June 24, 1964

The Honorable Emilio Q. Daddario
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mim:

Attached you will find three copies of our standard form.

Aloha,

DANIEL K. INOUYE
United States Senator

DKI:ki
Enc.
Honorable Warren G. Magnuson  
Room 130  
Old Senate Office Building  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Senator Magnuson:

At the request of Senator Howard W. Cannon of Nevada, Senator Daniel K. Inouye will address the Democratic State Convention on May 9, 1964 in Las Vegas, Nevada.

Sincerely,

HENRY K. GIUGNI  
Special Assistant

cc: Congressman Daddario  
Mr. Paul Pendergast
Administration officials listed below, as Presidential Appointees, are available for political speaking engagements. Officials of the Departments of State, Defense, Treasury, Justice, and the independent regulatory agencies do not, as a matter of policy, engage in partisan activities.

**Post Office Department**

John A. Gronouski, Jr., Postmaster General  
Frederick C. Belen, Deputy Postmaster General  
William M. McMillan, Assistant Postmaster General (Operations)  
Ralph W. Nicholson, Assistant Postmaster General (Finance)  
Richard J. Murphy, Assistant Postmaster General (Personnel)  
William J. Hartigan, Assistant Postmaster General (Transportation)  
Tyler Abell, Assistant Postmaster General (Facilities)

**Department of the Interior**

Stewart L. Udall, Secretary  
James K. Carr, Under Secretary  
Kenneth Holm, Assistant Secretary (Water and Power)  
John M. Kelly, Assistant Secretary (Mineral Resources)  
John A. Carver, Jr., Assistant Secretary (Public Land Management)  
Frank P. Briggs, Assistant Secretary (Fish and Wildlife)  
Philleo Nash, Commissioner of Indian Affairs  
Frank J. Barry, Solicitor

**Department of Agriculture**

Orville L. Freeman, Secretary  
Charles S. Murphy, Under Secretary  
John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary  
George L. Mehren, Assistant Secretary  
Dorothy H. Jacobson, Assistant Secretary  
Norman H. Clapp, REA Administrator  
Howard Bertsch, FHA Administrator  
John C. Bagwell, General Counsel

**Department of Commerce**

Luther H. Hodges, Secretary  
Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Under Secretary  
Clarence D. Martin, Jr., Under Secretary for Transportation  
Herbert W. Klotz, Assistant Secretary for Administration  
Jack N. Behrman, Assistant Secretary for Foreign and Domestic Affairs  
Richard Holton, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs  
Robert E. Giles, General Counsel
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary
Ivan A. Nestingen, Under Secretary
James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary
Wilbur J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary (Legislation)

Department of Labor

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
John F. Henning, Under Secretary
James J. Reynolds, Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations
George L.P. Weaver, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs
Esther Peterson, Assistant Secretary for Standards
Daniel P. Moynihan, Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research
Charles Donahue, Solicitor

Housing and Home Finance Agency

Robert C. Weaver, Administrator
Philip N. Brownstein, Commissioner, Federal Housing Administration
Marie C. McGuire, Commissioner, Public Housing Administration

Small Business Administration

Eugene P. Foley, Administrator

Veterans Administration

John S. Gleason, Jr., Administrator

Treasurer of the United States

Kathryn O'Hay Granahan
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and
Seating Arrangement

1964 Democratic Congressional Dinner

Thursday, March 19, 1964
Washington, D. C.
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Senator Alan Bible
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Representative Hale Boggs
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Representative Herbert C. Bonner
Mrs. Herbert C. Bonner
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Representative Charles A. Buckley
Representative Omar Burleson
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Representative Clarence Cannon
Representative Emanuel Celler
Representative Harold D. Cooley
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Representative Joe L. Evins
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James A. Farley
Senator J. W. Fulbright
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Senator Lister Hill
Mrs. Lister Hill
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Senator Henry M. Jackson
Mrs. Henry M. Jackson
Senator Olin D. Johnston
Mrs. Olin Johnston
Senator Everett Jordan
Mrs. Everett Jordan
THOSE WE HONOR TONIGHT

Representative Eugene J. Keogh
Mrs. Eugene J. Keogh
Representative Michael J. Kirwan
Mrs. Michael J. Kirwan
Senator Warren G. Magnuson
Senator Michael J. Mansfield
Mrs. Michael J. Mansfield
Senator John L. McClellan
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The Speaker John L. McCormack
Mrs. John L. McCormack
Senator Pat McNamara
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Representative Wilbur D. Mills
Representative Thomas E. Morgan
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Representative Wright Patman
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Representative Adam Clayton Powell
Miss Carmel Quinn
Phil Regan
Senator Richard B. Russell
Representative Harry R. Sheppard
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Senator George A. Smathers
Mrs. George A. Smathers
Representative Howard W. Smith
Senator John J. Sparkman
Mrs. John J. Sparkman
Ambassador to U.N. Adlai E. Stevenson
Representative Olin E. Teague
Mrs. Olin E. Teague
Representative Albert Thomas
Mrs. Albert Thomas
Representative Carl Vinson
Representative Edwin E. Willis
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<td>Williams, Harrison A.</td>
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<td>Williams, Mrs. Lee</td>
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<td>Williams, Matthew, Guest of 318</td>
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<td>Wood, D. Robley</td>
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APPLICATION
FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

IMPORTANT
READ THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY BEFORE FILLING OUT YOUR APPLICATION

All requested information must be furnished. The information you give will be used to determine your qualifications for employment.

It is IMPORTANT that you answer all questions on your application fully and accurately; failure to do so may delay its consideration and could mean loss of employment opportunities.

If an item does not apply to you, or if there is no information to be given, please write in the letters "N.A." for Not Applicable.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

• Use typewriter if available. Otherwise, write legibly or print clearly in dark ink.

• If you are applying for a specific civil service examination, follow exactly the directions in the examination announcement as well as the instructions for filling out this form.

• For a written examination, the admission card tells you what to do with this application.

• If the examination involves no written test, mail this application to the office named in the examination announcement. Be sure to mail to the same office any other forms required in the announcement.

• Notify the office with which you file this application of any change in your name or address.

INSTRUCTIONS RELATING TO SPECIFIC ITEMS

ITEM 18. ACTIVE MILITARY SERVICE AND VETERAN PREFERENCE

• Five-point preference is granted to veterans if honorably separated: (a) after active wartime service during the periods April 6, 1917 to July 2, 1921 or December 7, 1941 to July 1, 1955, or (b) after peacetime campaign service in the Armed Forces of the United States for which a campaign badge has been authorized.

• Ten-point preference is granted in some cases to disabled veterans, including veterans awarded the Purple Heart, to widows of veterans, to wives of disabled veterans, and to mothers of deceased or disabled veterans. See Standard Form 15—Veteran Preference Claim.

• If you claim five-point preference as a wartime veteran, you are not required to furnish proof of honorable separation until the time of appointment.

• If you claim (a) ten-point preference or (b) five-point preference as a peacetime campaign veteran, complete and attach to this application Standard Form 15—Veteran Preference Claim, and the proof called for in that form.

PLEASE READ ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS ON BACK OF THIS SHEET
ITEM 19. EXPERIENCE

- Take time to fill in these experience blocks carefully and completely. Your qualifications rating depends in a large part on your experience and employment history. Failure to give complete details may delay consideration of your application. Answers given in this item may be verified with former employers.

- When the block contains experience in more than one type of work (Example: carpentry, painting; personnel-budget) estimate and indicate the approximate percentage of time spent in each type of work. Place these percentages in parentheses at the end of the description of the duties.

- Block 1—Describe your present position in this block. Indicate in this block if you are now unemployed or if you have never been employed.

- Blocks 2 and 3—Describe in Block 2 the position you held just before your present position, and continue to work backwards using Block 3.

- Need for additional blocks—If you need more experience blocks, use Standard Form 57-A—Continuation Sheet or a plain piece of paper. If you use plain paper, each experience block must contain all of the information requested in Item 19 of the printed application. If there is not enough space in any of the experience blocks to describe the positions held, continue the description on a plain piece of paper. Identify each plain sheet at the top by showing your name, date of birth, examination title, and the block under Item 19 from which the description is continued. Attach these supplemental sheets to the top of page 3 at place marked, "Attach Supplemental Sheets or Forms Here."

ITEMS 26 AND 27. MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS

- A list of organizations designated by the Attorney General under Executive Order 10450, Security Requirements for Government Employment, is available in Federal offices where applications are customarily given out. This list is supplied for your convenience, and is not intended to indicate what weight will be given to past or present membership in any listed organization in determining eligibility for Government employment. This may vary, depending upon the nature of the organization and the individual’s participation. Your use of this list does not release you from the responsibility of listing your past or present membership in any other organization which you have reason to believe comes within the meaning of these questions.

CERTIFICATION

- Be careful that you have answered all questions on your application correctly and considered all statements fully so that your eligibility can be decided on all the facts. Read the certification carefully before you sign and date your application.

- Sign your name in ink.

- Use one given name, initial or initials, and surname.

PLEASE DETACH THIS INSTRUCTION SHEET BEFORE SUBMITTING YOUR APPLICATION
February 3, 1964

The Honorable Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Williams:

During the past several weeks, several conferences have been held between members of the Senatorial Campaign Committee and officers of the Democratic National Committee to discuss problems relating to planning and coordination of activities, scheduling of speakers, and campaign financing.

I am now in the process of preparing a very confidential file for each incumbent Democratic Senator who is up for re-election in November, 1964. This file will be necessary for your campaign committee to provide you with the best of service and the most efficient assistance in the coming campaign. Therefore, may I request the following information:

1. Preference in speakers. Will you please provide a list of five non-candidate incumbent Senators whom you feel will best meet your speech-making requirements in your campaign. Further, will you provide a similar list of five non-Senator speakers, i.e. cabinet officials and other administration or party officials.

2. Name of person your committee should contact in formulating plans for speaking engagements. If it is your wish that our contacts be made directly with you, we will be most happy to do so, but realizing that you may be extremely busy in the following months, you may wish to have us discuss your campaign problems with some member of your staff, either in Washington or in your state.

3. Dates on which speakers are desired. Your committee realizes that some of your dates may be tentative in nature, but we have to begin long range planning. In providing these dates, will you also advise us as to the approximate size of the anticipated crowd, the type of people expected at these meetings or gatherings, and the nature of these meetings. For example, we would like to know whether this will be your annual Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, or a testimonial or appreciation dinner, or a gathering of members of the Farm Bureau, etc.
4. Will you please indicate whether you desire to have your speakers participate in local press conferences. It is important that we know this because if such be your desire, then it would be only wise that your speakers be properly briefed before arriving at their destination.

In closing, may I advise you of certain decisions which were reached during our conferences:

1. That each speaker will be provided two round trip tickets, hotel accommodations, and a personal expense allowance of $50 per engagement.

2. That each speaker be furnished in writing, a brief description of your State and any information which may be politically helpful.

3. That your Senatorial Campaign Committee and the National Democratic Committee cannot officially involve themselves in a primary election contest. However, as individuals, Senators may naturally speak for any colleague, if they so desire.

Please be assured that the above information will be received and kept in complete confidence. I shall be most happy to visit with you to discuss this at further length.

May I hear from you.

Sincerely,

Daniel K. Inouye
Chairman, Speakers Bureau
February 3, 1964

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DANIEL K. INOUYE
Chairman, Speakers Bureau
Senators up for re-election
Will participate
Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
Ralph Yarborough
William Proxmire
Howard W. Cannon
Frank E. Moss
John O. Pastore
Henry M. Jackson
Spessard L. Holland
Eugene J. McCarthy
Herbert S. Walters
Stuart Symington
Edmund S. Muskie

Thomas P. Hill - 1320
Joseph M. Montoya - 1520
New Jersey
Texas
Wisconsin
Nevada
Utah
Rhode Island
Washington
Florida
Minnesota
Tennessee
Missouri
Maine
No Responses - Senators up for re-election

Quentin Burdick  
Harry Byrd  
Robert Byrd  
Thomas Dodd  
J. Howard Edmondson  
Clair Engle  
Albert Gore  
Philip Hart  
Vance Hartke  
Edward Kennedy  
Mike Mansfield  
Gale McGee  
John Stennis  
Stephen Young
LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS — 87th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions

I. Strengthening National Defense

A 20% increase ($8.5 billion) in authorizations and appropriations made possible the following moves:

-- Polaris program: doubled
-- Minuteman program: increased 75%
-- Survivable delivery vehicles (bombers on alert and survivable missiles): doubled
-- Armed Forces manpower: 5 ready combat divisions added
-- Counter-insurgency, anti-guerilla forces: quadrupled
-- Forces committed to defense of Berlin: increased 20%
-- Forces in Southeast Asia: increased 1400%
-- Reservists: recall authority for 150,000 men in case of emergency
-- Airlift capabilities: substantially increased

II. Achieving Predominance in Space

-- A 200% increase in space budget (1963 total: $5.4 billion) makes that budget greater than the combined total of all space budgets 1954-1961, and makes possible a high priority program including a lunar landing in this decade
-- Communications Satellite Act establishes private enterprise corporation with public participation and Federal regulation, to continue U.S. leadership in international communications
-- Note: We have sent 69 space vehicles into orbit in the last 20 months, double the number in all the preceding years

III. Seizing the Initiative in Foreign Affairs

1. Trade Expansion Act — Called the most important new tool of foreign policy since Lend Lease and the Marshall Plan, the end of U.S. protectionism. Makes available unprecedented authority for U.S. negotiators to bargain our goods into Common Market and other areas, including authority to bargain many tariff barriers down to zero and others by 50%. Provides for first time aid to industries and workers as alternative to higher tariffs in case of import injury.
   -- 70% of Republicans in House voted to recommit
   -- 85% of Republicans in Senate voted to cripple an escape clause
   -- 100% of Republicans in Senate voted to cripple on peril point
   -- 77% of Republicans in Senate voted to limit payments to displaced workers
   -- 69% of Republicans in Senate voted to delete all adjustment assistance

2. Long-term Foreign Aid Program — New 5 year commitment approach, new agency, new requirements for planning and reform by recipient country, new emphasis on private investment with broader risk guarantees.
3. **Peace Corps** -- Authorized in 1961, expanded in 1962, volunteers (10,000 by end of this fiscal year) already serving by invitation in 37 countries, each of which has asked for more. Applauded by leaders of Columbia, Tanganyika, Philippines, Ghana, Nigeria, Thailand, Malaya. Has brought the image of American idealism to underdeveloped nations.

-- 45% of Republicans in the House voted against it
-- 75% of Republicans in the Senate voted for amendment to cut program

4. **Disarmament Administration** -- First of its kind in the world, a full-scale, full-time research and planning agency to devise our first concrete bargaining positions on arms control, nuclear test bans and disarmament.

5. **Alliance for Progress** -- New concept of social reform and self-help to foster economic and social development in Latin America. Improved prestige of U.S. leadership shown in receptions for President and in unanimity against Castro-communist offensive at Punta del Este conference. (Assistance program also provided for escaping Cuban refugees.)

6. **Food for Peace** (Expanded in Farm Bill to support independent operation established by President) -- More food shipped abroad in the last 20 months than was shipped in 10 years of World War I relief efforts.

7. **U.N. Bond Issue** -- Authorized U.S. loan to the United Nations to facilitate U.N. peace-keeping operations and see the U.N. through its financial crisis. All member nations including the Communist Bloc must bear their fair share in repayment of the loan.

8. **USIA Appropriation**, increased by over 20%, is providing an information-education offensive, including:

-- Increasing power of short wave broadcasts from England to behind the Iron Curtain from 300 kw to 1500 kw, and doubling of circulation of the magazine "America" in the Soviet Union.

-- Beginning construction of two large radio facilities to penetrate Asia, including Red China and parts of the Soviet Union and initiating broadcasts in Laos, Thai, and Cambodia.

-- Opening 16 USIA centers in African countries and increasing broadcasts to Africa in French from 1/2 to 3 hours a day.

-- Expanding book programs in Latin America by distribution of 4 million additional books and expanding Portuguese language programs from 0 to 3 hours a day and Spanish language programs from 1 to 9 hours a day.
9. **Balance of Payments and Gold** — Increased confidence in the dollar, reduction in annual rate of balance of payments deficit from nearly $4 billion in 1960 to roughly $1.5 billion in the first half of 1962, and substantial reduction in outflow of U.S. gold, accompanied by new legislation authorizing:

-- U.S. participation in new I.M.F. stand-by lending arrangements
-- U.S. participation in OECD
-- New Office of International Travel — First effort to encourage travel to the United States and correct "tourist deficit"
-- Reduced exemption from customs duty for returning residents (from $500 to $100) — Estimated savings: $150 million
-- 2 new acts waiving income taxes and interest rate ceilings on certain foreign income and deposits

10. **Other Foreign Affairs Legislation**: Tariff simplification (first since 1930), Sugar Act (first step toward global quota) Implementation of International Textile Agreement (prevents evasion of 19 nation agreement to prevent excessive imports), Philippine War Damage Bill, International Wheat Agreement, Refugee Resettlement and Ryukyu Islands Development

**IV. Stimulating Economic Recovery and Growth**

In the last 20 months, personal income has increased 10%, wages and salaries have increased 10%, corporate profits 28%, and the gross national product 10%, as Congress enacted the following:

1. **Area Redevelopment** — After 6 years of efforts to provide special assistance to areas of chronic and persistent unemployment. Now providing assistance to over 1,000 urban and rural counties with a population of 35.4 million people. Already 12,000 people have been trained or are in training. Placements of retrained workers in various areas run between 60% and 100%.
   -- 81% of Republicans opposed conference report in House
   -- 52% of Republicans opposed conference report in Senate

2. **Investment Tax Credit** — First major revision of the Internal Revenue Code since 1954 provides the first significant tax incentive to modernization and growth in a 7% tax credit in new equipment and machinery. (This was supplemented by long-awaited Administrative revisions of depreciation guidelines.)
   -- 100% of Republicans in House voted against the bill.

3. **Public Works Acceleration** — First time since before World War II that the Congress adopted a deliberate policy of using needed public works to stimulate the economy. 1/3 of the entire population of the United States lives in areas eligible for benefits under the act.
   -- 88% of Republicans in House voted for motion to recommit
   -- 83% of Republicans in Senate voted against bill

4. **Minimum Wages** — The first expansion of coverage (3.6 million) since 1938 original passage. Increased minimum wage to $1.25 for 23.9 million workers. (An additional bill provided overtime for those working more than a 40 hour week on government construction.)
   -- 80% of Republicans in House voted against conference report
   -- 55% of Republicans in Senate voted against conference report
5. **Manpower Development and Training** -- The first major federal program to upgrade the skills of the unemployed and under-employed to meet the problems of automation and long-term unemployment. Under the bill 400,000 people will be retrained. Already, over 7,500 are being trained in 24 states, in 204 separate courses of instruction.

6. **Repeal of 10% Transportation Tax** on railroad and buslines, and reduction on airlines. (Another tax bill relating to loss carry-overs also aided distressed railroads and other carriers.)

7. **Measures to help small business** include an increase in Small Business Administration Loan Authority, greater assistance to Small Business Investment Companies, assistance to small lead and zinc producers, and a strengthening of anti-trust laws.

V. **Helping the Unemployed, Underprivileged and Handicapped**

1. **Temporary Unemployment Compensation Extension** -- Extended compensation period up to 13 weeks and $769 million in benefits to 2,800,000 unemployed workers who had exhausted benefits. -- 84% of Republicans in Senate voted against nationwide financing of benefits.

2. **Aid to Dependent Children of Unemployed** -- $90,000,000 in aid had been given in past fiscal year to a monthly peak of approximately 300,000 persons

3. **Social Security Amendments** -- First reduction in male retirement age (62), monthly minimum increased from $33 to $40; widows' benefits increased 10%, and eligibility requirements and retirement test liberalized. Result: nearly 5 million persons are receiving new or increased benefits. (Railroad Retirement Act similarly amended. Also Workman's Compensation benefits increased for longshoremen and harbor workers.)

4. **Public Welfare Improvements** -- The first major revision since 1950, stressing rehabilitation and training instead of continued dependency. (First Federally authorized Day Care Program for children of working mothers also provided.) -- 85% of the Republicans in the House voted to recommit

5. **Health Clinics for Migratory Workers** -- First breakthrough in legislation to help 1,000,000 domestic migrant workers and dependents. (Also built safeguards to protect rights and standards of American workers into the Mexican farm labor program.)

6. **Compensation for Disabled Veterans** -- First increase in compensation for 2 million disabled veterans since 1937. Benefits will total about $98 million the first year and slightly less in succeeding years. (Also enacted Vocational Rehabilitation program for peacetime ex-servicemen who suffered service-connected disability -- the first time peacetime veterans have received this assistance; and strengthened veterans re-employment rights.)
7. **Mass Immunization** -- For the first time the Federal Government will assist states and communities in organizing, financing, and conducting intensive immunization campaigns against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough and tetanus, with the objective of eliminating these public health problems.

VI. **Improving our Cities and Towns**

1. **The Housing Act of 1961** -- represents the most comprehensive and far-reaching housing program in Congressional history
   -- Major expansion of urban renewal, public housing, housing for the elderly
   -- First major middle-income housing (low-interest, 50-year loans)
   -- First aid to local mass transit
   -- First protection of open spaces in urban areas
   -- Stimulus to home improvements with larger loans, at lower interest, over longer period of time
   -- 95% of Republicans in House voted to recommit
   -- 87% of Republicans in Senate voted to recommit

2. **Water Pollution Control** -- 5 year doubling of program, to benefit ultimately 5,000 communities. 754 grants have already been made to municipalities serving over 7 million people. New approach increases Federal responsibility, research, grants to local communities, and demonstration grants
   -- 85% of Republicans in House voted to recommit with instructions to reduce grant funds by 25%

3. **Community Health Facilities** -- Increased funds for building nursing homes for the aged, and encouraging other community health services (such as out-patient clinics) for 17 million senior citizens and for the chronically ill. Construction of 50 more nursing homes with 2,500 beds have been started in the past year.

4. **Federal Airport Act** -- 3-year program of expanded assistance to airports to increase air safety and improve air facilities (this program had been scheduled for abolition).

5. **Air Pollution** -- Continuation of Federal attack on this menace to health and urban living.

VII. **Improving our Farms and Rural Life**

Legislative and administrative action helped increase farm income 10% to an 8-year high, reduced feed grain and wheat surpluses 700 million bushels, without any significant increase in food prices. By 1964 we will have 400,000,000 fewer bushels of wheat and over a billion fewer bushels of feed grains.

1. **1961 Omnibus Farm Bill**, following and continuing the Emergency Feed Grain Bill, was the most comprehensive farm legislation since 1938, with expanded use of marketing orders, first wheat and feed grain programs since World War II, extended the great plains conservation program, extended the school milk program, and increased food for peace. Savings to taxpayers estimated at over $1 billion on wheat and feed grain program (both emergency and omnibus bill).
   -- 98% of Republicans in House against emergency feed grain bill
   -- 62% of Republicans in Senate against emergency feed grain bill
2. **1962 Farm Bill** -- equally far-reaching -- establishes permanent wheat program sought by farmers for 10 years, to take effect in 1964; continues for 1963 the wheat and feed grain programs successful in 1961 and 1962; establishes concept that land retired from crop production shall not be left idle but shall be put to new recreational or other use.
   -- 99% of Republicans in House voted to recommit the 1962 farm bill
   -- 97% of Republicans in Senate voted against the 1962 farm bill

3. **Rural Housing** -- Housing Act of 1961 extended to non-farm rural residents guaranteed home loans which have long been available to city people.

   **Senior Citizens Housing Act** -- long-term loan and loan insurance program to enable rural residents over 62, on farms and in small towns, to obtain low-interest, long-term loans to construct or buy new homes or modernize old ones.

   Administered through the Farmers Home Administration, these programs give an enormous boost to the rural economy.

4. **Agriculture Appropriations** -- to make possible increased REA loans, Federal Crop Insurance covering 100 more counties and three more crops, better quality food distribution reaching over two million more needy at home than was the case in 1960 and a pilot food stamp program, expanded school lunch program to feed nearly 1.5 million more children, expanded special milk programs to 4000 more schools and institutions, a record number of home ownership and other farm loans, nearly a 50% increase in forest research, increased appropriation for forest roads and trails, and a 75% acceleration of small watershed projects.

VIII. **Making the Most of Our Natural Resources and Energy**

1. **Three National Seashores Created** -- Cape Cod on the Atlantic, Point Reyes on the Pacific, and Padre Island on the Gulf. These represent the first major additions to our coast-to-coast National Park system in 16 years -- more seashore parks, in fact, than all those previously authorized in history. Cape Cod alone represents more acreage than was added to the system in the entire preceding 8 years. -- 45% of Republicans in the House voted against Cape Cod bill

2. **Nine New Reclamation Projects**, including two major authorizations -- Fryingpan-Arkansas ($171 million) and San Juan - Chama project and Navajo Indian project ($220 million). This is the first Congress in history to authorize two major (over $100 million) new reclamation projects in one session. Total national investment during this Congress in the conservation of our water resources has reached an all-time high -- more than 2 1/2 billion dollars.

3. **Hanford Reactor in AEC Authorization** -- Using instead of wasting steam from this reactor makes possible the world's largest atomic electric power plant. Equal in power capacity to 2 Bonneville dams, -- 62% of Republicans in House voted to recommit
4. **Wetlands Acquisition Act** -- 7 year self-financing program for acquisition of wetlands. Eleven new waterfowl refuges to be established under this and other acts -- more than any period in recent history -- a major national effort to preserve our rapidly vanishing migratory waterfowl.

5. **Saline Water** -- Converted minor year-to-year program into 75 million, 6 year program to achieve major breakthrough.

**IX. Promoting Justice and Civil Rights**

1. **Anti-Crime Legislation** -- 6 bills to combat organized crime passed in the first significant legislative attack on organized crime since 1934. The ban on transmitting gambling information, for example, was sought 35 times in the past 53 years without success. Over 4,000 investigations have now been instituted by the F.B.I. under these new laws. (F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover said: "Several wire services which were actually the 'lifeline' of gambling operations suddenly discontinued their activities with the signing into law of this new legislation." A national publication commented -- "bookmakers all over the country are up against it as they never have been before.")

2. **Combatting Juvenile Delinquency** -- First Federal support program after 8 years of legislative attempts. 16 cities have already received grants. 26 other grants have been made to universities and other organizations to train workers to combat juvenile delinquency.

3. **73 Federal Judgeships Created** -- Pursuant to recommendations of Judicial Conference.

4. **Poll Tax Constitutional Amendment** -- After 20 years of Congressional effort.

5. **Civil Rights Commission** -- 2 year extension.

6. **Repeal of Non-Communist Affidavit in Student Loan and Fellowship Programs** -- useless oath was preventing many colleges from participating.

**X. Providing Consumer Protection and Opportunities**

1. **New Drug Safeguards** -- First major drug amendments to the food and drug Act since 1938 -- More thorough factory inspection, and a requirement that drugs be effective as well as safe, finally adopted after being proposed 24 years ago. Will improve quality and safety of drugs and help reduce their price.

2. **Educational TV** -- First Federal grant program to encourage use of television channels for educational purposes.

3. **All-Channel Receiver Legislation** -- Provides wider choice for viewers in all localities and spurs development of television by encouraging investment in UHF stations.
4. **Pension and Welfare Disclosure** -- Millions of Americans covered by these plans now can be assured of accurate and full disclosures -- safeguards and tighter enforcement enacted, after being rejected in previous Congresses.

5. **New National Institute of Child Health and Human Development** -- Research is focused upon the growth process rather than upon specific diseases.

**XI. Streamlining Government**

1. **Federal Pay Reform and Increases** -- Accomplishes structural reform of Federal statutory white collar salary systems, following the principle of comparability with private enterprise salaries and the principle of equal pay for equal work.

2. **Postal Rate Modifications** -- Substantially reduce the postal deficit and place the Department on a sounder financial basis.

3. **Reorganization Act and Plans** -- Act renewed - 5 of 9 plans adopted without change, 2 adopted with minor changes through legislation. Reorganizations coordinated Federal scientific and technical programs through new Office of Science and Technology; and provided for more expeditious and effective functioning of regulatory agencies, maritime programs and Home Loan Bank Board.

4. **Highway Trust Fund** -- Placed on a sound financial basis the greatest public work program of all time, calling for 37 billion dollars in expenditures to complete 41,000 miles of interstate highways by 1972. More of cost shifted to users. Anti-billboard provisions retained. (Regular ABC Highway Act strengthened by provisions for displaced families and community transportation planning.)

5. **Conflict of Interest Legislation** -- Modernizes and makes more effective ban on government employees serving two masters.

# # # # # # # #
Dear Dan:

Thank you for your letter of the fourth. The information you requested for the processing of speaking requests is as follows:

Washington Residence: Senator George McGovern
Chevy Chase, Maryland

South Dakota Residence: Lawler Hotel
Mitchell, South Dakota
(Area Code 605)

South Dakota Offices: Mrs. Katherine Kuhns, Secretary
Office of Senator McGovern
Sioux Falls, South Dakota
Code 605, 
Kuhns Residence: Code 605,

Mrs. Alice Kandaras, Secretary
Office of Senator McGovern
P. O. Box 629
Rapid City, South Dakota
Code 605, 
Kandaras Residence: Code 605,

Washington Contacts: Owen J. Donley, Administrative Assistant
Office: ext. 2321; Home:

Patricia J. Donovan, Secretary
Office: ext. 2321; Home:
South Dakota Democratic Headquarters:  J. C. Noonan, State Chairman
Charles Kornmann, Executive Secretary

Mitchell, South Dakota
Code 605,

George Cunningham of my office will also be in the State during the campaign, and he may be reached either at the Democratic headquarters or through my Sioux Falls or Rapid City offices.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

George McGovern

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senate
September 10, 1964

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
442 Senate Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dan:

In compliance with your request of September 4, I am happy to supply you with the following information:

My Washington residence telephone number -- [redacted]  
My State office telephone number -- Area Code 401, GAspee [redacted]  
My State residence telephone number -- Area Code 401, Williams [redacted]

My Washington "contact" man --  
Mr. James A. McKenna  
Silver Spring, Maryland  
Telephone: JUniper [redacted]

My Rhode Island "contact" man --  
Mr. C. J. Maisano  
Garden City  
Cranston, Rhode Island  
Telephone: Area Code 401 Williams [redacted]

With every best wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

John O. Pastore  
United States Senator

JOP:ls
September 10, 1964

Hon. Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senator
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Colleague:

I am glad to furnish the following information you requested:

1. [Address], N.W.
   Telephone -- [Number]

2. When in Ohio I can be reached through my representatives:

   Mr. John C. Fontanna
   [Address]
   Columbus, Ohio
   Telephone -- [Number]

   Mr. Harold S. Stern
   [Address]
   Cleveland, Ohio
   Telephone -- [Number]

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Stephen M. Young

Y/b
Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D. C.  

Dear Dan:  

Thank you for your letter of September 4, which reached my office today.  

As I have repeatedly told you, I will be very happy to be of any possible assistance during the coming election, preferably in the West and possibly even in Hawaii. My first commitment, of course, is to assure a smashing victory for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket in Nevada, and particularly to help my good colleague, Howard Cannon. Subject to my desire to be of greatest help in Nevada, I am happy to go anywhere and on any notice.  

In response to your questions:  

1) My Washington residence is [redacted], Silver Spring, Maryland, and the telephone number is JU [redacted].  

2) I do not maintain a State residence as such, living in various hotels during the fall of the year following adjournment, although I do have a summer residence at Lake Tahoe.  

3) My State office address is [redacted], Reno, Nevada, and the telephone number is FA [redacted].  

4) a) My Washington "contact man" is Jack Carpenter,  
   145 Senate Office Building, Extension 3542;  
   [redacted], Silver Spring, MA [redacted]  

   b) My State "contact man" is Robert McDonald,  
   [redacted], Reno, FA [redacted]  

Cordially,  

[Signature]  

ALAN BIBLE
The Honorable
Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

In response to your letter of September 4, I submit the following information:

1) [Redacted], N. W., Washington
   AD [Redacted]

2) [Redacted], Fayetteville, Arkansas
   Business HI [Redacted]
   Home HI [Redacted]

3) Federal Office Building, Little Rock, Ark.
   FR [Redacted]

4) Lee Williams, [Redacted], Alexandria, Virginia
   TE [Redacted]
   a) Lee Williams, same as above
   b) Lee Williams,
      Federal Office Building, Little Rock, Ark.
      FR [Redacted]

I might tell you that I plan to spend most of the period between now and the election in Arkansas where I have numerous speaking engagements. I do not plan to make any speaking commitments outside my State with the exception of one or two, which I have tentatively accepted. We have a job to do in Arkansas and I feel I can best serve the Party and the national ticket there.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Fulbright

JWF:wcb
The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.  

Dear Dan:  

Thank you for your letter of September 4th. The following are my contact people for use during the campaign:

1. My Washington residence:  OL   
   State office:  Area Code 801  
   State residence:  "  "   

2. a. Mrs. Roseanna Kinney  
   FE  
   Washington 7, D. C.  
   b. J. Philip Cowley  
   Salt Lake City, Utah  
   Res:  
   Office:  

3. D. Frank Wilkins, Chairman  
   Democratic State Committee  
   American Oil Building  
   Salt Lake City, Utah  

Sincerely,  

Frank E. Moss  
United States Senator
September 10, 1964

Hon. Daniel K. Inouye
Chairman
Senatorial Campaign Committee Speakers Bureau
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dan:

This will acknowledge your recent letter requesting information relative to names and addresses of my campaign personnel.

As requested, the following information is provided:

1) My Washington residence telephone: WH
My Las Vegas, Nevada, office telephone: area code 702;
My Reno, Nevada, office telephone: area code 702;
My Las Vegas, Nevada, residence telephone: area code 702;

2) My Washington "contact man":

Mr. John Hayward
1311 Delaware Avenue, S.W.
Washington 24, D.C.
Residence telephone:

My State "contact men":

Mr. Jack Conlon
713 Sahara Avenue
Las Vegas, Nevada 89105
Residence telephone:

Mr. Chet Sobsey
Commercial Center
Las Vegas, Nevada
Telephone (Office): area code 702
I appreciate the information you provided concerning speaking requests and will certainly bear it in mind when the need for speakers arises.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

[Signature]

[Name]

hwc:jsb
Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senate

Dear Dan:

In response to your letter of September 4, following is the information you requested:

1) My Washington residence address and telephone number: N. W.; EMerson 2222.

2) My State residence and telephone number: S. W., Albuquerque, New Mexico; 3333.

3) My State office address and telephone number: Albuquerque, New Mexico; CHapel 4444, Extensions 55 and 66.

4) In the event you are unable to communicate with me directly, you may call upon my "contact men."

   a) Washington: Miss Eloise De La O, N. W., ADams 7777, or CA 3333, x555.

   b) State: Mrs. Lorella M. Salazar, Albuquerque, New Mexico; CHapel 8888, x777 or 9999

Sincerely yours,

Clinton P. Anderson

CPA:O
The Hon. Daniel K. Inouye  
U. S. Senator  
Suite 442, Old Senate Office Bldg.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

Thank you for your letter of September 4 requesting information to be used by the Senatorial Campaign Committee in the next few months prior to the election. Please be assured of my eagerness to do all that I can to attain a sweeping victory for the Democratic Party in November.

The information you desire is as follows:

1. Washington residence and phone -

   [Redacted]
   Chevy Chase, Maryland
   Phone: [Redacted]

2. State residence and phone -

   [Redacted]
   Madison, Wisconsin
   Phone: area code [Redacted]

3. State office and phone -

   None

4. "Contact Men" -

   a) Washington

      Mr. Warren Sawall  
      South  
      Arlington, Virginia
Phone: 

b) State

Mr. Sherman Stock
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Office phone: MI 
Residence: GA 

Sincerely yours,

GAYLORD NELSON
U. S. Senator

GN/pg
Hon. Daniel K. Inouye  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Danny:

Thank you for your letter of the 4th. You are wise to line up contact points for potential speakers.

I plan to concentrate on the close race in my home state but can be reached for proposed side trips personally or through Mr. Carter Bradley, Administrative Assistant, or Mrs. Betty Lund, Personal Secretary, who keeps track of my schedule.

Any of us can be reached through this office any time (Ext. 5754) or directly through the Oklahoma City office following adjournment. The number there is Central 5-1103. An additional number will probably be installed by the first of October and it can be obtained at that time from this office.

I know you will do a superb job of running the Speaker's Bureau of the Senatorial Campaign Committee. Best of luck!

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]
United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
September 9, 1964

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senator
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

Thank you for your letter of September 4.

In answer to your questions I am forwarding you the following information:

1. My address in Washington is [redacted] Avenue, N. W. and telephone is Federal [redacted]

2. My Georgia address is [redacted] Georgia, and the phone is Area Code [redacted], Greenleaf [redacted]

3. My contact in Washington will be my Administrative Assistant, Mr. Kenneth H. Turner at Extension 3613. His home address is [redacted] University Park, Maryland. His telephone is Appleton [redacted].

4. My Georgia contact will be my secretary, Miss Dottie Foster. She may be contacted at our Atlanta, Georgia, office located at 1974 Spring [redacted] telephone number [redacted]. She will advise you of her residence address and telephone number when she returns to Georgia.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

[Signature]
United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  

September 4, 1964  

The Honorable Quentin N. Burdick  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D.C.  

Dear Quentin:  

In approximately two months the people of the United States will go to the polls to determine the future of our Nation. As experience has shown, the last few weeks of the campaign can be most demanding, frustrating, and nerve-racking.  

As Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee Speakers Bureau, it is my desire to be of every assistance possible to you in your re-election campaign. Realizing that it may not be possible to be in constant contact with you, may I prevail upon you for the following information. This information will be of immeasurable help to the Committee in carrying out its responsibilities. Please be assured that this information will be used by authorized personnel only.  

1) Your Washington residence telephone number  
   Your State office telephone number  
   Your State residence telephone number  

2) In the event we are not able to communicate with you directly, may we be authorized to call upon your "contact men."  
   a) Name, address and telephone numbers of your Washington "contact man."  
   b) Name, address and telephone numbers of your State "contact man."  

3) If we are not able to communicate with you or your contact men, may we be authorized to communicate with the Chairman of your State Democratic Party. If this meets with your approval, may we have his name, address and telephone numbers.
Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.  

Dear Dan:

Replying to your letter of September 4th, I am going out Sunday to campaign for a Democratic Congressman in the Second Oregon District, Blaine Whipple, who ran a good race last year against the Republican incumbent, Walter Norblad, and has a fair chance of beating him this time.

I then expect to go to Alaska and campaign vigorously for the National ticket, as well as for our Congressman Ralph Rivers, and for the Democratic nominees for the Legislature.

As I will not be at my Washington address after my departure, there is no point in my giving you the telephone number but I can be reached when in Alaska through my office in Washington, which will know where I am. In talking to the office I suggest that you contact either George Sundborg, my Administrative Assistant, or Herb Beaser, my Legislative Assistant. Needless to say, I will be glad to help in any way I can.

Cordially yours,

[Signature]

ERNEST GRUENING, U.S.S.
The Honorable R. Vance Hartke  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Vance:

In approximately two months the people of the United States will go to the polls to determine the future of our Nation. As experience has shown, the last few weeks of the campaign can be most demanding, frustrating, and nerve-racking.

As Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee Speakers Bureau, it is my desire to be of every assistance possible to you in your re-election campaign. Realizing that it may not be possible to be in constant contact with you, may I prevail upon you for the following information. This information will be of immeasurable help to the Committee in carrying out its responsibilities. Please be assured that this information will be used by authorized personnel only.

1) Your Washington residence telephone number  
   Your State office telephone number  
   Your State residence telephone number

2) In the event we are not able to communicate with you directly, may we be authorized to call upon your "contact men."

   a) Name, address and telephone numbers of your Washington "contact man."  
      1001 16th St., Apt. 1410  
      Silver Spring, Md. 20910

   b) Name, address and telephone numbers of your State "contact man."  
      Mark Brodie, Office 311 S. Capitol Ave  
      Indianapolis, Ind.

3) If we are not able to communicate with you or your contact men, may we be authorized to communicate with the Chairman of your State Democratic Party. If this meets with your approval, may we have his name, address and telephone numbers.
Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

In response to your letter of September 4,  
I am pleased to send you the following information:

My Washington residence is the Potomac  
[redacted] telephone [redacted].

My Baton Rouge, Louisiana residence is  
[redacted] Telephone Dickens [redacted]

In Washington, you may contact my Adminis-
trative Assistant, R. E. Hunter, LUdlow [redacted]  In
Louisiana, you may contact Mr. O. C. Smith, Baton
Rouge, [redacted]

Best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]
The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dan:

In response to your letter, I would suggest that you contact my office at any time you may wish to get in touch with me. My staff will be informed as to my whereabouts at all times during the campaign.

In accordance with your suggestion, I shall be happy to provide the National Committee with full particulars as far in advance as possible for any requests I may receive for "outside speakers."

I appreciate your interest in being of assistance to me, Dan, and I want to compliment you on the fine job you are doing in behalf of those of us who are campaigning for re-election this fall.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Byrd, U.S.S.
REGION 1
Bill Dunfey
Connecticut
Maine
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
New York
Rhode Island
Vermont

REGION 2
Blair Lee
Delaware
Dist. of Col.
Maryland
New Jersey
Pennsylvania
W. Virginia

REGION 3
Bill Brawley
Alabama
Florida
Georgia
Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia
Puerto Rico
Virgin Islands

REGION 4
Ivan Nestingen
Illinois
Indiana
Kentucky
Michigan
Minnesota
Ohio
Wisconsin

REGION 5
John Singleton
Arizona
Arkansas
Louisiana
Missouri
New Mexico
Oklahoma
Texas
Canal Zone

REGION 6
Culp Krueger
Colorado
Iowa
Kansas
Montana
Nebraska
North Dakota
South Dakota
Wyoming

REGION 7
Irv Hoff
Alaska
California
Hawaii
Idaho
Nevada
Oregon
Utah
Washington
Guam
1964 DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL DINNER
Lyndon B. Johnson
President of the United States
1964 DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL DINNER

NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY

MARCH 19, 1964

Program designed by JOHN GUTHRIE
HARRY S TRUMAN
President of the United States
April 1945, January 1953

Called to office by the death of another great American, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President Harry S. Truman carved himself a niche in history. He will be forever known as the Man of Decision who launched the world into the Atomic Age, terminated a hot war and established the policies of the United States that prevented a cold war from becoming hot. Harry S. Truman demonstrated the leadership qualities which Democrats have given their country since the time of Thomas Jefferson. He has been an inspiration to all.

This is the mark of America—that its sons and daughters can and do rise from diverse backgrounds to heights of power and accomplishment.

MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana
Athlete, soldier, statesman
Majority Leader of the
United States Senate

CARL HAYDEN of Arizona
Arizona's first Member of Congress
53 years in Congress
President Pro Tempore of the Senate
As Speaker, John McCormack is one of the most powerful men in the world. Modest, retiring, Speaker McCormack has exercised leadership for many years in Congress. In his experience he has guided the necessary flow of legislation and placed his personal mark upon our laws. Now at the pinnacle of his power, Speaker McCormack is in constant touch with events throughout the world. In the long roll of strong men who have held the office of Speaker, only he could have filled the shoes of the late Sam Rayburn.
HONEYDEW MELON

HEARTS OF PASCAL CELERY       ASSORTED QUEEN OLIVES

CHARCOAL BROILED HEART OF FILET MIGNON SUR CANAPÉ

POTATOES RISSOLEES

STRING BEANS PROVENÇALE

HEARTS OF ICEBERG LETTUCE

FRENCH DRESSING

ICE-CREAM SHAMROCK MOLD

DEMI-TASSE
PRESIDING: HONORABLE JAMES A. FARLEY

INVOCATION: REVEREND BERNARD BRASKAMP, D.D.
Chaplain of the House of Representatives

NATIONAL ANTHEM: PHIL REGAN
ENTERTAINMENT
CARMEL QUINN PHIL REGAN
SIDNEY'S MAYFLOWER MUSIC
INIS FADA GAELIC PIPE BAND

PROGRAM OF SPEAKERS

REMARKS: HONORABLE JOHN M. BAILEY
Chairman, Democratic National Committee
Introduction of Distinguished Guests by Honorable James A. Farley, former
Postmaster General and Chairman, Democratic National Committee

REMARKS: MRS. MARGARET PRICE
Vice Chairman, Democratic National Committee

REMARKS: HONORABLE HARRY S TRUMAN
President of the United States 1945-1953

REMARKS: HONORABLE MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, OHIO
Chairman, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee

REMARKS: HONORABLE JOHN W. MCCORMACK, MASSACHUSETTS
Speaker, House of Representatives

REMARKS: HONORABLE WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASHINGTON
Chairman, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

ADDRESS
HONORABLE LYNDON B. JOHNSON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

BENEDICTION: REVEREND FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, DD., Litt. D., L.L.D.
Chaplain of the Senate
The Congressional Class of 1936 came on the American political scene when there were giants in the land. They came to power while our nation still struggled in the aftermath of the great depression. And in their careers they have traced the progress of our people out of that depression into the present day of unprecedented prosperity. One of their number is President.

These men have shaped history. They were elected first in the greatest Presidential landslide of them all—the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt over Alf Landon of Kansas. Political manager of the winning campaign of 1936 was Big Jim Farley who is part of our celebration tonight. It was Jim Farley who

American political genius created the Constitution which, save for the Magna Charta, is the base for the oldest unaltered form of government on Earth.

American genius, too, furnished the political leadership and acumen necessary to make the Constitutional system work.

Tonight we have with us the 38 chairmen of the Committees of Congress whose hearts and minds are dedicated to making the Constitutional system of government of the United States function.

These men are the ditch diggers of democracy. Their wisdom, devotion, and zest for unremitting toil make it possible for Congress to work without self-defeating frustration.

The Committee
predicted that FDR would triumph by winning all but two states.

The men of 1936 made political history, too, by confounding the pollsters who predicted their defeat, as Harry S Truman did again in 1948.

Tonight this gathering marks the opening of an era of continued progress and prosperity for the People of the United States under the leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, the Congressional Class of 1936—and their “Manager,” Jim Farley.

We honor these men tonight!

The executive branch of government and the leadership of the Congress, both look to the Committees of Congress to turn out the necessary legislation that allows the Administration as a whole to function.

The importance of the job done by the Committees of Congress and their chairmen is seldom acclaimed, sometimes not even recognized by the mass of people.

Too often unsung, yet content to take satisfaction in a job well done, the Chairmen of the Committees of Congress deserve recognition.

We honor them tonight.

These men and their committees make the record for our Party.

They are the Bulwarks of the Constitution.
Representative
MICHAEL J. KIRWIN
of Ohio
Chairman, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Co-Chairman, Democratic Congressional Dinner, 1964

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

JOHN W. McCORMACK, Mass.
SPEAKER

SECRETARY
William L. Dawson, Ill.

VICE-CHAIRMEN
1st, Harry R. Sheppard, Calif.
2nd, Ray J. Madden, Ind.
3rd, Clifford Davis, Tenn.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Eugene J. Keogh, N. Y., Chm.
Thomas E. Morgan, Pa.
John E. Fogarty, R. I.
Oren Harris, Ark.
George H. Mahon, Texas
Clement J. Zablocki, Wis.
Martha W. Griffiths, Mich.
Ed Edmondson, Okla.

HALE BOOGS. La.
WHIP

FINANCE COMMITTEE
Howard W. Smith, Va., Chm.
Byron G. Rogers, Colo.
Walter S. Baring, Nev.
Joseph M. Montoya, N. M.
John J. Flynt, Jr., Ga.
Morris K. Udall, Ariz.
George Grant, Ala.
Neal Smith, Iowa
Sam Gibbons, Fla.

RESEARCH COMMITTEE
Paul C. Jones, Mo., Chm.
Harold D. Cooley, N. C.
Michael A. Feighan, Ohio
Harris B. McDowell, Jr., Del.
Ralph J. Rivers, Alaska
James H. Morrison, La.
William Colmer, Miss.
Frank Stubblefield, Ky.
Ralph Harding, Idaho

CARL ALBERT, Okla.
MAJORITY LEADER

SPEAKERS COMMITTEE
John A. Blatnik, Minn.
George H. Fallon, Md.
Harley O. Staggers, W. Va.
Edith Green, Ore.
Emilio Q. Daddario, Conn.
Arnold Olsen, Mont.
Peter Rodino, N. J.
Julia B. Hansen, Wash.
Thomas Gill, Hawaii
Kenneth R. Harding, Calif.
Assistant to the Chairman
Director of Operations
Edmund L. Henshaw, Va.
Research Director
John M. Redding, Ill.
Treasurer
Zeake Johnson, Tenn.
Sgt. at Arms
United States Senator
WARREN G. MAGNUSON
of Washington

Chairman, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Co-Chairman, Democratic Congressional Dinner, 1964

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

MIKE MANSFIELD, Mont.  
MAJORITY LEADER

FRANK CHURCH, Idaho
DANIEL K. INOUYE, Hawaii
EDWARD V. LONG, Mo.
RUSSELL B. LONG, La.

JENNINGS RANDOLPH, W. Va.
ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, Conn.
JOHN SPARKMAN, Ala.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Minn.  
VICE CHAIRMAN

FREDERICK J. LORDAN
Secretary

ALWYN F. MATTHEWS
Executive Director

COMMITTEES FIRST ORGANIZED IN 1842

Democratic Congressional Committees, including membership from both the House of Representatives and the Senate were in existence as early as 1842 when "a committee of the Democratic members of the Congress" published a "declaration of principles for General Harrison's administration." Permanent organization was effected in 1866 when the Democratic members of the two Houses, supporting President Andrew Johnson against the efforts of his own party to impeach him, "appointed a National Congressional Committee" to manage the Congressional Campaign that year. The committee was continued in that form through succeeding campaigns until the division into separate organizations of House and Senate committees for the midterm election preceding the first administration of Grover Cleveland. The Senate Committee was organized in its present form in 1916.
Democratic Congressional Dinner Committee

HARRY S. TRUMAN
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OLIVER, Max
PARKIN, R. B.
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PAUL, Edwin W.
PERKINS, William H.
PERRY, Jay
PICKLE, Mrs. J. J.
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ROSS, Bradford
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JAMES A. FARLEY
Honorary Treasurer and Toastmaster
Democratic Congressional Dinner, 1964
Architect of winning political campaigns

Three women who helped make this dinner a success meet to plan their work. (Left to right) Mrs. Claiborne Pell, Mrs. Dale Miller and Mrs. Hale Boggs served as Co-Chairmen of the Democratic Congressional Dinner Committee, 1964.
PRESIDENT JOHNSON ADDRESSES A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS ON ASSUMING OFFICE, NOVEMBER 27, 1963
OUR BELOVED PRESIDENT, JOHN F. KENNEDY,
and the great Speaker of the House,
HONORABLE SAM RAYBURN

They asked not what their country could do for them . . .
11 May

Henry -

Dan asked that this program from Senator Quentin N. Burdick be given to you for safekeeping.

Kimie
The Salute to Burdick Committee requests the pleasure of your company at a dinner in honour of N. Burdick and Mrs. Quentin at eight o'clock on Saturday evening, January 18th. in the Fargo Auditorium.

R.S.V.P.
This is Senator John F. Kennedy talking to Senator Burdick in the Fargo Memorial Civic Auditorium, June 19, 1960.

The original hangs in Senator Burdick's Washington office.
Dear Mr. Woell:

I am highly pleased to join with his many friends in saluting my former Senate colleague, Quentin N. Burdick.

In my many years of public service I have known few men who have displayed such a deep understanding of the basic tenets of the American political system as has Senator Burdick. His courage, conviction and sense of justice command high respect in the Congress, and his service on the important Interior and Insular Affairs, Labor and Public Welfare, and Judiciary Committees has been a source special of admiration to all who know him.

It is with great pleasure that I join you in honoring Senator Burdick, an outstanding public servant of whom all North Dakotans and Americans can be proud.

Sincerely,

Lyndon Baines Johnson

Mr. Frank Woell
Chairman
Salute to Burdick Dinner
Fargo, North Dakota
Program

Toastmaster: Manny Marget
Invocation: Rev. Kenneth R. Cook, First Congregational Church, Fargo
Star Spangled Banner: Mrs. John Carlson, Fargo
Strolling Minstrel: James Symington, Washington, D. C.
Welcome: Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz, Fargo
Welcome: Mayor M. J. Helling, West Fargo
Remarks: The Honorable William Guy, Governor of North Dakota
Entertainment: Vici Stringer, "The Virtuoso of Humorous Violin Innovations," New York City
Introductions: Frank Woell, Chairman of Salute to Burdick Dinner
Address: Secretary Luther H. Hodges
Choral presentations by: North Dakota State University Choir—Director: Robert C. Godwin
Presentations
Reply: Senator Quentin N. Burdick
Benediction: Father William J. Durkin, Director, Newman Foundation, North Dakota State University, Fargo

Salute to Burdick Committee

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Mrs. Norman Tenneson  
Vice Chairman for Publicity  
Mrs. C. L. Haas  
Steering Committee  
Theodore M. Lee  
Kindred  
Leo G. Murphy  
Mapleton  
Officers of the Committee
Menu

Appetizers
Jumbo ripe olives
Stuffed Manvanilla olives
Chilled carrot curls
Hearts of Celery
Pickled midget dills
Rose radishes and assorted pickles

ENTREE
Baked Gourmet Breast of Chicken
Diced Cranberry Sauce
Baked Virginia Ham with Sherry Fruit Sauce
Au gratin potatoes
Mashed potatoes with brown gravy
Tossed crisp green salad
Cole slaw
Macaroni salad
Assorted gelatin salads

DESSERT
Cherry Tart with Whipped Cream
Rolls  Butter  Coffee
Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges

Luther Hartwell Hodges was nominated as Secretary of Commerce by President Kennedy on January 20, 1961.

Secretary Hodges served six years as Governor of the State of North Carolina. As Lieutenant Governor, he had succeeded to the Governorship on the death of the then Governor, completing two years of his term. He then was re-elected to a full four-year term.

Secretary Hodges was born March 9, 1898, in Pittsylvania County, Virginia. He attended public schools in Leaksville and Spray, North Carolina. He holds an A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina. He later served in the U.S. Army.

When Secretary Hodges joined the Cabinet, he was no stranger to Federal service. He had been head of the Textile Division of OPA in 1944, and a consultant to the Secretary of Agriculture in 1945. In 1950, he was head of the Industry Division of the Economic Cooperation Administration, and a consultant in 1951 to the State Department.

In 1922, the Secretary married Miss Martha Blakeney. They have two daughters and one son.
Senator and Mrs. Quentin Burdick
Background:
The BASIC PROBLEM IN EDUCATION is that schools and colleges are unable to keep pace with our growing student population. Nor can they keep pace with rising costs.

Republican indifference during the Eisenhower Administration helped kill three major education measures (1956, 1957, 1958), while total spending for education was cut $73 million.

The seriousness of the present problem is partly illustrated by the following facts:

* In a nation that prides itself on its literacy rate, only 46.3% of our adults have completed high school.

* Only 9% of our adults have completed college.

* College enrollment will almost double, and secondary school enrollment will increase by 50% in the next decade.

* By 1970 we will need facilities, classrooms, teachers, for:

  . . . 37.3 million children in the elementary schools

  . . . 15 million young people in our high schools

  . . . 7 million in our colleges and universities
THE RECORD OF THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS and the 87th and 88th Congresses in the field of education has been outstanding. Among the accomplishments:

*HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES ACT OF 1963: will aid college construction over a 3-year period. Appropriates $1.2 billion for building classrooms and other facilities for graduate schools, 4-year colleges, and two-year community colleges, technical institutes.

*HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATION ACT OF 1963: will help increase the number of professional health personnel (medicine, dentistry, etc.) through construction grants for facilities, and through low-interest loans for students of medicine, dentistry, or osteopathy.

*NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT EXTENSION: increased funds for NDEA Student Loan Programs, for science, mathematics, and foreign language training programs, and for counselling services.

*VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1963: will authorize a total increase of $956 million in federal support for vocational education in the next 5 fiscal years; will bring enrollment in state vocational education programs from 4.2 million (1963) to 7 million in 1968.

*IMPACTED AREAS AID EXTENSION: increased federal funds available in areas where the presence of Federal installations places a financial burden on local school systems.

*EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION ACT OF 1962: $32 million program of funds to help establish non-commercial educational television stations. First program of its kind in the country.

*MENTAL RETARDATION FACILITIES ACT of 1963: provides grants of $51.5 million covering 3 years for the training of 20,000 teachers for mentally retarded, handicapped children.

*MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH AND MENTAL RETARDATION PLANNING AMENDMENTS: Federal assistance to state and local communities for preventing and treating mental retardation.

*MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT: 280,000 workers have been trained or selected for training under the MDTA and the Area Redevelopment Act (to aid depressed areas) since these two laws went into effect.

*LIBRARY SERVICE AND CONSTRUCTION ACT OF 1964: authorizes $25 million aid to develop and expand existing libraries to cover urban areas as well as rural areas; also appropriated $20 million for new library construction.

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD in the area of education is one of neglect.

*The GOP fight against better schools and expanded educational opportunities got off to a flying start in 1950, when 68% of House Republicans voted against establishing a National Science Foundation for grants for research in mathematics, physics, and military projects, and to provide fellowships for promising young scientists.

*During the 1952 campaign Eisenhower said that we would be short 60,000 classrooms by 1958, but the Eisenhower Administration offered NO SCHOOL AID PROPOSALS in 1953 and 1954.

*In 1955, Republicans came up with a complicated and unworkable plan which required school districts to pay unreasonably high interest on school bonds, diverting funds FROM teachers’ pay.

*In 1956, Democrats moved to fill the void with a $400 million per year construction bill—61% of the House Republicans voted to kill the measure.

*In 1957, another school construction bill providing $1.5 billion over a 5-year period died by three Republican votes.
*In 1958, a similar education bill was killed when every Republican member of the House Education and Labor Committee voted against it.

*TOTAL SPENDING for education was cut $73 million during the Eisenhower Administration.

WHAT'S THE OPPOSITION SAYING?

*Republicans argue that grants to both public and private schools violate the First Amendment guarantee of separation of church and state. BUT, many existing programs, such as the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Health, provide aid to both types of institutions with no violation of the guarantee. THIS OBJECTION IS MEANT TO OBSCURE THE REAL ISSUE.

*Republicans have argued that Federal aid means Federal control. This is another PHONY SCARE OBJECTION. And Administration school aid proposals prohibit specifically such controls. Besides, there has been Federal aid to education since the Ordinance of 1785. In 1962, for example, more than 4 million high school students were enrolled in federally-aided vocational classes in AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRIAL ARTS, HOME ECONOMICS—without Federal control.

*Opponents claim that education is a local concern. Of course it is. But it's also a BASIC NATIONAL CONCERN. The youth of the country is our most important national resource. As a nation we have a vital interest in their education.

Lyndon B. Johnson:

"We have come to a time when the century in which we live should henceforth be known as the Century of the Educated Man. . . . We have entered an age in which education is not just a luxury permitted some men as an advantage. . . . It has become a necessity without which a person is defenseless in this complex, industrialized society."

(6/30/63)
Background:

During the Eisenhower years, American foreign policy drifted while the Soviets made substantial gains, in space, technology, and the wooing of the under-developed and emerging countries.

When the Kennedy-Johnson Administration took office in January of 1961:

*CASTRO* had come to power in Cuba (Jan., 1959) and the poison of Castroism was spreading through Latin America

*THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE* was in a state of confusion for want of a stable and cohesive American policy

*KHRUSHCHEV* had delivered his near-ultimatum on Berlin, and Germans and West Berliners had become increasingly concerned over the stability of the Berlin situation

*The situation in VIETNAM, which began in 1959-60, had been virtually ignored by the Republicans*

The Communist desire for world domination was thwarted by a series of determined powerful acts on the part of the United States.
*BERLIN (July, 1961) After the Vienna conference, with Khrushchev's "ultimatum" on Berlin, President Kennedy committed the United States to use all forces to the defense of Western vital interests in Berlin. U. S. reserve units called up.

*CUBA (January, 1962) The Punta del Este Conference of the OAS ejected Cuba, provided for collective defense against Communist penetration in the hemisphere, while the Washington Meeting of OAS Foreign Ministers (July 1964) voted to apply additional sanctions against Cuba for landing arms in Venezuela and to request all Member States to break relations with Castro.

*CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS (October, 1962). A major turning point in the cold war, the world's most serious nuclear crisis; U.S. strength and determination paid off.

To counter Red Vietnamese PT boat torpedo attacks on the U.S. 7th Fleet in the high seas of the Gulf of Tonkin on August 2 and 4, 1964, President Johnson ordered a successful counterattack. About 25 Communist PT boats and one vital oil supply base were destroyed. The Congress voted overwhelmingly to support the President's action (House 414 to 0, Senate 80 to 2).

But success in foreign affairs depends on diplomacy as well as strength. Some examples of Kennedy-Johnson diplomacy:

*Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963)

*Establishing a "hot line" to the Kremlin

*Simultaneous reduction by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. of output of nuclear weapons material

*Consular agreement reached with the U.S.S.R., giving some protection for the first time to U.S. citizens traveling in the Soviet Union (now about 10,000 a year)

*The Alliance for Progress has stifled Communist advances in Latin America

*The split between Red China and the Soviet Union is being exploited

SOME IMPORTANT KENNEDY-JOHNSON PROGRAMS IN FOREIGN POLICY:

*The Peace Corps (1961) has added a new dimension to our foreign policy; its success is generally unquestioned. From a small beginning of 35 volunteers in Tanganyika in 1961, there will be 14,000 by 1965 in 46 nations.

*The Alliance for Progress (1961) was President Kennedy's imaginative response to the need for hemispheric solidarity.

... CUBA has been expelled from the OAS and made subject to OAS economic and diplomatic sanctions; Soviet missiles in Cuba removed.

... VENEZUELA successfully combated a Communist terror campaign and held a free Presidential election; the first time in the history of the country that there were two consecutive free elections.

... After nearly 100 years of irritation, the Chamizal dispute with MEXICO has been settled; U.S.-Mexican relations have improved as a result.

... In PANAMA, a potentially dangerous situation has abated and negotiations on the root of the problem are proceeding with dignity and restraint.

... In BRAZIL, a dangerous trend towards Communism was stopped and constitutional procedures safeguarded.

*Food for Peace (1961) provided grants of surplus American food to help pay workers on construction projects in underdeveloped nations, thus freeing funds for other uses.

*The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1961) has helped to achieve:

... the HOT-LINE between Moscow and Washington, a direct communication link in times of crisis

... the TEST-BAN TREATY, prohibiting nuclear testing in the air, in space, and under water, ratified by 105 nations as of January, 1964

... the UNITED NATIONS resolution against stationing weapons of mass destruction in orbit

... the gradual reduction, simultaneously by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. of production of FISSIONABLE MATERIALS, at the same time that U.S. nuclear strength is being maintained and expanded.

*The Trade Expansion Act (1962) laid the basis for expanded export trade and lower tariff barriers. The "Kennedy round" negotiations based on this Act have just been concluded. The act authorizes the President to negotiate tariff cuts or to raise tariffs.
THE MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM:
The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has reversed the backward tide of foreign policy under Eisenhower-Dulles, a trend which had resulted in decreasing returns from our foreign aid dollar, and an increasing hostility to the program in Congress.

*The first foreign aid bill approved for the Kennedy-Johnson Administration also established the AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (AID), ending a proliferation of organizations administering our foreign assistance program.

. . . President Johnson’s current economy-minded program calls for an appropriation of $3.5 billion, the smallest request for the 16-year history of the foreign-aid program. And there have been other shifts:

. . . In July, 1960, only 41% of aid-financed goods were produced in the United States. In 1963, nearly 80% of all aid-financed commodities will be produced in the United States. WE ARE SPENDING MANY TIMES MORE FOREIGN AID DOLLARS AT HOME THAN OVERSEAS. Our industries are prime beneficiaries.

. . . In 1960, the foreign aid program had 645 contracts with American business firms and other private organizations. In 1963, AID had 1,027 such contracts. Also, AID has set up the Office of Development Finance and Private Enterprise in order to stimulate private enterprise overseas and encourage private U.S. firms to invest in the developing countries.

WHAT’S THE OPPOSITION SAYING?
GOP Presidential nominee Barry Goldwater wanted the U.S. and other OAS members to invade Cuba in October 1962 and to send marines in from Guantanamo to turn on the water in February 1964, to scourge Vietnam with nuclear firepower, to risk war with Red China by assisting an invasion of the mainland, to destroy the Berlin Wall at any cost, and to undertake military operations to liberate Communist satellites. He proposes to relinquish control of nuclear weapons to NATO field commanders. He rejects foreign aid as “unconstitutional,” opposes the nuclear test ban treaty, and favors U.S. downgrading of the United Nations. (Refer to Goldwater statements on 6/20/61; 7/3/62; 4/29/63; 9/28/61; 11/3/63; 12/20/61)
The War on Poverty

Background

On March 16, 1964, President Johnson sent to the Congress his Message on Poverty, pledging the full resources of the Government for the complete elimination of poverty, a condition which affects 1/5th of the nation's population. The generally accepted definition of poverty is an annual income below $3,000 for a family, or $1,500 for an individual living alone.

* 35 million persons, or 20% of the population, live in poverty in the United States, more than 11 million of them children

* 9.3 million of the 47 million families in the United States live in poverty

* 5 million, or 45% of persons living alone, are in poverty

* Here are some breakdowns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual Income</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than $1,800</td>
<td>4.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,800 to $2,500</td>
<td>3.0 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,500 to $3,000</td>
<td>1.8 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  Total: 9.3 million families

* In 1962, the per capita income of these 35 million persons was only $590, as against $1,900 per capita income for the nation as a whole.

Poverty tends to be concentrated in certain groups in the population. For example:

* 37% of families headed by a person with less than 8 years of education live in poverty.
*44% of all non-white families live in poverty.  
*47% of all families headed by a person over 65 live in poverty.  
*48% of all fatherless families live in poverty.  
*43% of all farm families live in poverty.

The Republican Record has been a combination of opposition and obstruction, beginning with 99% Republican House opposition to the original Social Security Bill in 1935, to 86% Republican Senate opposition to hospital care for the elderly in 1962. The Administration Approach to the need for assistance for millions of American families is the comprehensive Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Its main features are:

*THE YOUTH PROGRAM (One-third of the poor are children, and the need for remedial action is great.) The total Youth Program calls for a budget of $412.5 million, and provides:

... Job Corps: a program to provide 100,000 males and females, ages 16 through 21, a two-year program of education, vocational training, and work experience in 100 centers.

... Work-Training Program: the Office of Economic Opportunity, created by the Act of 1964, will help State and local agencies and private non-profit organizations develop employment programs for unemployed youths. The program will permit 200,000 young people to resume schooling or otherwise increase their employability.

... Work-Study Program: will provide part-time employment for 140,000 needy students attending higher educational institutions to enable them to continue their education. Program to be administered by H.E.W.

*THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM provides $340 million to help local communities to prepare their own long-range plans to assist low-income individuals and families in their own communities. Assistance provided in the fields of education, employment, job training, counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing and welfare.

*THE RURAL ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM provides $50 million for grants and loans to low-income individuals, farm families, and cooperatives working with these people. The aim is to provide a means by which they can achieve a permanent increase in family income. To be administered by the Department of Agriculture.

*VOLUNTEERS FOR AMERICA: program to recruit and train volunteers for the war on poverty. Akin in concept to the proposed National Youth Service Corps. Training volunteers for service in America.

*MISCELLANEOUS: In addition to the core program, there are a number of related actions and activities:

Pilot Food Stamp Program (1961), now extended to 380,000 persons in 22 states. Allows redemption of stamps in local retail outlets, stimulates business, reduces surplus, supplements diets. The expanded program will benefit 4 million persons in 1500 counties.

Area Redevelopment Act (1961) as of June, 1964, ARA had instituted 478 projects, creating 63,836 direct jobs and 41,493 indirect jobs, and equipped 29,988 workers with new skills.

Accelerated Public Works Act (1962) as of July, 1964, the public works program has provided 1,053,406 man-months of on-site employment.

Social Security Amendments (1961) lowered retirement age and increased benefits; Public Welfare Amendment of '62 enabled 47 states to enlarge their programs for the needy and restored 110,136 disabled persons to a productive life.

Manpower Development and Training Act (1962) will update the employment skills of 400,000 workers.

Rural Areas Development Program helped create some 110,000 new jobs in rural communities since 1961, and is helping local people with projects to add another 200,000 new jobs.

The 1964 Tax Cut Bill provides substantial assistance by reducing income taxes of people earning $3,000 or less by almost 40% (average).

From 1961 to 1962, 2.8 million unemployed
workers received $800 million in temporary benefits.

Since the extension of the ADC (AEDC), 15 states in the program provided aid to more than 48,000 needy families with 183,000 children.

Other proposed programs: (a) hospital insurance for elderly, (b) coverage for millions not protected by minimum wage, (c) housing and community development programs for those seeking decent homes, (d) new and expanded unemployment benefits.

Republican arguments say that such a program will "sap individual initiative." Most living in poverty find themselves in this situation through no fault of their own. Those, for example, who are victims of resource depletion or automation layoffs, have no control over their fate; the 11 million children concerned obviously didn't get that way because of lack of initiative and "get up and go."

Republicans say that this program is another example of governmental centralization in Washington. They deliberately ignore that many of the component parts, such as the family unity, work-study, and the rural poverty program, are to be administered by existing agencies. Many other aspects of the Anti-Poverty Program, such as the Community Action Program, are designed to assist state and local agencies in solving local problems at local levels.

As President Johnson said in January, 1964: "Poverty is a national problem, requiring improved national organization and support. But this attack, to be effective, must also be organized at the state and local level. . . . For the War against Poverty will not be won in Washington. It must be won in the field, in every private home, in every public office, from the courthouse to the White House. . . . Our aim is not only to relieve the symptom of poverty, but to cure it, and, above all, prevent it."

The plain fact is that most of the poor are blameless, and want not handouts, but an honest wage for an honest day's work. The War on Poverty will cost 1% of the national budget.
Health Care for the Aged

Background

The need for an effective program of health care for the aged can be best illustrated by the following facts:

*The aged today number 18 million, or more than 9% of the population. There will be 23 million aged by 1980.

*The aged have limited financial resources: Among the nonmarried aged, 44% have income under $1,000, 91% under $3,000. Among the couples, 29% have less than $2,000 income, 80% less than $5,000. 48% of aged spending units have less than $1,000 in liquid assets.

*Only 51% of the aged have hospitalization insurance, and many of these have inadequate insurance coverage. (The American Hospital Association defines adequate coverage as protection against three-fourths
of the total hospital bill.) Of the noninstitutionalized aged with less than $2,000 annual income, only 39% have hospitalization insurance. Only 41% of those over 75 have hospitalization insurance.

*The aged need to use a great deal of expensive care: 80% of the aged have chronic ailments; the aged use 3 times as much hospital care as younger people; after 65, 9 out of 10 are hospitalized at least once; 2 of 3 are hospitalized 2 or more times; persons over 65 stay nearly twice as long as younger persons—average of 14.9 days for those over 65, 7.6 days for those under 65.

*Hospital costs have increased tremendously. The average cost of one day’s hospital care has risen from $9.39 in 1946 to $38.91 per day in 1963. One-half of aged couples, where one or the other is hospitalized, have total medical bills over $938 in one year. Only 57% of aged couples are able to meet medical bills without outside help.

The Republican Record: Republican opposition to medical care under social security dates from the earliest attempts by Democratic Administration to pass this badly needed legislation.

On August 30, 1960, on Senator Anderson’s proposals for medical benefits for social security retirees, only one Republican voted for the proposal, 32 against. On July 17, 1962, 31 Republican Senators voted to table (i.e., kill) the Anderson Amendments to provide health insurance for persons 65 and over through Social Security. Only 5 Republicans joined the Democrats in support of the amendments which were defeated by a 52-48 vote. Democratic Administrations have requested health care for the aged regularly since World War II.

THE INADEQUACY
OF EXISTING LEGISLATION

In 1960, Congress enacted the Kerr-Mills legislation, which provided a new Federal matching grant program for the medically needy aged (MAA) with optional State participation.

Some of the basic defects in Kerr-Mills are:

*States cannot afford—or are unwilling—to finance an adequate Kerr-Mills program:

... as of June 1964, 17 States (with 28% of the Nation’s aged population) still had NO MAA program in operation. For at least 10 of these states there is no indication of when, if ever, they will have a program in operation.

... 3 States (California, Massachusetts, and New York) accounted for almost half of all persons receiving MAA in May 1964, but only 22% of the elderly live in those States.

... 5 large industrial States (California, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania) paid 76% of MAA benefits in May, and received 74% of Federal matching money even though only 32% of the aged live in those States.

*The administrative costs of Kerr-Mills are very high as a percent of payments to recipients because of complex and costly investigations of need and of the finances of the applicants’ children.

... a costly and humiliating poverty test is required, 13 States deny help to any aged person with a life insurance policy worth $1,500 even if they own nothing else, and at least 16 States made MAA payments only after determining that the recipients’ relatives were also unable to pay.

... fourteen States may, after finding an individual eligible for aid, take all their aid back by recovering MAA payments from the recipient’s estate.

... benefits are very limited. 10 States don’t provide hospital care to treat in time the chronic illnesses most aged have but treat only when the illness becomes acute and life-endangering or sight-endangering. Seven States cover 20 or few days of care for an illness.

KERR-MILLS (MAA) IS NOT AN INSURANCE PROGRAM ON A SOUND, ACTUARIAL BASIS, BUT A CHARITY PROGRAM SPONSORED BY FEDERAL AND SOME STATE GOVERNMENTS.

The KENNEDY-JOHNSON Program:

On January 10, 1964, President Johnson renewed President Kennedy’s request for hospital and nursing home care for virtually all persons age 65 and over,
financed under Social Security. This measure, the King-Anderson bill, provides the following:

*Hospital Service*—with the beneficiary electing one of three options:
1. 90 days, with deductions of $10 per day up to 9 days (minimum $20, maximum $90)
2. 45 days; no deductions
3. 180 days; maximum deduction equal to cost of 2 1/2 days of hospital care.

*Skilled nursing home service*—maximum of 180 days, following discharge from the hospital

*Outpatient diagnostic service*—subject to $20 deduction for each diagnostic study

*Home health services*—up to 240 visits per calendar year, to include nursing care and therapy.

**THIS INSURANCE PROGRAM HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH DOCTOR BILLS.**

**What’s the Opposition Saying?**

The King-Anderson bill has been the subject of more distortion than almost any other bill in the last decade. Republicans claim that this is “socialized medicine.” It is really an insurance program which provides for the costs of hospital and certain hospital-related services for those age 65 and over.

Republicans argue that the Kerr-Mills plan is adequate. It is charity, not insurance; it does not prevent indigency and dependency; Kerr-Mills provides inadequate aid even for some of those already poverty-stricken. Kerr-Mills does not provide a national solution to a national problem. The King-Anderson bill will keep the Kerr-Mills charity aid but make relief what it should be—a least resort.

Republicans and their AMA allies claim that this legislation will impair the “doctor-patient” relationships. The King-Anderson bill has absolutely nothing to do with doctors. The patient will, as he does now, select his own doctor and pay him as best he can. It is difficult to see how anyone can think having a patient’s hospital bill paid by social security would make the patient harder for the doctors to treat.
What the Administration Has Done for Working Americans
When the Democrats took office in 1961, they faced these real problems:

* 4 million Americans were unemployed.

* 24 million workers received a minimum wage of only $1 per hour.

* 2.3 million people were entering the labor market each year.

* 25 million people were living in substandard housing.

TODAY, NEARLY 4 MILLION MORE PEOPLE ARE EMPLOYED; unemployment has dropped from nearly 7% to 4.9%, lowest in 53 months (July figure).

EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP AND CONGRESSIONAL COOPERATION HAVE:

* Increased the minimum wage to $1.25, covering 3.6 million more people than before.

* Put more money in pay envelopes—factory wages up from $89 weekly in January, 1961, to a current $103.

* Held prices steady as wages increased—today's paycheck buys 9% more than it would in the last Eisenhower year.

* Attacked unemployment—ARA created 100,-000 jobs in areas of chronic unemployment; another 100,000 jobless workers found employment in accelerated public works projects.

* Extended $800 million in unemployment benefits to 2.8 million workers who had exhausted their benefits.

* Opened doors to new job skills and training through the MDTA, ARA, the Vocational Educational Education Act. 823,000 workers will benefit from training programs now underway.

* Created equal employment rights for women. 7.5 million women are protected from wage discrimination; first equal pay act.

* Increased employment opportunity for minority Americans through the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, eliminated bias as a factor in Federal employment and by government contractors.

* Strengthened Welfare and Pension Plans by providing stronger investigative and enforcing powers.

* Protected workers' rights by better and quick disposition of unfair labor practices cases, handling more cases, increased informal handling of labor complaints.

* Cut strike time in half—during the last 3 years under the Democrats, average strike work-time lost was 14.3 days out of every 1,000 working days compared to 33.3 days of every 1,000 in 1958-60. This has been achieved partly through Administration attention to labor-management problems.

* Improved labor-management relations:

  . . . new and more extensive mediation efforts inaugurated by the Democrats employ teams rather than individual mediators—note the technique used to settle the rail strike.

  . . . Democrats have instituted widespread use of preventive mediation to settle problems before the critical stage.

* Eased the problems of migrant farm labor:

  . . . Public health services extended to migrant workers and their families.

  . . . Legislation urged for the registration of farm labor contractors and for extension of child labor laws to migrant workers' children.
The theme for the 1964 Democratic Campaign was set by President Lyndon B. Johnson at the University of Michigan on May 22, 1964:

“I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society—in our cities, in our countryside, in our classrooms. The Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.”

* * *

The Great Society: CITIES

President Johnson: “In the remainder of this century urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build homes, highways, and facilities equal to all those built since the country was first settled. So in the next 40 years we must rebuild the entire United States.”

To make cities safer, better, and healthier places in which to live, the Administration sought and secured the passage of:

... the Housing Act of 1961
... the Water Pollution Control Amendments of 1961
... the Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1961
... six new anti-racketeering statutes in 1961 and 1962
... the Clean Air Act of 1963
... the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963
... the Health Professions Assistance Act of 1963
... extension of the Library Services Act to urban areas, 1964
... Mass Transit of 1964

Yet, MUCH remains to be done:
... 35 million people live in slums
... 25 million people have inadequate housing
... 550,000 families need low-cost housing
... traffic congestion snarls highways around urban areas
... water and air pollution are still health hazards
... 800,000 out-of-school, out-of-work youths add to juvenile delinquency problems
... organized crime is a menace.

We must continue to make the American city a place where future generations will come, "not only to live, but to live the good life."

The Great Society: COUNTRYSIDE

President Johnson: "... we have always prided ourselves not only on being America the strong, America the free, but America the beautiful. Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded. Our seashores are overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing."

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has made these gains:
... enacted the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, which for the first time in history outlines a national policy of land use
... Rural Electrification Administration programs expanded
... has encouraged farmers, with technical assistance and loans, to take unneeded and marginal land and convert it to profitable conservation and recreation uses
... conservation programs have been greatly expanded and more than 48 million acres added to soil conservation districts
... the Great Plains Conservation Program has been extended for ten years; in addition,
... denuded rangeland is being restored in the West
... new irrigation starts have doubled since 1961
... 8 new National Parks and 3 new seashores added since 1961
... uncounted flood control, water conservation, and wildlife programs have been instituted since 1961
... 1964 Water Resources Act authorized massive research and training programs in water resources

But we must look forward:
... Our water needs will triple by 1980 (We now use 6 billion gallons per day) and new programs are needed
... Rural anti-poverty and development programs need to be fully implemented
... More National Parks and refuges are needed to meet population increases

* * *

The Great Society: CLASSROOMS

President Johnson: "A ... place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal."
Progress under the Johnson Administration

Legislation enacted in 1963-64 will:

... make college classrooms available to several hundred thousand more students in the next few years

... enable 90,000 additional students to attend college under an expanded loan program

... provide Federal assistance to enable universities to build needed academic facilities

... give vocational and technical training to youngsters out of school and out of work

... retrain 4 million unemployed in new skills.

... train 20,000 teachers to work with handicapped children

... bring library services to 18 million people

... build 30 new public community colleges a year

How distant is the goal? Some facts:

... Today, 8 million adult Americans have not finished 5 years of schooling

... Nearly 54 million have not finished high school

... Each year, more than 100,000 able high school graduates do not enter college because they cannot afford it

... Universities require $2.3 billion a year for academic facilities; we now spend $1 billion

... We need 75,000 special teachers for retarded and handicapped children; in addition,

... Teachers' salaries have to be increased

... Space is needed for 1.5 million students now in crowded classrooms

... Educational opportunities for every child must be equalized

... Standards of excellence for teachers need to be upgraded.

* * *

"We have come at a time when the century in which we live should henceforth be known as the century of the Educated Man."

"For every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from"

—President Johnson
What the Administration Has Done for Business
Business in America today—big and small—is better off than ever before. Following the 3 recessions of the Eisenhower years, our rate of ECONOMIC EXPANSION has steadily risen. PROFITS have risen for 3 successive years, and this will be the fourth. And our PRICE STABILITY as good as any other industrial country.

Tax reduction: The administration promptly moved to spur economic investment through the:

*Revenue Act of 1962—provided 7% TAX CREDIT for new investment; also the Administration—in a separate independent reform of tax treatment of depreciation—that same year carried out changes which allowed more generous DEPRECIATION BENEFITS.

*Revenue Act of 1964—provided 4-point tax relief, brought total cut in the business taxes (1962 and 1964) to $5 billion, or 20%. Overall reduction will be most favorable to small businesses (those with taxable incomes of $25,000 or less). Tax rates will be cut by about 27% for 500,000 small corporations.

The Economy: The economy will make a 5% rate of expansion this year—we are in the midst of the longest and strongest peacetime expansion in this country in this century.

Production and Profits: From the first quarter of 1961 to 1964, industrial production increased 25%, manufacturing production rose from 77% of capacity to 87%.

Corporate profits will hit an ALL-TIME HIGH this year. For the second quarter, they were 63% higher after taxes than the same period in 1961.

Price Stability: The wholesale price index has been at a VIRTUAL STANDSTILL. The consumer price index has edged up at little more than 1% per year, probably as the result of the increasing cost of services, rather than goods.

Business failures: Business failures declined from 17,000 in 1961 to 14,000 in 1963. These LOWER FAILURE RATES reflect the increasing confidence in the economy, healthier economic conditions, and tax improvements.

Small Business: Soon after taking office, President Kennedy appointed a White House Committee on Small Business which has become a very effective agency, especially in supporting tax relief for small business. Some examples of the increased activity in the Small Business Administration since 1960:

. . . Business loans approved under SBA rose almost 50%, from $636 million in 1958-60 to $943 million in 1961-63.

. . . Loans to state and local development companies more than tripled to $48 million; new industries brought in by these companies often save a community from economic ruin.

. . . Under a “set-aside” program to assure small business a fair share of government contracts, the value of contracts awarded to small businesses more than doubled to $6.2 billion for the last 3 years.

. . . More than 550 licenses were issued to Small Business Investment Companies, more than 3 times the number issued before 1961.

. . . SBA co-sponsored more than twice as many courses which allowed more than twice as many small businessmen an opportunity to improve management techniques.

. . . SBA 6 x 6 pilot program (New York, Philadelphia, Washington D.C.) assists small businessmen, particularly Negroes, with loans up to $6,000 coupled with management training.

. . . SBA 6 x 15 program extends loans to small entrepreneurs up to $15,000 on less stringent collaterals.

Folder No. 16
Taxation, Spending, and Public Debt

Background

TAX:
Under the Johnson Administration, Congress enacted the most sweeping TAX CUT of our time. The long-range program is designed to (1) stimulate economic growth by encouraging investment and increasing purchasing power; and (2) reduce tax rates at all income levels, but especially at lower levels, for both corporations and individuals.

The initial step was taken under Kennedy-Johnson with the enactment of the Revenue Act of 1962, which provided:

*TAX CREDIT of up to 7% of investments in new and used machinery and equipment
TIGHTENED LOopholes in expense accounts, foreign earnings.
The Administration and Congress also:

REPEALED THE 10% EXCISE TAX ON RAIL AND BUS TRAVEL, and reduced the air travel tax to 5%.

Increased tax deductions on MEDICAL EXPENSES.

Revised DEPRECIATION SCHEDULES, the first major change of this sort since 1942.

THE REVENUE ACT OF 1964 provided the largest tax reduction in history, $11.5 billion in corporate and individual income levies. When fully effective, the tax cut bill will, year after year,

Add $35-$45 billion more to the Gross National Product.

Increase CONSUMPTION by $25-$30 billion.

Increase PROFITS by $5-$7 billion.

Add about 2 million JOBS.

What will this mean to individual taxpayers? Here are some examples:

Income tax rate reductions in 1965 will average 19.4%. Here are some average cuts per income level:

$0,000 to $3,000 ........ 39.0% reduction
3,000 to 5,000 ........ 26.9% reduction
5,000 to 10,000 ....... 20.6% reduction
10,000 to 20,000 ....... 17.0% reduction

A couple with two dependents and $5,000 income paid $300 tax in 1963, will pay $247 tax in 1964, $220 in 1965.

A couple with $7,500 income and two dependents paid $720 tax in 1963, will pay $621 in 1964, $564 in 1965.

The vote in the Senate was 74-19, with Democrats 84% for the bill; in the House the vote was 326-83, with Democrats 92% for the tax cut.

SPENDING:
The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has instituted an unparalleled ECONOMY in Federal fiscal affairs. The Budget sent to the Congress in January 1964, asked $97.9 billion, only the second budget in 9 years to recommend a cut in spending. This reduction was accomplished without cutting back services and without sacrificing the nation’s security.

Expenditures for all governmental functions other than defense, space, and fixed interest charges, have actually risen LESS ($4.4 billion) in the Democratic years 1961-64 than in the comparable Republican years, 1958-61 ($5 billion).

The ratio of Federal civilian employees in the Executive Branch has dropped from more than 14 employees per 1,000 people in 1954 to 13 per thousand in fiscal year 1965, despite increased population and workloads.

Government management has been streamlined across the board. In the Treasury Department alone, for example, management improvement has saved more than $30 million in three years.

(For further information on the topic of SPENDING, see the section on Economy in Government.)

PUBLIC DEBT:
In spite of scare talk to the contrary, the relative size of the National Debt has decreased steadily under the Kennedy-Johnson Administration.

The Republican Party, the Chamber of Commerce and its satellites, and various "lunatic fringe" groups are trying to convince the American people that the Federal Government is a great octopus, perpetually trying to increase the influence of a centralized system by swelling the ranks of the bureaucracy, and by taking more and more functions unto itself. These people talk of "fiscal responsibility" and the great virtue of state and local solutions to the problems of the day.

Seen in the proper perspective, these claims are
the sheerest kind of nonsense. Here are some of the facts:

*Federal nondefense spending is smaller in relation to the gross national product today than it was both before and after World War II (7.0 percent in fiscal year 1963 compared with 7.3 percent in 1959, 10.1 percent in 1949, and 8.8 percent in 1939).

*Just before World War II, Federal nondefense spending amounted to 83 percent of State and local spending; now it is only 61 percent as great.

*In relation to the GNP, the Federal debt has steadily become less burdensome to the economy during the postwar years. Between 1946 and 1964, the Federal debt fell from 133 percent of GNP to 52 percent. This decline is expected to continue.

*Every citizen's per capita share of the Federal debt has also declined. Per capita debt was $1,909 on June 30, 1946, and dropped to $1,627 on June 30, 1964.

*Since the end of the war, Federal debt has grown only 18 percent, while State and local debt has increased 416 percent, corporate debt has risen 249 percent, and personal debt has gone up 434 percent.

What's the Opposition Saying?

Republicans claim that the Democrats are “big spenders.” The facts are, however, that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has been more devoted to fiscal responsibility than the preceding eight Eisenhower years, which included the largest peacetime budget deficit on record. The total deficit for the Eisenhower years was $22 billion; the National Debt increased $22.9 billion.

Republicans claim that Democratic Administrations are “bad for business,” but under President Johnson the economy is at an all-time high. GNP has climbed to over $615 billion, unemployment has been reduced, and business investment is expected to rise to $44 billion this year (a 10% increase over 1963).
Background

Under the Eisenhower Administration, which operated on a slogan of "security through solvency," defense programs were determined by arbitrary budget ceilings. In order to bring the nation to peak strength, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has averaged MORE THAN $6 BILLION PER YEAR MORE than the last year of the Eisenhower Administration.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has devoted itself to strengthening our defense system while savings were achieved through improvements in the efficiency and management of the Department of Defense.
**AS PRESIDENT KENNEDY SAID IN 1961:**
"The primary purpose of our arms is peace, not war—to make certain that they will never have to be used—to deter all wars, general or limited, nuclear or conventional, large or small—to convince all possible aggressors that any attack would be futile—to provide backing for diplomatic settlement of disputes—to insure the adequacy of our bargaining power for an end of the arms race."

**THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION** under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson has continued the intensive efforts of previous Democratic Administrations to provide the necessary military strength in balanced force of conventional and nuclear weapons, under which the United States has been able to conduct its foreign policy. We have:

* Strengthened our STRATEGIC NUCLEAR forces by substantially increasing their numbers, destructive force, and mobility.

* Filled gaps which existed in our non-nuclear forces, allowing us another alternative—in conventional forces—so that we are no longer in a position where the only alternatives are retreat or general nuclear war.

* At the same time we have strengthened management and increased the efficiency of our operations.

**STRENGTHENED DEFENSE POSTURE**

Since 1961, our defense capabilities have been greatly improved. INCREASES IN MILITARY FORCES over the Eisenhower levels include:

* **U.S. FORCES NOW HAVE MORE THAN 1,000 fully-armed ICBM and POLARIS missiles ready for retaliation:**
  — over 750 of these are ICBM's deployed on launchers, mostly in the hardened and dispersed silos, about four times the number presently in operation by the Soviets.
  — the U.S. Navy has more than 240 POLARIS missiles deployed in nuclear submarines.

* **A 150% increase in the number of warheads in the strategic alert forces, and their explosive force has more than doubled.**

* **A 60% increase in the tactical nuclear forces deployed in Western Europe.**

* **A 100% increase in procurement of weapons and equipment for the army.**

* **A 45% increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions, from 11 to 16.**

* **A 44% increase in the number of Air Force tactical fighter squadrons.**

* **A 100% increase in the procurement of tactical aircraft for the Air Force.**

* **A 75% increase in airlift capability.**

* **A 100% increase in the number of ships constructed and converted to modernize the fleet.**

* **800% increase in special forces trained to deal with counter-insurgent threats.**

* **140,000 facilities with adequate fallout protection have been identified, containing space for 118 million people, supplies in the shelters for 60 million.**

**ECONOMY IN THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT**

Some idea of the improvements in the management of the defense establishment can be gained from the following statistics relating to Secretary McNamara's cost-reduction program:

As a result of actions taken through FY 1964, annual savings of over $3.5 billion will be achieved. By FY 1968—and each year thereafter—the cost reduction program should have attained its goal of $4.6 billion in annual recurring savings.

These figures refer to savings achieved or projected through improvements in EFFICIENCY and MANAGEMENT in the Defense Department. No cuts were achieved at the cost of reducing our military preparedness. Examples:

* **$3.2 million saved by the Navy by decreasing the shipboard stockage of fuel controls on jet controls on jet fighter aircraft.**

* **Almost $200 million saved by doing a better job of finding in-service use for surplus inventories, instead of selling them off at a fraction of their cost.**
An Army requirement for aircraft engines costing $1.2 million was met by spending $400,000 to rehabilitate 31 engines, excess to the Air Force, netting Army savings of $800,000.

*Over $350 million saved in FY 1964 through competitive bidding to fill defense orders.

*Approximately $550 million saved in FY 1964 by shifting away from cost-plus contracts to fixed price contracts.

*$568 million operating savings to be realized through FY 1964 from decisions already made to terminate unnecessary operations, and return unneeded facilities to civilian economy. Almost 700,000 acres of land, and over 81,600 persons are to be released or reassigned; and 61 industrial plants are up for sale.
Farm Policy

Background

The Eisenhower-Benson farm policy was a disaster for the American farmer. During the Eisenhower years:

*Net farm income had fallen from a high of $15 billion in 1952—the last year of the Truman Administration—to a low of $11.4 billion in 1960. There was a $20 billion total loss in the eight years.

*Over a million farm families went out of business.

*9 billion in farm surpluses piled up—cost the taxpayers more than $1 million per day in interest, handling, and storage.

Kennedy-Johnson Leadership and Congressional action have:

INCREASED FARM INCOME:

... net farm income increased $1.2 billion (or 17%) in the first year, and has remained over $800 million dollars a year higher each year

... gross farm income, the measure of purchasing power on the street, stood at $37.3 billion in 1961. In 1964 gross farm income stood at $41.5 billion, an increase of more than $4 billion.

... Rural Areas Development programs helped create 110,000 permanent new jobs

REDUCED FARM SURPLUS:

... corn stocks have been cut 700 million bushels, a 35% cut
. . . wheat stocks, which were a record 1.4 billion bushels in 1960, will be cut in half this year . . . taxpayers are saving $275 million a year because of reduction in surpluses

**FARM PROGRAM:**

. . . *The Emergency Feed Grain Act of 1961*, expanded in 1962, started the first upward climb of farm income and the **FIRST REDUCTION OF SURPLUS** in 8 years, enabling farmers to **RETIRE LAND**.

. . . *Omnibus Farm Bill of 1961* was designed to reduce government costs for the wheat and feed grain programs by $750 million to $1 billion for 1963, while raising total farm income $600 to $800 million annually.

. . . stepped-up *Food for Peace Program* has helped reduce our surpluses, gained us dollar benefits and international good will.

. . . pilot *Food Stamp Program of 1961*. Needy families purchase food stamps from the government at a discount, use them to purchase goods at regular retail stores. In 1964, 380,000 persons in 43 areas in 22 states were benefiting from the PILOT program. The Administration has extended the program on a permanent basis. Will reach 4 million Americans in 1,500 counties.

. . . *Sugar Acts of 1961 and 1962* increased domestic producer's share of the United States sugar market to 60% and reallocated the balance of Cuban sugar quota to about 16 other nations.

. . . *Food and Agriculture Act of 1962* contained:

*Land use provisions, making the conservation program permanent

*Agricultural trade provisions, expanded donations to school lunch programs, amended Public Law 480 to permit long-term supply agreements in private trade with friendly nations

. . . *Farm Act of 1963* modified and extended the existing feed grain acreage diversion program resulting in continued increase of farm income and a decrease in farm surpluses.

. . . *Cotton-Wheat Act of 1964* provides:

*Federal subsidy for cotton mills, supports cotton research, and provides a higher subsidy for cotton

*Voluntary program to increase price supports on wheat from $1.30 to $2 while reducing the amount of land planted in wheat; also provides that farmers not participating but staying within previous quotas would be entitled to $1.25 per bushel support; farmers planting more than their acreage allotment would receive no support benefits at all.

**INCREASED EXPORTS:**

. . . exports of farm products have increased 85% since fiscal year 1960, will increase to $6 billion in 1964, $4 billion in cash sales

. . . one acre of every five now produces for the export market

. . . improved balance of payments by $4 billion

**SHARING OUR ABUNDANCE:**

. . . Food for Peace Program helps to feed 93 million people in friendly nations, including 40 million children

. . . 7.4 million needy people in America receive donated food

. . . 15 million school children participate in school lunch and milk programs, an increase of 4 million over 1960

. . . Expanded Food Stamp Plan will help 4 million Americans enjoy a better diet, a part of the anti-poverty campaign

**STABILIZED FOOD PRICES:**

. . . In 1964, Americans were spending only 19¢ of their total consumer dollar for food, the LOWEST IN THE WORLD for the most, the best, and the most varied food.

. . . Since 1960, food costs remained relatively stable, increasing less than one percent a year.

* * *

Farm income, which had averaged $2,765 per year during the Eisenhower-Benson period, rose to
$3,359 in 1961, and to $3,580 in 1963. The average for the three Kennedy-Johnson years is $3,490, an increase of 26% over the disastrous Eisenhower-Benson years.

In addition to these programs, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has moved to assist the farm and country dweller by:

*The Rural Area Development Program, creating some 200,000 new jobs in rural communities since 1960. Local RAD committees increased from 200 (1961) to more than 2,500 (1963), with 75,000 persons doing volunteer work and planning.

*Agricultural research has developed new cotton stretch yarn, shrink-proof wool, new methods for removing radioactive strontium from milk without impairing flavor.

*Rural Credit: credit resources administered by the Farmer's Home Administration are up 141% over 1960, now average $687.1 million per year

*Rural Electrification: five milestones since 1961:

... service extended to 5 millionth electric customer

... billionth dollar loaned for rural telephone dial service

... 2 billionth dollar in principal and interest repaid to Federal government by rural electric borrowers

... co-op generating plants, using lignite, established in North Dakota, produced combined total of 350,000 kilowatts

... 937 local industrial, recreational, and business efforts launched with help from REA electric and telephone borrowers, creating more than 100,000 direct and indirect jobs.

*Federal Crop Insurance: $500.5 million in crops now insured—more than double the 1961 total; an all-time record

*Soil and water conservation programs: new emphasis on multi-purpose programs, expansion of conservation activities.
LBJ: A Political Biography

INTRODUCTION
FOR A MOMENT, re-live those ghastly hours.
It happened in one of our own cities—a trained Communist terrorist struck down our President. The American people were stunned in horror at disbelief. Our Constitution, however, has a formula for the transition of power and we breathed easier as Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn in as the 36th President of the United States.

With his hand on the Bible, he invoked the Oath. His grave demeanor showed that he realized that the weight of the Nation was devolving upon his broad shoulders. His reassuring and ready acceptance of the responsibility seemed then to epitomize the one thing which Americans most yearn for today—honesty and the integrity which made this country great. The Nation breathed easier, and life went on.

Now, however, months have passed and even politics is back to normal. We are in the heat of an election campaign.

There have been many books and articles written about Lyndon Johnson. Most of them are highly laudatory and tend to overlook much of Johnson's background—background that should not be overlooked. Some are highly critical of Johnson, but are restricted to examination of only one or two aspects of his Presidency.

LIBERTY LOBBY has taken on itself the responsibility of publishing the truth about Lyndon B. Johnson. Few organizations are as well qualified to do so, for LIBERTY LOBBY is recognized as completely non-partisan and beholden to no interest except what it considers to be best for America. It is on this note that LIBERTY LOBBY has prepared this political biography of Lyndon Johnson. Let it speak for itself.
power bloc, or swing vote, exerting what power she could to support one or the other of the conservative candidates.

Such a bloc existed in San Antonio, its power based on the Mexican vote of the city. In a "sudden-death" election such as this, the bloc could be decisive. The liberal leadership placed a high premium on winning the Mexican vote. They wanted their man, Don Quill, appointed Postmaster of San Antonio (meaning lots for loyal liberals) and $4,000 cash.

Kleberg's opponent, Thurmond Burnett, said that Quill had been presented to Kleberg. The trusted messenger who brought the hard-bitten man of San Antonio, to personally deliver the $4,000 purchase price, was none other than young Lyndon Johnson doing "his personal work with the voters.

Kleberg was narrowly elected and Don Quill has been the San Antonio postmaster ever since.

On reaching Washington as an assistant to Kleberg, the young Johnson lost no time in learning all about the exciting world on the banks of the Potomac. He was captivated by the intrigue and technique of politics.

Arthur Perry, one of Johnson's early acquaintances in Washington, recalls, "Lyndon asked a lot of questions as to how he knew his name. He followed the same procedure with others also. He was out to learn all he could and learn it fast.

During this period, Johnson made friends who served him well in later years. Sam Rayburn, an old friend of Johnson's father, took him to the House of Representatives and took Johnson under his wing.

Johnson married Claudia Taylor in 1934. In 1935, he was appointed State Administrator of the National Youth Administration, one of Roosevelt's New Deal brainchild. It was at this time that John Connally of Fort Worth began their long and profitable association. In the early 30's, John Connally.connally served as an assistant to the House. Johnson volunteered for active duty.

Sent to New Zealand and Australia on inspection duty, his military career was interrupted. Yet, just as Roosevelt had decided to order national mobilization out of the armed forces and back to the forthcoming elections, Johnson volunteered for a mission that was to bring him to the nation's third highest military decoration, the Silver Star. His official citation read:

"For gallantry in action in the vicinity of Port Moresby and Salamaua, New Guinea, on June 9, 1942. While on an important intelligence mission in the Southwest Pacific area, Lieutenant Commander Johnson, in order to obtain crucial personal knowledge of conditions, volunteered as an observer on a hazardous aerial combat mission over hostile positions in New Guinea. At our planes met the largest Japanese attack reported by night fighter pilots. When, at this time, the plane in which Lieutenant Commander Johnson was an observer, developed mechanical trouble and was forced to turn back alone, presenting a favorable target to the enemy fighters, he evidenced marked coolness in spite of the hazards involved. His gallant action enabled his aircraft to return with valuable information."

Five weeks later, Lieutenant Commander Johnson was released from active duty.

None of the other members of the B-26 crew qualified for an award as a result of the mission, so it is quite understandable that, even over the years, Lyndon Johnson has quietly but proudly displayed his little Silver Star on his lapel.

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In order to achieve mass distribution of LBJ: A Political Biography, LIBERTY LOBBY will sacrifice all profits on orders for 15,000 or more copies. WRITE LIBERTY LOBBY, 350 Independence Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D.C., for details.

1948 was a year of deep significance for a Nation whose fears of postwar depression had been for the most part allayed by the victory in the Pacific and prosperity and high hopes. Republican Party prospects were rising, and the leadership of the Democratic Party looked in fear on the threat of a great victory that seemed to be facing the Southern Democrats in the States Rights Dixiecrats were to gain more votes in the coming elections than any third party had ever polled.

Harry Truman faced his first test in a presidential race, and he was running to the left. The Southern threat had to be stopped, or the Left would find itself at the head of a presidential ticket for the first time in a generation. Texas was the crucial state. If the party could hold Texas, there was a chance.

Texas was due to elect its Senator in Jack's primary, as it was customarily in large states. The man favored to win was three-time Governor Coke Stevenson, a man of great ability, charm, and popularity. In the field of opponents, there would be no one who could be said to be an equal, and that man was Lyndon Johnson, who had announced his candidacy from the exhibition of the daring and contempt for public opinion that has always marked his life and career, by going on the air with a "Victory Speech," in which he stated confidently that "We have won!" The confidence of the Boss, and John Connally, his campaign manager, but not for long.

The First Miracle

The next day, telephone wires across the states were buzzing and smoking with rumors that something was afoot in Jim Wells County, part of the domain of Mr. George Parr. During the past year, machine vote was already in and counted. It was, in fact, the very machine that had made up for the original 6,900 vote deficit. Surely, that source had been exhausted—but no! The mysterious ballot that had been overlooked in the first count.

In the town of Alice, in Jim Wells County, a recount of the vote in Precinct 13 was underway. In this precinct, where only 600 ballots were issued an election day, there had already been 855 votes reported, and as if this were not in itself miraculous enough, the recount disclosed an addition of 300 votes. To find out why Lyndon was a lapidary, read The Miracle of Box 13.

OPPONENTS RELAXED. Counted on the left is Gus Connally, brother-in-law of LBJ, while on the right is Coke Stevenson, who is seeking another term as Governor of Texas. To find out why Lyndon was a lapidary, read The Miracle of Box 13.
denie in Ballot Box 13. Obviously, a counterforce was necessary. Governor Stevenson on Saturday appeared with the Texas Ranger Captain Frank Hamer, a lawman noted for his hard courage and no-nonsense performance of duty.

The first evidence to be considered was the list of voters from Precinct 13. The list was compiled after Stevenson's appearance at the polling place on election day. Arrangements were made to allow the list to be viewed at Parr's ranch, where he was keeping the list. The list was given over the phone to the Sheriff's Department.

When the Stevenson men and Captain Hamer arrived, they were faced by three families. Hamer looked each one coldly in the eye, gave them a slow wave of his gun, and the three stepped aside. Inside the barn, the voting continued. The list was placed in the view of the Stevenson forces for the first and last time. In the few short moments they were given at the list, they noted an important fact.

At the end of the long list of names en- tered in black ink, there was, for the first time, an addition, in green ink, of some two hundred names in alphabetical order.

Now that they knew the secret, the visitors, two men, had memorized fifteen of the names that were added in green. Then the list was withdrawn and returned to the vault by the agitated keeper, who had just received a mysterious telephone call.

Two of the viewers were newly elected officers of the County Democratic Executive Committee, H. A. Adams and H. L. Poole. Authoritatively what they had seen, and that tremendous violation of the election of the electorate, they decided to call the entire County Committee together and gather Box 13 in view, which would make Stevenson the winner by a comfortable margin. Meanwhile, to make the evidence as strong as possible, others investigated the fifteen voters whose names had been memorized from the green list.

Only three of the names were easy to find; they were in the local cemetery. Others had apparently moved away, and the Mexican population was not talk- ing, adopting instead the shoulder-shrug- ing "Quién sabe?" attitude that obscures health and long life when talking to strangers in the Duchy of Hawaii. How- ever, two of the "voters" were found alive: Hector Cerda and Enriquez Anzal. The first had not been in the County on election day, and both swore that they did not vote.

The investigators satisfied that the evidence they had would convict the County, and they knew that the County would convict itself.
from already driveway green lives edition stand for the war might have a mortgage payment to meet, like ordinary folks.

One lives better than Johnstone the value of maintaining that image. An occasional crack in the facade, such as the purchase of a new, expensive all-pane or TV station, is quickly covered over with casual references to "Lady Bird's inheritance" or "Lady Bird's bastion of darkness." As a result, there are few people who could come within $15 million of guessing Johnson's true net worth.

Johnson's official biography describes his "bastion" at running for the Senate in 1948.

"A few years before, Lady Bird had caught a radio station in Austin and turned it into a piping property. Johnson felt that, with the prohibition of liquor, the purchase of a radio station in Texas could help him in his continued development of the region. He was thinking about the television station, too. He wanted to expand the material possibilities of the young world he had predicted was going to open up once the war was over. Also, he wanted to make money, which he knew he would never be able to do in politics.

As an index to Lyndon Johnson's talents, consider that, with his hands tied, his income over the intervening years has exceeded millions, if not billions, of dollars. Whatever fortunes he would have accumulated, he decided in 1968 to seek money rather than ideology. The mind recoils at the thought.

The Heirs

And to what extent is the world-famous "inheritance" of Lady Bird Johnson responsible for all this affluence? The reader must judge for himself. The record shows that Claudia Taylor Johnson had no share in her parent's political or business enterprise. She sold the small business to her mother, Elizabeth, for $10,000; her income over the intervening years has exceeded millions. What additional riches would have accumulated, he decided in 1968 to seek money rather than ideology. The mind recoils at the thought.

The Final chapter has yet to be written on the "Duke of Duvall." In spite of the continuing existence of an element that has been uncovered, and regarding the federal indictments and convictions he has received, he has yet to serve one day in prison. As an integral part of useless advertising time, Lyndon Johnson South Texas empire, it is doubtful that he ever will.

William Bradford Goddess interviewed George Parr for an article in "Rogie's" magazine. When asked why Parr, a former student at the University of Texas, had not been tried for murder, Parr laughed. "Not yet we haven't, but the year is coming. Give us time."

"As we maintain the vigil of peace, we must remember that justice is a right of all people. Will we agree to sell our own street and schools and among the livelihood of all our people, those who died there on their native soil shall not have died in vain."

Austine political observers have noted that Johnson's image in rural areas of Texas is a man "with manners on his shoes." To complete the picture, they feel, the only thing he needs to be is a piñata, hunted by him . . . an enduring image, indeed.

In the end, he turns one of a great mass of guttered poverty in the White House. Whatever his personal, unexplained fondness for it, Johnson, in his mind held, that the White House is his own inferno, as well as a tedious place. The Green Packard he just passed just met across Mexi- co, where it was found the next day on a parking lot in Laredo. The car was trashed to its owner Marie Sapet, the notorious woman who had been made a Sheriff's deputy in Duval County.

Nage Alam and Maria Sapet were subsequently arraigned and charged withольwend in murder. Both were de- fended by Texas' most renowned crim- inal lawyer, Ivan Smith, who claimed an expensive mouthpiece who had represented General Patton during his war years, and who now numbers the enigmatic Jack Robinson for a client of his, among his ex-clients.

Foreman was able to gain an acquittal for Alam on the basis that he had tried to kill his last month, but the story of what Sapet was sentenced to life imprison- ment. No longer is the packard that Mr. Alam, on his part, under the circumstances, cannot be a large one in the minds of those who have tried to kill him has already been revealed.

Cervantes, the hired killer who en- gaged to Mexico was finally an absolu- tely arrested by the Mexican authori- ties in 1960 and is now being held in jail in Mexico City. The Texas Rangers had made 17 trips to Mexico and had it taken them eight or six to get the Mexican Government to act. However, since Mexico declared Cervantes a fugitive and Mexico and Mexico have had an extra- dition treaty for years, Cervantes has no possibility of arrest criminal is a common-place occurrence in every country.

Why does Mexico refuse to let the United States, a country that has no extradition treaty, extradite him to the United States to stand trial for Bundy Floyd's murder, even though Mexico and Mexico have had an extra- dition treaty for years, Cervantes has no possibility of arrest criminal is a common-place occurrence in every country. Meanwhile, the murder of Floyd's son did not stir interest in the public for people. The effort to "get" George Parr was carried on on every legal front.

Parr and the Feds had instituted a Federal district attorney for using the mails to defraud. One hundred and one charges were file against Parr was kited in the federal mail fraud. Other had been seized to real people, but there was no indication that they had any knowledge of them. $280,000 of Duval County funds were found "illeg- a1y shuffled about" by auditors, and it came to light that the treasurer of Duval County had issued checks up to $500,000 to the construction company controlled by Parr.

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Recently, the desire of Austin TV viewers for more variety and more news has made it profitable to bring in other programs by cable, bypassing the FCC restriction on broadcast stations in the area. Even this type of operation must be licensed by the FCC, however, so it is not surprising that the many interested parties have again succeeded where others failed.

The approved cable venture, Mid-West Ventures, Inc., who operates the cable system in Austin, if it proves to be profitable (an option worth $25,000 to $30,000 to Johnson,) this interesting aspect of the remain- ing ownership is the participation of Robert Johnson in the program. Investigating Senator John Robert McCollum of Arkansas, whose investigations of the cable in New York and Fred North of the TFX scandal, are bagged down still, inconclusive and unver- ified. The Partners

Partnerships are not uncommon in the cable business. One of the largest is owned by a man who is said to have a share in Billie Sol's fantastic financial empire. This close financial con- nection is further implied by sources who report that when asked the question as a good-doing and two men in Austin, Billie Sol took the Fifth Amendment, and was said to have been evicted from the building where he had been living. This has been true since the early days of World War II, when the firm's first big Federal contract was the construction of the giant Naval Air Base at Forrestal.

In the contract, the government al- lowed more than $25 million for condemnation of land, yet scores of poor Mexican families found themselves sud- denly ejected from their homes. The discussion, and the smallest possible compensation was made. The construction firms in the area found that while their own work on government contracts was guaranteed by labor, that of Brown & Root seemed to go forward without interruption. The use of non-union, low-wage labor.

If Brown & Root cannot always go after a government job, the job can be brought to them. Witness the location, at Johnson's insistence, of the New Space Flight Center in Huntsville, home- town of Brown & Root.

Recently, George Brown has been quietly diverting himself of his official positions in his for-futuring enterprises, perhaps preparing to go to a cabinet position after the November election.

The financial success story of Lyndon Johnson is not unique. Many other politi- cians have discovered the same talent for making money while holding public office. There has been a new trend of Congress, and the number of politicians who have quite matched Johnson's success. There is not recorded a single proven in- stance of Johnson's direct involvement in the applied pressure on the FCC, for example, to obtain favored treatment by the F.B.I. But it is clear that his interests have been favored, on numerous oc- casions, and that they have been able to use more money in his bank accounts.

This is quite a success story for the poor. George Brown's position is based on money, but who "knew he would never be able to do (so) in politics."
It all started in 1941, when a pudgy, round-faced man, 26 years old and nearly penniless, showed up in the town of pecos with his family. He built a ramshackle little house over an unused swimming pool, which served as a base- ment, moved his family in, and started a career that moved so rapidly that even now, thirteen years later, government investigators still haven't caught up with all the ramifications of the enter- prises of Billie Sol Estes.

Estes once said, "I know I can get rich in 15 years, but I want to do it in two."

At the climax of his career, Estes owned four Cadillacs and two private air- planes. The house he built over a swim- ming pool was extended to include a 52- foot living room.

"Do you think a 52-foot living room is too big?" he once asked a friend, some- what-meanly.

The Promising Mortician

Three years after Billie Sol Estes ar- rived in Pecos, he was named by the National Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of America's ten most promising young men. By 1946, Estes claimed to be the largest distributor of billion-dollar Texan in Texas. His funeral home had a virtual monopoly over the west Texas area, and furthermore, he was making several million dollars a year from the Government's Commodity Credit Corporation for storing surplus grain in his complexes of grain elevators. He was using his total earnings to grow cotton on thousands of acres of new land in the area.

Billie Sol's modus operandi was compli- cated, but almost all of the operations that began with the storage of Credit (the U.S. Government) was going to be moved considerable amounts of grain out of Kansas (a populous stronghold)." Billie Sol was right. In fact, over 2,000 carloads of grain, which would make a train 35 miles long, moved, from Kansas to Billie Sol's West Texas elevators. He testified before Congress that his grain payments fluctuated from 1946 to 1961. In addition to his grain operations, Sol found it possible to raise more funds, by means of fraudu- lent loans from finance companies. The finance companies were Billie's undoing.

Later in 1961, Editor Oscar Griffin, Jr. of the Pecos Independent decided to check on some of Billie Sol Estes' opera- tions. His findings were puzzling. West Texas farmers were buying and selling crops, but the grain elevators did not actually meet the needs of the farmers. After many investigations, a huge amount of government-owned grain in the storage elevators of three of his companies, the Johnson, Allied, and Loo- ter-Slone. United Grain Corporation in Pecos, was in the neighbor area in $4 million in government grain storage- s. The total roughly of the three big com- panies exceeded $5 million.

In turn, most of the money received from government grain storage was paid into Commerce Solutions, a corporation that absorbed the grain-storage millions and in exchange, offered Billie Sol unlimited credit in the purchase of chemi- cal fertilizer and finally, according to one witness, used as a cover to help him set up a $1 million deposit in a Swiss bank.

Fertilizer on His Hands

With all that fertilizer at his disposal, Billie Sol sought a means of using it, and he found that through obtaining federal crop allot- ments on previously unfarm- ed land in West Texas he could make over $100,000 annually. The cotton allot- ments were obtained through shady pro- cedures, but that was the grain which he stored for the taxpayers.

Immediately following the 1960 elec- tions, when it was said that John- nedy-Johnson ticket had won, Estes wrote a letter to President John- son, saying: "I feel that Commodity

1962 election, which turned his congress- ional seat over to Republican Ed Fore- man.

Investigations were launched in Wash- ington by the McClellan Committee and in Texas by the Attorney General. The House Committee, a Govern- ment Operations subcommittee, was present in the water and found it too hot for comfort, resulting in the firing of the conscientious investigator, Bob Mar- tin, who was turning up too many bodies. Thereafter, the House investigators turned to safer pursuits than seeking the truth about Billie Sol.

Still, bodies turned up in spite of everything that could be done to keep them covered.

On April 4, the badly decomposed body of George Krutkie, one of Johnson's accountants, was discovered in an auto- mobile in Pecos. Death was attributed to heart attack, but there was really no way of proving that. This much is certain: George Krutkie's sudden death closed off one of the best possible sources of in- formation about Billie Sol's complicated partnerships and secret business orga- nization.

Krutkie's death brought about an in- vestigation of the Department of Agriculture.

But, in the meantime, Conner, who was seized and tried in Pecos, was exonerated, and the Johnson-Johnson ticket ran again in 1964.

Stated repeatedly: "I never questioned, never limited. Who was that?"

Somehow, somewhere, someone received over half-a-million
dollars in cash withdrawn from Estes' accounts between March 1961 and March 1962. Who was that someone?

There has been a good deal of speculation on the identity of the other partner in the Peen-Washington axis. This speculation has led to wild stories in Texas, where the Democratic Party is a schizophrenic personality, torn between far-left and far-right. The weightiest politician that the far-left has to offer is Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, but Yarborough's image has always been secondary to Lyndon Johnson, and now that LBJ's old sidekick John Connally is in the Governor's chair, even he outranks poor Ralph. But there is no truth to the absurd rumor that the--

In fact, prior to the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Yarborough and Johnson were at such odds with each other that they would not ride in the same automobile on the occasion of Kennedy's visit to Texas.

Recently, Yarborough referred to Johnson as "that powerful mad Texas politician."

Imagine then the feeling of the far-left followers of Ralph Yarborough when their hero and leader was exposed as a frequent recipient of Billie Sol's phone calls, and, even, personal checks. It's natural that they would strike back at their "opposition," and through an

Senator Yarborough and Billie Sol

as that required from other storage firms.

The statements appeared in The Texas Observer's issue of May 19, 1962, and subsequent events have led to an endless fusillade "truce" between the left and far-left at Texas, but the followers of Ralph Yarborough must have found it hard to hide the recent apparent treachery of Billie Sol Estes, who, though facing a prison sentence, and badly in need of friends, sends it expedient to attack Ralph Yarborough, the senior Senator from Texas, in his election year. Could that attack be the work of a "prominent politician?"

At any rate, it is by Billie Sol's own statement that we arrive at a maximum figure of $50,000 in contributions to Ralph Yarborough. This is, in terms of a Senator's expenses, not an overwhelming sum of money, though it should be enough to toot Ralph Sol's gone with the voters of Texas, if the claim isbelieved. But Billie Sol has also said on several

with him—right that just seems to disappear into the mists of the Potomac. And I'll tell you all that cash to disperse. Billie Sol still felt it necessary to offer an occasional check, completely traceable, to Ralph Yarborough.

What did Ralph Yarborough do for Billie Sol? A close examination of the evidence reveals two cases of interference by Senator Estes on behalf of Billie Sol's behalf. Once, in April of 1960, Yarborough passed on a letter from Billie Sol to the Department of Agriculture, telling Estes a ruling was a ruling to allow him store some government grain on the ground. Yarborough added at one point, "Kindly let me know what we can do along the line he suggests the request was turned over.

Again, in early January, 1962, Yarborough accompanied Billie to a conference with the Department of Agriculture, where it was decided to hold off on a cut-back of Billie's entire allotment. The cut-back was imposed again within weeks.

Billie Sol took a special interest in the regulations that governed the employment of brokers, the "economic" importers, and brokers, from a problems in physiology in West Texas. No doubt, it was this interest that led to Billie Sol's close relationship with Jerry Holleman, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, who was responsible for the regulations of brokers. Holleman, the ex-Democrat of the Texas AFL-CIO, accepted a gift of $1,000 from Estes "to help make ends meet," as his $30,000-a-year salary was proving to be insufficient. An attempt was made to link Yarborough to Holleman, and thus to Billie Sol, but Yarborough produced a letter he had written recommending another, Lee William, for the position later given to Holleman, and Yarborough noted that, certainly, he was not asked if Holleman's appointment would be acceptable to him, as it is customary in such appointments.

From all the evidence, it would appear that Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough was the man in Washington who could and did understand the things for Billie Sol Estes.

On the other hand, from all the evidence, the other prominent Texas politician was not Ralph Yarborough, but Billie Sol. Billie Sol did not exist, as far as Billie Sol was concerned.

It is one of the strangest of all aspects of the Billie Sol Estes case, that of the deeds of calls made to Washington by his office, who, when there was not a single record of a telephone call to Lyndon Baines John-

PBQ's Administrative Assistant, Cliff Carter, did Billie Sol Estes. Nearly two years ago in Johnson's home.

sun at his office. That of all the thousands of anecdotes contributed by Billie as political contributions, that of Lyndon Baines Johnson to Estes has contributed to the most powerful of Texas politicians, Lyndon Baines Johnson. That of all the favors asked and received by Billie Sol Estes, the records reveal nothing to show that he ever asked or received a favor of Lyndon Baines Johnson. Perhaps Johnson wanted nothing more than to be assured that Billie Sol Estes, but how could Billie Sol know this, if he never talked to Johnson? And how did Johnson know Billie Sol was a crook?

It is well established in the sworn testimony of witnesses before the Court of Inquiry held in Texas that Billie Sol did say that he knew Johnson from many occasions. He did display a personally autographed photo of Johnson, on his wall. He did say that he was very friendly with Johnson, several times. He constantly involved Lyndon Johnson's name in conversation, as witnesses have testified.

And the record shows that Johnson did take an interest in Billie Sol. The letters from Johnson in the Department of Agriculture, written to Johnson's office, establish the fact of that interest.

Still the amazing picture is presented of a Billie Sol who never, even tried to reach Johnson on the telephone or to see him. The two apparently avoided each other like the plague, as far as the public record shows.

Admittedly, the public record is incomplete. When Texas Attorney General Will Wilson rushed in and began to assemble evidence from the facts of the Billie Sol Estes case, he was suddenly stopped by the appointment of a Federal Receiver, who refused further access to Estes' files in the name of the United States Government.

Thus, the public was denied a full disclosure of the facts.

Interestingly, the United States found it convenient to name as Assistant Receiver, A. B. Foster, Jr., who was Billie Sol's business manager. Foster, who received a check for $5,000 from Billie Sol just seven months earlier, had also attended a January cocktail party in the Washington home of Lyndon Johnson, accompanied by William P. Mathis, the USDA employee, who was subsequently relieved of duty because of his connections with Billie Sol. Foster in control of the case, further embarrassing disclosures from that source are unlikely, to say the least.

DOCUMENTATION AND SOURCES

of the facts contained in this publication is available in the form of a new book by Texas historian J. Exetta Haley: A Texan Looks at Lyndon. 256 pages of detailed documentation of the facts concerning Johnson. If you or your friends need any further convincing, you can consult this book.

A Texan Looks at Lyndon, available from LIBERTY LOBBY at $1 each copy; 3 copies at $2.50.
Chapter VI

LBJ’s Secret Weapon of the 1962 Campaign

The Risk We Take

At a time when the power of government is used to favor its friends as this publication shows, it is also used to harass its enemies. LIBERTY LOBBY realizes the risk it is taking by publishing a document that is critical of that government. We await retribution in the manner known to those who have had to tell the truth, sometimes.

Coming at the time it did, the TFX award was just another "gift" for Jim Wright and the Democratic Party. It was presented as a "thank you" from the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, and it was free, "penniless" money. Much as it was appreciated by the Republicana, who also cared about the state of the economy, they could only wish the announcement had been delayed for a couple of weeks.

In Washington, there was one nominal Republican who was to regret that the contract was ever announced. At the cost of the TFX to the average taxpayer were not so high ($107), the chain of events in which Defense Secretary McNamara found himself might even be funny. McNamara was "made aware" of his "decision" for the TFX contract in early October, but the Defense Secretary had other problems, other enemies of his own, and simply made a mental note to himself.

Having never been a politician, perhaps McNamara forgets that elections come in the first two weeks of November. He recostimated an TFX. Meanwhile October was passing. The election drew nearer.

Jim Wright was getting desperate. He communicated his impatience to certain "people in high position." Finally, it was necessary to "leak" the news. J. Howard writer Bert Kantor was given the story by people he trusted. Luke Cornell's "IIMA" it wasn't an unusual story; it just hadn't happened yet, but it was printed, and Jim Wright recovered very well, thank you.

A Prediction Comes True

On November 24, just one month after Kantor's story appeared, Secretary McNamara caught with an announcement of another conservative move in the State of Washington, where conservative Republicans had demonstrated an impressive ability to defeat Democrats. On the other side of the state, a Democratic movement was just getting started, in Texas, and something had to be done to stop it. Therefore, the question of what to do with the taxpayers' $5,000,000,000 became one of the first for Lyndon Johnson and Jim Wright.

As the truth about the TFX contract became evident in Washington, cloakroom whisperers became bolder, and finally, a roar from the floors of House and Senate. The company was offering age-old call to action, his intervention helped to charge the Pentagon.

Albert W. Blackburn, who worked on the TFX project while in Defense Secret- ary McNamara's research office, gave testimony before the McNealla Committee revealing McNamara's award of the TFX wartime contract to the General Dynamics Corporation over the Boeing Aircraft Company could not be justified on its merits. He said the Secretary's decision "could be justified only on the basis of a broad, high-level policy of liaison or stabilization."

In no way, however, could it be associated with the merits of the rival programs, and Secretary McNamara's team was named "the first for Lyndon Johnson and Jim Wright."

Secretary McNamara, according to his own statement, was the one who originally estimated $1 billion savings in the TFX program.

This savings has been used by McNamara repeatedly as a justification for choosing General Dynamics rather than Boeing for the TFX project. However, Blackburn emphasized that his estimate was based on what the TFX program would save as against separate programs for the Air Force and Navy. He did not intend it as a comparison of the relative costs of the Boeing and General Dynamics proposals.

One of the main reasons Secretary McNamara gave for awarding the TFX contract to the General Dynamics Corporation was that the Boeing bid proposed the use of titanium in order to solve a weight problem in regard to naval use of the TFX aircraft.

McNamara contended, in a statement to the McNealla committee, that the use of titanium was an "iron-clad" requirement of the TFX contract with General Dynamics. He was in the position of using his government power to help a firm that owed him $400,000.00 at the time.

It must be said that the Justice Department cleared McN. K. Wright of "conflict of interest" but, since the facts are undisputed, and General Dynamics did owe Korth's bank, and did profit from the TFX, and paid off the loan on which Korth made money, of what, then, was Korth cleared?

Well, you can take the banker out of the TFX, and put him back later. But you can't take the TFX out of the banker, particularly if he still owns some of the company. The following quote from letters written by Fred Korth to an officials' accountant of the Navy is typical.

In a letter written March 4, 1963, Korth thanked a Mr. P. S. Keitt for keeping a record of $100,000 in the Continental National Bank. Many thanks to you for your letter of March 1 giving me the balances, including the balances in the Continental National Bank. I should have written you long ago to express my appreciation for making a record for Continental National, of which I was formerly President.

Korth continued to compete with Phil Reagan on the Sequoia, his official National yacht, and immediately after this accident Reagan opened a new account in the Continental National Bank with a $5,000 deposit. To Reagan's assurance that the money would remain in the Korth bank "until hell freezes over," Korth wrote: "We are indeed fortunate that we were able to have you and Jo aboard the Sequoia as you were in Washington, and I hope you'll let me know when you plan to have another visit with the White House."

Again, Korth wrote his book on August 13, 1963: "I am planning on September 12th to have a little visit with the Sequoia, primarily for my Texas friends, in conjunction with the Fleet stereo reception in Atlantic City. . . . I am just wondering whether you have any extra guests who could have a nice time..."

The cost of entertainment on the Sequoia, the Secretary of the Navy's official yacht, is paid for by the United States taxpayer.

Finally, as the result of the revelations brought out by McNamara's Senate Investigating Committee, Korth was told by the Administration that his services were no longer needed. Korth had broadcast with Mr. McNamara on October 11, and that same afternoon, he personally hand- ed in his resignation at the White House. According to Time magazine, October 25, 1963, Defense Secretary McNamara advised President Kennedy to demand the resignation of Korth. Time adds that the White House made resignation official on October 11, 1963, but did not reveal that McNamara had made the decision.

When Korth left Washington, the curtain fell on the TFX Show. At Columnist Warren Rogers has observed:

"There are intimations that one of Senator John L. McClellan's New Year's resolutions is to forget all about the TFX controversy—perhaps even that it ever really happened but was only a bad dream.

"For one thing, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas is President now. While there is nothing concrete linking Johnson definitely to the TFX, anyway, any further pursuit would bite close to home... . . . the chances are that McClellan will never get around to submitting a report on the lengthy, flamboyant hearings he held last Summer... . . . if he does file a TFX report at all, remember, the Senate and House hearings... . . . have yet to even reach the stage... . . . you can bet your boots it will be perfunctory and vapid."

When Did Your Copy of LBJ Arrive by Mail?

In order to plan future mailings of LBJ, in order to respond to any unusual delays in the "Post Office," it is quite likely that LIBERTY LOBBY will appreciate it if you drop us a line telling us the date on which you received LBJ.
Chapter VII

Bobby's Lobby

As political humorist Fletcher Knebel has it: Success isn't always what you know but what you don't know, what you know about who you know.

He had in mind the success story of the "fifth Senator," Bobby Gene Baker, the amazing country boy from Pickens, South Carolina, who parlayed his 1941 position as a 14-year-old Senate page boy into a $2 million fortune by 1965.

Baker was a natural scheme-pot to coincide with that of Lyndon Johnson. It was "Bobby's Lobby" that put LBJ in the position of "King of the Whip" in 1953. As Bobby says: "I kept leaking stories to the press, the story line had the inside track; that in a shroud he would have the voice."

When the post of Democratic Leader opened the following year, Bobby again used propaganda, "leaks," and Flattery to assure Lyndon's getting the position.

As Senate Democratic Leader, Johnson ruled in the South Texas style: i.e.,

which Johnson's control of the Senate was exercised.

For eight years, the triple-threat combination of Lyndon Johnson, Bobby Baker, and Democrat Senator Joseph McCarthy of the United States with its inner discipline without historical precedent. Here, Baker, McCarthy, and John Erlichman were to transform his image in a parasitic unity unlike any that Pickens, South Carolina, had ever seen.

In his Senate job, Bobby Baker was in daily association with some of the world's rich men. He found himself a kinship of ambition and ambitions that stirred him. He wanted to be one of them.

The Exemplars

In Lyndon Johnson, Baker saw a man who could make more money as a "side-line" activity than most millionaires earn by their hard hearted efforts; and there was Oklahoma Senator Bob Kerr, wonder

fully rich in oil, banks and beef; and the highly successful land-promoter from Florida, George Smathers, who opened new avenues for young Baker. Bobby tried to emulate them all.

Baker began his climb to financial success by studying about his a cotter of his own, consisting of Langston Loomis, a pliable citizen in Salt Lake City; and an attractive $800,000 secretary, all at the taxpayers' expense.

For Johnson, Baker functioned as a one-man CIA. It was Bobby's job to knoweverything about everybody in the Senate.

Knowing the political situation in ev
er state down to the finest detail, Bobby could predict any Senator's attitude on any given legislative proposition. Thus, he could point out to Johnson the trouble spots before they developed.

Johnson would then approach the po
tential mavesters and apply his treat

ment of "tying" to make them forsake the Johnsonian velvet glove, however, always was pleased the cocked, mailed, and Bobby Gene Baker's little black book.

For Bobby Gene's "intelligence" activi

ties were not confined to the mere gath

ing of political details. Bobby's files were a supermarket of tidbits of infor

mation. He knew where the skeletons hung in the Senate Cloakroom . . . where the "louder" were buried.

It is widely believed in Washington that many of Baker's fonder dealings with people on Capitol Hill were designed to establish such "background information" sources as had already gone to the wall. It is whispered that the alleged "call-girl" operation had as its basic purpose that kind of ammunition, although such rumors cannot be exposed to malicious trash so long as the Senate refuses to investigate them.

The Hatchet-Man

On the other end of the Johnson-Bak
er axis, was another hatchet-man, standing ready to execute the veiled threats of exposure. The senator from South Carolina's "interests" on recalcitrant senators was none other than Drew Pearson, that "little hunchman," who thus constituted the ultimate whip through

Bobby's request. Reynolds' commission

was $10,001.56, of which Baker got $4,000, while Committee Clerk McLeod received $1,500 for his promotion of the bill.

It was through Lyndon Johnson that Bobby Baker was introduced to the millionaire Murchison of Texas. In time, he became an unofficial executive of the successful meat company, Hormel, which was based in Port Au Prince, in a country devastated by Haiti. Baker's job was to find buyers for the Murchison meat.

In this effort, Bobby acquired a partner, Puerto Rican Jose Benitez, who, as Deputy Commissioner of Pacific

Syndicate, even from Bobby Baker.

The Merry-Go-Round

Baker's most colorful business venture has been his $1.2 million investment in the Corso Council in Oklahoma City. When the meet opened, Vice President Spiro Agnew and Lyndon Johnson attended the festivities, although President Johnson was veiled in Washington. The cards were transported by the D.C. Transit Company, which carefully provided with liquor by the U.S. Savings and Loan League (against restrictive leg

islation). No one knows the whereabouts of the money; Mr. Baker (courtesy of the Senate Restaurant).

Bobby's comments were about as profound as anyone. "Yes, Mr. Johnson, I am familiar Sunday, March 13, 1964.

Despite the President's efforts to "get out of order" the Bobby Baker's case, the fact still stands out that he sponsored Baker as Senator to the Senate Democratic Majority on January 5, 1955 and has been closely associated with him over the years.

"I know you should refer to him (Bobby) as Senator Baker actually to the Secretary to the Majority, but my tongue seems to want my heart, and I always present, always stay, and move things of the future and present to him the United States of America. I saw to it all you have to work with that, indeed, it is a young men and will real.-

Bobby Baker. It's a man who truly serves his country, and I consider him one of my most trusted...

Trust Islands for the Department of the Interior, found Washington much more to his taste than his ostensible assignment in the Senate, and had worked out a tech

nique for spending most of his time in the creature.

With Benes's Puerto Rican contacts, Baker was successful in selling beef for Tampa and the two of them split a $1,000 a month "finder's fee." Bobby was doing "turfing" for Mr. Murchison's stock, up to $30,000 per year. American cattle men might find it difficult to approve of Bobby Baker's meat-imports, but the Murchisons found Bobby's efforts quite laudable, and as a token of appreciation, gave him a black Topes ring and several opportunities to "invest" in lucrative stock with the Murchisons interests putting up the cash.

When Benes's connection with Baker's father exposed, Secretary of Inter

nal Revenue forced Benes to "resign," then hired him as a $15,000 "dollarologist." Thus does the Johnson Admin

istration take care of its own.

Baker has suffered a few failures, but significant among them is his failu

re to "outlive" for a big-time gambling

The PlayBoy

Bobby's business activities did not make him a "dull boy," by any means. He always found time for play, and loved a good time. Sometimes, he best times once placed in the Southwest Wash

ington home of his second and con

sent, Carroll Tyler. Pretty Miss Tyler through advertisement. Mr. Baker and Ms. Tyler go, and her neighbors have grown accustomed to the late-night comings and goings of Washington's great and near

Bobby Baker bought the townhouse for $52,000, 825 South Capitol Street; and in order to get around the stipulation that it be occupied by the owner or his family, Baker declared that his "cousin, N. C. Tyler," would

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Carole Tyler's Townhouse

live there. Sexually decorated in the lavender style of a Byzantine sarcophagus, the townhouse was well noted for the bevy of unhatched young beauties who attended them; an added attraction for the local restaurateurs who buy—and the defense coun-
ters who sell—through Bobby Gene Baker.

Before the activities of the young Democratic Secretary of the Senate became a public scandal, the stories around the Capitol about the parties at the townhouse included the names of Senators and Congressmen who also found pleasure and contentment in the home of Carole Tyler; but those days are gone now, as the politicians refurbish their reputations and avoid Bobby Baker.

Serv-Who?
Bobbi Baker's biggest venture into the world of business has been the Serv-U Corporation, a vending-machine company that "specialized" in getting its machines into defense plants, particularly in the aerospace industries. Baker's partner, Fred Black, who was paid $160,000 a year by the Air Force, was instrumental in getting the North American contract for Serv-U, but other defense firms, like Northrup, Thompson and Woldridge and Melpar have also found it pleasant to do business with Bobbi.

Baker's share of Serv-U is worth well over $1 million, according to a financial statement filed last year; although he now denies such ownership even though his wife, Dorothy, is shown on the Maryland records as Assistant Secretary of the corporation and his brother, Charles, is listed as a vice-president.

In Serv-U, it seems, most of Baker's associates come together. There is Ed-ward Levinson, the disappointed gam-
bler; Fred Black, convicted tax evader; Ernest Turner, the "law-partner" who shares his downtown office with Baker and Carole Tyler; and Henry Siegelman, Miami real-estate man who owned the background of the Baker-Smathers land deals in Florida; all of them are gathered here—stockholders in Serv-U Corporation.

His earnest efforts to promote the fortunes of Serv-U—whether in or out of the Capitol—weren't enough for the Senator's downfalls in the Senate. He had, at one time, done a little job of influence-peddling to get a vending-machine contract with the Melpar electronics firm for a friend of his, Ralph Hill of Capitol Vending. Hill believed in paying for services rendered, so when Bobby shook him down for $5,000 in "kickback" for the job, Hill paid without a whimper. However, with the formation of Serv-U Corp, Baker persuaded Melpar to break the contract with Hill and put in Serv-U machines instead. This left Hill holding the bag, minus the $5,000 he had paid Baker.

Ralph Kicks Back
Ralph Hill warned Baker repeatedly that he would quit if he didn't respect Bobby unless Serv-U pulled out of the Melpar plant and allow Hill to continue the contract. Baker, in the firm belief that he was invincible, countered with a suggestion that Title IV of Capitol Vending to Serv-U.

Finally, in September of 1962, Ralph Hill sued Baker for $390,000. Included in the charges was the story of the townhouse and the Senate about the attempted bribery, or even worse that he didn't have Baker's man at-tached on the spot.

It was testified that Baker was an in-

vestor in a land speculation in Jackson-
ville Beach, Florida, financed with a $490,000 loan from the Testament Bank. Also, that he had joined in with Senator Smathers of Florida in a 143-
acre development near Orlando.

Another Mysterious Death
In the midst of the Baker investigation, an unexplained tragedy struck one of the people who had been part of the downfall. In 1962, the body of 44-year-old D.D. Shelia, whose body was found by her 10-year-old son in the bathroom of their suburban Maryland home.

County Medical Examiner Dr. John Kohoe said the death could have been "either accidental or homicidal," and that an internal neck injury "could have been caused by a fall or a mugging."

The official explanation was quickly altered to "accidental" because the vic-
tim had been wearing a nightgown and chatting on the bed neatly, if it bore. But the case brought out as important a point about Shelia Drennan: She had been found by two teenage girls who knew she had been killed; this is a practice followed by nearly every woman in the crime-ridden Wash-

ington area, and by most men, as well. Yet, when her children returned home from school on the day of her death, they not only found the front door unlocked, but standing open!

Sweet Smell of Sexcess
As the testimony of witnesses oozed from behind the doors of the Senate Rules Committee, it began to take on a spicy aroma of perfume. In the words of Senator Curtis of Nebraska:

"Party girls and entertaining were part of the business promotion atmosphere. The facts are available if one looks and inquires. Individuals were induced to enter into certain business arrangements as part of the promotion atmosphere and were solicited on Government tele-
phone services for sex parties of an intimacy which was not normally available, and the prospective customer and it is part and parcel of the transaction." As witnesses before the committee con-tinued to testify, a solidsmell of sex pervaded the hearing room. One of the strangest concerned a prisoner in the District of Columbia.

As the story went, a convicted pro-
crimer named Fasabian who had received a one-year sentence in 1960 for taking of teenage call-girls (one was only 16 years old) was suddenly pulled out of his cell just blocks from the Capitol for an interview with some high-level "in-

vestigators," who quizzed him about his connections with the Capitol Hill activ-

ers of the Senate Rules Committee. The results of this "examination" were not revealed, but Fasabian must have talked, because shortly thereafter his cell was not occupied. That evening the Capitol Hill police turned to a man—unprecedented move in the case of a one-year sentence, but useful for placing him far away from the Federal investigation.

As the investigation continued, the name of the Quorum Club cropped up.
Lady Bird and a $1,308 “kickback” to the TV station in Austin, as suggested and arranged for by Presidential Assistant Waller Jenkins, who doubted in his spare time to Texanizer to L.B.J. on.

Jenkins, Johnson’s business manager, swore in an affidavit that he had never had such contacts with Reynolds. The committee was given its first case of perjury. Either Reynolds was lying or James Raines Johnson’s business manager was lying. Which is it?

The committee chose not to find out. Instrumental in the committee’s decision not to resolve the perjury was the fact that Reynolds had canceled checks to prove his story, and a witness, Albert G. Young, testified that he had also canceled the matter with Walter Jenkins since Reynolds could not possibly have been advertising time on the Austin TV station and after paying for it, relinquished it to Young for use in advertising stainless steel cookware.

The committee did not put Johnson’s assistant to the test, and left the question of perjury unresolved in the face of heated protest by the Republicans. The reader must therefore judge for himself. Reynolds also said that he knew there were other cases of television time sales as the Johnson stations being used as a form of “kickback.” Republican National Committee chairman William Miller of New York has raised the question of how much TV and radio advertising victory commission received from defense contractors, such as North American Aviation.

In an effort to discredit the testimony of Don Reynolds, which was having a devastating effect on Lyndon Johnson’s national image, the White House worked frantically to choke off its publication. Confidential military records were dug up on Don Reynolds which indicated that at the time he was overseas in the Air Force he was a tax-free merchant on the black market. It was also charged that he had “bragged reckless charges in the茸 most important people who have crossed him.” Apparently, the White House wanted nothing to reflect on Albert Young’s testimony backing up Reynolds, so he was ignored.

The publisher of a national news magazine was telephoned repeatedly by “an important White House personage,” and was “warned” that any story based on Reynolds’ testimony probably would be inadmissible. Other editors and reporters disclosed similar incidents in a story published by The New York Times. Finally, the White House called on hatchetman Drew Pearson to go into action. “He promised to Pearson the confidential military records of Don Reynolds. Pearson exposed Reynolds in his volume’s classic Pearson fashion, as though he had himself dug up the story from the locked Pearson files.

As December came, Bobby Baker, too, found that things were not the same as he would. His lawyer, Joe Fertig, who had represented Johnson before Justice, received in the 1946 “Ballot Box 13” affair, now found that because he was performing “certain assignments” for President Johnson, he could not “effectively represent” Mr. Baker without “embarrassas­

The “lawyer” wrote as Baker’s representative in a classic display of the kind of lawyer caught in a “conflict of interests.”

The Senate grew tense as a new with­
ness who had earlier revealed that he was busy “writing a book” about the case. It was the Democratic committee that was jittery as Bobby Baker once declared his right hand—Bobby was cool as a cucumber.

It was the name old Bobby Baker that they all knew, and who then declared:

“Whatever reputation I made in the Senate, my word was my bond. When I told a man I was not going to testify, that ended it.”

The Senate aiged in relief.

And Bobby did not test; one-hun­

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and Colorado, and future legislative favors granted. He had played a role in selling converters.

He had been involved in deportation proceedings against one Ellen Ro­
metz.

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metz.
Lyndon Baines Johnson: The Politician

Lyndon Baines Johnson is a politician from Texas. Johnson was the 36th President of the United States and served from 1963 to 1969. He was known for his political influence and for his role as a key figure in the political landscape of the United States during the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War.

Johnson was born in 1908 in Johnson City, Texas. He attended the University of Texas and later went on to become a lawyer. Johnson served as a member of the United States House of Representatives from 1937 to 1949 and as a United States Senator from 1949 to 1961. During this time, he rose to become one of the most powerful members of Congress, known for his ability to broker compromises and build coalitions.

In 1961, when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, he ascended to the presidency. Johnson's administration was marked by his strong support for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which he signed into law. However, his presidency was also marked by the escalation of the Vietnam War, which he had initially opposed but later supported.


Lyndon Baines Johnson was a complex figure, known for his skill as a politician and his role in shaping the American political landscape of the mid-20th century.
THE TWO HUNDRED OF 1960

( Politicians like LBJ commonly change their political
positions, often "the unique, in that he
 campaigned for two different offices, on two different plat-
forms, at the same time in 1960. It is interesting to com-
pare those two platforms.)

Running for Vice President, Mr.
Johnson endorsed programs calling
for further centralization of power in
the federal government.

For the United States Senate, Mr.
Johnson ran on a State platform
which denounced "federal encroach-
ment" and decried "the growing and
meaningless concentration of power in
central government."

His Vice Presidential platform fea-
tured sit-in demonstrations.

His State platform called for "en-
forcement of laws designed to protect
private property... from physical oc-
cupation."

His national platform promised to
close such "tax loopholes as deple-
tion allowances."

His national platform supported
federal aid for education.

Johnson has the answer to this one, and
it is illustrated in his settlement of the
crude controversy on April 22 of
this year. In arguing with the negotiators
representing union and management,
Johnson pulled out all the stops and
got a historic show for them. He
begged on them, he cajoled them and
appealed to their love of country—even,
indeed, to their central government
through the device of reading a letter
from a seven-year-old girl who feared
that a rail strike would pre-
vent her grandmother's visit (Grandma
had already made the trip a week ear-
er).

Still, Johnson's full basket of
tricks failed to sway the hard-headed negoti-
tors, so he fell back on his old reliable
device: He reached into the U.S. Taxpay-
er's pocket, took out $30 million and
bought the votes.

The railway settlement amounted to
a purchase of management's surrender
to the unions' demands, paid for with
the U.S. taxpayer's money in the form of
$75,000.000 tax-break for management.

Consequently, everyone was happy. The
workers were happy because they got what
every court in the land had said they
couldn't manage. Happiness was
because all they wanted in the end was
a place to reduce in operating costs, and
whether the workers came from lower
costs or tax costs wouldn't matter.

The U.S. Taxpayer was happy because he
didn't want a railroad strike, and was
willing to pay $30 million not to have one
... or was it because he just didn't know
about the deal?

And does the U.S. Taxpayer know that
every vote that Johnson buys be-
tween now and election day, the Taxpay-
er is going to pay for it? With
Johnson's federal spending already ap-
proximately $30 per million votes, the
decision must be made to buy en-
vironmentally programs such as the War
on Poverty due to increase this rate still
higher, the noise in the mouths and tears to come, in the
ultimate cost to the U.S. Taxpayer will be an additional $10 per year, or
$400 per election.

It is obvious, however, that the
Taxpayer is not the only one
for whom this money has been
spent. The U.S. Taxpayer is

who Mussolini
Johnson
wrote
in the
late
texts,
he

It is a
program

TRUTH IN POLITICS

Page 105, Mrs. L.B.J., by
Ruth Montgomery

more than they are saving, but it is a
foolish politician, indeed, who scoffs
at the significance of the political support
that Lyndon Baines Johnson has
acquired with a mere flick of his wrist.

A little thing, the light bulb. And a
little thing, the heart—can of beer while
driving on the wrong side of the road at
55 miles per hour; but little things
can cause serious mistakes. And in
the future, we can be sure that when he proposed
the construction of a memorial to God

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INDIVIDUALIZING THE SENTENCING FUNCTION

by

James V. Bennett
Director, Bureau of Prisons

before the
Sentencing Institute
of the
Ninth Circuit Judiciary Conference
Pebble Beach, California
July 8 - 9, 1960
Through recent legislation the Congress has given the courts virtually a blank check in carrying out the sentencing function, as previous speakers have pointed out. But accompanying that blank check is a challenge that the Congress has laid down to the courts.

The Congress has been generous in expanding the court's discretion and resources in sentencing. It has provided increasing funds for the probation officers who are charged with the preparation of pre-sentence reports. It has authorized the commitment of defendants for study and diagnosis to aid in the determination of final sentence. And it has furnished various alternatives by which the courts may fit their sentences to the varying requirements of individual cases.

But in doing so the Congress has expressed its dissatisfaction with the inconsistencies and disparities heretofore characterizing the sentences of the district courts. That dissatisfaction was inherent in the statute authorizing the establishments of joint councils and institutes on sentencing, with its culminating phrase that the institutes are to formulate "sentencing principles and criteria which will assist in promoting the equitable administration of the criminal law in the United States."

In this respect the Congress was acting merely as the spokesman for the public. For the citizens of our nation have long subscribed to the principle of "Equal Justice Under Law." Yet our citizens have long sensed that this principle has not achieved the reality that it should have. When we read the legislative history of the new sentencing statutes we recognize that the Congress fully intends that the courts shall make that principle a reality.

The Congress so far has maintained its belief in the principle of an independent judiciary by preserving the sentencing function in the courts and by investing that function with a great deal of discretion. While there have been a few inroads into this policy by the enactment of mandatory sentencing laws affecting narcotics offenses, post office robberies, and a few other crimes, the Congress has for the great majority of convicted offenders left their disposition up to the courts. How well the new Act works will be a test of the willingness of the courts to accept the responsibility and the challenge the Congress has given them.

The degree to which its objectives are achieved will also, I believe, have an important bearing on whether the Congress will make further inroads on the discretion of the judiciary, either by enacting more mandatory sentencing laws, authorizing appeals as to sentences or removing the sentencing function entirely from the courts to invest it in some kind of sentencing tribunal. These measures, as you know, have all been seriously proposed and were averted in effect by the Judicial Conference, acting through the committee headed by the late and most distinguished Judge Bolitha Laws, who held forth great expectations for the new statute.
Moreover, a study of the background of the long struggle to provide the courts with broader authority conforms a basic confidence on the part of Congress that the courts will painstakingly appraise individual defendants, consider all the factors that seem to be involved, consult with their colleagues, and make use of all the facilities that are now available to them. As you recall, before passing the new legislation the Congress asked the courts what they wanted to do about the problem of disparities and that the courts responded by requesting an extension of their discretion in the sentencing function. The Congress took the courts at their word and passed the new sentencing statute in about the same form that the courts had recommended. That was certainly a vote of confidence, but when we examine the new legislation we see that it was also a mandate to use the new powers to bring about a consistency that the sentencing function has long lacked.

While the Congress had in mind the high cost of inconsistent dispositions of offenders in terms of law enforcement and human values, it also had in mind the high cost in terms of dollars. It is to be remembered that even aside from considerations of the costs of apprehension or the losses to the victims of crime the out-of-pocket court costs of convicting one man, when added to the cost of incarcerating him for one year, now amounts to at least $5,000. This figure is obtained by taking the estimate of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts as to the average cost of convicting an offender ($2,900) and adding to it the average cost of maintaining a Federal prisoner for one year ($1,875) and transportation to and from prison ($225). Multiply that by the 14,000 annual commitments and the figure becomes impressive indeed.

Inasmuch as the new sentencing law has been in effect for a relatively short time it is not surprising that inconsistencies in sentencing in this circuit are still apparent both in the statistics on sentencing and in terms of actual cases. For example, the Ninth Circuit imposes the highest sentences for forgery, an average of 32.4 months, in comparison to a national average of 24.7 months. It imposes the lowest sentences for liquor violations, an average of 7.9 months, in comparison to a national average of 14.5 months. Its sentences for marijuana violations, an average of 61.9 months, are far above the national average of 45 months. And although its sentences for narcotics violations come close to the national average of 76.2 months, some of the most severe sentences in the nation for this offense come out of this circuit, with first offenders receiving as much as 40, 50, and 60 years, with no eligibility or hope for parole.

Admittedly, there are some sentences which seem absurdly long or short on the surface but which often have good reasons to account for them. Yet an examination of case histories in this circuit shows some sentences which seem unusually low and some which seem unusually high. We recently received in one of our West Coast institutions a young man who had robbed a bank of $5,000 and upon his apprehension received a 98-day sentence. At the same institution we received another young bank robber on a 1-year sentence who had been on probation for another robbery at the time of his offense. Also committed at the same time was another young man, who had no previous criminal record and whose family was existing on unemployment compensation,
with a 10-year sentence for robbing a bank of $600. A young married woman with no previous criminal record was committed to Terminal Island for 20 years on a marijuana offense; interestingly enough, she had been convicted in Federal Courts on evidence that had been thrown out of state courts on the ground of illegal search and seizure. Now I presume she can request a review under the doctrine of the recent Silver Platter decision in the case of Elkins v. U.S. (No. 126, October term, decided June 27, 1960, _______ U.S.____), in which the Supreme Court held that such evidence was "inadmissible over the defendant's timely objection in a federal criminal trial." Another first offender, a young man, was committed to McNeil Island for forty years on a marijuana violation. Then of course there is the accountant convicted of tax fraud who received 31 years and 31 days in consecutive sentences; he has not reached us yet, for his case is still on appeal.

The problems which some of these cases will present to the Court of Appeals are obvious. No experienced lawyer can doubt that such bizarre sentences challenge the Court of Appeals to find some way to overturn the trial. Cases of this kind may eventually influence the appeals courts to request authority to broaden their appellate powers to include sentence review. This is suggested by a Tenth Circuit case in which the defendant received a 52-year sentence, the result of 14 consecutive sentences on counts growing out of 3 narcotics sales. The Circuit Court concluded that under the circumstances of the offenses the "sentence was greater than should have been imposed," but that the Court of Appeals had no power to modify the sentence. In a dissenting opinion Judge Murrah argued that the court did have the power to modify the sentence, and that since the court was agreed that the sentence was greater than should have been imposed, the court should have either done so or remanded the case for "imposition of another sentence in consonance with our views."

Sentences of extreme brevity or length can be minimized if the courts would use all the tools available to them. In most cases the presentence reports contain enough data for the courts to be able to formulate reasonably equitable sentences, but for the most difficult cases in which inequities are likely to occur the courts can commit the defendants to our institutions for observation and diagnosis. The facilities on the West Coast are excellent for this purpose. Our Lompoc institution, to which most of these cases are sent, is perhaps the best equipped institution in the nation, and we have tried to match that equipment by staffing the institution with the most experienced and professional personnel that are available.

The reports that we furnish the courts following the diagnostic studies contain about all the information that the courts can be expected to digest in the time available to them. The reports contain verified basic data about the defendant and his offense, something about his family background and social history, and his medical and psychiatric status. They also summarize his educational achievements and deficiencies, his vocational assets and needs, and a religious report reflecting any moral qualities the defendant may
have. All this information is analyzed by the institutional staff, boiled down and interpreted in the form of a set of specific recommendations.

While these services are performed at several of our institutions around the country, a high degree of consistency is attained because all the reports are reviewed by a single committee in our central office before they are sent on to the committing courts. Our committee, composed of the most experienced professional executives in the Federal Prison System, also evaluates the factors in each case in what we believe to be a consistently similar manner.

In making our reports and recommendations to the courts we try to evaluate those basic factors in each case that should influence the kind and length of the sentence. These factors are ranked in their significance for sentencing purposes. Among the most important considerations is the manner in which the crime in question seems to be viewed by most district courts. Having sentencing data covering the 14,000 annual commitments to our institutions, we try to determine the general climate of opinion regarding specific types of offenses. Sometimes on this point it is necessary to formulate a reasonable compromise. For example, there are few categories of offenses that are more identical in composition than the Selective Service Act violators of the Jehovah's Witness sect. Yet, of the ninety Jehovah's Witnesses sentenced to imprisonment in 1959, two received sentences of less than six months, sixteen received sentences of six months to one year, and the remainder sentences from one year and one day to five years. Our opinion is that they be committed as youth offenders or that a year and a day is reasonable in peace time and in view of current Selective Service policies. Most of the courts seem to be agreeing with us.

Another important factor is the extent to which the offender constitutes a menace to law and order. We consider here such "risk indicators" as tendencies toward violence, a pattern of action that is repeatedly anti-social, and inability to control the sex drive, mental deviation, pathological hostilities, and so on. Some of these persons for one reason or another offer little hope of rehabilitation and for the protection of society they must be isolated for as long a period as possible.

A fundamental objective of the sentencing function is the need for deterring potential criminals, and this has a very influence on our recommendations. We recognize that this is often a factor that is very difficult to assess. The man who steals to feed his starving family can hardly be deterred by the same fears that operate to bring in line the respected by reluctant income taxpayer. Unquestionably, there are certain types of offenses which the fear of disgrace that comes with punishment and imprisonment is of surpassing importance, but on the other hand is of little value against the unregenerate, the alcoholic, the rebel who seeks to square accounts with society.
We also consider that the attitude of the offender frequently has a bearing upon the nature of the penalty - the extent to which he cooperated with the government, the degree of his remorsefulness and the motivation for his offense. In this connection we must also take into the account the degree to which the offender's actions may be considered a product of his own free will - whether he has freely chosen his course of action or whether he is the product of artificial values, inadequate community resources, and shortcomings of the social order. Felonious intent in its real as well as it technical and legal sense requires consideration.

We are mindful too that the court must recon with community attitudes toward the crime and that he cannot remain completely unmoved by them. Inasmuch as the court is the agent of society, of the community, it would appear legitimate for the court to give some consideration to the sentiments of the citizenry. These attitudes are inevitably linked to the amount of suffering that has been caused to the victims of the crime, as well as the degree of threat that the malafactor is still considered to represent to other citizens. Society also appears to have a real stake in defining by a meaningful sentence its opinion, for example, of an official who violates a public trust. The court has a duty to use the sentence to condemn conduct that the community strongly regards as wrongful.

But be consider it important too to weigh the assets of the defendant and his potential for rehabilitation and eventual lawful conduct. It has become trite to say that virtually all prisoners are eventually released, but is nonetheless true. For this reason in deciding the disposition of a convicted offender it is essential to determine what type of sentence will best guarantee that he will come out of prison as fully fit for community life as our treatment resources can make him. In weighing this factor, we must consider the seriousness of the treatment problems he presents and the length of time we estimate it would take us to modify his attitudes and to equip him with the educational and vocational skills that he will need for useful community life. We must consider his present attitudes and how they will affect his response to treatment. Finally, we must consider the length of time he should be kept under supervision in the community following his release.

A rather striking illustration of the importance of these individual factors is seen in the recent case of a 22-year-old youth who fell under the influence of a much older, more sophisticated criminal and assisted him in the robbery of a bank. The youth realized none of the proceeds and eventually assisted the government in prosecuting the case. Committed to us under the diagnostic procedure we found that he had never been in trouble before and that he was highly regarded by his employers. We also discovered that his father had beaten him regularly since he was 12 years old and that the parent had once been jailed for trying to kill him. Throughout many difficult years the youth managed outwardly to give the impression that his life was normal, but our psychiatrist determined that the meeting with the experienced criminal triggered off a "violent eruption of previously well-suppressed and controlled aggressive behavior." The psychiatrist also expressed the opinion that there was no likelihood of any repetition of the offense.
This obviously presented a most appealing case under the circumstances, but in view of his need for vocational training, for counselling in order to gain the insight he should have in dealing with his suppressed aggressive impulses, and because of the serious nature of the crime we recommended his commitment under the Youth Act. It is of course apparent that we cannot teach a man to be an airplane mechanic or a skilled and technically qualified worker in six months or even a year. If the primary purpose of a sentence is to equip the prisoner with a trade, we must be given at least reasonable latitude in terms of sentence length and parole eligibility.

It is obvious that all of these factors or considerations are not subject to precise, arithmetical evaluation. We recognize too that the complex problems of determining how a man will react to his sentence and respond to treatment must be submitted to teamwork between the courts, the institutions, the parole boards, and the probation supervisors. It is only out of this teamwork finally that reasonable consistency in dealing with convicted offenders can be brought about. No single person or group can be expected to do the job by themselves.

It is for this reason that we favor the indeterminate sentence. Time and experience have proved this method to be the best answer and far more effective in its results. No one realizes more fully than a judge that it is virtually impossible on sentencing day to say just how long a given defendant should remain in prison. It can best be determined at a later date, when passions have cooled and when the defendant and prisoner himself has demonstrated the reasons why he should or should not remain in prison.

Those who advocate the use only of long, inflexible definite sentences fail to realize that throughout history the kind of vengeance on which this philosophy is grounded has been a miserable failure. Further, they apparently do not know that men actually serve longer periods under indeterminate than under definite sentencing procedures. For example, California, Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania are all indeterminate sentence states, and their prisoners not only have the longest sentences in the nation, but they serve the longest periods of time before they are released. In the definite sentence states of Montana, Missouri and Louisiana, for example, prisoners of all types serve 12, 16, and 17 months respectively on the average before they are released. But in the indeterminate sentence states of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York, prisoners convicted for the same type of offenses serve 35, 31, and 31 months respectively. Unquestionably, the indeterminate procedure is neither sentimental nor soft.

The 1958 hearings before the House Judiciary Committee on the new sentencing legislation thoroughly explored this point. Representative Willis asked every person testifying on the legislation to express an opinion as to whether the indeterminate features of the sentencing proposal could be interpreted as coddling criminals. The committee also secured statistics on the differences in the way the indeterminate and definite sentencing systems worked. It was only after a complete study of this data that the committee, satisfied that the indeterminate sentencing proposals were not sentimentally lenient, approved the legislation.
After the bill was passed Chairman Cellar of the Committee in his speech prepared for the Boulder Sentencing Institute wrote: "It should be possible in the future to tailor sentences more fittingly than ever before to the requirements of both the individual offender and the public safety." And to the judges who came to Boulder he said in the same speech that "You are the men who carry out the laws passed by the Congress, and the Congress intends that these laws shall be applied fairly and evenly upon the citizens from all ranks of life who appear in our courts."

The Congress then it its new sentencing legislation clearly challenged the courts to use its newly-augmented discretion to make the sentencing function consistent and individualized. We would like to help in achieving these much to be desired objectives. Closer teamwork between our institutions, the probation service, and the Parole Board in diagnosing each case will, I have no doubt, contribute mightily to this end. Teamwork has solved many another problem in the field of law enforcement, social betterment and other aspects of our national well-being.
MY DEAR FRIENDS:

I AM CERTAIN ALL OF YOU KNOW THAT HAWAII OCCUPIES A VERY SPECIAL PLACE IN THE HEARTS OF THE JOHNSON FAMILY. MRS. JOHNSON AND I HAVE VISITED YOUR BEAUTIFUL ISLANDS AND ARE HAPPY TO COUNT MANY CLOSE FRIENDS AMONG YOUR RESIDENTS.

MAY I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO THANK YOU FOR THE GRACIOUS HOSPITALITY YOU SO KINDLY EXTENDED TO OUR DAUGHTER, LYNDA BIRD, ON HER RECENT VISIT. SHE STILL TALKS ABOUT IT.

IT IS THEREFORE WITH DEEP REGRET THAT I MUST TELL YOU THAT I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO VISIT HAWAII DURING THIS CURRENT POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. ALTHOUGH I AM A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES, MY PRIMARY AND MOST IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITY TO YOU IS TO SERVE AS A FULL-TIME PRESIDENT FOR OUR NATION. MY RESPONSIBILITIES AS YOUR PRESIDENT REQUIRE MY PRESENCE IN OR NEAR WASHINGTON AT ALL TIMES. THEREFORE, AS YOU MAY HAVE NOTED, THE HOURS SPENT IN POLITICAL
CAMPAIGNING HAVE NOT BEEN AS MANY AS MOST OF YOU MAY HAVE DESIRED. AS A RESULT, I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO VISIT EVERY ONE OF OUR FIFTY STATES. I HOPE YOU WILL UNDERSTAND.

HOWEVER, I AM COUNTING ON MY MANY FRIENDS IN HAWAII--FRIENDS LIKE YOUR FINE GOVERNOR, JACK BURNS; YOUR VERY ABLE SENATOR, DAN INOUYE; AND MY DEAR FRIEND WHOM I HOPE YOU WILL RETURN TO WASHINGTON AS YOUR NEXT UNITED STATES SENATOR -- THE HARD-WORKING, COURAGEOUS TOM GILL; YOUR FAITHFUL AND EFFECTIVE MEMBER OF THE HOUSE -- CONGRESSMAN SPARK MATSUNAGA; YOUR OUTSTANDING LEADER AND NEXT CONGRESSMAN -- WALTER HEEN -- TO CARRY THE MESSAGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. I AM CERTAIN THAT THE MESSAGE IS ONE WHICH ALL OF YOU WILL BE ABLE TO GIVE YOUR WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT.

I DON'T HAVE TO SPEAK OF THE GREAT SOCIETY THAT LIES BEFORE US IN AMERICA BECAUSE YOU PEOPLE IN HAWAII ARE ALREADY HARD AT WORK BUILDING THAT GREAT SOCIETY.

WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT THIS NATION IS ENJOYING THE HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING THAT THIS WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. YOUR SKYLINES, YOUR HIGHWAYS, YOUR HIGH
RATE OF EMPLOYMENT, ABOVE ALL YOUR HAPPY AND HEALTHY PEOPLE ATTEST TO THIS.

YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE GREAT STRIDES WE HAVE MADE IN THE FIELD OF EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS. AND AS AN AMERICAN I AM INDEED VERY PROUD TO HAVE HAD YOU IN THE FOREFRONT OF THIS STRUGGLE BY SETTING AN EXAMPLE OF HUMAN UNDERSTANDING FOR THE REST OF THE NATION.

BECAUSE YOU LIVE ON OUR PACIFIC PERIMETER, YOU ARE CONSTANTLY REMINDED OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND PREPAREDNESS. HAWAII MAINTAINS ONE OF OUR GREAT DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENTS AND PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE CONTINUED FIGHT FOR FREEDOM THROUGHOUT ASIA.

YOUR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION HAS CONSISTENTLY WORKED TOWARDS PROMOTING WORLD UNDERSTANDING. OUR EAST-WEST CENTER IN HAWAI'I IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THAT PROGRAM.

AS YOUR FRIEND AND AS A SUPPORTER OF STATEHOOD FOR THE ISLANDS, I AM PLEASED TO SAY THAT THE PEOPLE OF HAWAI'I HAVE GIVEN MUCH TO THIS NATION IN THE FEW SHORT YEARS SINCE 1959.
ONCE AGAIN LET US GO FORWARD TOGETHER IN
NOVEMBER TO THE GREAT FUTURE THAT LIES AHEAD FOR
ALL OF US. MRS. JOHNSON JOINS ME IN EXTENDING TO YOU
OUR WARMEST ALOHA.
Please accept this directory of the Second State Legislature with our compliments.

It has been compiled from the best information available, and every effort has been made to insure its accuracy.

For any telephone additions, changes, or moves, call 577-525.

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February 14, 1963
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CALLING RATES TO NEIGHBOR ISLANDS

DIAL "0" FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE
RATES (FOR FIRST 3 MINUTES)

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Plus 10% Federal Excise Tax.
Night rates from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M.

CALLING RATES TO OTHER STATES

DIAL "0" FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE
OVERSEAS TELEPHONE RATES

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Plus 10% Federal Excise Tax.
Night rates on overseas calling from 6 P.M. to 4:30 A.M.
ORDINANCE NO. 1557

BILL NO. 52 (1956)

AN ORDINANCE PROVIDING FOR THE REGULATION AND CONTROL OF SIGNS, THE LOCATION, ERECTION, MAINTENANCE AND USE OF SIGNS AND PROVIDING PENALTIES FOR THE VIOLATION THEREOF.

The Board of Supervisors of the City and County of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, after due deliberation and study, and after a public hearing thereon, hereby finds and declares:

1. That the people of the City and County of Honolulu has a primary interest in controlling the erection, location and maintenance of outdoor signs in a manner designed to protect the public health, safety and morals and to promote the public welfare; and

2. That the rapid economic development of the City and County of Honolulu, has resulted in a great increase in the number of businesses located in the City and County with a marked increase in the number and size of signs advertising such business activities within the City and County; and

3. That the increased number and size of such signs, coupled with the increased use of motor vehicles make it imperative that the public streets and highways be kept free from signs which distract motorists' attention from driving, and which detract from the attention which should be devoted to signs promoting traffic safety; and

4. That the indiscriminate erection, location, illumination, coloring and size of outdoor signs constitute a significant contributing factor in increasing the number of traffic accidents on the public streets and highways, by detracting from the visibility of official traffic lights and signals, and by tending to distract and divert the attention of drivers away from the flow of traffic movement; and

5. That in addition thereto, the construction, erection, and maintenance of large outdoor signs suspended from, or placed on top of buildings, walls or other structures constitute a direct danger to pedestrian traffic below such signs, especially during periods when winds of high velocity are prevalent; and

6. That the size and location of such outdoor signs may, if uncontrolled, constitute an obstacle to effective fire fighting techniques; and

7. That the natural beauty of landscape, view, and attractive surroundings of the Hawaiian Islands, including the City and County of Honolulu, constitutes an attraction for tourists and visitors; and

8. That a major source of income and revenue of the people of the City and County of Honolulu is derived from the tourist trade; and

9. That the indiscriminate erection and maintenance within the City and County of Honolulu of large signs seriously detract from the enjoyment and pleasure of the natural scenic beauty of the City and County of Honolulu, which in turn injuriously affect the tourist trade and thereby the economic well-being of the City and County; and

10. That it is necessary for the promotion and preservation of the public health, safety and welfare of the people of the City and County of Honolulu, that the erection, construction, location, maintenance of signs be regulated and controlled;

THEREFORE, BE IT ORDAINED by the People of the City and County of Honolulu:

SECTION 1. Definitions. The following words and phrases,
as used in this ordinance shall, for the purposes hereof, have the meanings respectively ascribed to them in this section, unless it shall be apparent from the context that a different meaning is intended.

(a) "Sign" shall mean and include every sign, billboard (except those billboards included in the definition of same, contained in Section 6684 of the Revised Laws of Hawaii 1945, as amended), ground sign, wall sign, roof sign, illuminated sign, projecting sign, temporary sign, marquee, awning, canopy, and street clock, and shall include any announcement, declaration, demonstration, display, illustration or insignia used to advertise or promote the interests of any person when the same is placed out of doors on real property or buildings or structures therein in view of the general public.

(b) "Marquee Sign" shall mean any sign attached to, or hung from a marquee. A "Marquee" shall mean a canopy or covered structure projecting from and supported by a building, when such canopy or covered structure extends beyond the building, building line or property line.

(c) "Projecting Sign" shall mean any sign which is affixed or attached to, and is supported solely by a building wall or structure, and extends beyond the building wall, structure, or parts thereof, more than 15 inches and whose angle of incidence to said building wall, structure, or parts thereof is greater than thirty degrees.

(d) "Ground Sign" shall mean a sign which is a complete self-supported structure and is not attached or affixed in any way to a building or structure.

(e) "Roof Sign" shall mean a sign erected, constructed and maintained wholly upon and over the roof of any building.

(f) "Wall Sign" shall mean a sign which is affixed to an exterior wall or any building or structure when such sign shall project not more than 15 inches from the building wall, structure, or parts thereof.

(g) "Illuminated Sign" shall mean any sign which has characters, letters, figures, designs or outline illuminated by electric lights or luminous tubes as a part of the sign proper.

SECTION 2. Exempt Signs

The following types of signs are exempted from all of the provisions of this ordinance, except for the requirements of Section 5(a), (c), and (d), Section 6(a), (b), (e), and (i), and Section 8.

(a) All signs of a temporary nature, which shall include:

(1) Announcing Signs. Signs announcing the names of architects, engineers and/or contractors of a building under construction, alteration or repair and signs announcing the character of the building enterprise or the purpose for which the building is intended, provided such signs shall not exceed thirty-two (32) square feet in display surface.

(2) Real Estate Signs. Signs not exceeding eight (8) square feet in area advertising the sale, rental or lease of the premises on which displayed.

(3) Subdivision Signs. Signs announcing the subdivision and improvement of property where located on the property to be improved, not to exceed one sign for each acre or fraction thereof of such property, provided such signs shall not exceed thirty-two (32) square feet in area. Such signs may not be erected until a formal application for subdivision has been filed with the appropriate city and county officials. Such signs are exempted from the provisions of this ordinance for a period of one year from the date of erection of such signs which date of erection shall be reported to the Superintendent of Buildings within thirty (30) days after such erection. If
said subdivision is not completed within one year after the erection of said signs, an additional period of exemption not to exceed one year shall be allowed.

(4) Political Campaign Signs. Signs or posters not exceeding eighteen (18) square feet in display surface, announcing candidates seeking political office.

(5) Other Signs. Any sign displayed for a period not to exceed seven (7) days during any calendar year.

(b) Small Signs. Small signs not exceeding two square feet in display surface.

(c) Institutional Signs. Any sign or bulletin board setting forth or denoting the name of any public, charitable or religious institution when located on the premises of such institution, provided such sign or bulletin board shall not exceed twenty-four (24) square feet in display surface.

(d) Public Signs. Signs of a public, non-commercial nature, which shall include safety signs, danger signs, trespassing signs, signs indicating scenic or historical points of interest and all signs erected by a public officer in the performance of a public duty.

(e) Theater Signs. Marquee, ground or wall signs announcing a billing or act, provided any wall sign does not exceed 100 square feet in area.

(f) Room and Table Board Signs. Signs announcing room for rent or table board, not exceeding four square feet in area, and located in a area zoned for residential use.

SECTION 3. Permits and Fees.

(a) When Required. Except for the exceptions noted in Section 2, it shall be unlawful for any person to install, construct, erect, alter, relocate, reconstruct or cause to be installed, constructed, erected, altered, relocated, or reconstructed within the City and County of Honolulu, after the effective date of this ordinance, any sign or signs without first having obtained a permit in writing from the Superintendent of Buildings, and making payment of the fees required by Section 3(d).

(b) How Obtained. Applicants for such permits shall file with the Superintendent of Buildings applications signed by the owner of the sign, or his agent, on forms furnished by the Department of Buildings, containing the following information:

(1) The name and address of the applicant and of the person by whom such sign is to be constructed, erected, altered, relocated, or reconstructed.

(2) An accurate description of the location or proposed location and character of each sign.

(3) A plan or design of the sign showing its weight, dimensions, lighting equipment, materials, details of its attachment and hanging and its position relative to the building and street lines.

(4) Any electrical permit required and issued for said sign.

(5) Such other information pertinent to the application as may be required by the Superintendent of Buildings.

(c) Illuminated Signs. Approval by Electrical Inspector. The application for a permit for a sign in which electrical wiring and connections are to be used shall be submitted to the Electrical Inspector. The Electrical Inspector shall examine the plans and specifications respecting all wiring and connections to determine if the same complies with the Electrical Code of the City and County of Honolulu, and he shall approve said permit if the said plans and specifications comply with said code or disapprove the application if noncompliance with said code is found. This said action of the Electrical Inspector shall be taken prior to submission of the application to the Building Inspector for a permit under subsection (a) of this section.

(d) Fees. Every applicant before being granted a permit hereunder shall pay to the Superintendent of Buildings for each sign regulated by this ordinance a fee, which shall be as follows:
Total Estimated Valuation of Work       Fee to be charged
From $ 0.01 to $ 500.00     $3.00
From $ 500.01 to $1,000.00   $1.00 plus 50¢ per $100.00 or fraction thereof of the total estimated valuation of work.
From $1,000.01 and above      $3.00 plus 30¢ per $100.00 or fraction thereof of the total estimated valuation of work.

(e) Disposition of Fees. The Superintendent of Buildings shall keep an accurate record in such form as shall be approved by the Auditor and the Controller of the City and County of Honolulu of all fees received and shall deposit all fees received with the City and County Treasurer to the credit of the general fund at least once each week; shall render an account of all permits issued and monies received therefor each month to the Board of Supervisors; and shall maintain for public inspection a record of all permits issued.

(f) Permit Issued if Application in Order. It shall be the duty of the Superintendent of Buildings, upon the filing of an application for a permit under this section, to examine such plans, specifications and other data and the premises upon which it is proposed to erect the sign. If it shall appear that the proposed sign is in compliance with all the requirements of this ordinance and all other laws and ordinances of the City and County of Honolulu, he shall then issue a permit.

(g) Revocation of Permit. The applicant who has been issued a permit shall, upon completion of the installation, construction, erection, relocation, or alteration, notify the Superintendent of Buildings who shall thereupon cause an inspection to be made. Permits granted under the terms of this ordinance shall be non-transferable. The Superintendent of Buildings is hereby authorized and empowered to revoke any permit issued by him upon failure of the holder thereof to comply with any provision of this ordinance.

(h) Nullification of Permit. If the work authorized under a permit has not been substantially completed within six (6) months after date of issuance, then such permit shall become void and any sign installed, constructed, erected, relocated, or altered thereafter under such permit shall constitute a violation of the terms of this ordinance.

SECTION 4. Enforcement and Administration.

(a) Superintendent of Buildings. The Superintendent of Buildings is charged with the enforcement and administration of this ordinance. Whenever necessary, the officials of the other departments of the City and County of Honolulu shall render such assistance, as is consistent with the usual duties of their respective departments, to the Superintendent of Buildings at his request.

(b) Non-Conforming Signs. Any sign erected prior to the date of this ordinance, in compliance with all then existing laws and regulations, shall be permitted to be maintained as a non-conforming sign, subject to the following conditions:

(1) Safe Condition. Non-conforming signs shall be maintained in a safe condition and shall not in any respect be dangerous to the public or to property.

(2) Alteration or Relocation. Upon the alteration or relocation of any non-conforming sign or the discontinuance or removal from the premises of the activity to which such sign relates, such sign shall cease to be a non-conforming sign under this section and shall thereafter be permitted to be maintained only upon compliance with all requirements of this ordinance. The term "alteration" shall not be construed to mean repairs and maintenance for the purpose of keeping the sign in a clean and safe condition.

(c) Abatement and Removal of Unlawful Signs. Whenever it shall appear to the Superintendent of Buildings that any sign
has been constructed, erected, or is being maintained in violation of any of the terms of this ordinance, or after a permit therefor has been revoked or become void, or that a sign is unsafe or insecure or in such condition as to be a menace to the safety of the public, he shall thereupon issue a notice in writing, to the owner of the sign or the owner or tenant of the premises upon which the sign is erected or maintained informing such person of the violation of this ordinance or of the dangerous condition of such sign and directing him to make such alteration or repair or do such things or acts as are necessary to make the same comply with the requirements of this ordinance within such reasonable time limit as shall be stated in such notice which, in no case, shall be less than twenty (20) days nor more than sixty (60) days. Said notice may be given by personal service, by depositing a copy of same in the U.S. mail in a postage prepaid wrapper addressed to the street address of the premises upon which such sign is erected or maintained, or by posting a copy of same on the premises upon which such sign is erected or maintained. Upon failure to comply with such notice within the time mentioned therein, the Superintendent of Buildings shall cause such sign, or such part thereof as is constructed or maintained in an unsafe condition or otherwise in violation of this ordinance, to be removed or altered and/or repaired so as to make it a conforming sign and shall charge the expense thereof to the person so notified. When any sign is in such condition as to be an immediate hazard and peril to the safety of the public or to property, the Superintendent of Buildings is hereby authorized to cause such signs to be removed summarily and without notice.

SECTION 5. Prohibited Signs. It shall be unlawful to erect or maintain:

(a) Any sign which, by reason of its size, location, movement, content, coloring or manner of illumination, constitutes a traffic hazard or a detriment to traffic safety by obstructing the vision of drivers, or by obstructing, or detracting from the visibility of any official traffic control device or by diverting or tending to divert the attention of drivers of moving vehicles from the traffic movement on the public streets and roads.

(b) Signs which are not included under the types of signs permitted under Section 7.

(c) Signs which are obscene.

(d) Signs which advertise or publicize an activity no longer conducted, on the premises upon which such signs are maintained.

SECTION 6. Construction and Location of Signs.

(a) Free Ingress and Egress. No sign or supports or hangings therefor shall be erected so as to cover doors or windows of any building or otherwise to prevent free ingress and egress to or from any window, door or fire escape of any building, nor shall any sign be attached to any part of a fire escape or upon or to any stand pipe or fire escape support, or be placed nearer than two (2) feet from any fire escape platform, and all signs shall be so arranged as to swing away from such fire escape or platform. No roof sign shall be constructed in such a manner as to interfere with the free passage from one part of the roof to another part thereof or to interfere with any opening on the roof.

(b) Interference with Public Alarms, Signals or Signs. No sign or supports or hangings therefor shall be placed in such position or manner as to obstruct or interfere with any fire alarm, police alarm, or sign or any devices maintained by or under public authority.

(c) Structure. Every sign, together with its framework, braces, angles or other supports, shall be maintained in a safe condition, properly secured, supported and braced and shall be kept in good structural condition, clean and well painted at all times.
(d) Support. Every sign shall be constructed to withstand wind pressure of not less than thirty (30) pounds per square foot of area subject to such pressure and shall be rigidly and firmly braced and securely attached to the building or structure by bolts, anchors, braces, cables or guys, all of which must be metal.

(e) Wood. All wood permitted to be used either for new signs, for replacements of existing signs, or for any part thereof, shall be rot and termite resistant through open-cell preservation methods as specified by the American Wood Preservation Association, or by any other open-cell preservation treatment approved by the Superintendent of Buildings. No sign, braces or supports within the fire zones No. 1 and 2 as defined and delineated by the Building Code, Ordinance No. 1504, as amended, shall be constructed of wood, canvas or other inflammable materials, except moldings, cappings, cut-out letters, decorations, and signs not exceeding 10 square feet in area.

(f) Projection from building line. Except for marquee signs, no sign or portion thereof, shall project over any public area or way for a distance in excess of five (5) feet from the property line of the property upon which is located the building or structure to which such sign is attached, provided, however, that no sign shall be permitted to project over any public highway, or interfere with vehicular traffic.

(g) Distance above ground. The lower edge of all signs projecting over any public area except marquee signs shall have a vertical clearance of at least nine (9) feet.

(h) Distance above building. The highest point on any sign, other than a roof sign, attached to a building or structure shall not extend more than six (6) feet above the part of the building or structure to which it is attached, or six (6) feet above the lowest edge of the roof, whichever, is the higher.

(i) Determination of Size of Signs. The size of all signs shall be measured and determined in the following manner:

1. When such signs are on a plate or framed, all of the plate or frame shall be included in the dimensions;

2. When such signs are not on a plate or framed but are partly or entirely outlined by a light line or area, or if on a plate or frame and circumscribed by a larger light line or area, all of the area circumscribed by a light line or area shall be included in the dimension;

3. When a sign consists only of letters, designs, or figures, engraved, painted, projected, or fixed on a wall, the total area of the sign shall be the sum of the square feet areas of the rectangles or circles, whichever is the smaller, within which each such letter, design or figure can be placed or inscribed.

SECTION 7. Permissible Signs. Only such signs as are prescribed hereinbelow, which conform with the provisions of this ordinance, shall be permitted to be erected or maintained upon any building, lot or parcel of land located in the following zoned area. Where any building, lot or parcel of land is adjacent to two or more streets, the number of signs permitted per business on each building, lot or parcel of land under the terms of this section shall be increased by such number of adjacent streets, provided, however, that no more than one sign or each type of sign permitted shall front upon any one of said streets.

(a) All classes of Residential Use Districts.

1. Wall or Ground Sign. One sign, either wall or ground, unlighted or indirectly lighted, not exceeding six (6) square feet in area, relating to a business conducted on the premises.

(b) Hotel and Apartment Districts.

1. Any sign permissible under Subsection (a).

2. Marquee Sign. One sign, lighted or unlighted, relat-
ing to a business conducted on the premises and displayed upon the perimeter of a marquee, provided such sign shall not exceed 3 feet in height and shall not exceed forty (40) percent of the total area of the perimeter of the marquee.

(3) **Ground Sign.** One ground sign, lighted or unlighted not to exceed eight (8) square feet, in area, relating to business conducted on the premises, provided the building or buildings in front of which said sign shall be displayed shall be set back not less than thirty (30) feet from the street line.

(4) **Wall Sign.** One sign, lighted or unlighted, not exceeding thirty-two (32) square feet in area, upon any wall of a structure on the premises relating to businesses conducted thereon

(c) **Farming Districts.**

(1) Any sign permissible under subsection (b).

(d) **All classes of Business Districts.**

(1) Any sign permissible under subsection (c).

(2) **Ground Sign.** One ground sign, lighted or unlighted, not exceeding thirty-two (32) square feet in area, relating to businesses conducted on the premises, provided the building or buildings in front of which said sign shall be displayed shall be set back not less than eight (8) feet from the property line, and provided further, that the height of the sign shall not exceed sixteen (16) feet from the ground.

One ground sign, lighted or unlighted, not exceeding six (6) square feet in area, relating to businesses conducted on the premises other than in a building thereon, provided the height of such sign shall not exceed sixteen (16) feet from the ground.

(3) **Marquee Sign.** One sign, lighted or unlighted, attached to the underside of a marquee, not exceeding nine (9) square feet in area for each business conducted on the premises, provided the lower edges of such signs are at least seven and one-half (7 1/2) feet above the surface of the ground, and provided further, that one sign not to exceed three (3) feet in height may be attached to the face of the marquee.

(4) **Projecting Sign.** One sign, lighted or unlighted, for each business conducted on the premises, stating the name and/or the nature of the business.

(5) **Roof Sign.** One roof sign, lighted or unlighted, not exceeding thirty-two (32) square feet in area, relating to a business conducted on the premises, provided such sign shall not project above the roof ridge, or, one roof sign which, when mounted on a single-storied building with a flat roof, shall not extend in excess of three (3) feet above the roof line, and provided further, that any such sign shall not contain lettering in excess of twenty-four (24) inches in height.

(6) **Wall Sign.** One wall sign, lighted or unlighted, per side or rear of the building to which such sign is attached, relating to businesses conducted on the premises, and not exceeding twenty (20) percent of the area of the total exposed wall on which such sign shall be displayed or not exceeding four hundred (400) square feet, whichever shall be the lesser. Wall signs on the face of the building for each business therein conducted shall not exceed twenty (20) percent, or 400 square feet, whichever is the lesser, of the area of the face of the building actually occupied by said business.

(e) **All classes of Industrial Districts.**

(1) Any sign permissible under subsection (d).

(2) **Ground Signs.** One ground sign, lighted or unlighted, not exceeding seventy-five (75) square feet in area, relating to businesses conducted on the premises, and not exceeding sixteen (16) feet in height from the ground.

(3) **Roof Sign.** One roof sign, lighted or unlighted, con-
nected with a business conducted on the premises, provided
(a) on flat-roofed, single-storied buildings, the height of any
such sign shall not exceed more than five (5) feet above the
roof; (b) on other than flat-roofed, single-storied buildings,
the sign shall not project above the roof ridge and the sign
area shall be less than one-fourth (¼) of the projected verti-
cal area of the side of the roof on which it is placed, or 400
square feet, whichever shall be the lesser.

(4) Wall Sign. One wall sign, lighted or unlighted, per
side or rear of the building to which such sign is attached, re-
lating to businesses conducted on the premises, and not ex-
ceeding twenty-five (25) per cent of the area of the total ex-
posed wall on which such sign shall be displayed. Wall signs
on the face of the building for each business therein con-
ducted shall not exceed twenty-five (25) percent of the area
of the face of the building actually occupied by said business.

SECTION 8. Penalty.

(a) Any person who fails to comply with the requirements
set forth in the written notice which is issued pursuant to Section
4(c) shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine not exceeding
Five Hundred Dollars ($500.00) or by imprisonment not exceed-
ing three (3) months or both such fine and imprisonment.

(b) The failure to comply with the requirements set forth
in a written notice issued pursuant to said Section 4(c) within
the period of time prescribed therein, shall be deemed a new
offense for each day of such non-compliance.


(a) The Board of Supervisors shall have the power to grant
variances from the operation of any provision of this ordinance
to an applicant for a permit in any case when in the opinion of
the board, the enforcement thereof would work a hardship upon
such applicant, and where the granting of a variance would not
be contrary to the spirit and purpose of this ordinance and the
public interest.

SECTION 10. Severability

If any portion of this ordinance, or its application to any per-
son or circumstance, shall be held unconstitutional or invalid, the
remainder of this ordinance and the application of such portion
to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SECTION 11. Effective Date.

This ordinance shall take effect from and after the date of its
approval.

INTRODUCED BY:
(S) MATSUO TAKABUKI
(S) HERMAN G. P. LEMKE
(S) MITSUO FUJISHIGE
(S) MITSUYUKI KIDO
(S) DR. SAM K. APOLIONA, JR.
(S) NOBLE K. KAUAHANE
(S) RICHARD M. KAGEYAMA
Supervisors

Date of Introduction:
October 23, 1956
Honolulu, Hawaii

Approved this 14th day of February, A.D. 1957

(s) NEAL S. BLAISDELL, Mayor
City and County of Honolulu

February 3, 1964

The Honorable Ernest Gruening
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Gruening:

During the past several weeks your Speakers Bureau Committee has been in several conferences with members of the Democratic National Committee to formulate plans and policies in order that we may efficiently and effectively assist our incumbent colleagues who will be seeking re-election in November 1964. I am pleased to advise you of the following:

1. Each Senator who accepts a speaking engagement will be given two round trip tickets, appropriate hotel accommodations, and an expense allowance of $50 per engagement.

2. Each Senator will be given a briefing, if he so desires, on relevant facts relating to the State in which he is scheduled to speak.

Your committee is presently preparing a very confidential file for all speakers. Please be assured that whatever information forwarded to us will be kept in strict confidence. In order that we may provide the best possible assistance to our colleagues, may I respectfully request the following information:

1. Introduction. If you desire to be introduced at these speaking engagements in a special way, will you provide your committee with a text of your proposed introduction. This information is necessary to avoid unnecessary misunderstanding.

2. Other activities. Please indicate if you are willing to participate in other activities, such as meeting with local politicians, members of the business community, student groups, labor groups, etc. If it is your desire not to meet with any group, please indicate.

3. Subject matter of speech. Will you provide your committee with a list of subject matters you feel you can most effectively discuss in your speeches. For example, civil rights,
taxation, national economy, national defense, natural resources, agriculture, etc.

Your assistance in preparing this file will be immensely appreciated.
I shall always be ready to sit with you at any time to discuss the above.

May I hear from you.

Sincerely

DANIEL K. INOUYE
Chairman, Speakers Bureau
February 3, 1964

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United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

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May I hear from you.

Sincerely

DANIEL K. INOUYE
Chairman, Speakers Bureau
January 29, 1964

Dear [Name]:

During the past several weeks your Speakers Bureau Committee has been in several conferences with members of the Democratic National Committee to formulate plans and policies in order that we may efficiently and effectively assist our incumbent colleagues who will be seeking re-election in November 1964. I am pleased to advise you of the following:

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May I hear from you.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUYE
Chairman, Speakers Bureau
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senators indicating their cooperation - not up for re-election</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Wayne Morse  
| Oregon  |
| Ernest Gruening  
| Alaska  |
| Daniel B. Brewster  
| Maryland  |
| Lee Metcalf  
| Montana  |
| Claiborne Pell  
| Rhode Island  |
| J. W. Fulbright  
| Arkansas  |
| John Sparkman  
| Alabama  |
| Maurine B. Neuberger  
| Oregon  |
| George McGovern  
| South Dakota  |
| Jennings Randolph  
| West Virginia  |
| Herman E. Talmadge  
| Georgia  |
| Alan Bible  
| Nevada  |
| George A. Smathers  
| Florida  |
| Paul Douglas  
| Illinois  |
| Tom McIntyre  
| New Hampshire  |
| Lister Hill  
| Alabama  |

Leave out
Clinton Anderson
New Mexico
A. Willis Robertson
Virginia

Include (present House Members)
Thomas Gill
New Mexico
Joseph Montoya
Virginia
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No Responses - Senators not up for re-election</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E.L. Bartlett ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birch Bayh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Church ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Clark ✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Eastland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allen Ellender</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sam Ervin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Hayden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubert Humphrey ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olin Johnston ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Everett Jordan ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Lausche ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Long ✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russell Long ✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warren Magnuson ✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>John McClellan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pat McNamara ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike Monroney ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaylord Nelson ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham Ribicoff ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Russell ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strom Thurmond ✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NEW YORK (5)

New York City

Weaver (2)
Celebrezze (2)
FDR, Jr.
Wirtz - 9/15 8/31 - 9/2
Udall
Freeman

Buffalo

Weaver
Celebrezze
Gronauski
Wirtz
Freeman

Rochester

Celebrezze
Wirtz
Freeman
Hodges

Syracuse

Celebrezze
Wirtz
Freeman
Hodges

Albany
Schenectady
Troy

Celebrezze
Freeman
Hodges

NEW JERSEY (5)

Newark

Weaver
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Gronauski
Wirtz

Jersey City

Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Gronauski
Freeman
NEW JERSEY (CONT'D)
Camden
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Patterson )
Passaic )
Clifton )
Celebrezze,
Gronauski
Atlantic City
Wirtz 9/21 - 9/25
MARYLAND
Baltimore
Celebrezze
Gronauski
PENNSYLVANIA (8)
Philadelphia
Weaver (2)
Celebrezze (2)
FDR, Jr.,
Wirtz
Udall
Pittsburgh
Weaver
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Gronauski
Wirtz (4/24 noon on)
Udall
Scranton
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Gronauski
Wilkes Barre
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Gronauski
PENNSYLVANIA (CONT'D)

Erie
Celebrezze
Gronauski

Fayette County
FDR, Jr.

Westmoreland County
FDR, Jr.

Washington County
FDR, Jr.

OHIO (6)

Cleveland
Weaver
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Gronauski
Wirts (4/26 arrive morning-available all day)
Wirts 6/15 - 6/19
Udall
Freeman

Youngstown
Warren
Celebrezze

Toledo
Weaver
Gronauski
Hodges

Cincinnati
Weaver
Wirts (4/10 arrive morning, available all day)
Udall
Freeman
Hodges

Columbus
Hodges
ILLINOIS (CONT'D)
Rockford
Hodges
Evanston
Hodges
Springfield
Hodges

MICHIGAN (6)
Detroit
Weaver
Cebrezzo
FDR, Jr.
Gronauski
Wirts
Udall
Freeman

Flint
FDR, Jr.
Hodges

Grand Rapids
Wirts 9/14 - 9/17
Hodges

Lansing
Hodges

Battle Creek
Hodges

Kalamazoo
Hodges

WISCONSIN (2)
Milwaukee
Gronauski
Wirts
Freeman
OHIO (CONT'D)

Dayton
Hodges

INDIANA (6)

Indianapolis
Weaver
Freeman
Hodges

Fort Wayne
Hodges

South Bend
FDR, Jr.

Terre Haute
Freeman
Hodges

Hammond
Gary
East Chicago

Weaver
FDR, Jr.
Wirts

Evansville
Hodges

ILLINOIS (5)

Chicago
Weaver (2)
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Gronowski
Wirts
Udall
Freeman

Peoria
Wirts 10/5 - 10/9
WISCONSIN (CONT'D)
Madison
Freeman

MINNESOTA (2)
Minneapolis
St. Paul
Wirts
Hodges
Duluth
Hodges

MISSOURI (4)
St. Louis
Weaver
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Wirts
Udall
Freeman
Kansas City
Weaver
FDR, Jr.
Udall
Freeman
Springfield
Hodges
Joplin
Hodges

CALIFORNIA (7)
Los Angeles
Weaver
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Gronauski
Wirts
Udall
Freeman
CALIFORNIA (CONT'D)

San Francisco

Weaver
Celebrezze
FDR, Jr.
Wirtz
Udall,
Freeman

San Jose

Hodges
Udall

Stockton

Hodges
Udall

Fresno

Hodges

Sacramento

Hodges
Udall

Bakersfield

Hodges
Udall

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Weaver
February 25, 1964

MEMORANDUM
To: Senator Inouye
From: Henry Giugni
Re: Speakers Bureau

Of the 64 letters sent out to Senators, 38 replies were received from Senators indicating their willingness to participate in the forthcoming election. 26 Senators failed to reply.

The following are those who indicated their willingness to participate:

Quentin Burdick
Robert Byrd
Howard Cannon
Vance Hartke
Spessard Holland
Eugene McCarthy
Frank Moss
Edmund Muskie
John Pastore
William Proxmire
Olin Johnston
Stuart Symington
Herbert Walters
Harrison Williams
Ralph Yarborough
E. L. Bartlett
Birch Bayh
Alan Bible
Daniel Brewster
Paul Douglas
J. Fulbright
E. Gruening
Lister Hill
Edward Long
George McGovern
Thomas McIntyre
Lee Metcalf

Maurine Neuberger
Claiborne Pell
Jennings Randolph
Abraham Ribicoff
George Smathers
Herman Talmadge

The following will not be able to campaign outside of their states for various reasons:

B. E. Jordan
Willis Robertson
Clinton Anderson
John Sparkman
The following 26 Senators did not reply to either of our two letters:

Harry Byrd
Thomas Dodd
J. Howard Edmondson
Clair Engle
Albert Gore
Philip Hart
Edward Kennedy
Mike Mansfield
Gale McGee
Stephen Young
Frank Church
Joseph Clark
James Eastland
Allen Ellender
Sam Ervin
Carl Hayden
Hubert Humphrey
Frank Lausche
Russell Long
John McClellan
Pat McNamara
A. S. Mike Monroney
Wayne Morse
Gaylord Nelson
Richard Russell
Strom Thurmond
INCUMBENT SENATORS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE

BARTLETT, E.L.
BAYH, Birch
BIBLE, Alan
*BURDICK, Quentin
*BYRD, Robert
BREWSTER, Daniel
*CANNON, Howard
CHURCH, Frank
DOUGLAS, Paul
EDMUNDSON, J. Howard
FULBRIGHT, J.
GRUENING, E.
*HARTKE, Vance
HILL, Lister
*HOLLAND, Spessard
HUMPHREY, Hubert
JOHNSTON, Olin
KENNEDY, Edward
LONG, Edward
*MANSFIELD, Mike
METCALF, Lee
*MCCARTHY, Eugene
*MCGEE, Gale
MCGOVERN, George
MCINTYRE, Thomas
*MOSS, Frank
*MUSKIE, Edmund
NEUBERGER, Maurine
*PASTORE, John
PELL, Claiborne
*PROXMIRE, William
RANDOLPH, Jennings
RIBICOFF, Abraham
SMATHERS, George
*SYMINGTON, Stuart
TALMADEGE, Herman
WALTERS, Herbert
*WILLIAMS, Harrison
*YARBOROUGH, Ralph
*YOUNG, Stephen

* Senators whose terms of service expire in 1965
The following will not be able to campaign outside of their states for various reasons:

JORDON, B.E.
ROBERTSON, Willis
ANDERSON, Clinton
SPARKMAN, John

The following 26 Senators did not reply to either of our two letters:

*BYRD, Harry
*DODD, Thomas
*ENGLE, Clair
*GORE, Albert
*HART, Philip
CLARK, Joseph
EASTLAND, James
ELLENDER, Allen
ERVIN, Sam
HAYDEN, Carl
LAUSCHE, Carl
LONG, Russell
McCLELLAN, John
McNAMARA, Pat
MONRONEY, A.S. Mike
MORSE, Wayne
NELSON, Gaylord,
RUSSELL, Richard
THURMOND, Strom

* Senators whose terms of service expire in 1965