $50 million. This action was tentative and the next day Subcommittee members took another vote and raised the amount to be recommended to the full Committee to $100 million. There is not much hope that either the full Committee or the House itself will be willing to grant the full sum requested although if the Supplemental Appropriation bill reaches the floor with the request still curtailed an attempt may be made on the floor to restore some of the amount needed.

Mrs. Phillips wrote all members of the Appropriations Committee March 5, asking them to recommend granting the full $225 million.

We have been told that the Appropriations Committee will report this bill March 20 and that it may be debated on the floor March 23. There is hope and some indication that the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate will increase the amount for the DLF if enough public support is indicated.

The importance of this addition to the DLF's capital is emphasized by the conference scheduled to begin in Washington next week (March 16) between representatives of the World Bank, the United States, Great Britain, West Germany, France and Japan on a request for additional loans for India. The Indian government is seeking $700 million over the next two years to help support its five-year development plan. Last year the group made loans to India totalling $300 million and promised to consider requests for additional loans this year. The major United States contribution to these loans came from the Development Loan Fund.

Congress has granted the DLF $700 million since it was established two years ago. This sum has been almost exhausted now because of loans granted by the DLF for growth projects (to governments and private concerns if guaranteed by local governments) in the developing countries.

The Over-all Problem: The situation described above concerning the supplemental appropriation for the DLF is only the first in a series of legislative crises foreseen on foreign economic aid during this session of Congress.

IMF and World Bank: Before Congress now is the request for a 50 per cent increase in the United States contribution to the International Monetary Fund and a 100 per cent increase (in the form of guarantees) to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank).

The League supported the original Bretton Woods Agreement Act in 1945 establishing these two institutions, both of which have been among the most successful of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations. The Fund's chief function is to prevent instability in the free-world economy by making short term loans in foreign currencies to tide member countries over sudden drains on their foreign exchange, thus increasing the free world's monetary reserves and decreasing the severity of price and income fluctuations. The World Bank makes loans to member governments, governmental agencies and private enterprise (if guaranteed by the member government) to assist in economic development in order to raise standards of living. Since both operate on the revolving fund principle, both are self sufficient. However, it was agreed at a meeting of the Governors of both institutions in New Delhi last fall that with additional capital it would be possible to enlarge their programs. This is the first time since their establishment 12 years ago that a request has gone to Congress to increase their capital funds.

Mutual Security: The President is expected to send his request for the Mutual Security Program for fiscal 1960 to Congress later this week and the House Foreign Affairs Committee will begin hearings on the authorization bill* next Monday, March 16. These and hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are expected to continue after the Easter vacation. The appropriation** for the Program will be considered after passage of the authorization. In view of the continuing uproar in Congress over the budget, it is feared that the economic aid portions of this legislation will become the target for those on both sides of the aisle who believe that the proposed precarious budget balance can be maintained by "re-arranging" the appropriation items within the budget, getting more funds for domestic spending from the amounts the President has asked for foreign economic aid.

While we do not know exactly what will be requested in the Mutual Security legislation at this moment, the President said in his January Budget Message that he would request $700 million for the fiscal 1960 operation of the Development Loan Fund. It has been suggested by other members of the Administration that a larger sum is needed to meet the calls upon this agency for long-term loans repayable in local currencies. Some attempt may be made, probably in the Senate, to increase this amount above the $700 million. Also included in the legislation will be funds for the military assistance programs which provide some economic aid to countries with which we have military arrangements, technical assistance, contributions to international organizations and agencies, etc.

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* Authorization bill - Authorizes a program, specifies its general aim and conduct, and puts a ceiling on monies that can be used to finance it.

** Appropriation bill - Grants the actual monies approved by authorization bills but not necessarily to the total permissible under the authorization bill. Normally an appropriation bill originates in the House and is not acted on until its authorization measure is enacted. In addition to general appropriation bills there are two specialized types: Deficiency Appropriation bills, making an appropriation to cover the difference between an agency's regular appropriation and the amount deemed necessary for it to operate for the full fiscal year; Supplemental Appropriation bills, making an appropriation supplemental to the regular appropriation, but not a deficiency measure.

The congressional consideration of the Mutual Security Program is expected to be laced with bitterness and long drawn out. Chances for achieving a program which will be strong enough to give substantive economic assistance where it is most needed seem slim indeed at this point.

WHAT THE LEAGUE AND ITS MEMBERS CAN DO:

This is the time for Leagues to go into high gear in utilizing the suggestions for arousing public support contained in Part Three of the Leaders' Guide, UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. This is also the time to make sure that the membership is prepared for the opportunities for legislative action which will be sure to face them during the next few months. Local and state Boards should also get the machinery for answering these expected Times for Action in good working condition.

Sometimes it may be necessary to communicate emergency situations in Congress to the state president because the effectiveness of League action would be lost if a Time for Action were sent through the mails, as it must be if all local presidents are to be notified from the national office.

IMMEDIATE ACTION INCLUDES:

1. Letters within the next ten days to all House members expressing support for the full supplemental appropriation for fiscal 1959 of $225 million for the Development Loan Fund. Any local support that can be demonstrated through editorials, letters to the editor, etc., should be promoted.

2. Interviews with members of Congress while they are at home during the congressional Easter vacation (March 27 - April 6).

These interviews will be most useful if they can be conducted informally, giving the congressman the feeling that the League is anxious to work with him for the best interests of the nation; he should know that we recognize the problem of the budget but that foreign aid, we believe, should not be a pawn in the struggle to achieve a balance. We would hope that these interviews could be used to state the over-all League support for foreign economic aid and strengthen the foundation for the letters League members will be writing later about specific items in the Mutual Security Program.

with
continued
support.....

PRINCIPLES

Principle 17: *Cooperation with other nations in solving international problems and promoting world peace.*

Principle 18: *Development of international organization and international law to achieve permanent means of cooperation.*

"The League of Women Voters has long believed that the national interest of the United States lies in the growth of a freely cooperating, world-wide community of nations, independent but also interdependent, working together to create the conditions that all nations must have for the full realization of their human and economic potential."

Program Explanation, THE NATIONAL VOTER, May 1958

All the League's positions on foreign policy issues are consistent with this basic objective, and the various policies supported are regarded by the League as important means toward its achievement.

INTRODUCTION

When the 1958 Convention decided to place on the Current Agenda an over-all evaluation of U. S. foreign policy, the League of Women Voters had already a long history of action on issues of foreign policy. The implications of the proposed evaluation for the League's action program were considered by the Convention, and it was recognized that as a result of this study, any or all of the League's present positions on foreign policy might be expanded, revised, or conceivably even abandoned.

The Convention was insistent, however, that this possibility of future change must not prevent vigorous action on the basis of our present convictions. To make sure this was unmistakably clear, it added an "action" clause to the Agenda item itself: "With continued support of the United Nations system, world trade and economic development, and collective security"—and put on record its understanding that this clause incorporated into the Current Agenda four of the five positions on foreign policy which, during 1956-58, had been retained in the League Program as Continuing Responsibilities.*

What is a League Position?

A League position is the expression of general agreement by the League membership that certain governmental policies are desirable or undesirable. This agreement is reached by the process of study and discussion throughout the League, often for a period of years, and the position is affirmed by action of the Convention, whose delegates are empowered to act as representatives of the membership. A League position is usually stated in rather broad terms, and it is intended not only as a statement of belief but also a guide to action by the League.

Action on League Positions

There are many kinds of action by which the League can implement a position which it has agreed upon. One very important kind of action is the de-

* The fifth ("Opposition to constitutional changes that would limit the existing powers of the Executive and Congress over foreign relations") remains in the Continuing Responsibilities, where action can be taken on it if required.

veloping of public support for the policy in question through supplying information and promoting discussion in the local community. The League has used this kind of action most effectively, perhaps, in its year-round work in support of the United Nations, but it has also carried on the same kind of sustained community action in support of economic aid and expanding world trade. The aim of this kind of action is to stimulate in individual citizens a sense of responsibility as well as a sense of competence to participate in the policy-making processes of government.

Another kind of action is the *concerted* effort of individual League members (and others they may be able to mobilize) to secure the passage of specific legislation that will help implement policies supported by the League. This action is concerted, for the sake of effectiveness, by a "Time for Action" issued by the national Board. But it is still *individual* action, expressing the individual's own convictions and based upon her own understanding of the issues involved, whether that understanding has been achieved through her League work or otherwise. She speaks to her representatives in Congress, not as a League member but as a citizen concerned for the success of certain policies or activities of government.

Finally, there is the kind of action in which representatives of the League speak for the membership, in the name of the League as a whole. This kind of action on national issues is the responsibility of the national Board, though it may under some circumstances be carried out by state or local Boards as well as by the national Board. This kind of action usually supplements the concerted individual effort called for in a "Time for Action." It is sometimes also used when no "Time for Action" seems necessary or desirable. It may be directed to action on specific legislation already proposed; or it may on occasion seek to influence policy-making at the pre-legislative stage, or the effective carrying out of policies after legislation is adopted. Such action may take the form of a letter from the President of the League of Women Voters of the United States to a particular Senate or House Committee, or to a selected list of Senators or Representatives, or to an official of the Administration (President, Secretary

of State, or Secretary of Commerce, for example). It may be an informal visit to a key member of the Congress or Administration, or even a talk by telephone. It may be a formal appearance to testify before a congressional committee which is holding hearings on legislation in which the League has an interest. Whenever this kind of action is taken, the League official speaks not for herself as an individual, but as a responsible representative of the League's membership, and in the name of the organization.

In calling for concerted League action or in speaking for the League on a specific measure, the national Board has always the problem of interpreting as accurately as possible not only the legislative and administrative picture but also the state of League readiness for the proposed action. Among the questions it must ask itself are the following:

Does the proposed measure clearly further the principle embodied in the League's position?

Is it the best means currently available toward the desired end?

Is it a measure on which the League can act effectively?

How important is it in relation to the League's total Program?

How much information have the Leagues had on the issue? How recently?

What indications are there, in Convention or Council discussions, of League opinion on the specific issue?

What evidence is there in League bulletins, etc., of the extent of League study and discussion of the issue?

What indications of agreement are there in letters and reports from local and state Leagues?

What are the Board members' own impressions as to the preparation and willingness of the League membership to act?

The effectiveness of League action on any national issue depends, to an important extent, upon the accuracy with which the national Board can interpret the League's wishes. This in turn depends upon the degree of effective communication that exists between the membership and its responsible leaders—local, state, and national. Every League member

and every League officer has a responsibility for maintaining this two-way communication at the highest possible level.

The Growing Edge

Since League Program is not a rigidly defined and static thing, but rather "a living, growing response to public affairs," the League's support positions under the Current Agenda are likely to grow and change. Just as each of the League's foreign policy positions has emerged out of its experience in dealing with concrete problems in the particular area of policy, so each should progressively reflect new insights gained from continued study and action. In particular, the new perspectives achieved through the general evaluation of U. S. foreign policy now under way in the League should suggest new directions for effective action toward our basic goals.

The following sections on the League's foreign policy positions include, therefore, not only the historical background and current status of the League's activity on each, but also a brief indication of certain problems at the "growing edge" of each topic. Some of these problems, which are listed below under "Current Policy Questions," illustrate the kinds of questions the League may wish to consider when it moves into studies in depth of specific areas of foreign policy.

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THE UNITED NATIONS

League Position: *U. S. support of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including adequate financial contributions, increased use, and improved procedures.*

Background: The League began supporting the principle of international cooperation in the 1920's, and in 1923 it took the stand that isolation is "neither possible nor desirable for the United States." It was not until 1932, however, that the Convention voted to support U. S. membership in the League of Nations, at that time the only existing organization for world-wide international cooperation. Throughout World War II, as the League of Women Voters directed intensive efforts toward the winning of the war, it never ceased to urge "membership of the United States in a general international organization eventually to include all peoples, regardless of race, religion, or political persuasion, for the peaceful settlement of disputes, with power to prevent or stop aggression."

When, in 1944, specific plans for such an organization began to take shape in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for the United Nations, the League undertook an all-out, nation-wide campaign to win public support for the proposed organization. In 1945 it worked for the ratification of the U. N. Charter, and subsequently for U. S. membership in several of the Specialized Agencies.

Since then, the League has consistently advocated support of the United Nations as a central element in U. S. foreign policy. It has urged strengthening the organization by increased use of its resources. For example, in 1947 it advocated that the Greek-Turkish Aid program be administered through the United Nations, and in 1950 expressed its support of the decision by the United States to act through the United Nations against Communist aggression in Korea.

When the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution was proposed in 1950, providing new procedures for General Assembly action in case of Security Council deadlock, the League not only urged passage of the Resolution but also urged that the United States take the lead in implementing it, and that a unit of our armed forces be made available for U. N. use.

Although the League supports "improved procedures" for the United Nations, it has not supported efforts for revision of the U. N. Charter, believing that the central problem is not the inadequacy of the constitution but rather the inability of the member states to agree upon full use of the mechanisms it already provides.

Throughout the history of the United Nations the League has worked for adequate appropriations to support its work, particularly the U. N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program, and has opposed placing a fixed percentage limit upon U. S. contributions to this program.

The work of the League in developing public understanding and support for the United Nations

has been continuous since the days of the Dumbarton Oaks campaign. The year 1948-1949 was designated "U. N. Year" in the League, and an intensive public information program was launched. As the years of the last decade have brought profound changes both in the world setting and in the United Nations itself, the League has worked steadily to understand and interpret these changes, and to win public support for the full use of the United Nations as an important means for achieving the foreign policy objectives of the United States. This effort is not limited to U. N. Day and Week, but continues throughout the year in hundreds of communities.

Current Policy Questions:

Should the United States take positive steps toward the creation of a permanent U. N. Peace Force?

Should the United States continue or alter its present opposition to the admission of Red China to the United Nations?

Should the United States accept wider jurisdiction of the World Court in cases involving the United States?

Should the United States initiate a move for Charter revision in such directions as expanding Security Council membership or providing for weighted voting in the General Assembly?

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WORLD TRADE

League Position: *Support of U. S. trade policies that will help solve national and international economic problems.*

Background: The League's interest in world trade began in its earliest years with a study of the effects of tariffs on consumers and on the cost of living. This interest quickly broadened to a conviction that the free flow of trade among nations is important, not only for assuring the economic well-being of the United States, but also for creating a sound, stable, economic base for world peace. For nearly a quarter-century the League has been translating this conviction into action in support of governmental policies designed to expand world trade and progressively remove obstacles to its flow.

The Trade Agreements Act was enthusiastically supported by the League in 1936 as a practical means of negotiating with other countries the mutual reduction of tariff barriers. Each time the Act has come up for renewal—eleven times in all—the League has fought the battle anew, and increasingly the battle has been not only to assure renewal but also to try to defeat weakening amendments. In 1958 the Act was renewed for an unprecedented period of four years—but with amendments that can seriously limit its effectiveness. These amendments gave the President authority to raise tariffs up to 50 percent above the rates in effect in 1934 under the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act; broadened the national security section; and gave Congress authority to override presidential veto of Tariff Commission recommendations in escape clause cases, by a two-thirds vote in both houses.

Among earlier amendments which the League opposed unsuccessfully were the escape clause and the peril point.* From time to time the League has opposed certain other restrictive trade measures, such as the use of quotas to limit imports. The simplification of customs procedures was supported in 1951 as a means of increasing U. S. imports as well as of improving administration.

At the time when the U. N. Specialized Agencies were being set up, the League made a careful study of plans for an International Trade Organization (ITO), and from 1948 to 1950 worked vigorously but unsuccessfully to obtain U. S. support for its establishment.

In 1948 the League supported U. S. membership in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This executive agreement, negotiated under the authority of the Trade Agreements Act, has made it possible to negotiate with groups of nations at one time for reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, and for the elimination of unfair trade practices. GATT has played an important part in the

* For definitions of terms read the League publication "Today's Challenge in Trade and Aid," pp. 13-15, Jan. 1958, price 15c.

expansion of world trade, bringing together some 37 nations for periodic negotiations in the interest of all.

The proposal for a permanent Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC) to administer the GATT has been before Congress repeatedly since 1955, and has been supported by the League, thus far without success.

The importance of public attitudes toward foreign trade has long been recognized by the League, and it has done much to stimulate understanding and discussion of trade issues through local study groups, forums, exhibits, trade fairs, radio and television programs, and world trade conferences.

From 1954 through early 1956, local and state Leagues conducted a series of surveys of the effects of foreign trade on local communities. The results of these surveys, published locally and summarized in "Facts and Attitudes on World Trade," furnished concrete and striking evidence of the important role world trade plays in American life.

Current Policy Questions:

Should government assistance be given to industries and communities adversely affected by foreign trade competition? If so, what kind of assistance?

What is the impact of current U. S. farm policies upon world trade? Should these be changed, and, if so, in what ways?

What should U. S. policy be toward international commodity agreements?

What U. S. policies are needed to integrate the economies of the newly-developing countries successfully into a harmonious world-trade pattern?

What trade policies toward the Communist countries will best serve the interests of the United States and the free-world community?

What U. S. policies will help prevent trade warfare between the trading blocs now developing within the non-Communist world?

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

League Position: *U. S. support of measures to promote international economic development and technical assistance.*

Background: The League's concern for the economic health of other countries, though implicit in its work for expanding world trade, took a more direct form during and immediately after World War II.

Recognizing the overwhelming and urgent need of the war-ravaged countries for relief and reconstruction, the League supported the world-wide effort organized through UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), and during the years of its existence worked for U. S. appropriations to further its programs.

By 1947 it had become clear that a long-range program of economic assistance was necessary if European civilization were to survive, and when the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) was proposed, the League worked for its adoption and then annually for its support through adequate appropriations until its successful termination in 1951.

By this time, the sportlight had begun to shift from the needs of the war-torn countries to the equally urgent plight of the so-called "economically underdeveloped" countries: the newly emerging nations of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, and the independent but economically depressed countries of Latin America.

Since 1950, the economic advancement of these countries has been emphasized as a primary necessity for world economic stability and for strengthening the economic and military defenses of the free world community. The League supported the U. S. program of technical assistance (Point Four) from the beginning, as well as the U. N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program, believing that both national and international efforts are needed. It has, however, stressed particularly the value of multilateral programs, not only because they spread the costs more widely but also because they are more acceptable to many of the countries that need help most urgently.

The League has consistently opposed the policy, required by Congress since 1957, of placing a percentage limit on U. S. contributions to U. N. Technical Assistance.

The League has recognized the need of the developing countries not only for technical assistance but also for capital funds to help finance the initial development of their economic potential. It has therefore given its support increasingly to the economic aid as well as technical assistance provisions of the Mutual Security legislation, emphasizing the desirability of long-range programs and of loans rather than grants where possible. In 1958 special emphasis was placed upon the U. S. Development Loan Fund and upon the new U. N. Special Fund, designed to supplement the U. N. Technical Assistance programs by providing basic surveys and research and training projects.

Current Policy Questions:

Should the proportions of military and economic aid be changed in our Mutual Security program? Should they be presented separately?

Should the United States support the proposed International Development Association to supplement the World Bank? Regional development institutions?

Should the United States support the proposed World Development Corporation to encourage the investment of private capital in economic development?

How can the staffing and administration of U. S. foreign aid programs be improved?

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

League Position: *U. S. support of measures designed to keep the peace through the United Nations and regional defense arrangements.*

Background: The League's belief in the principle of collective security grew out of years of study of the causes of war and of various measures proposed for its prevention. Starting its work in the "isolationist" period following World War I, the League concentrated first upon disarmament and control of munitions, the development of international law, and the building of the Pan American peace system, with provisions for settlement of disputes through arbitration and conciliation. The Pact of Paris (Kellogg-Briand Pact) outlawing war seemed a step in the right direction, and the League worked for its ratification by the United States. When the United States attempted to keep out of World War II by maintaining a policy of neutrality, the League spoke out strongly for discriminating against aggressors, and supported the "Lend Lease" Act to give aid to the victims of aggression.

When the U. N. Charter was drafted, the collective security functions assigned to the Security Council seemed at last to assure concerted action to prevent war, and the League has consistently urged the fullest use of these powers, as in the case of the North Korean aggression in 1950. It soon became evident, however, that the wartime cooperation of the Security Council's five permanent members had broken down and that the Russian veto was likely to block any further action of the Council against aggression. The League then supported plans to develop collective security functions for the General Assembly. These plans, embodied in the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution of 1950, included provision for emergency special sessions of the General Assembly; for Peace Observation Commissions; for exploration of ways to cooperate against aggression by the Collective Measures Committee; and for the establishment of special units within national forces prepared for use when the General Assembly recommends action.

Although the fullest use has not been made of the provisions of the Resolution, the General Assembly remains the best available means for effecting the voluntary collective action of the member states for peace. Genuine contributions to "blunting the edges of conflict" were made, during the Middle East crises of 1956 and 1958, by the U. N. Emergency Force, which continues to prevent the flare-up of incidents on the Arab-Israeli border, and by the U. N. Observation Group in Lebanon.

The League has always held to the view that a universal security system under the United Nations

is the primary objective. However, as it became more and more clear that no agreement on effective action was possible between the Soviet Union and the other members of the Security Council's "big five," League members turned to the possibilities of regional agreements as a more realistic though limited means to collective security. In 1949 the League "reluctantly" decided to support U. S. membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), through which 15 Western nations agreed to unite their military and other resources in a common defense effort against possible Soviet aggression.

Consistently with this decision, the League also supported, in 1951 and 1952, the "defense-support" and military-aid-to-Europe provisions of the Mutual Security Act.

The League retains its ultimate objective of a workable U. N. security system, however, and holds that regional defense arrangements, permitted under Article 51 of the U. N. Charter, should be kept consistent with this objective and integrated into a universal security system whenever possible.

Current Policy Questions:

Should NATO be developed to provide a base for the political and economic unity of the Western world as well as for military cooperation? Would this increase or lessen the effectiveness of the United Nations?

Should the United States become a full member of the Middle East Treaty Organization (Baghdad Pact)?

What should be the role of Germany in the Western collective security system?

SUGGESTED READING

Background:

The Program Record, 1955, #231, 45 pp., 50¢

The National Program of the League of Women Voters: 1958-1960 (THE NATIONAL VOTER, May 1958), 5 for 10¢

Statements by representatives of the League of Women Voters before Congressional Committee: 5¢ each

In support of United States economic aid programs, testimony of Mrs. Walter H. C. Laves, before the Senate Special Committee to study the Foreign Aid Program, April 12, 1957.

In support of the Trade Agreements Act, statement by Mrs. Oscar M. Ruebhausen, before the House Ways and Means Committee, February 24, 1958.

In support of Foreign Economic Aid, statement by Mrs. John F. Latimer, before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, March 13, 1958.

In support of Foreign Economic Aid, statement of the League of Women Voters, submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 2, 1958.

In support of Foreign Economic Aid, statement by Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, June 19, 1958.

In support of the Trade Agreements Act, statement by Mrs. Walter H. C. Laves, before the Senate Finance Committee, June 23, 1958.

In support of the Funds for Economic Aid and Technical Assistance in the Mutual Security Program, statement submitted by the League of Women Voters to the Senate Appropriations Committee, July 18, 1958.

SUGGESTED READING

Current Policy Questions:

Today's Challenge in Trade and Aid, 1958, #250, 16 pp., 15¢

Cooperation or Confusion in World Trade, #232, 16 pp., 15¢

Pocket Reference on the UN, 1958, #230, 25 for $1.00

Articles in THE NATIONAL VOTER:

Education by Exposure, January 1958

How Do the Trade Winds Blow? March 1958

Questions and Answers on Tariffs and Trade, April 1958

Federal Aid for Injured Industries? June 1958

Exchanges, Old and New, June 1958

India at an Economic Crossroad, July 1958

Follow-through in the Middle East, September 1958

Inching Toward Disarmament, October 1958

They Are Looking for a Door, December 1958

Trade Makes All the Difference in the World, February 1959

League of Women Voters of the United States

[redacted]

March, 1959

Price: 10c

League of Women Voters of the U. S.

[redacted]

April 16, 1959

STATEMENT OF MRS. JOHN F. LATIMER, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
BEFORE THE SENATE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMITTEE

The League of Women Voters of the United States reaffirms support of self-government for the District of Columbia, support which our members have given to this issue during the last six Congresses.

Our 126,000 members in more than 1,000 local Leagues in all fifty states and the District of Columbia work to promote citizen participation in government. Naturally we are concerned with the plight of citizens of the District who have no control over the way their city government operates.

We believe the District should have as much autonomy as is possible under the Constitutional provision which gives Congress authority to legislate for the District. Any such local legislation would of course be subject to veto by Congress and the President. The Supreme Court has ruled that this Congressional Constitutional authority may be delegated now as it was in the early days of the District's existence.

Washington should be a showcase for our democratic form of government locally as well as nationally. We deplore the fact that the lack of citizen control here can be, and is, used as propaganda against the United States.

Evidence of the need for home rule here has been presented to this Committee many times. The Senate has agreed with the Committee four times that it would be a desirable solution to many of the problems here.

We urge this Committee to act favorably and soon on legislation which will give residents of the District the right to control their own affairs.

League of Women Voters of Texas [redacted] ON STANDING ORDER

TO: Local League Presidents and National Continuing Responsibility Chairmen
FROM: State Office
RE: National CR 6 - Tax - Rate Limitation
The 56th Regular Session of the Texas Legislature Passed:
H.C.R. #6 (found in general and special laws of Texas, Page 1160)

Be it resolved, by House of Representative of the State of Texas, the Senate concurring, That we respectfully request the Congress of the U.S. to propose to the people an amendment to the Constitution of U.S., or to call a Convention for such purpose as provided by Article V of the constitution, an article providing as follows:

"Article -

Section 1. The Government of the U.S. shall not engage in any business, professional, commercial, financial or industrial enterprise except as specified in the Constitution.

Section 2. The Constitution or laws of any State, or the laws of the U.S. shall not be subject to the terms of any foreign or domestic agreement which would abrogate this amendment.

Section 3. The activities of the U.S. Government which violate the intent and purposes of this amendment shall, within a period of three (3) years from the date of ratification of this amendment, be liquidated and the properties and facilities affected shall be sold.

Section 4. Three (3) years after the ratification of this amendment, the sixteenth Article of amendments to the Constitution of the U.S. shall stand repealed and thereafter Congress shall not levy taxes on personal incomes, estates and/or gifts, and, be it further Resolved, that a certified copy of this Resolution be forwarded by the Secretary of State to the President of the U.S. Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to each member of Congress from the State of Texas.

Adopted by House - May 5, 1959

Adopted by Senate - May 6, 1959

Governor's signature not required.

Filed with Secretary of State, June 1, 1959

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Since this Resolution would abolish the income tax, of course it is the opposite of the LWV's position.

League of Women Voters of Texas

[redacted] ° [redacted]

June 1959 Board Report

TO: State Board Members
FROM: Marian Gordon
RE: National Item I -- Foreign Policy

LL Activity During First Year

This summary is based on the 24 report forms returned in April and the VOTERs of the 10 LLs not reporting (Abilene, Amarillo, Austin, Baytown, Galveston, Harlingen, Longview, Pasadena, Snyder, and Wichita Falls).

Committees -- about half used them, meeting anywhere from monthly to not at all. They functioned to develop League members as experts in FP and to prepare and present FP Program for meetings. We need to help LLs to use resource committees to advantage.

Meetings - averaged 3 to 4 (unit and general) on FP. Aout half based on New Perspectives, which is the only way a LL could be said to be following National I properly. Reports of lively discussion. Panels were used occasionally, 11 outside speakers were reported. Didn't gather there was too much originality in presentation of programs.

FP study popular? - about half reported it is. Many are disturbed by vastness and complexity of Item. Some find member and community antagonism to FP positions. It is encouraging that there is an increasing interest in FP in all LLs.

Taking FP to community - practically no activity here, except inviting public to regular League meetings and distributing New Perspectives to libraries, schools, editors, contributors, etc. This apparently is typical of LLs throughout the country. The great majority spent the first year educating their members.

Conclusion - some are doing an excellent job; others don't even understand the Item.

Second Year Outlook for Work

(Details of this will be found in the May National Board Report, pages 3 through 14)

National Presidents Council decided - to make policies of economic and technical assistance the focus of the new concentrated study with emphasis throughout upon related subjects new to the League (importance of communication and understanding, personnel selection and training, and the formulation and administration of programs). According to the consensus in the Texas LLs, this focus is in line with their interests.

National Board outline for study:

1. What are the goals of our development and technical assistance policies?
2. What has been and is now being done through our aid programs?
3. What should be the essential elements of a really adequate, effective, coordinated total program of development assistance?
4. What is our role as citizens and as League members in getting such a program adopted and carried out?

LLs will be relieved to have this study narrowed down, but if it's to be done well it is still a very large field to understand and evaluate.

Role of State Board in Helping LLs Carry Out National I

Today, June 15th, a memo arrived from Mrs. Laves, National FP chairman! Its purpose -- to explore the primary role of the State chairman of the FP Item in relation to the local chairmen. It suggests:

1. To help in adapting th use of the National materials to the needs of the local Leagues in your state.

2. To help them with ideas and suggestions in the "how to" stage: how to start on the second year's work this fall; how to set up new resource committees or re-tool existing ones; how to do the necessary Board planning; how to orient new (and old) members on League positions; how to organize a workshop; how to take the item to the community, etc.

3. To keep the local chairmen informed of what other chairmen are doing in the state.

4. To plan good methods of communication so that the thinking of all can stimulate the efforts of all, through newsletters, personal letters from you, visits, area meetings and the like.

5. To devise ways of developing wherever possible unified coverage on this item, so that you can get a clear picture of emerging consensus in your state.

WHEW! -- As you can imagine, I don't have concrete plans to carry out these suggestions, at the moment. Before the mailman arrived, my plan was to send a rather brief memo to the LLs and, in addition, to send some State Department pamphlets to each which answer "What has been and is now being done through our aid programs?" Also, with the help of the Field Service Committee, we are attempting to put each LL in one of three catagories: (Chris suggested this)

1. Those who lack interest but are receptive.
2. Those who lack interest chiefly because their communities are antagonistic to League positions.
3. Those with a deep interest.

This will give us an idea of what particular help a LL may need on FP.

So, future plans are in a state of flux. I hope to have some firm plans to offer to you at the Board meeting.

WHAT DO WE MEAN ... HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA?

Home Rule for the District of Columbia. This means self-government, a locally controlled government, which the District has not had since 1874. Since that time a three man, Presidentially-appointed Commission has administered the municipal government, but full legislative control has been exercised by Congress which includes enacting tax and budget laws and making decisions ranging from major construction projects to re-naming streets.

History of the District's Government. The Founding Fathers had no intention of denying local suffrage to residents of the Capital. Washingtonians voted for mayors and/or other officials until 1874. In that year Congress "temporarily" took over the city government to solve a Reconstruction Era fiscal problem, and this "temporary" Commission form of government has remained in force ever since.

Why should the District have Home Rule?

1. Voting is the keystone of our representative democracy. The freedom of all Americans is lessened because some Americans are denied their basic rights of franchise.

2. Congress is elected by the citizens of the 50 states to act on national and international matters and to represent their constituents' interests. It is not an appropriate body to serve as a city council; it should not be asked to devote its valuable time to municipal chores.

3. Washington is often called the capital of the free world and it sets a poor example when the Capital has no local control over its own municipal government.

4. The District has a population of 763,000 ... more people than live in any one of 10 states. The District contributes more money in federal taxes to the United States treasury than any of 20 states and pays more per capita toward the federal budget than any of the states except Delaware, Connecticut and New York. Its citizens serve in the armed forces and meet all other obligations of citizenship. Its residents should be entitled to the full rights of American Citizenship.

Why not restore Home Rule to the District?

Opponents say: Washington is the Capital of the entire nation and should be governed exclusively by the national legislature.

Proponents say: The Supreme Court in a 1953 decision which sustained the validity of anti-segregation ordinances adopted by the District's territorial assembly in 1872-73, said that "It would seem then that ... there is no constitutional barrier to the delegation by Congress to the District of Columbia of full legislative power..." Every Home Rule bill carefully reserves to Congress a veto power over acts of any local District council; furthermore Congress could at any time modify or rescind any home rule legislation it had passed. Home rule would deprive neither Congress now the President of any powers over the District .... it would simply delegate municipal responsibilities to those most directly affected and best equipped to handle them.

Opponents say: The Federal government contributes to Washington's budget and therefore should govern the city.

Proponents say: Although Uncle Sam in 1874 agreed to pay half of the city's expenses, the actual payment has dropped steadily. Today, the Federal payment is only about 12 per cent of the District budget, although the Federal government occupies 42 per cent of the land in the District and is the cause of many heavy expenditures by the city. Congress has authorized a larger contribution to the District but has not appropriated the sum authorized.

Opponents say: Washington has a clean, graft free government now, so why change to a system which invites corruption and machine politics?

Proponents say: It is true that the local District government is clean today (although there have been police and other scandals in the past). But it is cumbersome and inefficient. Local decisions must be made by Congress and the White House; top officials are not responsible to the local electorate. Those who assume that corruption will come with the ballot seem to be attacking the concept of democracy itself.

Opponents say: Many of the white residents of the Capital are transients who vote "back home," and the majority of local voters would be Negroes, who would vote as a bloc for their own interests, which might conflict with the national interests in the Capital. (This argument, while not often made publicly, seems to be very persuasive and is the basis for much of the opposition to District home rule.)

Proponents say: It is true that there are many people who live in Washington only a few years while they are serving the federal government, but there are a great many citizens to whom Washington is a home town. But even the "transients" have a stake in the municipal government since they use District services such as schools, parks, streets and sewers while they are there. Many "transients" would be willing to relinquish an absentee ballot, with all its inconveniences, for a combination of national suffrage and home rule in Washington, where they actually live and work. Evidence in other cities with large Negro populations shows that Negroes do not generally vote as a bloc but rather according to their economic and other interests. In any event, with the eyes of the non-white world on the United States, Washington should lead the way in full enfranchisement of its citizens.

What are the chances for District Home Rule?

The Senate has passed bills providing for various forms of local self government five times. The only time a home rule bill has come to the floor of the House was in 1948 when, after adopting a resolution to consider such a bill, the House rejected a motion which would have killed it, then took no further action. Since that time the House District of Columbia Committee, whose senior membership is made up of southerners, has never reported a District of Columbia home rule bill. If House members favorable to Home Rule will make their views known early in the new Congress perhaps the difficult and unpopular discharge petition route can be avoided. If newly elected Congressmen (both Senators and Representatives) have genuine doubts about home rule which emerge during the League interviews, and if the interviewing League members find these hard to answer, members of the District of Columbia League will be glad to discuss the issue further with them in Washington, after Congress meets in January.

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League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

March 30, 1960

STATEMENT TO THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
BY MRS. LUIGI PETRULLO, A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
IN SUPPORT OF THE MUTUAL SECURITY ECONOMIC AID PROGRAMS

The League of Women Voters of the United States wishes to express with renewed conviction its belief that a long-range, adequately financed, and effectively administered economic aid program is of crucial importance to the United States.

The League, which currently has 126,000 members in 1,080 local Leagues in all fifty states and the District of Columbia, has supported foreign economic aid programs since their beginning, including the European Recovery Program, the Point Four program of technical cooperation, the U.N. program of technical assistance, the Development Loan Fund and other economic assistance parts of the Mutual Security Program.

The plans for putting into effect the economic aid aspects of the Mutual Security Program seem to be more comprehensive and better oriented than those of earlier years. Although the legislation proposes no drastic changes, we believe changing the patterns of our assistance to the developing countries should be encouraged and could lead to better results.

We should like to commend the Committee for its leadership in bringing to light some of the problems inherent in helping the developing countries achieve realizable goals. The Reports prepared under the auspices of your Committee have given many guide lines for determining the kind of economic development most needed and the timing of such help. We hope that the legislative history of the Mutual Security authorization this year will reflect your consideration of these Reports. If so, we believe the United States program will be more effective, particularly as it attempts to concentrate our development aid where it will do the most good. We also hope that the expansion of loan activities through the program will be encouraged.

During the past year, League members in communities throughout the United States have been examining the underlying assumptions and the existing programs of economic development assistance in the context of changing world conditions and in the light of the many illuminating studies and reports on the subject that have been coming from both governmental and private bodies.

We have been aware of the ever-increasing emphasis upon the importance of assisting the newly-developing countries in their efforts to achieve self-sustained economic growth.

We have noted the many new initiatives being taken to develop more effective instruments -- unilateral, regional, global -- for providing this assistance. We have concluded that this is a time when really informed and active participation of citizens in the policy decisions involved might make an appreciable contribution to the adoption of sound programs of economic aid.

Toward equipping ourselves and our communities for playing this role, local Leagues throughout the country have held League and community meetings, sponsored lectures, conferences, study groups -- often jointly with other organizations, and with the cooperation of local or neighboring universities. We have tested our convictions in the light of new information, and we have tried to identify the essential

elements that should characterize an adequate program of economic assistance.

Informally, during the past six months, Leagues across the country have been reporting the results of their studies.

Last month, for example, the Dearborn, Michigan League made the following recommendations on the basis of the thinking in its current meetings on economic assistance programs:

> "The League should work for long range programs such as the Development Loan Fund and the International Development Association.
>
> "We should continue to press for expanded economic aid until the underdeveloped countries develop sufficiently to handle their own problems...We should encourage other developed countries to contribute their help in this effort, and we would be willing to participate with them in a larger aid effort. We wish to increase lending resources, and technical assistance.
>
> "We should work for greater contributions to international instruments, but combine these efforts with bilateral aid to keep a balance between them. Most members felt that both types of aid are needed--the bilateral for national identification and the multilateral to share the burden with other countries.
>
> "There should be greater coordination and better administration of United States programs, preferably under the State Department, or with strong policy control by the State Department and by the Ambassadors in the field. We should place increased emphasis on improved procedures for the selection and training of US representatives abroad...."

The League in Lawrence, Kansas, after reporting on specific areas of agreement, writes:

> "One final point on which there seemed to be quite general agreement was that the United States <u>can</u> afford to continue and even to expand its foreign economic aid if we as a people wish to do so. Many members expressed the opinion that people would wish to do so if they knew the facts about the world economic picture and could be made to understand that by helping other countries now we will be helping ourselves in the long run by creating new markets for our goods. They do not believe we should continue to try to sell the foreign aid program to the public as part of the cold-war strategy but rather as something which this nation should undertake on its own merits. Many of us feel we must increase our aid to the developing countries even if it means some material sacrifices by us and our fellow Americans, for if the economic gap is allowed to grow, it could engulf us all in the end. What seems expensive now may prove to be the most economical way to achieve world economic prosperity in the future."

We have been analyzing these evidences of the thinking of our Leagues and, as a consequence of our analysis, want to reaffirm League support of "measures to promote international economic development and technical assistance." We believe our examination has shown that an effective over-all plan for economic aid should be long range; involve joint participation by the United States, the other industrialized countries, and the developing countries; provide enough money at the right time to insure real progress; and be well-coordinated and efficiently staffed and administered.

Insofar as the Mutual Security Program is moving in some of these directions, the League supports its continued authorization and so urges passage of the Mutual Security Act of 1961. We believe the new trends that are evolving this year make the outlook for world economic development at the outset of the sixties seem promising.

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League of Women Voters of the U.S.
[redacted] W.

March 15, 1960

STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
IN SUPPORT OF THE MUTUAL SECURITY ECONOMIC AID PROGRAMS

The League of Women Voters of the United States wishes to express with renewed conviction its belief that a long-range, adequately financed and effectively administered economic aid program is of crucial importance to the United States.

The League, which currently has 126,000 members in 1,080 local Leagues in all fifty states and the District of Columbia, has supported foreign economic aid programs since their beginning, including the European Recovery Program, the Point Four program of technical cooperation, the U.N. program of technical assistance, the Development Loan Fund and other economic assistance parts of the Mutual Security Program.

During the past year, League members in communities throughout the United States have been examining the underlying assumptions and the existing programs of economic development assistance, in the context of changing world conditions and in the light of the many illuminating studies and reports on the subject that have been coming from both governmental and private bodies.

We have been aware of the ever-increasing emphasis in these studies upon the importance of assisting the newly-developing countries in their efforts to achieve self-sustained economic growth. We have noted the many new initiatives being taken to develop more effective instruments - unilateral, regional, global - for providing this assistance. We have concluded that this is a time when really informed and active participation of citizens in the policy decisions involved might make a momentous contribution to the adoption of sound programs of economic aid

Toward equipping ourselves and our communities for playing this role, we have held League and community meetings, sponsored lectures, conferences, study groups - often jointly with other organizations, and with the cooperation of local or neighboring universities. We have tested our convictions in the light of new information, and we have tried to identify the essential elements that should characterize an adequate program of economic assistance.

Informally, during the past six months, Leagues across the country have been reporting the results of their studies. We have been analyzing these evidences of the thinking of our Leagues and, as a consequence of our analysis, want to reaffirm League support of "measures to promote international economic development and technical assistance." We believe our examination has shown that an effective overall plan for economic aid should be long range; involve joint participation by the United States, the other industrialized countries, and the developing countries; provide enough money at the right time to insure real progress; and be well-coordinated and efficiently staffed and administered.

A few samples will illustrate better than any abstract summary the quality as well as the content of these reports.

The League of Women Voters in Skokie, Illinois, for example, devoted a general membership meeting in September 1959 to pulling together its thinking on the subject of U.S. foreign policy, and more specifically to the foreign aid program. The Skokie Report says:

"We were able to get the feeling of the group on some of the aspects of the subject; on others we had discussion but reached no consensus. These are the points on which there was a general feeling of agreement:

"1) One point which came up again and again was the need for more education in this country about our aid program and about the needs of the newly emerging countries. Part of this was the feeling that with greater knowledge would come a healthier respect for the differences between our country and theirs and perhaps more of a feeling that ours is not the only 'right' way of life, and that this in the long view would make for a more successful aid program. Suggestions as to how this education should be brought about included: increased exchange of foreign students, more and earlier emphasis on languages in the schools, more propaganda (information) by government agencies.

"2) There was agreement that we should expand our aid program and that this increase should be for economic rather than military aid, although there was a vocal minority that felt that it was most important not to let down on our military defenses throughout the world. Loans were much favored over grants, but the feeling was that they would like to know more about how we are using the local currencies that are accumulating by granting soft loans.

"3) There was overwhelming favor for long-range planning.

"4) Most of the members felt that the creation of an organization like IDA would solve many of our problems in administering aid, but that this should not be a substitute for our own program, and that particularly we should go on supporting Development Loan Fund.

"5) There was a widespread feeling that our aid program is not being administered as effectively as it could be; aid should perhaps be given only after a plan for the recipient country has been drawn up in detail indicating the stage of development of the country, the type of aid most needed, how rapidly this aid can be absorbed, what effect this aid will have on the economy of the country, what skills are needed to carry out the program, etc. etc. This, of course, would require more and better people to administer the program. (The general feeling about The Ugly American was that, although it was grossly exaggerated and showed only one side of the picture, it served a useful purpose in awakening the public to the problem.)

"Other problems were discussed, both at our workshops and at the unit meetings, but with no agreement: what can we do about the population explosion in the world? should we support unpopular governments? do we have a moral duty to aid the poorer countries? how can we best strike a balance between military and economic aid? should we increase our trade with the communist countries?

"We are continuing our study and hope to find some of the answers which will help us to further evaluate our foreign policy."

In December of last year, the Wauwatosa, Wisconsin League made the following recommendations on the basis of the thinking in eight discussions of four units of the League and in conclusions from studies of the League's Foreign Policy Resource Committee:

"1. Long Range Programs
   a. Increased appropriations to carry through large projects over a period of time.
   b. To make possible the hiring of more capable administrators.
   c. To give time for educating and training local people to take over.
   d. For economic security reasons or from humanitarian motives. Both attain the same good result.

"2. Larger and More Comprehensive Programs
   a. Desirable but with better planning and administrators.
   b. Loans rather than grants important if economy of receiving country makes them possible.
      Emphasis on soft currency loans.
   c. Increased appropriations for expanded multilateral instruments such as IDA, the UN and associated agencies. Funds are more effectively and economically spent through multilateral programs. However funds for DLF and other unilateral means should not be cut but rather increased until the success of other plans is assured.

"3. Greater Coordination and Better Administration
   a. Single U.S. administering agency under U.S. Department of State. International coordination of programs wherever possible.
   b. Improved selection and training programs for U.S. personnel abroad.

"4. Miscellaneous
   a. Separation of military from economic aid.
   b. Encouragement of private investment in other countries, but industry needs assurance that their funds are safe and that a profit can be made.

"In all of the discussions there seemed to be serious concern over the lack of interest and understanding of so many of our citizens in the goals and principles of our foreign policy. It is our hope that a wide distribution of the new publication World Economic Development: Our Part in a Common Effort, (published by the League of Women Voters of the U.S.) which we think unusually good, may be one way of helping the situation."

Brief excerpts from reports in February of this year illustrate further the results of discussions on foreign aid policies and programs.

The League in Lexington, Kentucky, for example, writes:

"...First we would like to say that we do feel that we should continue to support legislation to make our assistance programs longer range programs and that we should strive more diligently for better administration of these existing programs.

"The majority of us believes that we should work for more 'funding' for both the bilateral and multilateral programs with a gradual trend toward placing stronger emphasis on the international approach..."

The League in Lawrence, Kansas, after reporting on specific areas of agreement, writes:

"One final point on which there seemed to be quite general agreement was that the United States can afford to continue and even to expand its foreign economic aid if we as a people wish to do so. Many members expressed the

opinion that people would wish to do so if they knew the facts about the world economic picture and could be made to understand that by helping other countries now we will be helping ourselves in the long run by creating new markets for our goods. They do not believe we should continue to try to sell the foreign aid program to the public as part of the cold-war strategy but rather as something which this nation should undertake on its own merits. Many of us feel we must increase our aid to the developing countries even if it means some material sacrifices by us and our fellow Americans, for if the economic gap is allowed to grow, it could engulf us all in the end. What seems expensive now may prove to be the most economical way to achieve world economic prosperity in the future."

The above two fully quoted and two excerpted reports are typical examples of the thoughtful commentaries we have been receiving from Leagues all over the country. They serve to indicate the comprehensive character of the examination of foreign aid that Leagues have been making in their communities as well as the directions in which the League would like to see our economic development assistance programs move.

Insofar as the Mutual Security Program is moving in some of these directions, the League supports its continued authorization and so urges passage of the Mutual Security Act of 1961.

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CR

League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

April 6, 1960

STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE BY THE
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES, IN SUPPORT OF
NATIONAL SUFFRAGE FOR CITIZENS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The League of Women Voters of the United States is celebrating its fortieth anniversary this spring. For most of the forty years of its existence, the League has been on record in favor of national representation for citizens of the District of Columbia. We wish to reaffirm this support today before your Committee and urge that the Congress this year submit to the states a Constitutional Amendment giving the franchise in national elections to those citizens who live within the boundaries of the national capital.

The League is now organized in 1080 local communities in all fifty states, with a total membership of 127,000. We believe that these members of our local Leagues would enthusiastically work through their state legislatures for swift state ratification of the District of Columbia national suffrage amendment. Indeed, we can think of few issues which they would support with such good will and energy.

The bi-ennial Convention is the governing body of the League of Women Voters. At the 1922 Convention, held six months after all women citizens of the United States except those living in the District of Columbia became eligible to vote in a national election, the Convention endorsed national representation for the District of Columbia.

Other League Conventions down through the years have endorsed the same principle. Our members outside the District, valuing as they do their own franchise and engaged in encouraging all citizens to cast informed votes when they go to the polls, have never had any trouble understanding the issues involved here. What they cannot understand is why this injustice to District citizens has not been righted long ago.

Carrie Chapman Catt, a leader whose name is connected with the long but finally successful battle for the vote for women, testified in favor of just such an amendment as that now before you, in 1926. Miss Belle Sherwin, as president of the national League, also testified before this same Committee, for the same proposal, in the 30's. Miss Strauss, president of the League from 1946 to 1950, also appeared before you, asking for action. We hope this is the last time you will have to listen to the League of Women Voters urge you to pass this measure.

The District of Columbia League of Women Voters has other comments to make on H.J. Res. 529. The purpose of the appearance of the national League today is simply to assure you that our support is nation-wide; that it is enthusiastic; and that our members in fifty states will work for quick ratification if the Congress permits them to do so.

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League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

July 5, 1960

STATEMENT TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PLATFORM COMMITTEE
ON
FOREIGN POLICY
WATER RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT
HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
FOR THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
BY MRS. RICHARD GLASS,
DIRECTOR OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF CALIFORNIA

I am Mrs. Richard Glass, a member of the Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters of California, and this afternoon I am representing the League of Women Voters of the United States. Representatives of the national League have already made statements on foreign policy, water resources development, and Home Rule for the District of Columbia at your advance platform hearings. Today's statement is a summary of the points made at those hearings.

Foreign Policy

The League of Women Voters since its beginning in 1920, when for the first time women in every state voted, has given continuing attention to foreign policy issues. The studies of issues made over that long period have repeatedly pointed up the need for United States cooperation with other countries through international trade and international organizations. The League has consistently supported measures for liberalizing United States trade policies.

At this time, when many of our trading partners have become members of new trading blocs which threaten to change historic trading patterns, we believe further liberalization of our own trading arrangements should be made wherever possible. The United States should protect its own interests by greater support and strengthening of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The League's interest in economic aid programs has grown through the years. In the last four years our members, now 127,000 in 1100 communities in all 50 states and the District of Columbia, have reviewed United States foreign policy and are continuing the study of economic policies which promote world development and maintain a sound U.S. economy. Support for a liberal trade policy and foreign economic aid programs was reiterated at our national Convention in April, where 80 per cent of our membership was represented.

We are convinced that the time has come for working out a comprehensive, adequate, total plan of assistance to the developing countries of the world, based on a realistic assessment of their needs, and designed to combine the efforts of the United States, the other industrialized nations, the United Nations, and the underdeveloped countries themselves.

Such a program should encourage long-range planning on the part of the developing countries, assure long-range commitments by the developed countries, provide long-range assistance where needed, both technical and financial. These programs should not be relief measures, but should be designed to promote substantial growth, and should make use of multinational programs and institutions, particularly the United Nations.

Water Resources Development

Four years ago members of the League began a study of water resources the results of which, when presented to the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources, brought the charge from the Chairman of that Committee, Senator Kerr, that they had been guilty of original thinking. We believe that the state of the nation's water program demands some original thinking, and we hope that the Democratic Party will accept some of our conclusions.

We think that to meet present and future water needs of the United States there must be, first, over-all, long-range planning and development of water resources; second, comprehensive planning, development and water management on a regional basis. Third, we believe that the federal government has a necessary role in financing water resources development, but state government, local government, and private users should share costs, as far as possible, based on benefits received and ability to pay.

If there is to be over-all, long-range planning and development of our water resources there must be better coordination among the various federal agencies concerned with water, especially between the Big Three: Agriculture, the Army Corps of Engineers, and the Bureau of Reclamation. This requires better organization, and elimination of inconsistencies and conflicts in basic policy. These conflicts are major obstacles, and effective measures are needed to resolve them. Procedures must be established which provide the Executive and Congress with adequate data and a framework within which alternatives may be weighed and intelligent decisions made. Such procedures would facilitate judicious weighing of competing demands for water uses - demands of different regions, for example, or of domestic consumers, industry, irrigation and recreation. Such decisions should be made on the basis of present and future water needs and the economic well-being of the country.

We consider the use of incentive payments by the federal government to stimulate local expenditures for essential water programs to be an effective kind of cost sharing. The present pollution control program, in operation since 1954, is an example of an effective program of this type. We urge extension and expansion of this program. Pollution is a national as well as a local and state responsibility. We believe that more funds should be available for incentive payments to local communities to help meet the cost of sewage treatment plant construction. We believe that there should be further help to the states where enforcement and research are needed.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

We hope that this year the Democratic Party will endorse Home Rule for the District of Columbia, as it has done for many years in the past. It is still the only capital city of a great nation where local residents have no control over their own affairs, where local tax money must be appropriated by the national legislature before it can be spent to meet local needs. This is indeed taxation without representation.

We are glad that Congress agreed this year to grant District citizens the privilege of voting in national elections and hope that the necessary number of States will soon ratify the 23rd Amendment to the Constitution, but voting once in four years for President is no substitute for voting for local officials whose sole concern would be the welfare of the District. We urge you to again endorse District Home Rule.

Thank you for granting the League of Women Voters this opportunity to summarize the proposals made to the members of your advance hearings committees. We hope you will agree with us in the three areas of public concern about which I have spoken and will write strong planks into your platform.

League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

July 20, 1960

STATEMENT TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE'S
RESOLUTION SUBCOMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION
BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
ON HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
BY MISS BARBARA STUHLER, A DIRECTOR OF THE LEAGUE

The League of Women Voters of the United States has endorsed national suffrage for the District of Columbia since 1924 and Home Rule for the District of Columbia since 1938. We know that in other years the Republican Party and Republican Presidents have urged that District citizens be granted the privilege of dealing with their own governmental problems. We hope that this year you will again include a strong plank on District Home Rule in your platform.

We now have 127,268 members in 1100 local Leagues in all 50 states and the District. Our members worked for the success of the discharge petition in the House of Representatives this year. In many congressional Districts they were in touch with their Representatives, urging them to sign the petition which would have brought the Home Rule bill endorsed by President Eisenhower to the floor for a vote. They are naturally disappointed that all efforts failed, though by a very small margin, and they are ready to begin again next year to urge that some similar bill be passed.

The District of Columbia is the only community in the United States without local autonomy. It is a beggar on the doorstep of Congress, required to ask congressional consideration of such matters as a salary increase for firemen and policemen, hot lunches for school children and whether straws served with ice cream sodas shall be encased in paper wrappers.

This takes many hours of congressional time that could more profitably, we believe, be devoted to matters of national import.

And while Washington, D. C., physically is a beautiful showcase as our nation's capital, its lack of local government is a poor example of the democratic way of life to visitors from far countries.

We welcome the passage of the constitutional amendment now pending before the states to give District citizens a vote for President and Vice President, although we regret that the District will be limited to the same representation in the Electoral College as the least populous state. But voting in national elections once every four years is no substitute for voting for members of a local council who would be on the job constantly to take care of local problems as they arise.

We urge you to include a strong plank on District Home Rule in your 1960 Platform.

League of Women Voters
of the United States

Memorandum

[redacted]

38th State ratified amendment on March 29, 1961

July 28, 1960

TO: Local and State League Presidents
FROM: The National Office
RE: Home Rule for the District of Columbia

This is going to all presidents and on Special Subscription Service

Attached is an article from the Washington Post of June 21, 1960 which tells the story of what happened to the effort to bring the District of Columbia Home Rule Bill to the floor of the House for a vote. The list of members who signed the petition may be of special interest if you do not already know what your Representative did. Of course you will want to thank him if he is one of the signers.

Although Congress will meet again in August it seems unlikely that there will be time in that session to do anything more about completing the petition and getting House and Senate action. Since all legislative proposals not acted upon by the 86th Congress will die with this Congress, it will be necessary to begin the legislative process for District Home Rule all over again when the new Congress meets in January.

The League of Women Voters of the District of Columbia is so appreciative of the help given by other local and state Leagues in the Home Rule petition drive that they have asked us to enclose with this Memo a thank you note from them to all who took part in the campaign to get signers for the discharge petition. They write:

Dear Fellow-Leaguers:

As we review the recent almost-successful campaign to achieve Home Rule for the District of Columbia, nothing stands out more clearly than the valuable support and cooperation given by the League of Women Voters at national, state and local levels. Through Times for Action, letters, telegrams, and long-distance calls, and by word of mouth at Convention and Council, appeals have gone out for pressure on doubtful Congressmen in connection with the Discharge Petition. From every part of the country has come a truly gratifying response. Lest some of you feel that your efforts were quite in vain, let me quote from a letter received at the close of the recent session of Congress from Rep. Steward Udall of Arizona, the hard-working leader of the Home Rule drive on the Hill:

"...I feel impelled to record my admiration and thanks for the extremely effective campaign for this issue waged by the League of Women Voters...

"Without reservation I can state that of all the many organizations which worked on the petition, the League did the most effective work in activating home-constituency interest that produced signatures for the petition. I know from my personal contacts with many of my colleagues that the influence of the League and its members in their home districts was the decisive factor that enlightened them on this issue and secured their support.

(over)

"Now that I know more of the determination and effectiveness of the League as a force for constructive legislation, I look forward with firm confidence to a renewal of our fight on this basic question next year."

Surely there couldn't be a better way for us in the DC League to express our heartfelt thanks for your past work - and to remind you that there must be still another effort in the future!

Mrs. Richard Simonson
Home Rule Chairman,
League of Women Voters of the District of Columbia.

The Washington Post
City Life
in Greater Washington

Tuesday, June 21, 1960 B3

Home Rule Kill Laid to Pressure

Shrewdly applied pressures by opponents helped scuttle the move to let the House act on the District territorial self government bill in this Congress, House proponents of the legislation declared yesterday.

Backers of the home rule move came within 13 signatures of freeing the bill from the House District Committee. The signatures of 219 House members were required.

There were 215 members who signed the petition at one time or another but there were but 206 names on the petition last week.

House leaders of the home rule drive believe that the success of the opposition in getting nine members to withdraw their names, played a major part in the defeat of the petition.

At least four of those who removed their names did so because they were told bluntly by opposition leaders that pet bills might move faster through Congress if their names were not on the petition, House home rule leaders said.

They said bills included reclamation and flood control projects of importance to the constituents of congressmen who had signed the petition. Their names in most cases were deleted.

Some of those who removed their names under pressure agreed to go back on the petition if enough other house members were ready to go in were but 206 names on the and put the petition over the top in a single stroke.

The reserve was never large enough—10 members at its peak—to move in and put the petition over in a single day.

Even had it been, said Rep. Joel T. Broyhill (R-Va.), one of the most active against the home rule movement, other members of the House who had signed the petition had agreed to remove their names if necessary to keep the petition from succeeding.

The petition, which would have granted two days of debate, was one of the most liberal ever placed before Congress. It would have brought to the floor a bill to permit the president to appoint a territorial governor and allow Washingtonians to elect a 15-member legislative assembly.

The Washington Home Rule Committee reported the following Congressmen had signed the petition:

DEMOCRATS

Addonizio (N. J.)	Johnson (Calif.)
Anderson (Mont.)	Johnson (Md.)
Anfuso (N. Y.)	Karsten (Mo.)
Ashley (Ohio)	Karth (Minn.)
Baring (Nev.)	Kasem (Calif.)
Barr (Indiana)	Kastenmeier (Wisc.)
Barrett (Pa.)	Kee (W. Va.)
Blatnik (Minn.)	Kelly (N. Y.)
Boland (Mass.)	Keogh (N. Y.)
Bolling (Mo.)	King (Calif.)
Bowles (Conn.)	King (Utah)
Brademas (Ind.)	Kluczynski (Ill.)
Brown (Mo.)	Kowalski (Conn.)
Buckley (N. Y.)	Lane (Mass.)
Burdick (N. D.)	Lankford (Md.)
Burke (Mass.)	Lesinski (Mich.)
Byrne (Pa.)	Levering (Ohio)
Carnahan (Mo.)	Libonati (Ill.)
Celler (N. Y.)	McDowell (Del.)
Clark (Pa.)	McFall (Calif.)
Coad (Iowa)	McGinley (Nebr.)
Coffin (Me.)	McGovern (S. D.)
Conelan (Calif.)	MacDonald (Mass.)
Cook (Ohio)	Machrowicz (Mich.)
Daddario (Conn.)	Mack (Ill.)
Daniels (N. J.)	Madden (Ind.)
Dawson (Ill.)	Magnuson (Wash.)
Delaney (N. Y.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Dent (Pa.)	Meyer (Vt.)
Denton (Ind.)	Clem Miller (Calif.)
Diggs (Mich.)	Geo. Miller (Calif.)
Dingell (Mich.)	Monagan (Conn.)
Donohue (Mass.)	Montoya (N. M.)
Doyle (Calif.)	Moorhead (Pa.)
Dulski (N. Y.)	Morgan (Pa.)
Fallon (Md.)	Moss (Calif.)
Farbstein (N. Y.)	Moulder (Mo.)
Fascell (Fla.)	Multer (N. Y.)
Feighan (Ohio)	Murphy (Ill.)
Flood (Pa.)	Nix (Pa.)
Flynn (Wisc.)	O'Brien (N. Y.)
Fogarty (R. I.)	O'Brien (Ill.)
Foley (Md.)	O'Hara (Ill.)
Forand (R. I.)	O'Hara (Mich.)
Friedel (Md.)	O'Neill (Mass.)
Gallagher (N. J.)	Perkins (Ky.)
Garmatz (Md.)	Pfost (Idaho)
Giaimo (Conn.)	Philbin (Mass.)
Granahan (Pa.)	Porter (Ore.)
Gray (Ill.)	Powell (N. Y.)
Green (Ore.)	Price (Ill.)
Green (Pa.)	Prokop (Pa.)
Griffiths (Mich.)	Puclnski (Ill.)
Hagen (Calif.)	Quigley (Pa.)
Hargis (Kans.)	Rabaut (Mich.)
Healey (N. Y.)	Randall (Mo.)
Hechler (W. Va.)	Reuss (Wisc.)
Hogan (Ind.)	Rhodes (Pa.)
Holifield (Calif.)	Rivers (Alaska)
Holland (Pa.)	Rodino (N. J.)
Holtzman (N. Y.)	Rogers (Colo.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Roosevelt (Calif.)
Irwin (Conn.)	Rostenkowski (Ill.)
Johnson (Colo.)	Roush (Ind.)
Santangelo (N. Y.)	Toll (Pa.)
Saund (Calif.)	Udall (Ariz.)
Shelley (Calif.)	Ullman (Ore.)
Sheppard (Calif.)	Vanik (Ohio)
Shipley (Ill.)	Wampler (Ind.)
Slack (W. Va.)	Wier (Minn.)
Smith (Iowa)	Wolf (Iowa)
Staggers (W. Va.)	Wright (Tex.)
Stratton (N. Y.)	Yates (Ill.)
Sullivan (Mo.)	Zablocki (Wisc.)
Teller (N. Y.)	Zelenko (N. Y.)
Thompson (N. J.)	

REPUBLICANS

Baldwin (Calif.)	Dixon (Utah)
Barry (N. Y.)	Dooley (N. Y.)
Bass (N. H.)	Dorn (N. Y.)
Bolton (Ohio)	Dwyer (N. J.)
Bromfield (Mich.)	Fino (N. Y.)
Cahill (N. J.)	Ford (Mich.)
Canfield (N. J.)	Frelinghuysen (N. J.)
Cederberg (Mich.)	Fulton (Pa.)
Chiperfield (Ill.)	Goodell (N. Y.)
Church (Ill.)	Gubser (Calif.)
Collier (Ill.)	Halpern (N. Y.)
Conte (Mass.)	Hosmer (Calif.)
Corbett (Pa.)	Holt (Calif.)
Cunningham (Nebr.)	Judd (Minn.)
Curtis (Mass.)	Lindsay (N. Y.)
Curtis (Mo.)	McDonough (Calif.)
	May (Wash.)
	Merrow (N. H.)
	Miller (N. Y.)
	Nelsen (Minn.)
	Osmers (N. J.)
	Pelly (Wash.)
	Quie (Minn.)
	Robison (N. Y.)
	Schwengel (Iowa)
	Short (N. D.)
	Springer (Ill.)
	Taylor (N. Y.)
	Teague (Calif.)
	Tollefson (Wash.)
	Van Zandt (Pa.)
	Wainwright (N. Y.)
	Wallhauser (N. J.)
	Weaver (Nebr.)
	Weis (N. Y.)
	Westland (Wash.)
	Widnall (N. J.)
	Withrow (Wis.)

The home rule committee reported the following Congressmen signed the petition and later withdrew their names:

DEMOCRATS

Brock (Nebr.)	Oliver (Me.)
Edmonson (Okla.)	Rooney (N. Y.)
Jarman (Okla.)	Sisk (Calif.)

REPUBLICANS

Alger (Texas)	O'Konski (Wisc.)
Ayres (Ohio)	

Reprinted by
THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF THE UNITED STATES
[redacted]

League of Women Voters
of the United States

Memorandum

[redacted]

April 10, 1961

TO: Local and State League Presidents
FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips
RE: D.C. National Representation Constitutional Amendment

The Constitutional Amendment giving the District of Columbia representation in the Electoral College became a part of the United States Constitution April 3, 1961 when it was signed by the Administrator of the General Services Administration. While ratification by thirty-eight states was needed, actually thirty-nine agreed to its inclusion in the Constitution.

It isn't often that part of a League Continuing Responsibility can be retired because it has been accomplished, but this is one of those happy occasions. No more state action is needed.

Of course D.C. representation in Congress and Home Rule are still with us, but there is no opportunity at the moment to press for these other parts of our Continuing Responsibility #4.

The District of Columbia League whose members will be beneficiaries of the Amendment and some of whom will have the privilege of voting for President and Vice President for the first time in 1964 because of it, wants us to thank all of you who worked so hard and effectively to gain the necessary ratifications.

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P.S. The OECD Convention was ratified by the Senate March 16, 1961 by a vote of 72 yeas - 18 nays, 12 votes more than the necessary two thirds of the Senate present and voting. No House action is necessary.

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League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

April 5, 1962

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
TO THE SENATE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMITTEE
BY MRS. HASKELL ROSENBLUM, A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

Forty-two years ago the women of the United States achieved full suffrage after a campaign that some of them had waged over a period of 72 years. Members of the League of Women Voters, political descendants of those women who worked so hard for the vote, believe that the battle for truly representative government will never be fully won until every citizen of the United States has the opportunity to make his voice heard effectively in local affairs as well as in the affairs of the nation and the states. The global struggle for the freedom of the individual in which this country is now engaged makes it more imperative than ever that here at home - in the Nation's Capital - the democratic, self-government process be extended to the inhabitants of the District of Columbia.

When citizens participate in government at the local level they become better citizens at all levels. League members in 1,120 local communities in all fifty states work hard to improve their own local governments. They believe that only through the eternal vigilance of responsible citizens can our form of government function well. They support the efforts of District citizens to recover the control of local affairs which at one time they had.

We are aware that the District, because it is the national Capital, has problems unlike those of other metropolitan areas and we agree that some veto power should be vested in the Congress or the Executive Branch (as all home rule bills propose) to safe guard the national interest. But we believe that citizens of the District are capable of solving their own problems and should be given the opportunity to do so.

Members of this Committee are well informed on various proposals that have been made for home rule in the District. The Senate in passing such legislation five times has shown leadership and understanding of the problems inherent in the District, and a persistent reluctance to spend their valuable time on many minor problems involved in running a city. We hope, therefore, that Committee consideration will be given, in writing up a bill, to the political possibilities of getting congressional agreement for some one of the forms of home rule proposed and that the Senate will act this year on a bill acceptable to a majority of the full Congress.

We want to thank this Committee for holding these hearings and we hope that full Senate action will not be long delayed.

League of Women Voters of the U. S.

[redacted]

May 10, 1962

STATEMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
ON
Representation for the District of Columbia
To The
Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments
Of The
Senate Committee on the Judiciary

The principle of representation for taxpayers is one of the foundations of American democracy. This principle has been so interwoven into the fiber of our heritage that the fact that it does not apply to residents of the District of Columbia has been a cause of concern for almost a hundred years. Within six months of the date that the women of the United States were granted the vote and the League of Women Voters of the United States was established, the Convention of the League determined to work for representation in Congress for the District of Columbia.

Over the years the members of the League of Women Voters have reaffirmed their belief that all citizens of the United States should have representation in Congress. To this end, a member of the League has appeared before this Committee several times in the past. Just last week, delegates to the Convention, which is the governing body of the League, adopted as a part of their continuing responsibilities: "Support of self-government and representation in Congress for citizens of the District of Columbia."

There is no good reason why representation should not have been granted to the District by now. The arguments for it are well-known. Washington has a bigger population than eleven of the states, contributes more money to the federal Treasury than half the states, and sends many men into the armed forces.

Two years ago the Congress approved as an Amendment to the Constitution an act which gave citizens of Washington the right to vote for President and Vice-President. At that time the Senate recognized that this was incomplete suffrage, and so did members of the League. Nevertheless in succeeding months League members throughout the nation worked with others to secure ratification of the constitutional amendment.

Over the years the Senate has approved legislation which would have granted to the District a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives, and even full representation in the House. The League would support either of these proposals and would also support full representation in the Congress. We trust the judgment of this Committee to devise a measure which you believe the Senate will pass, a measure which will give just representation to the citizens of the District of Columbia. We believe the time is ripe. More and more there is support in the United States for assuring all citizens their fair share of participation in government. The vast majority of 132,000 members in 1150 local Leagues will work with enthusiasm and conviction to secure pasage of any equitable bill that this Committee sees fit to approve. We say: "Let the District of Columbia have its full share of rights in the democratic process!"

by Kelley Drennan

CONFERENCE ON UNITED STATES TRADE POLICY

May 17, 1962

Sheraton-Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Conducted by Coordinating Council of Organizations on International Trade Policy
Chairman: Charles P. Taft

Honorary members

Dean Acheson
William Clayton
Christian A. Herter
Francis B. Sayre Sr.
Clarence Randall

The Coordinating Council of Organizations on International Trade Policy has been established to provide a clearing house whereby each of the organizations with the same general objectives on trade policy may be kept advised of the activities, policies and plans of the others. Public announcement of the Council was made on May 2, 1962.

Over 125 national and local organizations participated...
Represented industry, labor, agriculture, commerce, consumers, civic groups, religious groups and the two major political parties.... membership in these organizations comprise the majority of the voting citizens of the United States.

Everyone attending was in agreement on the basics of the Expanded Trade Act..HR9900... Based on a growing economy (and there seemed no doubt that this was an assured fact) all participents recognized the need for freer Trade with (not joining) the Common Market. They were in agreement that the President should have the powers granted in this Bill and these powers should not be short-termed. The United States must be in a position to trade hard, and at the expeditious time. Negotiate to open doors that salesmen and producers can exploit. With the American heritage and know-how we are in a position to meet all competition across the trading board.

Dean Rusk... Secretary of State... was the first speaker. He said: New dimensions, and more complex problems make for urgency. The negotiations must be in the national interest, not sectional. Our negotiations must not become theoretical debates but practical applications.
The United States could substantially increase its exports if the President is granted the broad new authority by Congress to negotiate tariff reductions. That the President get the powers he has requested is essential to Free World strength and unity and thus to the National security. We must make concessions to get concessions. The Common Market countries have already shown themselves to be prepared to bargain down their exterior trade barriers and to eleminate other barriers to trade with the outside world.

Arthur J. Goldberg ... Secretary of Labor: Increased trade would increase jobs that would more than balance out any adverse adjustment assistance - retraining and relocation would protect industry and jobs. For industry and business there would be loans, appropriations. Workers thrown out of work through effects of tariff cuts would come under a different and separate category than those unemployed by general economic conditions and would receive special treatment - percent of wages - for specific length of time.

Orville Freeman ... Secretary of Agriculture: Crisis of abundance...farmers feel a great need for new trade program and also support the Bill because it would enhance the security of the nation and promote its best economic interests.

Simultaneous Panel discussions on:

Changing petterns of World Trade .. Don Paarlberg, Chairman
Safeguards during process of Change. Mrs. John Briscoe, Chairman
Congressional-Executive Relationship and Tariff Negotiations ..... Hon. Francis B. Sayre Sr. Chairman

Each panel consisted of four, from Press, Department of Commerce, Department of Labor, Industry, AFL-CIO, American Farm Bureau, Economists, Lawyers, Congressmen.

While all participants were agreed on general program, they were not on details and application ... wanted specifics for benefits of the different groups they represented. Such as: Role of Tariff Commission changed.. more specifics not general for an entire industry.. which are safeguards to both industry and workers.. depreciation tax for industry to compare favorably with tax benefits of foreign countries.

Luncheon address by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge.. now heading Atlantic Institute
Has a great rapport - until he starts to talk - can't or doesn't communicate - Nothing to report.
Was a nice luncheon though... sat at the table and visited with Mrs. Briscoe, Mrs. Truhaft, Martha Miller of the National Staff, other leaguers from Florida, California and New Orleans.

The next session opened with Luther Hodges.. Secretary of Commerce.. said the Kennedy program could not of itself expand exports to the needed level but could open up the widest opportunity for private enterprise.. U.S. had a head start of the other countries... in technical know-how, durable goods and a marketing system... and we need to give more impetus to our rate of growth.

Then there were speakers from AFL-CIO, American Farm Bureau Federation, National Farmers Union, The Pillsbury Company VP and from Pitney Bowles...
The gist ... Flemming, American Farm Bureau: We are prepared to sell to the world, to have access to these markets, must do away with many restrictions e.g. import quotas, skimming fees and variable quotas and fees. Trade agreements for agriculture are effective and will support bill.

Sparboe, VP Pillsbury Company: Imports..adds to, satisfys need and wants of all people. Freerer access to markets is bound to create more growth in jobs and income. Unprofitable jobs exist because of protective measures ... is this good business???

Wheeler, Pitney-Bowles: Tariffs are not high or low, just restrictive. Do we want free trade or free enterprise? How much protectionism can we afford? Internationally it is costing us a great deal. Subsidies are also very costly.. readjustment is more sensible and cheaper.

Question Forum ... most stimulating... Chaired by Alfred C. Neal, President, Committee Economic Development, and real sharp....

Experts on Trade Policy to answer questions...

Myer Rashish, Deputy Special Assistant to the President for International Trade Policy
Peter Jones, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Policy
Irving Maness, Deputy Administrator for Procurement and Technical assistance. Small Business Administration.
Howard Piquet, Sr., Specialist in International Economics, Library of Congress
Lyn Edminster, Vice-Chairman, U.S.Tariff Commission 1942-53
Mary Keyserling, Assistant Director, Conference on Economic Progress
Francis McIntyre, Chief Economist, Caltex Corporation
Stanley Ruttenberg, Director, Department of Research AFL-CIO

5:45 Gave out.....

It was too bad they left the most stimulating session until the last, audience kept drifting off, since the preceeding speakers were either repititious or dull... but the Leaguers stayed the longest, some were still there when I gave up. There were about 15 LWVs all together, most of them had been to National Convention and had not been home..visiting relatives in the East or had husbands attending meetings in Washington. One from Florida, detoured on the way to the Worlds Fair... another from Jefferson Parrish travelled on an Eastern pass. These states were represented in the LWV contingent - Louisiana, Florida, California, Connecticut, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Texas, Minnesota, and of course Maryland, Virginia and the D.C. League.

I did not attend the dinner for JFK... Jack was not too interested since neither Jackie or Caroline were going to be there and he suggested that perhaps I should gussie up and go to his Congresses' cocktail party... could be some who didn't really believe he had a wife!!!

I have the text of Kennedy's speech from the Washington Post. It was mostly about DeGaulle -- his answer to the General.

It was a most interesting conference, wish there had been some members of the opposition to hear what they were saying??

The Ways and Means committee were having executive hearings on HR9900 and this played havoc with the schedule of some of the speakers, they kept calling them to be ready to appear at this time or that, then changed their minds and kept them cooling their heels in the hall.. this happened to Hodges and Freeman.. but they finally got their talks in and both were quite good.. Hodges was quite charming and Freeman a much more forceful, clear and effective speaker than I had supposed .

It was fun.. and again I have pounds of free literature you're welcome to peruse... And who wants the Bulk in their file... You, Ruth Joor??????

LWV of Texas
June 1, 1962

League of Women Voters of the U.S. November 1962

[redacted]

Price: 25¢

NATIONAL CRS BIBLIOGRAPHY

HOW THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY CAN HELP THE CR CHAIRMAN

This bibliography lists League publications dealing with Continuing Responsibilities on the League of Women Voters' national Program for 1962-1964. Not all of the publications are available from the national office. Those which are still in print are listed in the current Publications Catalog, which can be obtained free of charge upon request from the national office. Many Leagues have out-of-print League materials in their files. The bibliography will tell which number of THE NATIONAL VOTER or CONVENTION WORKBOOK, for example, contained additional information on each CR.

It is hoped that the bibliography will be a help to Leagues in keeping useful, up-to-date files on CRs. There is no better time to start than the present. To League materials on hand, new League publications should be added. But a CR file should not be limited to League materials. A League whose CR files include clippings and publications which relate each CR to that League's region or to special interests of the community is a League that has the wherewithal to prepare itself quickly. As one state CR chairman wrote to her local League CR chairmen, "A good file is a useful file, not just a repository for resource material. Actively kep up to date, it becomes a readily available source of information when writing letters to Congressmen, preparing for congressional interviews, and for the continuing process of orientation of old and new members."

It will be impossible for new Leagues to gather together all materials listed in this bibliography; nor will long-established Leagues be able to locate all pieces in League files. But these gaps need trouble no CR chairman, for

1) each CR is well covered in the new, every-member pamphlet, NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962-1964, and

2) committees wishing to go more deeply into each CR can probably borrow "Must" and "Basic" materials from neighboring Leagues or from state files.

A general list of categories of League materials in which guidance and information on Continuing Responsibilities should be sought precedes bibliographies on individual CRs. As new League material on national Continuing Responsibilities appears, CR chairmen will want to add to these lists. In this way the bibliography can be kept an up-to-date reference tool.

WHERE TO FIND LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS' INFORMATION ON NATIONAL CRS

NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962 - 1964. A one piece, handy pamphlet for every member, it captures the excitement of the issues at the time the League worked actively on them, gives the reasoning by which League members reached these positions, and reviews the action taken.

NATIONAL BOARD REPORT, GUIDE FOR PLANNING FOR LOCAL AND STATE BOARDS. Issued two or three times a year after each national Board meeting, National Board Reports contain "Outlook for Work" on the CRs. Here developments since the last Board meeting are reviewed and opportunities for future action outlined. Board Reports issued immediately after each Convention and Council are particularly important.

CURRENT REVIEW OF CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES. A leader's guide on CRs. A CR of CRs gives more detail than can be included in National Board Reports or the every-member pamphlet and reports on significant current developments related to League positions.

TESTIMONY. Transcripts of testimony given by national Board members are sent to all Leagues. Members may read their local League's copy or order a personal copy from the national office. Testimony given by national Board members is always listed in the subsequent NATIONAL VOTER in order that members will know it has been given and be encouraged to consult it. League testimony is useful in keeping up to date because it gives official League stands on current legislative proposals and usually explains the reasons for support or opposition as each arises from League position.

CONVENTION WORKBOOKS. Issued to each delegate to a biennial national Convention, the Workbook contains a review of the preceding two years' work on national Program. A succession of Workbooks are the best source for a chronological picture of the development of an item. (A League that sends no delegates to Convention receives one copy of the Workbook for League files.)

BASIC RESOURCE MATERIAL. Includes major publications prepared by the national League for use when the subjects were under intensive study by League members.

THE NATIONAL VOTER. Contains feature articles, old and new, on subjects now CRs. Summaries of legislative developments are found under "KULP" (Keeping Up With League Program) and "Congressional Roundup."

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* *
* CAUTION: The material listed in this bibliography is not available *
* from the national office unless it is listed in the latest Publica- *
* tions Catalog (revised every six months). The current catalog may *
* be obtained free of charge upon request to the national office. *
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League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

November 1962

WATER RESOURCES*

"Support of national policies and procedures which promote comprehensive long-range planning for conservation and development of water resources. Among these policies are: a) better coordination and elimination of conflicts in basic policy at the federal level; b) machinery appropriate to each region which provides coordinated planning and administration; c) cost sharing by government and private interests in relation to benefits received and ability to pay."

"Must" Reading:

NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962-1964

National Board Report, GUIDE FOR PLANNING FOR LOCAL AND STATE BOARDS, "Outlook for Work," May 1962, pp. 16-18

CONVENTION WORKBOOK Part I, 25th National Convention, April 30 - May 4, 1962, pp. 31-37

Basic Resource Material:

CURRENT REVIEW OF CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

No. 1, Jan. 1961, pp. 2-12, "What is Brewing in Water?"
No. 2, July 1961, pp. 10-18, "Along that Active Water Front"
No. 3, Oct. 1961, pp. 11-18, "Water Mop-Up"

NATIONAL BOARD REPORTS - "Outlook for Work"

1962: Jan. pp. 31-33
1961: May pp. 17-25; Sept. pp. 23-28
1960: Jan. pp. 37-44; May pp. 13-21

CONVENTION WORKBOOK, 24th National Convention, April 25-29, 1960
pp. 16-20, "Presentation of Proposed Water Resources CR"
pp. 34-41, "Report to Convention Delegates on National Program 1958-1960 -- Water Resources"

Federal Agencies Concerned with Conservation and Water Control, 1956 (two charts and explanation)

ON THE WATER FRONT, 1957 (introduction to the administrative, legislative, and economic problems involved in water resource development)

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*Material listed here is available from the national office only if listed in the latest PUBLICATIONS CATALOG. Out-of-print publications not in your own League files may possibly be borrowed from your state League or from a nearby local League.

Basic Resource Material (cont'd):

LITTLE DROPS OF WATER, 1957 (short presentation of water program planning and repayment policies)

KNOW YOUR RIVER BASIN, 1958 (the question-form guide for a river basin study)

HOW TO DO A KNOW YOUR RIVER BASIN STUDY, 1958. (directions for going about finding the answers to the questions in the booklet above)

Statement of Position on Water Resources, January 15, 1960

HOW TO ORGANIZE A RIVER BASIN GROUP, 1960 (suggestions for working in inter-League groups based on experience to date)

THE NATIONAL VOTER:

January 1962	"Coordination Coming?" (report on the Water Resources Planning Act, its relation to League position, and the legislative outlook for the bill)
October 1961	Water (a "Lively Issue") p. 3
September 1961	"Columbia River Treaty" and "Water Pollution Control" (amended bill - P. L. 87-88)
May 1961	"Water's Hot!" (report on House passage of the Pollution Abatement Bill, League activities in support of S. 239)
January 1961	"How Clean is Clean?" (report on National Conference on Water Pollution, Washington, D. C., December 1960)
October 1960	"Water Conferences to be Held" (first federally-sponsored Conference on Water Pollution, December 12 - 15, 1960, Washington, D. C.)
June 1960	"Fresh Water From Salt" (government's saline water conversion program)
May 1960	"Explanation of League Program 1960-1962" (Water Resources moved to CRs)
February 1960	"Position on Water Resources" (League position as announced January 15, 1960, abridged)
January 1960	"League Testifies at Water Hearings" (testimony by state Leagues before Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources)
June 1959	"Can We Afford Dirty Water?" (pollution control legislation)
April 1959	"Federal Water Ways" (recommendations of Presidential Advisory Committee on Water Resources to 84th Congress, 1956)
March 1959	"Whose River Is It?" (alternative forms of organization to deal with river basin problems)

THE NATIONAL VOTER (cont'd)

January 1959	"Water Front Revisited" (restatement of what constitutes "The Water Problem")
October 1958	"A World of Water" (international water problems)
July 1958	"The Waters are Still Muddy" (analysis of pollution control)
May 1958	"Explanation of Current Agenda, 1958-1960"
February 1958	"View from A Water Front" (Potomac River Basin)
August 1957	"Treading Water When We Need to Swim" (problems arising from lack of a national water policy)
October 1956	"Till the Well Runs Dry" (the U.S. water problem -- shortage of water due to increased population and use)
May 1956	"Explanation of Current Agenda, 1956-1958" (CA Item II wording -- Conservation: Study of water resources)

Time for Action:

May 9, 1961	Continuing Action, Federal Water Pollution Control Amendments
March 29, 1961	Amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (H.R. 4036). Attached is a six-page "Background for Action" explaining provisions of bill and answering questions commonly raised about it.
February 23, 1960	Override of Presidential Veto of H.R. 3610, Water Pollution Control Bill (sent to 86 local League presidents and nine state League presidents whose Congressmen might be persuaded to vote to override the President's veto of H.R. 3610)
January 15, 1960	Expansion of the Sewage Construction Program, H.R. 3610 (attached, copy of League's Statement of Position on Water)

Testimony:

September 18, 1962	Hearing on H.R. 30 and S. 374, The Northeastern Water and Related Land Resources Compact by Mrs. Haskell Rosenblum for the LWVUS and Mrs. Elizabeth K. Roper for New England Leagues before the Special Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee (expresses support of New England Leagues for the Compact's proposals, national League support for regional machinery for coordinated planning)

Testimony (cont'd)

August 16, 1961	Hearing on S. 2246, The Water Resources Planning Act of 1961 by Mrs. Rosenblum before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (points out weaknesses and points of dissatisfaction in present procedures which proposed legislation would correct; expresses both reservations and hope for what can be done under bill)
July 10, 1961	Hearing on S. 1629, grants-in-aid for state planning for water resource development (later Title III of S. 2246) by Mrs. Rosenblum before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (explains reasons for League support of federal aid to states and asks that standards be set for qualification for grants)
May 9, 1961	Hearing on S. 120 and S. 861, amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act by Mrs. Rosenblum before the Senate Public Works Committee (explains reason for League support of a strong pollution control bill)
April 13, 1961	Hearing on S. 239, the Resources and Conservation Act of 1961 by Mrs. Arthur E. Whittemore before the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (explains reasons League continues to support this bill as it did S. 2549)
March 16, 1961	Hearing on H.R. 4036, amending the Federal Water Pollution Control Act by Mrs. Whittemore before the House Public Works Committee (explains reasons for League support of parts of the bill)
March 8, 1961	Hearing on H.J. Res. 225, to grant consent of Congress to the Delaware River Compact; filed with the House Judiciary Subcommittee by Mrs. William H. Wood in support of the principle of regional machinery to coordinate water resource development; in support of testimony by Mrs. Henry J. Hersey, Jr., for the Inter-League Council on the Delaware River Basin in favor of H.J. Res. 225)
May 24, 1960	Statement by the LWVUS before the Senate Select Committee on Water Resources (emphasizes basic importance of developing procedures for coordinated planning, sound financing, and citizen understanding and support)
April 13, 1960	Hearing before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works; filed by Mrs. Wood for LWVUS in support of testimony by Mrs. Rosenblum for Leagues of Potomac River Basin (supports keeping study of river basin comprehensive)
March 30, 1960	Hearing on H.R. 9999 and H.R. 10022 before the House Public Works Committee by Mrs. Whittemore for LWVUS in support of testimony by Mrs. Roper for the New England Leagues (in support of the Northeastern Water and Related Land Compact)
January 29, 1960	Hearing on S. 2549, The Resources and Conservation Act by Mrs. Whittemore before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (cites examples for findings of Leagues showing need for coordinated, long-range U.S. water policy)

League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

November 1962

LOYALTY-SECURITY*

"Support of standardized procedures, 'common sense' judgment, and greatest possible protection for the individual under the federal loyalty-security programs; opposition to extension of such programs to nonsensitive positions."

"Must" Reading:

NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962-1964

National Board Report, GUIDE FOR PLANNING FOR LOCAL AND STATE BOARDS, for report on Loyalty-Security, May 1962, pp. 18-19

CONVENTION WORKBOOK Part I, 25th National Convention, April 30 - May 4, 1962, pp. 38-40

Basic Resource Material:

CURRENT REVIEW OF CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

No. 2, July 1961, pp. 2-9, "Background and Current Status"
No. 3, Oct. 1961, pp. 9-10, "Up-To-Date on Loyalty-Security" (analysis of the Supreme Court decision on the Brawner case, June 19, 1961)

LIBERTY AND SECURITY, 1956 (explains the five federal loyalty-security programs -- origins, operations, and suggested improvements)

Charts: Internal Security Structure of U.S. Government, 1956
The Five Federal Loyalty-Security Programs, 1956

JUST SUPPOSE..., 1957 (a brief "personalization" of the loyalty-security programs)

FEDERAL LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAMS, 1956 (a leaders guide)

REPORT FROM THE HILL, 1958 (legislative developments on Government Security)

Statement of Position on the Federal Loyalty-Security Programs, Jan. 17, 1958

NATIONAL BOARD REPORTS - "Outlook for Work" (Loyalty-Security)

1962: Jan. p. 35
1961: May pp. 25-26; Sept. pp. 29-39
1960: Jan. pp. 45-46; May pp. 22-23

*Material listed here is available from the national office only if listed in the latest PUBLICATIONS CATALOG. Out-of-print publications not in your own League files may possibly be borrowed from your state League or from a nearby local League.

Basic Resource Material (cont'd)

CONVENTION WORKBOOK, 24th National Convention, April 25-29, 1960

pp. 42-45 "National CR 1, 1958-1960"

CONVENTION WORKBOOK, 23rd National Convention, April 21-25, 1958
pp. 19-21, "Presentation of Proposed Loyalty-Security CR"
pp. 27-32, "Report on Individual Liberties"

THE NATIONAL VOTER:

November 1958	"A Report from the Hill" (report on what happened to S. 1411 as amended, a bill designed to nullify the effects of Cole v. Young by re-extending the federal employee security program over employees in "nonsensitive" positions)
July 1957	"The Security Commission Reports" (report of the Commission on Government Security -- so-called "Wright Commission" -- which was set up in 1955 to study and investigate the entire security program)
April 1957	"Aftermath of Cole v. Young" (the 1956 Supreme Court decision which limited coverage of the federal employee security program to "sensitive" positions only)
February 1957	"Security at Work" (the industrial security program)
December 1956	"Liberty and Security" (excerpts from LIBERTY AND SECURITY, the basic resource pamphlet - see above)
May 1956	"Explanation of Current Agenda, 1956-1958" (CA Item I wording)

Time for Action:

July 11, 1958	Loyalty-Security Legislation (an updating and extension of the February 27, 1958 Time for Action)
February 27, 1958	Loyalty-Security Legislation (re League opposition to S. 1411 as amended)

Testimony:

May 12, 1959	Statement before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in opposition to H.R. 1870, 1161, 1989 (these bills would have re-extended the federal employee security program to "nonsensitive" positions)
April 29, 1959	Statement in opposition to S. 1304 before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (this bill would have re-extended the federal employee security program to "nonsensitive" positions)

League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

November 1962

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA*

"Support of self-government and representation in Congress for citizens of the District of Columbia."

"Must" Reading:

NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962-1964

National Board Report, GUIDE FOR PLANNING FOR LOCAL AND STATE BOARDS, "Outlook for Work," May 1962, pp. 19-20

CONVENTION WORKBOOK Part I, 25th National Convention, April 30 - May 4, 1962, pp. 40-42

Basic Resource Material:

CURRENT REVIEW OF CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

No. 1, Jan. 1961, pp. 13-15, "How the Amendment for D. C. National Suffrage is Doing" and "What Do We Mean... Home Rule for the District of Columbia"
No. 3, Oct. 1961, p. 7, "Now D. C. Can Vote for President in 1964"

NATIONAL BOARD REPORTS - "Outlook for Work"

1962: Jan. pp. 35-36
1961: May pp. 26-27; Sept. pp. 30-31
1960: Jan. p. 46; May p. 24

CONVENTION WORKBOOK, 24th National Convention, April 25-29, 1960

pp. 45-47 "National CR 2, 1958-1960"

National Suffrage or Representation - See December 6, 1960 memo re National Suffrage

THE NATIONAL VOTER:

November 1960	"Report from the Hill: D.C. Home Rule Discharge Petition"
July-August 1960	"Congressional Roundup" (re proposed constitutional amendment which would provide for national suffrage for District residents)

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THE NATIONAL VOTER (cont'd)

December 1959	"Up the Hill and Down Again"
April 1959	"D. C. -- An Island Possession?"
June 1957	"83, Going on 84, Still Can't Vote"
March 1956	"When Will D. C. Get Home Rule?"
October 1954	"The Disenfranchised"
April 1954	"Slow Motion Toward Home Rule"
April 1954	Correction re April 1 article (above)
July 1953	"League Asks Home Rule"
July 1954	"Home Rule Climbs a Step"
April 1953	"Outlook on D. C. Home Rule"
March 1953	"D. C. Home Rule"
April 1952	"Representing the League of Women Voters ..."
August 1951	"New Hope for D. C. Home Rule"

Time for Action:

May 13, 1959	Home Rule for the District of Columbia (re Senator Bible's bill, S. 659 which provided for a territorial form of government)

Testimony:

May 10, 1962	Statement by the LWVUS on Representation for the District of Columbia to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary
April 5, 1962	Statement in support of Home Rule for the District of Columbia to the Senate District of Columbia Committee by Mrs. Haskell Rosenblum
July 28, 1959	Statement in support of Home Rule for the District of Columbia to the House District of Columbia Committee
April 16, 1959	Statement before the Senate District of Columbia Committee
July 9, 1957	Statement before the Judiciary Subcommittee of the Senate District of Columbia Committee

Memos:

July 28, 1960	Home Rule for the District of Columbia (discharge petition)
November 6, 1959	Congressional Interviews and D. C. Home Rule - A Supplement to the Sept. 30, 1959 memorandum on Interviews with Congressional Delegations (sent to state presidents only)
August 17, 1959	D. C. Home Rule

League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

November 1962

TAX RATES*

"Opposition to constitutional limitations on tax rates."

"Must" Reading:

NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962-1964

National Board Report, GUIDE FOR PLANNING FOR LOCAL AND STATE BOARDS, "Outlook for Work," May 1962, pp. 20-21

CONVENTION WORKBOOK Part I, 25th National Convention, April 30 - May 4, 1962, pp. 43-45

Basic Resource Material:

CURRENT REVIEW OF CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

No. 1, Jan. 1961, pp. 17-20, "Proposal for a Constitutional Limitation - What It Is, What It Would Do"

NATIONAL BOARD REPORTS - "Outlook for Work"

1962: Jan. pp. 36-37
1961: May p. 28; Sept. p. 31
1960: May p. 25; Nov. p. 16

CONVENTION WORKBOOK, 24th National Convention, April 25-29, 1960

pp. 47-48 "National CR 4, 1958-1960"

FACTS ABOUT THE 25% TAX LIMIT, 1953

THE NATIONAL VOTER:

March 15, 1957	"A Taxing Problem" (more pros and cons)
May 15, 1953	"25% Tax Limit Proposed" (re the renewed effort in state legislatures and Congress to place constitutional limit on federal taxing powers)
March 15, 1952	"Limit the Power to Tax?" (the issues involved in the tax limitation effort)
June 15, 1951	"Limit Federal Taxing Power?"

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Memos: (sent to state League presidents only)

December 8, 1961	"League Issues Coming up in State Legislatures -- an Alert"
December 6, 1960	"An Alert on Issues of Concern to the League Which May Come Up During 1961 in State Legislatures"
February 20, 1957	"25% Tax Limitation, and current drive in state legislatures to pass resolutions urging Congress to place percentage limitation on taxes"

League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

November 1962

TREATY MAKING*

"Opposition to constitutional changes that would limit the existing powers of the Executive and the Congress over foreign relations."

"Must" Reading:

NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962-1964

National Board Report, GUIDE FOR PLANNING FOR LOCAL AND STATE BOARDS, "Outlook for Work," May 1962, p. 21

CONVENTION WORKBOOK Part I, 25th National Convention, April 30 - May 4, 1962, pp. 45-46

Basic Resource Material:

CURRENT REVIEW OF CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

No. 3, Oct. 1961, pp. 19-26 "Last But Not Least - The 'Bricker Amendment' CR!"

NATIONAL BOARD REPORTS - "Outlook for Work"

1962: Jan. p. 37
1961: May p. 29; Sept. 31
1960: May p. 26; Nov. p. 16

CONVENTION WORKBOOK, 24th National Convention, April 25-29, 1960

p. 48 "National CR 5, 1958-1960"

MAKING FOREIGN POLICY, U.S.A., 1953 (CCCMF publication)

Discussion Outline on the Proposed Bricker Amendment, October 1953 included a bibliography of pro and con material)

A Chronological Statement of the LWV's Consideration of the Bricker Amendment, February 11, 1954

Report from the Hill on the Bricker Amendment, April 1953

Time for Action:

January 13, 1954 — Re. Fourth proposed Bricker Amendment (S.J. Res. 1, sponsored by Senator George, D., Ga.) Attached was copy of letter to President Eisenhower stating League's five reasons for opposing Bricker Amendment

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THE NATIONAL VOTER:

August 15, 1956	"Congressional Roundup" (for what happened to sixth version)
March 15, 1956	"Congressional Spotlight" (for sixth version, i.e., Dirksen)
April 15, 1955	"Congressional Spotlight (for fifth version see also June 1 and August 15, 1955 "Spotlights")
April 1, 1954	"Where Do We Go from Here on the Bricker Amendment?" (the question Mrs. Lee discusses in "From the President's Desk")
March 1, 1954	"What Happened to the Bricker Amendment?" (i.e., to the fourth version, sponsored by Sen. George, D., Ga.)
January 15, 1954	"League Opposes Bricker Amendment" (reprint of letter sent President Eisenhower on January 13, 1954 by Mrs. John G. Lee, President of LWVUS, stating the five reasons why the League opposed Bricker Amendment)
July 15, 1953	"Bricker Amendment - Third Round" (discussion of third version)
March 1, 1953	"Bricker Amendment to the Fore" (pros and cons)
June 15, 1952	"Treaties in Trouble" (hearingsof Senate Judiciary Committee - testimony by supporters and opponents)
March 15, 1952	"Treaty Power Under Scrutiny" (the four main provisions of the original Bricker Amendment, S.J.Res. 130)

Testimony:

April 29, 1955	Testimony of Mrs. Oscar M. Ruebhausen before Senate Judiciary Subcommittee against the proposed fifth version of the Bricker Amendment

Memos:

July 5, 1957	Alert on Possibility of Congressional Action to Override Executive Treaty Power (this dealt with the "status of forces agreements" covering treatment of U.S. military forces abroad - grew out of Girard case in Japan - sent to state League presidents only)
March 29, 1956	Congressional Recess (see section on Bricker-Dirksen Amendment)
March 20, 1956	Alert on the Bricker Amendment (sixth version)
February 29, 1956	Background on the new Bricker Amendment (i.e., the sixth version by Senator Dirksen--sent to state League presidents only)

League of Women Voters
of the United States

Memorandum

[redacted]

This memo is going on Special Subscription Service

December 3, 1962

TO: Local League Presidents (Copy to State League Presidents)

FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips

RE: NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962-1964

You now have in your hands a new publication in a new form on an old subject -- positions which the League of Women Voters of the United States reached after sustained study and which the 1962 Convention voted to include on the 1962-1964 Program.

When the delegates to the Convention, the governing body of the League of Women Voters, adopt Continuing Responsibilities, they do so on the assumption that the positions are important to the League. After years of study, members want to be able to act whenever these positions are threatened or whenever they can make an effective contribution in support of these positions. New Leagues and new League members do not go through the process of study and consensus on Continuing Responsibilities. These are a part of the heritage from the past, but to create support for this heritage the members should be kept up to date and informed, ready to take action when the time is right.

The new CRs pamphlet has been designed to be of use to every member of the League. It recreates the feeling of the time when each of the present CRs was first adopted; it sketches the arguments on both sides of the question; it outlines the reasoning by which Leagues reached consensus. It does something more, we think. Since each of the Continuing Responsibilities became a part of the Program in a different period of League development, the publication gives a history of the League and an orientation to its methods of operation. We hope, therefore, it will help all members to understand and increase their potential for political effectiveness.

Action on Continuing Responsibilities

When the Convention in 1962 adopted these CRs, it did so with due consideration of the fact that an overwhelming majority of the Leagues had indicated that they were prepared to act with a little updating on each of these positions when and if the need arose. Moreover, they foresaw that water resources would be active on national and regional levels, that states and even local Leagues might be taking action under this national Continuing Responsibility. For the loyalty-security CR no action was anticipated, but if old congressional patterns were repeated the campaign would be centered on the Senate, this in contrast to the D.C. suffrage CR where action usually is focused in the House of Representatives. Foreseeable action on tax rates and treaty making will be carried on in state legislatures. With all these varied patterns of possible activity, CRs do provide a means for learning about government at different levels.

Reference to the action section of the pamphlet will reveal the various ways in which members may participate. Although it is true that local, state, and national Boards do the testifying and speak for the League, if Board members will communicate the details they have learned to the membership, the CRs will come alive and have real meaning for everyone. We think Board members enjoy their contacts with legislators and the feeling of being "in the know" and that if this enjoyment can be transferred to the membership, writing letters or talking to people can be a more meaningful experience for everyone.

CRs and the Local League

Some of the local Leagues have already had meetings on Continuing Responsibilities; some Leagues plan meetings on national CRs only in the program-making year; some Leagues use their bulletins to explain CRs to the membership. If every member buys and reads NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962-1964, it may be unnecessary to have a meeting devoted wholly to reviewing CRs. As always, the local Board is responsible for judging member preparation. The CR chairman would probably wish to have time at a meeting for updating the members when action is anticipated, the amount of time needed being dependent upon member understanding of the issue. CR chairmen will of course have greater knowledge, having used the material in the CRs Bibliography which is included in this mailing and issues past, current, and future of the Current Review of Continuing Responsibilities.

The national Board believes that you will enjoy the full presentation of each CR in NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES 1962-1964 and that you will feel that the flavor will be lost if excerpts are used. We realize that the material is too long to use in its entirety in a bulletin article. This is why we hope you will promote the sale and urge the use of the national pamphlet.

Leading members of Congress give credit to the League for action on water and D.C. suffrage. The League is the target for those who want to repeal the income tax amendment and limit treaty-making powers of the President because the League has been politically effective in these areas. The League has established a reputation for knowledge and effectiveness; the membership by its Convention action expressed the desire to continue its work in these fields. We are giving you the materials and we will alert you to opportunities. The rest is up to you.

Herlock Sholmes

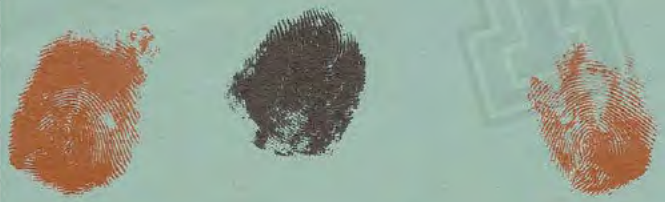
takes on a new case . . .

Called in on

THE CASE OF FOREIGN AID

(also known as the Garbled Gossip Mystery)

the famous detective is off to track down . . .



Strange rumors, like:

- **With foreign aid funds, some 48,000 cases of Metrecal (a reducing formula for overweight people) were sent to India.**
- **With foreign aid funds, some 300,000 tons of cement were bought, only to harden on the docks in monsoon weather in India.**
- **With foreign aid funds, a sugar beet factory was built in Turkey where no sugar beets are grown.**

NOW, according to Mr. Sholmes, who checked the facts against the rumors:

- **There is no record of Metrecal being shipped to India.**
- **Cement did harden on docks, but it was in Burma, and it was Soviet cement.**
- **A sugar factory was built, but it was in Indonesia and was built by sugar beet experts from East Germany.**

It's a mystery, said Mr. Sholmes, how such garbled gossip starts, and he quoted from Pulitzer Prize-winning editor and publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, Ralph McGill:

"One of the continuing mysteries is where such stories come from and why so many Americans seem not merely willing to believe them but eager to do so." It is especially disheartening, McGill concludes, because "the U. S. foreign aid program, as it is being revised and reorganized, is ONE OF OUR BETTER STORIES."

Foreign aid, as President Kennedy, former President Eisenhower, and others agree, not only is "one of our *better* stories" but also a vital one in the development of a world where all nations can be self-supporting and where democratic institutions can flourish—so commented the famous Detective. And in order to apprehend rumors at the start, he has necessarily disappeared to assume a disguise but has left on his desk some notes for the amateurs.

- The Clay Report (written by ten distinguished private citizens) does not say the aid programs are "riddled with waste and haste." Since every new operation is liable to trial and costly error, there has been some waste and duplication. But the Report firmly states:

"We believe these programs, properly conceived and implemented, to be essential to the security of our nation and necessary to the exercise of its world-wide responsibilities."

At this point, Mr. Sholmes ends with a cryptic but urgent message to his good friend and assistant, Dr. Potson:

my dear Potson—Put out the Cat—
and don't forget to write your
Senator and Representative about
the upcoming Aid legislation—
The Foreign Assistance Act of 1963.
Help clear up the mystery and let
him know where you stand
On Foreign Aid— S Holmes

Mr. Sholmes' facts can be found in "A Proposed Path to Quiet Victories" (April 1963 issue of THE NATIONAL VOTER, 15¢ a copy) and the taped League interview with David Bell, Administrator of A.I.D. ($3 per tape) available from the League of Women Voters of the United States; and in the A.I.D. Presentation to Congress (60¢) available from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

[redacted]

A CLUE

Check out the facts.

Most rumors become "corpus delicti" with a little investigation into the reliability of such information.

THE EVIDENCE

• Foreign aid is not a "relief program." Foreign aid—in the form of development loans—goes' toward building water and sewage systems, roads, railroads, harbors, schools, and other basic facilities almost completely lacking in many countries.

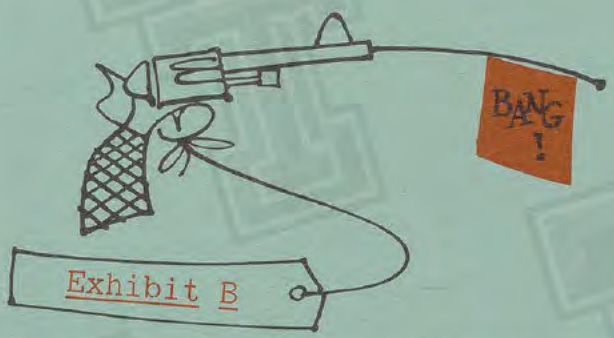
Example: An Alliance for Progress loan has been made to Colombia (a country where only 27 percent of the population has water and sewage facilities) to provide these facilities in 300 towns.

Foreign aid goes to pay the salaries and buy the equipment for technicians and educators to train people to do the job themselves.

Example: In Nigeria, American university teams have already given advance training to 150 Nigerian primary instructors who are now passing on their skills to 5,000 prospective teachers in 35 training colleges.

Foreign aid goes to help build business enterprises in developing nations.

Example: American businessmen, with A.I.D. help, are exploring investment opportunities in developing countries, such as plastics in Turkey, milk and ice cream in Colombia, and machine tools in India.



• The United States is not the only one "in" the business of aid. Western Europe and Japan (once themselves beneficiaries of U. S. aid) increasingly provide assistance. And their share, as compared to ours, works out to about a 40%-60% ratio, which does not seem out of line with relative economic outputs. In fact, several Western European countries now contribute over one percent of their Gross National Product toward aid while the United States contributes less than one percent.

• U. S. aid funds are not being poured down an "endless rathole." Economic assistance takes time to take hold—but it doesn't take forever. Greece and Taiwan, for instance, are nearly on their feet and economic assistance to them may shortly end. And A.I.D. officials are encouraged over the economic headway being made by such countries as India, Pakistan, Colombia, and Nigeria.

As a matter of fact, the foreign aid share of the U. S. federal budget has been declining—from 11.5 percent in 1949 to 4.1 percent in 1963.

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

TO _____

_____

_____

League of Women Voters of the U.S.

[redacted]

This is going on Special Subscription Service

November 18-20, 1963

STATEMENT ON HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
TO THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The interest of the League of Women Voters of the United States in suffrage for citizens of the District of Columbia is almost as old as the League itself. And the League dates its birth to the time when women were first given the vote through passage of the 19th Amendment. Support of suffrage for the District was voted onto the League Program in 1924, four years after the League was organized. In one wording or another it has been retained there ever since.

When women of the United States achieved full suffrage after a campaign that had been waged for 72 years, those who joined the League of Women Voters could not rest content while citizens of the Nation's Capital were deprived of the right to vote and of the right to be represented in their government.

League members in local communities in all 50 states work hard to improve their own local governments. They believe that only through the vigilance of responsible citizens can our form of government function well. They are convinced that citizen participation at the local level underlies citizen activity at all levels.

As long ago as 1938, the Convention, composed of delegates from local and state Leagues recognized the increasing burden on Congress of administering the city's government. League members have watched as the affairs of the nation have grown more and more complex; as the sessions of Congress have grown longer and longer in order to handle that complexity. They believe it is uneconomical use of the time of our Representatives to have them deal with the details of municipal government.

Conditions in Washington, the Nation's Capital, are closely observed by visitors from other countries. Lack of full voting rights in the District of Columbia is hard to explain and dims the lustre of the city as the capital of a great representative democracy.

To the League, with its long interest in the principles of representative government and individual liberty established in the Constitution of the United States, there is an anomaly in telling people all over the world that democracy is the best form of government and then limiting its full exercise by residents of the United States. Therefore League members do not accept the argument that because Washington is the capital of the nation it should be governed entirely by the national legislature.

Citizens used the ballot box in the nation's early years, participating actively in local government. There was no doubt that self-government locally was legal.

(over)

Current proposals for District Home Rule include safeguards which we believe preserve the constitutionality of local self-government: Congress and the President could at any time exercise a veto over enactments of the local legislative body. Moreover Congress at any time could withdraw the privilege of self-government by rescinding the enacting legislation.

At the most recent League Convention, May 1962, the delegates voted unanimously to support efforts to achieve self-government for the District of Columbia.

Today the League of Women Voters of the United States is organized in 1163 local communities scattered through all the 50 states. Almost all members of the House of Representatives have one or more Leagues in their districts. League members are hoping their Representatives will have the opportunity during the 88th Congress to support a bill granting self-government to citizens of the District of Columbia.

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, [redacted]

CED

Dedicated to the Nation's Economic Health

Advance Summary
of a Statement on National Policy*

CONFIDENTIAL NOT FOR RELEASE

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE FOR BETTER WORLD TRADE

For some 20 years the United States has made the liberalization of trade a central feature of its foreign economic policy. With the United States taking the lead, the nations of the free world made great progress between 1947 and 1961 in clearing away prewar and wartime restrictions on world trade. The negotiations were conducted under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Now the United States and other free world countries are engaged in a round of trade negotiations that dwarfs in importance any in the series of earlier GATT negotiations. A great need today is to see that the European Economic Community (EEC), the strongest of Europe's two trading blocs, reaches its goal of internal free trade while liberalizing rather than limiting the flow of international trade taken as a whole. To a lesser extent, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) poses the same problem.

The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 was designed to meet these and other changes that have taken place in the relation of the U. S. economy to the rest of the world, and to do so in such a way as to assure continued economic interdependence among free world nations. The Act gives the President authority to cut most U. S. duties, on an across-the-board basis, by up to 50% over five years in return for equivalent concessions from other nations. The United States can also negotiate for the limitation or removal of other types of obstacles to an expanded flow of trade.

If the negotiations result in reciprocal tariff reductions coming close to 50% across-the-board while keeping EEC open to agricultural imports from the rest of the world, the free world could be sure of moving ahead once more to widening markets and expanding production.

The focus of U. S. attention has been, and must continue to be, on getting agreement with EEC. Taken together, its six member nations comprise the world's largest trading unit, with commercial trade somewhat exceeding that of the United States. This country does 20% of its trade with EEC. More than a quarter of U. S. exports go to EEC and EFTA, taken together.

*This is a reportorial summary of A Statement on National Policy, TRADE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A BETTER FREE WORLD ECONOMY, by the Research and Policy Committee of CED. The complete publication, including footnotes of comment, reservation or dissent, may be obtained from the Committee for Economic Development.

The alternative to a successful GATT negotiation is not the maintenance of the status quo with these two blocs. Instead, it is deterioration of the terms under which outsiders will trade with them, as compared with the terms under which the members of the blocs will trade with each other. This is the prospect, if the negotiations fail, because each of these blocs is in the final stage of conversion to a trading unit in which member nations will be able to buy one another's goods without paying any tariff, while the goods of nonmembers will have a tariff duty included in their price.

> An agreement providing for general and substantial tariff reduction would greatly reduce the effects of the discrimination inherent in EEC and EFTA. For the agreed reduction would narrow the difference between the terms under which insiders and outsiders trade with EEC and EFTA.

For the United States and other exporters of farm products, EEC poses an additional problem. The capstone to the economic unity of EEC is to be a common policy for its high-cost agriculture. This policy, as it now is being put into effect, threatens to be highly protectionist. Farm incomes are to be protected by supported farm prices, and these prices are to be protected from outside pressure by the limitation of imports. A new import control device is being used, the variable import levy. When fully employed, it is an absolutely protective device.

Under EEC farm policy as now indicated, outside producers will be shut out to the extent that EEC price support levels induce a rise in EEC production. Studies by EEC and others of the effects on production of proposed EEC farm price supports indicate they would induce much greater Community production, depriving lower cost producers outside the Community of part of their present share of the EEC market and depriving the Community of the benefits of lower cost foods.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE THROUGH GATT

The agenda for the GATT negotiations includes:

* The reduction of tariffs.
* Reduction of non-tariff barriers to trade.
* Liberalization of trade in agricultural products.
* Reduction of barriers to the trade of underdeveloped countries.

CED's Research and Policy Committee specifies that its recommendations form together a single recommendation for the liberalization of trade across-the-board. It believes the negotiations will be difficult, but that the common interests of the main trading partners are so great that, if they are recognized, the negotiations will succeed.

However, the Committee suggests that, if any major trading unit fails to go along, the rest of the free world nations should consider how they could nevertheless expand their trade, not excluding the possibility of departing from the most favored nation principle.

In making its recommendations, the Committee follows the four main headings of the GATT agenda.

REDUCTION OF TARIFFS -- To get the maximum benefits of increased trade, there needs to be the maximum permissible cut in free world tariffs. Therefore, the United States should try to obtain tariff reductions from its trade partners, in return for reciprocal U.S. concessions, coming as close as possible to 50% on an across-the-board basis.

Exceptions to the rule of equal across-the-board reductions should be confined to three cases -- where essential national defense production is involved; where serious hardship would be inflicted on an industry or major segment thereof; where there are significant tariff "disparities," that is, such differences in the tariffs of different countries on the same product that they have distorting effects on trade.

> Where tariff reduction would cause serious hardship to an industry, the tariff cut should be made in stages, over a number of years, to permit adaptation to trade expansion. Serious hardship should be interpreted as meaning persistent business losses and unemployment.

In its careful examination of the bitterly debated disparity issue between the United States and EEC, the Committee finds little evidence that tariff disparities constitute a legitimate reason for departing to any great extent from the general rule of equal across-the-board duty reductions.

NON-TARIFF BARRIERS -- There are various types of "secondary protection" that need to be brought under control if a general tariff reduction is to have its full effect. Such restrictions on trade include:

1. Certain types of quotas and discriminatory taxes and freight rates that are in violation of GATT rules.
2. Labeling regulations, safety regulations, and tariff procedures that can be misused for protectionest ends.
3. Protectionist abuse of measures intended to shelter defense production, to abate hardship situations, to protect against dumping of foreign products, and to give special "buy national" preferences.

The search for ways to eliminate the trade distorting effects of non-tariff barriers should be conducted while the tariff negotiations are going on, and should be in the hands of task force committees drawn in part from business.

LIBERALIZING AGRICULTURAL TRADE -- EEC is the most important cash outlet for U. S. farm exports. Our goal should be an agreement that permits non-Community producers to maintain at least the share of the EEC farm goods market that they had before the common agricultural policy came into being.

> If EEC should insist on implementing a rigidly protectionist common agricultural policy, it would lock itself up with an uneconomic use of its resources that would be costly to itself and to the rest of the free world. Moreover, given the provisions of the Trade Expansion Act, the U. S. would find it extremely difficult under these conditions, if not impossible, to join with EEC in making extensive reductions in industrial tariffs.

The Committee renewed its earlier recommendation that the United States reduce its support prices on wheat, cotton, rice, feed grains, and related products to market levels. This would permit liberalization of agricultural import quotas. Agricultural tariffs, like others, should be cut 50%.

TRADE WITH UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES -- The economically advanced countries should take three steps to improve the access of underdeveloped countries to their markets:

1. Extend to underdeveloped countries the tariff reductions they make among themselves without requiring, at this time, fully reciprocal reductions from the underdeveloped countries.

2. Eliminate their barriers to imports of tropical products.

3. The United States should gradually eliminate its barriers to imports of lead, zinc, petroleum and copper. The underdeveloped countries should accept now an obligation to make their trade laws fully reciprocal as soon as their balance of payments condition permits.

CED's Research and Policy Committee believes that the GATT negotiations, if successful, will contribute greatly to "A Better Free World Economy." What is at stake today, to use the words of one of the Committee's earlier statements, is "whether the free world moves ahead to widening markets and expanding production or whether it moves in the opposite direction toward intensified economic nationalism and political division."

(Policy statements by the French, Italian and German counterparts of CED and a comparison of U. S. and EEC tariffs are included in the report.)

May 1964

This summary of a Statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee of CED is issued under the sponsorship of the CED Information Committee: Chairman, SIGURD S. LARMON, New York, New York; FAIRFAX M. CONE, Chairman, Executive Committee, Foote, Cone and Belding, Inc.; GARDNER COWLES, President and Editor, Cowles Magazines and Broadcasting Inc.; JOHN P. CUNNINGHAM, Chairman, Executive Committee, Cunningham & Walsh, Inc.; WALTER D. FULLER, Walter D. Fuller Company; ROY E. LARSEN, Chairman, Executive Committee, Time, Incorporated; MAURICE B. MITCHELL, President, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.; C. WREDE PETERSMEYER, President, Corinthian Broadcasting Corp.; HARRY SCHERMAN, Chairman of the Board, Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc.; LEON SHIMKIN, Chairman of the Board, Simon and Schuster, Inc.; FRANK STANTON, President, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.; EDGAR B. STERN, JR., President, Royal Street Corporation.

Nat'l. Positions on CRs

League of Women Voters of the United States [redacted]

This is going on
Duplicate Presidents Mailing

July 8, 1964

STATEMENT TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM COMMITTEE FOR
THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
BY MRS. ROBERT ZURBACH, A DIRECTOR OF THE LEAGUE

Same statement made to Democratic National Platform Committee by Mrs. John D. Kenderdine, a Director of the League, Aug. 21, 1964. Where name of Republican Party occurs, name of Democratic Party was substituted. Fifth paragraph on Page 2 was omitted.

The League of Women Voters of the United States appreciates this opportunity to present to the Republican Platform Committee the considered views of our members on some of the important issues that face the United States today.

Foremost among these issues is that of United States foreign policy, which has been a major concern of the League since 1920, when the League was organized and when women in all states voted for the first time. Our studies have convinced us of the need for international cooperation to keep the peace and promote the development of a prosperous economy in this complex and diversified world.

United Nations

The United Nations, it seems to us, is the best instrument yet conceived for this purpose. During the last two years our members have taken a new, hard look at this organization, examining its strengths and weaknesses with a friendly but critical eye. Realizing that no organization which reflects today's tense and troubled times can be free from conflicts of interest, occasional acrimonious debate and some mistakes, we have been heartened by the success of the United Nations in peacekeeping and in contributing to creation of the basic conditions for a peaceful and stable world through economic and social programs. Our conviction has been sharpened that U.N. financing is a collective responsibility of all member nations and that peacekeeping efforts should be strengthened. Our support for economic development, a strong Secretary-Generalship, a truly international civil service, and greater use of the World Court has been reaffirmed. We have agreed to support the one nation-one vote principle and negotiations under U.N. aegis to reduce the risk of war.

Foreign Economic Aid

The League of Women Voters of the United States supports United States policies which promote world economic development, maintain a sound U.S. economy and further international and regional cooperation. The economic reality of this position is that in this interdependent world the few rich nations cannot continue to prosper unless the purchasing power of the many poor nations is broadened and increased. The political reality is that if the United States, the richest nation in the world, is indifferent to the needs of the less fortunate nations, they in turn will be indifferent if not hostile to the values which we hope will be widely shared.

The League believes that a sound, dynamic U.S. economy is essential to world development. The League also believes that other wealthy nations, individually and collectively, must participate more fully in programs of economic assistance and must pursue policies to encourage expanded trade. The sharing of trade and aid responsibilities can help to develop not only economic growth at home and abroad but political harmony among the world's nations, as well.

We believe that the United States should continue to sponsor foreign assistance programs long range in scope, adequately financed, effectively coordinated and administered and which emphasize cooperative efforts by developed countries and maximum self-help by developing countries. The League applies these criteria in working towards improvements in U.S. foreign aid programs. Economic aid is not a miracle to be achieved overnight, but a long-term proposition. Improvements can come only if those receiving aid are willing to accept the immediate sacrifices necessary to the ultimate advancement of their own economic well-being.

We believe that enough money should be appropriated for these programs to underwrite development loans and grants, technical assistance and U.S. contributions to international organizations in proper proportion to our own great resources. Our emphasis on good administration stems from traditional League concern with efficiency and economy and the coordination of related governmental functions.

Private investment of U.S. capital in the less-developed countries can be an important supplemental means of helping these countries reach self-sustaining growth. The League believes that in order to facilitate the flow of private capital to those developing countries which most need it and can use it most advantageously, appropriate safeguards against risks for both the outside investor and the developing country are necessary. The League favors protecting investors by continuation of governmental assistance, such as pre-investment surveys and investment guarantees. To protect the interests of the developing country, we favor encouragement of investors to engage in joint-venture type investments with local businessmen, to seek matching investment funds within the country, to employ and train as high a proportion of local personnel as possible for responsible positions and to send to these countries carefully chosen and well-briefed U.S. representatives. The less-developed countries have a responsibility to encourage their citizens to invest more of their own country's development efforts and to create a more favorable climate for both public and private investment through appropriate internal reform.

In closing this section of our statement, we would like to say that we noted with pleasure that many of the findings made by the Republican Citizens Committee, Critical Issues Council, parallel those which League members have reached.

Trade

The League believes that a liberal U.S. trade policy will best serve the political and economic interests of this country and of its citizens collectively and individually by paving the way for political harmony with other nations, stimulating economic growth at home and abroad, and expanding the opportunities for consumer choice among a wide variety of products. The League supports a flexible, effective and efficient trade policy based on the public interest rather than on special or sectional interests. We endorse systematic reduction of trade barriers, and broad, long-range presidential authority to negotiate trade agreements on an across-the-board basis. The United States should continue to participate in multilateral negotiations of trade agreements and the benefits of these agreements should be extended to our trading partners through most-favored-nation treatment. The principle of reciprocity should be maintained except when political and

economic considerations call for special trade concessions to developing countries. Trade adjustment should be made available to domestic industry and to workers proved to be injured by import competition; such assistance should encourage economic adaptation through self-help efforts of business and labor.

Implicit in the League's support of expanded trade is opposition to measures which impede trade - restrictive administrative procedures, quotas, Buy American provisions and similar measures.

League members are convinced that national and international remedies for the U.S. balance of payments deficit should be aimed generally in the direction of the expansion of trade and away from narrow, short-range, restrictionist palliatives.

The developing countries must expand their efforts if they are to broaden their economic base and improve their people's standard of living. Insofar as commodity arrangements can help moderate sharp fluctuations in the price of primary products and help to stabilize the export income of the developing countries, they can serve a useful though necessarily short-term purpose. We believe that each commodity arrangement should be evaluated on its own merits, that such arrangements should be flexible and open to renegotiation within a reasonable period of time. Primary-product countries should be encouraged through technical and financial assistance to diversify both their primary-product and industrial production. If diversification efforts are not to be frustrated the developed countries, including the United States, will need to open their export doors wider to a broader range of imports, whether raw materials, semi-processed, or finished goods. In order to help the United States meet new competition greater use might be made of trade adjustment assistance to affected U.S. industries and workers.

Water Resources Development

An assured supply of clean water is essential to the nation's continued health and growth. In many cases the states are failing to assume their responsibility in this field. The League of Women Voters is convinced, after some years of study and investigation, that the Federal Government has a role to play in cleaning up our polluted streams and keeping them in prime condition. While the responsibility of the states to assume this task is clearly indicated, strong federal legislation to provide incentives and strong federal enforcement procedures to be applied when the states fail to act are essential. We believe immediate action is needed, and that this country cannot afford to wait any longer before a major pollution abatement program is undertaken across the country.

We are also convinced that planning for the development of our river basins has been too long delayed. Proposals now before Congress would allow states which choose to do so to establish state-federal river basin planning commissions. Through this or some other mechanism for planning development the states should be given an opportunity to get in on the ground floor in planning for the development of their own water resources and to work with federal agencies while the plans are being made. If the states participate from the very beginning citizens would be assured that development projects will meet the needs of their region and the desires of the people who live there. This new approach to planning would, we believe, be a great improvement over the present method and we hope will be given your support.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

The Republican Party has for many years included in its Platform a statement of support for giving citizens of the District of Columbia local self-government. We want to remind you that the need for action on this front still exists. For while

District citizens may now cast their votes for President and Vice President, they still cannot select even their own dogcatcher. It is at the local level that citizens gain their first experience of representative government but this basic education is denied to those who live in the nation's capital. This is an old wrong which should be righted.

To summarize, the League of Women Voters hopes that the Republican Platform will contain strong planks endorsing the United Nations, long-term, long-range programs of economic aid to the developing countries and continuation of U.S. liberal trade policies. We also hope that the Republican Party will pledge active support to measures to clean up our water and keep it clean; back efforts to establish some mechanism for planning river basin development; and give continued support to achieving self-government for citizens of the District of Columbia.

Thank you.

- - -

League of Women Voters of the United States [redacted]

This is going on Duplicate
Presidents Mailing
February 17, 1965

TO: Local League Presidents (Copy to State League Presidents)

FROM: The National Office

RE: "The Alliance for Progress -- Latin America's Peaceful Revolution" --
A new eight week 15-minute radio series now available.

This is a follow-up of our December 4 memo on this new series on the Alliance for Progress which is now available from National Educational Radio, 119 Gregory Hall, Urbana, Illinois 61803. The cost is $2.50 for each 15 minute program, or a total of $20.00 for the entire series (tapes to be returned).

This series was offered first to the 135 National Educational Radio stations throughout the country. To date 49 of these stations have scheduled the programs.

If the NER station in your community did not carry the series, or if you do not have an NER station, you can now offer this program to one of your commercial stations.

Special arrangements can usually be made to carry this on a commercial station even if it is being carried by your local education station. If you have a commercial station that wants to carry it in addition to the education station, write directly to Mr. Robert Underwood, Network Manager, National Educational Radio, 119 Gregory Hall, Urbana, Illinois 61803.

The attached promotion piece on the series should be helpful to you when you discuss the possibility of program scheduling with your local station.

League of Women Voters of the United States

[redacted]

February 17, 1965

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS ... LATIN AMERICA'S PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

A new eight week series of 15 minute radio programs on the latest developments under the Alliance for Progress produced by the League of Women Voters of the United States.

High ranking Latin and North American experts discuss the historic aspects and the over-all view of the Alliance. The series deals with specific issues such as the rising flood of peasants to the cities, the plans to educate all children through the eighth grade, Latin America's united efforts to improve trade, the fight to escape imprisoning patterns through land and tax reforms, efforts to develop women power, health, birth control, and the role of private business in the Alliance.

The programs are available from: National Educational Radio, 119 Gregory Hall, Urbana, Illinois 61803.

The Program Titles and Guests

1. THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS - 1965

   Walt W. Rostow, Counselor and Chairman of Policy Planning Council, U. S. Department of State, and U. S. Member of Inter-American Committee on the Alliance (CIAP)
   Felipe Herrera, President of Inter-American Development Bank
   Mrs. Martin Medak, League of Women Voters

2. HOW, WHAT & WHY OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

   Thomas C. Mann, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and formerly U. S. Coordinator for the Alliance
   Dr. Walter Sedwitz, Assistant Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs, Pan American Union and Executive Secretary, Inter-American Committee on the Alliance (CIAP)
   Mrs. Martin Medak, League of Women Voters

3. LABOR'S PART IN THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

   William C. Doherty, Jr., Director, Social Projects Department, American Institute for Free Labor Development
   Miss Suzy Navarrette, Community Development Specialist, American Institute for Free Labor Development
   Mrs. Martin Medak, League of Women Voters

4. VENEZUELA - ONE COUNTRY'S PLAN UNDER THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

   Enrique Tejera-Paris, The Ambassador of Venezuela
   William Rogers, Deputy U. S. Coordinator for the Alliance
   Mrs. Martin Medak, League of Women Voters

5. NEW DIRECTIONS IN EDUCATION UNDER THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Dr. Arturo Morales-Carrion, Special Advisor to Secretary General, Organization of American States (OAS)
Prof. Francisco S. Cespedas, Director, Department of Educational Affairs, OAS
Mrs. Jesse Orlansky, League of Women Voters

6. EMERGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA

Mrs. Mildred M. Mersereau, Latin American Consultant to the Overseas Education Fund of League of Women Voters
Mrs. Katharine Pringle, Women's Activities Advisor, U. S. Department of State
Mrs. Jesse Orlansky, League of Women Voters

7. TAX AND LAND REFORM - WHAT PROGRESS?

Dr. Paul Rosenstein-Rodan, Professor of Economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and member of the Panel of Nine, Alliance for Progress
Pedro Iraneta, Director of Economic and Social Development Division, Inter-American Development Bank
Mrs. Jesse Orlansky, League of Women Voters

8. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE UNDER THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Martin Pers

League of Women Voters
of the United States

Memorandum

[redacted]

This is going on Duplicate
Presidents Mailing

October 20, 1965

TO: Local and State League Presidents
FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Stuart
RE: Report from the Hill on Home Rule for the District of Columbia

The future of home rule for the District of Columbia was left up in the air following the September 29 passage of a referendum bill* in the House of Representatives. The referendum bill is so completely different from the Senate-passed bill that reconciliation will be a difficult task.

On September 3, success seemed imminent. After years of struggle to get legislation to the floor of the House, home rule proponents were successful in obtaining 218 signatures on a discharge petition to get the Administration bill, H.R. 4644, discharged from the House District of Columbia Committee and on the House Calendar for September 27. However, getting enough members to vote for the bill was another matter. Following the success of the discharge petition, the head count by House leaders showed a perilously slim margin if any margin at all.

In a move to insure victory, the leadership compromised on the bill by removing the most controversial provision -- the automatic annual payments by the U.S. Treasury that would have made the new city government financially independent of Congress. The bill was further compromised: (1) it raised the voting age from 18 to 21 and increased the residence requirement from six months to one year; (2) it provided for election of the Mayor and all Council members for four-year terms in even-numbered non-Presidential election years, instead of staggering the terms of the Council with half elected every two years; and (3) it authorized the President to use federal troops or assume command of the local police force if necessary to protect the federal interest or to maintain order. The strategy was for Rep. Multer (D., N.Y.) to substitute the compromise bill (H.R. 11218*) for H.R. 4644.*

Debate began on the discharged bill, H.R. 4644, on September 27 under an open rule (permitting amendments) which provided for five hours of general debate and five minutes on each amendment followed by one motion to recommit the bill with or without instructions and then an immediate vote on final passage of the bill. The final vote came on the afternoon of September 29. These three days are an excellent case study in congressional politics. It takes a careful analysis of a dozen votes to classify everyone. When you have a few hours to spare, we highly recommend reading the Congressional Record for September 27, 28, 29.

At the end of the five hours' debate allowed on H.R. 4644, Rep. Multer (September 28) submitted his amendment substituting the provisions of H.R. 11218 for those of H.R. 4644. Rep. Sisk (D., Calif.) immediately offered his referendum plan (H.R. 10115, as introduced July 27) as a substitute for the Multer substitute. Both proposals were then open for discussion and amendment simultaneously.

Sensing the division in the House, the opposition moved to kill the legislation outright. Rep. Hays (D., Ohio) moved that the bill's (H.R. 4644) enacting clause be

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* See pages 2 and 3 for explanation of bills.

stricken making the bill meaningless. On a teller vote, in which members line up in the aisle to be counted, the motion to kill the bill was carried by four votes, 144 to 140. The stunning defeat was reversed moments later when a roll call vote was ordered. Proponents were able to pull in enough members to defeat the motion by a 179-219 roll call vote.

Under the House rules, the Sisk amendment was voted on first. If it passed, it would be substituted for the Multer amendment (i.e., compromise bill) and the House would never have the opportunity to vote on the contents in the Multer amendment or the original Administration bill. This is exactly what happened. The Sisk substitute (i.e., H.R. 10115) was brought to a vote and accepted by a 198-139 teller vote. (This was the key vote. There was no roll call on the Sisk substitute.) The Multer amendment, now substituted by the Sisk amendment, was accepted by a 198-140 teller and then by a 227-174 roll call vote. This action concluded consideration of amendments and, under the rule, the previous question (preventing amendments and bringing H.R. 4644 -- now the Sisk substitute -- to a vote) was ordered. The only hope for the Administration forces would have been to offer the recommittal motion permitted under the rule and to include instructions that the D.C. Committee report back the Administration bill. But under House rules, a minority member opposing the bill is given the first chance at recommittal. Alvin E. O'Konski (R., Wis.) moved to recommit H.R. 4644 without instructions (kill the bill), which was rejected by a 134-266 roll call. The House then passed the bill, by a 283-117 roll call, and then substituted its provisions for those of S. 1118 as passed by the Senate.

REACTION ON THE HILL:*

Majority Leader Carl Albert (D., Okla.) said home rule was a "dead duck" for the current session and "we'll be lucky to get it next year."

Rep. Carleton Sickles (D., Md.), one of the sponsors of the Administration bill, said the only hope was to gain "Senate acceptance of the House bill intact."

Senate District Committee Chairman Alan Bible (D., Nev.) said he was "deeply distressed" by the House action but "I have enough optimism to hope that a conference can resolve the broad differences and produce a meaningful home rule bill."

Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), a committee member, said the House action "represents a parliamentary exercise in avoiding an issue."

Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.) said he would "stand in a state of marvel and wonderment at the wisdom" of Senate-House conferees if they could resolve the differences between the bills.

BILLS ON D.C. HOME RULE

H.R. 4644 (original Administration bill which was discharged from the House District Committee)

Provided, contingent on approval of D.C. voters in a special referendum, for an elected Mayor, a 15-member bipartisan city council (one from each of 15 wards), and a nonvoting delegate in the House of Representatives. Abolished the school board and transferred its functions to the District Council. Established a federal payment to the D.C. general fund of amounts equal to the total of the real estate taxes, personal property taxes, and business income and related taxes which the federal govern-

* From Congressional Quarterly October 1, 1965, page 1964.

Home rule bill reported by the House District of Columbia Committee

On September 2, when success of the discharge petition seemed imminent, the House District of Columbia Committee, which had failed to report a home rule bill in the last 16 years, met and approved an amended version of the referendum bill (H.R. 10115) introduced July 27 by Rep. Sisk (D., Calif.) The Committee combined Rep. Broyhill's (R., Va.) retrocession bill (would give 85% of the District of Columbia back to the State of Maryland) with the Sisk referendum bill (if Maryland refused to accept this part of the District then these D.C. residents would vote on whether they wanted a charter). The Committee bill was then scheduled for House action on the next District Day, September 13. The House leadership considered the Committee action a delaying tactic and were able to keep the bill from coming up on the 13th. No further action was taken on the retrocession-referendum bill.

THE FUTURE OF HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Since the House of Representatives has clearly rejected the Senate-passed bill, the chances of any further action on it are nil.

The Senate could accept the House version, completing congressional action on home rule. However, there are several provisions in this bill of concern to home rule leaders. In the House-passed bill, Congress has only two choices -- it may accept the entire charter or it may reject it. It cannot amend it. The chances of complete agreement in Congress on a home rule charter written and approved by local residents are dim. If Congress did reject the home rule charter, it would probably be the end of home rule for many years. The House version also allows the Charter Board to create "such courts as may be necessary to assume the functions, solely relating to the affairs of the District of Columbia, of any federal court within the District." The chances of Congress's permitting local residents to change the courts system in the District are also considered unlikely.

It is now generally conceded that only an amended version of the referendum bill has any chance of getting through Congress during the second session of the 89th Congress. Several suggestions have been made, i.e., broadening the charter-writing commission to include members of Congress and representatives of the Executive Departments, and allowing Congress to amend the final charter.

Meetings have been held to work out a compromise, but to date none has been announced. There is the possibility that Senator Bible, Chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Committee, will hold hearings early in the second session of Congress on the House-passed bill.

WHAT THE LEAGUE CAN DO

It was a great disappointment that Congress could not agree on a home rule bill during the first session of the 89th Congress. However, our efforts have not been in vain; home rule is still alive. The House of Representatives finally had the opportunity to vote on home rule legislation and did approve of a home rule bill even if it was completely different from the Senate-passed version.

We are hopeful that during the second session of the 89th Congress, the Senate will pass a compromise version of the referendum bill acceptable to the House. When you interview your Congressman this fall, let him know of our continued interest in home rule for the District of Columbia and urge him to do whatever he can to see that final action on home rule is approved in 1966.

# # #

ment could be expected to pay if it were a taxable entity. Required concurrence of the General Services Administration in the assessment. Provided for supervision of the District fiscal affairs by the General Accounting Office. Made inapplicable to D.C. elections sections of a 1939 law (the Hatch Act) prohibiting officers or employees of the Executive Branch from taking part in political activities.

S. 1118 (as passed by the Senate July 22)

Basically the same as H.R. 4644. The Senate made the following changes:

1) Established a 19-member bipartisan District Council (one from each of 14 wards and 5 at large, stipulated that no more than 3 of the 5 at large Council members could be from the same party). Increased Council's terms of office from 2 to 4 years and provided for staggering of terms;

2) Provided for election of nonpartisan 14-member Board of Education (one from each ward);

3) Authorized D.C. voters to initiate and enact legislation relating to the District, independent of the Mayor and Council.

H.R. 11218 (Rep. Multer's (R., N.Y.) compromise bill)

Contained the provisions of S. 1118 as passed by the Senate with the following changes:

1) Provided for annual congressional appropriation of federal payment to the District (while retaining the bill's flexible formula for determining the payment ceiling);

2) Provided for election of the Mayor and all Council members for four-year terms in even-numbered non-Presidential election years;

3) Required that D.C. voters be 21 years old (instead of 18) and residents for one year (instead of six months);

4) Authorized the President to use federal troops or take over local police if necessary to protect the federal interest or to maintain order.

H.R. 10115 (Rep. Sisk's (D., Calif.) referendum bill as introduced July 27) (The content of this bill is now S. 1118 as passed by the House September 29)

Within 100 days after enactment of the bill, D.C. voters would vote on a referendum on the question of whether or not they wanted some form of local self-government and at the same time would elect a 15-member D.C. Charter Board on a city-wide, nonpartisan basis. If the referendum were approved, the Charter Board would have 210 days to write a charter vesting in a D.C. government complete legislative power over the District on D.C. legislative matters currently handled by Congress but reserving to Congress the right to amend the charter at any time and reserving to the President the right to veto any acts of the local government. Within 45 days after proposal, the charter would be submitted to D.C. voters for approval in a referendum. If approved, the charter would be submitted to Congress and would take effect 90 days after the referendum unless disapproved by either House. If both Houses approved before the 90 days, it would take effect immediately.

THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES

Established 1945

COMPRISES:

The eleven independent Arab States of Iraq, Jordan, Kuweit, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic and Yemen.

OBJECTIVES:

a) To strengthen the close relations and ties which link the Arab States;

b) To support and stabilize these ties upon a basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of these States;

c) To direct their efforts towards the common goal of all the Arab countries, the improvement of their status, the security of their future and the realization of their aspirations and hopes; and

d) To fuse the various cultural, linguistic, historic, social and political elements in the Arab countries into one harmonious whole.

THE ARAB INFORMATION CENTER

An organ of the League of Arab States, established in 1955 with branches in New York, Washington D. C., Chicago, San Francisco, Dallas, and Ottawa, Canada.

OBJECTIVES:

a) To meet the ever increasing demand for information about the Arab world — its peoples, its problems and its aspirations;

b) To acquaint Americans with the swift transitions in the Arab world; and

c) To foster, improve and strengthen relations between the Arabs and the United States.

In carrying out the above objectives the Arab Information Center:

a) Maintains direct contact with organizations, clubs, students, women's groups and institutions interested in the Arab world;

b) Serves the needs and interests of writers, editors, and others in the field of communication by supplying them with current and background material on the different subjects pertinent to the Arab countries;

c) Provides experienced speakers to address American audiences on subjects of interest, such as: Arab history and civilization; the problem of Palestine; the war in Algeria; Arab nationalism; women in the Arab world; Arab-United States relations, etc.; and

d) Undertakes radio and T.V. programs, feature stories, and presents other audio-visual aid material on the Arab people and their problems.

LEARN MORE ABOUT THE ARAB WORLD

(Any of the following publications are available free upon request)

A. Palestine Problem

1) Strife in the Holy Land (24 pages)

A summary of pertinent information about the Palestine problem since the advent of Zionism after World War I.

2) Palestine - Questions and Answers (85 pages)

A valuable resource material on the Palestine Question, past and present - presented in the form of questions and answers.

3) Palestine Partitioned - 1947-1958 (42 pages)

A compilation of "Excerpts and Documents" from United Nations resolutions, documents, armistice agreements, UNRWA reports and other authoritative sources on the Palestine problem.

4) The Record of Israel at the United Nations (124 pages)

A documented study of Israel's words and deeds, based upon official United Nations and Israeli publications.

5) Israel and the Arab Minority (40 pages)

The story of the Arabs still living in Israel deprived and denied political, economic and human rights.

6) The Question of Palestine (27 pages)

A factual analysis of the Palestine problem with a view of its solution.

7) Exodus - A Distortion of Truth (34 pages)

A revelation of the inaccuracies which permeates the book Exodus by Leon Uris and the misrepresentations directed by him at tainting the image of the Arab people and their right to Palestine.

8) Who Benefits from Anti-Semitism (13 pages)

A revealing analysis showing how the Zionists and their offspring Israel utilize anti-semitism as a device to achieve their aggressive political ends.

9) Israel According to the Holy Scriptures (45 pages)

A symposium by five outstanding theologians from different denominations who agree that there is no basis in either Old or New Testament to support the claim of the Zionists that a modern Jewish state in Palestine is prophesied in Holy Scriptures.

10) Immigration to Israel (23 pages)

The dangers of Israel's immigration policy to the Arab world.

11) Ben-Gurion Speaks (14 pages)

Statements uttered before and after Ben-Gurion assumed political power, on Jewish immigration policy and other relevant issues.

12) German Reparations and Israeli Compensations (10 pages)

A comparative study indicating that while Jewish victims of Nazi persecution received from Germany reparations for losses sustained and restitution of property, Israel has failed to treat her Arab victims with the same justice and compassion.

13) The Truth About Israel's Peace Offers (27 pages)

A scrutiny of Israel's peace offers which expose the hypocrisy and bad intentions of its leaders.

B. The Arab World

1) Digest of Major Arab issues (44 pages)

A pamphlet presenting the facts in nutshell form of the major political, economic, and social problems confronting the Arab world. Economic and social progress in the various Arab States are also stressed.

2) Public Health and Welfare in the Arab States (31 pages)

Arab contribution to medicine and public health, as well as the present and future health and social welfare activities in the Arab states, are presented in this pamphlet.

3) The Suez Canal - Safe and Free Passage (48 pages)

A clarification of the basic issues involved in the dispute over this Arab strategic waterway.

4) The Strategic Arab World

A map of the Arab world, with facts and figures about the area's geography and resources.

5) British Imperialism in Southern Arabia (86 pages)

A review of the long struggle of the peoples of Southern Arabia to achieve their basic rights from British colonial occupation.

6) The Question of Oman (20 pages)

A factual analysis of the British-Oman dispute; the injustice perpetrated against the people of Oman as well as the real motives behind British aggression.

7) The Problem of Mauritania (29 pages)

A historical survey of Mauritania which the Government of Morocco regards as an integral part of its territory.

C. Algeria

1) Algeria - Questions and Answers (26 pages)

A pamphlet providing answers to the most important questions pertinent to the basic causes and acts of the conflict in Algeria.

2) Violations of Human Rights in Algeria (22 pages)

Excerpts from statements by both French and impartial sources on conditions in internment camps and the treatment of suspects and prisoners in Algeria.

D. Periodicals

1) The Arab World

A monthly illustrated magazine presenting factual, informative, cultural and potential material about the Arab lands, people, progress and aspirations.

2) Arab News and Views

A bi-monthly publication presenting the latest Arab States news and activities.

Call on us any time

THE ARAB INFORMATION CENTER
THE HARTFORD BUILDING
[redacted]

Arab Information Center

The Hartford Building [redacted]
St. Paul Street • Dallas 1, Texas

RI 8-4623

DO YOU KNOW?

THAT David Ben-Gurion, now Israeli Prime Minister, was found guilty by the British Mandatory Government of complicity in directing acts of violence and sabotage in Palestine, such as the blowing up of the King David Hotel in 1946 where one-hundred government officials lost their lives?
For further details, read British White Paper Cmd.6873 dated July 24, 1946.

THAT David Ben-Gurion told a United Press Correspondent on May 13, 1953: "We want peace for several reasons. Firstly, we want peace for its own sake. We know what war is. Secondly, we need peace to build up the country and take our people in"; and on October 14, 1953, the Israeli Army attacked the village of Qibya in Jordan, killing 42, wounding 15 and destroying the entire village?

THAT David Ben-Gurion made an offer to talk peace with the Arabs on February 27, 1955, and the following day the Israeli Army attacked the Gaza Strip, killing 38 persons and wounding 31?

THAT David Ben-Gurion repeated his peace offer on November 1, 1955, and on the following day the Israeli Army attacked at El-Auja, killing 50 men and taking 40 prisoners?

THAT David Ben-Gurion again made a peace offer on December 10, 1955, while preparing for his attack the following day on the Syrian Outpost on Lake Tiberias, where 56 persons were killed and 8 wounded?

THAT only four days after he had made a solemn pledge that "Israel would never engage in aggressive warfare," David Ben-Gurion launched a full-scale attack on Egypt on October 29, 1956?

THAT Israel was condemned by organs of the United Nations for these and similar acts of aggression at least twenty-five times, and for five of which was censured by the Security Council; while the invasion of Egypt drew world condemnation?

THAT not one single Arab State has been brought before the Security Council and condemned or censured as Israel has been for military action by her regular armed forces?

THAT Israel has consistently defied the United Nations and has violated the resolutions of the World Organization at least seventy times?

THAT Israel accuses the U.A.R. of violating a 1951 Security Council resolution on the passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal, but ignores four earlier resolutions: In 1947 on territory, in 1948 on the repatriation and compensation of the refugees, in 1949 on the internationalization of Jerusalem, and in 1950 on the protection of the rights, property and interests of the refugees?

THAT the Zionists murdered British Secretary of State Lord Moyne in Cairo in 1944 and U.N. Mediator Count Bernadotte in Jerusalem in 1948, because they both stood between them and their plans in Palestine?

THAT the Zionists massacred 250 men, women and children in the village of Deir Yasin on April 9, 1948, threw their bodies into a well, and paraded others half-naked through the streets of Jerusalem; all this after they had signed a non-aggression pact with their unarmed and unsuspecting Arab neighbors?

THAT the Israeli Army murdered in cold blood 51 persons and wounded 13 in the village of Kafr Qasem situated on the Israeli side of the armistice demarcation line for no reason except that they were Arabs?

THAT Israel has seized Arab lands and property, pillaged whole Arab towns and villages, plundered the contents of homes and business premises, and destroyed Arab villages, contrary to every sense of morality and decency?

THAT British historian Arnold Toynbee, author of the monumental works, A Study of History, described "the Jewish treatment of the Arabs in 1947 as morally indefensible as the slaughter by the Nazis of 6,000,000 Jews;" and on the question of seizure of Arab property, he called it "robbery"?

THAT Israel was the first country in the Middle East to purchase arms from communist Czechoslovakia; and that the arms were purchased with tax-free dollars donated by U.S. Jewry for charitable purposes?

THAT Israel was the first country in the Middle East to declare its "neutralism" in the 'cold war' between East and West, in grateful recognition of Russia's aid to the "Jewish state" in the early years of its statehood?

THAT Arabs residing in Israeli-occupied territory are deprived of their social, economic, and political rights and are obliged to carry a Class B Identity Card; Class A being reserved for Jews?

THAT United States missionaries operating in Israel have been attacked and obstructed in the exercise of their religious freedoms to the same extent as in civilized countries?

THAT the one country in the whole world where Evangelist Billy Graham was denied the right to hold his crusade was in Israel?

THAT the Zionist aims are: to zionize Jews, to imbue in them a love for Israel as their national home and center, to strengthen the awareness of American Jews that they form a Jewish national entity distinct from other American citizens, to implant in them a love for Israel as their second homeland where they will eventually settle, and to exert pressure on the American Government in behalf of Israel?

THAT Dr. Nahum Goldman, a Russian-born U.S. citizen and President of the Zionist Organization of America, told the World Jewish Congress in Geneva, Switzerland, that "he must insist on the right of Jews not only to equality as citizens but on the right and the possibility to remain a distinct Jewish group in all countries of the world, whatever the social and political regime may be"?

THAT the said Dr. Nahum Goldman, although a U. S. citizen, is taking an active part in the political life of Israel where it is rumoured he will eventually settle?

THAT Israel's Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golde Meir, was born in Russia, took on U.S. citizenship during her residency in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and later renounced it in favor of Israeli citizenship?

THAT David Ben-Gurion denounced all Jews who live outside Israel as "godless"?

THAT David Ben-Gurion in describing the relationship of world Jewry to Israel said that "when a Jew in America or South America speaks of 'our government' to his 'fellow Jews', he usually means the Government of Israel; while the Jewish public in various countries view the Israeli ambassador as their own representative?

THAT communism in all Arab countries is outlawed, but in Israel communism operates freely, with the sanction of the law, and in which communist organizations are permitted to engage in the full range of the state's political life?

THAT the Israeli Communist Party with its fellow-travellers occupy 21 seats out of a total of 120 seats in the Israeli Parliament?

THAT life in rural areas in Israel has been described by the Special Study Mission of the Committee on Foreign Affairs as "a form of elementary communism" and ruled that "it cannot be classified among democratic institutions"?

THAT one of the aims of the Zionist movement is to pressure the United States Government to act in favor of Israel whatever the cost to United States interests and security?

THAT Senator William Fulbright (D-Ark.) complained to the Senate: "In recent years we have seen the rise of organizations dedicated apparently not to America, but to foreign states and groups," and he warned that "foreign policy was too important to our total national security for it to become the instrument of minorities whose lobbyists stand outside the Chambers of Congress urging members to follow courses of action beneficial to special interests but with potentially catastrophic consequences for the Nation as a whole"?

THAT another aim of the Zionist movement is "to finance and recruit mass-emigration to Israel, and to conduct and direct propaganda for Israel"?

THAT Israel has received financial aid from the U. S. Government during the years 1948-1960 to the extent of $653 million of which $256 million were outright grants?

THAT tax-free dollars collected by the United Jewish Appeal, of which the bulk goes to Israel, has exceeded the billion dollar mark during the first decade of its existence?

THAT Israel has been granted the unique privilege of conducting an Israeli Bond Drive in the United States which has so far netted over $500 million, and that a second Bond Issue of $500 million is contemplated?

THAT U.S. dollars pouring into Israel has been in the neighborhood of $250 million per annum, and that the total sum has now passed the staggering three billion figure?

THAT U.S. Government pressure on West Germany was responsible for the conclusion of the "Reparations Agreement" whereby Israel became the recipient of $70 million per annum for twelve years?

THAT Israel, while receiving reparations for crimes committed by the Nazis against the Jews who were not even citizens of the yet unborn "Jewish state", will not pay even the rent due on Arab property which the Israelis have seized and occupy illegally?

THAT the army which Israel boasts to be stronger than all the Arab armies combined, is maintained by funds supplied tax-free by U.S. Jewry?

THAT the Israelis are constructing a nuclear reactor which will cost some $700 million capable of producing an atomic bomb; that it was kept secret from the United States whose tax-free dollars Israel uses for the project; and that it has refused permission to the U.S. Government or the United Nations to inspect the plant to ensure that it is truly intended for peaceful purposes?

THAT Israel's trade deficit is said to exceed $300 million per annum, and that were it not for the charitable contributions of U.S. Jewry, Israel would not last for six months?

THAT the "Lavon Affair" relates to an espionage ring formed by the Israelis of Egyptian-Zionist-Jews to bomb official United States offices, burn U.S. Information Agency libraries, and eventually attack American personnel working in Egypt with a view to arousing the enmity of the American people against the U.A.R. and the Arabs?

* * *

FOR INFORMATION ON THE ARAB WORLD, ITS PROBLEMS, AND HOW TO IMPROVE ARAB-AMERICAN RELATIONS, CONSULT WITH THE ARAB INFORMATION CENTER.

L E A G U E O F W O M E N V O T E R S

o f

T H E D I S T R I C T O F C O L U M B I A

[redacted]

* * * *

MAKE 1970 THE YEAR OF THE VOTER FOR UNREPRESENTED WASHINGTON, D.C.

* * * *

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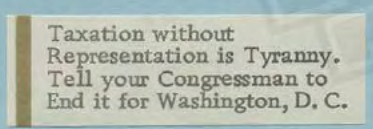

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(250 is the minimum order)

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Mrs. W. J. Gallman [redacted]

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Date.....

"... GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED."

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

BUT NOT FOR THE CITIZENS OF

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE LAST COLONY

800,000 RESIDENTS OF WASHINGTON, D.C. ARE VOICELESS AND VOTELESS IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

They lack a basic democratic right that most of us take for granted. Think about it. Think about these facts:

- Washington, D.C., is governed by Congress but there is no member of Congress who represents Washington.
- Congress makes laws affecting all Americans. But Americans in Washington have no Congressman to vote for them or speak for them.
- Washington's citizens pay federal and local taxes determined by Congress but they are taxed without representation.

In 1770, citizens of the 13 colonies said "Taxation without representation" is wrong. In 1970, it's still wrong. It's wrong for citizens of Washington, D.C., the nation's capital, to be denied the right to participate in the affairs of their government.

ONLY YOU CAN MAKE IT RIGHT.

IT WILL TAKE A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO GIVE REPRESENTATION IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE PEOPLE OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

THEY NEED YOUR HELP.

What Can You Do?

Write your Senators and Representatives. Washington's citizens have none. Tell them it's time District citizens were represented in Congress.

Put your name and address on the petition on the next page. Ask some friends to sign it, also.

Mail it now to D.C. Petition, P.O. Box [redacted]

The League of Women Voters will see that it reaches Congress.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

We citizens of the United States, believing that all citizens should have representatives in the body which makes their laws, petition the Congress to propose a constitutional amendment to provide full voting representation in Congress for the citizens of the District of Columbia.

NAME	NUMBER & STREET ADDRESS	CITY OR TOWN	ZIP CODE

Mail to: [redacted]

Date _____ State _____

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

WE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, BELIEVING THAT ALL CITIZENS SHOULD ELECT THEIR REPRESENTATIVES TO THE BODY WHICH MAKES THEIR LAWS, PETITION THE CONGRESS TO PROPOSE A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO PROVIDE FULL VOTING REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS FOR THE CITIZENS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The undersigned would like to express their views and to request a response from their U.S. Senators and Representatives on the subject of representation in Congress for the citizens of the District of Columbia.

	Name	Number & Street Address	City or Town	Zip Code
1				
2				
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Return to the local League of Women Voters or mail to:

[redacted]

Person Witnessing Signatures

Name _____

Address _____

Organization (if any) _____

D.C. PETITION DRIVE

During the week of April 19-22, the League of Women Voters of the United States will conduct a nationwide petition drive asking for congressional representation for the citizens of Washington, D.C. On May 6, 1970, the petitions will be presented to members of Congress as part of the League's national convention activities.

In announcing the drive, Mrs. Bruce B. Benson, League President, stated: "The 800,000 residents of Washington, D.C. are without a voice and a vote in the Congress of the United States. They should no longer be denied the right to participate in the affairs of their government."

The League has set a goal of a million and a half signatures — 10 signatures for each of its 157,000 members. In addition, other national organizations who favor congressional representation for Washington, D.C. are expected to join in the petition drive either independently or in cooperation with local Leagues across the country.

Support of congressional representation for the District of Columbia comes from many quarters, including both political parties and a host of national and local organizations. President Richard M. Nixon has stated: "The District's citizens should not be expected to pay taxes for a government they have no part in choosing . . . or to bear the full burden of citizenship without the full rights of citizenship."

Washington residents lack a basic democratic right that many of us take for granted. The city of Washington is governed by Congress, but there is no member of Congress who is elected to represent the people of Washington. Congress makes laws affecting all United States citizens, but citizens of Washington have no Congressman to speak or vote for their interests. At present, the only government officials D.C. residents can vote for are the President and Vice President and the local school board.

Congress determines the amount of federal and local taxes that D.C. residents must pay, but D.C. residents are taxed without representation. Two hundred years ago, the 13 colonies said "Taxation without representation" is wrong. It is still wrong.

Only we can right this wrong. It will take a constitutional amendment to give Washington representation in Congress. The amendment must secure a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress and ratification by three-fourths (38) of the 50 states. Only we and other U.S. citizens all over the country can help secure passage of this amendment. The citizens of Washington can do nothing by themselves.

Representation in Congress would not make the District of Columbia into a state — there are no plans for a governor, legislature, etc. Congress would still have the power "to exercise exclusive legislation" over the District and would retain financial control. Nor would the amendment affect the powers Congress grants to the appointed mayor-commissioner and the District of Columbia city council. It simply would give District citizens a voice and an influence in the Congress that governs them and would extend to them some of the rights we enjoy.

The Declaration of Independence states: "...governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." But the citizens of Washington, D.C., the last colony, are being governed without their consent.

You can help District residents by getting as many signatures as you can on the petition on the reverse side of this sheet. If you run out of space, make additional copies. The petition may be given to the League of Women Voters in your community or mailed, before May 1, 1970, to D.C. Petition, Post Office Box 11001, Washington, D.C. 20008. The League of Women Voters will see that it reaches Congress.

OCT 4 1966

League of Women Voters
of the United States

Memorandum

[redacted]

We're sorry! We forgot the second copy of this memo in your last mailing so here it is

This is going on
Duplicate Presidents Mailing

September 8, 1966

TO: Local and State League Presidents
FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Stuart

It is good for all of us now and then to take stock of just where we are and what we have done. And that is exactly what the Board had in mind when it decided to prepare a booklet on our Current Agenda positions and one on our Continuing Responsibilities.

Quite a bit of time was spent at the post-Convention Board meeting discussing what would be the most useful, helpful and time-saving way -- an alternative to a regular meeting -- to bring old as well as new members up-to-date on all of the Program positions they voted in Denver to retain. And here are the results in pamphlet form: National Current Agenda 1966-68 and National Continuing Responsibilities 1966-68.

The booklets of course do not pretend to be histories of all League Program, but they are indeed histories of the League's involvement with our present positions: human resources, foreign policy and water resources (in the NCA booklet); apportionment of state legislatures, District of Columbia, loyalty-security, tax rates and treaty making (in the NCR publication).

We think you will want to consider these pamphlets "required reading" and by this we mean see that every member has copies. At the same time, we think the publications themselves will be considered "good reading" because they are popular presentations of background on the national issues which are of major importance to us as a group. Although a certain amount of League terminology was necessarily used, every effort was made to make the pamphlets attractive and interesting to both the newcomer and League member of long standing.

Now, how to get them in the hands of every member. Try some of these suggestions:

...include them in your local subscription service
...advertise them in your local and state bulletins (See September FYI for ideas.)
...see that your publication chairman has sale copies on hand at unit and general meetings
...include them in new member kits
...give them to finance workers to help them answer contributors' questions about League positions.

National Current Agenda is 34 pages and National Continuing Responsibilities, 39 pages. Each sells for 40 cents, with the member discount beginning with 10 copies.

Incidentally, a copy of this memo accompanies each booklet, so that the local and state Board members to whom these booklets are distributed will each have a copy.

# # # # # # # #

SEP 13 1966

League of Women Voters
of the United States

Memorandum

[redacted]

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# # # # # #

Martin
SEP 13 1966

NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

1966-1968

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF THE UNITED STATES

PRICE 40c

League of Women Voters of the United States

[redacted]

National Program 1966-1968
Current Agenda

DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES: Support of policies and programs in the United States to provide for all persons equality of opportunity for education and employment.

FOREIGN POLICY: Evaluation of U.S. relations with the People's Republic of China. Support of U.S. policies to enhance the peacekeeping and peacebuilding capacities of the U.N. system and to promote world trade and development, while maintaining a sound U.S. economy.

WATER RESOURCES: Support of national policies and procedures which promote comprehensive long-range planning for conservation and development of water resources and improvement of water quality.

Continuing Responsibilities

APPORTIONMENT OF STATE LEGISLATURES: Support of apportionment of both houses of state legislatures substantially on population.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Support of self-government and representation in Congress for citizens of the District of Columbia.

LOYALTY-SECURITY: Support of standardized procedures, "common sense" judgment, and greatest possible protection for the individual under the federal loyalty-security programs; opposition to extension of such programs to nonsensitive positions.

TAX RATES: Opposition to constitutional limitations on tax rates.

TREATY MAKING: Opposition to constitutional changes that would limit the existing powers of the Executive and the Congress over foreign relations.

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NATIONAL CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES

1966-1968

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Foreword

A Continuing Responsibility is a position of the League, a statement of League agreement, which the members wish to retain without expansion and upon which they wish to continue to act. Delegates to national Convention may adopt a Continuing Responsibility. Readoption at a succeeding Convention means that the members reaffirm the position exactly as it is and want to continue to be able to act.

CRs are somewhat like grown-up offspring, no less beloved than the Current Agenda (the children at home), but able now to stand on their own and usually requiring less time. They are different, however, in one respect: should League members wish to re-evaluate a position embodied in a CR, delegates can vote to put the item back on the Current Agenda. Then the members would restudy and vote to confirm or reshape the position.

Action is of two kinds: (1) developing public support for a League position; and (2) supporting specific measures or policies which promote a position, or opposing those which threaten it.

The national Board has the responsibility to decide whether certain legislation will advance or endanger a League position embodied in a Continuing Responsibility or in a Current Agenda item. The Board chooses the most effective time and the kind of action most likely to accomplish the League goal. Leagues and individual members also work continuously to promote public support: by persuading community leaders of the merits of a League position, by interesting friends and acquaintances in the issue and in the importance of citizen influence on the policy-making processes of government.

Successful action depends most of all on the understanding and enthusiasm of League members. The following pages are designed to set forth for you the national Continuing Responsibilities, the grown-up children of the League.

They belong equally to those members who helped bring them up and to the members who have recently joined the League family.

APPORTIONMENT OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Support of apportionment of both houses of state legislatures substantially on population.

What is the background for national League interest in reapportionment?

The reasons for League concern about malapportionment of state legislatures have their roots in the history and nature of the problem and in the changes in economic and political developments which took place during the twentieth century. Let us briefly review the beginnings.

Among the thirteen original colonies, representation in the legislative bodies was based substantially on population, either specifically or because the distribution of people was fairly uniform among the towns or counties. Later, as state constitutions were drafted, the equality of voter representation was not much distorted. Even in Delaware and New Jersey, where population per se was rejected in both houses as a basis for apportionment, severe imbalances did not result. Delaware's three counties, each to have equal representation, varied in population from about 19,000 to 20,500. New Jersey, in which the range among the counties to be represented was greater, provided in its constitution for adjustment of the number of members of the Assembly on the principle of more equal representation.

The Northwest Ordinance, adopted by the Continental Congress in 1787, provided that population should be the basis of representation in the territorial legislature of the area later to become the states of Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana. And for about 100 years after 1787, all states admitted to the Union provided in their constitutions for legislative representation principally on population. In the more sparsely populated rural West, legislative representation by counties did not much disturb the equality even into the twentieth century, for most counties were large enough to warrant a representative on the basis of population.

But by the 1920s, almost everywhere in the United States, the rising urban population began to distort the equality of legislative representation. In some states, the constitutional provisions stated that counties (or towns) should have at least one representative in one or both houses. In other states, the constitutions provided limits on the number of representatives from a single county in

one or both of the two houses. When these provisions were originally made, they produced reasonable equality of representation. However, population began to decline rapidly in rural areas and rise swiftly in the cities. Severe imbalances resulted. In other states, although the constitutions required reapportionment every ten years on the basis of population, the legislatures simply did not follow the constitutional mandates.

The resulting malapportionment of state legislatures led many state Leagues to adopt study items to examine and discuss ways to deal with it. By 1964 twenty-five state Leagues had Program items on apportionment, and nine others were engaged in constitutional studies of which the problem of legislative districting was a part.

In a Supreme Court decision in a case involving congressional apportionment, *Colegrove* v. *Green* (1946),[1] the statement was made that it is "hostile to a democratic system to involve the judiciary in the politics of the people." On this basis, federal district courts had refrained from accepting jurisdiction in cases involving inequities in legislative apportionment. State courts, too, generally failed to hand down decisions that would force legislatures to reapportion, although many of them noted in their decisions the failure of the legislators to follow the state constitutional mandates. Many people came to consider apportionment of state legislatures a state governmental issue to be resolved only by legislative procedures.

In 1962, however, the U. S. Supreme Court handed down an historic decision in *Baker* v. *Carr*.[2] This case arose in the state of Tennessee where the legislature had not been apportioned according to the state constitution since 1901. The plaintiffs held that their lack of equal representation in the legislature denied them the "equal protection of the Laws" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution. The Court ruled that inequitable legislative apportionment might indeed violate the equal protection clause and that cases involving dilution of a citizen's representation in state legislatures were subject to adjudication in federal courts. The U. S. Supreme Court remanded the Tennessee case to the federal district court for appropriate remedy.

However, it was not until *Reynolds* v. *Sims* (1964)[3] that the Court spelled out the basis for legislative apportionment. It stated that "The Equal Protection Clause demands no less than substantially equal state legislative representation for all citizens, of all places

[1] See page 37 for all References.

as well as of all races." In the decision in *Lucas* v. *Colorado*,[4] the Supreme Court held: "An individual's constitutionally protected right to cast an equally weighted vote cannot be denied even by a vote of a majority of a State's electorate, if the apportionment scheme adopted by the voters fails to measure up to the requirements of the Equal Protection Clause."

What had been considered a state issue by so many now clearly became a national one. Where members had chosen the apportionment issue as a Program item, state Leagues had studied the problems: failure to reapportion, disregard of state constitutional requirements, the question of what agency should apportion, and/or the failure of state legislatures to respond to changing state problems. Each state League engaged in such studies had made its approach relevant to the particular situation in its own state.

The Supreme Court decisions created a flurry of activity in the second session of the 88th Congress. In August 1964, Senator Dirksen (R., Ill.), Minority Leader, and Senator Mansfield (D., Mont.), Majority Leader, co-sponsored an amendment to the foreign-aid authorization bill. The proposed rider[5] would have stayed court action in apportionment cases until January 1966 and would have provided also a "reasonable time" for legislatures to conform. In the House, Representative Tuck (D., Va.) sponsored a bill to deny to federal courts any jurisdiction over state legislative apportionment.

Why did the national League adopt this study?

In the absence of national study and consensus, state Leagues — many of them committed for a long time to apportionment positions and having impressive records of active work in the area — were unable to take action with their representatives and senators in Congress on the Tuck bill or the Dirksen amendment. Many had filed briefs in the federal courts, had completed arduous state-wide petition campaigns for reapportionment, or had worked hard and long for state apportionment legislation.

In addition to the activities of congressmen, there were new developments at the state level. State legislators were introducing resolutions memorializing Congress to: (1) amend the U. S. Constitution relative to jurisdiction of federal courts in the field of apportionment, or (2) to call a constitutional convention for submitting an amendment to allow one house to be apportioned on

factors other than population. In January 1963 and again in January 1965, the national League Board gave limited authority to state Leagues having apportionment positions to oppose in state legislatures such memorial resolutions. But there was no authority for them to talk to representatives or senators in Congress. There had been no national study, no agreement among the Leagues over the nation. Moreover, those Leagues having made state studies of legislative apportionment varied in position one from another. Diverse approaches to congressmen could only result in confusion as to what the League supported. Thus, over 30 state Leagues which had worked so diligently for solutions to malapportionment were unable to speak for or against amendments proposed in 1964 and early 1965, proposals which had direct bearing on their state positions.

Understandably, a great many state Leagues felt frustrated by their inability to act at the national level. They began sending requests to the national Board for a solution to their dilemma. After careful consideration of the problem and much exploration of League thinking over the country, the national Board sent out, in the January Board Report of 1965 and in a memorandum of February 1965, advance notice that it was considering the proposal of an emergency item on apportionment at the Council meeting in May. All Leagues could discuss the possibility before that time and let Council delegates know their views. Copies of proposals that had been sent by several state Leagues to the national office were also sent out in early March to local and state Leagues.

At the Council meeting in May 1965, the national Board proposed the adoption of an emergency item so that all Leagues might study and come to consensus on the *basis* of apportionment for state legislatures. If the Leagues could agree on the basis, they could then act with one voice to support or oppose proposed constitutional amendments. The Council delegates voted to adopt the emergency item: "Apportionment of State Legislatures: Evaluation of the basis of representation, as determined by federal constitutional and statutory provisions, which shall govern the apportionment of state legislatures."

What did the League learn from the study of apportionment?

The nature of the study, the almost immediate possibilities for effective League action, the prior study of more than 30 state Leagues, the timeliness of the issue, and the wealth of current

materials in the news media, magazines, books, congressional hearings, and speeches — all these made the emergency study and proposed deadline of January 1, 1966, for reporting consensus not only possible but exciting.

League members learned that state legislatures had become more and more malapportioned over the years. They learned that, in over half the states, majorities in one or both houses of bicameral legislatures represented less than one third of the state's population. They discovered what many members had found in their state studies: remedies for inequitable apportionment were difficult to achieve. In most states, legislatures themselves did the reapportioning. Since the majority of the legislators were responsible to a minority of the population in so many states, legislators were reluctant to redistrict. They might need to abolish their own seats or those of their fellow legislators from over-represented districts. As one state legislator aptly remarked, "If I have to have my throat cut, I don't want to hold the knife."

The Leagues explored the increasing gravity of the problem. Urban, and especially suburban, populations had grown. In both comparative and absolute terms, rural and small-town populations had declined. The needs and problems of metropolitan areas were largely ignored in state legislative halls. Urban areas were by-passing the legislatures to seek help from the federal government in the solution of their local problems.

League members explored bases other than population for legislative apportionment. They found it difficult to justify the singling out of any special interest or kind of population for over-representation. They asked themselves, "Did the variation from the average district permitted by many decisions of federal district courts provide latitude consistent with a population base to accommodate geographic or other special problems a state might have in determining boundaries of legislative districts?"

What is the League position on apportionment of state legislatures?

After careful evaluation of membership consensus reports, the national Board in January 1966 drew up the following statement of position:

> The members of the League of Women Voters of the United States believe that both houses of state legislatures should be

apportioned substantially on population. The League is convinced that this standard, established by recent apportionment decisions of the Supreme Court, should be maintained and that the U. S. Constitution should not be amended to allow for consideration of factors other than population in apportioning either or both houses of state legislatures.

Of overriding importance to the League in coming to this decision is the conviction that a population standard is the fairest and most equitable way of assuring that each man's vote is of equal value in a democratic and representative system of government. Other considerations influencing League decisions are that the U. S. Constitution should not be amended hastily or without due consideration because of an "unpopular" court decision, and that individual rights now protected by the Constitution should not be weakened or abridged.

Against the background of its long-standing interest in state government, the League also hopes that by maintaining a population standard state government may be strengthened by insuring that state legislatures are more representative of people wherever they live. Finally, the League feels certain that the term "substantially" used in Supreme Court decisions allows adequate leeway for districting to provide for any necessary local diversities.

What action has the League taken on apportionment?

In August 1965, while the Leagues were hastening to study their new item, a constitutional amendment proposed by Senator Dirksen (R., Ill.) as a substitute for minor legislation failed of a two-thirds vote. The proposed amendment provided that a state legislature be permitted to apportion one house on factors other than population. Later, in September 1965, the Senate Judiciary Committee reported without recommendation a modified version of the Dirksen Amendment (SJR 103). No further congressional action took place in the first session.

In January 1966, the League was ready for action. From then until the final vote on the Dirksen Amendment as amended, local and state Leagues and League members wrote their senators to urge them to vote against the proposed amendment. Local League members also worked diligently and imaginatively in their communities

to counteract the activities of the Committee for the Government of the People, which supported the Dirksen Amendment.

In April 1966, the Dirksen Amendment failed to pass by a vote of 58 for, 38 opposed (a two-thirds vote is required for constitutional amendments). That the League was singularly effective was indicated by many expressions on the floor of the Senate. Senator Douglas (D., Ill.), leader of the opposition in the Senate, sent a telegram to the 1966 national League Convention in Denver to express his thanks for League help. It said, in part:

> "Your work on this question was decisive in turning back the efforts to overrule the Supreme Court's defense on the basic right of equality of citizenship in the election of state legislatures.
>
> "Your work will go down in history as the crucial public support for this principle at a moment of great danger."

What lies ahead for the League on apportionment?

By mid-1966, 26 state legislatures had passed resolutions petitioning Congress to call a constitutional convention to draft an amendment permitting one house of a bicameral state legislature to be apportioned on factors other than population.[6] With 46 of the states either apportioned substantially on population or in the process of compliance with the Supreme Court ruling, there seems less likelihood in the up-coming state legislative sessions for passage of additional resolutions. However, in the last session, legislatures newly apportioned did pass such proposals, and only eight more are required to bring the total to 34 (the two thirds required for calling a constitutional convention).

Therefore, League members will be working at the national level in opposition to any future congressional proposals. They may also be working, under the guidance of state League Boards, to oppose in their legislatures any petitions to Congress which would permit apportionment of one house of a state legislature on factors other than population. They may also work to rescind such proposals submitted to Congress in the past. Should the number of petitioning states approach the required total, Congress might prefer submitting its own proposal to calling a constitutional convention. Therefore, it is most important that efforts be continued to oppose passage of any more petitions and to rescind petitions already submitted.

Those Leagues having state positions on other aspects of apportionment will continue to work to implement any state positions not in conflict with national League consensus on the basis of representation. The Supreme Court, in *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, delineates opportunities for diversity: "What is marginally permissible in one state may be unsatisfactory in another, depending on the particular circumstances of the case."[3] The Court goes on to suggest the possibilities for maintaining the integrity of political subdivisions, compactness, contiguity, periodic revision. Positions on these matters, as well as on the apportioning agency, size of legislative bodies, multi- or single-member districts, are held by many state Leagues.

Thus, if a state League has positions on specific facets of apportionment, it can act to implement them. When new apportionment plans are proposed, it can also act, under the authority of the national position, to support those that are based substantially on population.

It will be a time of challenge and change. Will the more representative legislatures be more responsive to the people? Will they be imaginative and effective in solutions of state-wide problems?

Robert B. McKay assesses the consequences of apportionment on the basis of population thus:

> "Reapportionment in satisfaction of the equal-population principle will not automatically correct all the weaknesses of the state and local legislative process — even if a consensus could be reached as to the nature of those deficiencies. Final assessment of the practical consequences of reapportionment must in large part await further experience following the return of the decision-making power to the hands of the majority . . ."[7]

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Support of self-government and representation in Congress for citizens of the District of Columbia.

Why has the League directed attention to this issue?

When the League of Women Voters was organized in 1920, its members had just achieved full suffrage after a campaign beginning 72 years earlier. Since they had so long worked for their own right to vote, it was most logical that they should immediately turn their attention to the plight of the voteless citizens of the District of Columbia. In 1924, the League chose as one of its tasks, "District of Columbia Suffrage: to give the District representation in the Congress and the Electoral College. . . ."

Over the years, the desire for self-government was growing among citizens of the District, and the burden on Congress of administering the city's government was increasing. In 1938, the Convention therefore broadened the League's item to authorize support of the right of District citizens to self-government.

When the delegates to the Convention in 1954 voted to create the category, "Continuing Responsibilities," one of the eight adopted was: "Self-government for the District of Columbia; extension of national suffrage to the citizens of the District."

Delegates to the next three Conventions voted to retain this CR with no change in wording. The Twenty-third Amendment, ratified in 1961, gave the citizens of the District representation in the Electoral College. Partial national suffrage was thus achieved. The 1962 Convention, therefore, adopted the present wording; the 1964 and 1966 Conventions readopted the item unchanged.

In addition to the League's dedication to voting rights, there are other compelling reasons for the long-time interest in accomplishing the goals of this position. In all 50 states, League members in local communities work hard to improve their local governments. The purpose of the League, "to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government," serves to focus the members' concern on those in the nation's capital who are denied the opportunity for such participation.

Then, too, visitors from other nations observe closely conditions in Washington. They note the lack of voting rights in the very capital of a great representative democracy.

For these reasons, the League, believing in the "principles of self-government established in the Constitution of the United States," finds it hard to tolerate the failure in our country to provide for Washington representative local government and representation in Congress.

For citizens of the District to have self-government, Congress by a majority vote must pass enabling legislation. To provide for the District a voting representative in Congress, Congress by a two-thirds vote must pass a proposal for a constitutional amendment which must be ratified by three fourths of the states. Because the citizens of the District are not constituents on whom any congressman depends for re-election, they find it difficult to interest members of Congress in District suffrage. The League of Women Voters, with its continuing contacts with congressmen in most congressional districts, has the organization and experience for making known its concern. League members can work in their congressional districts and in their communities for support of legislation to restore self-government to the District and to give it representation in Congress.

What is the history of the problem?

Local self-government

The Constitution gives Congress the power to "exercise exclusive legislation" over the District. Between 1802 and 1874, Congress delegated local legislative powers to the city of Washington through its own elected city council. Washington had its own mayor from its incorporation in 1802 until 1871. At various times, the mayor was appointed by the President, appointed by the city council, or elected by popular vote. In 1871, Congress enacted a territorial form of government for the whole area of Washington and its environs (what is now the District of Columbia). The building of long-needed streets, sewers, water mains, and parks from 1871 to 1874 incurred a heavy city debt. Because of this and a legacy of problems growing out of the Reconstruction period following the Civil War, a group of District residents asked Congress to take over the local government and the debt. Congress agreed. Since 1874, the U. S. Congress has served as the city council for the District of Columbia, with three commissioners appointed by the President as administrative officers.

Only congressional legislation, not a constitutional amendment, is needed to give self-government to the District. In a 1953 decision, the U. S. Supreme Court said, ". . . there is no constitutional barrier to the delegation by Congress to the District of Columbia of full legislative power . . ." [8]

Every bill for District self-government has carefully protected the national interest by reserving to Congress its legislative authority. Moreover, Congress can always rescind or modify its own legislation, a bill for self-government for the District as well as any other bill.

The purely local affairs of District citizens are in the hands of congressmen elected by voters in other parts of the country. District taxpayers have no voice in the expenditure of local taxes they pay nor in the kinds or amounts of levies. Congress passes the bills which control the local sales taxes, income taxes, special levies on tobacco and liquor. Congress must appropriate the receipts from District taxes before any money can be spent to meet the needs of District citizens as they are interpreted by Congress.

To supplement the moneys raised by taxes in the District, Congress does contribute from national revenues. In the tax year 1965-66, the U. S. Government owned property constituting one third of the total assessed value of all lands and buildings in the District. Foreign governments (embassies, etc.) and educational organizations owning buildings for national headquarters hold an additional 10 percent. All of these properties are tax exempt. Property-tax revenues from over 40 percent of the possible tax base are thus lost to the District budget because Washington is the seat of the national government. The District also provides many costly special services necessary in the nation's capital — policing of federally owned parks and for parades and Capitol-centered activities, expensive bridges and streets that must accommodate commuters from thickly settled suburban areas, and the like.

Although at one time the federal contribution was as much as 50 percent of the District's operating budget, in the last 15 years the federal payment has ranged from less than 9 percent to slightly more than 14 percent — approximately 13 percent in 1965. This payment can be considered as a "payment in lieu of taxes," an arrangement not uncommon between governmental units.[9]

The District of Columbia is the one U. S. community in which a city ordinance must be enacted by a legislative process designed for

national and international affairs. Four congressional committees, the Senate and House District of Columbia Committees and the D. C. Subcommittees of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees, screen legislation for the District. Three commissioners appointed by the President for three-year terms carry out congressional directives and handle such local matters as congressional committees permit. The House and Senate of the United States decide, after full committee consideration, such purely local matters as hiring parking meter attendants, issuing dog licenses, control of weed patches. They also act upon matters that elsewhere state legislatures might authorize for cities, i.e., income-tax rates or general sales-tax rates. Having the Congress serve as a city council and legislature for the District is costly in both money and time.

Citizens of Washington have no voice in the operation of their schools. The nine-member school board is appointed by the District judges. By law, each member serves a three-year term, must have lived in the District five years before appointment; three members must be women. The judges have generally reappointed those members who wish to serve again, although in 1966 none of the three incumbents whose terms expired was reappointed. Most of the school-board members have no children attending District schools.

The fact that Negroes are a majority in Washington — 53.9 percent, according to the 1960 census — is said to be a significant factor in congressional and other opposition to home rule. Some critics of home rule express doubt about possible citizen apathy. Members of the League of Women Voters have indicated by their long-standing and overwhelming support of self-government for District residents that these doubts are not truly germane to the issue of full enfranchisement. League members have not accepted the arguments that because Washington is the capital of the nation, it should be governed exclusively by national legislation; or because the government of Washington is relatively free from graft and scandal, the present arrangement should continue. The League believes that citizens should have a voice in and responsibility for the management of their local affairs.

The particular kind of self-government provided for the residents should be their own determination, as it is in all local governments within the framework of their state laws. National League position is in support of the principle of self-government for the District. Since it affects their community, the members of the League of Women Voters of the District have studied the specifics. The District

League has positions on the kind of local government it believes most desirable, and has testified before Senate and House committees.

Representation in Congress

The District of Columbia is the only part of the continental United States in which citizens have no representation of any sort in Congress. However, according to the 1960 census figures, the District had a population of 768,700 — more people than in any one of 11 states. In 1964, according to Bureau of the Census figures, the per capita income in the District was $3,544, higher than that in any state. District residents pay their full share toward the federal budget. District citizens serve in the armed forces and meet all the obligations of United States citizens. But these citizens are not represented in any way in the Congress which governs them.

Because the Constitution provides for congressional representation only from states, a constitutional amendment is necessary to give District residents voting representation in Congress. Occasionally, congressional committees have conducted hearings for such proposed amendments, but little serious effort has been made to achieve passage.

From 1871 to 1874, when the District was governed under a territorial form of government, Washington had a nonvoting delegate in the House of Representatives. Nonvoting delegates have all privileges of the House except a vote: committee representation, right to speak on the floor, office staff and office space. A nonvoting delegate, like the Commissioner who represents Puerto Rico, might help achieve better legislation for the District, although he would not fulfill the right to the full representation that District citizens should have. He could work in the House to promote better understanding of District problems and to interest others in District legislation. Bills for self-government have traditionally included provision for a nonvoting delegate.

What is the League position on the District of Columbia?

The League of Women Voters of the United States supports self-government (home rule) and representation in Congress for the District of Columbia.

What action has the League taken under this position?

Through the years, the League has tried to develop public support for its position and has taken legislative action. Carrie Chapman Catt, who is remembered for her work in the long and finally successful battle for the vote for women, testified before the House Judiciary Committee in 1926 in favor of national suffrage for citizens of the District. Miss Belle Sherwin, as national president of the League, testified before the same committee in the '30s. Miss Anna Lord Strauss, national president from 1944 to 1950, appeared in her turn to speak for the League position. Other members of the national Board also have testified whenever an opportunity has arisen.

The League has supported self-government for the District in a long list of bills, each seeming at the time to be the strongest hope for advance toward the League goal. Six times the Senate has passed bills for self-government. In 1948, the House District Committee reported a home-rule bill to the House. The League then made a tremendous effort in communication between members and their representatives. But the House voted not to consider the bill. In 1960, the League tried unsuccessfully to persuade the necessary number of representatives to sign a discharge petition, which would by-pass the House District and the Rules Committees, to get the D. C. Home Rule bill to the floor of the House.

In 1965, a discharge petition, again supported by the League, did receive the necessary number of signatures. The House bill, companion to one already passed by the Senate, providing for a mayor-council form of government, came to the floor of the House. However, the House passed a substitute bill introduced by Representative Sisk (D., Calif.). It proposed a lengthy process involving two District elections; a board to draft a charter, reserving to Congress the right to amend the charter at any time and to the President the right to veto local legislative acts; and finally the right of disapproval of the citizen-approved charter by either the House or the Senate.

By mid-1966, the two houses had not yet achieved a final accommodation of the two vastly different bills.

Congress has made only occasional efforts to provide representation in Congress for the District (except for provisions for a non-voting delegate incorporated in home-rule bills). Therefore, the League has had little opportunity to work for this part of its position except for making statements before congressional committees.

What lies ahead for the League on self-government for the District?

Rep. Carl Albert (D., Okla.), majority leader in the 89th Congress, said about the legislative process in action:

> "In our society with its democratic system of government it generally takes from 5 to 25 years for a great issue to develop from a 'need for legislation' to an 'act of legislation' . . . In most cases, however, legislation is the sum product of the President, the Congress, and the country." [10]

The League's most productive role in shortening the time from the "need" to the "act" is to develop public support for enfranchisement of District citizens. Many people are not aware of the need in the District for local self-government and representation in Congress; in fact, many do not really understand the relationship between the government of the city of Washington and the federal government. Local Leagues can provide accurate information in their own communities. Patient and persistent efforts to build public support for full rights for the citizens of the District can develop public concern and can shorten the long time already elapsed between the "need" and the "act."

When there is an opportunity for the League to be effective in the passage of legislation, the national Board will keep League members informed so that they may act to achieve this oldest of the League's Continuing Responsibilities.

LOYALTY-SECURITY

Support of standardized procedures, "common sense" judgment, and greatest possible protection for the individual under the federal loyalty-security programs; opposition to extension of such programs to nonsensitive positions.

Why did the League adopt a study in the area of loyalty-security?

Since its inception, the League has been concerned with the importance of individual liberty. At the beginning of World War II, an explanation was made of a Program item adopted for 1940-42; the following excerpt states very well the reason for concern:

> Necessarily one of the assumptions of the Program of the League of Women Voters is that there should be freedom of speech, assembly, and press. A Program of political education could not be carried out in the absence of such freedom. The everyday activity of the League over a twenty-year period is the best testimony that the League of Women Voters has an appreciation of the importance of an environment free of undue restrictions on the actions of the individual. In times of unrest and fear, there is always danger that civil liberties will be unreasonably restricted. The League is aware that such dangers exist today.

League Program during World War II included an item on "the preservation of the greatest degree of civil liberty consistent with national safety in War." At the national Conventions of 1948 and 1950, delegates expressed concern over the "grave problems that have arisen, affecting our system of individual constitutional liberties."

Under Voters Service, League members over the country from 1951 to 1954 held vigorous discussions on individual liberties. But, as the cold war went on and conspicuous and disturbing examples of the violation of individual rights continued, a Voters Service program of public education did not seem to be enough.

The League in 1954 adopted a Program item of "development of understanding of the relationship between individual liberty and the public interest." During the next two years, and in cooperation with other civic organizations, the League participated in the "Freedom Agenda" program, an exciting series of community discussions of various aspects of the Bill of Rights and individual liberties. In order to develop a better understanding of the optimal combination of

"security" and "liberty," the League and the community studied and discussed congressional investigations, the federal loyalty programs, freedom of speech, problems of sedition.

With this background of study and discussion on the broad range of individual liberty issues, the members felt the League could now make a more effective contribution by focusing on one area. At the 1956 Convention, the delegates adopted the Current Agenda item, "Evaluation of the federal loyalty-security programs with recognition of the need for safeguarding national security and protecting individual liberties."

What did the League study?

The five federal loyalty-security programs — Government Employee, Atomic Energy, Industrial Security, Port Security, Military Personnel — had all been established to prevent employment of loyalty or security risks in federal government or defense jobs. They had been inaugurated during the '40s and '50s to cope with the danger of Communist infiltration of government and defense establishments. By 1956, the programs had grown until they covered an estimated 10 million people. Many critics charged that the size of the programs was unwieldly, the administration uneven, the safeguards inadequate for the constitutionally guaranteed rights of employees.

In their two-year study, League members considered the Communists' method of infiltration and espionage to gain access to governmental, scientific, and industrial secrets. They explored such matters as the effect of partisan politics on the development and retention of the programs. They sought to determine what responsibility for the federal loyalty-security programs is appropriate for each of the three branches of government — the Executive, the Congress, the federal courts. They asked: what effect do loyalty-security programs have on individual liberties?

The League publication, *Liberty and Security* (October 1956), discussed these considerations and outlined the structure and stages of the programs, and their objectives, standards, and criteria. It examined the five procedures for security clearance: investigation (security questionnaire and investigation, and the full field investigation); screening; hearing; appeal or review (except in the Federal Employee Program); and the final determination. Criticisms, pro and con, of the loyalty-security programs were examined and discussed.

- Did supersecrecy retard scientific and technological advancement? What effect did the security system have on the morale of government employees? Should all State Department jobs be classified as "sensitive"? Were employees often motivated to be "safe" in their reporting rather than analytical? Was it possible to determine which jobs afford opportunities for a genuine threat to national security?
- Was there violation of the U. S. legal traditions of separation of powers, due process, and presumption of innocence until proven guilty? Should one have the same legal rights in security proceedings as in a court trial, or, because the loyalty-security system was intended to prevent rather than to prove a subversive act, should presumption of innocence not apply? Would government sources of information vanish if informers had to appear before the accused employee, or should nothing interfere with an individual's traditional right to confront his accuser? Did present or former affiliation with organizations on the Attorney General's list indicate subversive tendencies, or was guilt by association an unfair judgment on otherwise well-qualified persons?
- Did the loyalty-security programs discourage the free inquiry and criticism natural in a diverse culture? Did they fail to distinguish between dissent and disloyalty? Or infringe unnecessarily upon our democratic tradition of the right of privacy? Were the procedures dulling the national sense of fairness and justice? Or because of the nature of the Communist threat, must we accept changes in our traditional practices?

In addition to the pamphlet, *Liberty and Security*, and a chart comparing the five programs, the members read numerous books and articles, reflecting a wide range of opinion and covering also related subjects: Communist tactics, constitutional rights, case histories of loyalty-security risks. League members also interviewed security officers, government personnel, political science professors, constitutional lawyers, congressmen.

What did the League learn from the study?

The findings of the League's careful study of the Government Employee security programs can be grouped into four divisions. (In general, the Atomic Energy, Industrial Security, Port Security, and Military Personnel programs follow a similar pattern.)

- *Classification and Extension.* There seemed to be a marked tendency in government to overclassify information. Overclassification tended to extend intensive security investigations into areas and jobs that were not related to national security. The results were unnecessary restriction on personnel and less free flow of information among agencies, which actually impaired both efficiency and national security. The choice lay between a more effective security system in critical posts or a less effective one in all.
- *Coordination and Supervision.* There was a lack of over-all coordination or supervision of government employee security systems. Rulings among the agencies on similar matters differed. Decentralization led to delay and red tape, instead of to promotion of national security.
- *Standards and Criteria.* The security standard for screening was whether a person's employment was "clearly consistent with the interests of national security." Considered first were criteria relating to such factors as sabotage, espionage, treason, sedition, advocacy of forcible overthrow of the U. S. government, membership in organizations on the Attorney General's list, unauthorized disclosure of security information. Other criteria related to character — from general criteria about reliability or trustworthiness to "habitual use of intoxicants to excess, drug addiction, or sexual perversion." Security standards did not prescribe that favorable aspects be weighed along with the unfavorable information; therefore, in the process of evaluation, unfavorable aspects were more likely to be emphasized.
- *Procedural Safeguards.* The most frequently criticized procedure was one which denied employees the basic constitutional right of confrontation. One of the most prevalent charges by anonymous informants was that the employee had belonged to an organization on the Attorney General's list or had association with someone who belonged. While such membership was not intended to be interpreted as positive proof of unfitness for government service, too often this association appeared to be made. For the federal employee, there was no "outside" review board to which he could appeal. His only recourse was to ask the head of his department or agency to review his case.

What is the League's position on loyalty-security?

After a year and a half of study, most Leagues had agreed on a

wide range of improvements, which were reported to the national Board. From all the information coming in, the national Board formulated the statement of position and this explanation, issued January 17, 1958:

> In the interest of strengthening national security and maintaining our traditional concepts of freedom, the League of Women Voters of the United States believes that the federal loyalty-security programs should be modified so as to:
>
> 1) limit the coverage to sensitive positions and provide for more realistic classification of information;
>
> 2) institute more uniform procedures in the administration of the programs;
>
> 3) apply a "common sense" standard in judging the individual;
>
> 4) develop procedures which will provide the greatest possible protection for the individual.
>
> *Limited Scope:* The League believes that national security and individual liberty would both benefit by limiting the coverage of the loyalty-security programs to sensitive positions. In order to assure that the number of sensitive positions be kept to a minimum, there should be regular review of job sensitivity as well as of classified information, with objectives of declassification wherever possible.
>
> The League also opposes any extension of the programs, such as proposals to cover employees of the legislative or judicial branches of the government or to private employees in defense-related industries.
>
> *More Uniformity and Coordination:* The League believes there is need for greater uniformity and consistency in interpreting and administering policies, in clearance and screening practices of agencies, and in the classification of material.
>
> *"Common Sense" Standard:* The League believes that a "common sense" judgment should be made in determining whether an individual is a loyalty or security risk. Rather than adhering to hard and fast rules, a balanced judgment should be reached only after due weight has been given to all evidence, to the nature of the position, and to the value of the individual to the government or industry.
>
> *Procedures:* The League believes that the programs should give greater protection to the individual, whether an employee or an applicant for employment. These protections should include the right to confront one's accuser, with the exception of regularly established confidential informants; the right to subpoena witnesses; the right to counsel; the right to know the exact nature of the charges; the right of appeal. Pending resolution of his case, the accused should be shifted to a nonsensitive position during the investigation or else suspended with pay.
>
> *Attorney General's List:* The League believes that the Attorney General's list should not be used unless extensive revisions are made, such as including in the list the origins of each organization, its history and aims, as well as the period and general nature of its subversive activity. Also, the list should be revised periodically and kept up to date.

This position was reaffirmed by Convention delegates when they transferred loyalty-security from the Current Agenda to the CRs in 1958 and readopted it at each succeeding biennial Convention. In 1964 and 1966, delegates retained it by more than a three-fifths vote.

What action has the League taken on loyalty-security?

The League had hoped to work for positive major improvements in the federal loyalty-security programs. Such a role seemed probable when the Commission on Government Security was created in 1957 to analyze current programs and propose reforms. But the proposals, released much later than anticipated, were so complicated and varied that the security legislation proposed to implement the recommendations has received no serious attention in Congress.

Therefore, the League's action under its position has been to "hold the line" and to work to prevent congressional action from undoing the effects of two major U. S. Supreme Court decisions bearing on two aspects of League position: 1) scope of the programs and 2) confrontation rights for the individual employee.

1) *Scope of the Programs.* In June 1956, during the beginning of League study of the newly adopted item, the Supreme Court heard the case, *Cole* v. *Young*,[11] involving the discharge of a food inspector for the Food and Drug Administration. The Court ruled that summary suspension and removal of employees on security grounds applied only to those in "sensitive positions," those designated by the head of any department or agency in which the employee "could bring about, by virtue of the nature of the position, a material adverse effect on the national security." The effect of this decision was to limit significantly the scope of the Government Employee security program.

Soon after the decision in *Cole* v. *Young*, legislation was introduced in Congress calling for re-extension of the security program to all government employees, whether in sensitive or nonsensitive positions. Proponents of such legislation continued their efforts without success throughout 1957 and 1958. In February 1958, after the announcement of the League's position, the national Board sent out a Time for Action to oppose legislation re-extending the security program to nonsensitive positions. League action continued throughout the summer of 1958. The threat of lengthy Senate debate in the closing days of the 85th Congress prevented final action.

Similar legislation appeared in the 86th Congress, and the League testified in opposition at House committee hearings in 1959. However, there seemed no enthusiasm in Congress for pushing the legislation. A change of mind of several House committee members, and strong opposition by the League and other groups, was responsible for the fact that the bill died in committee at the close of the 86th Congress. In the last several sessions, Congress has not made serious efforts to re-extend the security program to nonsensitive positions.

2) *Confrontation rights for the individual employee.* In June 1959 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled in *Greene* v. *McElroy* [12] that neither Congress nor the President had authorized an industrial security program under which a person could be deprived of his job without the traditional safeguards of confrontation and cross-examination. Greene was an aeronautical engineer and vice president of a firm producing goods for the armed services. In 1953, by an order of the Secretary of the Navy, he was denied access to any part of the company's plants where classified projects were being carried out and was denied access to any classified information. Greene had previously been cleared on several occasions and had worked for his firm for a period of 16 years. Since in his work he dealt exclusively with these research projects, his company had no choice but to discharge him. No hearing had preceded his notification. The Court held he could not be deprived of his job without proceedings safeguarding his rights of confrontation and cross-examination.

In February 1960, an Executive Order revising industrial security procedures was issued. With certain exceptions, it established the general rule that anyone covered by the program had the right to confront and cross-examine his accusers.

Several times before and since the Executive Order of 1960, bills to negate the *Greene* v. *McElroy* decisions have come before Congress, either without hearings and/or under suspension of rules, allowing no time for the League to work in opposition. Thus far, these efforts have failed. In recent Congresses, such bills have been neither reported out of committee nor brought to the floor.

In the first session of the 89th Congress (1965), the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights was instructed to make a survey on how the loyalty-security programs were being administered by various departments and agencies. The survey and hearings concerned themselves primarily with invasion of privacy through the use of psychological tests and wiretapping. Legislation from these hearings has not as yet developed.

In May 1966, under authority of the League position in opposition to extension of loyalty-security programs to nonsensitive positions, the national League sent a letter to the director of Community Action Programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity to protest a policy statement in its employment and recruitment practices: "Manifestations of disloyalty to the United States, membership in subversive organizations . . . are inconsistent with employment in a community action program." The League letter says, in part: "We should like to protest this extension of security precautions to a governmental program which could not be construed as 'sensitive' relative to national security. It is our hope that the personnel policy for the Community Action Program be reconsidered and changed."

What lies ahead for the League on loyalty-security?

The position of the League is limited to the five federal loyalty-security programs and to opposing extension of the program to nonsensitive positions in federal employment. Therefore, League activity has been, and probably will continue to be, directed to "holding the line" and working to prevent congressional action from undoing the effects of *Cole* v. *Young*, *Greene* v. *McElroy*, and other subsequent related Supreme Court and federal court decisions. Furthermore, the League can work to oppose extension of loyalty-security programs to nonsensitive federal positions.

In 1964 and 1966, the national Board recommended dropping this CR in the interests of a shorter national Program. The debate and readoption of the loyalty-security item by more than a three-fifths vote indicated that delegates to the 1966 Convention believed that a climate of opinion, in a time of heightened tension, might lead to renewed activity and pressure for passage of legislation counter to the League's long-held position on loyalty-security.

TAX RATES

Opposition to constitutional limitations on tax rates.

How did this issue become a matter for League consideration?

From its very beginning, the League at local, state, or national levels has studied taxes and expenditures; fiscal requirements and operations; resources of municipalities, counties, towns, school districts, state and national governments. With its interest in improvements in services, the League early began to look at revenue sources and efficiency in fiscal management for funds to support programs.

One of the national League's earliest interests was "reform of tax systems to provide adequate revenue for essential services through an equitable distribution of the tax burden." Study and discussion led to a League position of support for a system of progressive taxation based on ability to pay.

The depression of the '30s and later the rise in governmental expenses and debt incurred by World War II again turned League attention to adequate financing and to the need for a tax program that would take into account control of inflation and a fair distribution of the tax burden. These studies of fiscal policy led to examination of the federal budget, an active Program item from 1948 to 1952.

Since the depression of the '30s, federal expenditures have accelerated under demands for more expensive military equipment; need for more domestic programs; expenditures for the kinds of improvements needed to accommodate an expanding population — roads, dams, advanced education, research; increasing aeronautical and space research; and many demands relevant to the responsibilities of an affluent nation and a great world power. As a protest against both rising governmental costs and the graduated rate in the federal income tax, some groups in the United States have worked in various ways during the past 30 years for a federal constitutional amendment to abolish or limit the income tax. Early efforts tried to freeze into the Constitution a ceiling, usually 25 percent. More recent attempts have pursued, as part of a package, complete elimination of the income tax.

Two methods of amending are provided in Article V of the federal Constitution. Under the one that has been used exclusively to date, Congress proposes an amendment by a two-thirds vote in both houses and then submits it to the states, three fourths of which must ratify for final adoption.[6] Over the years, many resolutions have appeared in Congress to limit the income-tax rate or to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment, which permits the federal government to levy an income tax. However, these proposals have engendered little response among congressmen. It is highly unlikely that two thirds of both houses would support either type of proposal.

Proponents of a ceiling on income-tax rates or complete abolition, therefore, began in 1939 to attempt the second method of amending the Constitution, which provides that Congress "on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments." The amendments proposed by such a Convention would require subsequent ratification by three fourths of the states but would not require congressional passage. From 1939 to 1960, about 30 states passed such resolutions. However, the precise count is uncertain because some petitions are differently worded, some have been rescinded by later legislatures, some have been vetoed by Governors.[13] A more recent attempt, still continuing, has been to pass resolutions in state legislatures asking for the outright repeal of the income-tax amendment.

In pursuit of this goal of complete repeal, groups in the last several years have concentrated on a package proposal, the so-called "Liberty Amendment." It would: 1) repeal the Sixteenth Amendment; 2) ban the government from engaging in any business, professional, commercial, financial, or industrial enterprise except as specifically stated in the Constitution; and 3) require that federal and state constitutions and laws shall not be made subject to any foreign or domestic agreement which would abrogate the terms of this resolution. (Section 3 involves League position in opposition to constitutional limitations on existing powers of the Executive and Congress over foreign relations.)

In 1944, the League Program, which was organized with divisions different from the current ones, had on its "Active List" an item on taxes. At the post-Convention Board meeting, the national Board authorized state Leagues to oppose in their state legislatures resolutions toward constitutional tax limitation. Nine years later the matter of tax limitation once again became lively.

At the 1953 national Council meeting, the president of a state League told the delegates that in her state the legislature was considering a resolution petitioning Congress to call a constitutional convention for the purpose of drafting a federal constitutional amendment to place a percentage limitation on tax rates (income, gift, inheritance). The state League had a position on state taxes which supported a tax system based on ability to pay and the use of the income tax as far as possible. However, the proposed resolution violated the League's national Platform policy supporting "adoption of an equitable and coordinated system of federal, state, and local taxation." Since the resolution dealt with a national matter, the state League believed that it could take no action in its state legislature without national Board permission. Could state Leagues be authorized to act in opposition?

Other state League delegates to Council, including many from Leagues which had worked or were working on problems of taxation in their states, were in favor of the suggestion. In May 1953, the national Board authorized action in these terms:

> The situation has been confusing to many Leagues since *federal* policy and ultimate amendment of the *federal* Constitution is involved, but the method taken to date requires action on resolutions introduced in state legislatures prior to federal action. . . .
>
> Now state and local Leagues can oppose such a proposal in their state legislatures if their membership is adequately prepared. It is not necessary in order to take such action for a state or local League to have a tax item on the agenda since it is a federal matter. Some states, of course, will have no occasion for such state action. . . .
>
> League opposition to this legislation is based on two important grounds:
>
> 1. The inadvisability of freezing into the Constitution an arbitrary percentage limitation of federal income taxation. Questions of this character should be handled through statutory measures.
> 2. A maximum percentage on income taxation violates the principle of "ability to pay." It is clear that other forms of taxation not based on the ability to pay, such as excise, would be necessary to replace revenue loss.

At the 1954 Convention, delegates adopted eight CRs, among them "Opposition to constitutional limitation on tax rates."

What had the League studied and learned?

From its many local and state studies, as well as from its national studies, the members of the League had learned that necessary services require sufficient revenue. They had decided that tax systems should be flexible, ability to pay should be a consideration in establishing tax sources, tax revenues should take into account control of inflation. League members came to believe that rigid constitutional controls defeat the exercise of judgment to which Congress is committed by Article I, Section 8, of the federal Constitution. Article I, Section 8, reads in part:

> The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; . . .

Article I, Section 9, states in part: "No Capitation, or other direct Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken." The Supreme Court in 1895 had interpreted this sentence as prohibiting the levy of an income tax. By 1913, Congress had passed the Sixteenth Amendment, and all but three states then in the Union had ratified it. This amendment specifically permits the federal levy of an income tax.

What is the League position on tax rates?

The basis for League opposition to constitutional limitation on tax rates was outlined in the May 1953 memorandum quoted on page 26. In the May 15, 1953, NATIONAL VOTER, a further explanation states:

> Placing a percentage limitation in the Constitution by drastically restricting the federal government's power to tax would dangerously limit the government's scope of operation. It should be possible to change tax policy to meet the needs of the time through the more flexible legislative route.
>
> Furthermore any such percentage limitation strikes at the whole principle of taxes based on the ability to pay . . . The result would be either extremely drastic cuts in governmental operations, tremendous federal deficit, or use of other sources of revenue, such as a federal sales tax, which is generally considered regressive, i.e., affecting those least able to pay.

In addition to authorizing action at the national level, the tax-rate CR permits a state League to oppose in its legislature resolutions designed to limit the federal income-tax rate by constitutional amendment or to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment. A state League may support rescinding of such resolutions previously passed.

At every League Convention since 1954, the League has reaffirmed its support of this CR as now worded. At the 1960 Convention, the national Board proposed dropping it in the interests of a lighter work load; but the delegates, by more than the two-thirds vote then required, voted to retain it. The pleas of those state Leagues that had been opposing the "package deal" in their own legislatures and the overwhelming vote demonstrated that member support of this position overrode the wish to shorten League Program.

What action has the League taken on tax rates?

Because Congress has not seriously considered proposing a constitutional amendment to limit or abolish the federal income tax, the League has not needed to act at the national level. However, legislative or popular support of a measure calling for a constitutional convention to limit tax rates or to repeal the income tax amendment has arisen in several states. Some state Leagues have worked through key legislators to prevent introduction of such resolutions. Some state Leagues, through statements before committees and through enlisting the help of other organizations or citizens, have worked to kill the resolutions in committee. Other state Leagues have worked to discourage passage on the floor. A few Leagues have distributed their own popular flyers to alert the public. Many Leagues have distributed to their legislators U. S. Senate Document No. 56 (1964), a report by Senator Hayden (D., Ariz.) on the "Liberty Amendment."

By mid-1966, legislatures of only seven states — Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, South Carolina, Texas, and Wyoming — had passed in identical resolutions the so-called "Liberty Amendment." Efforts of a well-financed group continue to bring about its introduction in a number of other state legislatures. The state League is often the only organization aware of and ready to oppose the resolution. In 1963, it was introduced in 26 state legislatures. These attempts seem to have diminished somewhat. Nevertheless, in the 1965 legislative sessions, twelve state Leagues reported that they had taken various kinds of action in opposition.

What lies ahead for the League on tax rates?

Action will continue to be most likely in state legislatures. Because such resolutions are sometimes introduced quickly and quietly, state Leagues need to be alert during legislative sessions. In some areas, work is continuing to enlist popular sympathy for passage. In 1966, a number of communities reported the distribution at income-tax time of a tabloid promoting the "package deal" and the canvass of candidates in state primaries to endorse the "Liberty Amendment." These efforts to gain public support need careful watching. State Leagues may take such action as their Boards think advisable in accord with League position.

That Congress should pass a joint resolution to repeal the income tax or limit its rate by constitutional amendment seems highly unlikely. Should a very large number of state legislatures submit petitions, however, Congress would undoubtedly prefer to draft and pass its own amendment to submit to the states for ratification[6] rather than to call a constitutional convention, which might consider a number of other proposals for amendment as well.

Should there be serious consideration in Congress to repeal the income tax or limit the tax rate, the national Board would direct whatever action might be most effective to preserve the League position. For several years, at the beginning of each session, the so-called "Liberty Amendment" has been introduced in Congress. It has never yet been reported out of committee.

TREATY MAKING

Opposition to constitutional changes that would limit the existing powers of the Executive and Congress over foreign relations.

Why did the League consider this issue appropriate for League attention?

In the years between the early '20s and the early '50s, the League had taken stands in support of a number of international organizations. Members of the League believed that isolation is neither possible nor desirable in the national interest. They believed that citizens should unite and work for every constructive effort toward permanent world organization for peace. The League had worked specifically for U. S. participation and membership in:

- The permanent Court of International Justice
- The League of Nations
- The United Nations
- The World Bank
- The International Monetary Fund
- International control of atomic energy
- The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

As participation in international institutions increased after World War II, more and more citizens and some members of Congress expressed concern over how far nations could cooperate or join in international agreements without losing exclusive control over their own affairs. Some of the anxiety arose from misinformation and ignorance, some from genuine and informed concern for the interest of the United States. Some people feared that covenants discussed in the United Nations — genocide, human rights, health, freedom of information — would interfere with U. S. domestic concerns and might jeopardize rights of citizens guaranteed by the federal Constitution. Others believed that the federal government was using treaties deliberately to increase its jurisdiction over affairs ordinarily regulated by the states.

Early in 1952, Senator Bricker (R., Ohio) introduced in the 82nd Congress a resolution to amend the sections of the Constitution dealing with treaties and other powers of the federal government over foreign relations. The Senate Judiciary Committee held heated but

unpublicized hearings. The proposal was not reported out of committee. Even before the hearings were held, THE NATIONAL VOTER of March 15, 1952, carried an article, "Treaty Power under Scrutiny," explaining the proposed amendment and what supporters and opponents were saying. NATIONAL VOTERS published in June 1952 and March 1 and March 15 of 1953 continued the discussion. An April 1953 legislative newsletter, "Report from the Hill," included excerpts from committee testimony.

The national Convention had not placed this issue on the Current Agenda in 1952, for at that time the national Board was empowered to "select measures for action from the Platform if an opportunity arises to do work on a measure which is in conformity with the Platform." At the May 1953 Council meeting, discussion took place over the relationship of the proposed Bricker Amendment to League positions on foreign policy. At that time, the Council asked the national Board to alert local Leagues on the issue "with a view to reaching membership agreement in the near future." The national Board asked the Leagues to study and send to the national office before January 1954 the results of their discussions, so that the national Board then meeting might determine whether or not agreement had been reached.

What did the League study and learn?

The Bricker Amendment went through a number of revisions. Favorably reported from the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in June 1953, the third and most controversial version contained three main sections:

Sec. 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

Sec. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation *which would be valid in the absence of a treaty.* (Emphasis added.)

Sec. 3. Congress shall have the power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article.

Public discussion and the League study evolved around several issues. It was, of course, necessary to know and understand treaty

making. The League made a thorough study of how treaties and international agreements come about. The following are the kinds of questions the League considered in its study:

- Under the Constitution, are the President's powers over treaties and foreign affairs too broad and flexible for the best interests of the United States? Or are the existing constitutional provisions sufficient safeguards? [14]
- Should the existing procedure be replaced by a five-step method which was considered and rejected as too cumbersome by the authors of the Constitution: negotiation by the President, approval by the Senate, passage of a bill to adopt in the House, passage of the bill to adopt in the Senate, signature of the President?
- Was the "which" clause in Section 2 of the proposed amendment advisable — that Congress could pass no law to carry out a treaty about a matter that in the United States was a subject for state legislation? Or are the constitutional rights of states and citizens sufficiently protected by the Supreme Court? [15]
- If the "which" clause in Section 2 were accepted, what would happen to matters now subject to treaty but under state control when domestic — extradition of persons wanted for trial; commercial rights of citizens; double taxation; regulation of fisheries, migratory birds, and wildlife; and many others?
- If treaties on such subjects would be valid only by action of legislatures of individual states, would the United States be operating under conditions like those that existed under the Articles of Confederation?
- Would the national interest be better protected if executive agreements with foreign powers or international organizations were fewer in number and subject to congressional rules? Or would such regulations interfere with the President's long-established right to act on routine as well as on urgent foreign matters? Would such regulations change the balance of powers now constitutionally established between executive and legislative branches?
- Is a constitutional amendment necessary to: (1) protect the United States against delegation of authority to international agencies; (2) preserve the balance between federal and state governments; (3) ensure for the individual the rights guaranteed by the Constitution? Or would the amendment actually provide no more guarantees than already exist under the Constitution and make more difficult our working with other nations to build a more peaceful world order based on international law?

What is the League's position on treaty-making powers?

The League's five-point position on treaty-making powers set forth in a letter of January 13, 1954, to President Eisenhower shows the agreement to which League came from its study and discussion of the questions:

1) The power of the national government to conduct foreign relations must be maintained as provided in the Constitution. The Bricker Amendment would deprive the national government of its full power to carry out treaty obligations in important areas of national policy and would leave to the states the choice of implementation.
2) The constitutional system of checks and balances between the executive and legislative branches of the national government must be safeguarded. The Bricker Amendment would alter the traditional concept of the balance of powers by removing functions from the Executive and transferring them to the Congress. It is essential that the President retain his authority to fulfill his constitutional responsibility to act in times of national emergency as well as in the day-to-day conduct of foreign affairs.
3) The negotiation and ratification of treaties should not be made more cumbersome. The Bricker Amendment would hamper our present treaty-making procedure, already surrounded by constitutional and legislative safeguards, by adding steps which would cast doubt on the ability and willingness of the United States to carry out its international obligations.
4) The interests of the United States are best served by a foreign policy based on the principle of international cooperation. The Bricker Amendment would impair this principle. It is based on fears that the U.N. Charter and other international agreements could invade our constitutionally protected individual and states' rights. The League of Women Voters does not share this fear.
5) The Constitution should be amended only when need is clearly shown. This need has not been established.

One of the eight CRs adopted at the 1954 Convention was, "Opposition to constitutional changes that would limit the existing powers of the Executive and Congress over foreign relations." Each successive biennial Convention has reaffirmed League position by retaining the CR in the same wording. At the 1960 Convention, the national Board proposed dropping this CR in the interests of a shorter Program. The delegates, by more than the two-thirds vote then required, voted to retain it.

What action has the League taken on treaty making?

The League's first action was to develop informed interest. A copy of THE NATIONAL VOTER of March 1, 1953, containing pro and con arguments, "Bricker Amendment to the Fore," went to each member of the Senate. In May 1953, a post-Council memorandum reminded local Leagues that they could inform their communities about this issue, provided both sides were represented, and could suggest that individual League members and other citizens express their views to their senators.

After reaching consensus in January 1954, the League worked actively for the defeat of such amendments, beginning with the letter stating League position to the President on January 13, 1954, and similar letters to all senators. A Time for Action went to state and local Leagues. The Bricker proposals and all like resolutions were defeated in February 1954.

During the next four years, although public interest in passage of such resolutions decreased, several similar proposals were introduced in Congress. All were defeated. The League testified in opposition at subcommittee hearings in 1955. From 1956 through 1958, there was League action both by state Leagues and League members and by the national League in committee hearings.

Comparable resolutions introduced in succeeding Congresses received so little support that the League proposed no action at the national level.

However, in the past decade, efforts have continued in state legislatures to introduce resolutions memorializing Congress to call a convention to propose a constitutional amendment, the so-called "Liberty Amendment" (see pages 25, 28, 29). One section proposes that

federal laws and state constitutions and state laws shall not be subject to any foreign or domestic agreements which would abrogate the other sections of the proposal. This section endangers League position on treaty making, for it would add constitutional restrictions to the present powers. Threatened by the "package deal" are both the League CR relating to constitutional limitations on our existing methods for conduct of foreign policy and the CR in opposition to constitutional limitation on tax rates (an item related to a domestic issue).

Under the authorization to work in their state legislatures to oppose constitutional limitation of treaty-making powers, state Leagues have opposed such resolutions. The League has often been the only organization to be aware of and to oppose their introduction.

What lies ahead for the League on treaty making?

Since legislation in Congress to limit treaty-making powers has created little interest in recent years, action is most likely to continue at the state level, with state Leagues working in opposition to the so-called "Liberty Amendment." However, should a threat to this League position appear in Congress, the national Board would alert local and state Leagues.

Some of the member beliefs upon which this CR is based were well expressed in a statement in opposition to the Bricker Amendment made before the Senate Judiciary Committee on April 29, 1955. They merit repeating here:

> The first is that the interests of the United States are best served by a foreign policy based on international cooperation. We firmly believe that the world is so interdependent that the policies and actions of other countries affect our own destiny. The converse is also true. Consequently, it is imperative that the United States work out solutions to problems with other nations for the common good of all.
>
> The proposed Bricker Amendment strikes at the very heart of the principle of international cooperation. It is based on fears that the United Nations Charter and other international treaties might invade the power of the states and the rights of individuals. The League of Women Voters does not share this fear. In fact, we deplore the practice of some who distort the purposes and functions of international organizations and

agreements so as to make them appear contrary to fundamental ideals and interests shared by American citizens. Too often the United Nations and other agencies are portrayed as controlling the actions of the United States whereas we know that the United States maintains control over its own decisions regarding its foreign policy and its internal affairs. The United Nations should be supported and our citizens should give their attention to ways in which it may be made more effective to carry out its purposes. The United Nations should not be made to seem what it is not — an organization damned either as being too weak to do anything or so powerful that we have lost all our independence as a nation . . .

However, if abuses do occur in any branch of the federal government we have a carefully devised system of checks and balances set up within the Constitution. There is still another check not mentioned specifically in the Constitution which carries tremendous influence. This is the power of public opinion. The League of Women Voters is dedicated to the belief that an alert and informed citizenry is an indispensable part of our democratic society. It shapes policy at election time; it influences our government in almost all its actions. Public opinion is a steadying influence which serves as a deterrent to rash action on the part of any one man or group of men who hold high office. We believe that the citizens of this country should be encouraged to exercise their responsibility, rather than be lulled into a false sense of security with so-called airtight safeguards.

References

1. *Colegrove* v. *Green*, 328 U. S. 549 (1946). Quotation at 553-54.
2. *Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U. S. 186 (1962).
3. *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U. S. 533 (1964). Quotations at 568 and 578.
4. *Lucas* v. *Colorado*, 377 U. S. 713 (1964). Quotation at 736.
5. A rider is an addition to a bill, unrelated in subject matter, which cannot be vetoed by the President unless he vetoes also the bill to which it is attached.
6. The U. S. Constitution, Article V, provides two methods for amending the Constitution.

   The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress: . . .

   Article V also provides that no state, without its consent, may be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.
7. McKay, Robert B., *Reapportionment*, 1965, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, p. 268.
8. *District of Columbia* v. *John R. Thompson Co., Inc.*, 346 U. S. 100 (1953).
9. For the fiscal year 1964, all federal money provided for the District, including federal grants-in-aid, shared revenues, and commodities distributed, plus the federal payment to the general revenue fund of the District, was approximately 30 percent as related to revenues raised from the District's own resources.

   Table 2, pages 258 and 259 of *The Book of the States*, 1966-67 (1966) Council of State Governments, shows that comparable percentages of federal money as related to revenues raised from the states' own resources were higher in 28 of the 50 states.
10. Address by Carl Albert, April 29, 1966, Ewing Memorial Hall, Norman, Oklahoma. Reproduced in the *Congressional Record*, May 23, 1966, pages 10635-10637.
11. *Cole* v. *Young*, 351 U. S. 536 (1956).
12. *Greene* v. *McElroy*, 360 U. S. 474 (1959).

13. Several questions arise concerning the validity of memorial resolutions calling for a constitutional convention. Since no constitutional convention has ever been called in response to legislative petitions, these questions have not been resolved. Included in these unresolved questions are: Is a resolution vetoed by the Governor valid? What is the time limit — do petitions lapse after a reasonable period of time? Can an unwilling Congress be made to call a Convention? Can the scope and procedures of a Convention be controlled by Congress?
Other information can be found in *State Applications Asking Congress to Call a Federal Constitutional Convention*, 1961, printed for the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, U. S. Government Printing Office.

14. The Constitution provides, as a power of the President, Article II, Section 2, "He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; . . ." The Senate may introduce amendments and reservations to the treaty, and both houses exercise control through appropriations bills.

15. Although it has never declared a treaty unconstitutional, the Supreme Court has indicated that treaty provisions in conflict with the Constitution would not be ruled effective as domestic law. When states have, under their own laws, refused to reimburse aliens within their boundaries whose claims are protected by treaty arrangements or agreements, the United States has made the payments.

BYLAWS of the League of Women Voters of the United States as amended May 3, 1966.

Article XIII — *Program*

Sec. 1. Program. The Program of the League of Women Voters shall consist of those governmental issues chosen for concerted study and action.

Sec. 2. Current Agenda and Continuing Responsibilities. These categories of Program are defined as follows:

(a) The Current Agenda shall consist of those governmental issues chosen for sustained attention and concerted action.

(b) Continuing Responsibilities shall consist of positions on governmental issues to which the League has given sustained attention and on which it may continue to act.