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# NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
NINETIETH CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION  
AND  
NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION  
ON  
NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

PART 10—SCLC AND EAST ST. LOUIS

WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 14 AND EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., JUNE 27, 1969



Printed for the use of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs



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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON

NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

OF THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

GEORGE MCGOVERN, South Dakota, *Chairman*

ALLEN J. ELLENDER, Louisiana

HERMAN E. TALMADGE, Georgia

RALPH W. YARBOROUGH, Texas

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ROBERT DOLE, Kansas

WILLIAM C. SMITH, *Staff Director and General Counsel*

CLARENCE V. MCKEE, *Professional Staff Member for the Minority*

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## NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1969

U. S. SENATE,  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The select committee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to notice, in room 318, Old Senate Office Building, Senator George S. McGovern (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators McGovern, Ellender, Yarborough, Pell, Kennedy, Javits, Cook, and Dole.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; Kenneth Schlossberg, professional staff member; and Clarence V. McKee, professional staff member for the minority.

Senator McGOVERN. The committee will be in order.

Reverend Abernathy has been detained in arriving as our leadoff witness this morning. My understanding is, Reverend Fauntroy, that you are going to present some of the members of the campaign while we are waiting for Mr. Abernathy to arrive.

### STATEMENT OF REV. WALTER FAUNTROY, NATIONAL COORDINATOR FOR THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Reverend FAUNTROY. Thank you.

Dr. Abernathy has asked me to come to open our presentation this morning by asking several delegates here from the various poor people across the country to tell you firsthand their experiences with the problem of hunger in this country. As you know, our campaign this year is focusing upon the demands for the poor with respect to hunger by raising those issues in this community where hunger is a problem.

We have in Washington to open this phase of the campaign, representatives of the black poor, the white poor, and the Mexican-American poor, the Indian poor, and the Puerto Rican poor.

At this time Mr. Chairman, if it please you, I should like you to hear first from Mrs. Martha Grass, representing the American Indian poor, as she relates to you her experiences, particularly the problem of the school lunch programs as relates to the experience of the American Indian.

Mrs. Grass?

### STATEMENT OF MRS. MARTHA GRASS, MARLAND, OKLA.

Mrs. GRASS. Thank you for this privilege.

I see some of the names there, I have been here before so some of you remember me from last year. I remember the demands that were made. As of today, 12 or 15 months later, maybe a year later, I haven't seen anything accomplished yet. So, today, I am back again.

I am poor, mother of 11 children. I have reason to be concerned. I have lots of reason to be concerned because I have grandchildren that are going to live on after I am gone. If we can solve some of these problems today I figure those children don't have to come on the poor people's marches like I have to do.

Today I am here regarding food. Food is essential to anyone's life. No one can exist without food. The way we have been living with just a meager supply of food in this rich country of ours, it is something to be very ashamed of. Like I say, some of you have those high positions that are sitting up here today even, if you would just come out and see us, how we have to live, what kind of food we have to exist on, you would come back and you would probably be ashamed of yourself, how you represent us, and yet we have to be neglected in this kind of way. We have to come up here and beg for things like that. You know as an American Indian, I am a full blood American Indian still existing. One of these days I will be gone. I figure everything in this country is still ours as an American Indian. We have been keeping quiet for 500 years, since 1492 we have been sitting quiet and watching our lands taken over by the dominant people and everyone else. From now on as an individual, myself, I don't intend to sit back and keep quiet. I aim to get up and do some talking. I have been talking to groups of Indians at home trying to organize here and there. I have been organizing American Indians at home so that they can stand for themselves in times like this. Such as our schools at Marland. We have 46 little Indian children going to school there for the last 9 months with this present superintendent, he has been making them do without hot school lunch.

Senator McGOVERN. Which is your tribe?

Mrs. GRASS. I am a Ponca Indian.

Senator McGOVERN. From Oklahoma?

Mrs. GRASS. From Marland, Okla.

The last 9 months our little children have had to do without hot school lunch program. When I moved over there last year I went in to sign up for my children to get this hot lunch because I walked for it, I marched for it, I spoke to a lot of these officers for it. I thought everyone was getting it. I am not ashamed. I will tell the whole world, I want them to know how the American Indian has to suffer in their own country and do without. Today I want the hot lunch program to be investigated at Marland, Okla. I don't want you to tell me we are going to do it and we are going to send someone out. I want you to do it. I am tired of taking my food and feeding these 46 little Indian children on my own. Somebody is supposed to be doing it and getting paid for it.

Here I am, a poor woman, who has to do these things for you people. I am tired of running around and doing these errands for you. You are getting good salaries. Don't you send someone else. They don't come. They might go to Chicago and get good food and come back and say everything is perfect. I want them to see Martha Grass and I will take them there. I am a fullblooded Indian and a Federal investigator, myself. I am getting tired of these little things that you try to pass upon us and make us think it is going to be so. I want this little lunch program investigated. If I have to go to court, I am just sitting here

waiting on a hearing date, I am going to Federal District Court in Oklahoma City. I should not have to go to that extent.

I have to stand up and fight one of your kind, fight for this much.

Senator ELLENDER. Will you answer questions?

Mrs. GRASS. Yes.

Senator ELLENDER. What assistance does your State provide for the operation of the school lunch programs?

Mrs. GRASS. We have Johnson-O'Malley there, for one, but he will not accept it. I should be the one to ask you guys these things. I am not working here.

Senator ELLENDER. Don't try to be smart.

Mrs. GRASS. I am not.

Senator ELLENDER. Because this will not do you a bit of good.

Mrs. GRASS. I am not trying to be smart. I am just answering your questions.

Senator ELLENDER. You are the witness.

Mrs. GRASS. I should be asking you these questions.

Senator ELLENDER. I said you are the witness. I am trying to get information from you. That is all.

I want to say to you that I fathered the school lunch program. That is why I am interested in it.

Mrs. GRASS. How come those kids are not eating today?

Senator ELLENDER. There is something out of place at the local level. Don't blame the Federal Government. It is a program that is operated by the Federal Government in cooperation with the State and local government. That is why I am asking you for information.

Mrs. GRASS. Do you send any money out there?

Senator ELLENDER. Do we?

Mrs. GRASS. Yes, from the Government.

Senator ELLENDER. Food is sent.

Mrs. GRASS. In what ways?

Senator ELLENDER. It ought to be kept in the warehouses for distribution. In fact, the Federal Government pays about 26 percent of the cost of our school lunch program.

Mrs. GRASS. I want to know that. I am going to court. I want to have these figures.

How much?

Senator ELLENDER. About 26 percent. The Federal Government pays about 26 percent. The local people and those who pay for their lunches pay the rest of it.

Mrs. GRASS. To what office do you send the 26 percent?

Senator ELLENDER. The Senate does not send anything. All the Senate does is pass laws and the laws have to be executed by the executive department.

Mrs. GRASS. Who is supposed to be that?

Senator ELLENDER. That is the President and the executive branch.

I am surprised that you do not know that.

Mrs. GRASS. Well, we don't. A lot of things we don't know.

Senator ELLENDER. You are accusing us of doing something that it is not within our power to do. That is all I am complaining about. If you have a good case, why I believe that the people at your local level are really to blame and not the Senators here who provide the funds.

Mrs. GRASS. We can come to you with the problems.

Senator ELLENDER. All we can do is legislate. We pass the laws to make this possible.

Mrs. GRASS. Why don't you follow them through and see that it is done?

Senator ELLENDER. Because under the Constitution it is left to the executive department to administer the laws.

Mrs. GRASS. Are they higher than you? Do they hold a higher position than you?

Senator ELLENDER. Listen—

Mrs. GRASS. Don't think I am smart. I am asking for information. I have to go to court.

Senator ELLENDER. Under the Constitution the legislative branch passes laws. Those laws are executed by the President and various departments. Then you have the courts to pass upon the laws. So, each of the three departments has its own respective duties.

Mrs. GRASS. I am already lost. You have so many branches, no wonder we are going hungry. They never get through some of those places. Let me go on. This is what will happen. The white children are eating hot lunches there and they could eat on credit and then the school assumes their ticket at the school year. If at the end of the school year we cannot pay for this school lunch the grade card is held up, they don't know whether they passed or not. At this time the kids are getting ready to get out of school. Some of them have bills there. The little children are worried because they are not going to get to see their grade card.

Senator MCGOVERN. Mrs. Grass, are you talking here about Indian schools?

Mrs. GRASS. Yes, sir; it is a white district school. It is operated by white.

Senator MCGOVERN. It is operated as a public school district for whites and Indians alike?

Mrs. GRASS. Yes. We have to send our children there. There is no other choice.

Senator MCGOVERN. I understand that. I am just trying find out where the jurisdiction was.

Mrs. GRASS. I want the people to know these things, what we have to live through.

Senator JAVITS. Mrs. Grass, could you allow yourself to be interrupted 1 minute.

Mr. Chairman, may I be recognized?

Senator MCGOVERN. Senator Javits.

Senator JAVITS. There is something we can do. It is not precisely what you wish and Senator Ellender is quite right about the fact that our function is to pass laws. But there is something we can do. Now, hear me a minute. We would like to help you, I am sure.

Senator Ellender would, too.

We do pass laws but in connection with passing laws we have the right to investigate to see what laws are needed or whether the laws are working right. Now, when we have found the facts, we are people of influence. We can often influence Presidents or Government departments to do what is right, once we have the facts. So, if you would be kind enough to give us the facts—why you feel that the way it has

worked in your community is unfair—then we could pursue. We could follow up and get more facts and perhaps get you results without going there to correct it. I understand you are not a lawyer or a legislator, so that these things become a little blurred in your mind. But it is a fact that we can help if you give us the basic facts.

So, with all respect, I would suggest that you give us as many facts as you can. We are your friends, we are trying to help, we are deeply interested in the fact that some children do and some children do not get what they need. Some States work well, some States work very badly. We have just been in California and have had a similar experience.

If you would be kind enough to give us as many facts as you can, I can assure you that we will look into them carefully and that we can have an influence. We may not be able to order it done which is what you would like to see us do, and Senator Ellender is right about that, but we can have an influence. Give us as many facts as you can.

Mrs. GRASS. The fact is that when we pinpointed this program, I have been working on it for years, pretty nearly every day, the fact is that fellow does not want to feed our Indian children.

Senator JAVITS. Who is that fellow?

Mrs. GRASS. Ted Wilkerson.

Senator JAVITS. Of what city?

Mrs. GRASS. Marlan, Okla.

Senator JAVITS. What is his office?

Mrs. GRASS. He is a superintendent of the school. He is at fault.

Senator McGOVERN. Mrs. Grass, in that connection, are the children charged for the school lunch?

Mrs. GRASS. 35 cents.

Senator McGOVERN. Is the problem that the Indian children don't have the 35 cents?

Mrs. GRASS. Yes, they don't have it.

Senator McGOVERN. What you are saying is that those who cannot afford it should be given a free lunch.

Mrs. GRASS. I thought that was the program that the Government made.

Senator McGOVERN. That is a possibility. If there are sufficient funds and provided the local school district will cooperate. But that is the point that Senator Ellender is trying to get across, that under the present program the Federal Government does not pay the entire cost. So that unless the local school district is willing to pick up a portion of that cost it is not possible to provide free school lunches. Now, we could change the law which maybe is the point that you are suggesting here. I want to make sure we understand what you are driving at.

I take it to be that you want to see free school lunches provided for poor children who have no money. Is that the point?

Mrs. GRASS. Yes; that is what I want to see. That is why I am here, to try to get that before next fall. The majority of the people are poor. There is \$35 to \$65 income going into those homes and they get commodities.

Senator McGOVERN. In that school district I assume that the poor white children who cannot pay also go without school lunch?

Mrs. GRASS. No, sir; they eat. Everybody eats except the Indians.

Senator MCGOVERN. Are there poor white children in that school?

Mrs. GRASS. Some of the lawyers came and talked to him. The public school assumes their feeding but he won't do it for our Indian children.

Senator MCGOVERN. Are these reservation children?

Mrs. GRASS. We are in the country, on the allotment we inherited, we have a piece of 30 acres there. That is the only home they can have to live in.

Senator MCGOVERN. I am trying to find out whether or not they are denied free school lunch because they are Indians or because they are poor.

Mrs. GRASS. That is the conclusion we came to. He told us personally that they didn't like us Indians and even the farmers didn't like the Indians. We are trying to get him under the Discriminatory Act. That is why we are going into court.

Senator MCGOVERN. That is a proper procedure because it is a clear violation of the civil rights legislation if they are denied equality of treatment under the law.

Mrs. GRASS. I can't understand why a poor woman like me has to go through all this trouble where somebody with a salary is supposed to do these things for us.

Senator MCGOVERN. I think this committee will be very responsive and helpful on matters of this kind. We want to do what we can. That is the reason we have listened to your testimony today.

Mrs. GRASS. Then about our commodities there, many of the Indians cannot get the commodities because they are going to have a little bit of inherited land, maybe 20 acres, maybe 200 goes in that land and they are not eligible because they are real estate holders. I wonder if that is true, that is possible around here, why they can't get commodities. Most of them need commodities down there. The food stamps you have been talking about here, it is foreign to us, we never heard of it. Maybe we are too poor to buy it. When I come up here and I learn about these things it make me upset. Why can't the Indians participate in these things that are given to the poor? I have made these marches up here. You will be tired of it when we come and ask for things and beg and we never get it. I figure as an Indian we should be first to be considered, at least give us some kind of consideration. We are poor because everybody else has help but us.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that the committee get from the appropriate Government department their answer to these points which Mrs. Grass has raised so that in the testimony they may be juxtaposed. I will personally undertake, and I know that all of us will, to see what we can do to redress the situation promptly.

Mrs. GRASS. Thank you.

Senator MCGOVERN. Mrs. Grass, could you respond to a question from Senator Cook?

Senator COOK. Mrs. Grass, is the BIA of any help to you in solving these problems in Oklahoma?

Mrs. GRASS. The Department of Indian Affairs?

Have they been of any help to us?

Senator COOK. Yes.

Mrs. GRASS. I have been there, sir.

Senator COOK. Will you tell me your experience in going there?

Mrs. GRASS. They have come out—what problems are you talking about—the school lunch?

Senator COOK. Yes.

Mrs. GRASS. I have been to the social worker there in our field, at the Ponca Indian Agency. I told him about it. He went over and tried to negotiate with the superintendent. He told our social worker in our area, told him that he had no business, it was his jurisdiction, for him to go back over there where he belongs. They could not represent me no ways. We are under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but we can't get help from them.

Senator COOK. Do you have the feeling that maybe the school superintendent wanted to make a contract with the BIA where he might get some more money into the school as a result of this?

What I am trying to find out, in essence, Mrs. Grass, is that if the BIA has done no more than take the position that it is not in our jurisdiction and there is nothing we can do about it then I am convinced they are not fulfilling their role, either.

Mrs. GRASS. They just did that to satisfy me.

Senator COOK. They gave you no proper explanation as to—

Mrs. GRASS. When I called him back on the phone and asked him what he found out for us, he said, he told me that was his jurisdiction and for me to get out of there and get back to my office. That is as far as I got. I didn't go back any more. He didn't try to help.

Senator COOK. Mr. Chairman, I think it is also important that we get into the record that this committee should find out just exactly what the Bureau of Indian Affairs really is not doing in this regard and what they can do in this regard because, Mrs. Grass, when you said that we passed so many laws, you were right. I think we pass too many, and they get into so many departments, and they finally have so many people operating so many things that nothing really can be done. To this extent I just feel that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is totally avoiding its responsibilities in helping you and helping your community.

Senator McGOVERN. Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I want to say for the record there have been some rather serious charges made, I know there is a temptation to do this when confronted by national television, radio, and newspapers. I would hope that the committee would permit whoever Mr. Wilkerson is to file some written statement in response to this charge. I am not certain we have the facts, and doubt we should make judgments here after hearing only one side of a story. It is a very serious allegation to say that you are discriminated against because you are an Indian.

Further, I am wondering, did you say for the record you are feeding 46 children every day?

Mrs. GRASS. Yes; I have tried, since February. I fed them Friday when I came up here.

Senator DOLE. How do you do that?

Mrs. GRASS. Mr. Dil Walker, helped me, and the neighborhood mothers got the beans together. We made rice pudding and beans, a little chili.

Senator DOLE. You take this to school?

Mrs. GRASS. Sure. We cook it, the mothers who live in town.

Senator DOLE. Where do the children eat?

Mrs. GRASS. They go to the homes, and the mothers who live in Marlan there, we call them over there because they have to eat. The children don't feel that they are treated equal.

Senator DOLE. You are certain that the poor white children do not pay for their lunch, and the poor Indian children are denied it?

Mr. GRASS. The lawyers came down there and tried to back me up and negotiate with them. These are the statements they had. That is the reason they are filing charges. That is all that is left to do. We have to start somewhere to let these people know that we want to be treated equally.

Senator DOLE. It has been pointed out by other members of this committee that there is a local responsibility. The Federal Government's share of each lunch averages about 9 cents. Sometimes it is not that high, 9 cents out of 35 cents. We also have a responsibility and obligation, but there must be local participation. We learned last Thursday in Los Angeles that only one percent of the children participated in the free or reduced price school lunch program. But there is an encouragement. We had testimony last week by the Secretary of Agriculture Hardin that there are now about 2.3 million children receiving lunches either at free or reduced cost and it will go up to 6.6 million in the next 18 months. There is a ray of hope for everyone and we are trying to meet our responsibility.

Senator MCGOVERN. I interpreted Senator Javits' request that way. We will not only ask for a statement from the local school officials but also the BIA and other officials that may be involved.

Thank you very much, Mrs. Grass.

Mrs. GRASS. Thank you.

Reverend FAUNTROY. Mr. Chairman, I neglected to introduce myself at the outset. My name is Walter Fauntroy, national coordinator for the poor people's campaign this year.

Among our demands this year are, first, the need for free food stamp program funded to the tune of \$2.5 billion a year additional money for those who make \$3,000 or less. In connection with that, we have some demands for jobs and also for the extension of aid to dependent children of unemployed parents to the entire country. At my left now is Mr. Walter Willie Lukarson, an unemployed father, from Birmingham, Ala. I think he can tell you of the need for creative and massive hunger legislation such as we are demanding in the campaign.

#### STATEMENT OF WALTER WILLIE LUKARSON

Mr. LUKARSON. What I am about to say before you all that in Birmingham, Ala., we are segregated in some respects. Now, the people who have joined in demonstration or march in Birmingham, they are beat and knocked down, the children are pushed down by the police department. My wife got hit in the stomach—and she is 4 months pregnant—by a State trooper of Birmingham, Ala. We people in Birmingham are not being fed sufficient, the Negroes of Birmingham who are on welfare. They even threatened to cut my welfare check out because I joined the demonstration. They have refused me my rights for social security disability. I have applied for disability. They told me I was too young to be sick. A lot of people in my town have

the same problem. They can't get their disability when they deserve it because they are sick. People are sick, they can't tell me I am not sick. I have worked on two jobs for 19 years, two jobs for 19 years. Still I am not getting my disability. Other people have worked 27 years, a man from Birmingham worked 27 years and they refuse to give him his social security disability. It is our money. They cut us for that.

I have 3 years of college and they tell me I can't get mine. So it can't be education. They have segregated the Negro. They give the white people more than they do the Negro. We need more free food stamps. We need free food stamps in Birmingham, the Negroes do. We need more funds. All I get on welfare is \$65 a month. They said that is the maximum. How can a fellow live on \$65 a month? How can the mayor of our town go around paying people to stay out of the marches, paying them not to protest? The mayor don't try to help us no way. He is going to pay the people not to demonstrate. When we demonstrate we do it nonviolently and they beat us like dogs. They block off the welfare funds. They have armed guards out there with guns. That is wrong. We are human beings just like you all are. We need food and free food stamps.

The man told me he refused the Negro free food stamps. I don't think that is right. We are supposed to have a better system than we have in Birmingham. The mayor is wrong. The Government is wrong. If I hit a white they would put me in jail. They hit my wife in the stomach. They are supposed to protect the Nation, protect the people instead of fighting the people. That is wrong. We need more prestige than we do have. Although we are poor in Birmingham we are people that God put on this earth. He put you all here to protect us and guard us and help us. But we are not being treated as God would want us to be treated. God knows that the setup is wrong. You ought to enforce these laws.

They beat us because we are asking for free food stamps. We are asking for more funds.

Senator MCGOVERN. Mr. Lukarson, in that connection, there is no free food stamp program in Alabama or any other State, statewide for either blacks or whites. Now, that proposal is under consideration in the Congress, at least in the Senate. But except for a couple of pilot counties, experiments in South Carolina, there is no free food stamp program for anyone, white or black, at the present time.

Mr. LUKARSON. I would like to ask you a question then.

Senator MCGOVERN. I am not saying I approve of that. I am just saying that that situation applies to both whites and blacks.

Mr. LUKARSON. I would like to ask you one question. Can't we have more funds than we are getting now?

Senator MCGOVERN. I hope you can. I favor doing more in this direction.

Mr. LUKARSON. I am asking you another question about this welfare project. These welfare workers, they will not come out to see what you need. They will not come out to the homes in Birmingham to see what they need. They deny the people welfare who need welfare.

My doctor has sufficient information about my disability because of heart trouble, high blood pressure. Now, they are going to tell me that I am not sick, but yet still people in Birmingham are sick, they can't

get disability, they have worked in Birmingham all their life. They are first-class citizens like I am. I have worked on my job sufficiently to the best of my ability.

They are going to tell me I don't have enough social security in the social security department. That is wrong. I met the requirements, and I have the education, also. So I think that you all should look into Birmingham and make these people in these offices do something and stop the police department from beating these women and children. It is uncalled for. We need protection. We need food. We need better housing conditions. We need a great deal of things in Birmingham. Birmingham, what they say it to be, Birmingham is the biggest, the lowest State in the States, if I may say so. They don't treat Negroes right.

Senator MCGOVERN. Thank you very much, Mr. Lukarson.

Dr. Abernathy, we are glad to have you as a witness before the committee. I don't think it is necessary for me to say that some of your efforts last year or before that played an important part in the creation of this committee, creating the concerns and the attitudes in the Congress and in the country that led directly to the creation of this committee and its investigation. So we are especially pleased to have your recommendations this morning.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, may I add before Dr. Abernathy begins, that I think the juxtaposition of the Resurrection City poor people's marches and the carrying on of the tradition of nonviolence of Dr. Martin Luther King, is a critical example to the country when on our college campuses some people with revolutionary fervor feel that in order to get anywhere they have to go a totally different direction—the direction of nihilism and violence. Therefore, I think it becomes doubly important that you can show that you can produce results by nonviolent means; that violence is not necessary and in fact that it is counterproductive to receiving justice from the American society.

#### STATEMENT OF REV. RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY, PRESIDENT, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Reverend ABERNATHY. Thank you very kindly, Senator McGovern; and thank you very kindly, Senator Javits. This is why we come before this committee, with the hope that you can help us to win some non-violent victories so that we can point out to the frustrated and to those who have lost all hope from the system that it is not necessary to give up and turn to violence to achieve your goals.

Senator McGovern and members of this committee: I very much appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today. I want to commend you on behalf of the black, white, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Rican, and Indian poor for your efforts on their behalf. I feel that this committee's hearings and field trips have played a vital role in pointing up the shocking and degrading conditions in which millions of poor Americans are forced to live and their lack of the most basic need—food—in a country with the largest gross national product in the world.

It has been over 2 years since the Senate Poverty Subcommittee went to Mississippi and reported shocking instances of hunger. It has been

over a year since we first came to Washington demanding an end to hunger in America. Yet the Congress still has not acted to provide adequate food programs for those who need them. The prior administration ignored us. The present administration has finally come up with a hunger program which asks the poor and the hungry to wait still another 2 years, until 1971, before being fed and even then to be content with half a loaf. We do not and cannot accept this. We are hungry now and we expect to be fed now.

Of what solace is it to the mother in the Mississippi delta to promise her crying baby who wants food for supper tonight that she will have something for him next year or the year after that? Of what help is it to the growing school child who's poor and wants to eat lunch and who watches his richer classmates eating lunch, that in a year or two he may be able to get a free lunch? How can the unemployed father tell his children that they face another 2 years of gnawing hunger and denial instead of breakfast, lunch and dinner like other normal American children? How can this country think of asking people who have waited all their lives for a decent chance that they should wait still longer while we continue to pursue other ends, far less just and compelling, while ignoring the minds and the bodies of our most precious possessions—our children, our men and women? How can we grudgingly request \$1 billion for food and continue to spend \$30 billion a year for an unjust and immoral war? What has happened to our values?

The Nixon hunger package is unsatisfactory not only because it asks the hungry to wait still longer to be fed, it is totally inadequate in the amount budgeted. The words in the President's message are lovely, but the budget denies the words. His requested amount of \$1 billion additional by 1971 will not even pay for those reforms he says he is going to make. Moreover, it will not nearly reach the poor who need help.

For example: He says that he will give free food stamps to families of four earning less than \$30 per month, \$360 per year. Doing this will cost about \$600 million annually, 2 million people times \$25 per person per month. Assuring that the other 14.5 million hard-core poor (families of four with less than \$2,200 per year income) will pay no more than 30 percent of their income for food stamps will cost an additional \$2.58 billion per year. Thus the total cost of even his minimal improvements will be \$3.45 billion, just for the hard-core poor alone, rather than \$1.3 billion he has apparently devoted to food stamps. Although his message is unclear, it appears that perhaps half of the \$2.5 billion total, or about \$1.34 billion, will be devoted to the food stamp program—the present budget of \$340 million plus the bulk of the \$1 billion in new funds which he proposes to commit.

Senator MCGOVERN. On that point, the \$1 billion is not proposed for the coming fiscal year. The only thing that is proposed for the coming fiscal year is \$270 million. Is that not correct?

Reverend ABERNATHY. That is correct. The \$1 billion is for 1971. That is why we cannot wait until 1971. The children are hungry now and they are begging their mothers for food. There is no consolation she can give them by telling them to wait until 1971.

Now, let us look at the cost of a somewhat larger program. Limiting free food stamps to families earning less than \$360 a year is shockingly

inadequate. The fixed costs of rent, utilities, basic clothing, transportation and medicine are such that families cannot afford any regular, normal expenditure for food until they have an income of at least \$1,000 a year. We think free food stamps should be provided to families earning less than \$3,000 a year. But taking \$1,000 as the goal for the moment, the annual cost of free food stamps to such families would be \$1.65 billion (5.5 million people times \$25 per person per month). The annual cost of assuring that the remainder of the hard-core poor would pay no more than 30 percent of their income for food stamps would be \$1.98 billion. Thus the total cost of this somewhat improved program would be about \$3.63 billion.

None of these calculations include: (1) the fact that many families will receive a government subsidy exceeding 70 percent of their food budget; (2) the cost of providing food stamps to poor families earning between \$2,200 and the poverty line; or (3) the fact that \$1,200 per year buys a food package that the Department of Agriculture admits will provide a minimally nutritious diet only for a tiny minority of the most educated and resourceful of the poor.

Nor does this analysis include any reference to school lunches and school breakfasts which also need to be expanded. For example, Mr. Nixon's message fails to indicate that he has taken into account the cost of providing free school lunches for the additional 3.1 million children whom he has said will be getting the benefit of that program by fiscal 1971. Moreover, the \$104 million item for school milk which Mr. Nixon cut out of the proposed \$21½ billion budget has been reinstated by the House and may pass the Senate.

Measured against all of these needs, our demands for an additional expenditure of \$2.5 billion this year is modest. We hope that this committee and the Congress will respond to this request. To provide free food stamps for those earning over \$30 per month and up to the level we request would not be a huge cost burden in the overall program. To meet our food demands would require only the elimination of the ABM and the SAGE bomber defense system or the farm subsidy program which gives millions of dollars to farmers not to grow food.

While we are concerned about our security abroad, we are equally concerned about our security at home and think the least this Nation can do is to respond to the most elemental need of many millions of its citizens by feeding the most needy without further delay.

The President also proposes to provide food stamps at a cost of no greater than 30 percent of the poor's income. While this is an improvement over the present scales, it is still nearly double the 17 percent most Americans pay for food.

The President proposes to give the Secretary of Agriculture the authority to operate both the food stamp and direct distribution programs concurrently in individual counties, "at the request and expense of local officials." We thought that the Secretary of Agriculture already had the authority to declare an emergency and institute the two food programs in the same county. And we think that to say now that he will operate both programs "at the request and expense of local officials" is to say no program improvement at all. Why should the poor continually be subject to the whim of many local officials who have proven again and again their lack of concern for them? Where are local officials going to get the money or the willingness to put up the

money which they refuse to provide now? We urge that the implementation of both food programs in a single county be within the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture and that he be authorized to finance the cost of both programs, operation to the extent necessary from Federal funds so that when local officials fail or refuse to cooperate, the poor will not have to suffer.

We demand finally, the following additional reforms in the food programs immediately:

(1) We demand that no family be required to buy all of their stamps at one time or during 1 month. We demand that food stamp participants be permitted to purchase less than the full amounts of stamps for which they are eligible.

(2) We demand that food stamp participants be permitted to purchase soaps and detergents and other personal hygiene and sanitation products.

(3) We demand that it be assured that eligible families learn about the food stamp program and that they be certified on their own word through a single affidavit and that they receive their stamps by mail.

The President in his hunger message stated that: "The moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time." We agree. We ask for action from this Congress now—not more words or studies. We know we're hungry. You have seen that we are hungry. It is long past time to debate and to study. It is time to act. We hope that your bill, with some of the increases we have asked for here, will be passed without further delay so that those who continue to suffer from lack of food can have a chance to become healthy and productive Americans.

Mr. Chairman, I want to add just this final note. We are here in the spirit of nonviolence and in the democratic process, orderly and peacefully petitioning our Government and those who represent us to do something about the crucial problems that face us at this time. We do this because we love America, not because we want a trip, because we do not have the funds necessary to come to Washington over and over and over again.

On yesterday we were fortunate enough to meet with the President of the United States. Unfortunately, the press did not give an accurate account of what happened in that meeting.

I think you, Mr. Chairman, that you and members of this committee should ask for a release of the transcript of the meeting yesterday with the Urban Affairs Council so that you will not have to depend on the Washington Post or any other paper, but you will know exactly what happened in that Cabinet room.

No. 1, you should find out that we make specific and definite requests of the President on yesterday. One of the requests was that he do something in Charleston, S.C. immediately.

The prior administration helped settle the sanitation workers strike in Memphis, Tenn. You will recall this was just after the assassination of my dearest friend and closest associate, Martin Luther King. Will the Federal Government sit idly by and wait for another assassination or something tragic to happen before they intervene? We ask the President to intervene.

No. 2, we asked that he instruct his Cabinet secretaries to meet with the poor individually.

No. 3, we asked that he speak to the poor in the Indian Treaty Room. The President would not see all of the poor and we made a concession. We gave in and took with us only eight persons, four poor and four representatives of the poor. The poor themselves wanted to at least see the President and we asked that he go over to the Indian Treaty Room where they were waiting, not where they were picketing, not where they were sitting in trying to destroy the property, but where they were peacefully waiting a word from their President.

No. 4, we made the request that he respond to all of the specifics outlined in my speech before the Urban Affairs Council. That is, increased food money, a refined welfare program, and many more. And no specific commitments to do anything on any of these issues were given us, Mr. Chairman. If you request and receive a copy of that transcript you will discover that Mr. Nixon, our President, consumed most of the time talking in generalities rather than about the specifics which we brought before the President. I feel terrible, awful, that you do not have the facts. The only way you can get the facts is to request that you get the transcript and see for yourself and you will see what we, as poor people, are faced with in this country, Mr. Chairman, and you will have a greater understanding, Senator Javits, and other Senators and members of this committee why so many people have lost faith and feel that if they only have a rock or if they only have a brick, then they must use that rock and the brick to get back at the system. This is unwise, this is a fruitless method. And we work hard against it.

But my task is made more difficult when the truth is not known in these matters.

Thank you for listening to me.

(Dr. Ralph David Abernathy's speech before the Urban Affairs Council follows:)

STATEMENT OF REVEREND RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S  
URBAN AFFAIRS COUNCIL, MAY 13, 1969

Mr. President and members of the Urban Affairs Council, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today in the cause of the poor blacks, whites, Mexican-Americans, Puerto-Ricans and Indians. Those of us who are here to participate in the second chapter of the Poor People's Campaign represent the millions of poor Americans left behind.

What I have to say to you this morning will not be pleasant for you to hear, or for me to say. For I am concerned, deeply concerned.

I am concerned that the war in Vietnam drags on, day after day, with no end in sight, draining our country of precious lives and resources, dividing our people one from another, damaging our sense of national purpose and commitment, and delaying the massive national effort required to respond to the urgent needs of the poor.

I am concerned about the deployment of the ABM, the need for which has been seriously questioned, and the cost of which is yet another message to the poor that they stand eternally at the rear of the line.

I am concerned that the process of budget-cutting celebrates military over domestic needs, and generally reflects a set of priorities which exiles the poor to a permanently inferior position.

I am concerned that in this wealthy land joblessness is rising among the black and the poor, yet for nearly four months now we have not heard of any consideration of the kind of large-scale job program which must be the highest priority in lifting the *other* America out of poverty.

I am concerned about your proposed delay in getting food to hungry Americans. We asked for adequate food for the poor when we came to Washington last year.

We are back here today to tell you that we cannot answer our children who are hungry now by promising to feed them in 1971, and even then only half a meal.

I am concerned that the process of school desegregation—the law of the land for fifteen years—is suffering another slowdown. I know that Secretary Finch has recently stated that the guidelines will not be changed, but the atmosphere of uncertainty discourages the law-abiding school officials and emboldens those who are only too willing to further delay the justice so long denied black children and black teachers.

I am concerned at how often Title I Elementary and Secondary Education Act funds intended to help the needy are, like other funds, going to help those without special needs.

I am concerned that the process of ensuring equal job opportunities has suffered a serious setback because of the decision to reward textile firms with a long-standing record of discrimination and non-compliance. I fear the example this sets for others doing business with the government. Assurances of concern about equal opportunity in the federal government cannot substitute for an effective contract compliance policy which could open up to minorities nearly one-third of the jobs in the economy.

I am concerned at your Administration's inadequate response to the grave labor relations problem in Charleston, South Carolina. Thousands of Americans have expressed their support for hospital workers involved in a struggle which has the most serious implications for the domestic tranquillity of our nation. I had hoped, and still do, that you will intercede on the side of basic human dignity.

And to these serious concerns this morning we add our concern over the inability of the poor people now present in Washington to meet individually with the Cabinet Secretaries in order that we can make our demands in detail and hear their full replies. We have heard much of the need for law and order, but how is that to be assured when full access to legitimate channels for expression is blocked?

As it is impossible for us to have any detailed discussion of all of our demands this morning, I will concentrate on a few priority items.

We are pleased that you have recognized the crying needs of hungry Americans and are taking steps to help them. But it must be said that your food program is inadequate. The \$2.5 billion total which you project for fiscal 1971, while better than anything the previous Administration did, will not wipe out the hunger which you say puts at issue "the honor of American democracy."

Although your message is unclear, it appears that perhaps half of the \$2.5 billion total, or about \$1.34 billion, will be devoted to the food stamp program—the present budget of \$340 million plus the bulk of the \$1 billion in new funds which you propose to commit.

This expenditure will not even pay for the reforms which your message says you will make—reforms which themselves are not adequate. You say that you will give free food stamps to families of four earning less than \$30 a month, \$360 a year. Doing this will cost about \$600 million annually (2.0 million people times \$25 per person per month). Assuring that the other 14.5 million hard-core poor (families of four with less than \$2200 per year income) will pay no more than 30% of their income for food stamps will cost an additional \$2.85 billion a year. Thus the total cost of even your minimal improvements will be \$3.45 billion, just for the hard-core poor alone, rather than the \$1.3 billion you are apparently devoting to food stamps. Your program is, sad to say, badly under financed.

Now let us look at the cost of a somewhat larger program. Limiting free stamps to families earning less than \$360 a year is scandalously inadequate. The fixed costs of rent, utilities, basic clothing, transportation and medicine are such that families cannot afford any regular, normal expenditure for food until they have an income of at least \$1000 a year. We think free food stamps should be provided to families earning less than \$3000 a year. But taking \$1000 as the goal for the moment, the annual cost of free food stamps to such families would be \$1.65 billion (5.5 million people times \$25 per person per month). The annual cost of assuring that the remainder of the hard-core poor will pay no more than 30 percent of their income for food stamps would be \$1.98 billion. Thus the total cost of this somewhat improved program will be about \$3.63 billion.

None of these calculations includes: (1) the cost of providing food stamps to poor families earning between \$2200 and the poverty line, (2) the fact that many families will receive a government subsidy exceeding 70 per cent of their

food budget, or (3) the fact that \$1200 a year buys a food package that the Department of Agriculture admits will purchase a minimally nutritious diet only for a tiny minority of the most educated and resourceful of the poor.

Nor does this analysis include any reference to school lunches and school breakfasts, which also need to be expanded. For example, your message also fails to indicate that you have taken into account the cost of providing free school lunches for the additional 3.1 million children whom you have said will be getting the benefit of that program by fiscal 1971.

Measured against all of these needs, our demand for an additional expenditure of \$2.5 billion this year is modest. I hope you can improve upon your proposals accordingly. It would take only the elimination of the ABM and the SAGE bomber defense system to do this. I think the result would be a greater contribution to our national security. Or it would take only diverting the \$3.9 billion farm subsidy.

Second, it is essential to enact immediately a massive jobs program for the poor. The EEOC estimates that three million jobs would close the job gap which now exists. These can be provided without creating a single make-work job. The President's Automation Commission stated almost four years ago that there is a potential of 5.3 million additional jobs in the field of public service employment. The critical national need for teachers' aides, health aides, police aides, welfare aides, recreation aides cannot be denied. Every Commission which has looked at our country's domestic problems has said that the fundamental need is jobs. The Senate came within five votes of passing a large-scale jobs bill in 1967. The unemployment problem will not be solved by having the National Alliance of Businessmen hire 100,000 people a year. For that would take 30 years to solve the problem. And we cannot wait that long. It will not be solved by simply putting more money into the private sector—whether by direct subsidy or tax incentive—although that will help a little. The problem will only be solved when the government decides to become the employer of last resort. A recent poll showed that two-thirds of the American people favor a program of guaranteed employment. We call upon you to adopt a program to provide the three million jobs which would constitute such a guarantee.

This coupled with a vigorous program of federal fair employment, would make drastic changes in the lives of the poor. And it would rid us of the shameful history of our national government spending billions of dollars annually of taxpayers' money to perpetuate segregation and discrimination. A government that calls for law and order should surely first set an example by carefully following the law itself and vigorously enforcing Executive Order 11246.

Third, our recent experience in Charleston has made us painfully aware of the need for federal action to protect state and local employees. With regard to the Charleston situation itself, Mr. President, I urge you to act immediately to use all of the prestige of your great office to bring about a settlement in that steadily worsening situation. This is a case of the most fundamental human rights—the right to work at a decent wage and the right to collective bargaining—rights which most other Americans have enjoyed for more than a generation. Your timely intervention could not only vindicate these rights, but also avoid a possible explosion that could have the gravest repercussions throughout our nation. Beyond your immediate action, the situation in Charleston also calls for legislative response: to apply the job equality guarantees of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to state and local governments which have more than ten million employees, and to extend the right of collective bargaining to state and local employees as well as employees of non-profit institutions and farm workers.

Fourth, I would emphasize the necessity for immediate action on welfare reform. A federal standard of welfare which will guarantee an annual income above the poverty line for all is essential now. Now is the time to repeal the repressive "freeze" on AFDC payments which Congress enacted in 1967. Now is the time to adopt a mandatory program of assistance for unemployed fathers. The tendency of the welfare system to cause family disintegration must be ended now.

Fifth, I would make an urgent plea to this assembled group that it undertake a fundamental re-examination of our nation's priorities. The war must be ended. The tendency to put almost 75¢ of every additional dollar of revenue that is collected into defense expenditures must be altered. The military budget is a noose which is gradually strangling our country. It has created a powerful interlock of interests which have become the real welfare rich of our society. It has

locked millions of Americans out of any opportunity to escape from the dark poverty which oppresses them. This is perhaps the most fundamental issue which I can place before you today. For I believe that if we do not re-order our entire federal budget, we will never truly come to grips with the fact that almost 20% of the people in the richest nation in the world suffer from want and deprivation.

There are many other matters on our agenda—quality education and school desegregation, fair housing and an adequate housing supply, better health services for the poor, the ending of segregation and discrimination in the programs of the Department of Agriculture, the 18-year-old vote, the military draft. All of these I would have discussed had I the time. Detailed papers on all of our demands will be presented to you during the week. All of them deserve a full consideration that can come only from individual discussions with the members of the Cabinet.

One of your members was quoted as saying that this Administration owed nothing to the black citizens of America. That was an unfortunate statement. This Administration, this government, this nation owe justice to every American. This nation has suffered shocks and trauma of the gravest kind during this decade. Some of its greatest leaders have fallen in the fight for social change and social justice. That fight is far from over, but its end will be hastened to the extent that you respond. And, because people will not be silent once they know their fundamental rights, the pain and suffering of the struggle for the poor and for the nation will only continue to deepen if you do not respond. So I plead with you. Take the just route to preserve and protect the greatness of this land and assure that every American will share in that greatness. Let history record that this Administration, of which little was expected, was the one which made America truly keep its long-deferred promise to all of its citizens.

- Senator MCGOVERN. Thank you very much, Dr. Abernathy. You spoke in your concluding remarks about the meeting yesterday at the White House with the President and the members of the Urban Affairs Council and suggested that the committee get a copy of the transcript so that we have an accurate view.

Could you take just a few minutes to summarize what took place at the meeting yesterday? There is a statement in the Washington Post this morning that raises one point, "After the Negro leader's remarks an angry White House aide spoke of releasing the transcript of the closed session to show the exchange between the administration officials and the poor people," indicating that they felt their side was not properly presented, either. So, could you give us a summary of the exchange and what did happen?

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, before the witness answers, and as I am the ranking Republican member of this committee, I think the witness should be advised, in all fairness to him and to the country, that the normal tradition of the White House is that you are at perfect liberty to say anything you said and did. However, what the President said is respected unless he says it. Now, there is no law about that. It is just the tradition of our country and has been so for decades.

It is tradition that one who has an audience with the President is at liberty to say whatever he said, whatever he asked for, whatever he demanded, and whatever his supporters demanded. However, the President is not quoted; he has the right to say, if he chooses, what he said at that particular meeting.

There is no law about it and you would not be violating any law if you did not do it, but I do think you ought to know what the traditional rules of the Nation are before you answer the question.

Reverend ABERNATHY. Senator Javits, I am certainly in a position and I feel disposed to honor that, except for the fact that officials at

the White House have already violated that. They have gone ahead and said what was said. I must in all honesty and sincerity say that they did not say the truth. I want the truth known.

I certainly don't want to say what the President said, I would not attempt to say that, because I cannot quote him verbatim. I can only relate to you what happened in this hearing.

I will not attempt to quote the President of the United States.

I would want to cooperate with this committee, I would want to carry out your wishes at this point because I feel that the truth has not been told about it.

It is just these things, Mr. Chairman, that make for so much frustration in our country today. So many people believe in violence, are saying now, they have read the papers this morning, that Abernathy didn't do anything with those poor people up there in Washington, that they are just having some meetings up there and we can't even get an accurate report before the people. I don't want to violate any rules.

Senator MCGOVERN. Dr. Abernathy, it would certainly be proper for you to summarize the points you made to the Urban Affairs Council and the reaction you got from the various officials who were there. Leave the President out of it. What was the point at issue that led the various officials there at the White House to present one side of the story and you another. Where is the conflict? I think the public and this committee are entitled to know that information. We could perhaps request the transcript but I see nothing wrong with your giving us a summary of what you tried to accomplish yesterday at the White House and why you were disappointed.

Reverend ABERNATHY. I went in with my delegation and we were graciously received and extended the courtesies which I am sure are always extended to people who go in to meet with the Urban Affairs Council. Once we were in the President came in and greeted us, shook hands with us, and called the meeting to order and asked that I give my statement.

The understanding from the staff prior was that I had 15 minutes to give a statement. I speak very slowly. I don't know if I did it in 15 minutes or not because I did not set a timeclock on it but I stated to him our goals and demands in the second chapter of the poor people's campaign and thanked the President for his interest on the whole program of hunger and pointed out that he has done more than any past administration had done but that this was grossly inadequate.

Then I proceeded to tell him what I thought, as poor people, we needed, \$2½ billion and we need that by—well, we need it now, at the beginning of the fiscal year, in order to put an end to hunger in this country because people are hungry.

Then at the close of my presentation the President made a very beautiful and a wonderful and charming statement and then stated—I told him I wanted some of the poor people to speak for themselves and he said that he had another appointment and he wanted to make another statement. He made another statement to us and then he got up to leave and I asked him specifically if he would go by the Indian Room and greet the people and if he would intervene in Charleston, S.C., and if he would do some specific things.

Unfortunately, the President's schedule, I guess, was so very busy that he had to leave, but did ask other Cabinet people to remain and

hear the poor people, and he left us. He did not give any answers whatsoever to our specifics and we outlined to him all of the specific demands including hunger. He did speak about his hunger package for which I commended him.

Then after comments from some other secretaries, Secretary Finch, Mr. Kleindist, Mr. Hardin, the Vice President had to leave, also—was in the chair—and I asked him if he would instruct the secretaries to see us individually. The Vice President, I guess it is all right to quote the Vice President—the Vice President stated he did not have the authority to instruct the secretaries to see us and that he was sorry he could not go to the Indian Room and greet the poor people. Then he turned the chair over to Secretary Volpe and Secretary Volpe made a wonderful statement, he stated that he had once been poor and he knew about our problems. We were then interrupted by Mr. Moynihan, who stated that the people in the Indian Room were very restless and they had sent a note over and said that they were going to demonstrate if I did not come back and give them some type of report, he thought. I knew that we did not come to Washington for any demonstrations and I felt that I should go over and ask the secretaries if they would go over and see.

Mr. Romney, Secretary Romney, and Secretary Volpe were kind enough to state that they would go over to the Indian Room with me. We also had one or two other persons to go with us, I believe one of the assistants to one of the secretaries went along with us and once we got over where the people were they were restless and they were concerned because they thought that at least the President would have come by.

But I did present Mr. Volpe and he made a statement to the people. I then presented Mr. Romney and he made a statement and stated that he had to leave and one of the poor people asked him a question which was very disturbing, he was upset by this, and I did not want him to leave us upset because we were a nonviolent movement and we are a nonviolent organization. I have known Mr. Romney for quite some time and he is a very fine person. It was I who called him back and said to him, that was about the dialog. I think if you will listen to the transcript you will discover that the President talked a great deal. I would venture to say that the President talked longer or just as long as I talked while he was present and he did not hear any of the poor people speak themselves.

Reverend FAUNTROY. Mr. Chairman?

Senator MCGOVERN. Reverend Fauntroy.

Reverend FAUNTROY. I think in addition, the disappointing thing is the fact that we got no specific commitments on the hunger question, on the need for jobs, on the need for an adequately funded housing program and the like. Such commitments as we have requested in the demands. We had some dialog on the question, for example, of our request that the President intervene in Charleston, where the working poor are pressing their right to organize and the right to decent wages and working conditions. We were informed by Mr. Kleindienst that, of course, there was no legal basis in his judgment for getting into this question and to this we replied that in our judgment the President could publicly call for a settlement and use informal channels to get that situation settled, not unlike those used

in Memphis the year before. And that we felt the need for, for example, the fifth demand that we have included among our goals this year, that we change the National Labor Relations Act to include the working poor and those working under public employment. We got no further response.

So that I think the single most disappointing thing was the failure to get someone to move on these things specifically and the difficulty that we had in having an opportunity to speak directly to the new Secretaries to familiarize them first-hand with the problems with which the poor are confronted with regard to the programs which they administer.

Senator MCGOVERN. Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. When were these demands made? When did you serve notice on the President and the members of the Cabinet of the demands? Yesterday morning?

Reverend ABERNATHY. About a month ago. A month ago the appointment was set.

Senator DOLE. When did they have a copy of what you said yesterday?

Reverend ABERNATHY. On Saturday. The demands were sent to the White House on Saturday.

Senator DOLE. On Saturday?

Reverend ABERNATHY. Yes.

Senator DOLE. You indicated in your statement that you had been ignored by the previous administration. Certainly you were not ignored yesterday.

I would only say, if necessary, in defense of the President and his administration, that you have established a dialog. I would also say on the basis of what you have said you had an excellent opportunity to be heard yesterday.

I would also suggest that it may take some time to analyze your specific demands and determine what can be done. There apparently has been at least improvement in the attitudes and I hope you will agree with that. At least some progress has been made.

Do you believe there has been?

Reverend ABERNATHY. I think there has been some progress made in one direction and in the other direction we have taken steps backward. When we came last year we did not even request to see the President, but we did see the Secretaries of the various departments, members of the Cabinet.

The main thing is that my paper to the President on yesterday said that we could not go into all the specifics as I have gone into hunger here with this committee this morning. We want an opportunity to sit down with Secretary Hardin and to go into the specifics and even though Secretary Finch, I believe it was, I may be wrong, I have to get acquainted with all Secretaries of the new administration—stated that we must meet over and over and over again, many, many, many times, but none of them would answer directly whether or not they will see us and keep the appointments which we have attempted to schedule.

Senator DOLE. The point is that you are not closing the door on this administration on the basis of the one session you had yesterday.

Reverend ABERNATHY. No, by no means. All I want is that the truth be known about what happened there on yesterday.

I have read press accounts which were totally inaccurate. For you to know the truth, certainly you should have the transcript. I will say I am delighted because I have the greatest respect for this administration and for the President of the United States. I am not just saying some things to say some of these.

Senator DOLE. Of course there are many, many demands on you. I think the hearing started this morning at 10:40 rather than 10 because of the demands on your schedule. I would point out that the President has at least an equal number of demands made upon him. I believe, however, that yesterday was the beginning of the dialog and this will carry on with the administration, you, the President, and all of you.

Reverend ABERNATHY. Senator Dole, this is why I insisted with the poor people, 60 or 70 poor people, that they could not all see the President of the United States. This is why I said to the President, as you will see from the transcript when you get it, I understand that the problems of the world are resting upon his shoulders. I can understand that. It is just that we got no answer to our specific demands and the President did not instruct his Cabinet officials to see us.

When we met with the Senators on Monday it was explained that Senator Javits could not be present. Senator Javits has long championed the cause of the poor and oppressed people in this country. We held nothing against Senator Javits. We understood.

There were other Senators, Senator Kennedy who had to leave, he had another appointment. We have nothing against Senator Kennedy. We could understand that fact, Senator Kennedy had to leave. He, like the President of the United States of America, has many problems.

I certainly had hoped that he would have instructed members of his Cabinet to have individual appointments with us so that the poor people might pour out their souls and speak for themselves concerning the problems of hunger.

Senator MCGOVERN. Let me just comment on one thing here. First, as I understand it, Dr. Abernathy, you praised the President and the administration officials for the recommendations they have made. You have two points. No. 1, that the funding request is still inadequate to do the job. However much we have improved it. And, second, even the estimates of the administration on the funding side fall way short of what would be required to carry out the recommendations they have made. Is that correct?

Reverend ABERNATHY. That is correct.

Senator MCGOVERN. I notice at the top of page 3 of your statement you say that the administration puts an estimate of \$1.3 billion on the cost of the expanded food program. Your calculations are that if they carry out even the minimum they want, which they suggested, it would be closer to \$3½ billion, \$3.4 billion. Did you point out that discrepancy to the Urban Affairs Council and other officials in your discussions yesterday?

Reverend ABERNATHY. Yes; I did.

Senator MCGOVERN. It seems to me that goes to the heart of the question. It is all well and good to talk about putting an end to hunger in the United States but if the funding request falls way short of what is necessary that is really the crucial issue this committee has to pass judgment on. Is that not correct?

Reverend ABERNATHY. This is what we pointed out on yesterday even though we could not go into the specifics of all of our demands. But we did well with the specifics of hunger as you have pointed out here.

Senator McGOVERN. Senator Ellender has scheduled hearings before the Committee on Agriculture on some of the new food stamps that have been proposed. One by Senator Talmadge and a number of other Senators, one that I have introduced with the support of some 30-odd Senators.

Have you and Reverend Fauntroy and other associates had a chance to look at the bills yet? Are you generally familiar with the outline of the new proposals that have been made?

Reverend ABERNATHY. I am sorry—

Senator McGOVERN. They call for a rather substantial increase in our present food stamp program. I wondered if you had a chance to look at that legislation as yet. I had not really expected that you would, but if you have any judgment on it we would be interested in hearing from you.

Reverend ABERNATHY. I have not had a chance to study the legislation up to this particular point.

Reverend FAUNTROY. We have looked at the McGovern bill and we have looked at the administration's general proposals. As we have said in the past and as Dr. Abernathy has said, the President's proposal is not adequate. We are more pleased with your bill, although we feel that, too, is not adequate. We are specifically requesting \$2.5 billion additional money this year and we would like—

Reverend ABERNATHY. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman, you were speaking of your bill?

Senator McGOVERN. Yes.

Reverend ABERNATHY. Yes; I have looked at your bill. I thought you were speaking of the Senator from Louisiana's hearings that he has had.

Senator McGOVERN. My bill and other food stamp bills that will be referred to Senator Ellender's hearings.

Hearings have been set for the last week of this month, beginning on the 26th of May.

Reverend ABERNATHY. I heard incorrectly. I have looked at your bill.

Reverend FAUNTROY. I would like to say in concluding this portion, Mr. Chairman, that we are in search of specific responses to rather specific requests. We did make a specific request as we have this morning and we got answers but not on points. We requested \$2.5 billion additional money this year. Secretary Hardin responded with a recalling of how the money has been spent that is presently available and during the past year which was good information but which did not provide us with the kind of specific response that we wanted. We asked for a jobs program, as you know. We were told that the administration does have a plan to develop 1 million training slots of which 750,000 would be for disadvantaged youth and the like. Again, we did not get to the specifics of what in fact can be done about the specific demands that we have made.

We hope that in the course of this hearing and in future hearings we would focus on those. We have made what we believe to be reason-

able and achievable demands and we would like responses tied to those rather than to the more general approaches.

Senator MCGOVERN. Senator Ellender?

Senator ELLENDER. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that about a week and a half ago as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry I gave notice that beginning on the 22d of this month, and the 23d and the 26th and the 27th the committee would meet in order to consider all of the bills pertaining to the distribution of food. That will cover not only the food stamp program but also the bulk food distribution. There are quite a few people who believe that they ought to have both programs in the same county.

Those are questions that we will have to have evidence to support or not to support. I would advise you to get ready, get the bills and give us your idea on them because it is legislation that will be passed, I hope, before we recess.

I have been advocating right along, I am sure Senator McGovern remembers that, that we need this action now. That is why I, as chairman of the committee, decided to hold hearings immediately.

Senator McGovern's bill was introduced last week, I think, and we have Mr. Talmadge's bill and then I believe we will have an administration bill. So that what we desire is not to find out what the amounts should be but how should that be operative. What must the local people do, in the State in which they are operating. All those questions we expect to look into.

It is my judgment that no food stamp program will work well unless you can get the local people to cooperate. Those are questions that I hope to get some answers to when we meet next week and the week after.

I want to say I invite all of you to be there, as many as you can, not to hear all of you individually, but it strikes me that you could get one or two witnesses to present the case of many other people.

Reverend FAUNTROY. We will do that, Senator Ellender.

Senator MCGOVERN. Senator Javits?

Senator JAVITS. Dr. Abernathy, based upon your experience with the poor people that you lead, what would you say about the first thing to be cut as far as they are concerned? I call attention to the fact that at page 3 of your statement you say, "The fixed costs of rent, utilities, basic clothing, transportation and medicine are such that families cannot afford any regular normal expenditure for food until they have an income of at least a thousand dollars a year." Now, that would imply to me that the first thing that they cut is their own food intake.

Reverend ABERNATHY. That is true.

Senator JAVITS. That is correct? In other words, they starve themselves because one has to have shelter over one's head and clothes on one's back. If a child is sick it has to be looked after. Really then, the last item in the poor person's budget is food, is that correct?

Reverend ABERNATHY. That is correct.

Senator JAVITS. So, that an improvement in the food situation deals with the most needy area for a family of very low income.

Reverend ABERNATHY. That is correct. That is exactly correct, Senator Javits.

Senator JAVITS. Yet, is it not true, also, that the absence of adequate food makes for the very qualities, or helps to make for the very qualities which disable those who might be able to be breadwinners from working?

Reverend ABERNATHY. You are so correct.

Senator JAVITS. So the two are very intimately related one to one another?

Reverend ABERNATHY. That is correct.

Senator JAVITS. Now, there is a very popular fallacy that the poor are lazy, that in this country nobody has to be poor because if you want to work you can get a job. What do you say about that?

Reverend ABERNATHY. That is incorrect. This is a terrible and awful statement. I agree with you that this is the feeling on the part of many Americans that the poor are lazy and that anybody who wants to work can get a job. Senator Javits, the poor people are not lazy, the poor people do not want to be on welfare. The poor people cannot find jobs. That is why we have included in our demands a jobs program. We feel a great need for the creation of jobs even if the Federal Government has to be the employer of last resort.

Senator JAVITS. In other words, what you are saying is give us the job opportunity and we will show you if we are lazy or not?

Reverend ABERNATHY. Exactly, sir. Then many people work 40, 50, 60 hours a week and still they do not have the funds necessary to meet the minimum demands. That is the reason we have so much crime and the reason we have so much frustration and bitterness in our country today. I can show you literally people who work in Alabama and Mississippi all week long and receive only \$12 to \$15 a week working 8 and 10 hours a day. Nobody can survive decently with those low wages. So we have unemployment and then we have underemployment. All of these must be dealt with in the country. But if you create jobs we will prove to the Nation that we are not lazy at all.

Senator JAVITS. How do they avoid the minimum wage requirements in such employment situations as you describe?

Reverend ABERNATHY. They are not covered by the Federal minimum wage and they are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act. This is the reason why we are in the problem in Charleston, S.C., today. We have the problem with the domestic workers and all. They are not covered at all. The people will give them whatever they want to give.

Senator JAVITS. So they are really victimized.

Reverend ABERNATHY. Yes, they are.

Senator JAVITS. Now, you spoke about 750,000 job training slots. We have been having quite a debate on that as recently as yesterday. We have about 370,000 job training slots in the totality of programs administered by the Department of Labor. Now, would you have us believe that that is only 50 percent adequate?

Reverend ABERNATHY. Yes, I would, Senator, because we have such large numbers of unemployed people and so many who are on the welfare rolls who wish not to be on the welfare rolls. We feel that it is going to be necessary that we have 3 million jobs created in order to close the gap. That is what we are asking for. That is what we are demanding. It can easily be done because every classroom that I go in the teacher has 35 or 40 students and she is trying to teach and

trying to keep order and collect lunch money and all of this. So we need teachers aides, we need nurses aides, and the jobs can be created.

Every other industrialized nation, and we are much more affluent in this area than they are, have dealt with the problems of poverty and joblessness except the richest nation in the world. I just think that the time has come that America be concerned about its total security, not just from the outside but from the inside. It is wonderful to spend billions of dollars for our defense, but we have to spend billions of dollars for internal defense, also. I think that it can be done if we cut the military spending as I have pointed out here. Certainly if we bring an end to the war in Vietnam we would have the funds necessary to provide these jobs under these programs. This would be the greatest defense.

I would like to close by quoting a great Republican, Abraham Lincoln, one of the distinguished Presidents of the United States and how correct he was more than a century ago when he said that a house cannot stand divided against itself, and our Nation is divided today. Somehow we have to close that gap and we have to get together.

I say give these able-bodied men an opportunity to work and give them jobs and you will not have them on the streets and we will be able to put an end to a great deal of this crime that we find existing. I know that Senator Ellender, from my neighboring State of Louisiana, knows very well that many people in the South today are being driven off the plantations and they have nowhere to live and they are going to Chicago and many of them are coming to Washington and to New York, and they are bringing their problems with them. They think that they will find something here and they do not find it, they do not even find a decent place to live. They are driven off the plantations because the men who own the land have put it in what you call the land bank and they receive hundreds of thousands of dollars not to grow grain and not to grow fiber.

We are not going to be able to solve these problems until we really come forward with a massive program. We are wanting 3 million jobs specifically.

Senator JAVITS. Dr. Abernathy, would you be good enough to submit for the record a statement as to how you figure the 3 million jobs are needed and how you figure the 750,000 job training slots, just give us your analysis, what you base your overall figure on. Will you do that for us?

Reverend ABERNATHY. I base it on mainly my experience.

Senator JAVITS. We would like to see the breakdown, however, you do not have to tell us now because others of my colleagues wish to question you.

I have one other question I would like to ask you. I am rather impressed with the possibility of the churches playing a material role in food distribution because many people complain that food warehouses and food centers are great distances from them, and often even stamps. You talk about mailing them. Well, that may lend itself too much to fraud. What would you think of the possibility of enlisting the established structure of the churches, which are everywhere, of all denominations, in this food effort which is so congenial to the whole religious concept?

Reverend ABERNATHY. That would be all right if you got the right church. You would have to make sure you got the right church. In many instances, the pastors and priests are so poor, themselves, that they will end up using the food themselves. So you have to study that very, very carefully.

Senator JAVITS. Give us a little of what we lawyers call a caveat on that.

Thank you so much, Dr. Abernathy.

Senator MCGOVERN. Senator Yarborough?

Senator YARBOROUGH. I am glad you mentioned in the second paragraph of your statement the hearings 2 years ago in Mississippi. These hearings started out of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and were led by the late Senator Robert Kennedy, and the former Senator Joe Clark of Pennsylvania. There were some other Senators on both sides of the aisle.

Now, they were bitterly attacked in the press of the country, which said this was headline hunting, it was a publicity stunt, there wasn't any hunger in America. You will recall that, 2 years ago.

They went steadfastly forward. They had hearings in California and a number of other States.

This country has moved so far in 2 years that there is a public consciousness now all over the country, that hunger and malnutrition exist. The polls show that the majority of the people of America have reached the point that they want malnutrition and hunger ended.

That is in just 2 years. It started out of the committee of which I have the honor of being chairman. There was a jurisdictional problem concerning which committee of the Senate had jurisdiction, the Agriculture Committee or the Labor and Public Welfare. That was solved by the creation of this Special Committee on Malnutrition and Hunger. This committee sits for that purpose alone.

I have an honor of being a member. The able Senator from South Dakota, Senator McGovern, has chaired it. We have had hearings in many States of the Union. We have had a complete change of public opinion. We have had a complete change in the press. Many of the papers that said 2 years ago in their editorials that this was a headline-hunting stunt now say there is hunger and malnutrition. The President of the United States has said it in the last 2 weeks. I think it puts to rest the question of whether or not there is hunger and malnutrition. The hungry people knew that at that time. This I regard as a Senate achievement. I am not proud of this much hunger and malnutrition but I am proud that the Senate of the United States was the one branch of the U.S. Government that pursued this issue. It shows the power of a Senate investigating committee to bring this country to consciousness. I think we ought to make this the No. 1 goal of America, to end hunger and malnutrition. Second is the health of all Americans.

I think we need new goals for 1970.

I am glad you did mention the first hearings. Now, you mentioned the lack of a minimum wage. I want to call your attention to this. We amended the minimum wage law in 1966. We brought under that law 9 million new workers and for the first time we brought under the protection of the Federal minimum wage law the workers in hospitals, nursing homes, cafeterias, restaurants, motels, laundries and many others. Now, there is a cutoff for a small hospital or a small hotel, but

the big ones are all under the minimum wage law. We also brought farmworkers under that minimum wage law for the first time in the history of this country in 1938. Franklin D. Roosevelt recommended the first minimum wage law to protect the workers in the factories and on the farms, but it was nearly 30 years before the farmworkers got that protection.

Now, that law applies to all farms with over seven workers for one-quarter of a year. It covers all the great corporation-type farms of California, the big ones of the Rio Grande Valley of Texas working a hundred workers in the cantaloup fields. That minimum wage started at a dollar. It has gone up to \$1.30 an hour.

There were laundries in my State paying 42½ cents an hour. This applies to all laundries regardless of how small. There is no cutoff on size where the small ones are exempt. That was especially true in the southern part of my State where the Mexican-Americans live. So for all laundries now the minimum wage has gone up to \$1.30 an hour this January. In 2 more years it will be \$1.60 an hour. So we have made progress in that regard, quite a lot.

Workers in the big hospitals now have that protection. They were some of the lowest paid people. I think all these various institutions I have mentioned, cafeterias, nursing homes, hospitals, restaurants, hotels employed many workers who were women. They had not received the protection that men had received in the factories. There was a slowdown in cafeterias in several States, my State included. The attorney attacked this in Federal court, said it was unconstitutional because it fixed the wages in the cafeteria run by the State and it interfered with the action of the State. That suit has been lost. That protection has extended to workers and it has raised the salaries of workers in many school cafeterias in my State.

While we are not satisfied on the hunger and malnutrition, the Senate has moved faster than any other branch of the Government to call attention to this problem and to give relief.

I want to refer one other point mentioned by Senator Javits: the myth that the poor are lazy and won't work. I have had those complaints made to me by prospective employers and I have investigated these complaints. I think this problem may be the fault of the laws, many people receiving unemployment insurance are offered a little work for a day or 2 or 3 days, and they are mortally afraid to take it because they get cut off and it is many weeks before they can get back on unemployment insurance. They are on relief. They may have a chance to earn 2 days' wages, but if they can get off relief it may be weeks before they can get back on. We need to amend the laws so that a man or woman receiving unemployment insurance can work if he gets 1 or 2 days a week work and immediately go back on relief or go back on his unemployment insurance. This difficulty in accepting part-time work creates the illusion with many of the employers that the people with little money won't work.

But it is not true. It is due to this fault of law, that is, if you get a little work you will be cut off for a long time. When the Administration testified before this committee I called on them to start people to work on this problem. I have worked in the wheat fields and oil fields and on board ships at sea. A man would rather work and get some cash in his pocket. I never saw a person in my life that had not

rather have some money down in his bluejeans than be getting some kind of handout package. You mentioned bricks and rocks. I tell you the fastest way to get relief is to appeal to the conscience of the people. Violence only builds stronger opposition and negates the support that we get by these public hearings. We must appeal to the consciousness and good nature of human beings to do justice to his fellow man and to relieve hunger and malnutrition and starvation. We are determined to do it not through any fear of rocks and bricks but because this Senate has brought the problem to the consciousness of the American people in the past 2 years because it is right and just. I think that you are following a correct course in your plan of nonviolence, and in persistently calling this problem to the attention of the people. We have found out that hunger and malnutrition exists in this country, and the people want it stopped. However, it has not been stopped. It takes time to get laws passed.

I agree with you, that we should move to make this the first priority, and move with money fast and end hunger and malnutrition.

Reverend ABERNATHY. Thank you very kindly, Senator. I agree wholeheartedly with what you have said about the poor people not being lazy necessarily. There are some poor people who are lazy. There are some rich folks who are lazy. But this is not the rule. I believe that you did focus much attention on hunger in the country and Resurrection City last year helped a great deal in bringing attention and making visible the misery in this country. The only thing that I would like to say is that I certainly hope that I did not lead you to believe that I was saying that the people ought to be throwing rocks and bricks and so forth.

What I am saying is that many people are frustrated today. They have lost all hope and they are dying from starvation and malnutrition. Because of this, they turn to throwing bricks and rocks. We have on our campuses of our great colleges and universities today nothing but the byproducts of poverty and war that presently exists in this country. I would hold that if we would solve the problem of poverty, then we would solve many and most of the problems in the United States of America. As long as we have this hunger, then people will continue to throw rocks because so many don't mind any more how they die, whether they die from the the bullet from the policeman or whether they die from starvation. The people say to me that death is the same. My task is the very difficult task—I am not pleading for your sympathy, I am just pleading for your help so that this Congress will pass a law to deal with these problems, so that these people, the poor people of America, certainly can have those things that were promised them hundreds of years ago by the Constitution of the United States of America. Whenever we bring the poor people to Washington—I am sure this group with me today feel so much better that they have had an opportunity to sit and talk with you about their problems and that you have taken the time to do so. When they come if they are pushed aside and nobody will listen much less act, then they are frustrated. I am not going to give up but my task is much more difficult in preaching nonviolence.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you, Dr. Abernathy.

I agree with you that the people are dying from hunger and malnutrition. I never see it on the death certificate but small children are

malnourished if they have measles or something, pneumonia, they have no resistance. The real cause of that death is malnutrition or hunger. It takes time to educate people. Really takes time to get health facilities and get good health. But food, this is a land of abundance, we have plenty. The distribution of food is something it should not take years to do. I agree we ought to feed these people this year, not next year or 1971. We have the abundance of food, the greatest in the history of mankind.

**STATEMENT OF HOSEA WILLIAMS, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN  
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE**

Mr. WILLIAMS. There is no reason in the world that this country should not feed its own citizens. People are dying of hunger. I would advise this committee one thing you ought to do, you ought to leave these hallowed walls and go into the homes of some of these people and see these children starving to death.

There is no need, in fact the people feel like they have been studied too much. You have gotten bogged down in the paralysis of the analysis. People are starving to death in this country. In Mississippi, 5,000 people die every year, the basic cause is malnutrition. At least a thousand babies die. While science is making so much advance in avoiding the birth defects in the poor community there is a great increase of imbeciles and idiots being born because mothers are giving birth to babies who are being born with brain damage because of lack of food all over this country and the Government is the perpetrator. It is unbelievable to people that they are dying of starvation while the Government empties bins every year when they have surplus food and throw this food into the Atlantic Ocean and into the Pacific Ocean.

This is a matter that ought to be beyond discussion. The poor people of this country feel at least Castro feeds his hungry. At least Russia feeds her hungry. America will not feed her hungry.

This is practically genocide. You take the children and starve them to death or as soon as they grow up they are snatched off for Vietnam. People are starving to death not only in Chicago and in New York City, they are starving to death in Mississippi and Alabama, while the Federal Government itself pays a man like Senator Eastland \$130,000 a year not to grow cotton. Those people are tired of being hungry. The basic necessity of life is food. There is no use talking about education. There is no use talking to a man about defense of his country or housing or anything as long as he has hunger pains in his stomach. How can you educate a child in school with hunger pains in his stomach, who is full of worms? How can a father worry too much about a job.

America can feed these people. Food is available. I am talking about the food thrown away out of the storage bins in Kansas, in Georgia, in Virginia, that is dumped into the Atlantic Ocean every year, dumped in the Pacific Ocean, while people in this country keep coming before this committee pleading their cause of hunger.

Another point I would like to make. It seems like it is a point of genocide. Mothers are giving birth to babies. In the poor community you have an increase of imbeciles and idiots mainly because of the

number of babies being born by mothers who fail to get a balanced diet. The kids are falling out of school because of hunger.

I am just saying that the minimum wage is a joke. I don't see how you can sit up here and play with the lives of human beings talking about minimum wage. If they are getting \$1.60 an hour, the average man working 5 days a week would make \$64. It would take about \$34 of this for rent, for utilities and clothing and things.

That leaves about \$30 to feed their family. The average family is about five. That is 20 cents a meal. You feed your dogs and your cats more than 20 cents a meal.

The Government of this country is perpetrating starvation. I personally feel like it is genocide on the poor. I feel poor people are not needed any longer. I feel one way to get rid of them is starve them to death.

We can't do like Hitler did to the Jews, because the eyes of the world are on us. Women who are selling their bodies to feed their babies—men are laying in the alleys at night to knock somebody on their heads to feed their babies. Men who love their wives are forced to desert their women and children so that they can get welfare, a roof over their head, and food in their bellies.

I don't see how this country can face up to it and call it a God-fearing country. We have a woman from Alabama with 16 children. Her husband makes \$6 a day. While the little children protrude through their skin, two of the older brothers in Vietnam are fighting a war for America.

We have a man here from Alabama who gets \$56 a month. \$30 of that money goes for food stamps. \$20 of that money goes for rent.

People are starving in this country irregardless of the cost. We have the food. We are taking farms out of production every year and this is what hurts the people so bad. People on farms and in Alabama and Mississippi who have plowed the earth for generations for food and then the white man will come to them and tell them there will be no more work for you, we are going to put the farm under the Agricultural Stabilization Bank.

This man is paid a fabulous sum. And those people on that farm for generations. Malnutrition is practiced.

I think what the Senate committee needs to do is go down in the streets of Alabama. I think that is where you ought to go and visit some people in the morning who are eating beans which were cooked 2 days before, because there is nothing else in the house to eat. Some of the people are hungry every day.

I think you need to go to Alabama and go to some of those plantations and see those people. What can a man do with 20 cents a day? I ask some of these people who come up here who are starving to death. It sickens me.

I fought for this country. I am a disabled veteran in this country today. We are the ones that made cotton king. Why should we starve to death in this country?

I don't think the Senate of the United States is serious about feeding the hungry. I don't think the Federal Government is serious about feeding the hungry. If it did, they would stop taking the farms out of production, stop taking the food out of bins and putting it in the Atlantic Ocean while people are starving to death.

Reverend ABERNATHY. Thank you, Mr. Williams.

Mr. Chairman, you have been most patient. All the members of this committee have been most patient. I can understand what Mr. Williams is saying. I can't believe everything you read in the paper, Senator JAVITS, but you were out in California, I believe—

Senator JAVITS. Dr. Abernathy, may I say this. Our job is to persuade a great people and the great Congress. We must never look at things from the wrong side of the telescope. There are 200 million people in this country, the overwhelming majority of whom may not even know about this problem.

This committee has awakened them to it. When one of our members, I think Senator Yarborough, says the conscience of the Nation has really been deeply moved since we began these hearings, he is correct. I was a party to them as was Senator Murphy of California, in Mississippi, and I must say, sir, with all respect to all your associates, that the almost saintly character which you bring to these proceedings, your leadership, and the willingness to bring fact and to discuss these matters in an air of charity and understanding is tremendously impressive. I know the impatience of Mr. Williams and I sympathize with him deeply.

I know that passion and indignation move people. I must say that the people we have to convince, the Congress and the people of the country with the priorities and the money will not be moved by indignation alone. They are going to demand proof.

I would say that—

Mr. WILLIAMS. Say that again.

Senator JAVITS. The joint presentation of the factual basis that you are giving us and the understanding which you have expressed, I would say, is equally expressive with the indignation which people, as Mr. Williams expressed—who feel that they have been wronged and put upon.

We have to look at it in the context of a total society and both, I would say, are. I would not wish Dr. Abernathy to feel that, although he speaks quietly, as he always does, his words are not lost on us any more than the more passionate words of Mr. Williams.

Senator MCGOVERN. I think the committee has heard two very fine statements here. We have heard also from Mrs. Grass, the opening witness. We have heard some comments from Rev. Fauntroy, we heard from Mr. Lukarson of the group. The points have been well taken and well made.

There is no inclination on the part of this committee not to hear the full story. I do want to emphasize the committee has gone to the field, we have looked into the miserable conditions that exist in various parts of the country.

The fact that we are holding this hearing in Washington this morning was arranged for the convenience of our witnesses who are now being heard, but we have gone to the field and we will continue to do that.

But we do believe there is a point at which action becomes necessary and we are moving ahead on the legislative schedule that will enable the appropriate committees to pass judgment on measures that are already pending which come very close in some cases to the recommendations you have made, Dr. Abernathy, and Mr. Williams.

So, I think in all fairness, we should bring our meeting to a close this morning.

Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. I want to say, first of all, the reforms suggested on pages 5 and 6 are certainly reasonable, Doctor. I believe everyone of them is favored by members of the committee, specifically 1 and 2.

We have heard a number of general statements today about general philosophy and some of the problems. I have been interested in hearings around the country by statements from witnesses who participated in the food stamp program. Many call it the greatest fraud ever perpetrated on the American poor.

Are you convinced that a food stamp program or enlargement of it is really the answer to the problem we are discussing? Are you convinced that the food stamp program is successful?

Reverend ABERNATHY. I think that we have to have during the interim period a food stamp program. I think we ought to change it. There certainly ought to be free food stamps for families making less than \$3,000 a year. Certainly we ought to arrange it so that it will not be a terrible and awful burden on the recipients to have to get these stamps and they ought to be able to use them for some of the items which I have solicited here in my report.

I think the real solution to the problem is to put an end to hunger, will only come with dignity. That is, once we deal with the whole question of jobs for every able-bodied American who can work is given an adequate job.

Senator DOLE. What about an income maintenance program which has been suggested as an alternative? In other words, revision of the present welfare program with some cash payment or income maintenance program as a substitute for the layer after layer of welfare we have now?

Does that have any appeal to you?

Reverend ABERNATHY. It is all right. It does have some appeal. The point I was trying to make is that people are not anxious for handouts as such. There are some people who will have to be cared for because they are unable to work. But we must begin with a massive job program.

Mr. Chairman, I want to say to you that you have been very, very patient and that the members of this committee have been very, very patient. I know that you have gone out in the field and you have gone into some of the situations that Mr. Williams has suggested.

I only wish to state that we want to make two things clear. No. 1, do not hold our behavior against us, because we are not responsible. We are poor and we are angry and we are hungry. Hold it against the system which has produced us.

Second, I would like to request that you make one other field trip, Senator McGovern. We would want you to be on this trip and that is come to Alabama, to Birmingham in particular, and conduct an investigation. If you could only stay for a day and move through maybe the black belt of Alabama, but if you had to limit your stay just to Birmingham, Ala., there we are seeking—Mr. Williams here is in a drive to raise the question of hunger in the country.

Rather than build a resurrection city here in Washington, we will raise these questions on the local issue and it will be most rewarding if you could arrange to come to Birmingham.

I want to thank you for your patience and for listening to us this morning.

Senator DOLE, Dr. Abernathy, would you make part of the record your statement before the Urban Affairs Council of yesterday? Would that be permissible, Mr. Chairman?

Senator MCGOVERN. Without objection, we will be happy to have your statement of yesterday included in the record, Dr. Abernathy.

Reverend ABERNATHY. I will be very happy to supply it.

(The prepared statement of the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy follows:)

STATEMENT OF REVEREND RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY BEFORE THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

Senator McGovern and members of this Committee:

I very much appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today. I want to commend you on behalf of the black, white, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and Indian poor for your efforts on their behalf. I feel that this Committee's hearings and field trips have played a vital role in pointing up the shocking and degrading conditions in which millions of poor Americans are forced to live and their lack of the most basic need—food—in a country with the largest gross national product in the world.

It has been over two years since the Senate Poverty Subcommittee went to Mississippi and reported shocking instances of hunger. It has been over a year since we first came to Washington demanding an end to hunger in America. Yet the Congress still has not acted to provide adequate food programs for those who need them. The prior Administration ignored us. The present Administration has finally come up with a hunger program which asks the poor and the hungry to wait still another two years, until 1971, before being fed and even then to be content with half a loaf. We do not and cannot accept this. We are hungry and now we expect to be fed now.

Of what solace is it to the mother in the Mississippi Delta to promise her crying hungry baby who wants food for supper tonight that she'll have something for him next year or the year after that? Of what help is it to the growing school child who's poor and wants to eat lunch and who watches his richer classmates eating lunch, that in a year or two he may be able to get a free lunch? How can the unemployed father tell his children that they face another two years of gnawing hunger and denial instead of breakfast, lunch and dinner like other normal American children? How can this country think of asking people who have waited all their lives for a decent chance that they should wait still longer while we continue to pursue other ends far less just and compelling while ignoring the minds and bodies of our most precious possessions—our children, our men and women? How can we grudgingly request \$1 billion for food and continue to spend \$30 billion a year for an unjust and immoral war? What has happened to our values?

The Nixon hunger package is unsatisfactory not only because it asks the hungry to wait still longer to be fed, it is totally inadequate in the amount budgeted. The words in the President's message are lovely, but the budget denies the words. His requested amount of one billion additional dollars by 1971 will not even pay for those reforms he says he's going to make. Moreover, it will not nearly reach the poor who need help.

For example:

He says that he will give free food stamps to families of four earning less than \$30 per month, \$360 per year. Doing this will cost about \$600 million annually (two million people times \$25 per person per month). Assuring that the other 14.5 million hard-core poor (families of four with less than \$2200 per year income) will pay no more than 30% of their income for food stamps will cost an additional \$2.58 billion per year. Thus the total cost of even his minimal im-

provements will be \$3.45 billion, just for the hardcore poor alone, rather than the \$1.3 billion he has apparently devoted to food stamps. Although his message is unclear, it appears that perhaps half of the \$2.5 billion total, or about \$1.34 billion, will be devoted to the food stamp program—the present budget of \$340 million plus the bulk of the \$1 billion in new funds which he proposes to commit.

Now let us look at the cost of a somewhat larger program. Limiting free food stamps to families earning less than \$360 a year is shockingly inadequate. The fixed costs of rent, utilities, basic clothing, transportation and medicine are such that families cannot afford any regular, normal expenditure for food until they have an income of at least \$1000 a year. We think free food stamps should be provided to families earning less than \$3000 a year. But taking \$1000 as the goal for the moment, the annual cost of free food stamps to such families would be \$1.65 billion (5.5 million people times \$25 per person per month). The annual cost of assuring that the remainder of the hard-core poor would pay no more than 30% of their income for food stamps would be \$1.98 billion. Thus the total cost of this somewhat improved program would be about \$3.63 billion.

None of these calculations include: (1) the fact that many families will receive a government subsidy exceeding 70% of their food budget, (2) the cost of providing food stamps to poor families earning between \$2200 and the poverty line, or (3) the fact that \$1200 per year buys a food package that the Department of Agriculture admits will provide a minimally nutritious diet only for a tiny minority of the most educated and resourceful of the poor.

Nor does this analysis include any reference to school lunches and school breakfasts which also need to be expanded. For example, Mr. Nixon's message fails to indicate that he has taken into account the cost of providing free school lunches for the additional 3.1 million children whom he has said will be getting the benefit of that program by fiscal 1971. Moreover, the \$104 million item for school milk which Mr. Nixon cut out of the proposed \$2½ billion budget has been reinstated by the House and may pass the Senate.

Measured against all of these needs, our demands for an additional expenditure of \$2.5 billion this year is modest. We hope that this Committee and the Congress will respond to this request. To provide free food stamps for those earning over \$30 per month and up to the level we request would not be a huge cost burden in the overall program. To meet our food demands would require only the elimination of the ABM and the SAGE bomber defense system or the farm subsidy program which gives millions of dollars to farmers not to grow food.

While we are concerned about our security abroad we are equally concerned about our security at home and think the least this nation can do is to respond to the most elemental need of many millions of its citizens by feeding the most needy without further delay.

The President also proposes to "provide" food stamps at a cost of no greater than 30% of the poor's income. While this is an improvement over the present scales, it is still nearly double the 17% most Americans pay for food.

The President proposes to give the Secretary of Agriculture the authority to operate both the food stamp and Direct Distribution programs concurrently in individual counties "at the request and expense of local officials." We thought that the Secretary of Agriculture already had the authority to declare an emergency and institute the two food programs in the same county. And we think that to say now that he will operate both programs only "at the request and expense of local officials" is to say no program improvement at all. Why should the poor continually be subject to the whim of many local officials who have proven again and again their lack of concern for them? Where are local officials going to get the money or the willingness to put up the money which they refuse to provide now? We urge that the implementation of both food programs in a single county be within the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture and that he be authorized to finance the cost of both programs' operation to the extent necessary from federal funds so that when local officials fail or refuse to cooperate, the poor will not have to suffer.

We demand finally, the following additional reforms in the food programs immediately:

(1) We demand that no family be required to buy all of their stamps at one time or during one month. We demand that food stamp participants be permitted to purchase less than the full amounts of stamps for which they are eligible.

(2) We demand that food stamp participants be permitted to purchase soaps and detergents and other personal hygiene and sanitation products.

(3) We demand that it be assured that eligible families learn about the food stamp program and that they be certified on their own word through a single affidavit and that they receive their stamps by mail.

The President in his hunger message stated that: "The moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time." We agree. We ask for action from this Congress now—not more words or studies. We know we're hungry. You have seen that we are hungry. It is long past time to debate and to study. It is time to act. We hope that your Bill, with some of the increases we have asked for here, will be passed without further delay so that those who continue to suffer from lack of food can have a chance to become healthy and productive Americans.

Senator MCGOVERN. We will certainly take that request into careful consideration. It seems to me a reasonable and helpful suggestion. We will look at it very carefully.

Thank you very much.

Rev. ABERNATHY. Thank you very kindly.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m. the committee adjourned, to reconvene at East St. Louis, Ill., on June 27, 1969.)

The first part of the report is devoted to a general survey of the situation in the country. It is followed by a detailed account of the events of the past few years, and a final chapter on the future of the country.

The second part of the report is devoted to a detailed account of the events of the past few years, and a final chapter on the future of the country.

## NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

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FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1969

U.S. SENATE,  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS,  
*East St. Louis, Ill.*

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:05 a.m., at the South End Neighborhood Opportunity Center, Senator George McGovern of South Dakota (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators McGovern of South Dakota and Percy of Illinois.

Staff members present: Gerald S. J. Cassidy, professional staff member; Carol M. Khosrovi; legislative assistant to Senator Percy.

### OPENING STATEMENT BY HON. GEORGE MCGOVERN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE

Senator MCGOVERN. If our guests will come to order now, we would like to begin the hearings that will continue throughout the morning, with a brief break for lunch at 12:30, resuming again at 1 o'clock, and continuing until about 3:30 this afternoon.

Let me begin by saying that this is one of a series of field hearings, conducted by the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, on which Senator Percy serves as a very helpful member, and which I have the privilege to Chair.

This committee was born out of a resolution passed in the Senate of the United States last year. It was a mandate to look closely at existing food programs across the country, to look at the problems of malnutrition and hunger and related human needs, and then to report back to the Congress, recommendations for dealing with the problems that we find.

I should like to say very briefly, that I personally regard the existence of widespread hunger and malnutrition in the United States as the most painful and most urgent social problem before this country today. I think it is a moral outrage that millions of Americans in this richest of all countries are still suffering from the plight of malnutrition and hunger, and it is my very earnest hope that out of the kind of hearings we hold today, and subsequent investigations by our committee, will come a formula that will put an end, once and for all, to hunger in this country.

We have learned from studies that are already completed, that it costs the United States, in dollars alone, perhaps three times as much to permit hunger to exist in this country, as it would cost to put an end to it, but beyond this dollar cost, of course, is the terrible plight of

the stunted bodies, blighted, retarded minds, the joblessness, the ineffectiveness that stems from chronic hunger and malnutrition.

We are interested in the problems in the East St. Louis area, as we are in the problems that exist in every State in this Union, of those who are suffering from inadequate diets. That is our purpose in being here today, and we are looking forward to hearing the analysis and recommendations of the various witnesses that will come before the committee.

I am especially pleased that we are here at the urging of Senator Percy, a member of the committee, and I think he would like to open with a statement at this time.

Senator Percy.

**OPENING STATEMENT BY HON. CHARLES H. PERCY, A U.S.  
SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS**

Senator PERCY. Senator McGovern, we welcome you to Illinois as chairman of the Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

Before we came over to the hearings this morning, I took Senator McGovern over to Gay Street to see how much gaiety there was on Gay Street of East St. Louis. It is hardly a street of joy. We went from home to home, picking them at random. We were invited in to see living conditions, to talk with people about their nutrition and hunger needs, and to see what human problems they face. I think we confirmed that we have great problems in East St. Louis, and they are a microcosm of problems that we face in many of our urban areas.

Many in this room can well remember the bottom of the depression in the thirties. We can remember people selling apples on the street, and picking food out of garbage cans, but that was when there was a world depression on, when this country had millions of unemployed people, and the level of economic endeavor was very low indeed.

But in this Nation, we will produce \$925 billion worth of goods and services this year, a figure that is almost incomprehensible. A trillion-dollar economy is around the corner. Yet there are millions of people in this country who will wake up hungry, who will go through the day hungry, and who will go to bed hungry.

There are people in this country who can't afford a doctor and who have never been to a dentist. There are children who have never seen a dentist. And there are people who live in unbelievable squalor, who pass their whole lives amidst misery and the stench of poverty. It exists right here in East St. Louis.

It is not easy for us to talk about hunger in an affluent society. In fact, there have been areas of this country that have resisted this committee visiting them, because they either felt that there wasn't hunger in their area, or they didn't want it known if it did exist.

I am impressed that we have had cooperation from our Governor. We welcome this committee in its inquiry here to see what we can do about the problem we know exists.

We think we have to and we can understand the nature of the problem much better. It is necessary for us, as representatives of the U.S. Senate, to go back to the Senate and report, as we will, under Senator McGovern's leadership, a midterm report, as well as a yearend re-

port. I think it will help us in our spending programs as we vote, as we do in a couple of weeks on the military appropriations bill, and on the agricultural surplus bills. I think it will help our judgment in determining whether the priorities are right in this country. When we are going to be asked to vote on a bill to provide three and a half billion dollars in payments to control agriculture and limit the production of food, and then we are given only the opportunity to vote on a bill of \$340 million to provide food for hungry people, three and a half billion to control the production of food and put a limit on it, and only less than a half a billion to provide food for hungry Americans, these hearings will be held in mind.

I don't think there is a city in the United States that has more problems than East St. Louis. The problems we face here are very severe. Thirty percent of our population is unemployed or underemployed. More than a third of the population of 85,000 of East St. Louis, received some form of public assistance. Approximately 42 percent of the city's housing is substandard, and one-third of the city's adults have received less than an eighth grade education.

I think that there is, at the same time, fewer communities that have greater potential than East St. Louis. We must develop that potential for this community. We know that providing food for the hungry, and expedient welfare programs relieve conditions temporarily, but that is only using a bandaid when major surgery is needed. What we need in this community are jobs. We have the human resources, we have the physical resources, we have the land area, and we have a community that has a desire to have jobs. We need employment. Governor Ogilvie, Senator Dirksen, and I are working with the local chamber of commerce and other community groups toward this end.

I'd like to say that we came to East St. Louis because we feel that it has great future potential. In the area of food, all of the major food programs are in work here. The school lunch program, the food stamp program, supplemental feeding programs, and nutritional aid programs. Therefore, we want to learn from the recipients of these programs, and the administrators, how they are working and whether we can make them work better.

In closing, I would like to simply indicate that as a great agricultural State, a State that produces and ships more agricultural products abroad than any other State in the Union, we should be ashamed that we have 150,000 to 200,000 children who have some form of malnutrition in Illinois. This is shocking for us, but perhaps we need to be shocked and we need to be shamed, as a nation. It is perhaps only through this activity that we'll take the necessary action to eradicate the conditions that exist. All Americans have a responsibility to these children and to society, to see that this terrible waste of human potential is ended at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to report that the people of Illinois today are not unaware of this problem. The news media and public officials have cooperated. Radio and television has taken this sorry story to the people of Illinois. I would like to insert in the record, at this time, a series of articles written by Linda Rockey in the Chicago Sun-Times, titled "Hunger in Chicago, Officially It Doesn't Exist."

As a result of these articles and other articles that have been written, officially hunger now does exist, and it is admitted by all responsible officials that we have a problem.

I would also like to insert articles written by Louis Wiley, Pulitzer Prize winner, of the Chicago Daily News, who has done a great deal to alert the country and the Nation of this problem that we face right here in Illinois.<sup>1</sup>

An article by Larry Fields, Globe-Democrat staff writer, "Hunger? It's a Daily Diet of Pessimism and Anemic Meals,"<sup>2</sup> I'd like to insert in the record at this stage.

An article in the Chicago Tribune, dated March 16, "Study of Hunger in Illinois Finds 150,000 Pupils Undernourished,"<sup>3</sup> as well as articles that have appeared in Chicago's Today.

But lest we think all of these articles are all in one vein, I would like to insert an article from the Metro-East Journal, saying that the tools are not being used, an article that appeared just Wednesday, June 25, in which a Mr. Solomakos blasts the hunger hearing plans, because Dr. Solomakos feels that these hearings will not do enough to reveal the nature of the problem.<sup>4</sup> He says, for instance:

I do not see any dignity in (accepting) free food stamps and free food. The Senate subcommittee should be investigating why people aren't working. What can they do in 1 day?

I would like to invite all of our witnesses today, if they'd like to answer his very pertinent questions, Why aren't people working in East St. Louis? Why aren't they at jobs earning their own living, rather than asking for public assistance? If you can add to that stock of knowledge, I'd appreciate it very much.

I will also insert in the record, articles from the Post-Dispatch on this same problem, and I'd also, lastly, like to put into the record, an official publication put out by Operation Breadbasket, a series of articles published by Rev. Jessie Jackson, who will appear before us today. The title is "Hunger Is a Hurtin' Thing."<sup>5</sup> a series that I think is exceedingly well done.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you, Senator Percy. The articles that you referred to will be made a part of the hearing record.

(The material referred to follows:)

<sup>1</sup> See Hunger and Farm Handouts, p. 3226.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 3227.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 3229.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 3232.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 3260.

# **HUNGER** **in Chicago**



**Officially it doesn't exist**

Reprinted from The CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

Public attention has focused in recent months on hunger in the United States, largely as a result of publication in January of a preliminary government survey that revealed "an alarming prevalence" of hunger and malnutrition (mostly in Texas and Louisiana). As with segregation a decade ago, Northern politicians have expressed outrage at conditions in the South without looking first in their own backyards. Sun-Times reporter Linda Rockey spent a month interviewing scores of Chicago physicians, nurses, nutritionists, politicians, public officials, welfare workers, teachers, home economists and the hungry. She found that hunger is a part of urban life, too.

This series was printed April 13 through 21, 1969 in the  
Chicago Sun-Times



Two-year-old Pam is one of the under-nourished children in Chicago. She is at Cook County Children's Hospital. (Sun-Times Photo)



# *Hunger—how it shows up here*

By Linda Rockey

There is hunger in Chicago.

No one can point down a street where you will find children with distended bellies and scrawny limbs. The face of hunger in this city manifests itself in subtle ways:

At an age when well-fed babies are bouncy and giggling, an infant sits listlessly for hours, not uttering a sound.

His brothers and sisters so crave food that they eat lead paint chips off the walls of rotting slum tenements. Their pregnant mother staves off hunger pangs with laundry starch.

By midmorning the heads of children in a ghetto school flop down wearily on their desks.

A Puerto Rican mother of nine, whose husband cannot find work, cooks potato peelings on a hot plate for supper.

A social worker describes the plight of the elderly poor in this city as "a slow death from malnutrition that goes on daily."

Physicians, nurses, nutritionists, welfare workers and teachers report that hunger is a

daily fact of life among Chicago's poor. "And where there's hunger, malnutrition is not far behind," said Dr. Jack Metcoff, chairman of pediatrics at Michael Reese Hospital and an authority on nutrition. But no one really knows the extent of hunger and malnutrition in Chicago.

Officially, it does not exist.

"As I go through Chicago, I don't see anyone who has to go without food. I don't think a state of hunger as such exists," said Dr. Morgan J. O'Connell, acting commissioner of the Board of Health. However, the Board's chief nutritionist said that her staff of 10 works from the assumption that there is malnutrition in this city.

The appearance of the malnourished is misleading. Adolescents and adults are usually overweight because they subsist on starches and carbohydrates, which are low in cost, high in calories and filling. As one welfare mother put it, "We may look healthy; we're just fat off of beans." Hungry children are often pale, lethargic and underweight, but they look fairly healthy unless the malnutrition is severe.

The problem is not only one of visibility, but also lack of information. Hunger in Chicago

has never been subjected to scientific scrutiny. "We know it's there but we don't know how much," said a West Side nutritionist. "No matter how many health stations we have, we don't see the worst because people, especially the poor, are crisis-oriented. They come to us when there's blood and pain."

However, the little data that exists, though fragmentary, is startling.

1 An unpublished 1968 Chicago Board of Health survey found iron deficiency anemia in 24 per cent of the 1,604 infants and preschool children surveyed. Percentages ran as high as 41 per cent in Station 15 (the all-black West Side) and 46 per cent in Station 9 (a near northwest Latin American community).

2 Nearly one-third of Chicago preschool children enrolled in Project Head Start had iron deficiency anemia, according to a 1965 Chicago Board of Education study.

(Although there are no figures on the incidence of iron deficiency anemia among middle- and upper-class children, private physicians suspect that it is quite low, "probably less than 1 per cent," said Dr. Robert S. Mendelsohn, a former top adviser to Head Start for the American Academy of Pediatrics. He also pointed out how little it takes to avoid this anemia—"a bowl of iron-fortified cereal and a little red meat or egg each day.")

3 Dr. Werner F. Cryns, an Evanston pediatrician who made home visits to retarded children in 1968 for the Illinois Department of Public Health, reported that malnutrition played "a significant role" in more than half the cases.

4 Physicians at the Woodlawn Child Health Center see many infants suffering from what they call "failure to thrive." Their weights are well under the normal range for their ages, they suffer repeatedly from colds, influenza and pneumonia and they are often severely anemic.

"There may be a medical reason, but it's more often due to inadequate food intake. What tips us off is that they thrive very well on a hospital diet," said Dr. Audrey Forbes, a pediatrician and assistant director of the Woodlawn clinic. She also reported that "the iron deficiency anemia in this neighborhood is quite startling and severe."

5 Anemia and vitamin deficiencies are "common" among children examined in Cook County Hospital, said Dr. Ira Rosenthal, chairman of pediatrics. He also sees "a fair amount of rickets" (stunted bone growth from vitamin D deficiency).

6 According to the Chicago Board of Education, 85 per cent of school-age children and 60 per cent of preschoolers have dental cavities, many with severe caries. (Recent research indicates that they are related to lack of proper food.)

7 The Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, which serves low income people who do not qualify for public aid, initiated a

homemaker service in June, 1968. By December 4,266 families were reached, and "in almost every instance there was a problem of an inadequate diet and inadequate funds to afford the proper diet," the semi-annual report said.

In the next six months, 2,000 low-income families in New York City will submit to detailed clinical exams, biochemical measurement and food intake studies as part of the government's National Nutrition Survey, which is being extended into 10 more states. Illinois is not one of them, yet the most disturbing aspect of hunger in Chicago is the lack of scientific data on it.

#### Questions raised

Metcoff, Mendelsohn, other physicians and nutritionists raise these questions:

With a large indigent population, why are there no records of growth among Chicago's poverty children to compare with normal growth curves?

Why hasn't someone found out if Chicago's high infant mortality rate is related to hunger? In Chicago's poverty areas the infant mortality rate is 38.5 per 1,000 births, as high as in Lima, Peru, and 75 per cent higher than Chicago's nonpoverty areas. The major causes of infant death — influenza and pneumonia — are 7.9 in poverty areas and 2.2 in nonpoverty areas. The premature birth rate is 13 per cent vs. 6 per cent.

"We ought to be sure that these figures are not the result of preventable malnutrition," said Metcoff.

Why has no one attempted to correlate pica (the craving for unnatural food such as lead paint chips and laundry starch) with hunger? Instances of children who eat lead paint chips off the walls of rotting slum tenements and pregnant women who consume large quantities of laundry starch occur most in the poor black community. The results of lead poisoning are brain damage and even death.

Starch eating, a cultural habit among urban black women whose Southern ancestors ate clay during pregnancy, causes severe anemia. As Mendelsohn puts it, "I never heard of rich people who ate lead or starch."

#### A survey planned

The Board of Health plans to survey the city late this spring or early summer "to determine if we have a problem," said O'Connell. He declined to elaborate further, but the board's chief nutritionist, Virginia Jauch, said she knew nothing of the study plans.

Metcoff indicated that a year's study could be done for "a couple hundred thousand, which is not much when you consider that we may be talking about 2,000,000 children."

The study should focus on preschool children, especially under age 2, he said. School and Head Start studies are limited because they reflect "the hardest children — the worst examples have died by age 2." Furthermore, Head Start children are not the most deprived.

A study of younger children would also pick up malnutrition before it was a factor in irreversible brain damage.

Recent animal studies indicate that malnu-

trition during brain formation can permanently stunt mental growth. Mental retardation is more common in poverty areas, and many teachers, as well as physicians, have observed that hunger hampers learning ability.

#### No controlled tests

No one has taken a control group of poor people and fed them adequately without changing other factors (clothing, shelter) to determine how diet affects well-being. "I suspect a great deal," said Dr. Joseph W. Swartwout, an obstetrician at the University of Chicago who also suspects that "close to

100 per cent of Chicago's indigent pregnant women are malnourished." He found starch-eating among 16 per cent of these women in 1968. An earlier study at Cook County Hospital uncovered 35 per cent.

"How much of this you could cure with good nutrition is anybody's guess, but it's high time we were finding out," he said. He would like to do such a study, but can't get the money. "Nutrition is a second-rate scientific endeavor, yet with the undernourishment of the poor and over-nourishment of the rich, it is probably the nation's greatest health problem."



Traunza, 3, is being treated for rickets, a food deficiency disease, at Cook County Children's Hospital. (Sun-Times Photo)

## ADULTS AVERAGE 26c A MEAL

## Welfare food allotment under fire

By Linda Rocky

When Dr. Albert D. Klinger studied medicine in the '50s, his teachers told him that no malnutrition exists in this country except as a result of food faddism.

## HUNGER in Chicago



"And I believed it until I worked for the Chicago Board of Health and saw kids with rickets, low blood counts and stunted growth," said Klinger, a South Side internist who has worked with welfare patients since 1960.

Jacqui Alberts, a young nutritionist for Miles Square Health Center on the West Side, said, "None of what I learned in school works here. Everything is applicable to the white middle class only. Even the low-cost diet we studied and lived on for a week wasn't near as low as the welfare allotment."

Miss Alberts belongs to the committee on nutrition and hunger of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, which is working toward elevating the public aid allotment for food.

"I don't see how welfare mothers manage on the food allowance. I couldn't do it," she said. Since she joined Miles Square a year and a half ago, more than 1,000 patients have been referred to her for dietary problems. "Most of them are malnourished and need a high-protein, high-vitamin diet, but they can't afford it, so it's ridiculous to talk about it."

Klinger, who heads the committee on nutrition and hunger, tried in 1963, when the state welfare allowances were set, to persuade the Illinois State Medical Society to call for an increase in food allowances.

"The society's nutrition committee recommended such a resolution," he recalled, "but the house of delegates wouldn't pass it because it would embarrass Harold O. Swank (head of the Illinois Department of Public Aid) to have to ask for more money."

Swank maintained that the current welfare allowances provide for "a minimum adequate standard of living in keeping with decency and good health. It is not my position to determine if the food item is adequate. It was thoroughly reviewed in 1963-4, and from the information I have from technicians in the field and the Illinois State Medical Society, it is."

However, a spokesman for the Society said, "Hunger is a difficult subject in general, complicated by political influence and educational needs. The society has been reluctant to say that so many cents are adequate or inadequate for food because of these and other influencing factors."

Klinger has also tried without success to urge the Chicago Medical Society to take a stand favoring higher food allowances.

"The Chicago Pediatric Society said that the allowance was

in keeping with health and the CMS said that it couldn't take a different stand because of its involvement with physicians in CPS," he said. Officials of CMS refused to comment on the subject of hunger in Chicago.

For those who don't find the welfare food allotment adequate, Swank said that it is "a problem of management."

This attitude infuriates Mrs. Catherine Orstead, nutritionist at the Martin Luther King Health Center, who said, "They're hungry because they don't have enough money. It's ridiculous to say that we should teach them how to stretch a dollar. If I wanted to know, I'd ask them. They're the experts."

The Illinois Department of Public Aid bases its food allowances on the economy plan of the Agriculture Department's Family Food Plans and Food Costs. The welfare check is computed by the case worker on the basis of a \$5.37 weekly food allowance for adults, \$6.09 for teen-agers, \$4.86 for children ages 6-12 and \$3.45 for children under 6. For the adult this means an average of 26 cents per meal.

The amount is supposed to be adjusted according to the cost of living (up 8 per cent in Chicago in the last two years), and Swank said that it has been elevated accordingly. However, numbers of physicians, nutritionists, case workers and welfare recipients argue that it never has been enough for a proper diet.

To find out, the task force on public aid of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, headed by Douglas Cater, a case worker for the Cook County Department of Public Aid, challenged well-to-do families to live on the welfare budget for a week.

Rep. Abner Mikva (D-Ill.), whose family took part, concluded, "I would guess that there is not one family within 100 who is living on the amount allocated to them for food and still staying within the nutritional standards set up by the experts."

The Church Federation reported responses from families who felt that the allowances were definitely too low, and from many who indicated that they were adequate provided the following circumstances were present:

- 1 Auto and newspaper available to take advantage of sales in different stores.
- 2 Adequate storage space.
- 3 The homemaker is proficient in calculating nutritional values and bargain prices.
- 4 No members of the family had unusually large appetites or special dietary needs such as those imposed by diabetes, pregnancy and ulcers.
- 5 The family is able to use the WHOLE allowance for food. Cater pointed out that most welfare recipients do not have autos or newspapers. Neighborhood stores in poverty areas do not offer the supermarket prices available in higher-income neighborhoods. Storage space, especially freezer, is limited. Rats and roaches make it impractical to leave groceries on shelves. The homemaker usually has no training in nutrition and math. There are often large appetites and special dietary needs.

Most important, the family is unable to use the whole allowance for food because:

- 1 The rent is often more than the rent allowance, and food money must be added.
- 2 Because of faulty heating, cooking gas must be used for fuel. Excessive gas bills cause amounts to be deducted from future welfare checks corresponding to amounts paid by

Public Aid to the utility company.

**3** Food money is frequently used for items such as bus fare because the personal essentials allowance is inadequate (\$4 or \$5 per person per month).

The result of all this, said Dr. Klinger, is that somebody goes without, "usually Mama, often the kids."

The Church Federation is now involved in a food pricing project. Its preliminary findings document the impressions of many — that food prices are higher in low-income, primarily ghetto areas. In a survey of 21 ghetto stores and 26 stores in more affluent areas, it was impossible to buy the ingredients needed for a weekly menu plan designed by the Cook County Department of Public Aid. In one ghetto store, they cost 74 cents over the allowance, in five higher-income stores they cost less than \$1 over. In five ghetto stores, and nine higher-income stores between \$1 and \$2 over. In 12 ghetto stores and only three higher-income stores, more than \$3 over.

As a barometer of price-gouging on the West Side, Mrs. Orstead used a special canned milk for "failure to thrive" infants. She paid 26 cents a can in her home suburb of Aurora. The people she prescribed it to paid 33 cents on the West Side. "Poor people know they pay more for everything," she said.

The Board of Health has found not only higher prices, but also poorer quality food in the ghetto, according to its chief nutritionist. State Rep. Robert Mann (D-Chicago) said that some ghetto stores understock and raise their prices the day that welfare checks come out.

Swank's response? He admitted that all these problems exist, but, he said, "They are not a general pattern, and we cannot set a standard based on the exceptions." People who do not eat adequately on the food allowance use it for other things "such as cigarets and comic books." He pointed as evidence to the fact that only one-third of those on public aid participate in the food stamp program (under which a family spending 80 per cent of its food budget at once can get 27 per cent extra with food stamps). "I can only assume that the other two-thirds are not spending 80 per cent of the allowance for food."

It's not that simple. Many welfare recipients said they don't participate because they don't want to give up that 80 per cent at the beginning of the month in case an emergency arises later. Furthermore, the food stamp program is full of red tape. One has to apply in person at 1841 W. Madison, weekdays only, and bring a raft of receipts verifying his poverty. Authorization comes by mail but he must go to a currency exchange to buy the stamps.

Critics of the welfare program also argue that agencies use white, middle class home economists who are insensitive to the cultural patterns of the poor. For example, during the West Side riots following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the government distributed surplus dried skimmed milk, which public aid home economists also recommend for the welfare diet.

"It's ridiculous," said Mrs. Orstead. "Black people know evaporated milk. Their children won't drink the powdered stuff." (Nor would Abner Mikva's children during their week on the welfare diet.)

A disenchanted black member of the home economics division of the Cook County Department of Public Aid said that most of her co-workers don't begin to understand the needs of their clients. "They try but they just don't know," she said. "How do you condition the mind to want broccoli or tuna salad when it's used to greens and ham hocks?"

"Home economists can afford to be creative with new stoves and refrigerators," said Bob Taylor, president of the Chicago Welfare Rights Organization. He maintains that half the people he works for are "starving to death."

"Public aid recommends that they use chicken wings," he added. "What's wrong with a drum stick once in a while? We're tired of beans and rice and potatoes."

Taylor also had a question about the federal surplus commodities sent into the West Side, where his office is, after the 1968 riots. "Where is that food during the rest of the year?"

Unavailable to a hungry Chicagoans, the Rev. Father Peter J.

Powell, director of Saint Augustine's Center for American Indians, has found.

He has been trying for seven years to make federal surplus foods available to Indians, Latin Americans and Southern whites in Uptown "nearly all in immediate need of food."

The response from the Agriculture Department was that "legislation does not permit us to distribute commodities in food stamp areas except in temporary emergency situations."

"We have an emergency need right now. We have to get food in stomachs right now," retorted the Rev. Fr. Powell, who has found that most of the 400 new families arriving in Uptown each year do not qualify for public assistance or the food stamp program.

"This area can be declared a disaster area as far as hunger is concerned," said Jim Grisham, director of the Chicago Southern Center in Uptown. "An average of 24 families are living in buildings designed for six, and I would guess that these 24 are living on the amount of food once consumed by six."

Regarding the federal government's refusal to distribute surplus commodities in the area, he said, "Apparently the war on poverty is not in league with the war on hunger."

Although the majority of Uptown's residents are not on welfare, most of the men are underemployed as a result of the vicious circle perpetuated by daily pay. A man moves his family into the area and has to have money right away, so he goes to work for one of the 20 daily pay agencies. At the end of a working day he is paid about \$11. His rent is about \$7 a day.

"If he gets a job that pays twice as much," said Grisham, "he gets paid every two weeks. The first two weeks he goes home to a hungry family. What choice does he have but to go on daily pay. He wants to break the cycle but he can't without starving in the process."

To meet the emergency needs of newcomer families, parents out of work and families waiting for welfare checks, several public and private agencies organized the Uptown Community Pantry in the Montrose Urban Progress Center. In one 6-month period, it assisted 2,360 families and 201 individuals, but during seven weeks of the same period, its food supply was completely exhausted.

Many churches and settlement houses operate free food distribution centers, but there is never enough for all who seek it.



"I don't see how welfare mothers manage on the food allowance; I couldn't do it," says Jacqui Alberts (right), a nutritionist on the West Side.

## NEED KNOWS NO COLOR LINE

# How some poor families survive

By Linda Rockey

Juanita Slaton lives in an all-black West Side housing project with her seven children and her daughter Shirley Ann's four. She will probably never know Lula Couch, who resides with her husband and six children in poor white Uptown, or Maria Lopez, who is awaiting the birth of her second child in a Spanish-speaking Wicker Park tenement.

Yet they share one common trait — their families are hungry. Their stories provide ample evidence that hunger in Chicago knows no color line.

Nor is it restricted to public aid recipients. The Slatons are hungry because they are on welfare. The Couches are hungry because Mr. Couch is ill and cannot work. The Lopezes are hungry because Mr. Lopez is underemployed.

The Slaton home at 2145 W. Lake is a tiny 3-bedroom apartment with cement walls and cheap tile floors. It's not large enough for the 13 people who occupy it but Mrs. Slaton keeps it neat and attractive with plastic coverings on the furniture, candle holders on the walls, artificial flowers in the corners and colorful throw pillows on the sofa.

"Almost everything we have I bought when I was working," said Mrs. Slaton, 41, a tall, heavy woman who must have been pretty once, before she gained weight and lost her front teeth. She worked as a sewing machine operator for seven years, making good money until April of 1967 when her diabetes got so bad she had to quit. She applied for public aid right away, but by the time her first welfare check came in August, the family had been evicted from their apartment.

"I never knew what it's like to be poor until I got too sick for work," she said. Now she knows poverty and its ever-present companion, hunger.

The Slatons are hungry. It doesn't take long to detect the symptoms.

The youngest in the family, Shirley Ann's 13-month old twins, ought to be lively and noisy, but they sit listlessly for hours, not uttering a sound. The older children are almost as lethargic, bringing to mind the medical evidence that children deprived of adequate food appear dull and lifeless.

Mrs. Slaton and her daughter Shirley are overweight, a sign that their diets, though adequate in calories, may be deficient in important nutrients. They are eating the food that comes cheapest, starches and carbohydrates, which are also the most fattening.

It would be easy to say that the Slatons are hungry because they are ignorant of proper dietary habits. On the early spring day of this interview, it was past noon before anyone in the family had anything to eat.

However, Mrs. Slaton knows that her family should eat breakfast. She should follow her doctor's instructions to have three small, nonfattening meals each day. She cannot afford it. She gives priority to milk for the children and a big dinner meal for the entire family. Beyond that, there isn't enough money.

She receives \$293 a month from the Cook County Department of Public Aid. Her daughter Shirley is paid \$96 a month in child support through a court order. Welfare is supposed to supplement that, but since Dec. 24, when she was burned out of her apartment and came to live with her mother, she has received only \$30.

### Must spend food allowance at once

Mrs. Slaton's food allowance is \$122 a month. With food stamps, she can buy \$160 worth of food. But to take advantage of the stamp program, she must spend 80 per cent of her food allowance at once.

"There's a store across the street and another around the corner, but they're too expensive," she said. (A food pricing survey by the Church Federation of Greater Chicago has confirmed that food costs are higher in low-income areas.) However, she must patronize these stores for items that she needs daily, like milk, which sells for \$1.09 a gallon in her neighborhood and 98 cents farther west.

Out of her food budget also must come 37 cents a day for each of five children in school. Only one gets a free lunch because "she has a nice counselor who asked for it." Under the National School Lunch Act all five children should qualify for free lunches, but Mrs. Slaton said she had never heard of a free program at the schools the other four attend.

After food, Mrs. Slaton has \$171 a month which is supposed to cover rent (\$86.50) and all the other essentials of life. Sometimes it doesn't, and she has to dip into the food money, a regular habit among welfare recipients.

Mrs. Slaton hates being on welfare and wants to go back to work. "I love to sew and I'm tired of staying in the house all day," she said. "But I can't work as long as my diabetes is this bad. The doctor says it would be better if I didn't worry so much."

### Sick pay doesn't go far

Dewey Couch, 33, worries, too. Maybe that's why he has bleeding ulcers and lost the job in a Greyhound garage that gave him a weekly take-home pay of \$118 or more. Now he draws \$65 a week in sick pay, \$30 of which must go to rent a 5-room apartment at 4527 N. Racine. What's left is not enough to keep his wife and six children properly fed and clothed.

And that's why his wife Lula often goes to the Chicago Southern Center for free food and clothing. Sometimes she gets it. Other times, the supply has already been exhausted by other poor white families who came to Chicago because they thought they could make a living.

"We don't eat half as well as we did in Kentucky," said Mrs. Couch. "We grew our own food, raised our own chickens and someone always had a cow."

Why, then did they leave?

"Same reason as everybody else," she replied. "There's no more work down there. 'I worked in the coal mines, but it was too dangerous,' her husband added. 'We thought we could do better here.'"

He did, until he had to quit work Jan. 31. His sick pay didn't start until March 17. In the meantime, he went to public aid and received \$64 in emergency assistance. He has since been told that welfare can't help him if he draws more than \$200 a month in sick pay.

The Couches are a close family where affection flows freely and pride inhibits candor about their plight — until Mrs. Couch gets mad enough.

What makes her angry? Prejudice against Southern people, crime in Uptown, junked cars and drunks, and the United States' beautification program. "If you want to beautify America, fatten up a child. Trees won't fill his stomach or put a smile on his mother's face."

The Couches eat "mostly ground beef, hot dogs, rice and greens." The children have been getting free lunch at school since their father stopped working, but their teeth, like their parents', have the telltale dark stains of dietary deficiencies. They rarely eat fresh fruits and vegetables. The Southern Center cannot give away that kind of food.

Dewey Couch knows that he could rent a place cheaper on a monthly basis, but he has never been able to save enough money for all the necessary deposits. What he and his family would really like to do is go back to Hazard, Ky. "The South is home to me," said his wife.

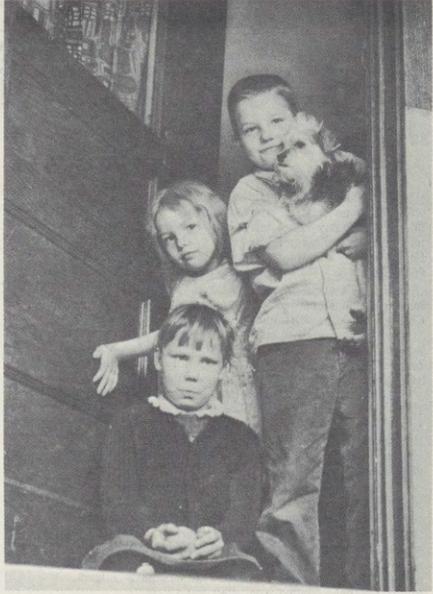
Maria Lopez's husband is working, but he doesn't have enough either. He is a skilled machine operator, but since a hernia operation, he has not felt well enough to handle more than a \$60-a-week messenger job in the Loop.

During his illness, the family was on public aid, but after the surgery he was disqualified, "even though his Spanish doctor said he shouldn't go back to work yet," said his wife Maria, mother of one and about to have another.

"I've gained too much weight during my pregnancy, so the clinic (Board of Health) put me on a low salt diet. I'm supposed to have meat, fresh vegetables and fruit once a day, but I can't."

The Lopezes don't have enough money for food now, but Maria said that it was even worse when they received \$155 a month on welfare.

"I usually ran out of food a week before the check was due and had to borrow money from the Latin American Defense Organization for the baby's milk. Most of the people in this neighborhood are hungry because most of them are on welfare."



Part of the eight-member Couch family of the Uptown area are Dora 7, (seated), Maggie, 6, and Dewey Jr., 8. Their father, a garage worker, feeds them on \$65 a week sick pay. He suffers from a bleeding ulcer.



"If you want to beautify America, fatten up a child. Trees won't fill his stomach or put a smile on his mother's face," says Mrs. Lula Couch holding her youngest son, Danny, 5 months. (Sun-Times Photos)

## LUNCH PROGRAMS INADEQUATE

# Teachers see daily evidence that hungry pupils don't learn

By Linda Rockey

Mrs. Sadie Nesbitt has been a teacher for many years, and she can cope with just about any discipline problem.

But one day 6-year-old Henry was too much to handle. His anger and restlessness was disrupting the entire class. Mrs. Nesbitt sent him to the principal's office.

Herschel Rader, principal of the Johnson Elementary School in the north Lawndale neighborhood, asked Henry what was bothering him. The child scowled and was silent.

"What did you have for dinner last night?" Rader asked.

"Beans and cornbread," was the mumbled reply.

"No meat?"

Henry shook his head.

"Did you have breakfast this morning?"

Again Henry shook his head.

Then Rader was distracted by a phone call, and Henry fell asleep in his chair for the afternoon.

"Whenever we have a behavior problem, we find it helpful to review the last 24 hours of a child's life, especially what he ate," said Rader.

About one-third of the children in Johnson School, 1420 S. Albany, live on welfare budgets. Most of the others are from low-income families.

No scientific study has established a relationship between hunger and the hostility, fatigue and inability to concentrate that is prevalent in poverty-area schools.

However, recent animal studies indicate that malnutrition affects learning ability. And an unpublished 1965 survey of 2,000 Woodlawn first-graders found that children who went without breakfast had trouble socializing in school.

"It didn't matter what the child ate," said Dr. Sheppard G. Kellam, co-director of the Woodlawn Mental Health Center. "If he had something, even just liquid, he was better able to socialize."

Inability to socialize, one of the basic first-grade tasks, also correlated with premature birth, pregnancy complications, underweight and childhood illness, according to the Woodlawn study.

Teachers only know what they see: Children like Henry who are alternately frustrated and angry, listless and weary. Hungry children.

"We learn to carry candy with us because it makes a difference in discipline," said Mrs. Nesbitt. (Physicians say that inattentive schoolchildren could be suffering from hypoglycemia, a low level of sugar on the blood, caused by inadequate food.)

Mrs. Jean Komaiko, a volunteer reading teacher in the Johnson School since last fall, said it took only a week to realize that "hungry kids don't learn."

She was even more appalled to find that when federally subsidized milk arrived at midmorning, children who couldn't pay 4 cents sat and watched their more fortunate classmates drink milk.

She organized a group of volunteers who raised \$5,400 and began giving free milk to each of the school's 850 children.

(All other Chicago schoolchildren pay 4 cents for a half-pint of midmorning milk. It costs 7 cents, so schools without free-lunch programs receive a 3-cent federal subsidy. However, schools in poverty areas that participate in the free-lunch program receive a 4-cent subsidy so that the school can make a penny profit to support the program.)

Rader agreed that every child should receive free milk. "Otherwise you have to prove you're poor to get milk. That's the way the free-lunch program is run and it's unfair."

Under the National School Lunch Act, poverty-area schools are allotted a certain number of free lunches. The federal government contributes 24 cents to the total cost of a lunch (39.2 cents). The Chicago Board of Education makes up the difference.

Chicago school served 13,455 free lunches in March. However, between 130,000 and 180,000 schoolchildren qualify, according to federal guidelines, which recommend that all children on welfare or at comparable income levels be included.

"Principals decide which children receive free lunches," said Edward U. Gaidzek, director of lunchrooms for the Chicago Board of Education. "Federal guidelines are sent home and parents go to the school and sign up if they qualify."

"We give them to everyone we think should have them until we run out," said Rader. "There is always a waiting list."

Johnson School gives about 160 free lunches a day, but Mrs. Nesbitt estimates that "easily 75 per cent" of the 850 students need a free lunch and breakfast.

At nearby Howland School, 1616 S. Spaulding, school officials agree that the application form for free lunches is "degrading."

"The parent has to come into the office and take what amounts to a poverty oath," said Mrs. Komaiko. Already registered as a welfare recipient, he has to answer questions about income and welfare assistance and explain "any special situation which makes the family expenses greater than normal."

### Breakfast often skipped

Howland gives free lunches to 600 of its 1,867 students, but "nearly all the children need it," said Mrs. Ida Moore, assistant principal. "There's no question that they're undernourished. They may come to school with a full stomach, but not a balanced meal."

Some do not even come with a full stomach. Breakfast is one of the first things a welfare family does without when the money is running low.

Under the National School Breakfast Program, which operates in 70 Chicago schools on a pilot basis, the federal government pays 15 cents, the child 10 cents.

Both Johnson and Howland schools have the breakfast program, which Mrs. Komaiko terms "a cruel hoax" because most of the children can't afford the 10 cents.

For those at Howland who can, however, the breakfast program has made a tremendous difference in attendance.

"No matter how early I come to school, there are children

waiting for breakfast," said Mrs. Nina Jones, principal.

"No one is taken out of the breakfast line if he doesn't have 10 cents," added Mrs. Moore. "If necessary, the teachers pay for the kids' breakfast."

Before the breakfast program, many children had no breakfast or subsisted until lunch on a 5-cent bag of potato chips and hot sauce.

"Teachers go to the breakfast line first thing in the morning for a doughnut and coffee," said Mrs. Moore. "If our need is that great, think what it must be for the children."

#### School board amazed

Like Mrs. Komaiko and others, she urges a completely free breakfast and lunch program in Chicago public schools.

"Food means love," said Mrs. Komaiko. "If this society has any love for its children, give them a free breakfast and lunch at school."

The notion stuns the Board of Education.

"If we wanted to do everything in our wildest dreams, it would cost us millions," said Gaidzek.

In other states, federal school-lunch grants are supplemented by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).

According to Arthur Lehne, the Board of Education's assistant superintendent in charge of government-funded programs, Chicago receives \$21,000,000 in ESEA money.

#### Goes for education

"This isn't enough for educational and food programs, so nearly all of it is spent on education," Lehne said.

Mrs. Komaiko contacted the office of Ray Page, state superintendent of public instruction, about the possible use of ESEA funds for food programs.

"I was told that much of the money was needed for seventh-grade social studies texts," she said. "How can we teach kids social studies when they're hungry?"

Chicago receives less than one-third of the federal lunch money appropriated to Illinois, even though two-thirds of the state's children on welfare live in Chicago. The federal lunch money is funneled through Page's office.

"There is a danger that this money will run out in the beginning of June," said Gaidzek. "In that case the school board is committed to supporting the program through its own funds. I think it has done well to feed as many kids as it has."

The question is not only how many but how well.

Nearly half the Chicago schools do not have lunchrooms. One of these is Howland. Hot lunches come from nearby Faragut High School is steamed containers and are served in a makeshift lunchroom in the basement next to the boys' washroom.

Schools were originally built to feed only those children who couldn't go home for lunch because they lived too far away. "Poverty has forced a new role that the schools aren't prepared to handle," Gaidzek said. "We need a regular restaurant operation in many of our schools."

The Near West Side Concerned Citizens Organization, a group of parents headed by Mrs. Mabel Lear, has complained about the lack of lunchroom facilities for a number of reasons.

Children at the Allen School, 1321 S. Paulina, have to walk three blocks to the Gladstone School, 1231 S. Damen, for lunch. "Parents don't like small children out on the streets alone," she said. "We want food brought into the Allen School."

#### Rushed through lunch

Mrs. Lear also said that children at the Smyth School, 1050 W. 13th, which has only one lunchroom, eat in shifts and "are pushed and rushed through lunch and have to run around the streets for 45 minutes."

The quality of food served in Chicago public schools is also under fire.

"Lots of starch and too little meat," said Mrs. Moore. "We see more spaghetti, spam and chopped-up hot dogs than anything else."

When Mrs. Lear heard that schools didn't always serve the proper menu, she paid a surprise visit to the Gladstone School.

"The Board of Education menu called for chicken with gravy and vegetables," she said. "I found the children eating hot dogs and beans. Many children prefer to run to the hot dog stand to eating the lunchroom slop."



Pupils at Lawndale's Johnson School, 1420 S. Albany, wait in line for free morning milk. (Sun-Times Photo)

# The elderly poor are often hungry

By Linda Rockey

Their children have grown and gone, their spouses have passed away. Their health is poor and getting worse. Their income, from Social Security and old-age assistance, is meager. They live alone, afraid or unable to go out. They are lonely, despondent, neglected.

And hungry.

Mrs. Lilo Salmon, a social worker for Little Brothers of the Poor, describes the plight of Chicago's elderly poor as "a slow death from malnutrition that goes on daily."

"Another lady died of malnutrition just the other day," she said. "We visited her every month and brought her food. We always had the feeling she wasn't eating well, but she didn't tell us. She was too proud."

## \$26.18 for food a month

The woman was on old-age assistance. Every month she received a check from the Cook County Department of Public Aid for her rent plus \$41.03 for living expenses—\$26.18 for food, \$6.05 for clothing, \$1.80 for household supplies and \$7 for personal items.

Social Security wouldn't have helped. Public Aid deducts any additional income from the above amount, the maximum assistance for an elderly person living alone.

Chicago has 367,000 residents 65 or older. The Chicago Commission for Senior Citizens estimates that about a third of them are malnourished.

Robert J. Ahrens, executive director, bases this estimate on national figures, which show 30 per cent of America's aged living in poverty (below an annual income of \$1,565 for a single elderly person living in the city). In February, there were 18,413 persons in Cook County on old-age assistance.

"You've got to believe hunger exists among the elderly, or we wouldn't hear so many stories about them dying from malnutrition," Ahrens said.

But no one really knows the extent of hunger among Chicago's aged. Unlike children, they are not popular subjects for scientific studies.

"This is an even more neglected, difficult area than the other aspects of hunger in Chicago," said Dr. Jeremiah Stampler, director of the chronic illness section of the Chicago Board of Health.

Few physicians are qualified to expound on the nutritional problems of the elderly poor.

"Most doctors are reluctant to see them because Medicare and old-age assistance require so much paperwork and red tape," said Dr. Albert D. Klinger, a South Side internist and nutrition committee chairman of the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

## 'Have' to rely on public clinics'

Mrs. Salmon agrees. "If poor old people want a doctor," she said, "they have to rely on public clinics. This means using money they would otherwise spend for food to get to the clinics and then waiting for hours, which is so frustrating that they don't go as often as they should."

Inadequate income is the major problem of the nation's elderly, according to a working paper issued in March by the Senate Committee on Aging. The report said also that more than half the nation's poor are persons over 65 who live alone. The majority of these are women.

One is Mrs. Mary Jones, small and thin and approaching 70, who lives in a shabby three-room apartment on Chicago's Near North Side. Pictures of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. hang on the crumbling plaster walls, and religious figures decorate the otherwise sparsely furnished rooms.

"I just look to the Lord, He's all I have," said Mrs. Jones, who receives \$55 a month for rent and \$41.03 for living expenses from old-age assistance. She spends about \$20 a month on food, subsisting mostly on milk, grits, rice, greens and lima beans.

## 'Almost froze last winter'

A volunteer for Little Brothers of the Poor regularly visits Mrs. Jones and took her out for Easter Sunday dinner. Otherwise, except for her two cats and an occasional visit from one of her six children, she is alone.

She knows that her diet is inadequate, but she worries more about her housing. "I almost froze to death last winter," she said, pointing out the cracks in the windows where she had stuffed rolled newspaper to keep out the cold.

"We've been trying for months to find better housing for her," said Mrs. Salmon. "It's difficult because public aid has a \$90 ceiling on rent."

Mrs. Salmon and her husband, Michael, who operate Little Brothers at 1654 W. Belmont, are from Germany, where people over 65 receive special allowances because they are old.

"Public aid is very rigid here," Mrs. Salmon said. "It doesn't take into consideration individual cases at all."

Mrs. Pearl Ethel Green agrees, so much so that she wants to go to Springfield to testify before the Legislative Advisory Committee on Public Aid.

## Looks for cheaper apartment

"But I'm ashamed to go because I don't have a decent pair of shoes," said this Woodlawn welfare recipient who will be 75 on Thursday.

She receives \$49.40 from Social Security and \$103.25 from old-age assistance. Rent on her five room apartment is \$120 a month.

"I asked the realty company months ago for a smaller, cheaper place," she said. "I can't get out to look for one because I'm crippled (by arthritis)."

Mrs. Green's husband left 10 years ago after she took in two grandchildren who were deserted by their parents. The children's father is supposed to support them.

"He has them over for dinner sometimes, but he never sends me any money," said Mrs. Green. "I have a terrible time trying to get by."

## Chicken once in a while

She cooks "plenty of food for the kids but not the right kinds. Fresh fruit and meat, except a chicken once in a while, are out

of the question. I often go without food."

She has to shop in higher-priced neighborhood stores because she can't walk to supermarkets. The children are sometimes robbed by older boys on the way to the store.

When Mrs. Green worked as a hotel maid she was "much better off. I was able to eat what I wanted. I asked Public Aid if I could baby-sit for a few extra dollars, but they told me whatever I made would have to be deducted from my check."

Dr. Klinger, who is treating Mrs. Green for her arthritis and high blood pressure, put her on a low-calorie diet because she is overweight from eating mostly starchy foods. She can't afford to follow it, any more than she can afford transportation to his office, so he often pays her cab fare.

Because many of the aged did not become poor until they became old, according to the Senate Committee on Aging, it is believed that inadequate income is the major reason for their poor diet.

#### Reduced income cuts into living

"Poor health and living alone might have some influence, but you have to think of money first," said Jane Garretson, director of United Charities' Service for the Aged.

"They have been self-reliant for years, only to be reduced to an income which doesn't provide a minimum decent living. I wonder at their capacity to manage on the public assistance budget."

Elderly welfare recipients must get by on less than \$1 a day for food. A spokesman for the Metropolitan Chicago Nursing Homes Assn., at a recent hearing before the Legislative Advisory Committee on Public Aid, testified that the food cost per capita in nursing homes is more than \$1 daily, not including the cost of preparation.

Mrs. Salmon favors raising both old-age assistance and Social Security payments. "Many old people must get by on tea and toast for days until the next check arrives," she said.

#### Standards set by well-fed

Brig. Roland J. Quinn of the Salvation Army's Harbor Light mission, which feeds many old men living on Skid Row, said, "The standard of public assistance is at best borderline. I have a feeling that the standards are set by people who only get good meals and have never had to live on aid."

While people with jobs can try to keep pace with rising living costs through wage and salary increases, the elderly, whose incomes are fixed, cannot. Wilbur J. Cohen, former secretary of health, education and welfare, has urged Congress to reform tax laws as they apply to the elderly.

More money may be the first, but not the only answer to hunger among the elderly.

"If you've been cooking for a family for years, it's no fun to eat by yourself," said Miss Garretson.

#### Old story: Funds ran out

"Many old people are feeble and don't like to cook anymore because it's dangerous, so they never have a hot meal," said Mrs. Salmon. "If we had more funds and staff, we could operate a hot meal delivery like the Welfare Council used to have."

A few years ago the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago had a meals-on-wheels program financed by the U.S. Public Health Service. When the funds ran out, it was discontinued.

This year the Chicago Commission for Senior Citizens has a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to begin a citywide nutrition program for the elderly. When the program is in full operation in mid-1969, some 1,500 meals will be served daily to 35 groups throughout the city.

Some 3,000 of Chicago's elderly are expected to participate. Cost will range from 45 cents for those on public assistance to 80 cents.

Research into the social and dietary habits of the elderly is also part of the project. "In addition to the noon meals, we hope to be knocking on many doors to get some answers," said Ahrens.

He admitted that the feeding program for 3,000 is "just a drop in the bucket" when compared with the number of elderly poor living in Chicago.



Of the \$41.03 she receives for living expenses each month, Mrs. Mary Jones spends about \$20 on food. Though her diet is inadequate, she worries more about her shabby Near North Side apartment. (Sun-Times Photo)

## BLAME RED TAPE, SYSTEM

# No place to go for food

By Linda Rockey

Toward the end of the month, when welfare allowances are running low, the Woodlawn Child Health Center receives many requests for formula milk for babies.

With a supply of free samples from pharmaceutical companies, the South Side clinic is able to meet some of the requests.

But it cannot use its funds to dispense milk, a clinic physician said, because "milk is not a prescription item, and we're not in the business of dispensing food."

The trouble is that nobody is. Aside from a handful of churches and settlement houses which give out free food (not nearly enough for all who seek it), there is no place in Chicago where hungry families can go for food.

Physicians who work in Chicago poverty areas have testified in state-sponsored hearings that hunger is a daily fact of life among the poor. But their hands are tied when it comes to doing anything about it.

### 'Social, not medical, problem'

"Hunger is a social, not a medical problem," said Dr. Audrey Forbes, assistant director of the Woodlawn clinic.

"There are many problems we can't solve. Hunger is one we can. We know the solutions," said Jacqui Alberts, a West Side nutritionist.

"It's so easily preventable — people must have enough food," said Dr. Jack Metcalf, chairman of pediatrics at Michael Reese Hospital and an authority on nutrition.

Then what stands in the way of adequately feeding the hungry?

Groups and individuals concerned about hunger in Chicago blame bureaucratic red tape and a deficient welfare system.

For example, individuals in Uptown have tried for seven years to make surplus food available to low-income families.

### U.S. restricts distribution

Federal restrictions prohibit the distribution of commodities in Cook County because of the federal food-stamp program, even though many hungry families do not qualify for stamps. Among those on public aid who do, only one-third participate.

Restrictions of the food-stamp program, which require a family to spend 80 per cent of its food budget at once for food, make it impractical. Many welfare recipients use part of their food allowance to meet other living expenses.

Critics of the welfare system argue that the food allowance is too low and fails to take into account conditions in low-income areas, such as the lack of storage space and higher food prices.

But their efforts to raise the allowances have been as futile as the attempts to bring surplus food into Chicago.

The problem is essentially one of attitude. Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.), who heads a special Senate committee on nutrition and human needs, has said that solving the problem of hunger "requires a commitment to feeding the undernourished."

In Chicago, Health Comr. Morgan J. O'Connell doesn't think "a state of hunger as such exists" in the city.

### Approves welfare standards

Harold O. Swank, director of the Illinois Department of Public Aid, thinks the welfare allowances provide for "a minimum adequate standard of living."

"Most (Illinois) legislators are hung up on the work ethic and object to the whole idea of welfare," said Rep. Robert Mann (D-Chicago).

Despite the efforts of individual members, local and state medical societies have steadfastly refused to support an increase in the welfare food allowances or to take a stand on the subject of hunger in Chicago.

The testimony of the poor and the impressions of those who work in poverty areas, plus a handful of fragmentary studies, have not convinced those in a position to effect change that there is hunger in Chicago.

### Citywide study urged

"We need real scientific evidence," said Metcalf. He favors a comprehensive citywide study of the poor, along the lines of the National Nutrition Survey, that would include detailed clinical exams, biochemical measurement, growth and food-intake studies. He said:

"A year's study could be done for \$200,000, which isn't much when you consider that we may be talking about 2,000,000 children."

O'Connell has promised a study by the Chicago Board of Health of malnutrition in this city by late spring or early summer, but he declined to elaborate further.

The board's chief nutritionist knew nothing of the study plans and said the board doesn't have the staff to undertake such a study.

Dr. Robert Mendelsohn, former top advisor to Project Head Start for the American Academy of Pediatrics, has publicly called for "an immediate investigation under state auspices to document and further define the extent of hunger in Illinois."

### Studies are decried

However, he said in an interview: "It's ridiculous that we need a study to prove hunger. I wouldn't permit the use of kids for any more studies unless the appropriation included money to do something about the problem right then, not six months later."

Raising the welfare food allowance is the immediate goal of the newly formed committee on nutrition and hunger of the Chicago Medical Committee on Human Rights.

"The present welfare allowance is the kind used to feed starving people when the ports are blocked, the crops in the field are rotten and corn is at a premium," said Dr. Alfred D. Klinger, committee chairman.

He advocates raising the food allotment to the liberal diet plan of the U.S. Agriculture Department Family Food Plans and Food Costs, an average of 45 to 50 cents per person per meal.

The present allotment is based on the department's economy diet plan, an average of 26 cents per person per meal.

Present welfare allowances do not account for the 5 per cent sales tax and do not always provide an increase to match the cost-of-living index.

### Prices outstrip aid

Since the public-aid allowances were set in 1963, a 12 per cent increase has been allotted, but the Consumer Price Index shows nearly a 15 per cent increase.

In its February statement to the legislative advisory committee on public aid, the League of Women Voters called for a full adjustment in welfare payments at each six-month review of the index. Increases now are permitted only when the index rises 3 per cent or more.

The statement said: "By denying an increase to match the increase in the cost-of-living index, we are actually depriving a family of four of \$2.25 per month in food-buying power."

However, Klinger objects, as do many physicians, to determining that people should live on so many cents per meal. He said:

"We are all different inside as well as outside, especially our children. The retention of protein, the body's building material, is different from child to child. We can't legislate that everyone live on 26 cents a meal."

Mrs. Catherine Orstead, nutritionist at the Martin Luther King Health Center, cited another reason why raising food allowances isn't enough:

"Ghetto stores would probably raise their prices accordingly," she said.

#### Prices higher in poor areas

A pricing survey by the Church Federation of Greater Chicago found that food prices in low-income areas are higher than in more affluent neighborhoods.

Klinger's committee also favors raising other welfare allowances because so many recipients dip into the food budget to meet other living expenses, such as rent, clothing and transportation.

An increase in welfare payments would require a change in the attitudes of many legislators, according to Mann, who recently introduced a package of bills designed to do this. The legislator said:

"Most legislators think that if people don't like welfare, they should get a job, even though 90 per cent of those on welfare are unemployable (blind, medically disabled or dependent children). I would hope that the public would rather pay for a reformed welfare system than for reformatories and concentration camps."

Easing of federal restrictions to allow distribution of surplus food in low-income areas is the goal of the Rev. Peter J. Powell, director of St. Augustine's Indian Mission in Uptown.

#### Wants to use surplus

"Using normal voluntary channels, we cannot begin to accumulate enough food to meet the needs of the 400 new families who arrive annually in Uptown," he said. "Our only real hope lies in making surplus food available to these people."

The Uptown Community Pantry, which provides food for some of the newcomers, was moved to the Montrose Urban Progress Center, an agency of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in the hope that it would encourage federal involvement (i.e. surplus food distribution), according to Jim Grisham, its first chairman.

Grisham said: "It didn't. Apparently the war on poverty is not in league with the war on hunger."

Grisham heads the Chicago Southern Center, which also distributes food to needy families. It never has enough for all who seek the food, so he has suggested a new method—stocking food on loan.

Under this plan, a family would fill a shopping bag with food and take 30 days to repay it with an equal amount of groceries from a store, thereby qualifying for another loan. Grisham plans to initiate the service as soon as the center receives enough donations.

#### Lunch program could expand

Another oft-mentioned solution to hunger in Chicago is the expansion of the National School Lunch Program, which presently provides free lunches for 18,000 Chicago school children. Between 130,000 and 180,000 children qualify for the program because their families are on welfare or at comparable income levels.

"If a massive health-welfare-education program is not put on by big cities, the substitute will have to be free lunch and free breakfast for poverty-area school children," said Dr. Irving Abrams, director of medical and health services for the Chicago Board of Education.

Mendelsohn has urged not only free school lunch programs, "available without restriction in a dignified manner in all schools in areas where poverty and hunger exist," but also "the immediate use of lunchrooms in schools and day-care and Head Start centers to offer three meals a day to children and parents, at a charge of 26 cents per meal in accord with the present food allowance."

#### Urge guaranteed income

He is quick to add, however, that these solutions don't diminish "deeper, more substantial answers."

Mendelsohn and most other people concerned about hunger in Chicago point to a guaranteed annual income as the ideal solution. University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman said it could be low enough so that the total cost would be no more than the nation's current annual welfare bill of \$7 billion.

Ben W. Heineman, chairman of the presidential commission on income maintenance, told Sen. McGovern's committee in Washington this week that all food programs encroach on individual freedom and avoid the central problem: The poor don't have enough money.

The commission is expected to recommend in September that welfare and anti-poverty programs be replaced or augmented by a more fundamental income-support program.

Short of a guaranteed annual wage, Mann favors a federalized welfare program. "States no longer want nor are able to finance welfare," he said.

Reluctance to solve the problems of hunger and poverty has ominous implications.

"Anyone who says that there is no hunger in Illinois, or that existing programs are adequate, is either a fool, a liar or a racist," Mendelsohn said.

"The poor have no lobby, which is why welfare is the first to go when the budget is cut," said Mann. "but the poor are very articulate, and they are beginning to insist that living comfortably in America is a right, not a privilege."



During a tour of a Washington poverty area this week, Sen. Walter Mondale (right) (D-Minn.) and Dr. Charles Lowe, a Public Health Service physician, examine a 4-month-old girl. The senator said "thousands and thousands of people in the nation's capital are hungry." (AP)

## Feed Chicago's hungry

Chicago has so far avoided the congressional spotlight that has played upon the disgraceful problem of hunger among the poor.

But Sun-Times reporter Linda Rockey has shown in a saddening series of articles that Chicago shares equally with other cities the shame of widespread malnutrition.

Thousands upon thousands of children suffer crippling defects because of inadequate diet. Mothers deprive themselves so there will be scraps for the young. The elderly poor count out their days in hungry misery.

And too little is done, because those who would act are frustrated by bureaucratic red tape and those who could act are too often insensitive to the problem.

The bureaucratic tangle can be illustrated by difficulties with the food stamp program.

Not all of the poor qualify for food stamps. Many who do qualify do not buy them because they cannot afford to spend the mandatory 80 per cent of already meager welfare allowances. Even the poor have non-food expenses to meet.

The food stamp program thus reasonably should be supplemented by the distribution of surplus commodities. But Chicago does not qualify for such commodities because it has a food stamp

program.

Official insensitivity toward hunger is illustrated by the fact the city health commissioner, Dr. Morgan J. O'Connell, doesn't agree it exists. We suggest he talk to his own chief nutritionist.

It is not enough to discuss hunger, however. There must be not only an acceptance of the fact it exists, but a willingness to end it. We suggest that now is the time for action in Chicago.

First, the senatorial committee investigating hunger could visit Chicago. The committee could profit from testimony here, and so could those Chicagoans who are reluctant to acknowledge hunger.

Second, there should be a thorough study—by O'Connell's department, perhaps—of the relationship between hunger and disease and death. For example, is the high infant mortality rate in poverty areas linked to malnutrition?

Most important, Mayor Daley should commit the city to a war on hunger. He has the power to see that action is begun; he has the skill to cut away red tape. And we are certain he has the desire to feed the hungry. Chicago is one of the wealthiest cities in the wealthiest nation in the world. It cannot afford the shame of one hungry child's tears.



BURCK

1969, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

Baby Sitter

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 9, 1969]

**HUNGER, INFANT DEATHS HIGH—BIAFRA? NO THIS IS E. CHICAGO HEIGHTS\***

A recent Sun-Times series documented hunger in Chicago. This is another in a series looking at hunger in other parts of the metropolitan area.

(By Linda Rockey)

Severe anemia. Rickets. Rampant dental caries. Diet-related sores. Pot bellies. Gross underweight.

**INFANT MORTALITY**

Children in rural Mississippi? Or in war-torn Biafra? Could be, but in this case the Head Start nurse was listing the health problems of preschool children in a Chicago suburb. Hungry children.

The suburb is East Chicago Heights, south of the big city, population 5,000. It has the highest infant mortality rate in Cook County (39.7 per 1,000). Some 36 per cent of its families have incomes under \$3,000, 65 per cent live in substandard housing and only 10 per cent of its men have completed high school.

East Chicago Heights could use the federal supplemental food program operating in East St. Louis and under consideration as a small pilot project by the City of Chicago.

Government officials were in East Chicago Heights in December, when such a program became available, to explain how the Department of Agriculture would deliver food packages free to the town. Any health worker could prescribe them to children under 6 and to pregnant or nursing mothers, the groups most vulnerable to malnutrition.

But the program still hasn't been implemented in East Chicago Heights. The hang-up? No place to store and distribute the packages and no medical care facility where they could be prescribed.

**JULY, 1970, BUT NOT NOW**

When its \$584,020 Community Service Center, partially funded by the Housing and Urban Development Department, is completed, in July, 1970, East Chicago Heights will have such a facility.

"But that doesn't help us now," said Mrs. Evelyn Fields,<sup>1</sup> a community representative for the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

Nor does it help the neighboring suburbs of Robbins, Chicago Heights, Dixmoor, Harvey, Markham, Blue Island and Phoenix. The dramatic signs of malnutrition seen in East Chicago Heights have not been reported in those communities, but they are not immune from hunger.

**HUNGER—NO FOOD**

"Nearly every day we hear from a family out of food," said Mrs. Lois Rayon,<sup>2</sup> an intake worker for the Community Service Center in Harvey, an OEO-funded agency that serves southern Cook County. Between 12 and 15 per cent of the area's families are on welfare, and many more live at comparable income levels.

**GRITS THREE TIMES A DAY**

She told of one mother, working for \$1.15 an hour, who fed her five children boiled grits for breakfast, fried grits for lunch and gravy over grits for supper. She did not consider the example an exaggeration, only an oversimplification.

"People have many problems besides hunger which make it even more difficult to get food," Mrs. Rayon said. "It's practically impossible to get low-income housing.

"Substandard shelter is in such high demand that we can't pursue upgrading existing facilities. People pay as much as \$120 for ground-level (housing) or below. We have to refer many people to the city for the sake of shelter." (The Cook County Public Aid Department imposes a \$90 rent ceiling.)

\*Highest infant mortality in Cook County, 39.7 per 1,000. Robbins last in education, income and employment in Cook County.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn Fields, OEO community representative.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Lois Rayon, Spanish Appalachian Elders, all races.

Inadequate transportation also fosters hunger in the southern suburbs. Buses don't run on weekends and holidays when many must get to jobs in steel mills, hospitals and nursing homes. The money their families would spend on food has to buy cab fare.

#### LITTLE IT CAN DO

When a family is out of food, the Community Service Center can do little. Around Thanksgiving and Christmas it receives donations of canned goods, but the rest of the year it only can refer the family to the Salvation Army or the Harvey Health Center for a \$10 food check.

"That is not much for a large family when there is nothing in the home, not even a crust of bread," Mrs. Rayon said.

#### STAMPS

The center pushes the federal food stamp program, but Mrs. Rayon says that many families are reluctant to participate because small-town shopkeepers do little to protect their anonymity.

"The pride factor more than offsets the bonus," Mrs. Rayon said. "We have a tremendous public relations job to do with the community."

#### STAMPS COST

Some families cannot afford even the food stamps.

"It's a matter of trying to stretch a dollar where there is no dollar," Mrs. Fields said. She works in East Chicago Heights but has lived in Robbins for 20 years and has seen "hunger face to face all the time."

Robbins, which ranks last among 250 Cook County communities in education, income and employment, is more than 90 per cent Negro. So is East Chicago Heights. But hunger in the southern suburbs knows no color line.

"We see many Spanish-speaking people, Appalachian whites and elderly people of all races," said Mrs. Rayon.

#### INFLUX OF MIGRANT WORKERS MIGRANTS

Every year, between 1,100 and 1,200 migrant farm workers stream into southern Cook County. Most remain to work in factories. Many live in shacks or boxcars.

Mrs. Rosario Lopez,<sup>3</sup> who runs a branch of the Illinois Migrant Council in Chicago Heights, hears from many families without food. Where can she refer them?

"You tell me and I'll take them there," Mrs. Lopez said. "They can file an application for township assistance, but that takes a few days. When there's no food in the house, what about tonight? I can give them a can of beans, but not the meat, milk, fresh fruits and vegetables their children need."

#### HEAD START CENTERS

There are Head Start and day care centers in Chicago Heights, East Chicago Heights, Robbins, Markham, Dixmoor and Phoenix. The children are fed a light breakfast, lunch and afternoon snack.

"They eat very well here," said Mrs. Martha Tunson, nurse for the Head Start and day-care center in Robbins, which enrolls nearly 200 children. There is a long waiting list.

"I wish we could take 700," she said. "Away from the center, those children eat pork and dried beans. Here they have fresh vegetables and fruits for the first time."

When Mrs. Tunson<sup>4</sup> joined the program in 1967, one-third of the children suffered from moderate to severe iron-deficiency anemia. This year only 12 were anemic, a sign that "they're in better shape because of the food we give them."

Children in the public schools are not so fortunate. There is no free school lunch program, and many subsist on candy bars because they can't afford 40-cent lunches. There is a federally subsidized milk program, but the children

<sup>3</sup> Rosario Lopez, Illinois Migrant Council in Chicago Heights.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Tunson, Headstart in Robbins.

have to contribute 3 cents per half pint and, since the money is collected once a month, the total is an amount that many children don't have.

Children on welfare cannot have their book and lab fees waived without showing public aid cards. But many do not want to admit to school administrators that they are that poor, Mrs. Rayon said.

No wonder there's a high drop-out rate," she added.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 12, 1969]

#### FOOD EDUCATION: A PROBLEMATIC ANSWER

(By Linda Rockey)

The way to fight hunger is education, not more money.

So goes the official jargon of the Chicago Board of Health and the state Department of Public Aid.

"It isn't a case of not having money to buy food, but rather a matter of poor dietary habits," said City Health Commr. Morgan J. O'Connell.

For welfare recipients and public aid critics who don't find food allotments adequate, "it's a problem of management," according to Harold O. Swank, state public aid director.

If the answer to hunger in Chicago is to educate the hungry, then who will do the educating? There is a dearth of public health nutritionists at the state, county and local levels.

#### NONE ON STATE LEVEL

The Illinois Department of Public Health has had no nutritionist on its staff for more than two years.

"At one time we had three, but one died, one retired and we lost one," said director Franklin D. Yoder. "We are trying very hard to find one and to establish a nutrition unit because the governor has a special interest in nutrition."

By comparison, Wisconsin has 10 public health nutritionists at the state level.

The problem in Illinois?

"Our salary level has not been competitive," Yoder said.

The state salary for a public health nutritionist with a master's degree is \$9,018.

"We are trying to bring up our scale, but all this takes time," he added.

Elsewhere in the state, Peoria has one full-time nutritionist. The Evanston-North Shore Health Department employs one on a part time basis.

A 1949 public health survey of Cook County found the number of county nutritionists inadequate. At the time there were four. Today there are three. One works full-time in long-term care facilities. The other two "split 2,000,000 people between us," said Myrtle Merritt, chief nutritionist for the Cook County Department of Public Health, which serves all areas outside Chicago and the North Shore.

"We can't possibly operate on an outreach basis," said Miss Merritt. "We can't even handle all the referrals from our clinics. We need a whole staff of nutrition experts."

The Chicago Board of Health has 10 nutritionists. Two are leaving soon, and there are openings for five or six more, according to Virginia Jauch,<sup>1</sup> chief nutritionist.

"We are recruiting heavily, and our salaries are competitive, although some places pay more," said Miss Jauch, whose section requires a master's degree in public health nutrition or the equivalent in experience.

#### TRAINING LACK HURTS

The problem at the city level?

"Lack of trained personnel," according to Miss Jauch. No school in the Chicago area offers graduate training in public health nutrition. The closest is Northern Illinois University in DeKalb.

The public health nutritionist is a consultant to the medical team.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Virginia Jauch, Chicago Health Department nutritionist.

"We work in a limited way at direct contact with people," said Miss Jauch. "We see patients referred by the medical staff and make home visits at the nurse's request."

Last month they made six, "a large number for the busy schedule we have," she said. "There won't ever be enough of us to give the direct help that the community needs."

At the federal level, it's another matter.

Project Head Start supplies a full-time nutritionist to city centers and one to Cook County. Each of the federally supported health centers in Chicago—Miles Square, Martin Luther King and Woodlawn Child Health—have a full-time nutritionist.

The Cook County Department of Public Aid has a staff of 37 home economists. They conduct 48 classes in urban living which devote some attention to nutrition education. There are 643 women enrolled in these classes, not many when you consider that there are 117,696 families on public aid.

"Public-aid home economists don't know the needs of their clients," said a disenchanted member of the staff. "They try but they don't understand because they're middle class. How do you condition the mind to want broccoli and tuna salad when it's used to greens and ham hocks?"

Mrs. Catherine Orstead,<sup>2</sup> nutritionist for the Martin Luther King Health Center, said:

"Agencies are too inclined to want to change people's culture pattern. No matter how poor you are, you have one thing that gives you comfort—eating food that you're familiar with."

"I try to keep the home diet as a basic foundation and build around it," said Mrs. Bo Lum,<sup>3</sup> nutritionist for the Woodlawn Child Health Center. "I wouldn't take soul food away from black people and more than I would take Irish potatoes from the Irish."

She objects to the whole notion of food education. "It's very uncomplimentary an insult to most mothers who are excellent cooks and can turn the barest essentials into a beautiful meal."

The disenchanted home economist for the Cook County Department of Public Aid advocates "a sensitivity training program for people who work in poor neighborhoods, a younger staff more in tune with the times and classes in consumer education, not home economics."

#### ADVOCATES PAYMENT HIKE

If public health agencies had more nutritionists, paid them better and required "sensitivity training," there would still be the major problem plaguing today's health nutritionists—the low income of clients on public aid or at comparable income levels.

Miss Merritt<sup>4</sup> said:

"You need a college education to make it on the public-aid food allowance. It's designed for the people who can least cope with it."

She supports raising welfare allowances with "increased nutritional education to make the increased funds pay off." But she cautions against the "you-poor-thing, let-me-do-it-for-you" approach.

"If you don't let people know that you like them and think they're worth something, you can take your dolls and dishes and go home."

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 12, 1969]

#### STEP UP HUNGER EFFORT, 7 ALDERMEN ASK

(By Linda Rockey)

Seven aldermen have challenged the city to avoid "unkept promises and tardiness of change" in implementing its hunger-relief program.

In a memorandum sent to Deton J. Brooks, commissioner of human resources, the aldermen urged development of a "sustained program to relieve hunger (including malnutrition) on a massive scale wherever it exists."

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Catherine Orstead, Martin Luther King Health Center.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Bo Lum, Woodlawn Child Health Center.

<sup>4</sup> Myrtle Merritt, chief nutritionist, Cook County.

The aldermen are: William Cousins Jr. (8th), Leon M. Despres (5th), Fred Hubbard (2d), Robert J. O'Rourke (48th), A. A. (Sammy) Rayner Jr. (6th), Seymour Simmon (40th) and William S. Singer (44th).

Specifically, the memorandum deals with:

1. Identification of the hungry.

It suggests that the city ask advertising agencies to volunteer for campaigns through press, radio and television, hold public hearings on hunger and identify hunger through the agencies that know it intimately, such as clinics, schools, public aid agencies and community organizations.

The memorandum criticized Mayor Daley's approach of asking hungry persons to send in their names and addresses.

2. The federal supplemental food program for children under 6 and pregnant or nursing mothers. It urged that the program be put into effect "even on a temporary basis." The city, it advised should seek distribution at a great many points, as well as federal and private funding and broadening of the prescription procedure for the program.

### 35 SCHOOLS—IN FREE LUNCH PROGRAM

3. The free school lunch program. The memorandum points out that the Chicago program does not fully preserve the anonymity of the child and is greatly limited by schools with inadequate or no lunchroom facilities. It says, "We suggest that the present catering service to 35 schools be multiplied. If more federal funds are needed, we suggest you say so and say how much."

4. The school breakfast and milk program. The aldermen urge that these programs be "enormously increased," seeking more state and federal funds, if necessary. Under the present system, children in poverty—area schools pay 10 cents for breakfast and 4 cents for midmorning milk.

5. The food stamp program.

The memorandum urges the city to support free distribution of the stamps, and in the meantime make them available in small denominations weekly. At present, families buy the stamps once a month and must spend 80 per cent of their food budgets to qualify for stamps.

[From the Chicago Daily Defender, May 12, 1969]

### 'HUMAN SUBSIDY' BACKERS READY FOR DEMONSTRATION

(By Faith C. Christmas, Daily Defender Staff Writer)

Welfare recipients, businessmen, teachers and students will be among hundreds of persons expected to demonstrate in Springfield on Wednesday to urge passage of a "human subsidy" bill proposed by black legislators and officials of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket.

Plans for mass demonstrations at the state capitol and a Tuesday night rally were announced Saturday in a community meeting of Operation Breadbasket at Mt. Pisgah Baptist Church, 4600 King dr.

Attending the meeting were eight black state legislators who along with several other members will introduce the bill in the legislature as a bold effort to combat the growing hunger crisis in Illinois.

### DR. HURST, CRANE JUNIOR COLLEGE

Also urging support of the "hunger" measure was Dr. Charles G. Hurst, black president of Crane Junior College, who told the audience of some 3,000 persons that administrators and students from the college will join Wednesday's demonstrations in Springfield.

The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national head of Operation Breadbasket said a group will meet with Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie on Tuesday to outline the bill.

"He can present it in the legislature or not," Jackson asserted, "but if he chooses not to endorse this bill, he is in fact supporting hunger.

"If no action is taken on the bill, we'll be hitting highway 66 marching to Springfield next Saturday," he declared.

Jackson urged teachers and students not to go to school and persons not to go to work Wednesday in order to demonstrate in Springfield. Churches and businesses, he said, should send buses or make contributions for others to go.

"If your sons and fathers can go fight in all the wars to save people of those countries and you can't fight in Illinois to save your own mother, father, sister or brother, then something's wrong with you," Jackson asserted.

Many persons are expected to leave Chicago Tuesday for a mass rally scheduled that night in support of Cairo's black residents who are seeking racial justice and for other citizens of downstate Ill. who are suffering from hunger and malnutrition. Operation Breadbasket's band and choir and local speakers are expected to highlight the rally.

Hundreds of others will leave Chicago by cars and buses at 6 a.m. Wednesday from three locations at the Lake Meadows shopping Center; 51st and State st. Shopping Center and Crane Junior College at Jackson and Oakley blvds., where all students are expected to assemble.

On Wednesday, the legislature is expected to act on a proposal by Rep. Alton Smith to cut the welfare program by some \$125 million.

"While he is making that proposal," said the Rev. Calvin Morris, associate director of Operation Breadbasket, "we'll all be demonstrating for our bill that would upgrade and not downgrade the economy of the poor."

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 17, 1969]

#### FREE BREAKFAST—PANTHERS FEED GHETTO'S HUNGRY LITTLE ONES

(By Linda Rockey)

At the Better Boys Foundation at 1512 S. Pulaski the Black Panthers were serving free breakfasts to children.

"You know, the city ought to be doing this," said Ald. A. A. (Sammy) Rayner (6th) as he parked across the street. Later he would have to move his car. Parking is not allowed between 7 and 9 a.m. on school days, the same time that the Panther breakfast is served.

Rayner, who escorted a reporter to the breakfast, would have to persuade two plain clothes detectives that they had no business inside. The Panthers were just feeding kids.

Hungry kids.

#### TWO BREAKFAST CENTERS

"Everybody knows hunger exists. We're the only ones doing anything about it," said Sammy Latson, a South Side captain of the Panthers.

Every school day for the past month 100-to-200 schoolchildren from North Lawndale have received a nutritious breakfast of meat, toast, cereal, juice and milk. The cereal regularly is substituted with eggs, grits, or pancakes.

#### BLACK PANTHER BREAKFAST CENTERS

The Panthers recently added a breakfast center on the South Side at 500 E. 37th and one on the North Side at 1400 N. Cleveland. They plan to open three more before the school year is out.

Meanwhile, Mayor Daley, having promised to put food on the table, has asked people to call his office with the names and addresses of the hungry.

#### "DON'T NEED SURVEYS"

"He doesn't need to take names. He can come into any black community and see hungry kids," Latson said. "We don't need studies, we don't need surveys. We know that 60 per cent of the children in neighborhood schools are hungry.

#### NATIONAL SCHOOL BREAKFAST PROGRAM

The Johnson School in North Lawndale is one of 70 Chicago public schools participating in the National School Breakfast Program on a pilot basis. The federal government pays 15 cents, the child 10 cents.

Sammy Latson, South Side captain of the Black Panthers:

"A dime is like a dollar in the black community," Latson said.

DEBORAH BARBER—BLACK PANTHER

"Besides we checked out the meal there. It's not too nourishing," added Deborah Barber, a Panther member who supervises the Lawndale<sup>1</sup> breakfasts.

All but two of a staff of 15 are party members. But at the South Side center most are parents. The Panthers hope to continue the breakfast programs through the summer and have people in the community take over the operation by fall.

#### "POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

Most of the children, some of whom come as early as 6:30 a.m., live within a mile of the center. They do not have to show cards, give their names or come every day to qualify for a free breakfast. They show up and are fed. They are even allowed to take plates home to their families.

"We teach the children to practice equal sharing, each according to his needs," Miss Barber said.

#### FOOD DONATIONS

The Panthers, who espouse socialism, greet the children with "power to the people." Otherwise, there is no indoctrination during the breakfast period.

Latson sees hunger in Chicago as "one of the basic contradictions of a capitalistic society. Everybody should have a high standard of living and a decent life. They can't on welfare."

The Panthers, based at 2350 W. Madison, receive most of the food in the form of donations from community businesses.

"Businessmen in the community should donate food as long as black people are pouring money into their businesses," Latson said.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 18, 1969]

#### PLAN HUNGER PROBE HERE

(By Linda Rocky)

Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) plans to hold hunger hearings in Chicago next month, The Sun-Times learned Saturday.

The senator said he would recommend hearings in Chicago and Downstate Illinois to the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition, of which he is chairman. Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.) is a member of the committee.

After a speech at an Operation Breadbasket meeting on the South Side, McGovern said he would send an aide here next week to make arrangements for hearings in mid-June. His committee heard testimony earlier this year on hunger in South Carolina, Florida, California, New York City and Washington.

McGovern said the committee tentatively agreed several weeks ago to hold hunger hearings here. His interest in Chicago was heightened last week by a meeting in Washington with the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, head of Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Breadbasket is conducting an anti-hunger campaign.

With its "North Shore affluence and breadbasket of food processing and distribution," Chicago is "an ideal city to examine the operation of existing food programs," McGovern said in an exclusive interview with The Sun-Times. He expressed interest in investigating hunger in East St. Louis, Ill.

"Present food programs are geared more to trapping someone who might be cheating than to making the program work," McGovern said. "We ought to qualify people for food assistance on the basis of stated need."

He called President Nixon's plan to spend \$2.5 billion on food programs by fiscal 1971, "a good one," but said, "it won't do the job. If we want to end hunger in America, we have to add another \$1.5 billion in the next year alone.

"We can solve this problem," he added. "One month of what we spend on the war in Vietnam would do it."

<sup>1</sup> North Lawndale Center.

McGovern urged Congress last month to provide free food stamps for the very poor when he introduced legislation to increase funds for the over-all food stamp program by \$1.5 billion in fiscal 1970.

In remarks before an audience of more than 2,000 at the Breadbasket meeting, McGovern called for an end to "an unjust war abroad" and "hunger in this land". "We won't really begin feeding Americans until we stop killing Asians," he said.

McGovern praised the Rev. Mr. Jackson for "the brilliant and courageous fight he made in Springfield this week."

He was referring to the poor people's trek to the state capital Wednesday, which resulted in the death of a bill to cut welfare payments.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 18, 1969]

#### KUP'S COLUMN

##### PLANT-IN

Now hear this: The Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation Breadbasket, in waging war on hunger in Illinois, is planning a "plant-in." Marchers will parade to some of the huge farms in our state which receive \$97,000,000 in federal funds not to plant—while an estimated 2,000,000 Illinoisans go to bed hungry every night. . . . Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), who is conducting a study of hunger in the U.S., was the Saturday morning speaker at Operation Breadbasket.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 18, 1969]

#### SOUTH SIDE DOCTOR'S RESOLUTION ATTACKS HUNGER ON 3 FRONTS

(By Linda Rockey)

A resolution favoring free school breakfasts and lunches, increased welfare food allowances and free food stamps will be submitted Sunday to the Illinois State Medical Society.

Dr. Albert D. Klinger, a South Side internist, will introduce the resolution at the opening session of the society's annual meeting in the Sherman House.

His resolution, endorsed by the South Side branch of the Chicago Medical Society and the Cook County Physicians Assn., will ask the 250 delegates to go on record in favor of:

1. Free lunches and breakfasts for all schoolchildren in Illinois.
2. Welfare family food allowances no lower than the lowest standard budget of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. (This budget recommends 38 to 40 cents per person per meal, a 12 to 14 cent increase from the present Illinois Department of Public Aid allotment.)
3. Food depots all over the state to feed the hungry by giving out free food stamps.

Klinger's resolution will also state:

"Poor nutrition has a damaging and frequently irreversible effect on the bone, brain, blood and resistance to disease.

"The number of people in Illinois who are living on starvation rations approaches a million. At least 50 per cent of them are children in crucial stages of development whose ability to function and to reach full physical and mental growth is impaired by poor diets."

Klinger has been trying since 1963, when the welfare allowances were set, to persuade the medical society to call for an increase in food allotments.

"The society's nutrition committee recommended such a resolution," he recalled, "but the house of delegates wouldn't adopt it because it would embarrass Harold O. Swank (head of the state public aid department) to have to ask for more money."

The physician who made this point before the house of delegates was Fred A. Tworoger, president-elect of the Chicago Medical Society, where a similar resolution is tied up in committee.

At its April meeting, the CMS Council adopted a resolution by Vernon R. DeYoung, president of the South Side branch, recommending an increase in the monthly welfare food allowance of \$50.25 to \$168.30 for a family of four and a proportionate increase in all other family categories.

However, at its May meeting last week, the resolution was referred to the society's advisory committee on public aid.

"We did this pending the outcome of a study by Swank's new commission on food allowances," Tworoger said.

DeYoung, a physician for the Illinois State Pediatric Institute, said that his resolution is a "factual nonemotional" approach. He based his figure on the 1968 dietary allowances of the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Academy of Sciences and the estimated city retail food prices of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 20, 1969]

### OGILVIE ORDERS A CRASH STUDY TO END HUNGER IN ILLINOIS

(By Linda Rockey)

Gov. Ogilvie has ordered an intensive crash inquiry into ways to end hunger in Illinois.

Spokesmen for the governor were reluctant Monday to give details, but The Sun-Times learned:

1. Six state agencies have been mobilized into a task force to determine the extent of hunger in Illinois and the adequacy of existing food and welfare programs. They are the departments of Finance, Public Aid, Public Health and Human Resources, the Office of Public Instruction and the University of Illinois Agriculture Extension Service.

2. Seven task force teams have met in closed sessions since Thursday to investigate the problem and areas of malnutrition utilization of existing programs to pinpoint hunger; operation of the school lunch, public aid, food stamp and commodity programs and implementation of new federal food programs outlined by President Nixon.

3. The governor instructed these teams and agencies to submit a full report by May 28 and is expected to announce anti-hunger proposals a few days after that.

4. State finance experts are going over federal food programs "with a fine-tooth comb," according to a U.S. Agriculture Department spokesman. An agriculture official also attended a meeting Thursday in Springfield with representatives of state agencies to discuss "all kinds of food assistance."

#### SMITH WELFARE MOVE RECALLED

Until last week, Gov. Ogilvie was silent on the subject of hunger in Illinois. The Sun-Times reported Friday that he was angered by a proposal to cut welfare payments and told the bill's sponsor, House Speaker Ralph T. Smith (R-Alton) to table the bill.

Meanwhile, Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) told The Sun-Times Saturday that he planned to bring his Senate Select Committee on Nutrition to Chicago and Downstate Illinois in June to hold hunger hearings.

#### MEET IN A CLOSED SESSION

One of Ogilvie's task force teams met in closed session in Chicago on Sunday. The meeting was called by the state Department of Human Resources to form a working definition of hunger.

DR. JORDAN SCHER, CHICAGO PSYCHIATRIST CONSULTANT TO THE  
HUMAN RESOURCES DEPARTMENT

Chairman of the meeting was Dr. Jordan Scher, a Chicago psychiatrist and consultant to the human resources department.

Both immediate programs of getting food to the hungry and long-range solutions such as welfare reform and guaranteed income were discussed. Several physicians who work in poverty areas emphasized community involvement and control.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 23, 1969]

SEEK PILOT FOOD PROGRAM FOR CHICAGO

(By Linda Rockey)

Chicago has asked to participate in a federal supplementary food program for children under 6 and pregnant or nursing mothers. The Sun-Times learned Thursday.

Dr. Denton J. Brooks Jr., city commissioner of human resources, proposed in a letter this week to the U.S. Department of Agriculture that Chicago be designated for a pilot project involving 30,000 families.

The food package program, available since December, is aimed at preventing malnutrition in particularly vulnerable groups. City officials began exploring the program more than a month ago, following a Sun-Times series documenting hunger in Chicago.

USDA

Brooks will meet Monday with Midwest officials of the Agricultural Department to discuss the city's proposals, which call for direct disbursement of food packages through neighborhood supermarkets.

"If we make these packages available through the normal framework of food distribution, we don't have to set up a massive system of storage, packaging and transportation," Brooks said.

BOUGHT AT COMPETITIVE PRICES

Under the plan operating in East St. Louis, Detroit and several other Midwestern cities, the Agriculture Department buys food at competitive prices on the open market and ships packages prepaid to their destination. Costs of storage and distribution are borne locally.

"I'm sure that it would cost us more to reimburse grocery stores directly, but we have some ideas on this to discuss with the city Monday," an Agriculture Department spokesman said.

Chicago Board of Health nutritionists estimate that at least 30,000 families, between 120,000 and 130,00 individuals, might be eligible for the supplemental food program.

"We think that we should try to reach all of them, not just 200 as Detroit is doing," Brooks said.

The food packages, which contain prescription items such as evaporated milk, iron-enriched farina, fruit juices, egg mix, canned vegetables and meat, can be prescribed by any health worker or person designated by a physician.

Brooks said that prescriptions would probably be available through Board of Health clinics, hospitals and other social service agencies.

Meanwhile, a coalition of community organizations is drawing up a rival plan to distribute the food packages on a neighborhood basis.

Representatives of these groups will meet Saturday at the Chicago Welfare Rights organization office, 3346 W. Roosevelt, to complete proposals for submission to the Agriculture Department next week.

SISTER JULIA OF MARILLAC HOUSE, A ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENT IN WEST  
GARFIELD PARK WHITE?

The plan originated with Sister Julia of Marillac House a Roman Catholic settlement in West Garfield Park where "we have seen a chronic hunger problem for a long time.

She favors storage and distribution of the food packages on a neighborhood basis "by those people who know best who is hungry—the poor themselves.

"If it's done by community people, political interests won't determine who gets what," she said.

The community plan would require funds for the transportation of the packages into neighborhoods, she said, but storage, prescription and distribution could be handled without cost in individual homes.

"If a doctor can designate someone to prescribe food, who is more qualified than a woman on the block," she asked.

Also planning to apply for the federal supplementary food program is the North Shore suburb of Evanston.

[From the Chicago Daily News, May 15, 1969]

## WELFARE CUT DEFEATED—JESSE BEARDS STATEHOUSE LIONS—AND WALKS OUT KING

(By Henry Hanson, of our Springfield Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson of Chicago took on two of the state's most powerful political leaders in a fight against proposed welfare cuts and hunger—and won.

Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie and House speaker Ralph T. Smith (R-Alton) capitulated in the House of Representatives after the dynamic civil rights leader led nearly 3,000 persons in a hunger march on the Capitol.

Smith withdrew his proposed \$25,000,000 slash in the state public aid budget after Ogilvie sent Smith, his political ally, a letter.

In it, the governor said he is "firmly convinced" Illinois should continue to pay existing levels of relief. Smith read the letter to the state representatives.

The governor also dispatched his state public aid director, Harold Swank, to testify against Smith's bill, which would have reduced the average monthly payment to relievers from \$47 to \$32.

Mr. Jackson said at the conclusion of a dramatic appearance before the House of Representatives sitting as a committee-of-the-whole:

"Maybe the world needs Illinois to show it the way to save the human race."

The 27-year-old pastor then strode out of the House and back to a rally on the steps of the Capitol, where he told his supporters:

"We stayed quiet too long. We won a victory today. You can shout for about two or three minutes. But stay mad."

Mr. Jackson then led the crowd in his trademark chant, in which the crowd shouted back his words:

"I Am Somebody.  
Maybe Poor,  
Maybe on Welfare,  
Maybe Unemployed,  
Maybe in Jail,  
But I Am Somebody.  
Soul Power!  
Hey, Hey, Hey!"

Mr. Jackson heads Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He wore the SCLC button, "I Am Somebody," during his two-day anti-hunger campaign here.

At a rally in the state armory, Mr. Jackson heard baseball great Jackie Robinson give this description of him:

"This is the next Dr. Martin Luther King. If my generation had had the kind of courage the Rev. Jesse Jackson has, we would not be here today. Let his voice be heard."

Mr. Jackson then led nearly 3,000 persons, most of them black, on the hunger march through downtown Springfield.

In front of offices of State Supt. of Public Instruction Ray Page, the pastor halted the march and told his followers, who were singing "We Shall Overcome," to "sing it loud" as a protest against the low level of state aid to education.

At the Capitol, a jazz band led by Ben Branch of Operation Breadbasket, played "Hard Times," the civil rights leader's theme song, as Mr. Jackson told the crowd:

"We know who we are. We are the grandchildren of slaves. But we helped make America. And if we are to starve, let it be on the steps of the Capitol."

He said 17-year-old Pamela Whitmore of Chicago had died in a bus crash near Joliet on her way to the march in Springfield, and that:

"We want Brother (House speaker) Ralph Smith to know her blood is on his hands. She was coming here to march because of what he and those like him were trying to do.

"Pamela died trying to help somebody. But it is not how long you live that matters. And it is not that you die that matters. But it is how you die that matters—and what you die for."

In his speech to the jammed House of Representatives, Mr. Jackson said Smith's bill should be defeated because America's Statue of Liberty—"that queen in the harbor of New York bears the words, 'Give me your tired, your poor, your hungry. . . .'"

Mr. Jackson closed with the biblical injunction, "Do justice, love one another, and walk humbly with your God." The legislators and gallery awarded him an unusual standing ovation.

Mr. Jackson announced his victory to the crowd outdoors, and pledged to continue the hunger march next week in cities throughout Illinois.

He named Mobile, Champaign, Rockford, and Cairo, which he described as being "in an advanced stage of cannibalism."

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[From the Chicago Daily News, May 19, 1969]

#### HUNGER AND FARM HANDOUTS

The contrasts between wealth and poverty, between plenty and hunger, in this affluent land of ours have been so often made as to become clichés. But they are real, painful and perilous, and they have never been more starkly dramatized than in the varying treatment given many of the poor, on one hand and, on the other, the vast handouts given to some farmers for not growing crops.

Rep. Paul Findley (R-Ill.) has made the case specific and unmistakable. He points out that many of the counties that have rejected the government's food distribution programs for the poor are populated by farmers who are receiving the most and the largest of the federal farm payments.

In Lynn County, Texas, where 2,282 of 10,914 residents are classified as hard-core poor, farmers received \$8,903,000 in federal money last year. The income from those farm payments was more than three times the gross income of the poor. "It is incredible," Findley said, "that these counties, with tax bases swollen by federal aid capitalized into the wealthy farmers' land values, flatly refuse access to free or low-cost food from the federal largess to their poor people."

The farm program provides price supports associated with agreements to limit the production of feed grains, wheat and cotton, and a soil bank plan providing the withdrawal of acreage from production. Numbers of farmers (including Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi) draw more than \$100,000 a year. Findley favors a maximum payment of \$20,000 for a single farm in a calendar year.

The complexities and the rationalizations of the farm program are often baffling. But the times are surely out of joint when unquestioned millions go to wealthy farmers while funds for the poor are stingily appropriated and distributed, or not provided at all.

Findley's proposal has merit. So does President Nixon's request that Congress furnish enough money to include all counties in the government's food program by July, 1970. It doesn't make sense for fertile land to go unplanted in the sight of hungry people.

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[From the Chicago Daily News, May 21, 1969]

#### POVERTY WARRIORS—NO MORE GANG WARS, PROMISE BLACKS MOURNING GIRL KILLED IN HUNGER TREK

(By John Linstead)

The Black P. Stone Nation came to Pamela Whitmore's funeral in peace—promising never again to die in gang wars, but to die fighting poverty.

Pamela, 17, was killed last Wednesday when a truck swerved into an Operation Breadbasket bus in a caravan en route to Springfield to protest hunger in Illinois.

Pamela was crushed between the truck and the bus, but to each of the 800 people gathered Tuesday night in Fellowship Baptist Church, 45th Pl. and Princeton, she died a martyr to a cause.

LEONARD SENGALI BLACK P. STONE NATION

Leonard Sengali, spokesman for the Black P. Stone Nation (once known as the Blackstone Rangers), recalled the crash, the heavy fog, and Pamela lying dead in the wet grass.

"She died for a real cause," said Sengali, standing in the pulpit above the blond-wood casket.

And then he promised, as the audience shouted approval:

"We ain't gonna study war no more. We'll cease all hostility. If any of us die, it'll be the way she died, fighting poverty."

Sengali announced that during a nine-hour meeting after Pamela's death, the "nation" had again changed its name—to the Peace Stone Nation.

The service was conducted by Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Breadbasket choir sang, a guitarist and tenor saxophonist from the Breadbasket band played, Breadbasket ministers prayed and the eulogy was given by Breadbasket's national director, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson.

"Boys die in Vietnam to keep people from eating," Mr. Jackson said. "Pamela died to help people eat."

"The Lord is tired of seeing His children hurt. But her death brought the mighty Peace Stone Nation to its knees raising its hand to peace in heaven," he said.

The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, head of SCLC was there, too.

Pamela, he said, was a martyr to the struggle for human rights, as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was.

She was a casualty in the Poor People's Campaign in Illinois, he said. Then he called for new dedication to the fight on poverty.

But more evident at the funeral than even Operation Breadbasket and SCLC were the Stones.

Pamela was a "close friend and associate" of the Stones, according to the obituary in the church program.

She was with the 500 Stones who went along to Springfield to tell Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie to end hunger in the state.

At the church door, before the service, stood four Stones in red berets and green-striped pants—standing at attention as people filed sadly by. Beside the casket, open before the service, stood four more. They were also at attention with their berets clutched over their hearts.

Just before the casket was closed, five Stones filed past where Pamela lay with bright orange nasturtiums on her breast. They each bent and tenderly kissed her before filing out the red-carpeted aisle.

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[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, June 21-22, 1969]

HUNGER? IT'S A DAILY DIET OF PESSIMISM AND ANEMIC MEALS

(By Larry Fields, Globe-Democrat Staff Writer)

*NEWS ITEM: The Senate Hunger Committee, headed by Sen. George McGovern (Dem.), South Dakota, will conduct a hearing Friday in East St. Louis to dramatize the plight of the poor, it was announced by Sen. Charles H. Percy (Rep.), Illinois, a member of the committee*

At 76, surviving on a diet of pessimism, two anemic meals a day and \$64-a-month in Social Security benefits, Bill Collins can tell them what hunger is.

He is a wisp of a man who lives in two tiny rooms cluttered with junk in a garage as vacant as his future on the corner of Reed and J streets in the south portion of East St. Louis.

It is fortunate that he is short. The ceiling hovers less than six feet above the floor in the transistor-sized rooms which is his home.

He owns the garage, though it is as useless to him as the burned-out adjoining three-room frame house which also is his property.

"I can't work anymore," he said. "Haven't been able to since 1962. Everytime I try to do anything, my head starts to swim. Get dizzy, you know."

Collins sat on a broken bench in front of the garage, a man forgotten and practically invisible in booming America.

"What I do," he said, "is buy myself a big chunk of sausage. Then I slice off a few slices and fry them for breakfast. I do the same thing for supper, and I never have lunch."

He bought the property in 1941, a happier time, for \$503. He lived in the house until about five years ago. Then he rented it for \$27 a month.

Two years ago the house burned down.

"It wasn't insured," he said, "Can't get any insurance in this neighborhood.

"I miss that \$27-a-month rent. I lived pretty good with that coming in."

Just one dollar a day means the difference between the sweet and sour life for Bill Collins.

"I went to the welfare department but they said they couldn't help me. I guess nobody can help me," he said.

"I sleep a lot. Sleep most of the night and at least half the day. What else is there for me to do?"

Collins laughed emptily at the prospect the upcoming hearing might help him.

"I've heard it all before," he said. "Nobody's gonna help me. All my life I helped myself. Worked hard, and now I've got to live on \$15 a week.

"I don't know what they want from me. I didn't expect to live to be 76. I didn't want to."

So this is what the Senate Hunger Committee will hear.

And they'll hear that in St. Clair County, with a population of nearly 300,000, about 43,000 persons are in such poor fiscal (as well as physical) shape they are eligible for food stamps.

Persons eligible for the food stamp program are required by law to purchase a specified amount of food stamps (which saves them 30 per cent on the cost of food) but has many disadvantages.

"Sometimes you just don't have the money to buy the stamps," said Mrs. Mary Lee White, 73, a widow who lives at 1520 South I st., East St. Louis.

"There are bills that must be paid, and things like that.

"Besides," she added, "those food stamps are good only for food. There are other things a person needs to live—like soap, toilet paper, detergent. You can't buy those with the stamps."

Mrs. White receives \$56 in Social Security benefits and \$8 each month in old age assistance.

"That money isn't enough," she said. "I have a bad heart and a nervous stomach and I need special foods. I just can't buy them on the money I'm allowed."

And Arthur Wall, 69, who lives at 1304 Baker ave., East St. Louis with his invalid son, is another of the hidden sufferers.

"I get \$89 a month from Social Security," he said, "and \$36 a month for my son.

"My boy has had two strokes. He's 35 years old and he hasn't been able to do a day's work in his life."

Wall said that his son is required to eat special foods—meats, fish, items that cost a lot.

"I can't get any help," he said. "I've tried, but I just can't get any help."

He opened the refrigerator in the house in which he lives with his son and, except for the freezing compartment which contained meats and fish for his son, it was nearly bare.

"This has to last us for three weeks," he said. "All I've got in my pocket now is one thin dime.

"But I'll manage somehow. I'll scuff around, maybe find a job mowing lawns or something, but I'll manage. I must take care of my boy."

For the past three months the U.S. Department of Agriculture has provided surplus food for needy expectant mothers and children less than six years old.

"I tried to get some of that food for us," Wall said, "but they said me and my boy were too old.

"Don't they know we get hungry also?"

[From the Chicago Tribune, Mar. 16, 1969]

## STUDY OF HUNGER IN ILLINOIS FINDS 150,000 PUPILS UNDERNOURISHED

(By Ronald Kotulak)

An estimated 150,000 to 200,000 school children in Chicago and other Illinois communities may be suffering from some form of malnutrition, a spokesman for the American Academy of Pediatrics said yesterday.

The estimate is based on an "exploratory probe" into the hidden face of hunger in Illinois and includes reports from the Chicago board of education, the academy, and other medical investigators, said Dr. Robert S. Mendelsohn, director of the academy's medical consultation service for project head start.

The tentative findings are particularly alarming in view of the growing scientific evidence that undernourishment is an important factor in the cause of physical and mental underdevelopment and in high baby death rates, Dr. Mendelsohn said.

### 20 PER CENT ARE UNDEREDUCATED

He said the preliminary findings indicate that as much as 20 per cent of the state's school children and a similar percentage of pre-school children are not eating nutritious diets.

"I would estimate that half of the city's Negro children have some degree of malnutrition, 10 per cent of the Puerto Ricans, 20 to 30 per cent of the Appalachian whites, and 90 per cent of the American Indians," Dr. Mendelsohn said.

The highest frequency of undernourishment appears to be in the low income areas but some also overlaps into middle income neighborhoods, primarily because of bad eating habits [soft drinks and french fries favored by teen-agers], he said.

### SEEK FREE BREAKFASTS

So serious is the problem that Dr. Irving Abrams, medical director of the Chicago school board, is prepared to ask the board to provide free breakfasts and lunches to school children who live in poverty areas.

"I would recommend that the board feed poverty area children because there is a nutrition problem in Chicago," Dr. Abrams said.

In 1965 the board surveyed 19,000 pre-school children under project head start. From a sampling of 2,300 of these children, the board found that almost one-third of them suffered from mild, secondary anemia, a condition that, reflects an inadequate supply of hemoglobin, an iron deficiency in the red blood cells.

### CALLS DIET INADEQUATE

"The results indicate to me that at least 30 per cent of these children are not eating an adequate, qualitative diet," Dr. Abrams said.

"If a child eats a good breakfast he will have more interest, and more energy, and he will perform better," he said.

Dr. Mendelsohn said that widespread malnutrition has not been suspected because it usually does not produce easily detectable symptoms, and because many doctors share the popular misconception that it doesn't exist in wealthy America.

### MARKED BY OVERWEIGHT

Unlike the type of starvation that is characterized by the emaciation found in underdeveloped countries, the American brand of malnutrition is frequently marked by overweight, he said. The reason is that starchy foods, which lack

adequate protein and vitamins, are eaten to fill the stomach and stave off hunger pangs, he said.

As a result, many malnourished children may look relatively normal but they are suffering from deficiencies of key body-building foods, Dr. Mendelsohn said.

The rate of decreased intellectual capacity and mental retardation may be three to five times greater in children of families living in poverty, said Dr. Charles Upton Lowe, chairman of the Academy of Pediatrics' committee on nutrition.

#### POOR SUFFER MOST

"Malnutrition, high infant mortality and prematurity, and high levels of mental deficiency are most frequent among our families living in poverty," he said.

Dr. Mendelsohn called for a study to determine the extent of the malnourishment problem in Chicago and Illinois. A recent federal study in New York, Kentucky, Texas, and Louisiana, revealed an "alarming prevalence of those characteristics that are associated with undernourished groups."

The findings were so shocking to Wilbur J. Cohen, former secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, that he called for the creation of a federal human nutrition administration whose goal would be to eliminate malnutrition in the United States.

#### AFFECTS LEARNING, GROWTH

Severe malnutrition suffered during childhood affects learning ability, body growth, rate of maturation, ultimate size, and if prolonged, productivity, said Dr. Lowe.

"It is our conviction that nutrition is the key to the normal development of infants and children," he said.

"The quality and quantity of nutrition given during the first two to four years of life may have the effect of programming the individual for all the years of his life."

In effect, malnutrition may stunt the mental and physical development of the child, dooming him to lower educational and occupational opportunities he said.

#### LIST CLINICAL SYMPTOMS

Because malnutrition has been ignored and unsuspected, the United States Public Health Service recently has had to establish a list of clinical symptoms of malnutrition that could be used in screening projects.

These symptoms of nutritional starvation include shorter than normal height, distended abdomen, pale lips and eyelids, pale fingernails, smooth tongue (the normal fissures disappear), cracking of the skin at the corners of the mouth, cavities, and diseases of the mouth.

Blood tests also can be used to detect vitamin and protein deficiencies. What the doctors look for are:

1. Low hemoglobin—an iron deficiency in the red blood cells. The iron helps the blood transport oxygen and when not enough iron is available, the body and brain tissues don't get their full supply of life-giving oxygen. Iron commonly comes from meats, egg yolks, and iron fortified cereals.

#### LOW VITAMIN A

2. Low vitamin A, which comes from vegetables and milk.
3. Low folic acid, supplied from leafy green, vegetables and whole grain cereals.
4. Low vitamin C, supplied by citrus fruits.
5. Low thiamine, which comes from enriched flour and cereals.
6. Low serum albumin, an indication that protein intake is inadequate.
7. Alkaline phosphates, an indicator of whether the bones are growing properly.

#### WOULD PAY MOTHERS

Because of the apparent magnitude of the malnutrition problem and the serious threat to society, Dr. Mendelsohn said he would propose that motherhood be considered an occupation and that mothers be paid for feeding their children.

"Children are our most important basic resource and to run the risk that many will not attain their full physical and mental potential is a grave error," he said.

He also proposed that the state, thru the school systems, provide three free meals a day not only to children in poverty areas but to their parents as well.

#### MILD, SEVERE FORMS

Dr. Mendelsohn emphasized that malnutrition ranges from mild to very severe forms in Illinois.

Dr. Jack Metcoff, chairman of the pediatrics department in Michael Reese hospital, estimated that there are hundreds of starved children in Chicago.

The hospital admits 12 to 18 children, one year of age or younger each year because of gross malnutrition, Dr. Metcoff said. Many of them are as emaciated looking as some of the starving children seen in Biafra, he said.

#### BOARD MAKES SURVEY

The board of education first discovered how deep the city's malnutrition problem was in 1959 when it did a survey of nutrition among 2,075 students in the Doolittle school.

The details of the study, considered one of the largest ever performed, have not been fully disclosed before, Dr. Abrams said.

The board investigators found that over a three day period 91 per cent of the children were judged to have a poor diet. Of these 61.5 per cent ate a poor breakfast, 49 per cent had a poor lunch, and nearly 100 children either ate no breakfast or no lunch.

An "exploratory" study conducted recently by the academy of pediatrics head start consultants further documented the problem.

#### ALL HAVE ANEMIA

Dr. Vernon DeYoung, a pediatrician on the staff of the Illinois State Pediatric institute, said a study of the Joliet head start project revealed that almost every child had a mild form of anemia.

The nutritionists for the project evaluated the food eaten by the children and "unearthed a woeful lack of protein in the "diet," Dr. DeYoung said.

When the nutritionists attempted to assist the mothers of the children in providing healthier food, they discovered that food allotments would only pay for one-half to two-thirds of the usual nutritional diet, Dr. DeYoung said.

#### DIETS ARE STARCHY

To stave off hunger sensations the nutritionists had to make the meals highly starchy with containing potatoes or bread, but they contained little meat, fish, or dairy products, he said.

"The Head Start school teachers complained that many of the children were listless, ill-tempered, and unable to concentrate on tasks until the noon luncheon was served," Dr. DeYoung said.

"Some of the teachers found that they had to feed the children as early as possible," he said, "otherwise they could not function."

Malnutrition's toll in mental retardation was reported by Dr. Werner F. Cryns, an Evanston pediatrician and an academy consultant, who studied so-called retarded children in some Chicago ghetto areas.

#### EXAMINES "RETARDED" CHILDREN

Of 52 "retarded" children seen over a three month period, Dr. Cryns concluded that malnutrition played a significant role in at least 34 cases. In other words, more than half of the children appeared retarded because of nutritional deficiencies.

Dr. Mendelsohn said that undernourishment is also reflected in the city's infant death rate. For the first half of 1968 the baby mortality rate for Negroes was 38.7 per 1,000 births and 22.4 infant deaths for whites. In some hard-core poverty areas the infant death rate is as high as 40 to 60 per 1,000 births, he said.

Dr. Lowe said that recent evidence has shown that when an unborn baby receives inadequate nutrition, it will be born small. The placenta of his mother contains fewer cells than normal to nourish him and his growth is affected, he explained.

## BRAIN CELLS DECREASED

Researchers have also shown that when an infant undergoes nutritional deprivation during the first months of life, his brain fails to synthesize protein and make cells at normal rates, Dr. Lowe said. Consequently the infant may suffer a decrease in brain cells of as much as 20 per cent, he said.

These facts point out the crucial importance of nutrition at certain critical times during the growth cycle of the brain and body of infants and children, he said.

"The presence of malnutrition during the first five years of life constitutes a danger not only to the individual child, but also, when this exists among a significant segment of our population, to our nation as a whole.

"We cannot afford to let millions of children grow to adult life compromised in intellect because we, in this rich land, have failed to feed them," Dr. Lowe said.

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[From the Metro-East (Ill.) Journal, June 25, 1969]

SAYS "AVAILABLE TOOLS" NOT USED—SOLOMAKOS BLASTS "HUNGER HEARING" PLANS

The executive director of the St. Clair County Health and Welfare Council today blasted a U.S. Senate subcommittee's plans to investigate hunger in East St. Louis Friday and criticized many food programs currently in operation.

"I do not see any dignity in (accepting) free food stamps and free food," said Peter Solomakos in a news conference in his office in East St. Louis.

"The Senate subcommittee should be investigating why people aren't working. What can they do in one day?" he said.

Solomakos charged the committee with "handpicking" a few witnesses in order to get information back to Washington, D.C. for more free food and food stamp programs.

"They're coming here telling us what we have wrong but none of them have come up with the magic formula," Solomakos said.

PROGRAMS NOT USED

Solomakos said present food programs are not being used by the various poverty programs in East St. Louis even though the programs are available to many through what he called an "easy" application.

In a letter to George Washnis, administrative assistant to Mayor Alvin G. Fields, Solomakos said a three-year pilot program was authorized by a 1968 amendment to the National School Lunch Act, developed to provide better nutrition at lower direct cost for children in service institutions with limited or no food service.

"Public and private non-profit institutions like day care centers, settlement houses and recreation centers that care for children from low income areas or from areas with many working mothers are eligible to apply," he said.

"The only agency other than the three United Fund agencies that responded and is now participating in the program (is) the Youth Education Welfare Organization," he said.

"The problem is a total lack of coordination and a total lack of the desire to coordinate by agencies and between agencies. It depends on who thinks of the idea first, and whose bag it is, and who can scream the loudest to the mostest and be convincing that decides how many cooperate or coordinate."

"PLANNING CABINET" URGED

Solomakos urged the formation of a "planning cabinet" to be developed by Washnis's office that would be representative of private, state and federal agencies to coordinate the food programs.

Solomakos told Washnis, "I think the greatest problem we will be faced with will be who will be the one who wins out in doing the coordinating and implementing so that they can grab all the glorification it takes to get into the history books of the city and the newspapers of East St. Louis.

"I think your office can provide neutral ground to bring about the type of coordinating cabinet needed to dovetail all sectors of the community," he said.

Solomakos said the cabinet would not be "a cabinet of radicals, but positive thinking people."

He charged "vested interests" with holding up progress on his efforts to bring about a coalition of agencies and a coordinated attack upon the hunger problem in the area.

"I have not been able to get any groups together in the last one and one half years," he said.

"We suffer from a malignancy, that is, nobody (agencies) talks to each other."

#### DISCUSSION SET

Ray Suddart, director of the Illinois Department of School Food Services, has invited Solomakos to attend a discussion on special food service programs for children July 15 at the Model City Agency in East St. Louis.

"It is our desire to implement several of these programs in the East St. Louis area," Suddart wrote Solomakos last week.

Solomakos reiterated that the programs were available but the few agencies were willing to participate.

Some of the "stumbling blocks," he said, include:

—The inability to hire people to cook food because of inadequate financing.

—The lack of equipment to store, prepare and serve food.

—Little desire to maintain the book work and submit reports necessary while participating in the food program.

"If everybody in this city that is involved in social service would get together with their little bag of tools and disregard the idea that the world revolves around their particular agency, we might get something done," he said.

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[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post Dispatch, June 27, 1969]

#### E. ST. LOUIS GROUPS URGED TO SEEK FOOD SUBSIDIES

Public and Social Welfare agencies in East St. Louis were urged yesterday to participate in a state-run program that would subsidize breakfasts and lunches for children from poor families.

But at the same time, Peter G. Solomakos, executive director of the St. Clair County Health and Welfare Council, charged that a hearing tomorrow by the Senate's Hunger Committee would be a "stacked deck" designed to ignore existing efforts made to solve the city's hunger problem.

The committee will meet at 10 a.m. tomorrow at the South End Neighborhood Opportunity Center, 1501 Russell Avenue.

Solomakos charged that "the committee is looking for a political scapegoat—and we're it."

He said that an advance man for the committee had picked witnesses who would appear. He said no effort was being made to tell the whole story.

"East St. Louis doesn't need an investigation. Its public and private agencies should sit down and arrange to get the city into existing programs. There is one program that could go into effect immediately," he said.

The state-run program Solomakos was promoting is called the Special Food Service Program for Children. Using a \$149,000 federal grant, the Illinois Department of Public Instruction will subsidize breakfasts, lunches and supplementary foods served between meals at day-care centers and other institutions that care for children from low-income families.

The state will pay 15 cents for each breakfast, 30 cents for each lunch and 10 cents for each supplemental meal. It also will provide surplus commodities such as butter, cheese, wheat products, chopped meat, raisins, honey and peanut butter to these agencies.

Although the program began last December, only five East St. Louis organizations are participating in it.

Schools are excluded from the program because they are covered by a different one. Institutions in which children live are also excluded.

Solomakos said that some agencies were reluctant to participate because they would have to hire cooks to prepare the food and buy kitchen and storage equipment. The subsidy must be used entirely for purchasing food.

Some agencies do not wish to handle the paperwork required by the program, Solomakos said.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 13, 1969]

### RICH FARM SUBSIDY COUNTIES IGNORE THE POOR: FINDLEY

(By Tom Littlewood, Sun-Times Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Many of the same counties that have chosen not to take advantage of government food distribution programs for their poor have farmers who are receiving the most and the biggest federal payments to keep productive land unplanted.

This is particularly true in Texas, which has more poor people without access to any federal food-aid program than any other state; and which leads the nation in total farm program payments.

Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.), who prepared the county-by-county correlation, told the House Monday that "this anomalous and ironic practice must raise questions of prudence, judgment and morality."

He said: "It is incredible that these countries, with tax bases swollen by federal aid capitalized into the wealthy farmers' land values, flatly refuse access to free or low-cost food from the federal largess to their poor people."

Almost one in every four residents of Lynn County, Texas—2,282 out of 10,914—is classified as hard-core poor.

Farmers in that cotton and sorghum producing country—located south of Lubbock in the district represented by House Appropriations Committee Chairman George H. Mahon—received \$8,903,000 in federal payments last year.

Findley said the number of families directly benefiting from the farm payments happened to be about the same as the number of poor. Their income from farm payments alone was more than three times the gross income of the poor.

The farm program is based on a system of price supports tied in with agreements to restrict the production of feed grains, wheat and cotton; and, in the case of the so-called soil bank, to withdraw acreage from production.

One of Findley's long-running crusades—so far unsuccessful—has been to persuade Congress that support payments should be limited to \$20,000 for any single farm in a calendar year.

It is, on the other hand, up to the county authorities to assume the administrative, if not the financial, burden of implementing the food assistance programs.

President Nixon said last week that 440 counties in the United States do not participate in either the food stamp program or the direct distribution of surplus commodities for the needy.

He asked Congress to appropriate additional funds for food stamps and promised to have all counties included by July of 1970.

Of \$3 billion in direct farm payments in 1967, Texas farmers received \$457,000,000—more than 15 per cent of the national total. According to Findley, 53 Texas farmers collected more than \$100,000 each, and 278 received between \$50,000 and \$99,999 each.

He reported that 99 of the 253 counties in Texas elected not to take part in a federal food program.

Of the 99, farm payments amounted to more than \$2,000,000 in 14 counties and more than \$1,000,000 in 14 others.

Findley said that these counties "have proved to be strangely but effectively resistant to federal food-aid to their poor—and perhaps this resistance will tend to thwart Mr. Nixon's promise to the poor and the hungry."

The figures "lead to the embarrassing conclusion that federal food-aid to poor families is deliberately excluded from the very counties where farm production is curbed as extremely high cost to the tax-payer," he said.

"Plainly, the political leadership of these counties finds federal handouts to wealthy farmers something they can live with, but federal handouts to hard-core something else."

"While my home state of Illinois has food-aid programs in all but eight counties, I freely acknowledge that it has unmet problems in hunger and malnutrition," Findley concluded. Farm program payments amounted to \$97,678,527 in Illinois in 1967.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 13, 1969]

## DALEY SETS UP DEPOTS FOR HUNGRY

(By Harry Golden, Jr.)

Mayor Daley said Monday that Chicago's 14 anti-poverty centers will give food orders and medical help to hungry. He also ordered policemen and firemen to join in "an intensive search" for those in need.

Daley said at a press conference that 10 city agencies "agreed to attack this question of hunger and malnutrition on an emergency basis."

The action reinforced Daley's two week-old pledge to find the hungry and "put food on the table." That promise came after a Sun-Times series of articles by Linda Rocky detailed the plight of the city's underfed.

Urban Progress Centers operated by the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity will provide vouchers for food. The "disbursement orders" will be honored at neighborhood groceries.

Daley's office will advance the cash to finance the vouchers, pending possible repayment by the state public aid system and the federal poverty program.

The city health department will assign doctors and nurses to the centers to test youngsters for malnutrition and to administer supplementary medication.

Police and fire stations will compile names and addresses of malnutrition cases reported by the public. These will be turned over to the anti-poverty centers for action.

## OTHERS AT MAYOR'S SIDE

At Daley's side were Dr. Deton J. Brooks Jr., human resources commissioner, who was named co-ordinator of the anti-hunger program a week ago, and other city department heads.

These included Police Supt. James B. Conlisk, Jr., CCUO Director Murrell Syler and Health Comr. Morgan J. O'Connell.

Daley again called upon the public to help pinpoint the need.

"We ask all the people in our city—everyone—to give us the names and addresses . . . we need the support and assistance of everyone, the churches, the women's groups," he said.

He said information will be given to the poverty centers, police and fire stations, Chicago Housing Authority offices, neighborhood health clinics and the mayor's office of inquiry and information.

In response to questions, Daley said he believes in the validity of many complaints that present public aid allotments are inadequate. He said he is not sure of the extent of the malnutrition problem, but hopes his new program will put emergency help "practically within walking distance for everyone."

## CALLS FOR HELP BY 138 TOLD—BUT ONLY 138

John F. Billings, director of the office of inquiry and information, reported that 138 persons contacted the office since the mayor first spoke out on the subject. Most were on public aid, others on Social Security and a few in no program.

## 16 GET ASSISTANCE

Billings said 16 persons "actually needed some type of assistance," and this was arranged through the Cook County Department of Public Aid.

Asked if this shows the need is isolated, Daley said, "If there are only one or 10 people hungry, by God, they will be fed. The people of Chicago have a heart."

## URBAN PROGRESS CENTERS

Following are the addresses and telephone numbers of the Urban Progress Centers:

Altgeld Gardens, 967 E. 132d, 568-3700; Cabrini-Green, 1161 N. Larrabee, 944-7301; Division, 1940 W. Division, 772-9135; Englewood, 839 W. 64th, 873-9600; Garfield, 9 S. Kedzie, 826-4600.

Also, Halsted, 1935 S. Halsted, 733-7310; Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., 4622 S. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive, 548-6700; Lawndale, 3138 W. Roosevelt, 638-2520; Montrose, 901 W. Montrose, 327-2101.

Also, Parkside, 6850 S. Stoney Island, 684-1126; Robert Taylor, 4848 S. State, 538-4800; South Chicago, 9231 S. Houston, 374-5000; West Garfield, 3952 W. Jackson, 826-2929, and Woodlawn, 1030 E. 63d, 684-7801.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 14, 1969]

## SOME HELP FOR THE HUNGRY

## DALEY PROGRAM

The necessary all-out effort to feed Chicago's hungry still is somewhere beyond the horizon. But Mayor Daley obviously is lighting fires under those who must implement his promise to put food on the tables of the needy.

A plan announced Monday should alleviate some of the city's widespread malnutrition. At the same time, the program could serve as a framework for the more intense war on hunger that still must be waged.

Under the plan, 14 anti-poverty centers will become hunger clearing houses. Doctors and nurses from the city health department will be assigned to the centers to test for malnutrition and administer medication. The centers will issue vouchers that can be exchanged for food at neighborhood groceries. Twelve city agencies including the police and fire departments, will help identify the needy.

How well this scheme will work is to be seen. It still bears a scent of bureaucracy and red tape. The 12 agencies strangely do not include either the Board of Education or County Hospital. And while the mayor's office will advance cash to pay the bills, long-range funding still is a question mark. The program must be given a chance, however, while the city explores other approaches.

To assist those who need food, or who know of someone who does, we reprint from our news columns the addresses and phone numbers of Urban Progress Centers that serve as hunger depots:

Altgeld Gardens, 967 E. 132d, 568-3700; Cabrini-Green, 1161 N. Larrabee, 944-7301; Division, 1940 W. Division, 772-9135; Englewood, 839 W. 64th, 873-9600; Garfield, 9 S. Kedzie, 826-4600.

Also, Halsted, 1935 S. Halsted, 733-7310; Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., 4622 S. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive, 548-6700; Lawndale, 3138 W. Roosevelt, 638-2520; Montrose, 901 W. Montrose, 327-2101.

Also, Parkside, 6850 S. Stony Island, 684-1126; Robert Taylor, 4848 S. State, 538-4800; South Chicago, 9231 S. Houston, 374-5000; West Garfield, 3952 W. Jackson, 826-2929, and Woodlawn, 1030 E. 63d 684-7801.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 14, 1969]

## REV. JACKSON CHALLENGES OGILVIE TO FEED HUNGRY

(By Basil Talbott Jr., Sun-Times Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson challenged Gov. Ogilvie Tuesday to feed the state's hungry as throngs of parents besieged the governor's office with demands for more school aid.

After an 80-minute meeting with Ogilvie, the Rev. Mr. Jackson told reporters that Operation Breadbasket will "march up and down the state highways and bring the hungry to the capital."

"The governor said he has not yet found out how many malnourished there are in the state," said the Rev. Mr. Jackson, national director of Operation Breadbasket.

That is "inexcusable," he continued, adding: "He can find out how many persons to tax. We will not wait for his research program. We will bring the hungry here."

300 BROUGHT IN BY PTA

The Rev. Mr. Jackson and his delegation of about a dozen had to make their way through the parents pressing at the glass doors of the governor's waiting room.

Outside the doors were part of some 300 women brought to Springfield from Chicago by the Chicago Region of the Parent-Teachers Assn.

"We want to ask the governor for a \$600 school-aid foundation level," said Mrs. Pauline Pansios,<sup>1</sup> president of the Chicago region.

"No taxation without services," shouted some of the crowd.

After some 2,000 Chicago teachers lobbied for a boost in school aid two weeks ago, Ogilvie announced that he could support a level of \$520 for every pupil in the state.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Pauline Pansios, PTA—Chicago.

A bill pending in the Legislature would establish a \$550 level while Chicago School Supt. James F. Redmond<sup>2</sup> has said he needs \$600.

#### PARENTS TURNED AWAY

The parents were turned away after they admitted that they had not formally requested an appointment before arriving here.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said his delegation made several other proposals to Ogilvie, and asked him to oppose welfare cuts suggested by House Speaker Ralph T. Smith (R-Alton).

"He gave us an indication he was against them," the Rev. Mr. Jackson said. "We asked him to make his position clear Wednesday."

That was a reference to a committee of the whole hearing scheduled in the House for Wednesday to hear testimony on Smith's bill for a 30 per cent cut in public assistance.

Operation Breadbasket will bring groups from around the state for a rally and to attend the committee hearing, the Rev. Mr. Jackson said.

Among the other points he said he made to the governor were that two department heads, Harold O. Swank<sup>3</sup> and Ray Page<sup>4</sup> were "liabilities" to the administration.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said he was "dissatisfied with (State Supt. of Public Instruction) Page's programs for the poor."

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 14, 1969]

#### HOUSE UNIT OK'S STATE SCHOOL LUNCH AID

(By Jerome Watson, Sun-Times Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—A new front in the mounting war on hunger was opened Tuesday when the House Education Committee recommended approval of a state subsidy for school lunch programs.

The committee voted 15 to 3 in support of a bill sponsored by Rep. Robert E. Mann (D-Chicago) to provide a subsidy of up to 15 cents for each free lunch provided by school districts.

The state contribution—\$5,400,000 for the first year—would supplement an existing federal subsidy and result in a drastic reduction or elimination of local contributions to lunch programs, Mann said.

He predicted the state program, which would take effect in September, 1970, would result in provision of free lunches to scores of thousands of children from poverty families.

#### ONLY 15,000 OF 180,000 ON FREE LUNCH

Mann said only 15,000 of an estimated 130,000 to 180,000 Chicago school children eligible for lunches under federal guidelines are now receiving them.

This situation also exists in other communities despite the federal subsidy, he said, because school districts faced with bearing much of the cost of the lunch programs do not encourage participation in them.

Statewide, Mann said, only some 50,000 lunches are served daily, despite the fact there are 260,000 school children from families on welfare.

He said some 45 counties in Illinois have "some kind of a school lunch problem."

Mann charged it is "disgraceful" that Illinois ranks among the wealthiest states, yet contributes "not a penny" to school lunch programs.

Ruth Chitlik, spokesman for the Chicago area chapter of the National Assn. of Social Workers, said the expanded lunch program likely to result from the Mann bill would do much to eliminate problems of hunger and malnutrition among Illinois school children.

Under federal law, Miss Chitlik said, such lunches must provide one-third to one-half of a child's daily nutritional needs.

The hunger problem in the Chicago area was documented in a Sun-Times series of articles by Linda Rockey.

A spokesman for Ray Page, state superintendent of public instruction, urged passage of the bill. He cited evidence that hunger impedes learning ability.

<sup>2</sup> James F. Redmond, Chicago school superintendent.

<sup>3</sup> Swank, comr., State public aid department.

<sup>4</sup> Page, State superintendent of public instruction.

There was some concern among proponents of the bill that an effort would be made to fund it from the public aid appropriation.

Mann, in an effort to block such a move, told the committee that current welfare allowances include only 26 cents per person per meal, an amount he termed highly inadequate.

#### STATE SUBSIDY TO REDUCE LOCAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Implementation of the school-lunch program would be delayed until 1970 to give state and local officials the time to work out administrative details, Mann said.

In addition Miss Chitlik noted that few ghetto schools are now equipped to feed the large number of children who qualify for the free meals.

Mann said he will move to kill a second bill that would ban state aid to any school district without a school lunch program for the needy. He said it was clear that such a bill could not pass.

The bill approved Tuesday must win the backing of the Appropriations Committee before going to the full House.

Voting against the measure were Republican Representatives Charles W. Clabaugh of Champaign, William D. Cox of Charleston and Hellmut W. Stone of Chicago.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 15, 1969]

#### DROP AID-CUT PLAN AS NEEEDY RALLY

(By Basil Talbott, Jr., Sun-Times Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—House Speaker Ralph T. Smith (R-Alton) dropped his efforts to cut welfare payments Wednesday as some 4,000 followers of Operation Breadbasket rallied on the Statehouse lawn.

The speaker told the full House he changed his mind after Gov. Ogilvie wrote him such a move would be "an unfortunate step backward."

Ogilvie further wrote, "I am convinced that it is imperative for us to maintain our present statutory standards in public assistance."

In the House chamber was the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national director of Operation Breadbasket, who had petitioned the governor Tuesday to oppose the Smith bill and feed the state's hungry.

The galleries were jammed with the Rev. Mr. Jackson's followers, including some 500 Black P Stone Rangers decked out in red berets and chanting "Soul Force."

#### PLAN MARCH THROUGH STATE

The bill Smith tabled would have reduced public assistance by \$125,000,000 next year, cutting aid by 30 per cent.

"Keep on the case, Judge," one of the crowd shouted to the Rev. Mr. Jackson at a rally on the steps of the Capitol after Smith recanted.

"We came down here to lay to rest a bill that would hurt the poor," the Breadbasket leader said. Now we're going to march through the state until they pass something to help the poor.

"Starting Sunday, we will march to Cairo, Decatur, the Quad Cities and to Champaign and find the hungry and bring them here. If we starve, it will not be in the ghettos. It will be on these steps."

The victory celebration at the base of Abraham Lincoln's statue was the third rally held by the busloads who came from Chicago and other cities.

#### MEMORIAL SERVICE HELD

Before the session of the committee of the whole in the House, the Rev. Mr. Jackson tore into Speaker Smith.

Speaking of the accident which killed Pamela Whitmore, 17, of Chicago in a bus accident on the highway heading towards Springfield, the Rev. Jackson said:

"That girl's blood is on the Speaker's hands. We wouldn't have come down here if it wasn't for him."

At the first rally in the state armory, the Rev. Mr. Jackson presided over a solemn memorial service for Miss Whitmore while Ben Branch's ensemble played a blues in the background.

A crowd of more than 3,500 packed into the armory raised their fists in the solidarity salute as the Rev. Mr. Jackson "moved and seconded" to have comedian Dick Gregory freed.

The Breadbasket director had testified for Gregory's release Tuesday at an Illinois Parole and Pardon Board hearing in Springfield. Gregory has been in Cook County Jail for 44 days after being convicted for assault and battery on two Chicago policemen.

In testimony before the House committee and earlier during a special appearance in the Senate chambers, the Rev. Mr. Jackson spoke for the elimination of hunger and the death of Smith's bill.

"Poverty itself is a form of oppression which threatens man's existence, for men will steal before they will starve," he said. "It is understandable that those who are malnourished, and who thus might be physically deformed or psychologically impaired by this circumstance, are in a state of destitution, desperation and despair."

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 15, 1969]

#### CHAIN OF ACCIDENTS—HUNGER CARAVAN CRASH KILLS GIRL, 27 INJURED

(By James Casey)

A 17-year-old Chicago girl was killed and 27 other persons were injured Wednesday in a chain of accidents on a fog-bound section of Interstate 55 southwest of Joliet.

The dead girl, Pamela Whitmore, of 1523 E. 63d, and most of those who were injured were en route to Springfield in a bus-auto caravan sponsored by Operation Breadbasket.

They had planned a hunger demonstration in the capital.

Six of the injured were hospitalized.

State police said more than 20 vehicles were involved in the series of accidents near Lorenzo in Will County.

Police said Miss Whitmore was crushed between a truck and an Operation Breadbasket bus after the bus was struck from behind by a second truck.

Miss Whitmore had stepped from an auto involved in a minor accident and apparently was trying to halt oncoming traffic when she was fatally injured, according to state police.

Of the six persons admitted to St. Joseph Hospital in Joliet, five were Chicagoans.

They are Mrs. Johnny Gallery, 51, of 5946 S. Bishop; Edna Baughn, 40, of 3332 W. 90th Pl.; Betty Johnson, 26, of 320 W. 59th; Mary Lewis, 36, of 5001 S. Federal, and Stella McKenzie, 18, of 7027 S. Peoria. The sixth person admitted was Clifford Iverson, 31, of 10301 Mc Nerney, Franklin Park.

LeRoy Grell, operator of a garage in Wilmington, said he was alerted by state police between 7 and 8 a.m. to be ready to tow away several wrecked vehicles.

"When I left the garage to tow in the first one, the fog was so thick I couldn't see my hood ornament," Grell said.

Richard Hourigan, 55, of 3 S. 320 Shagbark, Glen Ellyn, was en route to Quincy, Ill., to pick up his son at Quincy College when a series of auto crashes occurred in front of his car.

He swerved his auto and it flipped over a guard rail, then rolled down a 40-foot embankment.

His auto was demolished.

Hourigan, a claims adjuster for an insurance firm, said his seat belt saved him from injury.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 16, 1969]

#### HOUSE QUILTS FAST AS GOP REVOLT BREWS OVER AID

(By Burnell Heincke, Sun-Times Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—An impending revolt in his party's ranks caused Speaker Ralph T. Smith (R-Alton) to adjourn the House minutes after it opened Thursday.

Smith abandoned his plan to put in five hours to start work on one of the largest legislative calendars in House history after the angry mood of Republicans—both liberal and conservative—filtered back to him.

The source of the anger centered on his account surrounding his bill to slash public aid by \$125,000,000, which he tabled Wednesday just before the Rev. Jesse Jackson, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket, delivered a stirring speech on hunger to the House.

Liberals and conservatives alike were angered, but for different reasons Thursday.

Several legislators from backlash areas of Chicago—one of whom almost went into a tantrum while the Rev. Mr. Jackson was speaking Wednesday—were ready to take Smith to the woodshed Thursday, either on the floor or in caucus.

In either case, Smith's position as the Republican leader in the House would have been dangerously compromised by the openness of the challenge.

Hotel corridors buzzed after the Rev. Mr. Jackson's speech with talk of Smith's "capitulation" or "cave-in" to the Rev. Mr. Jackson, even though Smith announced his intention to table his public aid cut before he allowed the Rev. Mr. Jackson to speak.

Some legislators were so angry at Smith and Gov. Ogilvie that they spoke of going home and not coming back again.

Ogilvie came in for his share of abuse from legislators already upset by the 4 percent income tax proposal and huge budget that the governor has asked the Legislature to approve.

Among the liberals on the GOP side of the aisle, there was equal dismay with Smith for having introduced the public aid reduction measure in the first place, and then for allowing himself to get in the position where he had to read a letter from a governor of his own party pulling the rug out from under his position.

These same previous supporters viewed as inept his reading of the letter, and then allowing the Rev. Mr. Jackson to go on and make a powerful speech to the Legislature.

Legislators on both sides of the aisle were stunned at the impact of the Rev. Mr. Jackson's presence, his message and—a considerable talking point after it was over—Smith's allowance of the Rev. Mr. Jackson's red-bereted bodyguard of youths which escorted him down the main aisle of the House and flanked him at the rostrum as he spoke to the hushed legislators.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson was back in the Capitol Thursday, talking of plans to lead future demonstrations to Springfield, and to stay longer next time. A statewide committee on hunger will be formed, probably next week, the Rev. Mr. Jackson told The Sun-Times, with branch offices likely to be opened in at least three locations, including Cairo.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said he hoped that the next time he returned, with more than the estimated 4,000 who turned out Wednesday, the governor would provide facilities for the hunger marchers.

Smith's reaction to the situation was terse. Although he had told The Sun-Times earlier in the day that he planned a long work session, he conceded after the hasty adjournment that "the fellows are tired and I think they worked hard enough this week and ought to be allowed to go home."

The only business transacted during the brief session was the roll call and a motion waiving the rule on committee action for the Executive, Judiciary and Appropriations committees.

Significantly, the Municipalities Committee was not included. There, locked in on a tie vote of the day before, was Mayor Daley's bill to grant Chicago broader licensing powers for revenue purposes. A ring around the rosy game persisted all morning Thursday as leaders kept careful tab on the membership present lest Democrats move for a reconsideration of the vote which would blast the bill off the floor.

But the GOP leaders sensed they had better not try anything on their own initiative, to kill the bill outright, for fear of the rebelliousness on their side.

Smith said he had not heard "directly" from anyone about the unrest. "After all, I was over at the governor's mansion all evening last night at the leadership dinner with the governor," he said.

It was learned that Ogilvie found out about Smith's bill to reduce public aid the morning he picked up The Sun-Times and saw the story of the bill introduction on Page One.

Ogilvie was described as being livid with rage that he had not been consulted—by his Downstate campaign manager and leader of the House—about a matter which would have tremendous emotional impact and was not in the governor's own program.

Ogilvie, at a late-afternoon press conference, confirmed that he had not been consulted by Smith about the legislation. The governor indirectly confirmed the report of having read the news in the paper first when he told newsmen that Smith's letter to him, telling him of his plans, "arrived in my office the day that the legislation was introduced in the house."

The governor said he had listened to the Rev. Mr. Jackson's speech to the House via a loud-speaker in his office, as well as Smith's announcement on why he had introduced his legislation and why he was tabling it.

"I thought the speaker made an excellent explanation for introducing the legislation and I thought he gave an excellent reason for tabling it," Ogilvie remarked. "I also thought it was desirable to let the Rev. Jesse Jackson address the Legislature yesterday."

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 18, 1969]

#### WELFARE-CUT PROPOSAL PUTS SMITH ON A SPOT

(By John Dreiske)

It has been double-checked and confirmed that the first wind Gov. Ogilvie got of House Speaker Ralph T. Smith's (R-Alton) proposal to cut welfare payments by \$125,000,000 was when the governor read *The Sun-Times*.

Ogilvie, having breakfast with aides in the Executive Mansion, was seen to pick up a copy of this newspaper and see an exclusive story by Springfield Bureau Chief Burnell Heinecke telling of the Smith proposal. The chief executive was seen to blanch and become angry.

So the state's leader of the Republican Party had to read of a major proposal affecting profoundly the party's course from a newspaper. To paraphrase that railroad switchman seeing two trains heading at each other on the same track, that's a hell of a way to run a political party.

Now Smith is in a real fix for putting his party and his governor into one. And he has given the angry Rev. Jesse Jackson really something to go to Springfield about.

#### MAYBE GOOD CAN BE SALVAGED

But perhaps some good for the party can be salvaged from this colossal goof which cannot be understood by friends of Smith who know him, a Phi Beta Kappa, to be highly intelligent.

Maybe now Ogilvie ought to go to Smith or, more appropriately summon him to the office on the second floor of the State house and say something like: "Now you have given a try at forming Republican policy. Next time, let's talk it over, eh? Maybe I can help."

Seriously, the sorry mess that Smith precipitated with his fantastic goof, which has to be one of the biggest in modern political times, can consolidate the GOP leadership in Illinois.

Smith's blunder, in not only suggesting but actually putting into bill form a plan to cut relief when the poor are on the march as never before, is a perfect example of the compartmentalized leadership of the party since the 1968 elections.

Once before, Smith promptly issued a statement urging that the governor's proposed 4 per cent income tax be cut to 2 per cent the day after the governor proposed the tax.

It seems to be in Smith's blood to quarrel in public statements with the governor of the newly revitalized GOP. In effect, this tends to embarrass the new leadership the governor is attempting to exert to promote his party from honorary to professional status.

#### FACES LONG ROAD BACK

There is little doubt that Smith faces a long road back to the position of party influence, prestige and power he enjoyed up to the moment he introduced his welfare bill.

Not only has he embarrassed his party but he has incurred party enmities: first from the group that disagreed with his introducing the bill and then with the

group that objected to his obeying the governor's written injunction to forget about it and pull the bill out.

And there can be little doubt that if, as Smith has claimed on occasion, he ever had a deal with Ogilvie calling for the latter to appoint Smith to the U.S. Senate should Everett M. Dirksen become unable to serve, the deal is off.

If Ogilvie were ever to name to the U.S. Senate the man who wanted to pass legislation cutting public aid in a time when the poverty-stricken have become explosively militant, Ogilvie will have committed political harakiri.

Hope for Smith to become a power in his party again lies in the long-established fact that he's a nice guy, a man of caliber. But there is no hope if the whole sorry episode is not for him a lesson learned.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 20, 1969]

#### OGILVIE'S WISE WELFARE ADVICE

What happened in Springfield last week demonstrated the urgency for strong and wise leadership by the governor on the problems of big cities. Republicans who have emotional views about the handling of welfare payments ought to check out those views with Gov. Ogilvie. Regional or sectional attitudes and prejudices simply cannot be arbitrarily imposed on the entire state. Legislators must defer to the responsibility the governor carries for the welfare of all citizens in the state, including the least influential of them.

A case in point is the bill introduced April 18 by House Speaker Ralph T. Smith (R-Alton) to cut public aid by \$125,000,000.

The monthly per-person rate would go from \$47 to \$32, a level comparable to nearby, less urban states.

The governor learned about this bill when he read about it on the first page of the Sun-Times. He was justifiably angry because he had not been consulted by his own party's House leader on a matter that would have tremendous emotional and political impact and was in direct conflict with the governor's own program and philosophy.

The emotional impact was indicated by the journey to Springfield of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation Breadbasket, and a number of his supporters. He was permitted to address the House Thursday and made an impassioned speech on hunger.

Just before he spoke, however, the Smith bill had been tabled at Smith's own direction. Smith read a letter from the governor saying the Smith proposal was a step backward:

"If we are to develop methods to break the welfare cycle and not perpetuate the dole system, we must increase the flexibility of programs."

The governor spoke not only out of compassion for the poor but with a long-range, pragmatic view regarding the purposes of welfare payments.

There is more to welfare than merely providing a subsistence diet. The poor must be helped to rise out of poverty and cease being charges on the public. Their living standards should help them make it on their own and give their children a start in life consistent with American standards.

Other states may not have the perspicacity to realize the long-range wisdom of this course. Mississippi pays the mother of three children \$35 a month. Illinois pays \$246. Which, in Gov. Ogilvie's words, is doing more to perpetuate the dole system?

The long-range answer may lie in one national standard for the poor everywhere paid by the federal government. The problem of meeting the cost of welfare surely cannot be answered by reducing Illinois standards to those of less urban states.

Such quick and easy solutions are popular among some legislators. The Senate Thursday passed a bill requiring that a relief recipient from another state be paid the other state's rate if lower. The bill is out of order; it would jeopardize \$300,000,000 received by Illinois from federal funds. Another bill would deny aid to relief dependents if it could be proved they came to Illinois just to receive higher welfare payments. This bill is clearly unworkable, punitive and unconstitutional. The House has sensibly killed a similar bill.

These outcroppings of vindictiveness against the poor are vain attempts to turn back the clock. They are brought by the pressure of some voters who resent

the efforts of those who are working to improve the lot of the hungry and the frustrated in the ghetto, men like the Rev. Mr. Jackson whose appearance in Springfield was openly resented by many legislators.

Gov. Ogilvie said he thought it was desirable for the Rev. Mr. Jackson to address the Legislature. Such voices need to be heard. The problems posed by this black leader will not disappear merely by pretending they do not exist. Anyone unwilling to face up to them does not belong in Springfield.

Gov. Ogilvie's counsel to his fellow Republicans on the problems of cities should prevail in the Capitol. The grumbling of Republicans who are plotting against the poor are unworthy of the state of Lincoln. The plotters are inviting social and political consequences that would greatly harm this state and their own political party.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 20, 1969]

JESSE JACKSON BARRED—OGILVIE VETOES 'NON-GUEST'

(By Jerome Watson, Sun-Times Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—Gov. Ogilvie refused Monday to hold a scheduled meeting in his office with a top state union official when the labor leader insisted on being accompanied by the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

Robert Johnston, Illinois director of the United Auto Workers, had an appointment to meet with Ogilvie at 4:30 p.m. to explain his opposition to the governor's proposed 4 per cent flat-rate income tax.

However, Ogilvie balked when Johnston appeared in the company of the Rev. Mr. Jackson. Johnston explained that the UAW, several other unions, and the civil rights group headed by the Negro leader had "formed a political alliance."

First, the governor summoned Johnston into his office and told him the appointment had not included the Rev. Mr. Jackson. Johnston emerged, discussed Ogilvie's position with aides and the Rev. Mr. Jackson and then informed the governor he would not meet without the Negro civil rights leader. Ogilvie was adamant in refusing to meet the men.

Johnston and the Rev. Mr. Jackson then left Ogilvie's outer office.

The move by Ogilvie came in the wake of the Rev. Mr. Jackson's appearance in Springfield and before the Legislature last week. Ogilvie's role in killing a bill that would have reduced the states welfare budget came under intense criticism from some white legislators, and the Rev. Mr. Jackson said Monday he viewed the governors refusal to meet him as "political and not personal."

"It might have been politically dangerous for him," said the Rev. Mr. Jackson, national director of Operation Breadbasket, economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"It's a new political ball game now," Johnston added.

The disagreement with Ogilvie came after a labor union-Operation Breadbasket rally on the Capitol steps attended by some 400 to 500 persons.

The turnout for the rally fell far below the several thousand predicted by Johnston, who had hoped for a thousand or more tax-protesting citizens to join UAW workers in the protest.

Earlier, a state legislative conference of the UAW voted to urge Ogilvie to abandon his proposed 4 per cent income tax and support a broadened sales tax and higher corporation taxes.

The conference urged an \$800 school-aid foundation level compared with the \$520 proposed by Ogilvie.

The 2,000-member conference said an attack on the state's fiscal problems could be made by diverting motor fuel taxes and other earmarked funds to such priority problems as education and by hiking real estate assessments on large property buildings.

After the rally on the Capitol steps, the Rev. Mr. Jackson said he supported the UAW's opposition to an income tax for individuals if an 8 per cent income tax corporations proposed by the union will be sufficient to ease the state's fiscal crisis.

The "political alliance" was united in demands for the state to enact minimum wage and fair-housing laws, wipe out hunger and replace the existing welfare system with a guaranteed annual income, or "human subsidy."

After the attempted meeting with Ogilvie, the Rev. Mr. Jackson said representatives of the UAW, Operation Breadbasket and other unions would meet in

Springfield Thursday to form a hunger committee that will conduct hearings in cities throughout the state.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson insisted that any income tax, to have his support, would have to include earmarks of funds for hunger.

He said a failure to earmark funds for an attack on the hunger problem "undoubtedly" would result in a march on Springfield.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 21, 1969]

#### HOPE FOR THE HUNGRY

The war against hunger is gaining momentum, not only in Chicago, but in Springfield—so while the undernourished still are short of food, there is increasing hope that their needs will be met.

Three major developments have occurred within a week.

First, Mayor Daley, who earlier had committed the city to a campaign against hunger, announced a plan under which anti-poverty agencies would serve as hunger depots for dispensing medical care and issuing food vouchers.

Next, Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.), who has led the national probe of hunger, said his Senate Select Committee on Nutrition would hold hearings in Chicago next month.

#### OGILVIE—PROGRAM ON HUNGER

Now Gov. Ogilvie has ordered a state task force to pinpoint the hungry throughout the state. He is to get a full task force report by May 28, and is expected to announce his own anti-hunger proposals shortly afterward.

The existence of widespread malnutrition and even outright, crippling hunger is a stark reality. In a shocking series of articles, Sun-Times reporter Linda Rockey detailed the manifestations of hunger in Chicago and the suburbs and disclosed the frustration of those who attempted to alleviate it.

At the root of the problem, of course, nationally as well as in Illinois, has been a lack of commitment. Without a willingness to feed the poor, discussions of the problem become merely anguished cries.

There appears to be a growing commitment now, although not enough of the poor are being properly fed. The first vouchers issued by the Chicago hunger depots averaged only \$15.47 each, and there is a question whether the 1,304 families who received them can reapply, as many obviously would need to do. Still, the very existence of an emergency plan is an encouraging sign, and this and other developments show that food can reach the tables of the needy.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 21, 1969]

#### ABERNATHY, JACKSON LEAD TRIBUTE FOR CARAVAN VICTIM

(By Sam Washington)

They stood in the entrance, blocking the doors as others sat fanning themselves in the stifling air inside the Fellowship Baptist Church Tuesday night.

They wore red berets and with other blacks had come to mourn Pamela Whitmore, 17, who was killed last Wednesday in a traffic accident on the road to Springfield—where she was to join a demonstration demanding a better deal for the poor in Illinois.

The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was also there. In his talk to the mourners he said Pamela was a martyr to the struggle for human rights just as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was.

And the people, young and old, listened, and every now and then shouted "Amen" as the Rev. Mr. Abernathy and others paid tribute to Pamela.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who led the march on Springfield, told how Pamela had joined the caravan headed for the state capital at the urging of members of the Black P. Stone Rangers.

The Rangers had pledged to help the Rev. Mr. Jackson's Operation Breadbasket in the march and hired a bus to carry them and their friends to Springfield.

Near Joliet the road was draped in a heavy fog, and the caravan was forced to stop because of an accident ahead.

For some reason Pamela got out of the bus, and in a succession of chain accidents she was crushed to death when the bus was struck in the rear by a trailer truck.

The caravan continued to Springfield and succeeded in its attempt to get the attention of the state Legislature.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said Pamela's name had been added to the "honor roll of those who died to make things better for their brothers."

Leonard Sengali agreed with the Rev. Mr. Jackson, and said that in memory of Pamela, the Rangers have pledged to take no part in the killings and violence that has marked their history.

"From now on we're going for better schools and better housing for black people," Sengali said.

Sengali, wearing a red beret—the symbol of the Rangers—told the sweltering crowd of over 500 that the group will increase its efforts to push for better conditions in the ghetto.

"She died for a reason," Sengali declared, "and we're going to do our best to make sure it was a good reason."

The Rev. Mr. Abernathy was the last to take the pulpit. Paraphrasing words from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, the Rev. Mr. Abernathy said:

"If she should die, take her body and cut it into little stars and all the world will be in love with night."

He called Pamela the first casualty to fall in the second chapter of the Poor People's Campaign in Illinois. And as his voice grew stronger, and the crowded church echoed with more "Amens," the Rev. Mr. Abernathy called for new dedication to the fight on poverty.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 21, 1969]

#### THE EXCEPTION TO A RULE

(By John Dreiske)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—Last week's march on the Legislature led by the Rev. Jesse Jackson was an exception to the rule that such demonstrations and mass mailings have no visible effect upon the lawmakers.

The spectacular showing of the marchers and the spectacular performance of the Rev. Mr. Jackson in angrily dramatic speeches before both houses resulted in the withdrawal by House Speaker Ralph T. Smith of his cut-in-aid bill.

Right now, novelty is on the side of the marchers, whatever their cause. At the same time, novelty can wear off—rapidly. In this day of rapid and detailed communications via the newspapers, radio and television, the impact of mass movements in the flesh is pretty well dissipated before it shows up at the steps of the Capitol.

The legislators, especially their leaders in both parties, tend to weary quickly of the fevered atmosphere such demonstrations generate.

In the excitement of such situations, some members of the General Assembly are likely to get carried away in speeches and statements and say things that are unwise for their political fortunes.

In the shouting, marching presences of hundreds and thousands of people pushing a cause, the legislators are likely to forget about the many folks back home who don't go along with the demonstrators and who claim a right to be considered.

Front page and television pictures of a House member chummily posing with the marchers could rub the home folks the wrong way . . . and do. So, in the long run, it's better from the legislator's point of view for everyone to stay home. He gets into less trouble that way. Take last Monday as a for-instance.

Last week, the Rev. Mr. Jackson had enjoyed cordial ingress to the office of Gov. Ogilvie. But this week the Operation Breadbasket leader showed up with Robert Johnston, Illinois United Auto Workers director.

That presented an interesting—lawyers would call it a "nice"—point. The Rev. Mr. Jackson and Johnston had formed what they called a political "alliance." The governor, thinking quickly, decided to admit only Johnston to avoid recog-

dition of the "alliance," all the implications of which he had not had time to study.

If a political leader is faced with too many such decisions, the law of averages decrees that he'll make a percentage of wrong decisions and just one of those off-the-cuff judgments might be politically fatal to him.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson decided not to make anything of the matter and remarked: "It might have been politically dangerous for him (the governor)." The Rev. Mr. Jackson is a leader in his cause at least partly because, besides being effectively sincere, he is also the possessor of all the basic political skills. And he understood, as one political professional understands another.

But, like rocket shows to and around the moon, demonstrations can become routine and correspondingly ineffective. Actually, only one "demonstration" has any real impact on the legislator from your district. That's when you play a tune on that voting machine on election day.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 22, 1969]

#### MEDICAL SOCIETY CANCELS BID TO BOOST FOOD AID

(By James Campbell, Jr.)

The Illinois State Medical Society called for an aid raise for the hungry Wednesday but then reconsidered the action and rejected it.

In a morning session, the society's house of delegates adopted a resolution declaring: "No family's food allowance (should) be less than the lowest standard budget of the Bureau of Labor Statistics."

The federal bureau states that low-income Chicago families need to spend 38 cents a meal per person. At present welfare families are allotted about 26 cents a meal a person.

In an afternoon session, however, the delegates decided to reconsider their action, and deleted the statement from the resolution.

DR. EDWARD W. CANNADY, PRESIDENT, ILLINOIS STATE MEDICAL SOCIETY

Dr. Edward W. Cannady, who was inaugurated president between the two sessions, said the passage was killed because "costs were unknown." He said one delegate told the house the public health department would have to pay up to \$63,000,000 to meet the federal standard.

Dr. Alfred S. Klinger, the South Side physician who sponsored the resolution, commended the delegates "for taking a stand on an important measure" at the morning session.

But after the reversal, he said:

"They suddenly realized how much good they had done, and it was just too much for them to stomach. As physicians, our responsibility is to the health of the community—not the dollar sign."

The actions came on the final day of the medical society's four-day convention at the Sherman House.

The hunger resolution first was adopted without discussion, by voice vote. In addition to calling for higher welfare allowances, it called for free lunches and breakfasts for school children "in those areas where this is necessary."

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 23, 1969]

#### A SORRY SPECTACLE

With the exception of the hungry themselves, the persons who should be most familiar with the ravages of hunger are the doctors who must treat its sometimes irreversible effects.

It should therefore be expected that the medical profession would pledge its full and unanimous support of any measures to reduce hunger.

But it was sadly illustrated by the Illinois Medical Society Wednesday that the concern does not run nearly so deep as it should.

The society did concede that hunger harms the health—but that's a fact that hardly needs restating. The society did support breakfast and lunch programs for needy schoolchildren—but that is nothing more than belated endorsement of long standing federal policy.

Where the society failed miserably was in its weaseling reconsideration and then rejection of a resolution supporting higher food allowances for the poor.

The resolution called for raising food allotments to "the lowest standard budget of the Bureau of Labor Statistics." This would lift the present allowance of about 26 cents per meal per person to a better, but still inadequate, 38 cents. But the society, which passed the resolution in the morning, rechecked its figures, found it was endorsing \$63,000,000 in added aid outlay, gulped corporately and erased the earlier action.

The society's members, apparently, believe that hunger is bad, but not as bad as spending money to alleviate it. We disagree, and submit that the society should have been thinking in terms of the public health, not the public purse.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 23, 1969]

### JACKSON TELLS NEW HUNGER ASSAULT IN ILLINOIS

(By Jerome Watson, Sun-Times Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson said here Thursday the first of a series of hearings to dramatize the plight of the hungry in Illinois will be held within a week in one of a dozen target cities.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson, national director of Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said the hearing would open Phase 2 of the national Poor People's Campaign.

Also planned are marches, mass meetings and voter registration drives designed to "politicize" poor whites and blacks.

"Illinois is going to be the focus of a national campaign against hunger," the Rev. Mr. Jackson said. "This state will be to the hunger campaign what Birmingham was to the public accommodations drive."

Speaking at a press conference in a church here, he said the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, head of SCLC, and other civil rights leaders will join the anti-hunger campaign in Illinois in coming weeks.

"There are more hungry whites in this country than hungry blacks," he said. "We have the poor beginning to make themselves visible, the have-nots coming together to make a transition from a racial to an economic definition of man."

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said poor people in the target cities are preparing petitions asking the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Hunger to conduct hearings in their local communities.

Among those cities designated as hearing sites in addition to Chicago are Cairo, Carbondale, East St. Louis, Peoria, Decatur and Rockford.

Regional "hunger outposts" will be set up in most of the cities, with local offices established in Cairo, Alton and Quincy, he said.

The outline of the hunger campaign was drawn up Thursday at a meeting of the New Illinois Coalition to End Hunger. Among those participating were representatives of the state's 18 black General Assembly members, the United Auto Workers, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, packinghouse workers, the Urban League, the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Illinois Council of Churches.

The Rev. Calvin Morris, associate director of Operation Breadbasket, was introduced as the state co-ordinator of the hunger campaign.

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[From the Chicago Daily Defender, May 15, 1969]

### MARCHERS JAM CAPITOL—ONE DEAD AS 4,000 MAKE HUNGER TREK

(By Faith C. Christmas, Daily Defender Staff Writer)

Preliminary reports indicate one person was fatally injured and six others suffered minor injuries in accidents related to yesterday's demonstration in Springfield. More than 4,000 persons jammed the Capitol grounds in front of the House of Representatives.

Killed as she examined wreckage along I. H. 55 on her return from the Springfield demonstration was Pamela Whitmore, a 17-year-old Southside girl, who was struck by a truck rammed into her by a bus. Among the injured counted at presstime were Betty Johnson, Mary Louis, Edna and Alice Baughm, Stella McKenzie, and Johnnie Callery, all of Chicago.

The demonstration centered around efforts to cut welfare payments by \$105-million, a bill which was tabled and replaced by a House-Senate Joint resolution offered by black legislators as a "human subsidy" proposal.

House Speaker Ralph T. Smith, sponsor of House Bill 2818, which seeks to cut back welfare payments, said he tabled the bill because it lacked the support of Gov. Richard Ogilvie.

Other observers, however, think the bill would not have passed because of widespread resistance from black legislators, white "liberal" lawmakers, and resistance led by the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, director of SCLC Operation Breadbasket.

The "human subsidy" resolution was offered by Reps. Harold Washington, Corneal Davis, Ike Simms, and Otis Grant Collins as a last-ditch effort to forestall the Smith bill.

Testifying at the House Committee hearings were Harold Swank, director of Illinois Public Aid, and the Rev. Jackson. Both stated their opposition to the proposed welfare cut.

Earlier, thousands of demonstrators carrying signs calling for an end to hunger marched through the streets of Springfield and later held a rally on the Capitol grounds.

A noonday rally at the Armory was highlighted by a surprise appearance of Jackie Robinson who told a large crowd that the Rev. Jesse Jackson "is the next Martin Luther King."

Robinson said, "If some of us had the same courage as Jesse, we wouldn't be here today."

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[From the Chicago Daily Defender, May 15, 1969]

#### STANDING OVATION IS GIVEN JESSE JACKSON IN SENATE

(By Simeon B. Osby, Springfield Correspondent)

SPRINGFIELD.—Lt. Gov. Paul Simon, president of the Illinois State Senate, interrupted the regular business of the session, Wednesday, to permit Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, director of Operation Breadbasket, to explain the organization's current drive against "hunger" in the state.

Jackson was introduced by Sen. Fred J. Smith (D-22d) who described him as a "revered national leader who is seeking an extension of Martin Luther King's Dream." The entire Senate, except one member—Sen. G. William Horsley (R-Springfield)—gave him a standing ovation following the introduction.

Jackson said that as a Christian minister he was concerned with the "elimination of hunger" from our society. "Hunger knows no color line," he told the attentive senators. "And in our state," he reminded them, "there are many more white persons who go to bed hungry at night than there are blacks."

Referring to the "Cairo situation," Jackson charged that unemployment was the underlying problem in the community. "We can eliminate the problem," he said, by eliminating the unemployment.

In the present situation it is evident that the blacks who have no jobs are suspicious of the whites, and likewise, the whites who hold the jobs are suspicious of the blacks who have none. Adequate employment would remove the root causes of the trouble for both groups. As things stand both groups feel the challenge."

Jackson assured the budget conscious Senate that the basic problem of hunger in the state was not one of money but was one of priorities. "The federal government pays into Illinois \$97-million annually to farmers for not growing food and only sends in \$6-million for relief for the needy," he said. "And now its time to reverse the process."

As a temporary expedient Jackson recommended the releasing of "earmarked" regular funds from the Treasurer's office to combat hunger.

"For example," he pointed out, "nearly \$2½ million are being reserved for fish and game conservation and nearly \$1 million for horse breeding and \$75 million for new roads.

"The biggest problem for you to face," Jackson told the members of the Senate, "is the need to change your attitudes. You look upon help given the farmers as a 'subsidy' and yet you call aid to the poor and disadvantaged 'relief'. The people need subsidy not stigmatization."

"If the people were looked upon as victims of a system instead of wards of the state," he concluded, "we could easily make America the land of our dreams.

[From the Chicago Daily Defender, May 19, 1969]

### JACKSON AND THE POOR

There was a time, we should all remember, when the poor in the slum enclaves had no one to speak for them, to champion their cause. The old-time religion concerned itself more with the spirit and soul saving than with the material conditions of life.

In truth, some of the preachers had succumbed to the capitalistic superstition that to be poor was a personal calamity of one's own doing. The saying that "the poor will always be with us" was predicated upon the assumption that God in his infinite wisdom had cursed some of his creatures and blessed others.

But today's militant church speaks in a different voice. An aroused Christian ministry has taken upon itself the responsibility to join the multitude in the demand for social action and social justice. Through soul-saving is still a phase of Christian theology, the church has found that such a preachment had no appeal to a starving congregation.

The late Mahatma Gandhi set this question in the right perspective when he said: "To the millions who have to go without two meals a day, the only acceptable form in which God dare appear is food."

Rev. Jesse Jackson's crusade on behalf of the poor, the hungry and the dependent children is a refreshing example of the clergy awakening to its social responsibility. Mr. Jackson is a bright young man whose commitment to the cause of the suffering masses is marked by unflagging devotion and determination.

With us still, are some black preachers whose interest does not extend beyond the collection plate. They are the kind that grow fat and rich by bleeding their half-starving congregation. Jesse Jackson belongs to a new breed of religious leaders. He is as selfless as he is fearless. He is devising fresh approaches to one of Chicago's most urgent challenges—how to keep the people from starving and how to keep relief from becoming an hereditary pattern in the slums of this richest of cities.

His efforts on behalf of the people have not gone unrewarded. He has many victories to his credit. In recent days and as a result of the march he led in Springfield, and of his appearance before the state legislatures, the proposal to slash the relief appropriations has been shelved. And the state is now considering the ways and means to implement Rev. Jackson's formula for feeding some two million hungry people in Illinois.

This is in any body's books a major accomplishment. By dint of perseverance and indefatigable energy, Jesse Jackson has established himself as champion of the poor, the neglected, the segregated black and defender of their legitimate rights. No one dares challenge that claim. He is using the social gospel on behalf of suffering humanity rather than in the defense of Christianity.

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[From the Chicago Daily Defender, May 19, 1969]

AT BREADBASKET MEETING—KEEP UP THE ANTI-HUNGER FIGHT, MCGOVERN URGES

(By Faith C. Christmas, Daily Defender Staff Writer)

U.S. Sen. George McGovern, (D-N.D.), head of a government committee on hunger, urged SCLC's Operation Breadbasket and black legislators to continue their fight against hunger in Illinois as he addressed more than 3,000 persons attending a community meeting of Operation Breakbasket Saturday.

McGovern made his comments at the emotionally charged meeting attended by dozens of black legislators, heads of community organizations and college officials. Speeches on the anti-hunger campaign were also given by civil rights activist Dick Gregory, who was released from jail last Thursday and by State Rep. Corneal A. Davis, (D-22), one of the proponents of a "human subsidy" proposal offered as an alternative to the hunger problem.

Plans for a statewide campaign against hunger with mass meetings and demonstrations to be held in several downstate towns were announced by the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national head of Operation Breakbasket.

Jackson led a demonstration of some 4,000 persons in Springfield last week to protest a proposed \$125-million cut in the state's welfare program.

The bill was hastily withdrawn by its sponsor, House Speaker Ralph T. Smith (R-Alton), amid a flurry of widespread criticism from not only black legislators and the black community but from Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie as well.

"We know it not God's will for people to be starving while farmers are paid not to farm," Jackson asserted, "and we're going to fight until every person is guaranteed the right to eat and survive in this affluent nation."

The Rev. Calvin S. Morris, associate director of Operation Breadbasket and state coordinator for the hunger campaign said demonstrations and hunger hearings are slated to begin within two weeks in Rockford, East St. Louis, Cairo, Moline, Peoria, Danville and in other downstate areas as part of the second phase of SCLC's Poor Peoples campaign.

Looking tired and wan after conducting a fast during his 45-day-long jail stay, Gregory told the cheering audience that he didn't mind being in jail as long as he knew they were "doing something out here for someone else."

The popular entertainer asserted, "It's a waste of time to talk about food for the hungry because when you decide that black people ain't going to be hungry, then that's when niggers will start eating."

"You know where the food is and you know who's got the food," he said, "so just go on down there and get it."

"Some things a man asks for," Gregory deadpanned, "and some things you just go on and take . . . and those same people who were promised food if they voted right and told all them lies, still ain't got no food."

Gregory drew sustained laughter when he explained, "I was sentenced to jail because I was accused of biting and kicking some cops while they were trying to throw me in front of a train." He was granted executive clemency by Gov. Ogilvie after serving 45 days of a five-month sentence for participating in 1965 protest demonstrations urging the end to school segregation and the ouster of former Schools Supt. Benjamin C. Willis.

Commending Jackson for his "courageous stand against hunger," McGovern said he came to Chicago to give support to the young civil rights leader and to "underscore the importance of ending hunger in this rich country."

"We have a twin burden on our back," he said, "and its the Vietnam war and hunger . . . the U.S. has got to stop killing Asians and start feeding its millions of poor . . . it should choose instead a federal budget of life and not one of death."

McGovern said Illinois, as the "crossroads of most of the nation's commerce," should lead the nation in combating hunger.

Rep. Davis told the large crowd that Jackson accomplished in three hours in Springfield what it took black legislators to get in 18 years.

"And then we weren't satisfied with what we got," Davis asserted.

He called Smith's withdrawal of the cutback bill an "unheard of thing in the history of the state. Never in all my 27 years in the legislature have I seen a Speaker of the House back down on his own bill," Davis said.

Also urging support of anti-hunger demonstrations was young civil rights activist Charles Koen from Cairo, Ill., scene of racial clashes between white vigilante groups and black militants.

Special funeral services for 17-year-old Pamela Whitmore, victim of a fatal accident while en route to last week's demonstrations in Springfield will be held at 8 p.m. Tuesday at the Fellowship Baptist Church at 45 and S. Princeton ave.

"Her death is on House Speaker Smith's hands," said Jackson, "for if it hadn't been for his proposed welfare cutback, Pamela would never have been going to Springfield to help somebody else."

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[From the Bulletin, May 21, 1969]

#### SHIFTING SCENES—ON THE SPRINGFIELD CASE WITH JESSE

(By Hurley Green)

For many persons, last week's march on Springfield by the Rev. Jesse Louis Jackson and some 4,000 Operation Breadbasket supporters, was tabbed as simply another civil rights demonstration, aimed at the perpetuation of a highly unsatisfactory welfare system.

But those of us actively engaged in the movement on a day to day basis, were able to assess the occasion as one giant step forward; both for the people, and hopefully for the state of Illinois. For the first time in the history of this state poor people, following to the letter, the rights of a citizen under state constitutional grants, petitioned their legislators directly. Big business and other privately-financed organizations, lobby for their rights every day of every legislative session. May 14th was 'Poor Peoples' day in Springfield.

Staid Springfielders and equally callused state legislators and administrators were generally awed by the presence and rhetorical splendor of Breadbasket's fiery young leader and chief spokesman for the poor, Jesse Jackson, who would have been magnificent in defeat, but who rose to the heights of nobility in victory.

And it was a victory, a victory which historians will possibly rank with the original Montgomery boycotts and its subsequent legislation. It was a victory for the state of Illinois, who in deferring to the will of an organized lobby group, gave some credence to the highest standards of bi-partisan statesmanship. It is hopeful that out of this confrontation will arise a new climate of political sensitivity, continually sensitized by black legislators, who by their own admissions, acknowledged their past political ineffectiveness. They too both as, individuals and as a power bloc, could benefit from the blessings of organized black pressure and support.

Over-riding the entire picture however, is the concept that the State government could possibly have opened its political hearts to the concept that the political structure can and must deal with responsible black leadership just as they have always done with whites. Perhaps the time has finally come to recognize that 'band aid' remedies which at best, only serve as patch-ups, must yield to long-needed sociological surgery.

Last week's strategy and subsequent execution surely must remove all doubts from the minds of this state that Jesse Jackson, more than any other activist, expresses the needs and wishes of a greater number of responsive black people. This then takes from the city and the state, the old argument that 'we don't know who or what is most representative of black thinking.' Another argument which deals with the 'trouble-makers from out of town,' is also shot down by the manifestations of Operation Breadbasket, which is strictly the home-grown variety. Chicago and Illinois might finally be forced to admit that they aren't really interested in correcting wrongs, but would rather maintain the status quo by a lot of meaningless dialogues with off-beat, unprincipled groups who are more interested in fund-raising than human rights. In other words, the white ruling society give bigger and bigger pots of beans rather than the seeds to grow one's own.

While the mass media has given little note to the fact that one of the most significant statements of the day made by Rev. Jesse on the Capitol steps, we feel that it is important to say it here.

Following the announcement that the legislators had tabled a bill which would have cut deeply into the availability of welfare funds, Jesse pointedly reminded his followers that this victory came as a direct result of the application of the principles of non-violence, which was initiated by the Rev. Martin Luther King. Without a doubt, Jesse, in spite of his youth, has wisely accepted the wisdom and doctrines which was so successful at the beginning of this decade and is hopeful of passing along same.

Obviously there is an alternative to total violence and a needless waste of black blood. However, unless the power structure does its part with some honest, realistic bargaining, this very well could be the case.

And finally, Jesse and the other believers in Operation Breadbasket, will return to Springfield. There will be a continual onslaught on the state's capitol until such time as there is no need for such tactics. That time will come only when there is a place and opportunity for every citizen; or the equivalent subsidy.

The next phase of the anti-hunger campaign is state-wide, caravan confrontation.

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[From the Bulletin, May 21, 1969]

#### BLACK LEGISLATORS DO THEIR THING IN CAPITOL CONFRONTATION

(By Editor Hurley Green)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—No fewer than 4,000 persons journeyed to Springfield last Wednesday in support of Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign against hunger in the State of Illinois. They came, they marched, and they gained a victory. Not just a victory for welfare recipients, but a victory for legislature representation, never before attempted in the history of this state.

Originally designed as a vehicle to introduce new legislation for a more humanizing subsidy bill, the hunger campaign was forced to first counter-attack a welfare cut bill scheduled for introduction by State Representative Ralph T.

Smith of Alton, Illinois, which would have reduced the public assistance budget by some \$125,000,000 and further added to the impoverishment of the poor.

Arriving in the State Capitol early on Tuesday morning, Rev. Jackson, along with members of the Operation Breadbasket staff, worked through the day and evening laying final plans for the Wednesday legislative confrontation. Continued meetings with both black and white legislators completed the groundwork for Jackson's impassioned speech before the state's highest governing body.

Wednesday morning saw a steady trickle of persons, both white and black, pour into Springfield from all over the State. Some arrived on public transportation; some on specially chartered Operation Breadbasket buses, paid for by a cadre of Chicago black businessmen, and others in private autos. A slowly dissipating log along state route 55, marred the trek from Chicago, as 17 year-old Pamela Whitmore, 1523 E. 63rd Street, was struck and killed by a passing auto as she sought to route traffic around a parked bus.

A few minutes after 1 p.m., over 3,000 persons had already assembled in the huge capitol auditorium. In a balcony section some 500 red-bereted Black P. Stones Rangers sat quietly alert. Operation Breadbasket Musical Director Ben Branch made last minute arrangements for his part in the scheduled rally and march.

Outside the hall, a covey of newsmen alertly spotted the now familiar, brown-clad, hard-striding figure of the 'country preacher' as he crossed the street surrounded by his immediate staff. Pausing briefly to confer with Chicago-based newpeople who had made the junket, Jackson strode into the now fast-filling hall. He was greeted with a now customary standing roar of approval. His entrance was the signal for the Breadbasket band to strike up the first chords of the familiar 'Hard Times,' Breadbasket theme.

Within a matter of minutes, Rev. Jackson was joined on the platform, back-dropped with the Operation Breadbasket choir; by several black members of both the Senate and House of Representatives, including both Sen. Charles Chew and Rep. Raymond Ewell. The rally began not with a shout, but with a moment of prayer and tribute to the Woodlawn student who had met death only a few hours previously. Ben Branch contributed 'Goodbye' as Rev. Jackson indicted House Speaker Ralph Smith for the teen-ager's death.

"We hold Senator Smith responsible for Pamela's death," charged Jackson. "She will not in vain; he continued. "She's died 'on the case.' Quoting from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jackson reminded his audience that, "It's not how long you live, but how you live,!" he concluded.

The mood for the afternoon's activities was permanently cast as Jesse reminded the cheering supporters that,

"It's good to be here. I'm not concerned about numbers, they are unimportant," he announced, obviously in reference to an announced projection of 2,000 attendees. Moving quickly to take advantage of the presence of his black legislative support, Jackson wisely introduced the legislators individually, affording each one the opportunity to pledge his personal support to the hunger campaign. It was veteran legislator Corneal Davis who possibly best expressed the sentiments of the campaign when he told the wildly cheering group, that,

"If we had had Jesse Jackson down here before, things would not be in the shape they're in now," he surmised.

A surprise visitor to the rally was baseball Hall of Famer Jackie Robinson, who also paid tribute to Jesse as he commented,

"I do not know of any other young man in this country who has Rev. Jesse Jackson's qualities!"

The rally, featuring a variety of speakers representing many segments of black people who have embraced the principles of Operation Breadbasket and the leadership of Jesse Jackson; concluded with a promise from Jackson to seek and effect the release from jail of civil rights figure Dick Gregory.

The presentation of hunger Campaign Coordinator the Rev. Calvin Morris signaled the end of the rally and the preparation for the march which would end up on the steps of the Capitol.

Outside the auditorium, a solid line of red-bereted Rangers, served as parade marshals. The usual jockeying for position in the front of the line was minimized as Rev. Jackson quickly stepped off from the intersections of Second and Monroe Streets. Two Springfield policemen, one white and one black, were the only law enforcement officers accompanying the long line of marchers.

Downtown office workers peered uncertainly from upper office windows as the procession proceeded along its route of march, pausing once outside of the offices of State School Superintendent Ray Page for a chorus of "We Shall Overcome."

Like an oncoming tide the hunger march flowed past the Abe Lincoln statue and onto the steps of the capitol, where Ben Branch had already set up for more songs of togetherness. Jesse spoke briefly as he previewed the hunger position which would soon ring through the hallowed halls of the Capitol.

Newsmen and other persons long exposed to the Jesse Jacksonian charisma agreed afterwards that the country preacher did indeed present the case for the poor, even beyond the heights of all of his usual verbostic splendor. It was virtually impossible for a logical, intelligent, functioning individual to deny the rhetoric which went into the entire presentation.

Beginning with a concern for the "greatest domestic crisis of this country," Rev. Jackson traced for the legislative body the many rationales which go into the creation of a welfare program such as that fostered in Illinois. A packed gallery punctuated every thought with shouts of appreciation.

The legislative capitulation, though obviously planned in advance, consisted of a letter to Representative Smith, from Governor Ogilvie, suggesting that the legislative body seek other ways to trim the budget other than a cut back in welfare funds.

Terming Smith's proposal "an unfortunate step backward," the Governor wrote, "I am convinced that it is imperative for us to maintain our present statutory standards in public assistance."

Back outside on the Capitol steps, where thousands of persons lounged on the legislative grass, Jesse quoted from the Governor's letter, interpreting its content as a "victory for poor folks as well as a victory for the tried and proven methods of Dr. Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference."

Before sending the marchers to a much-deserved meal, Jackson revealed details of the next phase of the hunger campaign which would consist of a statewide caravan touring the state in an effort to further identify the problems of the poor. He reminded the group that the battle was a long way from won and would not be over until every citizen had adequate food, a decent place to live, and meaningful employment.

Thus, the Rev. Jesse Jackson brought to a close the first phase of a planned state wide campaign against hunger which has already captured the attention of such national figures as Senator Ted Kennedy, Senators McGovern, and Muskie.

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[From Chicago Today, May 2, 1969]

#### ON WELFARE IT'S BEANS, POTATOES—VOICES OF THE HUNGRY

"You don't know how it is to have your little girl go hungry . . . how it is for her to fail in school because she hasn't had enough to eat," Mrs. Ernestine Hollins said.

Mrs. Hollins is a black mother of four who is on welfare. She was among a dozen persons who spoke at a meeting, sponsored by the Kenwood-Oakland Community organization, to discuss hunger in Chicago.

Mrs. Dorothy Hanes told of difficulties she faces in trying to support her two children on "a small" welfare check.

"Meat for us is a once a month thing," she said. "Most of the time we have dried beans and potatoes."

She said whatever food she manages to get goes to her children: "They gave me a \$1-a-month raise in my check a while back, and I told them that was 50 cents for my boy, and 50 cents for my girl."

Also speaking at last night's meeting in the Kenwood United Church of Christ, 4608 S. Greenwood av., were several physicians. They said they had evidence of hunger and malnutrition in Chicago and other areas of Illinois.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, director of Operation Breadbasket, was moderator of the meeting. It was attended by more than 700 persons, most of them black.

State Sen. Charles Chew (D., Chicago), who attended, said: "The hunger problem in Chicago is a very serious one. We are going to present this problem in Springfield. It will require efforts on the local, state, and national levels."

Most of the mothers who spoke told of problems they face in trying to find jobs that pay enough to get them off welfare.

Mrs. Wilhemina Halloway, a former welfare mother now employed by the postoffice, said welfare mothers are willing to work.

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[From the Chicago Daily News, May 9, 1969]

#### HOUSE HUNGER HEARING—JACKSON TO FIGHT WELFARE CUTS

(By Henry Hanson, of Our Springfield Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—The Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation Breadbasket, will tangle with the Legislature next week over hunger and the size of state welfare payments.

Mr. Jackson will testify at a House Committee-of-The-Whole hearing against a bill sponsored by House Speaker Ralph T. Smith (R-Alton) that would slash \$125,000,000 from the Illinois public aid budget by reducing welfare payments.

Black lawmakers supporting Mr. Jackson will counter the Smith plan with an antipoverty program that will include declaring hunger "a state disaster."

Mr. Jackson unveiled his program at a Capitol press conference at which a reporter asked, "Aren't you being idealistic?"

Mr. Jackson replied, "I couldn't be realistic—and not commit suicide."

He said the antipoverty program would include a hunger march on the Capitol by a "couple of thousand" persons, and that he would make a personal call on Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie Tuesday to seek his support.

Speaker Smith, who was Ogilvie's 1968 Downstate campaign chairman, has asked the Legislature to cut welfare payments for relievers from an average of \$47 to \$32 per person a month.

Smith's purpose is to help Ogilvie balance his budget.

Operation Breadbasket is the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Mr. Jackson's six-point antipoverty program, which he termed a "human subsidy bill" to end hunger, includes:

A hunger disaster program calling for the same aid that is provided by the state in flood, tornado or riot disasters.

A declaration that slums are illegal.

Changing the name of "public welfare" to "human subsidy" and raising the level of aid payments.

Abolishing the "means" test under which relievers must show proof of their poverty in order to receive aid.

Abolishing the public aid food stamp program because stamps are degrading and substituting direct cash aid.

Creating an emergency job-training program for the unemployed similar to emergency job-training carried on in World War II to train makers of war goods.

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[From the Chicago Daily News, May 8, 1969]

#### REV. JACKSON ASKS DISASTER AID FOR HUNGRY

(By Henry Hanson, by Our Springfield Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—The Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of "Operation breadbasket," announced a six-point legislative attack on hunger at a press conference Thursday in the State Capitol.

"It will include declaring hunger a state of disaster," said Mr. Jackson, whose organization is the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

He said a hunger march on the State Capitol would be staged next Wednesday by several thousand hungry people to protest a bill that would reduce welfare payments. It is sponsored by House Speaker Ralph T. Smith (R-Alton).

Mr. Jackson said he hoped to meet next Tuesday with Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie to ask support of the legislative program.

Mr. Jackson was flanked by the Legislature's 18 black members—4 senators and 14 state representatives—and more than 20 Chicago youngsters whom he said came here in a bus to protest "because they are actually hungry."

Here is the six-point program outlined by Mr. Jackson:

Declare hunger a disaster and make available the same state facilities that are used to combat riots, floods and tornado disasters.

Declare slums illegal.

Change use of the words "public welfare" to "human subsidy."

Substitute money for use of food stamps because stamps are degrading.

Set up emergency job training, such as was done in World War II.

Abolish the means test to demonstrate need of public aid.

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[From the Chicago Tribune, May 9, 1969]

## 18 NEGROES IN LEGISLATURE PLAN A WIDE-RANGING HUNGER BILL

(By John Elmer, Chicago Tribune Press Service)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., MAY 8—All 18 Negro members of the legislature today jointly announced they plan to introduce a bill for a broad war on hunger in Illinois next Wednesday, when many welfare recipients plan to return here to protest a proposal to slash public aid payments by 30 per cent.

Shortly afterward, Negro representatives in the House helped defeat a measure designed to cut soaring public aid costs by sending back to their point of origin families who enter Illinois solely to obtain bigger welfare checks.

### OUTLINED BY REV. JACKSON

The black legislators, both Democrats and Republicans, announced the proposed "human subsidy" bill in a press conference presided over by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, militant Chicago leader of Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership conference.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson predicted that about 2,000 welfare demonstrators, mostly from Chicago, will come to Springfield next week to "protest and rebel against their condition, but in the context of the legislative fight." A similar protest this week drew only about 200 persons.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said he hopes to meet with Gov. Ogilvie next Tuesday in an attempt to win his support for the bill.

### WOULD OUTLAW SLUMS

The measure, as outlined by the Rev. Mr. Jackson, would declare hunger a disaster in Illinois, make slums illegal, raise the subsidy level but abolish "the welfare concept," eliminate questioning of welfare seekers, wipe out the food stamp system, and establish a crash job-training program for the unemployed.

Neither the minister nor the legislators set a price tag on the proposal, which some observers commented would be astronomical.

Rep. Lewis Caldwell (D., Chicago), speaking for the Negro lawmakers, called the joint effort "a historic moment" because it showed unity among black legislators despite political party differences. There are four Negro senators and 14 black representatives in the legislature.

The plan to send new welfare seekers back to their home state was defeated, 72 to 42, when many members of the Republican House majority opposed it or did not vote.

### CITES INFLUX OF POOR

The sponsor, Rep. Jack E. Walker (R., Lansing), majority leader, asserted that the bill would prevent continuation of an influx of public aid families which began last year when the United States Supreme Court struck down Illinois residency requirements for welfare recipients.

Walker warned that the state is becoming a Mecca for welfare families because its public aid level is one of the highest in the country. He asserted there is growing taxpayer alarm over rising welfare costs in Illinois.

One of the many opponents of the proposal, Rep. Anthony Scariano (D., Park Forest), called it vindictive and punitive, and maintained that it "strikes at the symptoms of the problem, not the causes."

Rep. Corneal Davis (D., Chicago) noted that the Illinois department of public aid had gone on record against the bill.

BILL HIS OWN, WALKER SAYS

In conceding defeat, Walker pointed out that the measure was not a leadership proposal, but his own idea.

After the measure was defeated, Speaker Ralph T. Smith (R., Alton) announced that his plan to cut the level of welfare payments in Illinois will be heard next Wednesday before a committee of the whole membership.

In a related action, the House executive committee approved, 13 to 11, a bill sponsored by Rep. Webber Borchers (R., Decatur) to limit welfare newcomers to the same amount of public aid as they received in their previous state of residence for one year.

[From the Chicago Tribune, May 8, 1969]

ASKS GUARD AID TO FEED POOR

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—A legislative program authorizing the use of national guard troops to wage war against hunger in Illinois was outlined today by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation Breadbasket.

Jackson was guest of a caucus of black lawmakers who agreed to introduce the following legislation into the state Senate next Wednesday.

1. Declare Illinois a state of disaster because of hunger and mobilize the national guard to stop the cause of the disaster which is a lack of food. Said Jackson: "If they can carry guns in riots, they can go out to farms and carry the surplus food to the poor people to meet the disaster. The government then would reimburse the farmers.

2. A bill declaring slums illegal on the grounds it is a public menace to allow slums to perpetuate themselves. Jackson said the legislation should force landlords to make necessary repairs to slum buildings or force the sale of these properties to the poor people who will make repair themselves.

3. A bill banning the use of the term "welfare" and replace it with the word "subsidy." Jackson said welfare implies "we are prisoners of the state," but the poor are actually products of the state.

4. A bill to initiate an emergency job training program for the hungry similar to those used during World War II.

Jackson arrived in Springfield with a busload of hungry people dressed in shabby clothes.

He said he plans to meet with Gov. Ogilvie Tuesday, the day before the 5-point legislation against hunger is introduced by State Sen. Fred Smith (D., Chicago), ranking black legislator in Springfield.

Jackson said there will be state-wide hunger observances to coincide with introduction of the hunger bills.

[From the Chicago Daily Defender, May 8, 1969]

COALITION, REV. JACKSON CONFERS WITH SOLONS

The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national head of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket and members of a coalition of community groups are expected to meet with legislators in Springfield today to outline a "human subsidy" bill designed to alleviate the hunger crisis in the state.

The bill would serve to revamp the present welfare program which has been attacked by several legislators and welfare recipients for its failure to upgrade the economy of the poor.

Major proposals of the subsidy bill include the removal of requirements for assistance; an increase in aid allotments; a massive job training program and the pumping in of resources to all areas affected by severe cases of hunger.

"Our bill to eliminate hunger in Illinois," said Jackson, "is almost complete. After meeting with our legislators on the final details, we shall request the legislators on the final details, we shall request the legislators to introduce the hu-

man subsidy bill as an emergency measure to deal quickly and constructively with the problems of the poor and the hungry in this state."

"Our government subsidizes land and commercial institutions because we value them," Jackson continued, "and now it is time to subsidize people because we value living people as precious gifts of God."

Jackson said that the campaign against hunger in Illinois is a part of SCLC's second phase of the Poor People's campaign launched by the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, SCLC president to eliminate hunger throughout the nation and to provide poor people with a job or an income.

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[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 9, 1969]

#### BLACK ILLINOIS LEGISLATORS PLANNING OWN SUBSIDY BILL TO AID THE HUNGRY

(By Burnell Heinecke, Sun-Times Bureau)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—Black legislators will seek to substitute their own "human subsidy" bill for House Speaker Ralph T. Smith's public welfare reduction bill next week, it was disclosed Thursday.

The report followed a conference of the four black senators and 14 representatives and the Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation Breadbasket.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said he would carry his case to Gov. Ogilvie personally on Tuesday and then lead "thousands" of black hunger protesters into Springfield Wednesday when Smith's bill is to be heard by the House sitting as a committee of the whole.

A busload of black youth accompanied the Rev. Mr. Jackson Thursday. Next week's entourage will come from Rockford, Cairo, East St. Louis, Chicago and college campuses, he said.

"We have to adjust our priorities," the national director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket asserted in reference to Smith's bill.

"It is not just a matter of lacking economic power. We don't lack economic power. We lack will power."

In the midst of such plenty as is evident from the rich Illinois farmlands, the Rev. Mr. Jackson said, it is "inhuman" to propose, as the Smith bill does, to talk of reducing welfare payments from an average of \$47 per person per month to \$32.

The black legislators will seek to substitute, via amendment, the Operation Breadbasket proposal, the Rev. Mr. Jackson said.

Asked if he didn't consider his plan for subsidies—rather than welfare or pauper payments—to be "unreasonable or unrealistic," the Rev. Mr. Jackson retorted: "I couldn't take a realistic approach to it or I'd commit suicide."

Rep. Corneal A. Davis (D-Chicago), dean of the black representatives, said the main fight over the years has been to "take welfare out of the pauper's act."

"We must stop even using the term welfare and start talking about subsidy," the Rev. Mr. Jackson asserted.

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#### EAST ST. LOUIS GROUP URGED TO SEEK FOOD SUBSIDIES

Public and private social welfare agencies in East St. Louis were urged yesterday to participate in a state-run program that would subsidize breakfasts and lunches for children from poor families.

But at the same time, Peter G. Solomakos, executive director of the St. Clair County Health and Welfare Council, charged that a hearing tomorrow by the Senate's Hunger Committee would be a "stacked deck" designed to ignore existing efforts made to solve the city's hunger problem.

The committee will meet at 10 a.m. tomorrow at the South End Neighborhood Opportunity Center, 1501 Russell Avenue.

Solomakos charged that "the committee is looking for a political scapegoat—and we're it."

He said that an advance man for the committee had picked witnesses who would appear. He said no effort was being made to tell the whole story.

"East St. Louis doesn't need an investigation. Its public and private agencies should sit down and arrange to get the city into existing programs. There is one program that could go into effect immediately," he said.

The state-run program Solomakos was promoting is called the Special Food Service Program for Children. Using a \$149,000 federal grant, the Illinois Department of Public Instruction will subsidize breakfasts, lunches and supplementary foods served between meals at day-care centers and other institutions that care for children from low-income families.

The state will pay 15 cents for each breakfast, 30 cents for each lunch and 10 cents for each supplemental meal. It also will provide surplus commodities such as butter, cheese, wheat products, chopped meat, raisins, honey and peanut butter to these agencies.

Although the program began last December, only five East St. Louis organizations are participating in it.

Schools are excluded from the program because they are covered by a different one. Institutions in which children live also are excluded.

Solomakos said that some agencies were reluctant to participate because they would have to hire cooks to prepare the food and buy kitchen and storage equipment. The subsidy must be used entirely for purchasing food.

Some agencies do not wish to handle the paperwork required by the program, Solomakos said.

#### MALNUTRITION HIGH IN EAST SIDE CHILDREN

(By Philip Sutin, Of the Post-Dispatch Staff)

About half of the children entering first grade last fall in East St. Louis and in part of Cahokia suffered from malnutrition, a pediatrician estimates.

The estimate was made by Dr. Rosellen Cohnberg of the Illinois Department of Public Health.

She said that many children in East St. Louis, Canteen, Stites and Centreville townships had come to her with symptoms of rickets, scurvy and vitamin B. deficiencies.

If all children suffering from anemia—which may have causes other than malnutrition—are included, “over 50 per cent of the children entering school show symptoms of malnutrition,” she said.

Statistics such as these are likely to be brought forth Friday when the United States Senate’s hunger committee pays a visit to the East Side.

The committee, headed by Senator George McGovern (Dem.), South Dakota, will conduct a hearing at the South End Neighborhood Opportunity Center, 1501 Russell Avenue, in the heart of the East St. Louis ghetto.

The hearing was requested by Senator Charles Percy (Rep.), Illinois, a member of the committee, after two of his staff spent two weeks investigating hunger in that city.

#### EXISTING PROGRAMS

What the Senators will hear is expected to include testimony to the effect that although some programs to fight hunger exist, they are not enough.

A free food distribution program for pregnant women and children under 5 years old began in February, for example. It has helped.

But Will McGaughy, president of the Metro-East Health Services Council, observes that the program does nothing for older children and adults who suffer from the same condition.

McGaughy said that he constantly gets requests for food from poor persons unable to obtain welfare and from retired persons, but he can do nothing about them. McGaughy’s agency runs the free food program.

“A lot of people in East St. Louis are on a fat diet and are eating chitling’s to fill themselves up,” McGaughy said, noting the low cost of such foods. “That’s no diet. They are still hungry.”

#### NEED FOR STATISTICS

Accurate statistics on hunger and malnutrition do not exist in East St. Louis. Dr. Cohnberg and other experts call for a detailed study to find the real dimensions of the problem.

Dr. John J. Gregowicz, acting director of the East Side Health District, and Miss Renatta Healy, supervisor of nursing for the district, scoff at reports of widespread malnutrition.

"It is impossible to give you figures on malnutrition," Dr. Gregowicz said, "but I don't believe a great percentage of children suffers from it.

"We are not alarmed percentagewise. We have well baby clinics and the percentage of poorly nourished children at the clinics is not great."

Miss Healy noted that economic conditions in the area—the unemployment and low incomes of many residents—tend to indicate that a malnutrition problem exists. But she has not seen cases of scurvy or rickets, she said, and needs to take blood tests from children to see if other forms of malnutrition exists.

#### LACK OF KNOWLEDGE

Dr. Cohnberg said a lack of knowledge of how to maintain a good diet was a major cause of malnutrition. "People need information about resources to remedy their problem," he said. "They also suffer from ignorance of what constitutes a good diet. They do not know how to pick food which is nourishing and inexpensive."

She charged that "there is a lack of dedication in all agencies to insure that food is available in plentiful amounts in proper proportions with instructions for its use. The blame goes from top to bottom."

The free food program, which has drawn an enthusiastic response, has been hindered by bureaucratic inertia since its beginnings, she said.

The program—one of the first in the nation—supplies nine types of food to women and children in East St. Louis, Centreville, Canteen and Stites Townships. They can receive the food with a prescription issued by a doctor or social worker. The food is distributed once a month at neighborhood opportunity centers of the St. Clair County Economic Opportunity Commission in each township.

The foods are evaporated milk, powdered milk, corn syrup, canned fruit or vegetable juice, canned fruits or vegetables, scrambled egg mix, canned poultry, peanut butter and instant potatoes.

#### BOTH RACES BENEFIT

About 5000 persons receive food under this program. Low-income families of both races benefit.

Antipoverty officials report that the food program has brought low-income whites, who need help from antipoverty agencies, in contact with the EOC for the first time. They had not heard of the antipoverty program or were unwilling to obtain benefits from it, officials said.

The Department of Agriculture, which donated the food, offered the program in January to the East Side Health District, which covers the four-township area.

Dr. Gregowicz, who has expressed distrust of federal programs, explained: "We were given an opportunity to run the food distribution program. But we turned it down because it would require more staff and more bookkeeping by the district.

"I asked the USDA who would be responsible for the accounting of the food. It said I would be responsible. I couldn't see myself accounting for the food."

#### OPPOSES METHOD

Dr. Gregowicz said he was opposed to social workers authorizing low-income persons to obtain food.

"Social workers should not be permitted to write prescriptions," he said. "They should see that the child be examined by a physician who could treat any underlying disease and then authorize additional food if needed."

The acting director explained his skepticism about federal programs by saying, "My concern is that the government should start doing some more for the working man who pays the taxes for all these programs.

"When a family with four or five children on public aid goes to the doctor, they can get each child examined, prescriptions, hospitalization for tests or treatment without any regard to cost. The government will pay for this.

"But the working man with four or five children has to pay the doctor, hospital and drug bill. That's quite a problem for the average working man."

After the Health District turned down the proposal, the Metro-east Health Services Council took up the offer. "I saw the need for a nutrition program in St. Clair County," McGaughy said. "I signed the contract to be responsible for it—with the blessings of my board."

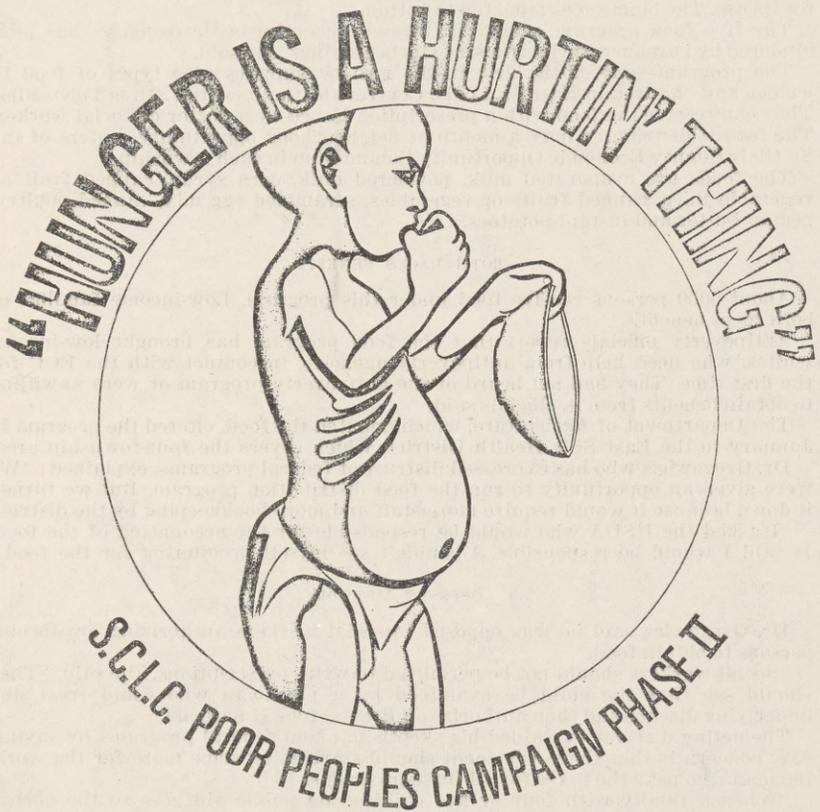
The Council, however, insisted that no stringent income requirements be placed on food recipients. Dr. Cohnberg, an adviser to the Council, explained, "We were anxious to get food to the people without asking miserable questions and forcing humiliating line-standing."

However, USDA made no plans for handling the food once it arrived in East St. Louis. "The USDA dumped \$2,000,000 worth of food in our laps," Dr. Cohnberg said. "It made no provision for unloading the food and gave us no money to run the program."

McGaughy had to scramble to find funds, persons to unload the food and a staff. At one point 55 Catholic seminarians from St. Henry Seminary, Belleville, helped unload the food as did mothers who were on welfare.

Two months after the program began, the Office of Economic Opportunity gave the council, which has no funds of its own, \$25,000 to buy a truck and hire a driver and warehouseman.

"The program is definitely a success," McGaughy said. "But it's just a drop in the bucket."





ILLINOIS, 1967  
DISTRIBUTION OF CROP PRODUCTION, CORN, SOYBEANS, WHEAT AND OATS

CORN PRODUCTION



SOYBEAN PRODUCTION



WHEAT PRODUCTION



OAT PRODUCTION



## DISTRIBUTION OF ILLINOIS LIVESTOCK AND POULTRY

SPRING SOWS FAWROED  
DECEMBER 1966 - MAY 1967



FALL SOWS FAWROED.  
JUNE - NOVEMBER 1967



CATTLE ON FARMS  
JANUARY 1, 1968



STOCK SHEEP ON FARMS  
JANUARY 1, 1968



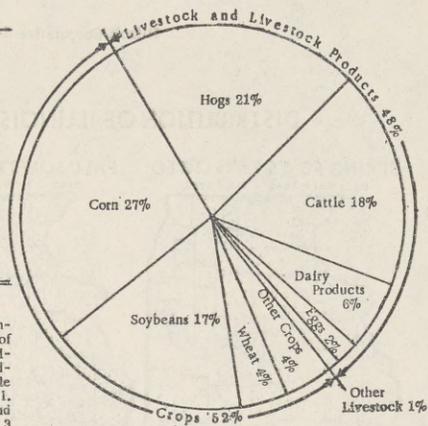
MILK COWS  
JANUARY 1, 1968



CASH RECEIPTS FROM CROPS AND LIVESTOCK  
ILLINOIS, 1966

Commodity	Dollars (million)	% of total
<b>Crops</b>		
Corn	751	27.3
Soybeans	474	17.1
Wheat	97	3.5
Oats	15	.5
Other crops	100	3.6
Total	1,437	52.0
<b>Livestock and livestock products</b>		
Cattle	507	18.3
Hogs	588	21.3
Dairy products	154	5.6
Eggs	46	1.7
Other livestock	31	1.1
Total	1,326	48.0
Total receipts	2,763	100.0

## ILLINOIS CASH FARM INCOME BY COMMODITIES 1966



Cash receipts in Illinois: Cash receipts are a measure of farmers' incomes. In 1966 the value of sales made up 52.0 percent of total cash farm income in Illinois, while value of sales from livestock and livestock products contributed 48.0 percent. Corn provided the largest single source of cash receipts comprising 27.2 percent of the total. Second place went to hogs with 21.3 percent while cattle and soybeans took third and fourth place respectively with 18.3 percent and 17.2 percent. Receipts for these four commodities made up slightly over four-fifths of Illinois' cash farm income for 1966.

## ILLINOIS POSITION IN THE NATION'S AGRICULTURE

Commodity group or commodity	Date related to	Unit	U. S. total	Illinois total	Illinois as percent of U. S. total	Illinois' rank among states
<b>Cash receipts from farm mktgs.</b>						
Crops	1967	Dollars	18,309,801,000	1,327,383,000	7.2	3
Livestock	1967	Dollars	24,161,395,000	1,273,772,000	5.3	4
Total	1967	Dollars	42,471,196,000	2,606,155,000	6.1	3
<b>Major crops</b>						
Soybeans	1967	Bushels	972,701,000	184,171,000	18.9	1
Corn	1967	Bushels	4,722,164,000	1,091,500,000	23.1	1
Oats	1967	Bushels	781,867,000	44,718,000	5.7	6
Wheat	1967	Bushels	1,524,349,000	76,596,000	5.0	7
<b>Livestock and poultry</b>						
Cattle on farms	1968	Head	108,813,000	3,413,000	3.1	11
Fed cattle mktg. 1/	1967	Head	21,570,000	1,231,000	5.9	7
Pigs saved	1967	Head	91,310,000	11,981,000	13.1	2
Sheep on farms	1968	Head	22,122,000	402,000	1.8	17
Chickens on farm	1968	Head	424,550,000	11,107,000	2.6	15
Milk production	1967	Pounds	119,294,000,000	3,337,000,000	2.8	9
Egg production	1967	Number	70,161,000,000	1,921,000,000	2.7	16

1/ 32 States.

OPERATION BREADBASKET,  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE,  
Chicago, Ill., May 19, 1969.

Gov. RICHARD B. OGILVIE,  
State House,  
Springfield, Ill.

DEAR GOVERNOR OGILVIE: The ministers of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket, Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and leader of the Poor People's Campaign, Part II; and leaders of our community appreciated the opportunity for some of us to meet with you last Tuesday, May 13, in the State Capitol office. As men in pursuit of justice and possessed with a rage against hunger, we were commissioned to bring you the message that a man of justice cannot hesitate between two opinions when thousands of lives are at stake. We came to ask you to identify with the hungry

and the poor at a time when other states such as New York and California are cutting back in their commitments to life among poor people. We came to remind you that numerically there are more poor whites than blacks in the State of Illinois, and the cries of all the poor are a common cry of hunger. We came to request that you take up a new fight, not between Democrats and Republicans, but between the humane and the inhumane. We were requesting that you join hands, as Governor of all the people, with those who are in need, the poor white, the Spanish-speaking, the black and the Indian, and with those who thank God for the fertility of the soil that blesses us with a surplus of food.

It was proper and in order, and you are to be commended for taking a conscientious public position in your letter to House Speaker Ralph T. Smith repudiating House Bill 2818. The \$125 million reduction proposed by House Speaker Smith was tantamount to declaring a murderous war on the poor, and represented a commitment to genocide. House Bill 2818 would have deepened the already acute hunger and poverty by reducing food budgets to less than \$2.00 per day for a family of four. House Speaker Smith's bill would have not only cut off the food supply of already hungry people, but it would have also driven the crime rate up in this state because men will steal before they starve; it would have accelerated the school drop out rate because youth cannot and will not study or stay in a class room when they are hungry; it would have sent the delinquency rate soaring because youth have only hunger and poverty as a present reality and no tomorrow except death as a future.

Yet you had the insight and the courage in spite of the House Speaker's power to transcend political expediency in order to speak as an emerging voice and protector of the poor in repudiating House Bill 2818. The nation yearns for this new insight and fresh air in public leadership.

Last week we killed the ridiculous and the absurd House Bill 2818. Now we must institute the adequate and the proper because the present so-called welfare budgets force families to live at levels guaranteeing hunger now. It is necessary to take a position against death, but such a position alone does not provide life. A positive and creative program must be constructed now in order to assure life to the hungry and the poor in Illinois, and as an example to the nation. We must analyze the conditions to be corrected for such a program.

First, the Senate Committee on Hunger and Nutrition of the United States Senate indicated that there are 629,000 Illinois households averaging 3.5 persons per family, more than 2 million people, in serious poverty and hunger now. It is then vital to the welfare of this state for you to declare hunger a disaster. This would mean invoking the man-made disaster act by calling upon the state to employ all the necessary emergency apparatus, such as emergency food and medical supplies, to relieve these critical conditions.

For example, East St. Louis and Cairo citizens need to look up one day soon to see National Guard trucks transporting food into their cities in response to the hunger disaster. We see racial tension on the surface in Cairo. But beneath the surface, the basic problem is hunger and starvation. There are more people than jobs and a seasonal welfare system that cannot meet the needs of all the people. Poor whites and poor blacks, blinded by their hunger, cannot see that the real need is to eliminate poverty, not each other. Cairo's conditions call for the enactment of a proper economic system, and the state must respond to those conditions with enlightened solutions.

Second, the Federal Government pays Illinois farmers more than \$97 million not to grow food while the hungry starve, and Illinois still has an agricultural surplus. You need to request publicly that the Federal Government come to your aid by paying farmers to produce food to feed the hungry of this state and the nation. It does not make sense to stifle small farmers and starve farm workers when we are able to produce for all our people.

Third, the \$6 million school lunch program reaches so few children, only 14,000 out of more than 200,000 who need a decent lunch in Cook County alone. State Superintendent Ray Page has not even requested the matching funds to increase the school lunch program.

Fourth, the current request made by the Illinois Director of Public Aid, Harold Swank, only guarantees hunger, rather than indicating any compassion or vision to seek to end it with humane appropriations.

Fifth, within the state revenue program a Hunger Tax, a percentage of the proposed income tax sufficient to eliminate hunger must be enacted and earmarked for the purpose of providing revenue to meet the state crisis.

A properly run school lunch program should provide lunch for the state's poor children, but it does not answer the need for breakfast and dinner so necessary to end hunger. A Hunger Tax should be designed to provide the funds for an adequate food program.

The most creative program to feed hungry children in the state is carried on by the Black Panthers in Chicago. Hunger qualifies a child to eat in the Panther program. The Panthers ought to be consulted on developing programs to eliminate hunger.

Sixth, the present earmarked Regular Funds of more than \$300 million are not being used constructively for state needs as reported by the State Treasurer, Adlai E. Stevenson III. He has stated that more than \$100 million in new taxes must be realized to meet present obligations as a result of inadequate use of already collected and earmarked funds. In addition, the poor pay more in this wealthy state with the second highest sales tax in the nation, but the taxing of corporations is limited. Thus, the total tax structure places the heaviest burden on the poor. Reform of the present state financial resources is necessary if the state agenda is to include the elimination of hunger as a major priority.

We contend that the very attitude of the public toward the poor and toward so-called welfare must be changed. We maintain that those persons on so-called welfare should not be seen as criminals or prisoners, nor as the results of an innate will not to work. Rather the poor must be seen as the left-overs from progress. They are the reflection of the very success of our society's advanced technology. Their years of blood, sweat, tears, cheap labor and human sacrifices were the prime investments in America's yesterday that prepared and ushered in today's productivity. These years represent an investment that should not be returned marked "Insufficient Funds".

As opposed to "welfare", we should use the term and develop the concept of "human subsidy". The poor would then not be viewed as prisoners who have committed some wrong, but would be recognized as the very vanguard of the 20th Century. Let us strike the word "welfare" from the records, remove all reference to the Pauper's Act, and subsidize the poor just as we presently subsidize the rich.

God succeeded in blessing us with abundance, but we have failed in serving Him by forcing hungry people to subsist in a land of surplus. How can we justify surplus and starvation in a land of plenty?

Sincerely yours,

Rev. JESSE L. JACKSON.

## A HUMAN SUBSIDY BILL

(By Rev. Jesse L. Jackson)

### INTRODUCTION

Famine is perhaps non-existent in this state and in the nation but there is hunger throughout the land.

Hunger is a present reality in some 40 Illinois counties where 25% or more of the households are plagued with it each day. Cook County has at least 54,000 households on the hunger rolls—and even the more affluent DuPage, Winnebago and Lake counties have in excess of 12,000 households in which hunger is a fact of life.

In light of these facts the Ministers of Operation Breadbasket of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have conceived a Human Subsidy Bill which has as its aim "stopping all hunger and malnutrition in this state and removing the scourge of poverty and destitution from its people".

The proposed legislation will include the following points:

1. That the State will declare hunger a disaster destroying human lives.
2. That slums will be declared illegal.
3. That the state and federal governments will raise the subsidy level for all people.
4. That the Means test will be removed since it compels people to make embarrassing public disclosures of their possessions in order to receive money for food and shelter.
5. That the Food Stamp Program be abolished as it stigmatizes persons when their real need is for money to purchase necessities of life.
6. That the state (and federal government) will establish emergency job training programs for unemployed and hungry people. This should be done in much

the same way that job training programs were developed to meet the emergencies of the war.

The following is a "Position Paper" on the issue of hunger and poverty and the need for altering the very conception of welfare in this society.

#### NOT WELFARE, BUT SUBSIDY

America is caught in deep internal conflict. Though the nation is the richest in the world, it allows a fifth of its population to languish in poverty. As a blessed nation, we have a surplus of food. But we also have starvation in the midst of surplus. The nation's ethic allows the rich to readily receive subsidies for the maintenance and expansion of the economy, but the poor are stigmatized with welfare payments. Subsidy and welfare both come from the government funds, though one is viewed as constructive and the other destructive. These conflicts plague America deeply as it struggles with the question affecting the nation's attitude and behavior toward all citizens.

The conflicts cannot be resolved, however, until America admits the truth to herself.

America is a land in which the rich are subsidized, aided and upgraded, while the poor are compelled to live on subsistence. It is absolutely inconceivable that hunger should touch over 10,000,000 in this nation; 629,000 in Illinois.

Though the poor are chastized for their poverty, the poor in fact are victims who divert attention from the real issue of the extent to which the rich are aided at the expense of the remainder of the population. The poor pay more and receive less.

This is especially true in Illinois where the poor are characterized as free-loaders and parasites to the taxpayers. The truth is that 6% of the state revenues are derived from sales paid most often by the poor.

The poor become the most convenient and visible scapegoats of the economically more affluent segments of the population. At the same time they are subjected to a dubious ethic that suggests that welfare is a privilege rather than a right for all citizens.

Yet America has deemed it an economic value and need to subsidize land, commercial and educational institutions within our society and economy. Before the Johnson Administration retired in January, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman testified before the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs of the United States Senate that the national policy is to pay farmers more than \$3 billion per year not to produce food or fiber in order to stop our over-production of food. The 7% Investment Tax Credit for businesses was enacted to stimulate business growth. These are only two of the many subsidies presently granted in the nation whose history is one of the subsidizing specific industries and institutions in the name of the general welfare.

The Constitution of the United States asserts in its preamble that the paramount purpose of the state is to promote the general welfare of all its citizens. The total American political and social experience can be seen as analogous in some respects to a bank. Thus an American citizen is by definition an investor in the American Bank. He cements this investment by paying taxes, by fighting in wars, by laboring to build the economy and by consuming the products of that economy.

The investment of black people has been costly. It began with the involuntary state of slavery when we were locked out of the definition of citizenship. America's racism defined our status in the Constitution as only 3/5ths persons.

In a sense we have never been freed from that classification. Emancipation merely released us to fare for ourselves in a capitalistic system without capital. Then we are humiliated because we are pauperized and contained in a state of municipal servitude called welfare. We are confined to a state of poverty and hunger in a nation of plenty.

Yet it is the case that many black men and women have fought, bled and died in wars from the American Revolution to the undeclared military action we are now engaged in Viet Nam. Over 187,000 black men fought for their freedom in the Civil War.

But America still spends an average of \$954 per second for the war in Viet Nam, while the skirmish against poverty has amounted to less than \$55 per poor person per year.

What we must never forget, however, is that in the early days of this society's development our manpower preceded machine power. Before there were pistons

and grease, there were our muscles and sweat. Before there were milking machines, there were fingers extracting that life-giving substance. Before the mechanical cotton picker, there were hands provided by men, women and children who spent their days in terms of endless hours of stoop labor. But it is precisely these people that this system is driving into the hungering crisis.

"The crisis is caused not so much by the transition from slavery to equality as by a change from an economics of exploitation to an economics of uselessness. With the onset of automation the Negro is moving out of his historical state of oppression into uselessness. Increasingly, he is not so much economically exploited as he is irrelevant. And the Negro's economic anxiety is an anxiety that will spread to others in our society as automation proceeds." (Sidney M. Wilhelm and Edwun H. Powell, "Who Needs the Negro?").

The economic system in America has already predetermined the extermination of black people as workers. While automation affects the white community as a vice growing out of improper planning for future phasing out of work programs, it hits the black community as a vengeance virtually removing the black man as a productive economic unit in society. Moreover, where the growth of political power threatens traditional white rural southern interests, blacks are being starved into extinction or into exiting from the land. This has been documented by the studies of the Medical Committee on Human Rights, the Tufts University team in the Mississippi Delta project and the Senate Sub-Committee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty headed at the time by Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

The truth is that the wealthiest classes have thrown men into competition with matter. Our economy is now contingent upon the fortunes of the defense industries, or the military-industrial complex (a force of critical significance noted by the late President Eisenhower in his farewell address in January 1961). The military-industrial complex represents the most powerful single factor in shaping the policy of the nation and the economy. Yet it has been all but immune to fiscal accountability and critical examination. Illinois' share of this money is over \$1.06 billion.

While Congress and state legislatures quibble over feeding hungry and destitute people, the Defense Department has been reported to regularly spend as high as 200% more than estimated original costs on items of procurement.

Moreover, the Department of Defense holds over \$202.5 billion in real and personal property, and over 29 million acres of land, while in a city like Chicago black people are forced to live in dilapidated and deteriorated housing in neighborhoods with 60,000 people or more per square mile.

It appears that the business of defense has steadily widened its sphere of influence from a military-industrial complex to a wider complex including the nation's educational institutions and the labor unions and the political forces.

Though many questioned President Johnson on whether it was possible to have "guns and butter", it is obvious that the construction of military hardware and the destruction of a poor nation with some of those weapons are much more important to the national policymakers than the flesh and blood of brothers and sisters who desire creative action to redeem human lives.

Trapped beneath the burden of the nation's killing programs are 40 million poor people, one-fifth of the population of the world's richest nation. Numerically, there are more poor whites than poor blacks, but percentage-wise there are more black poor than white poor. Obviously the problems of establishing human priorities in a nation so committed to non-human values transcends race.

The Poor People's Campaign was conceived in the mind of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and was carried out through the first phase by his beloved successor, Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, as a way of uncovering the festering sore of America's greed, and the destruction of millions of poor people.

Dr. Abernathy has now called for the Second Phase of the Poor People's Campaign to tell the truth to America about the hunger and the hurt in the land. The rationale for the Poor People's Campaign has not changed in a year, America. Listen once again to why we must speak to the nation and the world:

"Someone had to cry out for justice in a land that has placed priority on profits rather than persons. Someone had to ring out with clear moral authority that ten million people went to bed each night suffering physical destruction from malnutrition to acute starvation. Someone had to say that not only do we need jobs but that we also need a redefinition of work. Someone had to plead for a quality in life that offered wages, but more importantly, fulfillment. Someone had to demand that involuntary starvation should be punishable crime in a

land of surplus and waste." (Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, "Resurrection City", *Ebony* Oct., 1968)

America has yet to respond to the Kerner Report on America's racism as the major factor in racial and class disturbances. One year later blacks are still discriminated against and still make less money with more education than whites with less education.

But we cannot allow ourselves to be rendered useless people. Some ideas or definitions may be obsolete in this technological whirlwind changing all the previous points of reference. But black people are not obsolete for we are somebody; we are God's people.

And the new administration under President Richard Nixon expresses its values in curbing inflation by programming a rise in unemployment by the end of the year 400,000. Black and other poor people can no longer be psychologically imprisoned with feelings of guilt in a nation whose economy has been managed since the days its slavery policies were determined.

Those who have had to labor in the nastiest and the most menial of jobs have been abused with the label of laziness because they received so little for their efforts and energy. Their blood and sweat built and fed a nation, but they were the last hired, the first fired, and the forgotten in the time of need.

Yet as the technological transitions demand almost immediate change in our conceptions as well as our behavior, it is clear that work must be redefined to fit the needs of this new period. Going to school is work. Education is necessary for the continuation of our technology-oriented society. Thus the student expends his creative energy in his studies and ought to be compensated as he prepares to use his knowledge for the common good in his future work. We have not yet recognized the broad need to subsidize the education of students. Though the numerous scholarship programs have expressed a value on education, they are yet to serve as the model for inducements to study.

At the moment, the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program is a major example of using public funds in universities and colleges across the nation to encourage students to finish school. A product of the Defense Department, the ROTC program offers a student a stipend to stay in school in preparation to become a professional killer upon graduation. Status as an officer and concrete employment are held up as further inducements for the student. So the best minds of the nation are preparing for military service while they are paid to attend college.

We do not have such a program of inducement to study for other fields. Though we need trained personnel, the nation has yet to set up programs to train doctors, nurses, lawyers, dentists, social workers or teachers. The special programs are aimed at producing another college crop of killers who will become part of the military complex.

The ROTC subsidy, interestingly enough, has not drained away the ambition of brilliant young men. Neither did wealth and subsidies to the rich limit the ambitions and the drives of the Kennedys or the Rockefellers. Nor has the agricultural subsidies to Senator Eastland of Mississippi affected his drive to perform as a politician. Subsidies appear to have had the opposite effect by allowing men to function for their own interests within the American economy and social structure.

The black and the poor, however, have been victimized by being granted only the most difficult and poorly paying chores in the American economy or by being ignored by that economy altogether. Then they are humiliated in their victimized condition by the white propaganda that tells them they are responsible for their condition. Their limited energy, resulting from the hunger and malnutrition forced upon them, distorts their lives while whites withheld the food that they helped raise. Now they are the useless dregs, the unskilled slaves and immigrants of previous generations, that America wants to discard completely. The destruction comes daily in the reminder from the rich of the land that they are living off of privilege rather than right.

The issue is whether the poor, and particularly the black poor, will be considered products or prisoners of this society. As products their potential would become most significant . . . as prisoners their containment and punishment would be primary. We contend that it is the obligation of this society to see its poor people as products and their economic misfortune as the by-product of a highly advanced technology.

The economic skills of the poor have been limited by displacement brought on by this technology. For example, it is reported in the Joint Economic Committee of the United States hearings that there are some 500,000 hard core unemployed in the central cities of the nation at least.

The recognition of the poor as products means that the poor will be nourished and encouraged, not shunted aside and discouraged. When they encounter problems as the result of deficiencies in their training, health or other factors of development, it is up to the society to meet those deficiencies with programs of rehabilitation. This is similar to the response of healing when a society encounters sickness. By contrast we find that the poor are prisoners. Thus caseworkers are not social service persons but are policemen and investigators. The poor are prisoners. Thus caseworkers are not social service persons but are policemen and investigators. The poor are compelled by Administrative edict to submit to means tests before they can receive the basic necessities of life. This places a premium on eligibility rather than on the priority of need. Invasion of the privacy of the poor is considered in the line of duty and the poor seldom see their caseworkers as persons to assist them but as persons who snoop on their private, intimate lives. This makes their homes no longer "their castles" but miniature prisons in which each room becomes a caged-cell block. We propose to end this inhumane and wasteful system and to develop an entirely different concept of persons in need of assistance.

Not prisoners but products of America's social and economic system, the hungry and the poor need to escape from the welfare cycle. Once captured by the welfare cycle, the poor are engulfed by forces bent upon convincing them of their lack of worth, their humiliation and their powerlessness.

Though the need of welfare is economic, the effect captures people psychologically and confines them geographically to the urban and the rural slums of our nation.

Contributing forces include the police, the government, the schools. Police are too busy protecting property of the rich and the white, rather than protecting the citizens in their rights. Political rights of the poor must be guaranteed and protected, thus eliminating voting frauds and the political disenfranchisement. Health and well-being must be protected among all citizens. The police need the authority to arrest slum landlords who violate health standards and building codes. Stores that abuse the lives of people with tainted meats, bad produce and filthy conditions need to have a healthy fear of being arrested by the police.

The corrupting forces in government have done much to destroy poor people and to contain them in their misery. Racists in the House and Senate of Congress from the southern states control significant committees through chairmanships. They are the nation's legacy of racism at the highest levels of our government. Men like Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Forces Committee; Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee; Carl Perkins, as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee control the major policies of this nation in terms of taxation and the use of our economic resources, the military and the wars we fight, and of the school systems and who is employed. Similar control is held in the United States Senate by men such as Richard Russell of Georgia as the chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee.

The schools have contributed their share to the maintenance of the welfare cycle by teaching irrelevant courses to uneducated youth. They have also victimized by limited appropriations from the state legislatures and the school boards under the control of those who wanted to perpetuate the dependency of poor people.

The poor and the hungry are deeply scarred by non-economic forces over basically economic matters. They have been psychologically discouraged by the lack of protection for their personal rights and needs. They have been abused by being untaught within the context of the educational system. They have been politically intimidated in terms of their voting rights and their desire for justice. Thus, without the inducement of a living wage in the job market the poor and the hungry have no other place to turn but the welfare market.

Welfare is not even adequate as a concept within the context of our economic and social system. The terms welfare and recipient smacks of beggars or parasites intruding on our social structures.

Subsidy, however, is a more meaningful concept that has broad usage across the American scene. Its sole criteria is economic. It has nothing to do with re-

ligion or training. Just as the nation subsidizes land and businesses America ought to subsidize human beings, people who have economic needs.

Subsidy is fuel which allows people to move within the American system. The hungry and the poor need this stimulus to put them in motion. At the same time the other institutions need to move in concert with the poor to correct the ills affecting their lives.

By looking at the welfare area as a geographical place it is clear that objective standards can be developed as the guidelines for all the supporting institutions. The slums, or the geographic locations of the hungry and the poor, need to be declared disaster areas.

Subjective feelings can be taken away from America's treatment of the poor by dealing concretely with the objective needs of persons in the poverty areas.

Some will ask how to declare an area under disaster. The only answer used previously has been in response to natural crises called "Acts of God." But the hungry and the poor of the nation suffer daily disaster because of acts of men who conspire to put profits over persons and who create injustice out of their own greed.

These disasters contribute to crisis after crisis threatening the very future of our nation. They have been spawned and perpetuated by men and the institutions of America. The American Dilemma must be rechanneled into the American Dream while the hungry and the poor seek for assurances of their stake in society.

The most significant assurance could come by making human subsidy a reality, and a part of the new legal order. In addition the pursuit of law and order to take serious precedent on the agendas of federal, state, and local officials. If housing code violations were illegal and the violators prosecuted vigorously, a new dynamic would be initiated in the slums. New job demands would be immediate in the labor market because housing is in such ill repair. Carpenters, painters, brick masons, truck drivers, et cetera would be needed immediately, and those who are unskilled ought to be put to work in on-the-job training programs in construction and rehabilitation of buildings, communities and lives.

Law and order are possible in America. But it is important to understand that order is not the absence of noise for that is quietness. Order is the presence of justice. And inherent in order is peace, for there cannot be peace unless the goods of the society are distributed properly. Then law is the form that justice takes guaranteeing that the goods are distributed properly within the community.

The Human Subsidy represents justice to human beings in need: It is respectful of persons created by God and placed upon earth to partake and participate in its abundance. America has the resources and the capacity to provide for each citizen in the drive to eliminate hunger and poverty from the land.

Senator McGOVERN. Our first witness this morning is Dr. Rosellen Cohnberg, a consultant with the supplemental food program, Metro-East Health Services Council.

Dr. Cohnberg, we'd be happy to hear from you at this time.

**STATEMENT OF ROSELLEN COHNBERG, M.D., CONSULTANT, SUPPLEMENTAL FOOD PROGRAM, METRO-EAST HEALTH SERVICES COUNCIL**

Dr. COHNBERG. Gentlemen, thank you for this opportunity.

We have been called to testify about the problem of hunger in the East St. Louis area. We might introduce ourselves. We are representatives of the Metro-East Health Services Council, Inc. Metro-East is a not-for-profit organization which has been incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois. It was structured under the precepts of Public Law 89-749, the Comprehensive Health Act or the Partnership for Health Act, being composed of 51 percent ordinary consumers of health care and 49 percent providers of health care. The council

came into being out of the concerns of the citizens of model city, and by way of their health component package, which has been supposedly ready for funding through HEW (Public Law 89-749, sec. 314(E)) for several weeks. Metro-East, without funding, has undertaken some important health projects, however. One of these is the so-called supplementary food project, which Metro-East is carrying without funds.

A background of information on this area might be appropriate. East St. Louis is one of the critical urban areas of this country. The city and surrounding area has never been a truly viable one, and it has gone downhill rapidly, outstripping most of the problem cities of the country. The area to which Metro-East primarily addresses itself, a four-township area including East St. Louis, Stites, Canteen, and Centreville, is over 60 percent black. East St. Louis is over 60 percent black, and poor. Well over 50 percent of the people in the model city area have income of less than \$3,000 per year. Over 40 percent of the families in the city have incomes of less than \$3,000 per year. This is about the same percent as seen in the rest of the area. What is more startling is that 15 percent of at least the target area families makes less than \$1,000 per year. Even of those people who apparently make more per year, many are trying to buy food and clothing on less than \$1 per day for a family.

This fact can be documented, as can the fact that food prices are high and going higher, with the result that even \$1 per person per day sum is a starvation amount. For instance, on one recent excursion into the inner city, we discovered dried beans priced at 32 cents for a 2-pound bag, plain cornmeal at 48 cents for a 5-pound package, salt pork at 69 cents a pound, buffalo fish 59 cents a pound, with catfish higher, and evaporated milk on sale for 10 cents a can. These prices were chainstore prices. Neighborhood prices, as predicted, were generally slightly higher in most cases.

Documentation about hunger comes from our outreach workers, called health guides, and from local neighborhood opportunity center workers, among others. This, in the richest nation this world has ever known, is a disgrace. It is, furthermore, immoral on the face of things, and it is economically wasteful and a self-defeating situation. Hunger breeds discontent. Hunger increases illness. Hunger increases newborn prematurity. Hunger decreases mental capacity. Hunger robs physical capacity. What an obvious waste.

I might insert here that Mr. Solomakos might make note of the fact that hungry people make poor job applicants, make poor jobholders, and that people who have been starved from the time of birth or before, have several strikes against them. There is enough evidence on the record to date to make us aware of the fact that hunger in a mother will produce prematurity and often produces brain damage of a child, so that with this, I think we can answer, in part, Mr. Solomakos' objections.

We have been talking about total hunger, the no food syndrome, up to now. But there is a more subtle hunger in this area too, and subtle malnutrition based on improper food consumption which has been forced upon the consumer by the simple economic fact that starchy foods, for the most part, are less expensive than protein foods. Many of our fat city dwellers are medically severely malnourished.

This area is a food stamp area. Food stamps are used poorly, because there is no money available to buy the first stamp, and there never can be on the short money allowances on which many of our people are forced to operate. We have ample documentation for this statement, too.

There are, in the area, limited and tentative and erratic food programs for youngsters in day care centers and for some of our school-children. These programs are too limited in intent and funding, and too fragmented to provide much impact, however. We need more such programs, open to all children and spread to adults.

One program is meeting some of our needs. This is the supplemental food program of which we spoke before. It is serving over 4,000 people per month in four townships, but it is a medical program, ill conceived by the USDA, but with usefulness, nonetheless, limited to the obvious medical needs exhibited by pregnant or lactating women and children from birth to age 6 years. Our population may be young, but it isn't all this young or female.

Metro-East got into this food program because the governmental local health agency, the East Side Health District, saw fit to reject it. Metro-East, largely through its president, Mr. Will McGaughy, saw the crying need of the community, saw the opportunity, and decided to act. Metro-East had no money. Metro-East has no money. Metro-East, or really Mr. McGaughy, has operated this successful and useful program using volunteers and NOC center distributing points. As good as the program is, it could be and it should be better.

When Metro-East took on the program, USDA was apparently desperate. At least their representative was so eager for Metro-East to take on the program, that he agreed that the program could be modified in certain basic respects.

I call attention in my written statement to letters written by a USDA representative where he takes us to task for various things. He takes us to task because we are not using a means test. This is one of the things we refused to do in the beginning of the program because we didn't want this a poverty program. Either it is a medical program or it is a poverty program. It isn't both, and it can't be both, and we made this quite clear in our answer.

He also took us to task for not having everything perfect in the program, with a bunch of volunteers and no money from USDA, and no offer of money from USDA. This is, of course, an impossibility. We do the best we can, and I think we have done a laudable job with all of the strikes that we have against us.

He takes us to task for many other things; for instance, for not following back through and for not getting medical records and for a whole lot of other things. We could take that up later, if you wish, but, in toto, we refuted the statement, while we said that we were trying to improve the program.

These modifications were demanded by Metro-East as a prerequisite of their assuming the responsibility for the program. Even with these modifications, the problems Metro-East faced were legion. The only thing USDA provided was the commodities, no little thing, we agree, a few recipe folders and one batch of incomplete prescription forms. Metro-East has begged, borrowed, and scrounged everything else. Even a \$25,000 OEO grant we are supposed to have to help us in the dis-

tribution mechanism has been held up by red tape. Much more money is needed to be able to hire adequate warehouse people, our one man is on loan from IDPA, loaders, unloaders, clerks, distributors, and nutrition health educators, and so forth. Money is needed for paper and printing and cards and files. You name it. We need it. Of course, problems can be avoided if there were a paid, regular, and accountable staff. Volunteers, although wonderful, are still volunteers.

Now, this program is, as we said, severely limited in scope. We have ample proof of its value already, but we also have ample proof that there are hungry middle agers and old people and hungry and/or malnourished school-aged children. Programs must be devised to feed all of our people.

No amount of feeding people, however, is going to solve all of our problems in this area. There will have to be a complete rethinking of the national priorities and of national economics. What all of our people need most is adequate money to spend for their own food needs. Until this economic fact is understood and implemented, however, good, adequate food programs for all of our needy citizens is mandatory and sensible.

Thank you.

Senator McGOVERN. I want to commend Dr. Cohnberg for this opening statement, and I especially want to comment on the concluding paragraph of your statement, Dr. Cohnberg, in which you say that—

No amount of feeding people, however, is going to solve all of our problems in this area. There will have to be a complete rethinking of the national priorities and of national economics. What all of our people need most, is adequate money to spend for their own food needs.

Then you make this concluding point:

Until this economic fact is understood and implemented, however, good, adequate food programs for all of our needy citizens is mandatory and sensible.

I think that summarizes the position of most of the members of this committee. I am quite confident that Senator Percy made the same point in his opening statement. No member of this committee is under the illusion that any one committee of the Senate, in 1 day of hearing, can answer all of the problems of human beings, and we don't come here with any such naive notion as that. I am quite prepared to agree with those who argue that we need some kind of program in this country to take care of the needs of the poor that go beyond what we can do with food assistance alone, but it may take some time before we can build the kind of public understanding and congressional understanding that will make that possible.

Meanwhile, people are hungry. Meanwhile, people are suffering from bad diets, and our purpose is to deal with that problem now, to deal with it thoroughly, to deal with it quickly and efficiently, and that is what we seek to do at these hearings, so I commend you, Dr. Cohnberg, for making these points as succinctly and as forcefully as you have.

I would like to ask you what you attribute the high level of participation in your supplemental food program to. What are the factors that have brought about this in this community, what seems to me to be a rather high level of participation in this new supplemental food program?

Dr. COHNBERG. I think there are many reasons for this, Senator McGovern. In the first place, it is an area of high need. In the second place, Metro-East Health Services Council, in the short time of its existence, is trusted. In the third place, Senator McGovern, Mr. McGaughy is a fantastic community organizer and has what is commonly called charisma.

Also, we have had excellent volunteers, we have good outreach workers to get to our people and explain what is available. Furthermore, and possibly most important, we have done this program on a medical basis rather than on a poverty basis, so that people aren't feeling that they are just poor and they are getting a handout. This is a prescription, and our people are proud people, but it is perfectly all right to accept a prescription. This is something that is good, that is understood, and we have refused to use a means test here. We felt that this was the wrong thing to apply. I think these are some of the factors, at least, that add up to this kind of participation.

Senator MCGOVERN. Have you run into any difficulty with the Department of Agriculture on the guidelines that you have established here for your program?

Dr. COHNBERG. Yes. As I indicated in my prepared statement, we have had nothing but trouble. The strange thing is that we are complimented on the one hand, and then blasted on the other hand. We are blasted for our ineptitudes and mistakes. We are the first ones to admit that we are making mistakes. We know full well that all that everything we do isn't right. We know a lot of these things. They wanted us to use the means test, and we told them that anybody who was willing to stand in line for hours to receive food packages exhibits to us a need.

Senator MCGOVERN. How long do you feel that you can operate a program of this kind, Dr. Cohnberg, on a volunteer basis?

Dr. COHNBERG. Well, of course, it will come to a screeching halt at some time or another.

I see that my right hand and my left hand has finally entered the room, and I'd like him to answer that question, Senator McGovern.

Mr. MCGAUGHY. I didn't get the question.

Senator MCGOVERN. I was asking Dr. Cohnberg whether or not, in her judgment—and I will direct the questions to you—you can operate this supplemental food program on a volunteer basis.

Mr. MCGAUGHY. We have been operating it on a volunteer basis, and we can still operate on a volunteer basis, but it works a hardship on a few people to get the food unloaded and transported to our distribution stations.

Senator MCGOVERN. Senator Percy, do you have any questions?

Senator PERCY. Dr. Cohnberg, would you care to comment on how the program is being supported locally a little further?

Dr. COHNBERG. Actually, we have passed the hat is what it amounts to. Mr. McGaughy approached some business people in the beginning for some money for unloading purposes. We got some money and actually returned some. We are a proud organization, too, and we don't like to beg. We have actually scrounged and borrowed and begged. Primarily, the load has been carried on Mr. McGaughy's back, sometimes literally, I might say. There has been no money, absolutely no

money, and I know this surprises some people, but USDA sent us the food and we even had to pay some of the freight charges and demurrage charges, actually, that were incurred, because we were unable to unload the products with volunteer labor on time.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we could have order in the room, please. Many people cannot hear the witness because of the number of conversations going on in the room. If you must have a conversation separate from the witness, will you please leave the room?

Mr. McGAUGHY, what medical criteria are used for eligibility?

Dr. COHNBERG. I will answer that, Mr. Percy, since this is sort of my province. There are ample medical criteria in the condition of pregnancy, in the condition of lactation and nursing, and in the very condition of age. We don't need any other medical criteria. We know that there are certain extra requirements in diets necessary for pregnant women, women who are nursing their own children, and children from birth to 6 years.

Senator PERCY. Do any other age groups need the program?

Dr. COHNBERG. I think all of our youngsters need the program, and some of our middle aged and older people need the program who are subsisting on starvation amounts. They certainly need something. Maybe not this program, but something directed at them.

Senator PERCY. I'd like to refer to the back of my airline ticket. This morning I jotted down a name, and I hope the individual won't mind my mentioning it. We called on Mrs. Collins this morning at 1413 Gay Street. She is 87 years old and lives alone. She had been receiving I think \$60 a month and recently it was cut \$10. We are going to find out why. We asked Mrs. Collins what she had to eat, and meat for her means chicken wings or backs once in awhile.

We went to the store, a very nice neighborhood store operated by fine people. I had a little food service when I was a boy and shopped for women on Saturday mornings for 10 cents a family. I have enjoyed pricing food through the years. You say a family has to live on a dollar a day?

Dr. COHNBERG. The average is a dollar per person per day.

Senator PERCY. I want to find out what a person could buy for a dollar. Chicken wings this morning are 3 pounds for 89 cents; hamburger is 79 cents a pound; Boston butt, 75; center pork chops, 99 cents. This morning half a gallon of milk is 99 cents a half gallon. A dollar a day doesn't go very far, does it?

Dr. COHNBERG. It certainly doesn't. As a matter of fact, Mr. McGAUGHY has a story which I think is worth repeating here, if we may beg your indulgence about something that happened just quite by accident when there were some people here from HEW.

Mr. McGAUGHY. A Dr. Frankel was here from Washington, D.C., and he had met with the downtown professional group, that's the doctors that's going to build a comprehensive health building here for the community, and he was talking to some people this morning and there is no hunger problem here in East St. Louis, he said. About this time we looked up the street and a fellow was opening the back of his truck. He had a large bag, and it just happened the bottom of the bag broke loose, and on the ground there was some chicken feet and chicken heads. He was fighting his dog away from them, the dog was trying to get off with it. So we pulled up side the car and we looked at the man

and asked him what he was going to do, is this for your dog, and he said, "No, this is what I am going to have for supper." So this is why I personally have been pushing the issue for hunger.

I'm sorry I was late. I feel that the program that we have, the nutrition program, is a good program. There is just a drop in the bucket now for what is needed in the community, and I think the lawmakers in Illinois here, and Washington, D.C., have got to take a real positive look at the program that we have in the community and expand it, to see that everybody will be able to go to bed at night and sleep a nice sleep because they have a full stomach.

Senator PERCY. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, since we have started, I notice that Rev. Jesse L. Jackson has arrived. We welcome you.

I would also like to acknowledge the presence of Mr. Jack Curry, of Metro-East, and Mr. Hawkins, of CORE, and thank them for being here, I also would like to publicly thank CORE for the work that they have done with the Members of Congress, including the chairman and myself, on the Self-Determination Act, which has been a great deal of hard work, I think it has been a worthwhile endeavor to try to find out how people can stand on their own feet and how to give a person a sense of dignity and pride. We hope that this kind of legislation can aim in that direction.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator McGOVERN. Mr. McGaughy, before we call on Rev. Jesse Jackson, I know that you are working primarily with the supplemental food program, but I wonder if you'd have any comment on the food stamp program as it operates here. How good it is? What is wrong with it? What can be done to make it more effective?

Mr. McGAUGHY. We have a food stamp program here, and it is a benefit in a sense. In another sense it is not, because what happens, you take a person receiving, say, \$200 or \$250 a month from the public welfare, they have to buy maybe \$75 worth of food stamps. After they pay their utilities, rent, and what have you, take care of some other bills that they have, when the time comes to pay this \$75 for food stamps, they may have \$73 left, so what they'll do, they'll say I will save this \$73 until I get a couple more dollars here so I can buy my food stamps. Consequently, while they are waiting on trying to get a couple more dollars from somewhere, something else will arise, so they have to take another couple dollars off the \$73, so they have \$71 left, so when the date comes, the expiration date comes up, there is no money there to buy the food stamps, so this is a big problem that we have. People just don't have this money to pay for the food stamps.

Senator McGOVERN. Would you recommend that for the very poorest families, at least, the stamps be provided free?

Mr. McGAUGHY. Definitely, because in the model city program, we have set aside, I don't know whether USDA is going to allow it or not, but we have set aside \$10,000 to buy food stamps. When we find people that are in need, we are going to try to give food stamps to these people, but I don't know whether they are going to allow this or not.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much, Mr. McGaughy.

Mr. McGAUGHY. Prior to closing, I would like to ask a question of both of you gentlemen.

As far as this hearing is concerned, do you think that it is going to do anything as far as eliminating the hunger that exists in the community here, or do you think it is just another big glory affair where people have exposed themselves to this type of publicity and nothing will be done about it? The reason why I ask is that our community, people have been coming in here, we have been surveyed and studied and studied, and it is about time we receive some kind of positive results from some of these studies and interviews and things.

Senator MCGOVERN. Mr. McGaughy, I think that's a legitimate question, and I fully sympathize and appreciate the sense of impatience and urgency that you express.

I want to say, on behalf of the committee, that we aren't here just for the purpose of going through another public exercise. We are determined to find out where the deficiencies are in these food programs. I think we already know a lot about that.

We are further determined to appeal to the Congress of the United States to authorize and to fund the kind of a program that will put an end to malnutrition and hunger in the United States. I personally think that we can't rest as long as there is a single citizen in this country who is hungry or malnourished.

Now, of course, we can't promise you that our colleagues in the Congress are going to pass a program tomorrow, but I think we can tell you that the likelihood is almost overwhelming that there will be a very strong food assistance program passed in 1969.

Just this past week the Senate, on an emergency basis, doubled the authorization in funds for the existing food stamp program. It was increased from \$340 million to \$750 million. That went through unanimously. That's about half what we ought to do. It was a temporary stopgap measure. I would hope before this Congress adjourns, that we would have authorized and funded a program for food stamps alone that would go over a billion dollars. So we are here for a very serious purpose, we are not here for a public show, but in order to develop a case that will get legislation on the statute books and into operation.

Mr. MCGAUGHY. Thank you.

Senator PERCY. I'd be happy to respond to that question also.

It is a question as to how our Government really works. This whole Government is a matter of priorities, and we have the same job as Governor Ogilvie has in Illinois. The State legislators have to convince the people there is no other way to finance the State, other than through adequate taxes, they have to sell that program to the people. The Governor and the legislators can't put it through unless the people support it.

We can't get food for hungry Americans, because we are competing with military budgets, foreign aid programs, housing programs, and everything else. We can't get a surtax through unless we convince the people the conditions are so bad that they must tax themselves higher to rectify these conditions.

Senator McGovern has pointed out what has happened this week alone. The hunger program was doubled in the Senate, but it is stopped right now in the House. These hearings will help move \$340 million up to \$750 million in the House of Representatives. Unless the House

approves it, we can't get that money, and the President can't get it to spend.

The President approved and requested a doubling in nutritional education. It is not just food. We need to know how to use the food better, to train and educate low-income people not to spend money on fancy foods, but to spend it on low cost, high nutritional foods. The Nixon administration doubled the amount of money when they were shown why we need nutritional education funds. These hearings serve the purpose of creating an atmosphere of better understanding, and that better understanding enables the legislature to vote in good conscience.

(The material supplied by Rosellen Cohnberg, M.D., for the record follows:)

Gentlemen, we have been called to testify about the problem of hunger in the East St. Louis area. We might introduce ourselves. We are representatives of the Metro East Health Services Council, Inc. "Metro East" is a not-for-profit organization which has been incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois. It was structured under the precepts of Public Law 89-749 (the Comprehensive Health Act or the Partnership for Health Act), being composed of 51% ordinary consumers of health care and 49% providers of health care. The council came into being out of the concerns of the citizens of Model City, and by way of their health component package, which has been supposedly ready for funding through H.E.W. (P.L. 89-749; section 314 (E)) for several weeks. "Metro East", without funding, has undertaken some important health projects, however. One of these is the so-called supplementary food project, which "Metro East" is carrying without funds.

A background of information on this area might be appropriate, East St. Louis is one of the critical urban areas of this country. The city and surrounding area has never been a truly viable one, and it has gone down hill rapidly, outshipping most of the problem cities of the country. The area to which "Metro East" primarily addresses itself (a four township area including E. St. Louis, Stites, Canteen and Centreville) is over 60% Black. East St. Louis is about 64% Black, and poor. Well over 50% of the people in the Model City area have incomes less than \$3,000.00 per year. Over 40% of the families in the city have incomes of less than \$3,000.00 per year. This is about the same percent as seen in the rest of the area. What is more startling is that 15% of at least the target area families make less than \$1,000 per year.\* Even of those people who apparently make more per year, many are trying to buy food and clothing on less than \$1.00 per day for a family. This fact can be documented, as can the fact that food prices are high and going higher, with the result that even a \$1.00 per person per day sum is a starvation amount. For instance, on one recent excursion into the inner city, we discovered dried beans priced at 32¢ for a 2 pound bag, plain corn meal at 48¢ for a 5 pound package, salt pork at 69¢ a pound, Buffalo fish 59¢ a pound (with Cat fish higher), and evaporated milk on sale for 10¢ a can. These prices were chain store prices. Neighborhood prices as predicted, were generally slightly higher in most cases.

Documentation about hunger comes from our outreach workers, called health guides, and from local Neighborhood Opportunity Center workers, among others. This, is the richest nation this world has ever known, is a disgrace. It is furthermore, immoral on the face of things, and it is economically wasteful and a self defeating situation. Hunger breeds discontent. Hunger increases illness. Hunger increases newborn prematurity. Hunger decreases mental capacity. Hunger robs physical capacity. What an obvious waste!

We have been talking about total hunger—the no food syndrome—up to now. But there is a more subtle hunger in this area too, and subtle malnutrition based on improper food consumption which has been forced upon the consumer by the simple economic fact that starchy foods, for the most part, are less expensive than protein foods. Many of our fat city dwellers are medically severely malnourished.

This area is a food stamp area. Food Stamps are used poorly, because there is no money available to buy the first stamp, and there never can be on the short

\*Model City Document.

money allowances on which many of our people are forced to operate. We have ample documentation for this statement, too.

There are, in the area, limited and tentative and erratic food programs for youngsters in day care centers and for some of our school children. These programs are too limited in intent and funding and too fragmented to provide much impact, however. We need more such programs, open to all children and spread to adults.

One program is meeting some of our needs. This is the supplemental food program of which we spoke before. It is serving over 4,000 people per month in four townships, but it is a medical program (ill conceived by the USDA but with usefulness, none the less) limited to the obvious medical needs exhibited by pregnant or lactating women and children from birth to age 6 years. Our population may be young, but it isn't all this young or female!

"Metro East" got into this food program because the governmental local health agency (the East Side Health District) saw fit to reject it. "Metro East", largely through its President, Mr. Will McGaughy saw the crying need of the community, saw the opportunity and decided to act. "Metro East" had no money. "Metro East" has no money. "Metro East"—or really Mr. McGaughy, has operated this successful and useful program using volunteers and N.O.C. center distributing points. As good as the program is, it could be and should be better!

When "Metro East" took on the program, USDA was apparently desperate. At least their representative was so eager for "Metro East" to take on the program, that he agreed that the program could be modified in certain basic respects (see letters from and to Mr. O'Hagan, U.S.D.A., Chicago). These modifications were demanded by "Metro East" as a prerequisite of their assuming the responsibility for the program. Even with these modifications, the problem "Metro East" faced were legion. The only thing USDA provided was the commodities (no little thing, we agree), a few recipe folders and one batch of incomplete prescription forms. "Metro East" has begged, borrowed, and scrounged everything else! Even a \$25,000 OEO grant we are supposed to have to help us in the distribution mechanism, has been held up by red tape. But much more money is needed to be able to hire adequate warehouse people (our one man is on loan from IDPA), loaders, unloaders, clerks, distributors and nutrition health educators, etc. money is needed for paper and printing and cards and files—you name it. We need it. Of course problems could be avoided if there were a paid, popular, and accountable staff. Volunteers, although wonderful, are still volunteers.

Now this program is as we said, severely limited in scope. We have ample proof of its value already, but we also have ample proof that there are hungry middle aged and old people and hungry and/or malnourished school aged children. Programs must be devised to feed all of our people.

No amount of feeding people, however, is going to solve all of our problems in this area. There will have to be a complete re-thinking of the national priorities and of national economics. What all of our people need most, is adequate money to spend for their own food needs. Until this economic fact is understood and implemented, however, good, adequate food programs for all of our needy citizens is mandatory and sensible.

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MR. WILL MCGAUGHY,  
*President, Metro East Health Services Council, Inc.,  
East St. Louis, Ill.*

DEAR MR. MCGAUGHY: On April 23 & 24, Mr. Tavares of our Washington office, Mr. S. Bernstein and Mr. L. H. Gargas of our Chicago office, visited your area to observe the April distribution of supplemental foods. We thank you for your cooperation and wish to commend you and your associates for the progress made in the first ninety days of the program.

As in any new program, flaws will show up in its implementation, and we hope our observations will assist you in their elimination.

1. Each prescription should be completed, including the full address. The agreement on supplemental food distribution requires that participants reside within the boundaries of the four townships; East St. Louis, Stites, Canteen, and Centreville. Without the complete address, it would be difficult to verify the residential requirement.

2. Application forms should be completed to show: (a) Participation in the Food Stamp Program, or (b) Recipient of Public Assistance benefits.

3. The "return to clinic for evaluation of food needs," should show the period of certification.

4. Understanding of the proxy statement on the reverse side of the prescription was lacking. The proxy should be the name of the person authorized to pick up the food for recipients and signed by the person so deputed.

5. Provide all participants with ID cards, and require that they be presented at the distribution center as evidence of eligibility to receive supplemental foods.

6. Applicants who do not participate in the Food Stamp Program, or are not recipients of public assistance benefits; a means test following standards prescribed in the agreement should be made to determine eligibility from a financial standpoint.

*Income schedule*

<i>Number in family:</i>	<i>Annual</i>	<i>Number in family:</i>	<i>Annual</i>
1 -----	\$1668	6 -----	\$4044
2 -----	2184	7 -----	4500
3 -----	2544	8 -----	4968
4 -----	3108	9 -----	5412
5 -----	3588	10 -----	5880

(Add \$25.00 for each additional person.)

7. A current plan of operation should include all improvements and changes since the program was inaugurated on February 17, 1969.

Uniformity and adherence to these guidelines by all N.O.C. personnel will greatly strengthen program operations and controls.

As soon as possible we would appreciate the following information:

A. The number of recipients that were actually certified by a doctor as in need of supplemental foods from a health standpoint.

B. The number of recipients that are receiving some form of public assistance.

C. The number of recipients that are participating in the Food Stamp Program.

We again compliment you on the progress achieved in the first ninety days of the program and look forward to your cooperation in complying with the above recommendations and requests.

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. O'HAGAN,  
*Acting Supervisor, Commodity Distribution Program*  
*Midwest District.*

METRO EAST HEALTH SERVICES COUNCIL, INC.  
*East St. Louis, Ill., May 16, 1969.*

ROBERT J. O'HAGAN,  
*Acting Supervisor,*  
*Commodity Distribution Program,*  
*Midwest District,*  
*Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR MR. O'HAGAN: I am in receipt of your letter to Mr. Will McGaughy dated May 9, 1969. Mr. McGaughy has asked me to respond to this letter and this is my attempt to do so.

We agree that there are flaws in the implementation of this program. Part of the flaws may be traced to the fact that we were pushed into a precipitous opening of our program before we were ready. Our forms are those which you sent to us and which we have enriched for your purposes and ours. Our forms do not ask for information as to whether an applicant is a recipient of Public Aid. Our forms merely ask whether the recipient is receiving food stamps and other food commodities programs.

I think we should answer each one of your points separately:

1. We agree that each prescription should be completed entirely including a full address. However, there is a grave misunderstanding on your part about the geographic limitations which we were allowed at a meeting attended by Mr. Gargas, Model City and Metro East Health Services Council, Inc. Mr. Gargas told us that as far as he is concerned the resident requirements were to be set up by Metro East Health Services Council according to its ability to handle the needy. We have believed Mr. Gargas and Metro East has made its own boundaries which actually slop over the four townships which you describe. We feel that the

resident requirements which have once been left up to Metro East, should remain the business of Metro East.

2. This complaint has been answered in the description of our forms.

3. We agree that the part of certification should be noted. Where it is not noted we assume the period to be one month.

4. The proxy statement was designed by us to allow an authorized NOC person to pick up the food from the central warehouse. Metro East will look into the value of this statement with your comments in mind.

5. All participating *families* are provided with ID cards which we made up at our own expense and that will be delivered with all possible speed. They are a requirement for presentation of food. It would be foolish for each person to have an ID card, since only one member of the family comes in for food.

6. Metro East has refused to limit this program to so-called poor. This has been one of the strengths of our program, that people do not have to debase themselves by proclaiming their poverty in order to get food. This arrangement was known to Mr. Gargas and the USDA officials and was agreed on by them. It is our opinion that anyone who will wait in line for food prescriptions and food, sometimes waiting for many hours, has adequate and eloquently underlined his need. I for one would not wait in line for these foods which, although nourishing, are packaged in the style in which we get them. Metro East cannot continence a proclamation of poverty for people so obviously in need.

7. A current plan of operation is in your hands. When substantive changes are made we will get them to you. We agree that we have lacked uniformity and we need strength in program operation and control. These we are trying to secure.

As soon as possible we will try to get the following information :

a. The number of recipients that are receiving some form of Public Assistance.

b. The number that are presently participating in a Food Stamp program.

As to the number of recipients that were actually certified by a doctor as in need of supplemental foods from a health standpoint, the answer from us is 100%. Each recipients prescription is at least countersigned by a licensed MD. We consider this program prophylactic rather than curative in nature, although the two functions go hand in hand for most of our recipients.

We hope that this letter will serve your purpose and that it will assure you of our continued cooperation. The poor hungry of our area are grateful. The whole society is the gainer.

Sincerely,

ROSELLEN COHNBERG, M.D.,  
Consultant, Metro East Health Services Council, Inc.

Senator MCGOVERN. I am very pleased now to present Rev. Jesse Jackson who is the National Director of Operation Breadbasket, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Reverend Jackson, in my judgment, has done as much as any man in the United States to alert the people of this great State to the urgency of hunger and human need. He has done that not only in the State of Illinois. His influence extends all across this country for the efforts that he has made to bring the problems of the poor, the problems of the hungry and the sick and the afflicted to the attention of this country. His efforts have been enormously successful. I think the kind of work that he has conducted here is partially an answer to the question that Mr. McGaughy raised, whether we are serious about this business. This kind of local effort does reach effectively into the State legislature, and it reaches beyond that into the Congress and into other centers of administrative and legislative powers.

We are very pleased to have Reverend Jackson here to share his views and counsel with our committee.

STATEMENT OF REV. JESSE L. JACKSON, NATIONAL DIRECTOR,  
OPERATION BREADBASKET, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADER-  
SHIP CONFERENCE

Reverend JACKSON. Thank you, Senator McGovern, Senator Percy. I have a kind of collective report that involves a tour through 12 cities throughout the State and about 30 counties.

I would like to preface everything I say first by expressing gratitude to the brothers and sisters in East St. Louis who welcomed us in such a warm fashion as we conducted our tour here through your city; also, that the welfare budget, by definition of the standard of living, guarantees hunger, without any further statement.

Next, the most creative and revolutionary food program in the Nation is being conducted by the Black Panthers. The only prerequisite to eat a Black Panther breakfast is to be hungry. One does not have to take the means test, or one does not have to be embarrassed or humiliated, one does not have to have an X-ray taken of his stomach. He just has to be hungry, and that would constitute a revolutionary food program.

Next is that the poor problems, the problem of lack of education has been blown out of proportion. As we have told every mayor around this State, the poor people have been creative cooks historically because they have had so little they had to create. We are the people who have taken a potato and fried it on one day and boiled it on the next day and mashed it on the next day and made custard out of it the next day and pie the next day, so our problem, far from lack of education, is perhaps most vividly reflected in a house we saw in Peoria, where a woman had a box of macaroni in her refrigerator and a carton of milk, and the clearest thing on the wall was a menu from USDA telling her how to cook.

On behalf of the ministers of Operation Breadbasket of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, I come to testify at this hearing in an endeavor to make an appeal concerning the greatest domestic crisis of this century. At this moment in our national history, the United States of America finds itself forced to face truths of awesome and appalling dimensions for our States, including this State, Illinois, and our Nation are riven by great divisions.

There are divisions between young and old, which we casually call "The Generation Gap," divisions between hawks and doves over how we prosecute a war which persecutes a Nation of poor people, a war which ironically and ominously is right now being diligently pursued while we persist in talking of peace at the conference tables of Paris. And so we are struck by the truth of the ancient saying that men yet cry out for, peace, peace, yet there is no peace.

There are divisions growing out of racial antagonisms which polarize the relationships between blacks and whites in this society. We sit today in this hearing in East St. Louis, one of the southernmost and most polarized communities in Illinois, a State which we like to refer to as the Land of Lincoln. Even as we sit comes again ringing

across the years the timely and needed counsel of the Great Emancipator who said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Lincoln, in a sense, gave his life as did the founder of our organization, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in order to bind up the wounds of racial cleavage in our national community.

There is great division in America today between the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots, the affluent and the poverty stricken. Poverty itself is a form of oppression which threatens the essence of man's existence, for men will steal before they will starve. The Bible's Book of Proverbs warns us that if a man is given too much, he will deny the Lord, but also that if a man is given too little, he will steal and defame the name of the Lord. It is understandable, then, that those who are malnourished, and who thus might be physically deformed or psychologically impaired by the crippling circumstances of poverty and hunger are in a state of destitution, desperation, and despair. It is a fact of life that people finding themselves drowning in poverty, losing a grip on life in their will to live, resort to the survival ethic of "any means necessary," violence notwithstanding, in an effort to find a solution for their problems.

We are reminded of such truth in vivid fashion by Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables," and by another great son of Illinois, Adlai Stevenson, speaking in Kasson, Minn., in 1952, telling us that "a hungry man is not a free man," reinforcing Proverbs' comment that a hungry man is limited in his choices and so will beg, borrow, or steal, or kill before he will starve. Finally, in this vein, is the ancient wisdom of Diogenes who, when asked what was the proper time for supper, answered that "if you are a rich man whenever you please, and if you are a poor man, whenever, wherever, however you can." Thus, it is incumbent upon the leaders of both the poor in substance and the rich and affluent who are too often impoverished in compassion to see beyond the poor's predicament and hasten us toward the elimination of poverty which is the root cause of so much of the present and persisting American dilemma.

In that connection, SCLC's Operation Breadbasket is presently deeply involved in the second phase of the Poor Peoples Campaign in Illinois. We have just concluded our first caravan, a campaign against hunger which has moved into all the corners of the State. We started with what was a mountaintop experience for so many of us when by the thousands we were drawn to Springfield, to the seat of State government. We were a cavalcade flowing into the capitol to stand up against a proposed legislative cutback in welfare funding, a despicable cutback which would have cruelly deprived hundreds of thousands of men, women, and little children of food to eat, of clothes to wear, of medicines to make them well.

On that occasion all of us, all 10,000 of us, marching in stirring unity and magnificent concert, moved against the mountains of chilly unconcern. We scaled upward to the intoxicating heights, to the pinnacle of legislative victory. It was a triumph not only for the poor people in Illinois but, as well, one for the processes of democracy, a victory which must go down in the annals of lawmaking as one in which the people and the legislators, black and white alike, rose up together and acted in the highest of moral tradition, effecting the shelving of the welfare cutback bill.

Since that heady triumph, our caravan has returned to the low places of poverty and tragedy. We traveled along the dusty backroads, down into the infernal pits where raging poverty stalks, where the demons of hunger roar, where rampant racism and terror prevail. We came down from the mountainous peaks of wealth and affluence which rise so high in Illinois, a State which is the third wealthiest in the Nation, a State which ranks above all others, is No. 1 in the land in agricultural and manufacturing exports. Down we came, descending into the valley and there coming upon the disturbing pockmarks of poverty and disparity.

On June 12, along with brothers from 20 other cities of this State, we launched out into the deeps of this journey. Just as Ezekiel of old was inspired to go down into the dark and dangerous valley and to dwell there among the despairing and hopeless masses, so we, too, took a trip to the darkest of abysses and dreadful recesses. There we found the sunlight of hope eclipsed, we found ourselves witness to never-ending nightmares of deprivation. We saw seething poverty and its damnable consequences, reminiscent of Dante's hell. The first rung of hell's ladder that we descended into was Rockford.

Rockford is a picture of tragic disparity and gripping despair. Despite some 643 thriving industries in that city, nearly 14,000 families have incomes which keep them locked in the clutches of poverty, where the hyenalike pangs of hunger rip away nightly at the bellies of little white children. Rockford vividly depicts for all to see that one of the most salient and sobering truths about poverty and racism is that hunger knows no color line, that even though percentage-wise there are more black children going hungry than white children, in terms of absolute numbers more white children than black go to bed hungry every night in Illinois and throughout America.

The next rung of descension on the ladder of hell and hunger in Illinois was that of Peoria. Peoria, with over 3,100 bustling industrial units. Peoria, with its Caterpillar Tractor Co., turning over \$1.7 billion in sales, yet a city containing the second highest concentration of substandard housing in the State, Peoria, with the third largest number of low-income families. Peoria, with the sixth highest rate of infant deaths in Illinois. Peoria, where the total unemployment rate reaches a staggering 29 percent. Peoria is the home of Senator Everett Dirksen.

Next on our Dante-like descent into the economic infernos of Illinois was Decatur. Decatur, America's soybean capital. Decatur, which processes over one-third of the State's grain in its graineries. Yet in this place ranking so high in the production of foodstuffs, we were confronted by an unemployment rate exceeding 8 percent, we found 4,500 families making under \$2,500 a year, constituting nearly 12,000 starving people. What despair, what a differential, what a valley of disparity, and ironically where mountains of foodstuffs abound.

An even deeper valley of despair is East St. Louis, where we sit this morning, with its unemployment rate a staggering 29 percent, with the largest percentage of adults with less than 8 years of formal education, with the State's greatest percentage of unsound housing, a city with over 70 percent of its population being black and where stark racism and poverty provoke young men to frustration and crime, where

lily-white juries are jamming medieval dungeonlike jails with young black men, unconstitutionally tried by juries not of their peers.

Truly the deepest pit of poverty and despair into which we trekked was that of Cairo, little Egypt, itself, where more modern day Pharaohs of racism reign, where the founding father of the midnight riding Ku Klux Klan-like White Hats vigilante group is none other than the county's highest law enforcement officer, the notorious Peyton Berbling.

Cairo, where there is disturbance even this day, where we found blacks victimized not only by gripping poverty, but under a state of military siege and penned in by murderous rifle, literally, walking through the valleys of the shadow of death.

Among the whites of Cairo there is a 10-percent unemployment rate, while among the blacks the rate soars up to 35 percent. In a city of less than 9,000 persons, we found over 3,700 hungry men, women, and children. I repeat, a city of 9,000 persons, and 3,700 are starving. We found Cairo a dying city, one of the few communities in the Nation where the death rate exceeds the birth rate. Like Ezekiel of old, we had truly come upon a Valley of Dry Bones and the question large looming before our eyes and ringing in our ears was Son of Men, Concerned People of Illinois, can these Dry Bones live again?

When we arrived in Cairo, we found a city in crisis with armed whites on the military offensive, rampaging against the insecure, frightened, and virtually defenseless black community. As a result of our findings and our caravan's presence, a caravan which included State Representative Corneal Davis representing the caucus of Black Legislators, some measure of peace and order came to Cairo, but only temporarily. The State Police came down, investigators from the State's Attorney General's Office arrived, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission revealed the results of their special investigation, the Lieutenant Governor came up with his findings.

Yet underneath the sordid and racist fruits were more deeply implanted roots. In the depressing light of the city's dying economy—and I want you to observe the vision that hunger brings about in a community—the poor whites saw themselves threatened and armed themselves against the blacks. The poor whites futilely tried to secure themselves against additional economic dislocation, trying to secure what little was left of the economy. In their blind frustration, the poor whites thought that the solution to their problem was in rendering blacks dead rather than in securing food so that their starving little children might be fed, an advanced state of cannibalism. Yes, for too long instead of an adequate diet, the poor whites had been fed a menu of racism.

On the other hand, the blacks of Cairo found their very survival, their right to life, threatened. In consequence, they prepared to defend themselves. Thus, both groups sought the elimination of each other, rather than seeing that the problem was more than one of racial pigmentation, more than just black skins versus pink skins, more than White Hats versus Black Berets. And, in fact, rather than eliminating the other race, what was needed was the elimination of hunger, the eradication of poverty.

Last night, as every night, two-thirds of the world went to bed hungry because of maldistribution, poor transportation and, in some

instances, the scourge of war and international crisis. Thus, it is understandable, though not justifiable, that this condition would exist in many parts of the world. In some instances, the lack of agrarian development and technology accounts for the problem. In many instances, the topography and eroded and depleted soil is the reason. In other instances, the land is overpopulated, resulting in underproduction and consumption beyond the available supply. For instance, a nation such as India can elicit a compassionate response to their hunger problem from those who understand the gravity of this cycle of underproduction and overconsumption.

America, however, our Congress, is convening over a Nation that overproduces and underconsumes. We live in a land of surplus at one end, and starvation at the other end. The great problem is the corruption at the level of distribution which reinforces the gap between the overfed and the underfed, between the greedy and the needy. I can understand that the effect of racism, and I want you to hear this, would allow white men to rationalize the starving of black men. White men can, at least, say that they never knew us or that the cataracts of racism blinded them and rendered us invisible since our relationship is one of historical estrangement anyway. But what is the rationale for white men starving their own people or permitting such starvation and suffering among poor whites who numerically outrank blacks in the absolute count of the impoverished? We hear the ancient warning that money is the root of evil. I ask white men from the ruling class in America, is your urge for more clothes than you can wear, more cars than you can drive, more food than you can eat, is it that which causes you to forsake your own mother and blood brother? If this be the case, then the rest of the dilemmas of white America, relative to the crisis of race relations is certainly cleared up, and America is nothing but a case study in cancerous, coldheartedness.

In this Nation of 200 million people, with a gross national product of over \$900 billion, we still have, conservatively, 40 million people listed as "poor", that is with incomes of less than \$3,000 a year for a family of four. This is validated by Government research and categorized by hunger committees as malnourished due to insufficient commodities.

But fully 10 million of the 40 million who are included in that one-fifth of the Nation listed as destitute are children with bloated stomachs and brain damage, who resort to eating red dirt, laundry starch, and lead paint. Physicians call this disease pica where hunger manifests itself in such abnormal ways.

It is understandable but not justifiable that this would be true in States that are not blessed with fertile soil or where the ecology does not provide the resources such as rivers and lakes which attract manufacturing industries or firms. However, the State of Illinois ought to be ashamed, because we cannot be judged with the State of Utah, for our soil is fertile here in Illinois.

Moreover, as I indicated earlier, Illinois is the No. 1 agricultural export State in the Nation, and the No. 1 manufacturing export State in the Nation. According to recent studies, Illinois is the third wealthiest State in the Nation. The State possesses some \$329 million of earmarked moneys in special funds, and a total of \$861 million in all ear-

marked funds. This is money that we choose not to spend or to make available to the general treasury funds. Among the programs where Illinois' inadequate commitment borders on the culpable is the food stamp program. Illinois serves 68,602 fewer people under food stamps than it did under the Federal food commodities distribution program, a drop of 61 percent. Half the counties in Illinois reach only 3 percent of the poor persons eligible to participate in food stamp distribution, that percent served being the lowest, along with that of Nebraska, in the Nation.

Our abuse of opportunities to feed the hungry and eliminate poverty in this State is most vividly expressed by the fact that we levy the same taxes for corporations as we do for individuals, thus compelling the poor to pay more. Illinois has the second highest sales tax in the Nation, outranked only by the tax levied in Alabama. Moreover, since 60 percent of the State revenues are from sales taxes, the poor bear the burden of providing the major share of State revenues. In other words, some of our food stamp money goes to paying sales tax. Some of our food stamp money will go to the new income tax where individuals have to pay just as much as corporations, and in the No. 1 manufacturing export State in the Nation. Illinois likes to compare itself with New York and California in citing its achievements. However, if our corporation tax compared to that assessed by New York and California, the burden of the poor would be measurably lightened.

Some \$150 million comes into Illinois in subsidy payments to affluent farmers, according to Representative Paul Finley. These payments are made to farmers not to grow food or fiber. They found poor white people starving on farms that were subsidized by the Government. Yet the State has not chosen to match a \$6 million grant to conduct a school lunch program. As a result, only 14,000 children in Cook County could receive free school lunches, when there are actually some 200,000 poverty families with school-age children in that area. Again, according to this very committee, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, there are some 629,000 Illinois households, about 3.5 persons per household, which amounts to some two million people, where hunger is a daily reality.

Families on welfare are forced to live on welfare budgets which guarantee that they will starve or steal. Reputable physicians state that a balanced diet for a family of four for three meals a day costs \$7, using the National Research Council's minimum nutritional standards. The State of Illinois allots only \$2.17 a day for a family of five. Such a ceiling by the department of public aid deepens the hunger of its recipients.

In Illinois, SCLC's Operation Breadbasket has drafted and fought for a human subsidy bill that proposes:

1. That the Governor would consider the 629,000 Illinois households who are in poverty and hunger serious enough to declare hunger in this State a disaster. This would mean invoking the manmade disaster act.

This would be the first offensive act by a Governor in our Nation against hunger.

2. That this State recognizes earthquakes, fires, and floods as acts of nature or God, as acts of disaster, the State should also recognize erosion of soil, misuse or improper use of funds, and the existence of

massive hunger, as manmade disasters. In such manmade disasters, the State would employ all the necessary emergency apparatus, such as emergency food and medical supplies, to cope with the situation.

The day we need to see the National Guard going into Cairo, now that they are gone, drawn to shoot those that react to starvation, the people in southern Illinois should perhaps be able to see the Army as people in South Vietnam see them, coming bearing food, gifts, and services.

3. That a percentage of income tax sufficient to eliminate hunger would be earmarked for that purpose. Among other things, Illinois should establish a hunger tax. To have a greater concern for soil eroding than man's eroding is an indictment upon the American value system. It is radically inconsistent with the credo, government of the people, by the people, for the people. For no government that has a surplus where the people make the decision to starve themselves. Such misdirected values would never be the people's choice.

4. That the State initiate forthright drives to give people vocational training for jobs, and would conduct concerted attacks on those trade unions which lock black and poor people out of the job market. Such emergency job training was set up during World War II throughout the United States.

In light of the fact that this is a Federal governmental hearing, points 5 and 6 of the bill, initially directed to the Governor, are here presented as applicable to the President.

5. That the President would understand the irreparable psychological damage to the poor and disinherited created by the suggestion of his party leaders that the allotments to sustain the poor be reduced in this congressional session. We are saying that in this session of the Congress where Mr. Nixon reigns as President that he must be forthright in his effort to subsidize the poor rather than to pauperize and embarrass the poor. If such is not done and the President remains silent, his silence will sanctify the cruelty and will be a betrayal of the poor, and, in fact, would be a declaration of war upon the poor.

One of the methods of war is to covet people's food supply.

6. That a school breakfast and lunch program be instituted in every school in the Nation.

Men of justice cannot halt between two opinions when tens of thousands of lives are at stake. And it was indeed heartwarming and an action exemplifying justice when just yesterday in response to the presence of thousands of us from all over the State who had come together as part of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket's continuing campaign against hunger, the Illinois House of Representatives, in session in Springfield, resolved by an overwhelming majority, to support our human subsidy bill and, in addition, to push for support of the bill's program in terms of Federal legislation and funding.

We contend that the very attitude of the public toward the poor and toward welfare must be changed. Why cannot this change begin in the Land of Lincoln and extend to the entire land over which he was President and for which he gave his life. We maintain that those persons on welfare should not be seen as criminals or prisoners, nor as the results of an innate will not to work. Rather, the poor must be seen as products or as results of advanced technology. It must be recognized that their years of blood, sweat, tears, cheap labor, and human sacrifice

helped to usher in that advanced technology. These years represent an investment that should not be returned marked "insufficient funds."

As opposed to "welfare", we should use the term and develop the concept of human subsidy. All of us should stop using the term "welfare". And I say to you today, Senators, poor people have wanted to work so bad until they shine other peoples shoes. Poor people have wanted to work so bad as to clean up other peoples houses while their own was dirty. Poor people have wanted to work so bad until they raised other peoples children while their own was unkept. Poor people have had so much integrity they have cooked other peoples foods and balanced diets and would not steal food even though their children were hungry. We would challenge you using the Biblical verse in Micah, that we have no choice to respond not by merely having hearings or long speeches, not by talking about how it sympathizes, but again to emphasize and do justice, behave differently, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God and by responding to Jesus by saying I was hungry and you fed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was in prison and you visited me, I was a stranger and you took me in. This is the challenge of our Nation if its creed is to be consistent with its deed.

The poor would then not be viewed as prisoners who have committed some wrong, but would be recognized as the very vanguard of the twentieth century. Let us strike the word "welfare" from the records, remove all reference to the Paupers Act, and subsidize the poor just as we presently subsidize the rich.

(The prepared statement of the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson follows:)

THE PREPARED STATEMENT OF REV. JESSE L. JACKSON, NATIONAL DIRECTOR,  
OPERATION BREADBASKET OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

On behalf of the ministers of Operation Breadbasket of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference I come to testify at this hearing, in an endeavor to make an appeal concerning the greatest domestic crisis of this century. At this moment in our national history, the United States of America finds itself forced to face truths of awesome and appalling dimensions for our states, including this state, Illinois, and our nation are riven by great divisions.

There are divisions between young and old, (which we casually call "the Generation Gap"), divisions between hawks and doves over how we prosecute a war which persecutes a nation of poor people, a war which ironically and ominously is right now being diligently pursued while we persist in talking of peace at the conference tables of Paris. And so we are stuck by the truth of the ancient saying that men yet cry out for "Peace, Peace, yet there is no Peace."

There are divisions growing out of racial antagonisms which polarize the relationships between blacks and whites in this society. We sit today in this hearing in East St. Louis, one of the southernmost and most polarized communities of Illinois, a state which we like to refer to as the Land of Lincoln. Even as we sit comes again ringing across the years the timely and needed counsel of the Great Emancipator who said "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Lincoln, in a sense gave his life as did the founder of our organization, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in order to bind up the wounds of racial cleavage in our national community.

There is great division in America, today, between the rich and the poor, the "haves" and the "have-nots," the affluent and the poverty-stricken. Poverty itself is a form of oppression which threatens the essence of man's existence, for men will steal before they will starve. The Bible's Book of Proverbs warns us that if a man is given too much, he will deny the Lord, but also that if a man is given too little, he will steal and defame the name of the Lord. (Proverbs 30) It is understandable, then, that those who are malnourished, and who thus might be physically deformed or psychologically impaired by the crippling circumstances of poverty and hunger are in a state of destitution, desperation and despair. It

is a fact of life that people finding themselves drowning in poverty, losing a grip on life in their will to live, resort to the survival ethic of "any means necessary," violence notwithstanding, in an effort to find a solution for their problems. We are reminded of such truth in vivid fashion by Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, and by another great son of Illinois, Adlai Stevenson, speaking in Kasson, Minnesota in 1952, telling us that "a hungry man is not a free man," reinforcing Proverbs' comment that a hungry man is limited in his choices and so will beg, borrow or steal before he will starve. Finally, in this vein is the ancient wisdom of Diogenes who when asked what was the proper time for supper, answered that "if you are a rich man whenever you please, and if you are a poor man, whenever, wherever, however you can." Thus, it is incumbent upon the leaders of both the poor in substance and the rich and affluent who are too often impoverished in compassion to see beyond the poor's predicament and hasten us toward the elimination of poverty which is the root cause of so much of the present and persisting American Dilemma.

In that connection SCLC's Operation Breadbasket is presently deeply involved in the second phase of the Poor People's Campaign in Illinois. We have just concluded our first caravan, a campaign against hunger which has moved into all the corners of the state. We started with what was a mountaintop experience for so many of us when by the thousands we were drawn to Springfield, to the seat of state government. We were a cavalcade flowing into the capitol to stand up against a proposed legislative cutback in welfare funding, a despicable cutback which would have cruelly deprived hundreds of thousands of men, women and little children of food to eat, of clothes to wear, of medicines to make them well.

On that occasion all of us, marching in stirring unity and magnificent concert, moved against the mountains of chilly unconcern. We scaled upwards to the intoxicating heights, to the pinnacle of legislative victory. It was a triumph not only for the poor people in Illinois, but as well one for the processes of democracy, a victory which must go down in the annals of law-making as one in which the people and the legislators, black and white alike, rose up together and acted in the highest of moral tradition, effecting the shelving of the welfare cutback bill.

Since that heady triumph our caravan has returned to the low places of poverty and tragedy. We travelled along the dusty backroads, down into the infernal pits where raging poverty stalks, where the demons of hunger roar, where rampant racism and terror prevail. We came down from the mountainous peaks of wealth and affluence which rise so high in Illinois, a state which is the third wealthiest in the nation, a state which ranks above all others, is No. 1 in the land in agricultural and manufacturing exports. Down we came, descending into the valley and there coming upon the disturbing pockmarks of poverty and disparity.

On June 12 we launched out into the depths of this journey. Just as Ezekiel of old was inspired to go down into the dark and dangerous valley and to dwell there among the despairing and hopeless masses, so we, too, took a trip to the darkest of abysses and dreadful recesses. There we found the sunlight of hope eclipsed, we found ourselves witness to never-ending nightmares of deprivation. We saw seething poverty and its damnable consequences, reminiscent of Dante's Hell. The first rung of hell's ladder that we descended into was Rockford.

Rockford is a picture of tragic disparity and gripping despair. Despite some 643 thriving industries in that city, nearly 14,000 families have incomes which keep them locked in the clutches of poverty, where the hyena-like pangs of hunger rip away nightly at the bellies of little white children. Rockford vividly depicts for all to see that one of the most salient and sobering truths about poverty and racism is that hunger knows no color line, that even though percentage-wise there are more black children going hungry than white children, in terms of absolute numbers more white children than black go to bed hungry every night in Illinois and throughout America.

The next rung of descension on the ladder of hell and hunger in Illinois was that of Peoria. Peoria, with over 3100 bustling industrial units. Peoria, with its Caterpillar Tractor Company, turning over 1.7 billion dollars in sales, yet a city containing the second highest concentration of substandard housing in the state. Peoria, with the third largest number of low income families. Peoria, with the 6th highest rate of infant deaths in Illinois. Peoria, where the total unemployment rate reaches a staggering 29 percent.

Next on our Dante-like descent into the economic infernos of Illinois was Decatur. Decatur, America's soybean capitol. Decatur, which processes over one-third of the state's grain in its graineries. Yet in this place ranking so high in

the production of foodstuffs, we were confronted by an unemployment rate exceeding 8 percent, we found 4,500 families making under \$2,500 a year, constituting nearly 12,000 starving people. What despair, what a differential, what a valley of disparity, and ironically where mountains of foodstuffs abound.

An even deeper valley of despair is East St. Louis, with its unemployment rate a staggering 29 percent, with the largest percentage of adults with less than eight years of formal education, with the state's greatest percentage of unsound housing, a city with over 70 percent of its population being black and where stark racism and poverty provoke young men to frustration and crime, where lilywhite juries are jamming medieval dungeon-like jails with young black men, unconstitutionally tried by juries not of their peers.

Truly the deepest pit of poverty and despair into which we trekked was that of Cairo, Cairo, little Egypt, itself, where modern day Pharaohs racism reign, where the founding father of the midnight-riding Ku Klux Klan-like White Hats vigilante group is none other than the country's highest law enforcement officer, the notorious Peyton Berbling.

Cairo, where we found blacks victimized not only by gripping poverty, but under a state of military siege and penned in by murderous rifle, literally, walking through the valleys of the shadow of death.

Among the white of Cairo there is a 10 percent unemployment rate while among the blacks the rate soars up to 35 percent. In a city of less than 9,000 persons we found over 3,700 hungry men, women and children. We found Cairo a dying city, one of the few communities in the nation where the death rate exceeds the birth rate. Like Ezekiel of old, we had truly come upon a Valley of Dry Bones and the question large-looming before our eyes and ringing in our ears was—Son of Men, Concerned People of Illinois—can these Dry Bones Live?

When we arrived in Cairo we found a city in crisis with armed whites on the military offensive, rampaging against the insecure, frightened and virtually defenseless black community. As a result of our findings and our caravan's presence, a caravan which included State Representative Corneal Davis representing the caucus of Black Legislators, some measure of peace and order came to Cairo. The State Police came down, investigators from the States Attorney General's Office arrived, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission revealed the results of their special investigation, The Lt. Governor came up with his findings.

Yet underneath the sordid and racist fruits were more deeply implanted roots. In the depressing light of the city's dying economy, the poor white saw themselves threatened and armed themselves against the blacks. The poor whites futilely tried to secure themselves against additional economic dislocation, trying to secure what little was left of the economy. In their blind frustration, the poor white thought that the solution to their problem was in rendering blacks dead rather than in securing food so that their starving little children might be fed. Yes, for too long instead of an adequate diet, the poor whites had been fed a menu of racism.

On the other hand, the blacks of Cairo found their very survival, their right to life threatened. In consequence they prepared to defend themselves. Thus, both groups sought the elimination of each other rather than seeing that the problem was more than one of racial pigmentation, more than just black skins versus pink skins, more than White Hats versus Black Berets. And, in fact, rather than eliminating the other race, what was needed was the elimination of hunger, the eradication of poverty.

Last night, as every night, two-thirds of the world went to bed hungry because of maldistribution, poor transportation, and, in some instances, the scourge of war and international crisis. Thus, it is understandable though not justifiable that this condition would exist in many parts of the world. In some instances, the lack of agrarian development and technology accounts for the problem. In many instances the topography and eroded and depleted soil is the reason. In other instances the land is over-populated, resulting in under production and consumption beyond the available supply. For instance a nation such as India can elicit a compassionate response to their hunger problem from those who understand the gravity of this cycle of under-production and over-consumption.

America, however, over-produces and under-consumes. We live in a land of surplus at one end, and starvation at the other end. The great problem is the corruption at the level of distribution which reinforces the gap between the over-fed and the under-fed, between the greedy and the needy. I can understand that the effect of racism would allow white men to rationalize the starving of black men. White men can, at least, say that they never knew us or that the cataracts of

racism blinded them and rendered us invisible since our relationship is one of historical estrangement anyway. But what is the rationale for white men starving their own people or permitting such starvation and suffering among poor whites who numerically outrank blacks in the absolute count of the impoverished? We hear the ancient warning that money is the root of evil. I ask white men from the ruling class in America, is your urge for more clothes than you can wear, more cars than you can drive, more food than you can eat, is it that which causes you to forsake your own mother and blood brother? If this be the case, then the rest of the dilemmas of White America relative to the crisis of race relations is certainly cleared up. And America is nothing but a case study on cancerous, coldheartedness.

In this nation of 200 million people with a gross national product of over 900 billion dollars, we still have (conservatively) 40 million people listed as "poor," that is with incomes of less than \$3000 a year for a family of four. This is validated by government research and categorized by hunger committees as malnourished due to insufficient commodities.

But fully 10 million of the 40 million who are included in that one-fifth of the nation listed as destitute are children with bloated stomachs and brain damage, who resort to eating red dirt, laundry starch, and lead paint. Physicians call this disease "pica" where hunger manifests itself in such abnormal ways.

It is understandable but not justifiable that this would be true in states that are not blessed with fertile soil or where the ecology does not provide the resources such as rivers and lakes which attract manufacturing industries or firms. However, the state of Illinois cannot be judged with the state of Utah for our soil is fertile here in Illinois.

Moreover, as I indicated earlier Illinois is the number one agricultural export state in the nation, and the number one manufacturing export state in the nation. According to recent studies, Illinois is the third wealthiest state in the nation. The state possesses some 329 million dollars of earmarked monies in special funds, and a total of 861 million dollars in all earmarked funds. This is money that we choose not to spend or to make available to the general treasury funds. Among the programs where Illinois' inadequate commitments borders on the culpable is the food stamp program. Illinois serves 68,602 fewer people under food stamps than it did under the federal food commodities distribution program, a drop of 61 percent. Half the counties in Illinois reach only 3 percent of the poor persons eligible to participate in food stamp distribution, that per cent served being the lowest—along with that of Nebraska—in the nation.

Our abuse of opportunities to feed the hungry and eliminate poverty in this state is most vividly expressed by the fact that we levy the same taxes for corporations as we do for individuals, thus compelling the poor to pay more. Illinois has the second highest sales tax in the nation, outranked only by the tax levied in Alabama. Moreover since 60% of the state revenues are from sales taxes, the poor bear the burden of providing the major share of state revenues. Illinois likes to compare itself with New York and California in citing its achievements; however if our corporation tax compared to that assessed by New York or California, the burden of the poor would be measurably lightened.

Some 150 million dollars comes into Illinois in subsidy payments to affluent farmers, according to Representative Paul Finley; these payments are made to farmers not to grow food or fiber. Yet the state has not chosen to match a six million dollar grant to conduct a school lunch program. As a result only 14,000 children in Cook County could receive free school lunches, when there are actually some 200,000 poverty families with school-age children in that area. Again, according to this very committee, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, there are some 629,000 Illinois households, which amounts to some 2 million people, where hunger is a daily reality.

Families on welfare are forced to live on welfare budgets which guarantee that they will starve or steal. Reputable physicians state that a balanced diet for a family of four for three meals a day cost \$7.00, using the National Research Council's minimum nutritional standards. The state of Illinois allots only \$2.17 a day for a family of five. Such a ceiling by the Department of Public Aid deepens the hunger or its recipients.

In Illinois SCLC's Operation Breadbasket has drafted up and fought for a Human Subsidy Bill that proposes:

(1) That the Governor would consider the 629,000 Illinois households who are in poverty and hunger serious enough to declare hunger in this state a disaster. This would mean invoking the man-made disaster act.

(2) That this state recognizes earthquakes, fires and floods as acts of nature or God, as acts of disaster, the state should also recognize erosion of soil, misuse or improper use of funds and the existence of massive hunger, as man-made disasters. In such man-made disasters, the state would employ all the necessary emergency apparatus, such as emergency food and medical supplies, to cope with the situation.

(3) That a percentage of income tax sufficient to eliminate hunger would be earmarked for that purpose. Among other things Illinois should establish a hunger tax. To have a greater concern for soil eroding than man's eroding is an indictment upon the American value system. It is radically inconsistent with the credo—government of the people, by the people, for the people. Such misdirected values would never be the people's choice.

(4) That the state initiate forthright drives to give people vocational training for jobs, and would conduct concerted attacks on those trade unions which lock black and poor people out of the job market. (Such emergency job training was set up during World War II throughout the U.S.A.)

In light of the fact that this is a federal governmental hearing, points 5 and 6 of the bill, initially directed to the Governor, are here presented as applicable to the President.

(5) That the President would understand the irreparable psychological damage to the poor and disinherited created by the suggestion of his party leaders that the allotments to sustain the poor be reduced in this Congressional session. We are saying that in this session of the Congress where Mr. Nixon reigns as President that he must be forthright in his effort to subsidize the poor rather than to pauperize and embarrass the poor. If such is not done and the President remains silent, his silence will sanctify the cruelty and will be a betrayal of the poor . . . and, in fact, would be a declaration of war . . . upon the poor.

(6) That a school breakfast and lunch program be instituted in every school in the nation.

Men of justice cannot halt between two opinions when tens of thousands of lives are at stake. And it was indeed heartwarming and an action exemplifying justice when just yesterday in response to the presence of thousands of us from all over the state who had come together as part of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket's continuing campaign against hunger, the Illinois House of Representatives, in session in Springfield, resolved by an overwhelming majority to support our Human Subsidy Bill and, in addition, to push for support of the bill's program in terms of federal legislation and funding.

We contend that the very attitude of the public toward the poor and toward welfare must be changed. Why cannot this change begin in the Land of Lincoln and extend to the entire land over which he was president and for which he gave his life. We maintain that those persons on welfare should not be seen as criminals or prisoners, nor as the results of an innate will not to work. Rather the poor must be seen as products or as results of advanced technology. It must be recognized that their years of blood, sweat, tears, cheap labor, and human sacrifice helped to usher in that advanced technology. These years represent an investment that should not be returned marked "Insufficient Funds."

As opposed to "welfare" we should use the term and develop the concept of human subsidy. The poor would then not be viewed as prisoners who have committed some wrong, but would be recognized as the very vanguard of the twentieth century. Let us strike the word "welfare" from the records, remove all reference to the Paupers' Act, and subsidize the poor just as we presently subsidize the rich.

In this way we would employ the understanding of authentic worship as expressed in Biblical writings of the prophet Micah, the sixth chapter, verses 6 through 8, namely, we will follow his admonition to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God by walking honestly and acting decently before our fellow men.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you so much, Reverend Jackson, for a superb analysis of the urgent problem that faces us, not only with reference to the problems of the hungry, but all of those problems that relate to the poor in this country.

Assuming that we may be some time, some years away from a guaranteed income maintenance program in this country, would you favor a very substantial effort to strengthen our existing food assistance programs all across the border?

You have made reference to the school lunch programs, the school breakfast programs. Do you think that by substantial reforms in our food stamp programs, commodity distribution programs, that we can, in the next year or so, end the food gap or the hunger gap that exists in the United States?

Reverend JACKSON. I think one of the things that has to happen is that the contempt expressed for the poor and the distrust of the poor has to be eliminated.

For example, if a man says he is hungry, he ought to be trusted and ought to be allowed to eat. We can find the poor when we want to tax them. We can find the poor when we want to draft them in the war, but we cannot find them when they are hungry.

One thing that can happen, one of the suggestions made by Representative Kullon was that we have an economy of surplus foods, certain surplus foods that we plow under and don't plant perhaps should be demonetized, or rather than plowing potatoes back under and plowing certain vegetables back under and beans back under, perhaps they ought to be given to people rather than given back to the ground, or rather than thrown in the ocean. This is one way we can do it.

At the beginning people have a certain novelty. They will perhaps take more food than they need. Once they gain the security that it was going to be there the next day, it would be just like a water fountain. People see a cold water fountain, they don't take gallons home because there won't be any there the next day. This is one of the advantages we have in our surplus economy.

There is something degrading about the whole food stamp program, for men use money, those that are considered less than men use something less than money, and there is something about having a full stomach with a food stamp and an empty and troubled soul because of embarrassment that still leaves a man awfully hungry.

Senator McGOVERN. Do I understand you to say that if we are going to continue to expand these food programs, you would eliminate the present means test entirely and take a man's declaration as the only qualification for the program?

Reverend JACKSON. That's why the Panther's program has been so successful, and all of us must applaud it, because the Panther's program assumes an original trust of poor people. It assumes that if a child gets up at 7 o'clock in the morning to come down the street to eat breakfast, he must be hungry. That is an original trust that the U.S. Department of Agriculture does not now have with its people.

Senator McGOVERN. One of the problems that I would imagine our committee will encounter, and you have already seen some indication of this, is that there will be objections about the cost of this program. Assuming that it is going to take several billion dollars in additional outlays to put an end to hunger in this country, there are going to be people who will contend that at a time when we already have inflationary pressures playing on the economy, an unprecedented Federal budget, that we can't afford this kind of an outlay. What is the other side of that coin?

Reverend JACKSON (interrupting). What we can't afford is to have a nation of 200 million people built upon the cheap labor, the profit consumption value and on the soldiers during the time of war. We can not afford to have a nation built upon the shoulders of these people

when they are hungry, for when their stomachs cramp, and their knees buckle, the foundation of the Nation is shaken.

Also, the doctors indicate to us that it is during the last 3 months of pregnancy and the first 3 years of a child's life, as it was quoted to us by Senator Percy just last week, it is during this period that our brain develops up to 80 to 90 percent, and to develop and to allow one-fifth of our Nation to grow up feeble-minded is another thing we cannot afford.

Also, the byproducts that come as a result of hunger create greater problems. For example, the rebellions on the part of the poor, the danger that they must necessarily create in a society in order to get attention, the additional medical bills, the money for education that will be allotted for them to sit up in classes that they refuse to learn in because they are hungry. Actually, we compound the bills because we are not feeding the poor.

I might say, Senator, that I am convinced, as I have listened to Senators and listened to President Nixon and men like Dr. Billy Graham that one of the problems concerning the poor is the Protestant ethic, these men have not adjusted to some of the byproducts of our new, advanced technology, they have a philosophical problem toward welfare that makes them feel guilty when they feed poor people. Our Protestant ethics essentially says a man works from 40 to 60 hours a week, and by the sweat of his brow earns his living. Well, we know the fact is that Rockefeller doesn't earn his money by the sweat of his brow. He sits back and gets big money from the oil depletion allowance. The railroads don't earn money by the sweat of their brow. They are subsidized. That's why we say the rich are living in a state of socialism and the poor are living in classical capitalism.

We have two ways of seeing poor people. A man who used to operate an elevator or used to milk a cow, while he was doing that, a machine took his place, and we applaud the machine coming in, but the question philosophically is, has that machine freed this brother to be a creator, or has it damned him to die slowly but surely? Shall we see the poor as indications of the success of our economy, or shall we see them as indications of the failure of our economy? Shall we say that our advanced technology has succeeded in allowing 160 million people to live above subsistence, or shall we say our advanced technology has condemned 40 million people to be the laughing stock of hell's kitchen? That is the essential question.

Senator McGOVERN. Senator Percy.

Senator PERCY. Reverend Jackson, I find your statement very challenging, very moving, and I would like to share it with my 535 colleagues in the Congress, and with every university and library in this country that takes the Congressional Record. I intend to insert it in the Congressional Record for two reasons. First, to challenge America by your statement and, second, to simply invite anyone who challenges your statements or finds them inaccurate, to write me and tell me so.

I did find one figure which I would like to clarify, simply because it conflicts with a figure I had earlier put in the record. I had put into the record this morning, your pamphlet "Hunger is a Hurtin' Thing."

In that pamphlet you have figures on unemployment in Illinois, and you list Peoria as having an unemployment rate of 4 percent for the general population, and 8.1 percent for the nonwhite population. In your statement this morning you say in Peoria the total unemployment rate reaches a staggering 29 percent. Could I modify that by saying "reaches a staggering 29 percent in certain low income areas of the city," which would then make it an accurate statement?

Reverend JACKSON. Yes. That was a typographical error.

Senator PERCY. I think that there are many challenging statements here, and I think you have given us a fine position from which we can work.

Most people think of poverty as restricted to the inner city or ghetto or urban areas. I would like to ask you, as you have traveled around the State of Illinois, do you think that poverty also exists in rural Illinois, as well as rural America?

Reverend JACKSON. Two of the most outstanding findings on our tour, one, was the absurd contradiction that people were starving in the country, rural people starving on subsidized farms where the Government, by virtue of its subsidy allotment would not allow the people to farm.

Senator PERCY. While it is paying them not to produce or to limit their production?

Reverend JACKSON. Right.

The other thing that has to be challenged severely, and I challenge all white leadership on this, is that at this point, because black people have made themselves visible, with the outstanding leadership of Dr. King and Dr. Abernathy and other voices that have been raised around the country, hunger, to many people, and black people, are synonymous terms, but there are numerically more poor white people, I repeat, more poor white people in this State and across the Nation than poor black people. There are numerically more poor white people on welfare in America than poor black people. The Welfare Act was enacted with white people in mind more so than black people in mind. That needs to be made very clear.

To that extent it can be seen as a class problem rather than just a racial problem, we will engender more support of people who will be concerned about raising up the foundation of our Nation.

One of the reasons why we took off on President Nixon's black capitalism program was because of its immediate shortsightedness. Black capitalism tries to appeal to a few black people to create a new economic ceiling, but our concern is to create an economic base for the masses of people, and a program of prime business development is hardly tangential to a mass program of better health, better food, and better education, and I think this needs to be taken into account. I don't think anybody really was reacting to more black businesses having a chance to expand, but there is a serious concern that priority would be given to creating new ceilings, and foundations just precede ceilings.

Senator PERCY. In other words, I want to make eminently clear for the record that Operation Breadbasket knows no color bounds. This is a crusade to be carried on, and if there are white people in this country that are hungry, you are carrying it on for the hungry white

as well as the hungry Indian, Mexican American, black, whomever it may be.

Reverend JACKSON. Senator Percy, for moral and political reasons. Morally, of course, we have the concern that all people on God's earth would have a chance to eat if there is food to eat, but for political reasons, racism in America is stimulated by the poverty.

Cairo, Ill., is a classic example. You have 9,000 people, 3,700 starving. The few jobs in Cairo are traditionally held by the whites. Blacks are more than 50 percent of the population. They have a government there that's of, by, and for the white people; that is, white mayor, four white city councilmen, all white firemen, 16 white policemen and only four black, and all their commissioners are white. But what is happening, as the blacks begin to emerge with new economic and political participation, they threaten the existence of the poor whites, so since the poor whites can no longer dominate economically and politically, their recourse is military, so they begin to use their guns to shoot the blacks; that is, to eliminate their threat.

Their threat is loss of jobs and loss of food, but the object of their threat is the blacks who want to share such food and jobs as there are, so all the poor whites in Cairo find security in racial grouping. These blacks, by definition, find security in racial grouping. These groups are intensely held together by the security they find in it, and the more they move to race glorification and in-breeding, the stronger the racism gets. The stimulant for the racism is the defect in capitalism; that is, that thing that gives us the economic power to overproduce, but does not give us the willpower or the moral power to share and to distribute, and this is your Mississippi.

The States where poverty is greatest, racism is the most intense, because people must move into groups for their protection. Again, from our top leadership, we are not hearing this kind of enlightening challenge to the Nation coming. We still hear law and order when we need foods and services. The fact is there will be no military suppression of the truth. We are going to prevail. We are going to push, we are going to shove, we are going to groan, growl, and do whatever is necessary to be heard, so long as we starve. Now, I am not saying that I am philosophically committed to nonviolence. I think it is the most powerful philosophy on earth. I think it does not work in America because the Pentagon is too much competition for it, but I still say with nothing attached, that all of us, the blacks, including myself, I am committed more to freedom than I am to any philosophy. Any means is the survival ethic that starving people have to use, and they can keep bringing the National Guard to suppress us if they want to. We'll keep them busy all year long, because they are going to have to keep on coming until they bring some food.

Senator PERCY. Since you have had broad experience in human needs, I think you would agree with me that food is the most crucial need. As you have said, a man feels a moral obligation to steal if he can't feed his children through the logical economic process.

In addition to food, there are other human needs that cause America's problems today. I have just returned from a NATO conference, and while in Europe, talked about the mutual security, national priorities, and how much money this Nation was spending on military. One of several NATO parliamentarians from European countries said we

don't consider it isolationism if you start building in the home, because your military isn't going to do you much good if night after night in the summers you are burning, and color televising it by Telstar over here to European cities. What is happening in America? Why do you have this discontent? The discontent comes from lack of jobs, poor housing, hungry people, and other human needs that are not now being met.

Reverend JACKSON. One of the things that happens, people, they worry about communism being a threat. Any other kind of different ideology or differentism. But people are only vulnerable to other ideologies once they are so hungry until they look for another alternative. People with a job and income tend to be too conservative to change ideologies. However, when you've got 40 million people with nothing to conserve, they are prime bait for revolution. That has to be made very clear.

The other thing, as we walked through Rush City was that many of the people with the USDA program are being challenged about how they spend their budget, and do they have enough intelligence to spend their budget right.

Last year our congressional budget, our congressional leaders who are supposed to be so wise about how to spend money, had \$157 billion budgeted, \$85 billion for an undeclared war in Vietnam, \$13 billion for the national debt, 80 percent war created, and the remainder for veterans of past wars; 69.9 percent, or \$108 billion of last year's Federal budget went to killing programs, and only 12.2, or \$19 billion went to health, education, and welfare collectively, and a nation that is 70 percent inclined toward killing and 12 percent inclined toward healing is certainly sordid.

Senator PERCY. I'd also like to put in the record that we spent more last year in this Nation on pet food than we did on food stamps. We spent more on hair dye than we did on our model cities program. We spend more on cigarettes than we do on education.

Reverend JACKSON. Are we supposed to be against smoking and yet we spend all that money on tobacco?

Senator PERCY. I'd like to comment on this. I don't take any pride for the Federal Government's attitude here.

We spend millions of dollars to price support tobacco, and the Government buys it at a guaranteed price. We then spend millions of dollars to convince people not to smoke that tobacco. We have so much left in surplus, that we have to get rid of it abroad, so we spend hundreds of thousands of dollars to advertise American tobacco abroad and, at the same time, we are spending money abroad to eradicate disease.

I wonder if you could comment on a specific question with respect to responsibility. Is the hunger problem the responsibility of only the Federal Government, or is there a role for the private voluntary organization, the local government, and State government, shared with the Federal Government?

Reverend JACKSON. I think that all levels of government and all agencies have some responsibility, but the fact is, as much as our Government is moving toward centralization, only the Federal Government really has the leverage and the economic capacity to really

speaking to it. I think some private agencies, and some voluntary persons can, you know, out of their kindness, distribute certain foodstuffs, but it is such a piecemeal situation for a nation that prides itself in its technical efficiency and its capacity to get ships around the moon, to then come back and ask churches and Red Feather and Salvation Army and people on the corner to start distributing food. This is inconsistent.

I think that the local government has the responsibility to expose it and not be defensive about it. I think the State government likewise, when it is able, such as the State government in Illinois, which is the third wealthiest State, has that kind of responsibility, but some States do not have the capacity to do it. I think that in that instance, the Federal Government must do it.

I think in terms of being consistent, you know our Government is the first great government on earth established upon the principles of John Lock, and that is that our Government is supposed to take care of the general welfare of the people. If not, the people tend to say farewell to the Government. In other words, a government that will not take care of its people deserves revolution, and that is inherent in the premise on which our Nation is built, because we are built upon John Lock's premise of national rights, and our national right in a nation that we are building with our cheap labor, dying with the sacrifice of our sons, is denying us our national right, not because God has not been naturally good, but because we are caught with persecuting people with corruption and misplaced values.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, I'd like to say from my experience with Reverend Jackson, and other militant leaders, I believe there are two kinds of leadership. First, there are those who want to create such a revolution that we tear down everything that we've got. Second, there is a kind that I believe Reverend Jackson represents. He is a militant revolutionary leader, in a sense, who is trying in his earnest way to build up and strengthen the present system and make this system work. We have a revolutionary government, created by the most revolutionary minds of our Founding Fathers. They saw a government that should respond, that should change and that should adapt itself to the conditions it faces, and we are simply trying to fulfill their dreams. I commend you in working through the legislative process, through the people, and through the citizens of this State to alert them to the responsibility that we all face.

In closing, I would like to just mention one statement that you made. You quoted Paul Findley, the Congressman from the Springfield, area, who said that we ship from the Federal Treasury into Illinois every year, \$150 million to our farmers to subsidize them not to produce certain crops. Now, there are only six controlled programs in the agricultural field. There are 300 crops that are grown in the free market, and they don't cost us anything. We get taxes from those, but these six happen to be about the sickest, cotton being certainly one of those. How many people could we feed in Illinois if we sent this money back to produce food? Could we wipe out hunger in Illinois with that kind of money?

Reverend JACKSON. No doubt about it. The fact is we could demonetize the basic crops if we just sent the money for the farmers to grow food, and we would actually create an increase in the subsidy allot-

ments of poor people by more than 30 percent, and it would have the effect of bringing them closer to the national standard of income and thus you would relieve the pressure that's at the bottom of our society, and what is now looked upon as destruction would move toward construction and despair would probably move to creativity.

I would like to say in closing, certainly on behalf of those who have traveled from great distances across the State, that we are gratified to have the privilege, and the obligation, in one sense, to respond to the Government, but we want it to be made crystal clear that this is our land because we made it, but right now it is not our Government, because it doesn't respond to us, and either this Government is going to respond to us or we are going to get another one, but we do and are convinced that the whole process is liberation by any means.

I cannot sit down and try to feed my people on a passive philosophy, when the fact is that they are being so violently destroyed in their hearts, minds, and souls every day, and being lied to by these murderous politicians, and the only reason they aren't considered murderous thugs and aren't locked up in jail is that they have the sanctity of being removed from these categories because they have Senator or Representative before their name, which means that they can sit up and make decisions to collectively kill thousands of people and, at the same time, consider it a part of their great responsibility.

I think that some of these guys, such as this here fellow Dirksen that is committed to making more airplanes and missiles, and every time they've got a new war going on he can cry a lot of rationale for it, but he ain't made one growl about hunger in Illinois, when you go back, tell Brother Dirksen that some of us are concerned about him representing all the people of Illinois. He certainly doesn't do it now. He is just concerned about the military. [Applause.]

#### STATEMENT OF JACK CURRY, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, METRO EAST HEALTH SERVICES

Mr. CURRY. Senator, I'd like to bring to you the \$34 million that is being held up here on the highways in East St. Louis. We have come together as an ad hoc committee with the unions and contractors, which we try to bargain with them, but it seems like that doesn't work. We had the Justice Department down here, James Turner, attorney, a couple of weeks ago, and he indicated that he would file charges against certain unions that he finds discrimination in, but it didn't give us a great relief or a good response to the black community in East St. Louis.

Senator, I would like for you to carry this back to the power structure and the Government to try to alleviate this condition which exists in East St. Louis on the highway freeze and other Federal programs which exist in East St. Louis. I'd like for you to carry to the power structure, to bring the moral support to East St. Louis, to try to eliminate this fund freeze which we have here in housing, in all your Federal programs which exist in East St. Louis.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you for your statement.

Our next witness is Mr. Kenneth Doeblin, and appearing with him is Mr. Fred Weiss.

Mr. Doeblin is the chief of the division of special services of the Illinois Department of Public Aid, and Mr. Weiss is superintendent of the St. Clair County Department of Public Aid.

Mr. Doeblin; Mr. Weiss.

Mr. DOEBLIN. Senator McGovern, I think if it is all right with you, I will just paraphrase my statement.

Senator MCGOVERN. We will see that your prepared statement is included in the record, and you can paraphrase it in any way you wish.

#### STATEMENT OF KENNETH DOEBLIN, CHIEF, DIVISION OF SPECIAL SERVICES, ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AID

Mr. DOEBLIN. Thank you.

The main point that I wanted to make was that the food stamp program in Illinois does, in my opinion, meet the purpose of such a program, that it is better than the direct distribution program.

The purpose of the food stamp program, as I understand it, is to make sure that people spend a certain amount of money for food, and that for this reason it was a good substitute for the direct distribution program.

The direct distribution program, while it is uncomplicated and fairly simple to administer, it did permit families to substitute the commodities that they were given for food that they purchased, while the food stamp plan did not permit this.

My concern in my statement is with the delivery system for getting food stamps into the hands of people who want them.

We think that the easiest way to get the food stamps to people who want them is to mail them out, and we have proposed this many times, but the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has objected to deduction of the recipients' purchase requirement from his grant before food stamps are mailed, on the grounds that it is a violation of the restrictive money payment principle. We propose to do this only if people want us to, and we don't think this is a valid objection.

Our participation in the food stamp program, in spite of the fact that it is a tremendous bargain, has never been what we thought it should be. In fact, only about 65 percent of the eligible people in St. Clair County are taking advantage of the food stamp program. Another way to say that is that one out of three people who could take advantage of it do not do so, so we have been much interested in the reasons why, and while we have conducted various surveys of the matter, we are convinced that the main reason why people don't participate is they simply cannot free up this amount of money from their limited income regularly each month.

Our feeling is that a way to increase participation is to lower the purchase requirement, so that from a range of 70 to 80 percent of their food allowance, it should be dropped down to something lower than that.

We also feel the need for such painstaking investigations on income and assets as now required, should not be required. We think the Department of Agriculture could profit by the experience of States in experimenting with the declaration method of determining eligibility for assistance.

The obvious way, of course, to increase participation in the food stamp plan is to waive the purchase requirement altogether, and if the concern is that the money invested in the food stamp program actually is used to purchase food, you've almost got to have a stamp plan of some kind, but if people can be trusted to purchase food with the money they normally purchase, then there seems to be little point to having a purchase requirement at all.

My interest in this is more procedural, I think, than anything else. In other words, it would simplify the delivery system of stamps to the point where it would solve problems for not only the people who have to go buy them, but for the department that has to sell them and handle the money, the grocery stores and so on. I think consideration should be given to the elimination of the purchase requirement altogether.

The food stamp program began in Illinois in July 1961 when Franklin County was designated one of the pilot areas by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In April 1965, Cook County, with about 65 percent of the recipient population in the State, became the second county to offer this program. Four additional counties, including St. Clair, were added in December 1965; the remainder of the 102 counties in Illinois have been gradually added to the stamp program since then. The direct distribution program has been phased out.

I believe that the stamp plan is much superior to the direct distribution program as a means of upgrading the nutritional habits of low-income families. Proponents of the direct distribution plan point out that it is the most direct and least complicated way of getting food to low-income families. While it is true that the direct distribution program is uncomplicated, it does make it possible for families with low nutritional standards to merely substitute the commodities they are given for some of the food they usually buy and thereby end up with no improvement in their diet. On the other hand, the stamp plan, by insisting on regular participation and the spending of the percentage of the normal food budget for stamps, insures that more food is actually purchased by the family.

While the food stamp plan serves this purpose very well, there are changes which should be made in order to make the administration of the program more efficient.

The system for getting food stamps into the hands of persons who want them must be improved. The best way we can think of to get stamps to recipients of assistance is for the welfare agency to mail them out. We have proposed that, upon request by the recipient, the purchase requirement be deducted from the assistance payment and stamps mailed to the recipient along with the balance of his assistance payment. Everyone agrees that this is a practical way to avoid the administrative complexities of selling stamps to welfare recipients, but the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare refuses to approve such an arrangement on the grounds that to do so, even at the request of the recipient, would be a violation of the unrestricted money payment principle. This principle affirms the right of recipients of assistance to spend their assistance grants in whatever way they think best. We believe in the unrestricted money payment principle, but we also believe that recipients of assistance should have the same privilege as do wage earners who can have their employer deduct union dues,

insurance premiums, and charitable donations from their checks. All of us, of course, have our right to an unrestricted money payment principle violated each payday by withholdings for income tax, and social security. We do not want to destroy the principle, we only want to render this considerable service to recipients who ask us to do so.

The Department of Public Aid, like the Department of Agriculture, has given much thought to the problem of improving participation in the food stamp program by people receiving assistance. We are currently trying to gather an explanation of nonparticipation during a current review of all ADC cases, but we believe that the main problem is in lack of money with which to begin participation. We believe it is true that most individuals receiving assistance have difficulty in accumulating the initial purchase requirement and that the bargain offered by participation in the stamp plan, while attractive, is not sufficiently dramatic to induce recipients to unusual efforts to participate. We think, therefore, that a reduction in purchase requirements and an increase in the size of the bonus would accomplish this result. The problem seems to be that a four-person household must, for example, lay out 90 percent of their food allowance in advance in order to get a \$24 bonus. We suggest that a participation requirement of 60 to 70 percent would be enough of an added inducement to improve participation.

We also believe that a major inhibiting factor in participation for food stamps is that no one is accustomed to prepaying for food as food stamp participants are required to do. The normal practice is to either pay cash as food is needed, or to buy food on credit and pay for the food long after it has been eaten. The obvious solution to this problem is to reduce the initial purchase requirement. The Department of Agriculture has already taken this step in the case of people with extremely low incomes, but we are suggesting that the initial purchase requirement for assistance recipients be either waived entirely or reduced to a very small amount.

We also believe it would be useful to consider giving States the option of drastically reducing purchase requirements for assistance recipients during periods of special stress on the family budget. For example, at Christmas time or in September when children are starting to school, a special reduction on purchase requirements to selected individuals might make the difference between their continued participation and not.

The main obstacle to regular participation in the stamp program may actually be that there are an infinite number of money crises occurring everyday in the life of a person with a marginal income, and that the purchase of a pair of shoes or the payment on an installment debt makes the difference between being able to buy stamps and not. A recipient of assistance must be an extraordinary good manager to be able to have the stamp purchase amount available when it is needed.

I believe that a common standard for determining eligibility of families for food stamps and for medical assistance would greatly simplify the administration of the program by the Department of Public Aid. We are unable to understand why the standard for determining eligibility for medical assistance, which is closely related to the standard for financial assistance, cannot be approved by the Department of Agriculture for the food stamp program.

The necessity for painstaking investigations and verifications of income and assets of nonassistance families applying for food stamps should be reassessed. Much experience has been gained and will be gained by States in the use of a simplified method of determining eligibility for financial assistance. Perhaps the U.S. Department of Agriculture could profit by the experiences of welfare agencies which led to the proposal of this simplified method of determining eligibility. These experiences were that programs governed by too many and too complicated regulations tend to be buried under an avalanche of paperwork.

These are the steps I think should be taken in order to improve the administration of the food stamp program and to more easily get stamps into the hands of people who need them.

There is a point, however, which was made to the Department of Public Aid in a letter from a recipient of AFDC in Chicago, and which bears repeating. She wrote to ask why it was necessary for her to spend \$48 for food stamps in order to get the bonus of \$16 when a lot of problems for her, for the welfare agency, for the Department of Agriculture, and for the grocers could be solved if we would just mail her the bonus of \$16 worth of coupons. She pointed out that if we mailed her the bonus coupons directly, she would be saved the expense and nuisance of a trip to the nearest sales center to buy stamps; she would have some cash to use in buying from wholesale vegetable outlets and day-old-bread stores; she would be spared much of the embarrassment of holding up the line in the checkout counter in the grocery store while change slips are prepared. She pointed out that the stores would not have to prepare change slips as she would have money with which to make change; that the Government would save the expense of printing \$48 worth of stamps; that the cost of selling stamps would be saved; and that both the State agency and the Department of Agriculture would be saved the work of handling all the money involved in the purchase requirement.

What this woman did not realize is that the Government does not trust her to spend enough money for food, and it is for this reason that the present complicated and expensive method of delivery for stamps has been set up.

I suggest that a hard look be taken at the present requirement that the participant invest a sizable portion of his own money in stamps in order to get the bonus stamps. If the premise were adopted that, in general, anyone who asked to participate in the program wanted to have a more adequate diet and that they would not merely substitute bonus stamps for an equal amount of their own money, great strides could be made in improving the delivery system.

To recapitulate, I believe the delivery system can be improved by the relaxing of the interpretation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the unrestricted money payment principle. We should be permitted to use the same standards in measuring need for both food stamps and medical assistance. Purchase requirements also should be lowered, and the statements of the family not receiving assistance should not be verified to the extent now required.

Consideration should also be given to the possibility of eliminating a purchase requirement altogether. If this is done, people demon-

strating their need for assistance in supplementing their diets could be given food stamps with an absolute minimum of redtape.

Senator MCGOVERN. Mr. Doeblin, I have always felt that the food stamp program, if properly operated, is a better program than the commodity distribution program. I take it you share that view.

Mr. DOEBLIN. I do.

Senator MCGOVERN. How do you explain the fact, that being the case, that there has been such a precipitous drop in the number of people participating in the program in those counties that have switched over from the direct commodity program to food stamps? I understand it is something like a 60 or 61 percent drop.

Mr. DOEBLIN. Well, I think it is simply because it costs nothing. All you have to do to get direct distribution is show up, while with the food stamp program, you have to be able to divert a sizable portion of your income in advance for the purchase of food. None of us buy food in advance, unless we have a freezer, but, generally speaking, we buy it as we eat it, and yet we ask people on assistance to take money, in advance, invest it in food they are going to eat 30 days later. Of course, with low income people, the financial crises are so numerous, that they just simply cannot find the money.

Senator MCGOVERN. Senator Percy and I encountered a man here this morning; we made a tour through the neighborhood, and we ran into one businessman who told us that the program would work better if you had at least a small charge rather than making the stamps totally free, I guess the theory being that if the person contributed something, no matter how modest, that it would give them more of an interest in the program and more of a sense of satisfaction.

What is your view on that?

Mr. DOEBLIN. Well, I would tend to agree that anything you have to pay for you put a little more value on, but, on the other hand, the problems of any system whereby you charge people something, this means all sorts of the same kinds of problems we have now in selling the stamps, in taking the money, and the recipients having to go some place to buy them, so it may be true, but I would not personally recommend it.

Senator MCGOVERN. Senator Percy.

Senator PERCY. I wonder if you could comment on the oft made statement that the use of food stamps is rather degrading. It must be done openly, of course, as one stands in a line. I have stood in lines and watched women come through paying cash, some of them rather proudly, and those using food stamps a little bit ashamed to have anyone see them using the things.

Is that a human factor here that must be reckoned with?

Mr. DOEBLIN. There definitely is. I believe this is one of the most common complaints we have, that when we begin questioning people about their nonparticipation, they don't like the idea of standing in line at a checkout counter, having the person behind them to begin asking them questions about what are those stamps, where did you get them, what do you have to do to get them and so forth. It is quite an inhibiting thing.

Senator PERCY. I wonder if you could comment on the need for nutritional education. What is your experience in dealing with low

income people as to their use of food stamps and their use of welfare money to buy food, as to whether they really are able to stretch the dollar as far as it needs to be stretched, whether they are buying high priced prepared foods in some instances, or, for instance in cereals, higher priced cereals that have pictures of cowboys on the back and prizes inside and sugar coated that eat out the childrens' teeth, when they don't go to dentists, rather than oatmeal which is nutritional, low cost, puts a hot meal for just a few pennies in that child's stomach. Do we need more nutritional education as well as more food stamps and more food?

Mr. DOEBLIN. I believe in more nutritional education, but the difficulty is that such an education program would be competing with television ads for cereal and Pepsi-Cola and one thing and another, so that it is very difficult for people to use their food money wisely in the face of this advertising.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much, indeed.

(The prepared statement of Kenneth Doebelin follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MR. KENNETH DOEBLIN, CHIEF, DIVISION OF SPECIAL SERVICES, ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AID

The Food Stamp Program began in Illinois in July 1961 when Franklin County was designated one of the pilot areas by the United States Department of Agriculture. In April 1965, Cook County, with about 65 per cent of the recipient population in the state, became the second county to offer this program. Four additional counties, including St. Clair, were added in December 1965; the remainder of the 102 counties in Illinois have been gradually added to the stamp program since then. The Direct Distribution Program has been phased out.

I believe that the stamp plan is much superior to the Direct Distribution Program as a means of upgrading the nutritional habits of low-income families. Proponents of the Direct Distribution Plan point out that it is the most direct and least complicated way of getting food to low-income families. While it is true that the Direct Distribution Program is uncomplicated, it does make it possible for families with low nutritional standards to merely substitute the commodities they are given for some of the food they usually buy and thereby end up with no improvement in their diet. On the other hand the stamp plan, by insisting on regular participation and the spending of a percentage of the normal food budget for stamps, insures that more food is actually purchased by the family.

While the Food Stamp Plan serves this purpose very well, there are changes which should be made in order to make the administration of the program more efficient.

The system for getting food stamps into the hands of persons who want them must be improved. The best way we can think of to get stamps to recipients of assistance is for the welfare agency to mail them out. We have proposed that, upon request by the recipient, the purchase requirement be deducted from the assistance payment and stamps mailed to the recipient along with the balance of his assistance payment. Everyone agrees that this is a practical way to avoid the administrative complexities of selling stamps to welfare recipients, but the Department of Health, Education and Welfare refuses to approve such an arrangement on the grounds that to do so, even at the request of the recipient, would be a violation of the unrestricted money payment principle. This principle affirms the right of recipients of assistance to spend their assistance grants in whatever way they think best. We believe in the unrestricted money payment principle, but we also believe that recipients of assistance should have the same privilege as do wage earners who can have their employer deduct union dues, insurance premiums, and charitable donations from their checks. All of us, of course, have our right to an unrestricted money payment principle violated each payday by withholdings for income tax and Social Security. We do not want to destroy the principle, we only want to render this considerable service to recipients who ask us to do so.

The Department of Public Aid, like the Department of Agriculture, has given much thought to the problem of improving participation in the Food Stamp Program by people receiving assistance. We are currently trying to gather an explanation of nonparticipation during a current review of all ADC cases, but we believe that the main problem is in lack of money with which to begin participation. We believe it is true that most individuals receiving assistance have difficulty in accumulating the initial purchase requirement and that the bargain offered by participation in the stamp plan, while attractive, is not sufficiently dramatic to induce recipients to unusual efforts to participate. We think, therefore, that a reduction in purchase requirements and an increase in the size of the bonus would accomplish this result. The problem seems to be that a four-person household must, for example, lay out 80 per cent of their food allowance in advance in order to get a \$24 bonus. We suggest that a participation requirement of 60 to 70 per cent instead of the present 70 to 80 per cent would be enough of an added inducement to improve participation.

We also believe that a major inhibiting factor in participation for food stamps is that no one is accustomed to pre-paying for food as food stamp participants are required to do. The normal practice is to either pay cash as food is needed or to buy food on credit and pay for the food long after it has been eaten. The obvious solution to this problem is to reduce the initial purchase requirement. The Department of Agriculture has already taken this step in the case of people with extremely low incomes, but we are suggesting that the initial purchase requirement for assistance recipients be either waived entirely or reduced to a very small amount.

We also believe it would be useful to consider giving states the option of drastically reducing purchase requirements for assistance recipients during periods of special stress on the family budget. For example, at Christmas time or in September when children are starting to school, a special reduction of purchase requirements to selected individuals might make the difference between their continued participation and not.

The main obstacle to regular participation in the stamp program may actually be that there are an infinite number of money crises occurring every day in the life of a person with a marginal income, and that the purchase of a pair of shoes or the payment on an installment debt makes the difference between being able to buy stamps and not. A recipient of assistance must be an extraordinarily good manager to be able to have the stamp purchase amount available when it is needed.

I believe that a common standard for determining eligibility of families for food stamps and for medical assistance would greatly simplify the administration of the program by the Department of Public Aid. We are unable to understand why the standard for determining eligibility for medical assistance, which is closely related to the standard for financial assistance, cannot be approved by the Department of Agriculture for the Food Stamp Program.

The necessity for painstaking investigations and verification of income and assets of non-assistance families applying for food stamps should be reassessed. Much experience has been gained and will be gained by states in the use of a simplified method of determining eligibility for financial assistance. Perhaps the United States Department of Agriculture could profit by the experiences of welfare agencies which led to the proposal of this simplified method of determining eligibility. These experiences were that programs governed by too many and too complicated regulations tends to be buried under an avalanche of paperwork.

These are the steps I think should be taken in order to improve the administration of the Food Stamp Program and to more easily get stamps into the hands of people who need them. There is a point, however, which was made to the Department of Public Aid in a letter from a recipient of AFDC in Chicago, and which bears repeating. She wrote to ask why it was necessary for her to spend \$48 for food stamps in order to get the bonus of \$16 when a lot of problems for her, for the welfare agency, for the Department of Agriculture and for the grocers could be solved if we would just mail her the bonus of \$16 worth of coupons. She pointed out that if we mailed her the bonus coupons directly, she would be saved the expense and nuisance of a trip to the nearest sales center to buy stamps; she would have some cash to use in buying from wholesale vegetable outlets and day old bread stores; she would be spared much of the embarrass-

ment of holding up the line in the checkout counter in the grocery store while change slips are prepared. She pointed out that the stores would not have to prepare change slips as she would have money with which to make change; that the government would save the expense of printing \$48 worth of stamps; that the cost of selling stamps would be saved; and that both the state agency and the Department of Agriculture would be saved the work of handling all the money involved in the purchase requirement. What this woman did not realize is that the government does not trust her to spend enough money for food and it is for this reason that the present complicated and expensive method of delivery for stamps has been set up. I suggest that a hard look be taken at the present requirement that the participant invest a sizeable portion of his own money in stamps in order to get the bonus stamps. If the premise were adopted that—in general—anyone who asked to participate in the program wanted to have a more adequate diet and that they would not merely substitute bonus stamps for an equal amount of their own money, great strides could be made in improving the delivery system.

To recapitulate, I believe the delivery system can be improved by the relaxing of the interpretation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the unrestricted money payment principle. We should be permitted to use the same standards in measuring need for both food stamps and medical assistance. Purchase requirements also should be lowered, and the statements of the family not receiving assistance should not be verified to the extent now required.

Consideration should also be given to the possibility of eliminating a purchase requirement altogether. If this is done, people demonstrating their need for assistance in supplementing their diet could be given food stamps with an absolute minimum of red tape.

Senator McGOVERN. Mr. Weiss, did you also have a statement?

**STATEMENT OF FRED WEISS, SUPERINTENDENT, ST. CLAIR  
COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AID**

Mr. WEISS. Yes, I did. I, too, will paraphrase it. It is very similar to Mr. Doebelin's statement.

I might explain that the food stamp program started in St. Clair County in December of 1965, replacing the distribution of surplus commodities. The purpose of this was to safeguard the health of the Nation's low-income families through better nutrition, increasing the flow of foods from the Nation's farms through normal trade channels, which was something different from the surplus commodity distribution. It enables low-income families to obtain more and better foods resulting in more nutritious diets, and then local business and the entire community would benefit. In other words, it was the thinking that certain jobs would be generated through the improvement of an economic situation.

The basic eligibility requirements are rather simple. Any person receiving their total income from the department of public aid is automatically eligible financially to participate. Beyond that, some basic provisions, to give you some numbers: A person not receiving public assistance, and they are living alone, they are eligible to participate in the food stamp program if their income is less than \$139 a month. If there are four people living in the home, they are eligible to participate in the food stamp program if their income is less than \$259 a month.

Going on with some of the numbers Mr. Doebelin gave, for April of 1969, there were 14,440 people in St. Clair County that used the food

stamp program. This resulted in their receiving these bonus stamps of \$69,375. Now, in order to obtain these bonus stamps, they had to come up with \$185,026 to be able to purchase the stamps and to benefit from the bonus.

This inherent problem of a person needing to manage their money so that they have a sufficient amount of money to purchase the stamps and thereby receive the bonus exists in East St. Louis, as well as elsewhere. The contributing problem to this is that housing in East St. Louis is generally inadequate and results in people having rather excessive utility bills during the winter months. They have to pay these utility bills or they'll have their gas turned off and they won't have any more heat. Consequently, they don't have enough money left to buy the food stamps.

Senator McGOVERN. Is that why there are so few of the non-public-aid recipients participating in the program, Mr. Weiss?

Mr. WEISS. I think that's another contributing factor; yes, sir.

Again, this comment that Mr. Doebelin made, our State director on several occasions has made the suggestion that food stamps merely be mailed to the aid recipient, once it has been determined they are eligible for this. This would negate the requirement for having an initial purchase amount in order to get the bonus stamps.

(The prepared statement of Fred Weiss follows:)

THE PREPARED STATEMENT OF MR. FRED WEISS ON THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

The Food Stamp Program has been in operation in St. Clair County since December 1965. The implementation of this program replaced the Federal Surplus Commodity Program. The Food Stamp Program is operated jointly by the United States Department of Agriculture and the Illinois Department of Public Aid. The United States Department of Agriculture issued a pamphlet dated May 1965 which indicates several reasons why the Food Stamp Program is a better method of providing people with food supplements than the surplus commodity program. The reasons are as follows:

1. Safeguarding the health of the nation's low income families through better nutrition.
2. Increasing the flow of foods from the nation's farms through normal trade channels.
3. This program would enable low income families to obtain more and better foods resulting in more nutritious diets.
4. Local business and the entire community would benefit.

The eligibility requirements for participation in the Food Stamp Program are as follows:

All people living in their own household whose total income is in the form of a public assistance grant are eligible to participate in the Food Stamp Program.

Most people who are receiving public assistance and have an additional source of income are also eligible.

Those who are receiving public assistance and additional income who may not be eligible include those people who are employed and as a result have "exempt income" from determining need for public assistance but this exempt income is considered in determining eligibility for participation in the Food Stamp Program.

In addition, people may be eligible to participate in the Food Stamp Program if their source of income is something other than public assistance and the amount of this income is such that it places them at a level of income which would make them eligible to participate in the Food Stamp Program.

A person who is not receiving public assistance may participate in the Food Stamp Program by contacting the Illinois Department of Public Aid by letter, telephone, or in person. At that point a caseworker will determine whether or not this person is eligible to participate.

Following are the income standards used to determine whether or not the family's income will qualify them for participation in the Food Stamp Program.

Number of persons in household :	<i>Allowable monthly net income</i>
1 -----	\$139
2 -----	182
3 -----	212
4 -----	259
5 -----	299
6 -----	337
7 -----	375
8 -----	414
9 -----	451
10 -----	490

During the month of April 1969, 14,440 people participated in the Food Stamp Program in St. Clair County. This resulted in a total dollar bonus for participation of \$69,375. In order to obtain this amount of bonus, it was necessary for people participating in the Food Stamp Program to purchase \$185,026 worth of food stamps. The food stamps are purchased in person or by mail at the Food Stamp Center which is located in downtown East St. Louis. This location lends itself to being available to all bus lines within the East St. Louis Community.

It is recognized that the participation rate in the Food Stamp Program is something less than one half of all those people receiving public assistance. There are several reasons for this.

It is necessary for a person to manage their money so that they have a sufficient amount of money to purchase the food stamps and thereby receive the approximately 30 per cent bonus stamps. Some people in the East St. Louis community have rather excessive utility bills during the winter months and consequently it is necessary for them to use their income to pay these bills, leaving them without a sufficient amount of money to participate in the Food Stamp Program.

Our State Director, Mr. Harold O. Swank, is aware of these problems and in his "Report to Staff" of September 1968 he made the following statement :

"When a recipient has agreed to the plan, the Department should be permitted to deduct the purchase requirement from the monthly allowance and to forward the purchased and bonus stamps along with the balance of the assistance check. This plan was not acceptable to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. An alternative way to accomplish the provision of food stamps to public aid recipients would be to merely mail the bonus stamps to the clients with their monthly assistance checks. This would enable them to have the benefit of the bonus stamps without requiring them to use an additional amount of money for purchasing purposes.

Senator MCGOVERN. Have you had a pretty good experience with the mail effort? Have a number of people used that method?

Mr. WEISS. It is a good experience that we have with it. We don't have thousands of people using it, however, and for many reasons, one, the sales center is located rather centrally in East St. Louis, and it is accessible to all buslines, and most people come downtown on some occasion throughout the month and on this occasion they can purchase their food stamps.

The mail program has worked well for elderly people, disabled people within the East St. Louis community who can't get downtown and also for others who live outside of the city limits and don't have public transportation available.

Senator MCGOVERN. Do you think there is a need for more distribution centers on the stamps?

Mr. WEISS. More distribution centers would probably increase participation, but I don't know how much it would. There would be a

natural pickup of participation, but I don't know percentagewise what it would increase. I don't see it as being significant.

Senator McGovern. Senator Percy.

Senator Percy. I just have a few short questions, Mr. Weiss.

Why is it that you have not opened up more offices to sell food stamps, and why have the banks refused to distribute stamps?

Mr. Doeblin. As far as opening other offices is concerned, we have to try to balance the administrative costs. I mean obviously there is a point where you can't do this.

Senator Percy. Where do you have administrative costs?

Mr. Doeblin. In the opening of sales centers.

Senator Percy. Yes.

Mr. Doeblin. In Chicago the currency exchanges do it, and through this arrangement they are very widely accessible, but downstate we have the mail program, and so we are in effect saying that in East St. Louis you only need one because people who live in the outlying areas can get their stamps by mail, and there is an office in Granite City and also from the Edwardsville office by mail, instead of opening offices.

Senator Percy. How many people actually do receive stamps by mail?

Mr. Doeblin. Downstate—I don't have the figures, Senator, but it is a sizable number that uses the mail.

Senator Percy. Can you give me the percentage of people who use the efficiency of the mail as against the high cost of maintaining a distribution center? You have high overhead for that. Could you get that figure for us and we will leave the record open so that you can insert it?

As I go through East St. Louis, I see a very high number of older people who live in the low-income areas in this community. How do they get to food stores and distribution points if they are aged, if they are infirmed? How do you reach them?

Mr. Weiss. How do they reach the food facilities?

Senator Percy. How do they get to the center to buy stamps?

Mr. Weiss. Again, we have some of these people using the mail service, as well as children, brothers, friends that do take them to this sales center, and there are some who just don't get out enough.

Senator Percy. In other words, there are some older people who might be in need of additional food that they could get through the food stamps but might have great difficulty in getting to the center.

Mr. Weiss. I am sure there are.

Senator Percy. Can you tell me, lastly, what has happened to the people who used to get commodities and do not now use the food stamp program?

Mr. Weiss. What has happened to them?

Senator Percy. Yes. Are there such people who used to get commodities and who are not now able to get commodities, but who have not made application for food stamps?

Mr. Weiss. Right. I would think that again this is part of this group who doesn't have available money to make the initial purchase of food stamps to benefit from the bonus. Mr. Doeblin indicated all they had to do for surplus commodities was to appear with their

authorization card and they were given these commodities. There was no need for planning, for strenuous budgeting to make sure that they could make the purchase of food stamps.

Senator PERCY. In essence, the answer is that they are malnourished, undernourished or starving. Something is happening to them. They aren't getting the food they used to.

Mr. WEISS. They aren't getting as much food as they were.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much indeed.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you gentlemen.

I am going to ask that the three witnesses who were slated to go on immediately after lunch testify now. It is only about 12:15, and I think we'll take Mr. Hicks, Mr. Willis, and Mr. Guyton if they would come to the witness table now.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, it is more appropriate that we have our witnesses appear when we have a relatively empty stomach ourselves, as well, to testify on hunger.

Senator McGOVERN. I understand you gentlemen do not have prepared statements, but I wonder if one of you could lead off with any observations you'd like to make about your own experience with the food program, what you think is good about it or bad about it, or what you would like to see changed. We would just like to hear a comment from any one of you three gentlemen, or all of you.

#### STATEMENT OF JOSEPH GUYTON, COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. GUYTON. Well, what I am up here for is I have a little income by my Social Security, and I don't have enough income to buy my stamps, because here is one right here now (indicating), that passed over, and I didn't have enough money to buy the stamps with.

Senator McGOVERN. How much would have been involved in that outlay, Mr. Guyton? What was the cost on that to you?

Mr. GUYTON. You mean for me to buy stamps?

Senator McGOVERN. Yes.

Mr. GUYTON. It would be \$61.

Senator McGOVERN. It would cost you \$61?

Mr. GUYTON. That's right.

Senator McGOVERN. How much would the stamps be worth?

Mr. GUYTON. The stamps would be worth \$18 to me.

Senator McGOVERN. Above what you paid?

Mr. GUYTON. That's right, and I don't have enough income a month to buy but one of them stamps, and that's at every end of the month, and the ADC is furnishing me a little, no clothes; what little I buy, I can't buy one of my food stamps; but I can buy one of them at the end of the month off my social security.

Senator McGOVERN. Are you presently cut off from food stamp assistance, Mr. Guyton?

Mr. GUYTON. Well, no; I'm not cut off right now, but this here card right here (indicating) will make me get cut off if I couldn't buy them—see—they cut me off before.

Senator McGOVERN. How many times a month are you permitted to buy food stamps?

Mr. GUYTON. Twice a month.

Senator McGOVERN. Have you frequently had trouble getting enough money together to make a 2-weeks' purchase?

Mr. GUYTON. Yes. You see, I gets my little money the third of every month. The last check they give me was \$23. That don't buy the stamps, see, because I have to take my social security and buy the other one. That's the reason this one (indicating) is like it is now.

Senator McGOVERN. Mr. Hicks, did you have something to add to that in the way of any observation about the program?

#### STATEMENT OF BENNY HICKS, COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. HICKS. Yes, sir. I have a wife and eight kids, and they allow me \$85, and I pay \$61 for them, and I'm not like this gentleman (indicating); my check is so fouled up that I am not going to be able to buy.

Senator McGOVERN. You pay \$61 and you'd be given \$85 in stamps?

Mr. HICKS. Two times a month, yes.

Senator McGOVERN. So you get a bonus of \$24?

Mr. HICKS. Yes; but the card ain't worth a nickel unless I got something to buy it with.

Senator McGOVERN. Unless you scrape the \$61 together, you can't buy the stamps.

Mr. HICKS. Definitely. When I put in for mine in April—it was the first part of April—I finally got them the first part of this month.

Senator McGOVERN. Are you in a situation where there is actual critical food shortage in your family, where you'd say that your family had gone hungry at times because of your inability to feed them?

Mr. HICKS. Yes. I brought a boy up here with me, and he knows what it is to fall over on the floor from being hungry. That's the reason I brought him, and most of it is strictly government negligence as far as I can tell.

Senator McGOVERN. Are you receiving commodities under the supplemental food program?

Mr. HICKS. I've got three young ones.

Senator McGOVERN. And they qualify?

Mr. HICKS. They do.

Senator McGOVERN. What do you think would be a fair way to run the food stamp program. Mr. Hicks, if you were going to revise it? What changes would you make?

Mr. HICKS. One of them, I think that a lot of these unemployed men out there in the streets that need a little bit of temporary assistance, I think they should have the unemployed food stamps; in other words, over in St. Louis, Mo., you can pay \$4 at a time like that and get \$44 worth of food. Why, that will tide you over a couple weeks until you can tie into something else. It don't make sense going down to welfare when there is any other way around.

On the other hand, these things cost way too much; they are out of line. You don't get enough bonus to start with. I think that they should cut the price on them, or completely give them out free and mail them out and collect it out of the welfare funds.

Senator McGOVERN. When you get a package of food; that is, the 2-week allotment under the food stamps, do you get enough, assuming that you can buy the full allotment, do you actually get enough food to take care of your family?

Mr. HICKS. No. Now, you spoke a minute ago about expensive foods. Last night for supper we had a pot of potatoes, we had chicken backs and necks. My old lady is a pretty good cook. That helps out a lot.

Senator MCGOVERN. Thank you, Mr. Hicks.

Mr. Willis.

#### STATEMENT OF SIMPSON WILLIS, COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. WILLIS. They cut me plumb off. I don't draw nothing. I just got a job at \$50 a week. I am barely living. I got a wife and 12 kids, and I need help.

Senator MCGOVERN. Why did they cut you off, Mr. Willis?

Mr. WILLIS. I don't know.

Senator MCGOVERN. How many children did you say you have?

Mr. WILLIS. Twelve.

Senator MCGOVERN. And you get no food assistance?

Mr. WILLIS. No, nothing.

Senator MCGOVERN. What is your average income?

Mr. WILLIS. I make \$50 a week.

Senator PERCY. How many hours a week do you work?

Mr. WILLIS. I go to work at 6 o'clock and get off at 4:30.

Senator PERCY. And that's a regular job, 5 days a week?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, sir.

Senator PERCY. Are you able to get any part-time work to supplement your income?

Mr. WILLIS. No, not nothing.

Senator PERCY. Can you tell me how much education you have?

Mr. WILLIS. I ain't got too much.

Senator PERCY. Does the lack of education hinder your getting further work?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, sir.

Senator PERCY. Can you tell us what brought about your not getting enough education so that you could get a job and hold a job?

Mr. WILLIS. Well, when I was at home I had to work. I have no brothers, my dad was old, and I had to help him work.

Senator PERCY. Would you feel it too late in life to go to school, if education was provided to you to get the ability to read and write?

Do you work for a gas station?

Mr. WILLIS. No. I work for a clothes cleaner, a laundry.

Senator PERCY. But for almost any job, you need to read want ads and fill out an application blank, don't you?

Mr. WILLIS. That's right.

Senator PERCY. Is it too late in life for you? Or is it just too difficult with 12 children to go back to school and try to get that basic education which might enable you to get a higher paying job?

Mr. WILLIS. I was going to school. My eyes bother me, and they wouldn't give me no glasses.

Senator PERCY. But you'd be willing to go to school if you could get glasses, then?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. I wouldn't mind going to school, because I know I need a higher education than I got.

Senator PERCY. Do you feel that the lack of nourishment that your children suffer now impairs their ability to learn in school? If they go

to school with an empty stomach, do you think they are going to fill their mind as well, or are they going to be thinking about that empty stomach?

Mr. WILLIS. Well, I'm going to tell you, mine aren't going to go hungry. I will kill and rob before I do that. Mine ain't gonna go hungry. I am going to die first. The only reason I got this job at \$50 a week, I didn't want to get and bum. I don't want to kill anybody or take nothing, and that's the reason I got the \$50 job, but it ain't enough.

Senator PERCY. Can you tell us a little bit about the diet that your children have now? How adequate is their breakfast? How adequate is their lunch? How adequate is their dinner? They have a growing body and are developing a growing mind.

Mr. WILLIS. I ain't getting nothing from ADC. They would give me stamps. They took that. Now they don't give me nothing. I don't know why. They took everything from me.

Senator PERCY. In other words, when you went to work and got a job, you were penalized because they said you've got a job, and are not eligible for these other programs.

Mr. WILLIS. They told my wife I had enough to take care of myself.

Senator PERCY. In other words, the welfare system places an incentive on you not to work. You might be better off if you didn't work.

Mr. WILLIS. You're right about it.

Senator PERCY. Well, now, don't you feel that's the kind of thing as legislators we ought to try to correct? This present rule that if there was a man in the family they couldn't get any ADC assistance, gives an incentive to a man to say goodbye to his family. Don't you think we, as legislators, have to put sense back into these welfare programs elements that take into account human nature and human reactions?

Mr. WILLIS. I don't want to go off and leave my family. That's the only reason I got the job, because I don't want to go leave my children and wife. That's the only reason I got this job. I never want too much, but I want to stay with my family. I don't want to go off and leave them, but if I can go to school, I'd appreciate it, if they give me glasses I appreciate it. They aren't going to starve. I know this is a little job, it ain't paying too much, but it is paying something to keep them from going hungry, but it ain't getting me a thing. I ain't got no car, **nothing.**

Senator PERCY. Do your children receive food in the school lunch program?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, sometimes.

Senator PERCY. They do get a hot lunch at school. You count on that the fill their stomach at noon, is that right?

Mr. WILLIS. When I am able to buy it.

Senator PERCY. Is there a hot breakfast program in your school?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, sir.

Senator PERCY. How about the preschool children? What do they get for lunch and breakfast? Do they get as good a lunch and breakfast at home as the children do at school under the free lunch and breakfast program?

Mr. WILLIS. No.

Senator PERCY. In other words, you'd like to get them in school to get the kind of food they need to grow on. But what happens in those

first 5 years which are the most formative years in a child's life. Scientists estimate 90 percent of brain growth takes place in those early 4 years. Isn't it too late by the time they get the free lunch program?

Mr. WILLIS. I don't know.

Senator PERCY. How much do your children have to pay for their lunch at school in this lunch program? Do they have to pay anything?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; they have to pay.

Senator PERCY. They have to pay something, in other words?

Mr. WILLIS. That's right.

Senator PERCY. Do you know how much that is?

Mr. WILLIS. I really don't.

Senator MCGOVERN. Thank you very much, gentlemen. We appreciate your testimony.

We will recess now until 1 o'clock.

(Whereupon the subcommittee recessed at 12:35 p.m., to reconvene at 1 p.m.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator MCGOVERN. The committee will be in order.

We have a panel of four doctors that I would like to call to the witness stand now. Dr. Whittico, Dr. Klinger, Dr. Thomas, and Dr. Reed.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Chairman, while our witnesses are coming forward, I'd like to make a very important announcement to East St. Louis. I think we will be applauded by all doctors, all patients, and all of those who need medical assistance.

My office has been working to support a grant that has been working by the Metro East Alliance for Health. I am very happy to announce that as of last night, the funds have been provided up to \$457,000 for the first of a 5-year grant for the Metro East Alliance for Health. This, as part of the Model Cities area program, when coupled together with the Downtown Professional, Inc. building group, that will be putting together a medical and dental facility here, will tremendously improve the health services available to all citizens in East St. Louis. We are making substantial progress. [Applause.]

Senator MCGOVERN. That's a good note on which to start; very good news.

Dr. THOMAS. I think we'll start with you and go from left to right. We'll be happy to hear your statement.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. ANDREW L. THOMAS, PRESIDENT, COOK COUNTY PHYSICIANS' ASSOCIATION, SECRETARY, HOUSE OF DELEGATES, NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Dr. THOMAS. Chairman McGovern, Senator Percy, ladies and gentlemen, I am Dr. Andrew Thomas, President of Cook County Physicians' Association headquartered in Chicago; Secretary, House of Delegates, National Medical Association, and a practicing internist in the city of Chicago. I welcome the opportunity to relate my experiences to this distinguished panel of Senators who will, hopefully, gain sufficient information to move the appropriate forces in Washington to answer the critical need for at least 10 percent of our population.

The existence of the Senate Select Committee on Hunger and Human Needs illustrates clearly that there must be a problem. The nature

of the problem and its degree of severity are points to which I shall address myself. First let me commend this committee for asking physicians to get directly involved in presenting testimony regarding the question of hunger.

The varying degrees of hunger, or more properly, malnutrition are determined by location. What happens in Mississippi differs from what happens in westside or southside Chicago, but the one common denominator is the absence of suitable nutrients for maintaining a state of sound health. However, I would like to focus mostly upon the problems as seen in our urban areas, Chicago being very typical.

My practice is located in the heart of the world's largest concentration of deprived people, the Robert Taylor-Ickes-Stateway Gardens Housing Development that runs in an unbroken line for 22 blocks along Chicago's State Street. I am involved with the residents of that community at varying levels of activity. I have entered their homes, conversed with them, planned with them in various community projects, and lastly but not least, treated them as patients. They are mostly very good people yearning for the promise of democracy to be fulfilled. They have a great deal of despair that borders on absolute, irreversible hopelessness. They have dreamed and dreamed and dreamed, to the point where they now feel that their dreams are impossible dreams to fulfill. Their dreams are very simple. One of the most important dreams is that of securing dignity and being able to achieve the minimum level of subsistence that would be consistent with maintenance of good health. They have grown weary and they now are extremely impatient. I promised some of them that I would tell you that they see this committee as the last viable hope that something will be done to liberate them so that they can become useful and productive citizens. I am here only because I, too, see this committee under its distinguished chairman and his fellow Senators as men who are concerned and who will, hopefully, realize the extremely great responsibility you have of convincing your colleagues in Washington that hunger and other major deficiencies in American society must be corrected if democracy is to survive. Let us then look at some of the problems.

The problem of malnutrition is a problem of ill health. When one considers the status of health among the underprivileged in the country, one must look at many consequences of malnutrition.

It is a cold, unadulterated fact that the infant mortality rate in the deprived areas of Chicago and other urban areas runs more than twice the national average. For example, in the Lawndale or westside area of Chicago, 46.4 infants die for every 1,000 born alive, while in the United States, 23.7 infants die for each 1,000 live births. Many scientific studies have shown that anemic mothers have a greater chance of having either a stillborn child or a maldeveloped child who will most certainly be exposed to those kind of illnesses that will take his life before the age of 2 years. But if the mother is anemic because her nutrition is poor, it is quite clear that malnutrition is a leading cause of infant mortality.

In an unpublished study of various Chicago communities in 1968, the Chicago Board of Health nutritionists found that 41 percent of nearly 2,000 infants at an infant welfare station had iron deficiency anemia, while 46 percent in a near northwest Latin American com-

munity had low hemoglobin levels. On the other hand, in a Chicago Board of Education study it was found that nearly one-third of all Chicago preschool children enrolled in Project Headstart had iron deficiency anemia in the year 1965.

The bulk of iron consumed by the typical American who is not anemic comes from the eating of certain food substances, such as protein-rich red meats. There is little hope that the typical impoverished person in our society will consume the proper nutrients under current programs available to him. It is not surprising, therefore, that anemia is one of the most critical problems facing the urban dweller, be he Appalachian white, American Indian, Latin American, or Afro-American. But there are other severe problems associated with malnutrition.

On any given day in the wards of the monstrous Cook County Hospital, one can find diseases such as rickets, a condition medical texts describe as of historic interest only, meaning, in fact, that even the medical world in this country has not become attuned to the problems of the poor. Mental retardation and stunted physical growth and development will be found running rampant through deprived areas when the individual has managed to avoid death in his early years.

The high consumption of carbohydrates which, though cheap to purchase, insures the bulk of the typical diets in the cheap privileged areas is devastating to his health. A high carbohydrate diet is known to accelerate the tendency to obesity which, in the underprivileged areas, represents undereating rather than the overeating characteristic of the more affluent, rich, fat, middle-class individual. One can anticipate early onset of conditions such as diabetes mellitus, hardening of the arteries, heart disease, high blood pressure, and other chronic disabling conditions.

Inadequate dietary intake also fails to help the body maintain the necessary defense mechanisms to ward off infectious diseases. Thus, the TB rate per 100,000 in the Chicago area is astonishing. Chicago has 63 cases per 100,000, which represents one of the Nation's highest. But in the near West Side area where it is all black except for the absentee merchants, the rate is 220 per 100,000; while in Glencoe, Ill., one of our more affluent suburbs, the rate is three per 100,000.

To avoid tuberculosis it is necessary to maintain a state of good nutrition and noncongested living arrangements. Neither option is open to the impoverished. The rats in the deprived areas even lead better lives than the humans. And, perhaps, when one of the rats who is a carrier of bubonic plague bites one of his victims and causes an epidemic of bubonic plague to strike across the urban and suburban areas of this country, then we might see a more responsive, affluent American dealing with the problems of the poor. But, we cannot wait for that type crisis to occur. Action must be taken now. I will not bore you with more and more statistics, but rather I think we can turn to some programs that may help to alleviate some of the conditions that exist.

Since everyone agrees that malnutrition has to do with illness, then it would seem most appropriate to look at the availability of forces for combating illness. First, many of the illnesses that occur in the malnourished are preventable. It would seem reasonable, therefore, that

one should start from the beginning and try to prevent malnutrition. Thus, the initial efforts to alleviate the problem should be to eliminate the conditions that cause inadequate dietary consumption by the impoverished. To do this, we must look at immediate and long-range goals.

The long-range goals of any society should be to constantly improve upon the quality of life for all its citizens. This implies a commitment of public policy geared toward rehabilitating those who have been displaced by technological change to become productive and useful citizens.

Here we talk about economics. I am no scholar on economics but feel that it is unnecessary for our economy to plan to have chronic unemployment or underemployment in order for us to survive as a nation when, in fact, it only insures our death as a nation. Every human being has a right to life, liberty, and happiness. Thus, I believe we may be talking about redefining work.

Work in a society that I envision would include work by the welfare recipient of today. A mother who may have five children on ADC is subsidized by the Government. If she has no talent or cannot be trained to pursue other useful forms of work, then she can be considered a working mother to many children. For example, she could be one of the mothers who could manage day care centers with professional and technical assistance provided by the various agencies, both public and private, who are concerned with such problems. The significant thing is that her dignity would be preserved and she would be making a contribution to the advancement of American society by helping to train children to become useful and productive citizens of tomorrow.

The development of such programs implies a total reorientation of our thinking about caring for those in our society who cannot care for themselves. It requires discarding our welfare program, since it becomes clear that the patchwork needed for improving the welfare system in this country is such that it would prove very costly, while basic reorientation to meaningful alternatives would be much more economical and more humanistic in outlook.

The various proposals being discussed at varying levels of government such as the Finch-Moynihan plan and the Burns proposals, while going a step beyond our present welfare program, at best, can be considered stopgap measures. Such stopgap measures are important, but only if we hope to achieve ultimately the total elimination of poverty in this country.

My first recommendation, therefore, is, appointment of a presidential commission, composed of representatives of all segments of American business, governmental, and social life. This commission would be given a charge to look into every conceivable facet of our life as a nation to develop a plan to eliminate poverty in this country.

I mentioned from the outset that there is a crisis and obviously one meets the crisis with a crash program to achieve immediate goals. There is surplus food in this Nation. Mr. Chairman, you wrote a distinguished record in the food for peace program of our late, great President Kennedy. It seems to me that our task then would be to somehow get the surplus food to those who are starving.

According to Dr. Arnold E. Schaefer, Chief of the nutrition program in the Division of Chronic Disease Programs of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration, starvation does indeed exist. It seems ridiculous that the Federal Government, having supported such studies, would not take the necessary action to get foodstuffs to those who are needy, regardless of the mechanism that is necessary. Some will call it socialism, but I am unconcerned, because it seems to me our task is to preserve democracy, and if it does not function, we will have to think about its demise.

There are many mechanisms that would be available for the distribution of food to the hungry. My only thought is that we do it consistent with preserving the human rights of every individual. The pattern would need to vary depending upon the community involved. Thus, in rural areas, it would appear to me that a delivery system would be similar to the mail delivery system, except that trucks would go to the isolated areas and deliver the required goods to the impoverished families. On the other hand, in the city, it would be desirable to have distribution centers located in facilities which the people are accustomed to.

For example, many churches have community centers, and it would be most impressive to me that the neighbors of the poor would help their government get food to their less fortunate neighbors. One could also envision the Government aiding in the establishment of cooperatives, where foods would be initially provided by the surplus food program, but, ultimately, one would be training impoverished people to self-help through being exposed to the mechanisms of storage and delivery of food substances in an atmosphere of jobs and freedom. The consequence would then be that they would become business leaders.

The beehive of activity implied by the preceding considerations would be reminiscent of our total national efforts in preparing and sustaining World War II. The difference would be we would be demonstrating as a nation that America, in fact, is the world's great hope in showing that man can reach a state of the good life where all can enjoy the fruits of human effort.

Then we have the situation where those who are most affected are not even responsible for themselves. That is, our school-age population, especially those in the early years. It is incredible that in most of our urban areas there are no school lunch programs.

Breakfast is the most important meal and that meal which most children do not get at home in urban areas of our city. They do not get it at home because the families can not afford for them to have it, and yet, we have to orient our thinking toward making sure that no child enters school hungry at the beginning of his school day. Unquestionably, learning is impaired and, ultimately, such children end up becoming dropouts and, therefore, we care for them under drastically different but certainly highly undesirable circumstances.

Here we talk about breaking the cycle of poverty at one of the earliest stages of its development. I would, therefore, recommend the development of a school breakfast and lunch program, but emphasizing the school breakfast program for all children, leaving it to the option of each parent whether his child should eat breakfast at the school.

Mechanisms certainly can be devised which would make it unnecessary to create new structures for lunchrooms, and, thereby, think of delaying the beginning of such programs, but, rather, one can have a situation similar to what many hospitals have and have caterers prepare the food for the school.

Another highly vulnerable group is the pregnant mother. Iron intake is exceedingly important and easy to achieve through established resources. It is appropriate to insure that every pregnant mother has the means to achieve a satisfactory hemoglobin level and, therefore, avoid anemia. That can be done through the physician's office. He can write a prescription very simply. The problem comes in very simply, making sure the means exist for purchasing the drug through the pharmacist. This will require making appropriate changes in the medicaid program to implement. There will be no need, however, for drastic changes to achieve this goal. It means establishing the appropriate guidelines such that pharmacists in this country will not subsidize the Government.

Finally, I believe the food stamp program needs to be abolished as we move toward implementing some of the suggestions made earlier. Additionally, however, I would believe any program having to do with the distribution of surplus foods and health problems in recognition of medical and health problems needs to be done by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, rather than the Department of Agriculture.

The reason is very simple. The Department of Agriculture has a conflict of interest in that it has programs geared toward curtailing the production of foodstuffs and, therefore, cannot be held responsible for distributing food to the needy.

Mr. Chairman, the hour is late. The poor will not continue to wait, and I would like to cite the feeling of a little 6-year old boy in Chicago, writing in the Chicago Tribune magazine on June 1, 1969, this poem:

Black boy, black boy, walking down the street,  
 Black boy, black boy, had nothing to eat.  
 He said to himself, "I have been starving all week;  
 I have no money to buy something to eat. I hate to steal,  
 but—If I want to stay alive, I will have to."

Went into the store, slipped three cans of soup into my pocket—  
 Went out. Went to a broken down house, took out my soup—my knife;  
 I opened it and ate it cold. I and the people . . . we sing,  
 Black boy, black boy, walking down the street,  
 Black boy, black boy, has something to eat.

Eliot Williams speaks for a generation of the poor. They are hungry, will suffer chronic illness, become dropouts, and stay in the vicious cycle of poverty, ignorance, disease, and dependency. That is the truth of the matter. The consequences are more far reaching.

Communicable disease knows no boundaries, and will spread from poor to rich at will. The rapid rise of VD in the past decade is typical. But even more significantly, theft of a can of soup today, the toss of a firebomb tomorrow, not in the ghetto, but in the city and in the suburbs. Not just black, but white and brown. In short, the economics of poverty is such that the poor are coming together. Improvement of nutrition is the first step in improving the health and welfare of all.

Thank you.

Senator McGovern. Thank you very much. [Applause.]  
 (The prepared statement of Dr. Andrew L. Thomas follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. ANDREW L. THOMAS, PRESIDENT, COOK COUNTY  
 PHYSICIANS' ASSOCIATION

Chairman McGovern, honorable senators, ladies and gentlemen, I am Dr. Andrew L. Thomas, President of Cook County Physicians' Association headquartered in Chicago; Secretary, House of Delegates, National Medical Association; and a practicing internist in the city of Chicago. I welcome the opportunity to relate my experiences to this distinguished panel of senators who will, hopefully, gain sufficient information to move the appropriate forces in Washington to answer the critical need for at least 10 per cent of our population.

The existence of the Senate Select Committee on Hunger and Human Needs illustrates clearly that there must be a problem. The nature of the problem and its degree of severity are points to which I shall address myself. First let me commend this Committee for asking physicians to get directly involved in presenting testimony regarding the question of hunger.

The varying degrees of hunger, or more properly, malnutrition are determined by location. What happens in Mississippi differs from what happens in westside or southside Chicago, but the one common denominator is the absence of suitable nutrients for maintaining a state of sound health. However, I would like to focus mostly upon the problems as seen in our urban areas, Chicago being very typical.

My practice is located in the heart of the world's largest concentration of deprived people—the Robert Taylor-Ickes-Stateway Gardens Housing Development that runs in an unbroken line for twenty-two blocks along Chicago's State Street. I am involved with residents of that community at varying levels of activity. I have entered their homes, conversed with them, planned with them in various community projects, and lastly but not least, treated them as patients. They are mostly very good people yearning for the promise of democracy to be fulfilled. They have a great deal of despair that borders on absolute, irreversible hopelessness. They have dreamed and dreamed and dreamed, to the point where they now feel that their dreams are impossible dreams to fulfill. Their dreams are very simple. One of the most important dreams is that of securing dignity and being able to achieve the minimum level of subsistence that would be consistent with maintenance of good health. They have grown weary and they now are extremely impatient. I promised some of them that I would tell you that they see this Committee as the last viable hope that something will be done to liberate them so that they can become useful and productive citizens. I am here only because I, too, see this Committee under its distinguished Chairman and his fellow senators as men who are concerned and who will, hopefully, realize the extremely great responsibility you have of convincing your colleagues in Washington that hunger and other major deficiencies in American society must be corrected if democracy is to survive. Let us then look at some of the problems.

The problem of malnutrition is a problem of ill-health. When one considers the status of health among the underprivileged in the country, one must look at many consequences of malnutrition.

It is a cold, unadulterated fact that the infant mortality rate in the deprived areas of Chicago and other urban areas runs more than twice the national average. For example, in the Lawndale or westside area of Chicago, 46.4 infants die for every 1000 born alive while in the United States 23.7 infants die for each 1000 live births. Many scientific studies have shown that anemic mothers have a greater chance of having either a stillborn child or a mal-developed child who will most certainly be exposed to those kind of illnesses that will take his life before the age of two years. But if the mother is anemic because her nutrition is poor, it is quite clear that malnutrition is a leading cause of infant mortality.

In an unpublished study of various Chicago communities in 1968, the Chicago Board of Health nutritionists found that 41 per cent of nearly two thousand infants at an infant welfare station had iron-deficiency anemia while 46 per cent in a near northwest Latin American community had low hemoglobin levels. In a Chicago Board of Education study it was found that nearly one-third of all Chicago preschool children enrolled in PROJECT HEADSTART had iron-deficiency anemia in the year 1965.

The bulk of iron consumed by the typical American who is not anemic comes from the eating of certain food substances, such as protein-rich, red meats. There is little hope that the typical impoverished person in our society will consume proper nutrients under current programs available to him. It is not surprising, therefore, that anemia is one of the most critical problems facing the urban dweller, be he Apalachian white, American Indian, Latin American or Afro-American! But there are other severe problems associated with malnutrition.

On any given day in the wards of the monstrous Cook County Hospital, one can find diseases such as Rickets—a condition medical texts describe as of historic interest only. Mental retardation and stunted physical growth and development will be found running rampant through deprived areas when the individual has managed to avoid death in his early years.

The high consumption of carbohydrates which, though cheap to purchase, insures the bulk of the typical diet in the underprivileged areas, but is devastating to his health. A high carbohydrate diet is known to accelerate the tendency to obesity which, in the underprivileged areas, represents under-eating rather than than the over-eating characteristics of the more affluent rich, fat, middle class individual. One can anticipate early onset of conditions such as Diabetes Mellitus, hardening of the arteries, heart disease, high blood pressure and other chronic, disabling conditions. Inadequate dietary intake also fails to help the body maintain the necessary defense mechanisms to ward off infectious diseases. Thus, TB rate per 100,000 in the Chicago area is astonishing. Chicago has 63 per 100,000, which represents one of the nation's highest. But in the near westside area where it is all black except for the absentee merchants, the rate is 220 per 100,000; while in Glencoe, Illinois, one of the more affluent suburbs, the rate is 3 per 100,000. To avoid Tuberculosis it is necessary to maintain a state of good nutrition and non-congested living arrangements. Neither option is open to the impoverished. The rates in the deprived areas even lead better lives than the humans! And, perhaps, when one of the rats who is a carrier of Bubonic Plague bites one of his victims and causes an epidemic of Bubonic Plague to strike across the urban and suburban areas of this country, then we might see a more responsive, affluent America dealing with the problems of the poor. But, we cannot wait for that type crisis to occur. Action must be taken now. I will not bore you with more and more statistics, but rather I think we can turn to some programs that may help to alleviate some of the conditions that exist.

Since everyone agrees that malnutrition has to do with illness, then it would seem most appropriate to look at the availability of forces for combating illness. First, many of the illnesses that occur in malnourished are preventable. It would seem reasonable, therefore, that one should start from the beginning and try to prevent malnutrition. Thus, the initial efforts to alleviate the problem should be to eliminate the conditions that cause inadequate dietary consumption by the impoverished. To do this we must look at immediate and long-range goals. The long-range goals of any society should be to constantly improve upon the quality of life for all its citizens. This implies a commitment of public policy geared toward rehabilitating those who have been displaced by technological change to become productive and useful citizens. Here we talk about economics. I am no scholar on economics but feel that it is unnecessary for our economy to plan to have chronic unemployment or under-employment in order for us to survive as a nation when, in fact, it only insures our death as a nation. Every human being has a right to life, liberty and happiness. Thus, I believe we may be talking about re-defining work. Work in society that I envision would include work by the welfare recipient.

A mother who may have five children on ADC is subsidized by government. If she has no talent or cannot be trained to pursue the useful form of work, then she can be considered a working mother to many children. For example, she could be one of the mothers who could manage day-care centers with professional and technical assistance by the various agencies, both public and private, who are concerned with such problems. The significant thing is that her dignity would be preserved and she would be making a contribution to the advancement of American society by helping to train children to become useful and productive citizens of tomorrow. The development of such programs implies a total re-orientation of our thinking about caring for those in our society who cannot care for themselves. It requires discarding our welfare program, since it becomes clear that the patchwork needed for improving the welfare system in this country is such that it would prove very costly, while basic re-orientation to meaningful alternatives would be much more economical and more humanistic in outlook.

The various proposals being discussed at varying levels of government such as the Finch, Moynihan plan and the Burns proposals, while going a step beyond our present welfare program; at best, can be considered stopgap measures. Such stopgap measures are important, but only if we hope to achieve ultimately the total elimination of poverty in this country. My first recommendation, therefore, is:

Appointment of a presidential commission, composed of representatives of all segments of American business, governmental, and social life. This commission would be given a charge to look into every conceivable facet of our life as a nation to develop a plan to eliminate poverty in this country.

I mentioned from the outset that there is a crisis and obviously one meets the crisis with a crash program to achieve immediate goals. There is surplus food in this nation. Mr. Chairman, you wrote a distinguished record in the food for peace program of our late, great President John F. Kennedy. It seems to me that our task then would be to somehow get the surplus food to those who are starving. According to Dr. Arnold E. Schaeffer, Chief of the Nutrition Program in the Division of Chronic Disease Programs of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration, starvation does indeed exist. It would seem ridiculous that the federal government, having supported such studies, would not take the necessary action to get foodsuffs to those who are needy, regardless of the mechanism that is necessary. Some will call it socialism, but I am unconcerned because it seems to me our task is to preserve democracy and if does not function we will have to think about its demise. There are many mechanisms that would be available for the distribution of food to the hungry. My only thought is that we do it consistent with preserving the human rights of every individual. The pattern would need to vary depending upon the community involved. Thus, in rural areas it would appear to me that a delivery system would be similar to the mail delivery system, except that trucks would go to the isolated area and deliver the required goods to the impoverished families. On the other hand, in the city it would be desirable to have distribution centers located in facilities which the people are accustomed to. For example, many churches have community centers and it would be most impressive to me that the neighbors of the poor would help their government get food to the less fortunate. One could also envision the government aiding in the establishment of cooperatives where foods would be initially provided by the surplus food program. But ultimately, one would be training impoverished people to self-help through being exposed to the mechanisms of storage and delivery of food substances in an atmosphere of jobs and freedom.

The beehive of activity implied by the preceding considerations would be reminiscent of our total national efforts in preparing and sustaining World War II. The difference would be we would be demonstrating as a nation that America, in fact, is the world's great hope in showing that man can reach a state of the good life where all can enjoy the fruits of human effort.

Then we have the situation where those who are most affected are not even responsible for themselves. That is, our school-age population, especially those in the early years. It is incredible that in most of our urban areas there are no school lunch programs. Breakfast is the most important meal and that meal which most children do not get at home in urban areas of our city. They do not get it at home because the families cannot afford for them to have it. And yet, we have to orient our thinking toward making sure that no child enters school hungry at the beginning of his school day. Unquestionably, learning is impaired; and ultimately, such children end up becoming dropouts and therefore, we care for them under drastically different but certainly highly undesirable circumstances. Here we talk about breaking the cycle of poverty at one of the earliest stages of its development. I would, therefore, recommend:

The development of a school breakfast and lunch program, but emphasizing the school breakfast program for all children, leaving it to the option of each parent whether his child should eat breakfast at the school. Mechanisms certainly can be devised which would make it unnecessary to create new structures for lunchrooms; but, rather, one can have a situation similar to what many hospitals have and have caterers prepare the food for the school.

Another highly vulnerable group is the pregnant mother. Iron intake is exceedingly important and easy to achieve through established resources. It is appropriate to insure that every pregnant mother has the means to achieve a satisfactory hemoglobin level, and therefore avoid anemia. That can be done through the physician's office. He can write a prescription very simply. The problem

comes in very simply, making sure the means exist for purchasing the drug through the pharmacist. This will require making appropriate changes in the medicaid program to implement. There will be no need for drastic changes to achieve this goal. It means establishing the appropriate guidelines such that pharmacists in this country will not subsidize the government.

Finally, I believe the food stamp program needs to be abolished as we move toward implementing some of the suggestions made earlier. Additionally, however, I would believe any program having to do with the distribution of surplus foods and health problems in recognition of medical and health problems needs to be done by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, rather than the Department of Agriculture. The reason is very simple: The Department of Agriculture has a conflict of interest in that it has programs geared toward curtailing the producing of foodstuffs and, therefore, cannot be held responsible for distributing food to the needy.

Mr. Chairman, the hour is late. The poor will not continue to wait and I would like to cite the feeling of a little 6-year-old boy in Chicago, writing in the Chicago Tribune on June 1, 1969, this poem:

Black boy, black boy, walking down the street,  
 Black boy, black boy, had nothing to eat.  
 He said to himself, "I have been starving all week;  
 I have no money to buy something to eat. I hate to steal,  
 but—if I want to stay alive, I will have to."

Went into the store, slipped three cans of soup into my pocket—  
 Went out. Went to a broken down house, Took out my soup—my knife;  
 I opened it and ate it cold. I and the people . . . we sing,  
 Black boy, black boy, walking down the street;  
 Black boy, black boy, has something to eat.

Elliot Williams speaks for a generation of the poor. They are hungry, will suffer chronic illness, become dropouts and stay in the vicious cycle of poverty, ignorance, disease and dependency. That is the truth of the matter. The consequences are more far-reaching: communicable disease knows no boundaries and will spread from poor to rich at will. The rapid rise of VD in the past decade is typical. But even more significantly, theft of a can of soup today, the toss of a firebomb tomorrow—not in the ghetto, but in the city and in the suburbs. Not just black, but white and brown. In short, the economics of poverty is such that the poor are coming together. Improvement of nutrition is the first step in improving the health and welfare of all. Thank you.

Senator McGOVERN. That was truly a fine and most helpful statement, Dr. Thomas, and we are very grateful to you for it.

I notice in your concluding remarks you recommend the abolishing of the good stamp program. Do I interpret that to mean that you feel the existing program is so inadequate that we'd be better off to scrap it, or would you be willing to give some consideration to a rather substantially revised food stamp program and see if steps can't be taken to make this program work?

Dr. THOMAS. Well, I certainly feel that the present program is very unwieldy to administer and, at the same time, it does not do the intended job.

I believe one of the people directly involved in the food stamp program testified earlier this morning that scraping up the necessary funds to be eligible for the food stamp program, in fact, causes great distress, and if he were to scrape up the money, he still would not get the desired result, so that the present program, I feel, is just categorically bad.

I would think, as Reverend Jackson indicated earlier this morning, that we don't need to set up separate mechanisms for getting things to the poor. Money purchases goods, and I simply believe that I would tend to favor a program of subsidy, such that the people are responsible for themselves, having agencies to support them in terms of planning and orientation.

Senator McGOVERN. Well, I think there are a number of Members of the Congress that are very much interested, if not in outright sympathy with some kind of income maintenance program, but there is the practical problem of how long would it take to create a climate of public opinion where that would be possible.

I take it, in the meantime, you'd favor doing what we can to improve the present food assistance programs.

Dr. THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Senator McGOVERN. You made reference, Dr. Thomas, to the damage to a child mentally from hunger and malnutrition in the early years of life. There is an argument that has been going on before our committee, and also behind the scenes, as to whether malnutrition actually produces irreparable brain damage. Is it your view, as a doctor, that it does?

Dr. THOMAS. It does when it lasts for long periods of time, so that the anemic mother, by virtue of her own nutritional deficiencies, is causing beginning damage in a child that she is carrying. If one does not rapidly correct the deficiency the child had during that prebirth period, then the farther we get away from birth with inadequacy of nutrition, then more irreparable damage becomes, and it will become absolutely irreversible, since the brain represents one of the areas of the body where the cells, once dead, are gone forever.

Senator McGOVERN. With reference to the school breakfast and school lunch programs that you have recommended, Dr. Thomas, would you recommend that all children be given a school breakfast and a school lunch, without reference to their ability to pay, putting it on a free basis for every child?

Dr. THOMAS. I would put it on a free basis for every child, but not make it mandatory that the child eat, so that, for example, my ability to afford my own daughter's lunch, I would take care of that, she'd get breakfast, but I would also take care of making sure her thinking is proper as she sits there with others who are eating. There might be occasions where she would end up missing breakfast at home perhaps and, therefore, the means would exist for her eating there, and I don't know, my wife might tend to feel that it would be better for her to eat breakfast in the school, and we'd just as soon pay the taxes for sustaining that.

Senator McGOVERN. When you say that the school breakfast is even more important than the school lunch, is that because of the time of the day in which it comes, or is it because families are most likely to skip breakfast and send the child off without adequate food?

Dr. THOMAS. It is both. That's the one meal, I think, that in the hustle and bustle to get out, people do tend to miss breakfast, but it happens that it is the most important meal because, as one begins his day, the body has a great need for immediate energy, and the breakfast meal is that meal that the body would rely upon to consume in terms of energy, so that if he has to miss a meal or two meals, it would be best later in the day, rather than that first part of the day. The body is prepared to handle the mechanics of digestion better, having just awakened from a rest period.

Senator McGOVERN. Senator Percy.

Senator PERCY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Thomas, as I said before, I intend to put Reverend Jackson's speech into the Congressional Record. I am going to follow that by

putting yours in also. I think you not only have pointed out the great problem we face but you have also pointed out some of the things that can be done and emphasized the importance of the delivery system.

I have heard it indicated that if the Federal Government has no difficulty in finding a young man to draft and they have no difficulty finding us to get us to pay taxes, I think we ought to be able to find a system to deliver food to those who are simply unable to get it by the existing means. I appreciate the comments you have made.

I would like to ask you, from the benefit of the background that you have in the medical profession, do you see and can you testify to the fact that there is a correlation between malnutrition, on the part of the mother and the child, and the ability of that child to mentally develop and grow?

Dr. THOMAS. I do indeed. Citing very specifically, malnutrition during the first 6 months reduces the absolute number of cells in all organs, brain included. Later malnutrition, 6 to 18 months, causes reduction in the cell size and the protein content.

At the time of birth, the human brain normally would gain weight at the rate of 1 to 2 milligrams per minute, or about 1.5 grams per day, which does not get achieved by the person who is malnourished, so that he starts off with mental handicaps and, therefore, physical handicaps and, ultimately, all the schooling in the world cannot reverse what is chronic brain damage.

I have a young man, age 18, in my practice right now that we have worked with for a couple of years now, who had, as a consequence of simply starving to death nearly, mental retardation. There is no history one can isolate for any damage other than chronic absence of food. He is going to graduate from high school, and that in itself is astonishing, that he is programed to graduate, but has no mental competency, really, to go off on his own to do anything.

Senator PERCY. In other words, society will pay thousands of dollars in welfare costs to correct the problems that could have been solved by fighting malnutrition. Too many people have to say I'm not going to let my children go hungry, I'm not going to see them starve. Certainly we can find the money to invest early in life to prevent this kind of thing happening.

Dr. THOMAS. I'd like to underscore that the fact of the matter is we pay more for allowing people to be malnourished, because there is no enjoyment to me to have a mother coming to my office every 2 weeks for iron injections, when it is costlier that way, when if she had the simple foodstuffs necessary, she would not have to come to the doctor's office as frequently as she does now.

Senator PERCY. Now, let me ask you about the person who has a perfectly good start in life, but some misfortune occurs and he then suffers a life of malnourishment. This person could well be a woman who has lost her husband or some earning power. What happens to an individual when she is malnourished, when she becomes obese through simply the intake of starch rather than protein? What is her attitude toward life? Does it affect her work performance? Can she work as well as a person who has a good, balanced, and nourishing diet?

Dr. THOMAS. Well, once the individual gets—once the matured individual gets adequate food intake, even though he may have been malnourished in the adult past, then the effects are more reversible,

that is, he starts filling out and gets better mental cerebration, so that it is not permanent damage in a short span for the adult that would cause irreversibility, so that this person would, in fact, be able to proceed and lead a relatively normal life if caught in time, but 20 years starvation or malnutrition, as some of our citizens are in the city, they have already become beset with diseases that are associated with a poor body constitution, such as tuberculosis, but I have seen even in some of those situations that we have been able to get them rehabilitated and get jobs in some line, through the Salvation Army, they take people like that and do something with them.

Senator PERCY. Dr. Thomas, I'd like to close with this comment. I see beads of perspiration on your brow, and it reminds me of the county fair I was going through 3 years ago in Metropolis, Ill., where it was 105 degrees in the shade. A man said to me, "Say young fellow," "Are you a politician shaking hands up there?" I said, "That's right," and he said, "Good. I've always wanted to see politicians sweat."

I think you are sweating in a good cause today. This is a hot room, but your testimony has been most illuminating, and I know will be of interest to all of our colleagues as we put it in the record.

Dr. THOMAS. Thank you.

Senator MCGOVERN. I want to just say to our witnesses and those in the hearing room, that I have to catch an early plane back to Washington. Senator Percy is going to carry on.

I want to make this observation, that our hearing in Illinois, like the other hearings we have held, has been most helpful in demonstrating the very serious and widespread nature of malnutrition and hunger in this country. It is not a question of an urban or rural problem. It is not a black or white problem. It is a very deeply human problem that cuts across all State boundaries and all divisions of our national life, and I think only in the solution to that problem will we be able to resolve some of the more painful divisions that now trouble the country.

I want to give assurances to everyone that has participated in this hearing, everyone who will participate in the future efforts of our committee, that this is an effort that we are convinced will lead to results, that will benefit the country. We are going to push on until we have the kind of programs in operation that will eliminate hunger and malnutrition from the land.

Our next witness is Dr. James Whittico, who is the president of the National Medical Association.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. JAMES E. WHITTICO, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Dr. WHITTICO. Chairman McGovern, Senator Percy, members of the Select Committee on Hunger and Human Needs, I am Dr. James Whittico, president of the National Medical Association, and a practicing physician in the city of St. Louis, Mo.

I wish to express my appreciation for the opportunity given me to appear before your committee. I hope that some of the thoughts that I wish to share with you will have meaning in developing those type legislative programs which will begin to answer some of the crying needs of our citizens. I recognize the limitation of time and the press

of business before you. Thus, I shall be brief, being hopeful that I am fully understood.

As president of the National Medical Association, I would like to say that my organization has a long and cherished record of supporting programs that have, as an ultimate goal, the constant improvement in the quality of life for all Americans. As you may know, the National Medical Association itself was founded in 1895 in response to the inability of black physicians to participate in affairs and activities of the American Medical Association. And yet, the National Medical Association has always held its doors open to all who might come for membership.

With that type of spirit, in 1962, the National Medical Association became the first body of organized physicians to support our late, great President John F. Kennedy in his efforts to make medical care available for our aged population. It was the first organized medical organization to endorse medicare. It was in our Chicago convention of 1962 that that action was taken, and it is doubly meaningful, therefore, that in southern Illinois we launch, hopefully, a program that will answer acute needs for another large segment of our population.

Now, I would like to return to the problem at hand. Basically, the problem of hunger is best viewed from the standpoint of a less familiar term, and that is malnutrition. Malnutrition is a condition that is medically defined as faulty nutrition resulting from malassimilation of nutrients, poor diet, or overeating. One can see, therefore, that hunger, which has to do with the absence of food or diminished quantities of food is only one side of the coin when one talks about the question of nutrition.

In the public eye, one tends to see hunger more as an absence of food than a state of poor nutrition. It is, therefore, very important that this committee view this problem from a medical perspective. Thus, the gross manifestation of malnutrition such as hunger, while very important, is of no greater importance than the chronic undernourished state where individuals do not reveal gross deficiencies of severe weight loss or emaciation. However, from the medical standpoint, it is very disabling to an individual to suffer chronically from subtle forms of malnutrition. I am sure many of the other physicians here today will go into this problem in greater detail, but I wish to simply sketch briefly the national picture as seen through the eyes of the typical physician who works among the underprivileged people of this Nation.

As I travel about this country from coast to coast and from the Canadian border to the gulf, it has become unmistakably clear that malnutrition does indeed exist. It exists in varying degrees, affecting people of different ethnic backgrounds. Thus, there is widespread starvation in our impoverished areas of the South. Most of those affected are poor white people. There one sees the potbellies and emaciation and frank hunger.

On the other hand, in the northern areas, especially the urban ghettos, malnutrition exists in a more subtle form. In these areas, such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and St. Louis, one sees the severe emotional and physical illnesses characteristic of those who get few of the essential nutrients for the maintenance of good health.

Then, there are the Indian reservations where a mixture of both the subtle and overt forms occur.

You have heard various physicians and medical societies, representing those who are not acquainted with or interested in the problems of the poor, indicate that, "We don't see malnutrition." In actual fact, many of these physicians and medical societies are correct. The reason they do not see the condition is related to their locale because of the type of practice they conduct, and the type of people they care for.

Most of these physicians who deny the existence of the condition are white, middle-class physicians who do not treat the Appalachian white, the Latin American, or the black in our urban ghetto. Indeed, they do not treat the poor in the rural environment either. It is not surprising, therefore, that their eyes are blinded to the truth. We do not wish to castigate such physicians, but we do wish to call attention to the fact that one of the great problems of American society is lack of involvement by citizens who, while not immediately affected by these problems, close their eyes to the existence of problems because they do not wish to see beyond their limited horizons.

If he were to broaden his horizon, he would find that Americans have been fooling themselves. Even those, in the name of the art and science of medicine, who should be informed, wish to deny the existence of the problem which exists in a widespread fashion from one end of this Nation to the other.

Malnutrition is a disease of the underprivileged. Those who would be so unfortunate are born into a world where an average of 45 babies per 11,000 are doomed to death in their mother's womb or in the immediate period after arriving on earth. They are destined to have prolonged and inadequate nutritional intake. This state of affairs will guarantee them the progressive loss of weight and/or the development of lassitude and loss of ambition followed, in the more severe state of hunger, by hypertension, diabetes, and other chronic, though preventable, diseases, such as TB, anemias, and infectious diseases.

Death, of course, comes early if the condition exists long enough. But even the more likely situations will show them to be mentally retarded and, therefore, programmed to fail in the educational system which, in and of itself, contributes to their steady deterioration; and, with the programmed educational failure, they are destined to be underemployed or unemployed altogether. The lack of a suitable income, therefore, will force them on the welfare rolls where the vicious cycle becomes more firmly established. Then, the individual is hopelessly shunted into a world of poverty, disease, and ignorance to a world that may have had as its beginning a state of malnutrition from birth.

The shocking state of malnutrition expressed from subtle to the more severe form of hunger is a fact of life throughout our underprivileged areas in this country. As I dialog with my colleagues from around the Nation regarding the problem, I become more convinced of its severity.

Dr. A. B. Britten, a leading Mississippi physician, points out cases of actual severe malnutrition and starvation, Marasmus, and worm infestation. Dr. Walker from South Carolina reports similar circumstances. Dr. Andrew Thomas, who is with us here today, speaking before the City Club of Chicago earlier this month, described the genocidal effects of malnutrition in urban ghettos. Finally, the Schaefer report points up positive scientific documentation of the

incidence of severe anemias, stunted growth, and so forth, among the malnourished.

Gentlemen, the coming of the Senate Select Committee on Hunger and Human Needs offers a ray of hope that America, the richest Nation in the world, with a great abundance of natural resources, will, at last, begin to deal with the issue of poverty as expressed in the fundamental human need for food.

There are some suggestions I would like to make toward alleviating this problem.

One, abolish food stamp program as currently constituted. In American society dollars purchase goods and services. Therefore, systems should be designed to guarantee a minimum income to all families. Food, therefore, can be purchased for the needy.

Two, revamp the demeaning welfare system and replace it with a program geared toward rehabilitating our citizens to become useful, productive citizens. Although it does not go far enough, we support fully the program currently proposed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and Presidential Adviser Moynihan.

Three, establish an above poverty level, guaranteed income for each needy family across the Nation.

Four, establish standardized nutritional programs for all school students, regardless of financial background.

Five, appropriations be made for scientific surveys to pinpoint accurately the nutrients necessary to sustain the basic requirements of health.

Six, a crash program to immediately alleviate hunger and malnutrition in areas already identified and those yet to be identified where dire hunger and malnutrition exist. If necessary, one can utilize well-known formulas utilized in the armed services.

Thank you.

(The prepared statement of Dr. James E. Whittico follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. JAMES E. WHITTICO, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

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(2) Revamp the demeaning system and replace it with a program geared towards rehabilitating our citizens to become useful, productive citizens. Although it does not go far enough, we support fully the program currently proposed by Secretary of HEW and Presidential Adviser Moynihan.

(3) Establish an *above-poverty* level, guaranteed income for each needy family across the nation.

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(5) Appropriations be made for scientific surveys to pinpoint accurately the nutrients necessary to sustain the basic requirements of health.

(6) A crash program to immediately alleviate hunger and malnutrition in areas already identified and those yet to be identified where dire hunger and malnutrition exist. If necessary one can utilize well-known formulas utilized in the armed services.

Senator PERCY. Dr. Whittico, we thank you very much for a very thought-provoking statement.

Before we question you, I would suggest that we move right on so that we can have our entire panel present their views, and then question you as a group.

In our next testimony we have Dr. Klinger, 5229 South Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, my old neighborhood.

Your testimony, Dr. Klinger, is 18 pages, including your bibliography. If you would like, I would see that the entire testimony is inserted in the record as a part of these hearings. You are free, if you would like to, to summarize whatever viewpoints you would like to give off the top of your head.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. ALFRED D. KLINGER, M.D., CHICAGO, ILL.

Dr. KLINGER. Right. I would prefer to summarize.

When I went out into practice, I was of the opinion that there was no malnutrition in the United States. The main reason for this being that though I participated in an internship and a residency in internal medicine, my professors were of that opinion, and they got that opinion across to us.

It was only after about 5 years of practicing on the South Side of Chicago that it was brought home to me how false this sort of impression was.

This critical period when this was brought home to me was back in 1963, when Mr. Harold Swank, who had been appointed director of public aid just a few months previously, cut what was already, in my estimation, and those who already knew of the situation much better than I did, an already starvation level by 20 percent and, in his opinion,

he did it because there would be no diminishing in quality or quantity of the food that went to people on public aid.

In actuality, the more I look into it, I think more and more that this was a criminal action. The reason I say this is that since that time, I have looked into the situation, and I have found the following.

That the Department of Agriculture every 10 years makes a survey of the country. They then—well, the way they evaluate it is by determining how much people at different income levels spend on food each week. They then go back to Washington, or wherever it is where they have their drawing boards, and they average out what people spend, and then because they feel that people aren't spending efficiently enough, they cut the budget by about 20 percent, instead of raising it 20 percent. In other words, what these Ph. D's and masters, people with masters degrees are doing, they are matching themselves alongside of people who have little or no education, in many instances.

Now, they substantiate this action by going to the departments of public aid and saying, well, the department of public aid are using these diets so, therefore, it is OK. They, nor the department of public aid, ever goes out into the community and really sees whether or not people are getting the proper nutrition in terms of blood counts, in terms of protein levels, and so on. In addition, the various departments of public aid, our department is no exception, ignore certain other factors that the Department of Agriculture themselves say you should take into account. They do not take into account the neighborhoods where people live, they do not take into account the shops where they buy, they do not take into account their education, numerous other things of this type are not usually considered.

In addition, since these budgets are supposed to be for people who buy a week at a time, no consideration is taken in for the amount of refrigeration that people have, or the amount of storage space. Also, what is ignored, is that the Department of Agriculture calculates their food on the basis of precooked food, food before it is taken into the kitchen and prepared. The department of public aid does not take this into account.

In addition, the diets, and I might give you a level of the diets, so as you might measure it with something you do know, the Department of Agriculture divides their diets into various parts. There is a so-called liberal cost diet which is 45 to 50 cents per person per meal. There is a so-called medium cost diet which is 37 to 44 cents per person per meal, and there is the low cost diet of 29 to 34 cents per person per meal, the lower figure being applied in families where there are preschool children.

But then there is another diet, believe it or not, what we call rock bottom, what they call economy emergency cost diet. This is the kind of diet which you use when your ports are blocked and your crops are rotting in the field and you can't get any food into the country, and, with a few modifications, our department of public aid is using these diets.

Now, what are the consequences of this kind of action. Let me just briefly read you some of the problems of my patients who really illustrate it more better than I ever could.

I have a diabetic who is a brittle diabetic. Brittle diabetes is the martinet of diabetics. It demands finger touch care, and the patient

cannot deviate from their insulin and they cannot deviate from their diet one bit. It just so happens that this man was in and out of the hospital about 10 times this last year, and I literally was tearing my hair out as to the cause for this, and I discussed the case with a consultant from Billings Hospital in Chicago, who was convinced it was the diet, except that his impression was that the man was not following the diet for rebellious reasons or for whatever emotional reasons. Well, when in talking to the man after about an hour, there was a pattern became rather obvious, and that was that every time this man, or about a week before this man's check came, this is the time this man started getting into trouble, because he didn't have any money left and so, therefore, he would eat from hand to mouth, and so immediately, of course, his diabetes would go completely hay-wire, and then he would come into the emergency room in a stupor, this despite the fact that we had a nurse on his case who would come in several times a week.

Now, each one of these hospital stays cost about \$70 or \$80 a day. Now, you figure that out, 8 to 10 days in the hospital, or more in some instances, multiply that by 10, to give you some idea how much it is costing the State. I won't go into how much it is costing that individual as an individual.

There is another instance of a 70-year-old man who eats coffee, cake, and donuts for breakfast, has grits, rice, and gravy for lunch, he seldom eats protein or drinks milk. He frequently does not eat because he has no money. He is lucky he has a friend who can give him a haircut every 2 months.

There is another woman with eight kids who is in her early thirties who refuses to subsist completely on public aid, so late at night she goes through the streets of the worst part of the city and goes to work in the nursing home, leaving her kids in charge of her mother, who since has passed away, who at that time was a cardiac.

There is another woman in her seventies who refuses to have anything more to do with public aid, they have so handled her or mistreated her, that she'd rather go out and sell newspapers. Remember, 70 years old. This is the time when your folks and my folks are grandmothers, and not many grandmothers do that in the middle-class families, or great-grandmothers.

Another couple, one is 73, she is 57, both have high blood pressure and both have had strokes. They are both on public aid, and have to receive medical aid continuously. Well, one winter, 5 below zero, their gas was turned off because for some reason the worker forgot to pay the gas bill, and there they were for about 3, 4 days at 5 below zero. Well, as it happens, the public aid finally got around to getting the gas company to turn on the utility, but they took the difference of what they owed the gas company and what the family was already paying out of their food budget over a period of about 6 months.

I could go on for quite some time in this regard. I just wanted to tell you some of the experiences of the other physicians. Most of these are pediatricians.

Dr. Vernon DeYoung, in January of 1969, went to the Joliet Headstart project and found that almost every child was anemic by screening tests. The nutritionist found that to stave off hunger sensations, she had to make the meals high in starches. The Headstart teachers

complained that many of the children were listless, ill tempered, and unable to concentrate until the noon luncheon was served.

Dr. Robert Mendohlsson, director of the medical consultation services of Project Headstart, says that this is not a few cases, that Dr. Vernon DeYoung does not quote just a few isolated cases, but this is a consistent pattern in all areas of the State.

Now, I would say, in general, that the nutritional needs of each individual is unique, that children exhibit variations in nitrogen retention. Nitrogen is the cornerstone of our tissues. Without it, we have poor supporting structures, as well as functioning structures, as well as genetic material.

Children eating large quantities of protein seem to have the best physiques, to be less anemic, and to have the least number of respiratory tract infections.

There are three excellent studies to support this. One took place in England before the war, when the English were at odds to know how to decrease the morbidity and mortality statistics of their poor, even though, in many instances, they received as good or better medical care than the more well-to-do-classes. They came to the conclusion that a large part of it was nutritional, and after that they made it mandatory that each child received a food supplement while he was in school, and this was the only thing that they found actually made a gap in the sickness rates for the morbidity and mortality rates.

In this country a couple of things have happened, one of them inadvertently, or actually both of them inadvertent. Down in Texas, a place called San Diego, where it is so dry that it takes about 20 acres of land to feed a calf and a cow, in an area where there is no chance of any emergence economically within the near future, came a superintendent of schools in 1963, a man named Taylor, who saw the primarily Mexican-American students eating only or, for the most part, tortillas and tacos, and he says, well, these kids are not going to be learning very well on that kind of a diet, and what's the use of me spending that money on books, so he took the money and he put it into food and made the school lunches mandatory in that section, or that city, and lo and behold, when Arnold Schaefer came through that area on his 10-State survey, nutritional survey of the United States, he found San Diego like a rose in the desert, that these kids vitamin levels, protein levels, and blood count levels were much higher than the other areas where he had been.

It has been found in private schools that the tall kids, 85 percent of the tall kids have the best physiques, the least anemias, the least number of respiratory tract infections, and the least amount of obesity, are the kids who eat the best.

We have found, or literature supports that good food intake must proceed accelerated linear growth by 2 or more years. Now, really, this gets into something that really has not been touched on here today to the best of my knowledge.

We are all talking about, well, what keeps the man going, what keeps the woman going, what keeps the lactating mother going, and so on. Really, in this country, and I must emphasize this again, I come from one of the richest cities in the world, and this is the richest country, it has been for some time and probably will be. We aren't just talking about people walking down the street.

Arnold Schaefer defines undernutrition as people who are unable to reach their full physical and mental potential as a result of inadequate food, and this is what we are talking about. We aren't talking just about sick people, although that's important. We are talking about healthy people, or people that are apparently healthy, because this kind of malnutrition we are talking about is not the kind found in Biafra, not found in the concentration camps where you have swollen bellies and emaciating arms and legs and gaunt cheeks. We are talking about the kind of hidden hunger that cripples, the kind that Dr. Thomas was talking about. This is the kind of stuff that we are after. No person in this country ought to be strapped with that kind of problem.

Senator PERCY. Dr. Klinger, we have two more witnesses. Could you summarize and wind up?

Dr. KLINGER. I will summarize and give a few recommendations and stop.

Senator PERCY. Very good. Thank you.

Dr. KLINGER. I would like to recommend, No. 1, that we have a guaranteed annual income. That's the most important thing that I feel. I feel to get money into the hands of people is as important as to take the medical students out of medical school and get them to examining people, because without that, people never really learn how to use money.

The second thing that I will recommend is that people on public aid, as long as we have the public aid system, and I am looking forward to the day when we can eliminate it entirely, but as long as we have it, should have no less or should have an allowance no less than to support the liberal cost diet of the Department of Agriculture.

All kids ought to have free lunches and free breakfasts, including the middle-class kids, because I feel that many middle-class kids are not getting it for various reasons. You name them. I think also it is good that middle-class kids get it, because when you have middle-class mama and papa overlooking what is going on in the school lunch, you aren't going to get a decrease in the quality, or you are less likely to, which happens right now.

I recommend that food distribution centers be set up all over the State, and not be run by God like they are beginning to be run up in Chicago, where they are giving out a dollar a day for 3 days and they think they are God's gift to humanity. I think that nutritionists ought to be on call 24 hours a day and be able to get food allotments and money to people when they ask for it.

Let me just say this, that when a person comes to you and says he is hungry, that is some measure of his desperation, because people don't come to you and say they are hungry, people don't go to a reporter and say report me in the newspapers as hungry and come over with your photographers and let them take pictures of me and my family. That lowers them in the eyes of their neighbors, but when they get to a point where they can't take it any longer, and they just throw all caution to the winds, that should be our only criteria in the future.

I am not against using food stamps if they are handled in a dignified way, and if they are given away free or for next to nothing.

I would also recommend that we hire dietetic aids from the community, that we teach them about food so that they can go back into the communities and talk with people.

I am for imaginative school lunch and breakfast programs, whereby the school lunch becomes—the school lunchroom becomes a social center, whereby fiestas are celebrated, holidays are celebrated, whereby birthdays are celebrated, whereby kids can get cooking lessons, whereby kids can form menus, and so on.

I am in favor of the police, instead of riding shotguns, carrying around food packages with them.

With that, I will close.

Senator PERCY. Thank you, Dr. Klinger, very much. [Applause.]  
(The prepared statement of Alfred D. Klinger, M.D., follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. ALFRED D. KLINGER, M.D., CHICAGO, ILL.

A WELFARE DOCTOR'S REFLECTIONS ON THE FOOD ALLOWANCES OF  
PEOPLE ON PUBLIC AID

"Dear Sister, I was told by the doctor 'and the Diet Department to Drink milk.' 'But I'm on DA and I Don't get enough money to furnish myself the milk I should Have. I asking you to Please to the Public Aid office and ask them to furnish a Little money for me to buy milk—Milk seem to help my ulcer feel Better. But I just can't Buy it.' From a patient on public aid to the Sisters of Mercy."

The objections to the present welfare recipients food allowances are as follows :

- 1. There is failure to take into account precautions outlined by the Department of Agriculture for people on this low cost diet.
2. There is disregard of the economic day to day reality which every recipient must face.
3. Pseudo-scientific facts are used to rationalize cuts in allowances.
4. There are long-term deleterious effects as a result of inadequate nutrition.

Studies which support this point of view are as follows :

There is considerable anemia among infants of the poor. This may run as high as 76 per cent of those before the age of one (1). This type of anemia is often associated with pica lead poisoning, excessive milk craving and weaning difficulties (2). When compared with infants receiving supplemental iron, these children develop twice as many respiratory infections.

There is evidence of degenerative effects of undernutrition on the central nervous system. (3) When patterns of physical growth and development of children ages three to four from poor environments are analyzed they are found to be 25% below normal standards.

Scrimshaw et al. have shown that alterations in brain activity occur in undernourished pre-school children particularly those below the age of four. (4) Even if they do demonstrate some evidence of "catching up" new cell growth which occurs when proper nutrition is established may not be easily corrected; indeed it may become irreversible if allowed to go on for some months. (5)

There is evidence that hypovitaminemia and malnourishment is extant in large segments of the population, particularly amongst the economically destitute. Leevy et al. have proven this in municipal hospital populations. (6) Fifty-nine per cent of the patients investigated had significant reductions in circulating levels of two or more vitamins. Objective clinical evidence of vitamin deficiency was evident in 38 per cent of these cases. Clinical abnormalities were often absent despite low levels of serum vitamin. Jones and Schendel investigating a segment of the Negro population in rural South Carolina disclosed that 29 per cent of those studied had low albumins, 26 per cent had low globulins, and 33 per cent had low vitamin C levels in the blood stream. (7)

Brin et al. surveyed the nutritional status of the aged in public housing sites. They found that 5 per cent of the men and 13 per cent of the women had low blood counts. Eight per cent of all were deficient in ascorbic acid and 18 per cent were deficient in thiamine. (8)

Krehl and Hodges question whether in this country we can assume there is an adequate intake of food and protective nutrients. (9) Compulsive interpretation of diets may lead to serious mistakes. Variations occur in the nutritive values of food as a result of genetic factors, processing, and other environmental factors. (10) There are also weaknesses in the biochemical analyses of nutrients. (11)

Krehl and Hodges go on to point out that critical nutritional deficiency is seldom associated with well-defined clinical entities. In under-developed nations where there is considerable malnourishment, there is relatively little well-defined scurvy, pellagra, and beri-beri.

Leverton is of the opinion that parallel with clinical and biochemical data on individual total performance is also necessary. (12) This means that nutritional deficiency should be measured in terms of vitality, stamina and daily performance even as it is now measured in terms of serum vitamins and nutrient levels.

No two people look alike. Similarly the evidence strongly suggests that the nutritional needs of each individual is different. Because of individual metabolic patterns what may be sufficient nutritionally for one person may be totally inadequate for another. Goodheart of the National Vitamin Foundation says that the nutritional requirements of individuals vary from time to time. They vary among individuals. Biological adaptations are possible and do occur but they are not always successful. (13)

Mayer is of the opinion that Negro slums represent our greatest concentration of anemias, growth failures, dermatitis of doubtful origin, accidents of pregnancy and malnutrition. (14) Taylor and Swarthout have substantiated biochemically the protein insufficiency in parturients who live in these areas. (15)

Starns et al. found that some children retain nitrogen much less efficiently than others and that febrile illnesses result in heavy losses of nitrogen which are regained far more slowly than they are lost. Between their first and third birth-days children eat 16 per cent of their calories as protein. The percentage gradually decreases to about 13 per cent in ten and eleven year olds. Children eating the greatest amounts of protein remain in good health. (16)

The Committee on Nutrition of the British Medical Association has recommended that adolescents take 14 per cent of their calories in the form of protein. (7) The U.S. Recommended Dietary Allowances provide about 10 per cent for boys and girls thirteen to nineteen years of age. (18)

Johnson has pointed out that when normal children were fed 15 per cent of their calories as protein they maintained consistently positive nitrogen balances. (19) Burke and Stuart's work suggests that protein eating habits are set in childhood. Eighty-five per cent of tall children in a private school had good to excellent protein intake. None eating excellent amounts of protein were fat. Three-fourths of those taking sufficient quantities of milk, over 24 ounces per day, had on an average .40 major respiratory infections per year. Those taking less than this amount of milk acquired .73 similar infections each year. Forty-eight per cent of those having good or excellent intakes of protein had above average red blood cell count, that is above 4.6 million per cubic centimeter. Only 11 per cent of those with fair intake had red blood cell counts that could match this. (20)

There is evidence that the amount of sugar a child takes is inversely proportional to the amount of protein he is in the habit of eating. If a child eats a diet high in protein his craving for additional sweets will be lower than another who does not. (21)

Johnson is of the opinion that if the nutritional needs of a girl with a positive tuberculin reaction during the period of rapid growth are not met her chances of developing tuberculosis are high. (22, 23, 24, 25, 26) If tuberculosis is present the teenage girl will need a high intake of calcium: in the vicinity of 1,300 milligrams daily. About 15 per cent of her nutritional intake must be nitrogen calories to avoid negative balances which frequently are associated with reactivated disease.

Starns has demonstrated that marked emotional reactions can decrease calcium retention by as much as 50 per cent (27, 28). Similar findings have been reported in pregnant women by Macy and Starnes, (29) by Malm in older men (30) and by Roberts in older women. (31) Balance studies have disclosed a high retention of calcium shortly before the menarche. Johnson is of the opinion that young healthy adults should have calcium requirements closer to 2000 milligrams. (32) A diet containing 1000 milligrams of calcium normally includes about 20 ounces of milk in some form.

Starnes has concluded that prolonged subsistence on a poor diet affects a person's ability to retain calcium. She has noted that the greatest requirement did not coincide with periods of greatest linear growth, but might precede it by two or more years. She therefore recommends that calcium be fed at sufficiently high levels by ages eight to ten so that storage depots become saturated. This insures the most effective kind of utilization when growth is most active. (33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38)

Engel weighed 100 male Caucasian skeletons. He found that weight rose between the ages of twenty-five to thirty-five. He concluded that generous amounts of minerals were needed during these years. (39) Ellis et al. sampled sections of ribs removed from 230 consecutive post-mortem examinations from children two to fourteen years old. They found changes due to active rickets in 46½ per cent of the sections although in half it was mild in degree. Forty per cent of the changes due to rickets were moderate; the remaining 10 per cent were marked. All the marked rickets were found in sections obtained from Negro children and proportionally more of the moderate rickets occurred in them. (40)

A committee formed to investigate causes of high infant mortality rates in Scotland up to 1939 pointed out that working class mothers were often underfed and their diets were deficient in materials for bone and blood formation and in the vitamins needed for health. Such diets were associated with poor physique amongst mothers, maternal ill health, low vitality of the infant at birth and inability of the mother to suckle and care for her young. Stillbirths and neonatal death rates which had been responding sluggishly to treatment in maternity services in Great Britain before the war for the first time showed a dramatic improvement during the war because of nutritional improvement during the so called feeding experiments. (41a, 41b)

Burke et al. reported a remarkable association between the clinical state of the new born and the quality of the maternal diet. (42) Baird compared two groups of primiparae. One group was relatively well to do, the other predominately working class. Though the latter were on the average younger they had consistently higher stillbirth rates than the private patients. He maintained that the difference could not be explained by medical supervision and treatment since the standard was if anything higher for those worse off financially. He attributed high stillbirth rates amongst the poor to their inferior general health which in turn was probably due to poor nutrition. His study suggests that superior nutrition in childhood results in superior growth and if continued during pregnancy helps to insure a superior reproductive product. (43, 44)

Bernard X-rayed one hundred Aberdeen women five feet five inches or more and one hundred under five feet. He found a greater incidence of flattening of the pelvis in the shorter women than in the tall. This flattening appeared to be similar in kind but less in degree than the distortion which occurs in outright rickets and seems to give skeletal evidence of impaired growth. He also studied tall and short men. The results were similar. The scutiform or android pelvic brim shape long regarded as a masculine characteristic is found to be rare in tall men and is probably an abnormal variant. (45)

Caesarean section in Aberdeen primiparae under five feet is about four times as great as those who are five feet four inches or more. (46) A tall relatively well-nourished woman is less likely to lose her baby than a short ill-fed one. (47)

The improvement in wound healing, increased resistance to infections, higher hemoglobin and albumin levels, avoidance of obesity, and other consequence of empty calorie consumption are observed in the aged equally as often as in the young. Abrupt increases in dietary protein essential to meet losses occasioned by injury have been proven inadequate unless protein intake has been maintained at proper levels throughout youth, late maturity, and old age. (48)

In general, then, we can say that the nutritional needs of each individual is unique, that children exhibit variations in nitrogen retention and that children eating large quantities of protein seem to have the best physiques, to be less anemic, and to have the least number of respiratory tract infections. Good food intake must precede accelerated linear growth by two or more years. Emotional reactions can decrease calcium retention significantly. Generous amounts of minerals are needed between the ages of twenty-five to thirty-five. To summarize, the scientific evidence strongly suggests that in poverty stricken populations:

1. Nutritional deficiencies are seldom associated with well defined clinical syndromes.
2. Negro slums seem to have the greatest concentration of illnesses which can be attributed directly or indirectly to poor food intake.
3. Iron deficiency is rampant amongst the very young.
4. There is often oral craving, the first link in a chain which leads to clay and starch eating, weaning difficulties, and lead poisoning.
5. There is a high incidence of altered brain activity and associated irreversible brain damage in the pre-school population.
6. Subtle even overt rickets is not uncommon.

- 7. Older age populations experience hypovitaminosis of two or more vitamins.
- 8. Infant morbidity and mortality can be decreased with good nutrition.
- 9. The incidence of TB in teenage girls is enhanced when nutritional intake is inadequate.

In order to have a better concept of the welfare diet it is important to know how they originate. In this country, every 10 years the Department of Agriculture conducts a survey of food buying patterns of people at different levels of income. Dietitians of this agency then average out the cost of food per week. Because they conclude that people spend too much, they reduce the average cost per person by 20 percent. Depending upon whether there are pre-school or school children in the family, a family of four should be able to eat nutritionally if they unstintingly follow the food plans. (49)

On this basis families with incomes of more than \$6,000 should be spending 45 to 50 cents per person per meal, those with incomes of \$4,000 to \$6,000 should spend no more than 37 to 43 cents per person per meal, and those having incomes less than this should be paying 29 to 34 cents. The first plan is called the Liberal Cost Food Plan, the second is the Medium Cost Food Plan, and the last is the Low Cost Food Plan.

A fourth plan is the so-called Economy Cost or Emergency Food Plan. These are for large families with incomes inadequate to purchase a low cost diet, and for those with incomes not adequate to purchase the ingredients of these diets under any circumstances. It is the type of diet one might be forced to use if his country's ports were blockaded and the crops in the fields were at a premium. With some modification, people on welfare are forced to eat within the framework of this plan.

These facts will help bridge the gap between what is public policy and grim reality.

The Department of Agriculture estimates the average cooking losses for thiamine, riboflavin, niacin, and ascorbic acid. They assume that one-half of the separable fat from beef, pork and veal and two-thirds of the separable fat from lamb is removed; bacon is to be broiled crisp and drained. They expect that citrus fruits and tomatoes are eaten as such and not substituted by juices. If juices are used instead, the consumer gets 60 percent less food value per milligram per pound. (50)

The Department of Agriculture maintains that families can have better diets if they spend their money more wisely. Yet they point out that many of the families surveyed failed to have diets which meet or nearly meet the National Research Council's Recommended Dietary Allowances (51). On the other hand families with excellent and good diets spend a good deal more of their money on milk and milk products, fruits and vegetables than do families who eat poorly. Those using the food plan should take into account the age and sex of the consumer, the neighborhoods in which they live, the stores in which they shop, sophisticated buying habits, whether the food is home grown, and whether a number of meals are taken away from home. The Illinois Department of Public Aid takes nothing but age, sex, and number of meals away from home into account.

At no time are we given the impression that the diets are scientifically tested. The best that we can expect is that they are theoretically adequate. Because social welfare and public health agencies use these diets the low cost diets are acceptable "to most groups in this country." Experience has shown that these paternalistic organizations do not conduct food or diet surveys on their clients nor do they consult with them before putting the plans into operation.

The present food standards of the Illinois Department of Public Aid take into account only pre-eaten foods: that is food which is brought into the kitchen some of which may not be eaten. The Department of Public Aid like the Department of Agriculture presumes that people on the verge of hunger waste less. Yet there is less margin for error in buying and preparing and eating of this economy diet than in any of the other types. Why there should be less waste is difficult to understand unless it is assumed that people eating these diets are ravenous and will eat anything.

The Department of Agriculture has pointed out that in order to guarantee the greatest food value within the cost of the budget, the recipient would have to plan for a week in advance. In order to shop a week in advance one must have the necessary storage space and refrigeration often unavailable in homes of people on welfare. The Department has pointed out that this kind of diet often requires considerable in the way of home preparation to make the meals appetizing and varied. The IDPA maintains that this presupposes some degree of ability in

household management. Though the IDPA presents figures they are based on few substantial facts much less reality. Ignored is the fact that the total budget is inadequate. Therefore an individual has to dip into the food allowance to meet the economic demands of daily living, i.e., pencils, paper, other school supplies for the children; bus fare, underwear, socks and other clothing items; soap, brooms, brushes, sales tax, and so on. In other words he never is able to use all his food money for food.

This is so because the food allowance is the only flexible item in the budget, since rent is fixed and other piddling amounts are used up before they are received. A recipient finds himself in continuous debt or chronically short of money. But even if a person could remain free of these problems, the humdrum nature of the diet taxes the imagination of those preparing them and eating them. It is assumed that people on welfare are more fastidious, more skillful and clever than graduate dietitians. One has to have the frugality of an economist, the imagination of an artist, the versatility of those with better means in order to create interesting menus from the humdrum fare. This same diet would take an educated woman with an automobile and telephone at her command twice as long to shop for and to prepare.

During illness metabolism increases. Protein breakdown is one of the more serious consequences. Most families living off welfare find that protein food and protein spacers are too expensive to purchase. The infant, the young child, the disabled, and the elderly have to suffer the consequences since they are the ones who become ill most often. The tragedy is that not only are the effects of the scarcity felt now, but also will leave an indelible mark on that individual which will only be appreciated at some future date. Starnes and her group have pointed out that the pattern of protein and calcium absorption is established at an early age. The evidence supports the thesis that if there is good nutrition at an early age absorption of vital substances at a later period is efficient. If poor or faulty nutrition is the rule during this period then poor absorption of crucial food substances is like likely to occur later on in an individual's life.

It is futile to say that it is pure and simple a problem of education. For even if it were, the remedy would be in the hands of the nutritionists. There are very few of them employed by the Department of Public Aid. Those that are have very little personal contact with the recipients. Therefore the burden of teaching proper nutrition and economy rests on the shoulders of the case worker. Even if the case worker has the proper skill and judgment they wouldn't and don't have the time to give advice on nutrition.

They have to spend 70 to 80 per cent of their time on administrative tasks. The rest of the time is spent attempting to deal with the daily needs of their clients. The turnover rate in the offices of the Cook County Department of Public Aid is 50 per cent per annum. Thus there is little continuity between the worker and the family or person with whom he is supposed to be in contact.

Most people in this country are convinced that there is no malnutrition here. For the most part even the medical profession is unaware of the problem.

Lay periodicals recently have published the results of malnutrition as it exists in this country. (52) Investigations have shown that large numbers of people in pockets throughout the nation are starving are are suffering the consequences.

When in 1963 the Illinois Department of Public Aid reduced the allowances of recipients so that they received 20 cents per meal per person on an average the local pediatric and medical societies condoned the action. The basis of their judgment is still a mystery. At no time has the scientific evidence for the decision been published.

In 1967 the Committee on Nutrition and the Committee on Scientific Services and Publications of the Illinois State Medical Society passed a resolution supporting liberalization of the welfare diet. There was no opposition in committee. The resolution was defeated on the floor of the house of delegates on the basis that it would mean going to the State Legislature for more money and this would embarrass the Director of the Department of Public Aid. Not one word of scientific evidence was used in support of the existing diets.

In 1960 the Greenleigh Study disclosed that 40 per cent of mothers on ADC needed help in caring for the physical needs of their children. (53) The most frequent need for help was in planning menus on a limited budget. The larger the family the greater the need. The report concluded that the diet was high in starches and low in meat, fresh fruit, vegetables, and milk.

Physicians should recognize that sound dietary advice cannot be carried out by the malnourished for a variety of reasons: insufficient funds, food habits, anorexia, indifference, and physical disability. (54, 55)

Between 1958 and 1966 the food budget allowance was decreased 12 per cent for those on public assistance who are aged, blind or disabled. Those on ADC have had a cost of living increase of 6 per cent. During the same period the cost of food went up 14 per cent.

In the State of Illinois there are at least a half a million people on public aid. Each year this state spends two times as much on highways as it does for people on welfare. Yet the vitality of a nation is dependent on its people—all of them. In the past nations have not survived indefinitely when they have ignored their poor. We will be no exception. Even if they could, starving people watching their children maimed in bone, brain, and blood and sensing the effects on themselves will not listen to reason. Revolutions in the past should have taught us that to deny what is every man's birthright is to encourage the destruction of the body politic responsible.

The true test of any civilization said Samuel Johnson is what it does for its poor. The tranquility and health of our country will be measured to a great degree on how we solve the food shortage rampant amongst the poor. In order to stop and prevent central nervous system, osteologic and hematologic damage the following steps should be taken:

1. Those on Welfare should be budgeted for the Liberal Diet Plan of the Department of Agriculture.

2. Food distribution centers should be organized at strategic urban and rural locations. Trucks, warehouses, and freight cars should be at the disposal of these centers. These centers should be in large part manned by people on welfare.

3. People on welfare should be subsidized so they can form buying clubs and cooperatives.

4. Food stamps should be given away free.

5. All school children should receive free breakfasts and lunches.

6. Emergency funds to needy families should become available within twenty-four hours. Hardship should be established by signed affidavit.

7. All welfare and board of health offices should be staffed with teams of nutritionists. They should be given the prerogative of requesting and obtaining sufficient funds to bolster diets of infants, children, pregnant and lactating women, and the disabled. These funds should become available within twenty-four hours. Dietitians should be on call twenty-four hours per day.

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Senator PERCY. I am going to ask Mr. George Washnis, the assistant to the mayor of East St. Louis to take a seat here at the witness stand, and be our next witness. We will now proceed with Dr. Leon Reed of East St. Louis.

Dr. Reed, we welcome you to your own city.

## STATEMENT OF DR. LEON REED, EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

Dr. REED. Thank you, Senator.

I will start by saying that my statement would be redundant, it says nothing that has not been said, it would serve no useful purpose; but from there I'd like to address myself to at least two points that apparently have not been touched on while I have been here.

One, everyone seems to be of the opinion and impression that the needy need more education rather than a bigger stipend, and I would like to submit that, in my experience in East St. Louis, that the needy are a pretty ingenious group, and that given the same amount of money as a food allotment, many of the better educated people couldn't sustain. I personally believe that the greater mass of the population, if forced to sustain on public aid allowances, one, would all be divorced in a year, they'd lose respect of their children in a year, and I just don't believe that they'd be not wealthy.

Secondly, nutrition is based not only on how much you take in, but how much you burn up, so that if you rent a house and the wind blows through the house continuously during the winter, your caloric intake is greater. The kid who has a running nose all year burns up more calories than a kid who is healthy.

By the same token, the individual who in the summer lives in a hotbox loses so much fluid and so much electrolyte that he can't be compared with the individual in an air-conditioned climate, so that nutritional need for one person is not nutritional need in another person. It is not absolute; it is relative. It is relative to what you are doing.

I practice obstetrics primarily, and I won't go into the fact of low birth rates and low blood counts. It has been done—everybody has done that—but I will say this: The biggest thing I can see about malnutrition and poverty, whether it be small brains or brain damage or what-have-you, it speaks that this becomes attitude. If I have no money, I am broke. I am not necessarily poor. I am busted. I can make money tomorrow, but if you live in it forever, no matter how much money you have, you are still poor, because being broke is purely financial. Being poor is a state of mind, and you can't break that state of mind in an area in which you are sustaining yourself on meager funds.

Food is more than food, because it becomes personal dignity. No man has dignity who is hungry. No man relates to his neighbors, no man has a progressive outlook as long as he is hungry.

I think anything else I might say, it has been done, it has been said, and I thank you.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much, Dr. Reed. [Applause.]

Mr. George Washnis has the shortest written testimony that has been submitted, two pages. I'd suggest you read every word of it. I heard today that the community center of East St. Louis, being constructed just two blocks away, which I have been very interested in for a long time now, has been stopped in construction because of lack of funds. I appeal to Mr. Washnis to get to the truth of the matter and let me know what it was. I am happy to say that he has indicated that it is not all because of lack of funds, that it stopped merely because of a steel strike. I hope that will end soon and we'll get construction underway and have a beautiful building.

Can you tell me offhand whether it is air-conditioned?

Mr. WASHNIS. No, I don't think it is. There may be some rooms in it that could be air-conditioned, but it doesn't call for air-conditioning.

Senator PERCY. Well, that's all right. We are enjoying the warm afternoon.

Mr. Washnis, we are delighted to have you with us representing the mayor, and I'd appreciate you giving your statement now, and then we'll open it up for discussion.

**STATEMENT OF GEORGE WASHNIS, ASSISTANT TO THE MAYOR,  
EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.**

Mr. WASHNIS. I might just say, Senator Percy, I just had a call from Mel Price's office, Congressman Price, and he indicated that we probably will be funded for our model cities program, with an announcement this Monday, and also the health program that Will McGaughey is working on over there, \$457,000, and the allied program that you are working on very closely, I understand is going to a task force under study for 30 days, and it still looks pretty good for East St. Louis, so this is good news.

Senator PERCY. I can give you a very much up-to-date report. The head of my legislative department had dinner last night with Mr. Cox who is in charge of the model city program. We have been following, almost daily, the model city program for East St. Louis. It has been the allied housing project, because of the size of it, that has delayed this slightly. They did assure us also, and Mr. Price's information is correct, that there will be an announcement on where we stand on this next week. I feel that East St. Louis will be one of the two cities in Illinois that will have the benefit of this program. I think it is a testimony to the fine planning work done by the community that has favored us with final action to be taken next week.

Thank you.

Mr. WASHNIS. Thank you.

This is short. It will only take a couple of minutes. The report is made on behalf of the mayor and the city council.

The city is very pleased, Senator, that you have seen fit to come and look into the matter of food nutrition, particularly in East St. Louis. We hope as a result of your determinations, that Congress will see fit to provide the proper amounts of funds to resolve this problem.

Presently the moneys being spent are equivalent to using a Band-Aid when major surgery is necessary. East St. Louis has a number of programs, as indicated by the various reports prepared for this committee, and that's one reason this report is short, because there are a number of organizations, such as the model cities program, the Metro-East Health Services Council, and the Economic Opportunity Commission and others, which are working on these programs, and which the city tries to help in every way possible.

They are all supported by the city and they will continue to be supported.

As far as determining the needs, it is difficult to provide accurate statistics. However, there are 20,839 persons in East St. Louis on some form of public assistance as of January of this year. State and

national committees have indicated that the amount of moneys being provided for food for these individuals is below the recommended subsistence levels and, therefore, it can be presumed that a much greater majority of these individuals do not receive the proper nutritional levels. There are many persons on pension and social security, and it is generally agreed that most of these persons do not receive sufficient funds for the proper subsistence.

Many of the persons mentioned above in these figures, however, are being assisted in special programs. For example, 45 percent in East St. Louis of the eligible families are participating in the food stamp program, which increases their food purchasing ability by 30 percent; 2,844 families are participating, but the important figure is 3,477 families are not participating in the food stamp program. The model city agency and the Metro-East Health Services Council and the Economic Opportunity Commission are engaged in a campaign to try to encourage more families to participate in these programs.

Also, the Economic Opportunity Commission is seeking a grant for a thousand families to allow them to purchase food stamps out of a supplemental allowance rather than using their regular welfare allowance. Many persons cannot accumulate sufficient funds to buy food stamps and, therefore, this type of program is very necessary. This may be one way of getting almost all families on the food stamp program, is by giving them the initial amount of money necessary to get the program started.

We feel that in addition to the programs that we now have and their percentage participating, that these should be increased so that 100 percent of the families in need are covered. We feel strongly that in order for persons to qualify for these programs, there should be a method of simple certification, otherwise too many families tend to be eliminated from the programs and the recordkeeping becomes too burdensome, and we are merely defeating our purposes. We are in effect recording people out of the programs rather than into the programs.

We also feel strongly that moneys should not only be provided for food but should be allocated for the coordination of all food programs in order to avoid duplication and to insure that we reach all citizens.

Also very importantly we feel funds should be provided for cooks, kitchen facilities, and utensils and that methods should be developed for preparing food properly and to insure its proper distribution to poor families. It is not enough to provide food. The methods of distribution are very important. In addition, families must be trained in proper nutritional habits and preparation of meals. In short, a total and well-coordinated package is necessary.

The above certainly will benefit our citizens and we wholeheartedly would endorse it. However, it seems that we are not attacking the problem at its roots. It would be much more preferable if some form of income maintenance could be provided for low income families so that they would have the ability to maintain proper nutritional levels, to live in proper housing in good neighborhoods, and to obtain proper educational and vocational levels. This type of program would perhaps have the result of eliminating most Federal grant and

subsidy programs which would simplify our welfare programs and better resolve our problems. We would insist, however—

Senator PERCY (interrupting). I would like to make it clear this is not Bell & Howell equipment.

Mr. WASHNIS. We would insist, however, Senator Percy, that combined with such an income maintenance program, that intense levels of education, training, and motivation be provided.

#### REPORT TO THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

Mayor Alvin G. Fields and the East St. Louis City Council present the following report concerning the needs of the citizens of East St. Louis on the subject of food and nutrition:

The City is pleased that the Senate has seen fit to appoint a committee to investigate food and nutritional needs for the citizens of the Nation with particular attention to the City of East St. Louis. We hope as a result of your determinations that the Congress will see fit to provide the proper amounts of monies to resolve this problem.

Presently the monies being spent are equivalent to using a band-aid when major surgery is necessary. East St. Louis has a number of programs as indicated by various reports prepared for this committee by the Board of Education, our Model Cities Program, the Metro-East Health Services Council, Inc., and also the Economic Opportunity Commission. All these programs are supported by the City of East St. Louis. We would like to emphasize that they must be greatly increased.

As far as determining the needs, it is difficult to provide accurate statistics. However, 20,839 persons in East St. Louis are on some form of public assistance as of January 31, 1969. State and national committees have indicated that the amount of foods provided for these individuals is below recommended subsistence levels. Therefore, it can be presumed that the much greater majority of these individuals do not receive the proper nutritional levels. There are many persons on pension and social security and it is generally agreed that most of these persons do not receive sufficient funds for proper subsistence.

Many of the persons mentioned above are being assisted by special programs which help considerably to place them in the proper nutritional categories. For example, 45 per cent of eligible families are participating in the food stamp program which increases their food purchasing ability by 30 per cent. Two thousand, eight hundred forty-four families are participating, however, three thousand, four hundred seventy-seven families are not participating in the food stamp program. The Model City Agency and the Metro-East Health Services Council are now engaged in a campaign to increase the number of participating families. Also, the Economic Opportunity Commission is seeking a grant for 1,000 families to allow them to purchase food stamps out of a supplemental allowance rather than their regular welfare funds. Many persons cannot accumulate sufficient funds to buy food stamps, therefore this type of program is very necessary. We would encourage that these funds be increased sufficiently to take care of all families rather than a small proportion of them.

We feel that in addition to the programs that we now have and their percentage participation that these should be increased if possible to a 100 per cent fundings that all poor citizens may participate. We feel strongly that in order for persons to qualify for these programs there should be a method of simple certification, otherwise too many families tend to be eliminated from the programs and the record keeping becomes too burdensome and our purposes defeated.

We also feel strongly that monies should not only be provided for food but should be allocated for the coordination of all food programs in order to avoid duplication and to insure that we reach all citizens. Also, very importantly, we feel that funds should be provided for cooks, kitchen facilities and utensils and that methods should be developed for preparing food properly and to insure its proper distribution to poor families. It is not enough to provide food. The methods of distribution are very important. In addition, families must be trained in proper nutritional habits and preparation of meals. In short, a total and well coordinated package is needed.

The above certainly will benefit our citizens and we wholeheartedly endorse them. However, it seems that we are not attacking the problem at its roots. It would be much more preferable if some form of income maintenance could be provided for low income families so that they would have the ability to maintain proper nutritional levels, to live in proper housing in good neighborhoods, and to obtain proper educational and vocational levels. This type of program would perhaps have the result of eliminating most federal grant and subsidy programs which would simplify our welfare programs and better resolve our problems. We would insist, however, that combined with such income maintenance program that intense levels of education and training and motivation be attached.

Thank you.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much.

I am going to ask a number of questions, and then if any one in our audience today would like to ask this panel a question, or make a brief statement I'd be very happy to have him do so. I don't think we will have time for long speeches, but if anyone would like to make a concise statement, we'd be very happy to have him do so.

First of all, can you tell me, Mr. Washnis, what is the reason for the low level of participation in the food stamp program?

Mr. WASHNIS. I think one of the main reasons is that a family does not have the ability to accumulate the large amount of cash necessary to purchase the stamps to begin with, and this is why the Economic Opportunity Commission is seeking additional funds to provide that additional amount of money so the family can get under the program and these funds will be provided for about a thousand families, hopefully it could be provided for all the families remaining outside the program.

Senator PERCY. Where will these funds come from?

Mr. WASHNIS. OEO, the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Senator PERCY. You mentioned the supplemental reading programs. We have talked about those. I wonder if you could explain if the city of St. Louis could help pay any of the administrative expenses, or I give you now to make a comment on the financial plight of the city itself and why it has difficulty in expanding its own services for needs that are obviously local needs.

Mr. WASHNIS. It seems that most communities in the country are in financial distress. Even the community from which I came some years ago, Evanston, is having difficulty. University City in Missouri is having financial difficulties, as is the city of St. Louis itself. It is no mystery that this community should have financial difficulties, particularly when we have 21 percent of our population on the unemployment rolls, and so many families on welfare. The assessed valuation of the community is declining rather than rising. Instead of continuing to tax our local citizens higher with the property tax, State or Federal assistance is needed.

Senator PERCY. Dr. Whittico—thank you very much, George.

Dr. Whittico, you are familiar, of course, with the comprehensive neighborhood health centers that OEO have set up at the Mile Square Center, we have the Martin Luther King Center at Mount Sinai and others. I put a bill in to make this a permanent part of our medical structure, to authorize States to use Hill-Burton funds, not to just build hospitals with beds, but ambulatory, comprehensive family health care centers in the communities, in the neighborhoods, which will not provide bed service, but which will provide remedial help, medical assistance and make it readily available so you don't have to take

that long trip out to the county hospital and sit there and wait 5 or 6 hours as we do in Cook County for instance.

I wonder if you'd care to comment on what you think the wisdom of such programs are and the priority you attach to it.

Dr. WHITTICO. Well, Senator Percy, I happen to be on the board of directors of two neighborhood health centers in St. Louis, and your wisdom here is what I was assuming to be the long range projection of medical care, a delivery system that we would see in the future as a permanent part of our medical care system, the utilization of such medical centers, comprehensive health units in our various neighborhoods, and tying in this with hunger through such centers, comprehensive health centers, located in the various areas of our cities.

People could not only learn the importance of nutrition, but they could also be taught the basis and how to manage their foods in order to insure good nutrition in their families. This, I think, Senator, on your part is of great wisdom and I certainly hope that I will live to see our proposals in this area and eventually all over the country.

Senator PERCY. I would like to ask you about the comment that you made in your testimony. I appreciate your endorsement of the concept just now, for a guaranteed income for every needy family. In the Congress, I have to take into account the great resistance that there would be a guaranteed annual income now. I think there is a strong feeling that we have to be exceedingly careful, and I must say I share this feeling, not to remove the incentive to work.

Now, looking at it from a practical stand point, I think it is perfectly safe to say we are going to provide some way for all those physically unable to work. If they are incapacitated, if they are aged, we must provide for their wellbeing. Cash is the easiest thing to handle, and I think sometimes we go all around the block before we decide simply to pay cash. But for those people who are physically able to work, and those who want to work, but lack an education or experience, I would say I think the country is ready to provide them with guaranteed jobs. If they haven't the skill now, we must guarantee to give them that skill, at full cost by the Government until such time as they are able to step up and earn their living.

Would you favor this concept as a more practical means and a next step that we could take to get away from some of the degrading welfare programs?

Dr. WHITTICO. As I see, Senator, the concept of the guaranteed minimum income, I feel that this entails in the concept itself a fact that the person is not physically disabled, that he would be required to work to earn or to be eligible for the guaranteed income. Furthermore, I certainly endorse this concept, because with this it will solve many of the problems that we have been discussing here this afternoon, particularly pertaining to malnutrition and starvation. As you know, it has been estimated that \$1,200 is the minimum amount that a person with a family of four could subsist on. Now, OEO has already determined, also, that there are approximately 12 to 14 million of poor families, rather, that are such families that do have below this minimum requirement for subsistence so, therefore, a guaranteed minimum income, I feel, with the provisions that you have just included, would be the answer to our problems that we are discussing here this evening on malnutrition and starvation.

Senator PERCY. Would you also say that it would be worth the very sizable investment required to put up the physical facilities and operating expenses of a massive program of day care centers? The woman who today is unable to work because of her children, would be able to come home to her children at night, having earned her living.

Dr. WHITTICO. Yes; I endorse this concept. We see this in our medical units throughout the Nation now, where hospitals will provide day care centers where nurses can come to work, and in other areas of our community we find this to be a very important factor, and I certainly endorse this concept.

Senator PERCY. Dr. Klinger—

Dr. KLINGER (interrupting). Can I comment on that?

Senator PERCY. You certainly can. We'd enjoy having a brief comment from any other panelist on any other question if they care to.

Dr. KLINGER. I see about 3,000 people who are on welfare every year who come to my office or some way or other I take care of them, their medical needs. Very few of these people, in my estimation, are capable of working.

Now, what you see, the kind of pattern that you see very frequently, particularly you see this when a person comes to you for social security disability evaluation, is that though you may not be able to find, or you may have some problems finding something wrong with them physically, there is something wrong with them mentally. They are all played out by the age of 40 to 50. What has happened is that their childhood, in my estimation, has been taken away from them, and if you take 25 people on public aid in Cook County, at least, about five of these people are eligible for working, and these five people frequently are people, if they are not physically stunted, they are mentally stunted, and so what I am saying is that I don't think we ought to get too concerned about people not working.

A policeman came to me one day, I mean every now and then I have to pull an emergency call and overnight you see not only patients but policemen, and we get into a little coffee discussion, and the policemen are worrying about people who receive assistance getting as much money as they are getting, and they said, "Well, for that kind of money, I could stay home." I think that's another problem. I think that actually there are some people who want to stay home, but that's another problem, because, let's face it, a lot of our jobs and a lot of our working circumstances are so bad, or there is something wrong with them that it doesn't really make a man get up or want to make a man get up and get to work that day, and it is true there are some people who would take advantage of that situation, but that has nothing to do with the people presently who are on public aid. Many of these people are just beat out.

Several years ago, back in 1965, Greenly & Associates made a survey of public aid, and they found that only about 1 or possibly 2 percent of the people could possibly be construed as cheating on public aid, so we must keep these things in mind. I think that we ought to stop evaluating gold and silver with human lives, on the one hand, and I think that we've got to put human values at a much higher level than our national debt.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much.

Dr. Reed, we have had no discussion or comment on the problem of drugs. I wonder if you know whether there is a problem with drugs in the lower income areas, and whether their cost takes an increment of income that could be used for food and nutrition. I think it would be helpful to complete our evidence here to comment at least on that problem as to whether it has any part in our hearings at all.

Dr. REED. Senator, I practice on a completely rough corner, I would say there might be such a problem, it would be a small problem, we are talking about moneywise. It is my impression that low-income people who are involved in drugs involve themselves in inexpensive drugs and have low-cost habits. I don't think it is germane to food. I don't believe that the expense for this matter would be the cause of malnutrition. If we have a problem in the area, I would think it would be primarily a barbiturate, and barbiturates are inexpensive drugs, and although I don't know exactly how people get them, apparently they do, but, again, you'd have to use an awful lot of drug to spend your entire diet income. I don't think it is germane.

I would like to speak to your subject of neighborhood clinics. I hope that you will accept a different opinion.

Senator PERCY. I'd be happy to have it.

Dr. REED. Personally, as far as the State is concerned, the idea of neighborhood clinics raises a number of questions. No. 1, I believe that as long as we run—you see, although doctors treat poor people, in this particular area, they are billing our rather wealthy Government, so that poor people are poor as far as what they can buy, but they are not poor as far as medical care that's available to them, so I would say that the delivery of health care in the central city is really a high-income profession, and that only sooner or later it had to be a steppingstone or a foundation of very modern and progressive private offices. It is my impression that the problem left a little bit, only needs a few years to solve itself, and it will solve itself inside the framework of private enterprise and will solve itself in a competitive movement.

Now, I work personally, if you include hospitals, deliveries, this sort of thing, I do a 16-, 17-hour day. I would not do that for you as an employee, and no one else would, so if you replace me in private enterprise by a salaried physician, he'd freak. Now, I don't know what kind of cost this runs into, but the three aren't going to be competitive. I have got to be competitive because I hold a mortgage. It only stands that sooner or later delivery of health care in the urban centers is going to be such a lucrative business, that the private center of medicine is going to reconsider the suburban involvement, because suburban involvement is sooner or later either only going to be comparable to inner city involvement, and, by the same token, it won't be anywhere near as gratifying.

I would think that in the event that any group, city, State or otherwise, decided to place so-called neighborhood clinics, which is a very impersonal type involvement, that sooner or later they will stagnate the freedom of practice of medicine, and I see no good in this.

Dr. WHITICO. Senator, I would like to make one remark on this subject on comprehensive health units which I thought your original question was directed.

I might state that we have really three such comprehensive health plans that are being used in the neighborhoods, the communities of our cities today, the OEO project, HEW projects, and as of last year, the National Medical Association began its National Medical Association Foundation, which is established for the purpose of establishment of group practice or nursing home facilities, comprehensive health units, to give service to people in communities, in neighborhoods, through the private sector of medicine, joined with the Government sources, whereby the affluent and the poor alike will receive medical care, so in answer to your question I was thinking in terms of overall comprehensive health units and neighborhood centers, regardless of which area that they were being funded from.

We particularly in the National Medical Association like the concept of the National Medical Association Foundation neighborhood or comprehensive health units because here the private practitioner and in group facilities affords medical care for the affluent and the poor alike without the poor losing their identity and without the poor losing their dignity.

Dr. THOMAS. Senator, I'd just like to make a comment about the comments just made also. I share the concerns of both doctors here, but I would like to point out that one of my roles in the State of Illinois is to be the chief consultant to medicare, and it is in that aspect of medicare where I have become intimately familiar with the kinds of proper or inappropriate use of the services. I have also been involved on the medicare task force nationwide for the Blue Cross, Blue Shield organization, and I believe that what we have to say for the record here is that there is a great deal of malutilization of existing services. I think this supports Dr. Reed's comments that we have to be awfully careful in programing out private practice by saying the answer is to create neighborhood centers universally.

On the other hand, the record should reflect that what Dr. Whittico says is correct, that in certain situations, as stopgap measures, neighborhood health centers have been the answer but, on the other hand, there is a third situation that can come into play, and that is the business of government is to do that which the citizens cannot do for themselves, and in those situations where it is clear that Federal or State or local government supports are needed, that's what we ought to do.

Now, one of the prime needs for our population in the inner city is to have various public health services delivered, and in delivering those public health services, one can quite appropriately deliver them in neighborhood centers, utilizing the clinical, broader clinical aspects of medicine where necessary. There is totally essentially different points of view here, but we would caution that in development of any legislation, with proper medical involvement in the plan, those kind of systems that are needed will come about and it means nothing less than reevaluating the total concept. It also means getting more and more inner city kids involved in the study of medicine, and that means getting more and more Federal subsidy for getting these kids educated and financed through medical school. We hope that the congressional concern with this problem would help medical schools to recognize that discrimination in the past that has prevented many inner city youngsters from reaching their potential in medicine can be eliminated and,

finally, I think that you can anticipate some suggested legislative forms coming to your office from the National Medical Association local chapters about this problem.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much.

I would like to ask if there is any one who would care to come forward and make a brief statement or ask a question of our panel.

#### STATEMENT OF CLARICE MURPHY

Mrs. MURPHY. I am Clarice Murphy from St. Louis, Mo., and I would just like to make a remark in support of your efforts toward the guaranteed annual income. I would hope that you would be most strong and eager in this aspect, not merely at the poverty level, but at the average income level to get some monetary assistance for people.

I also hope that you will not be too concerned with some segments of our public who feel that you would encourage people not to work. There are segments of this population who do profit, I don't know if you'd want to call it guaranteed annual income, but I certainly see that we could stretch it to that, the folks who are in such an income bracket that they can put money into tax programs, I certainly see it as guaranteed annual income.

From the educational standpoint, there are certain high scholarship and assistanceships that are available to only those persons who have certain income and have achieved certain academic backing. We have certainly heard testified here today that if you start out as a loser you can certainly forget some of these scholarship programs here, so I would hope that you would not be too concerned about that segment of our public who feel that you are encouraging people not to work. I feel that once you have had some bit of the American way of living, you perhaps more incentive want to work and gain more. Please push the medium income. That \$3,000 for four people is totally unrealistic, totally unrealistic, and you do have to be, as the doctor said here, most ingenious to make it out of that small amount.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much, indeed.

Is there someone else?

Yes; way in the back.

#### STATEMENT OF L. B. DERAPS, VOLUNTEER AREA REPRESENTATIVE, MEALS FOR MILLIONS FOUNDATION

Mr. DERAPS. I wonder if I might be able to read this.

Senator PERCY. Surely.

Mr. DERAPS. Hunger can mean much more than empty stomachs. Ninety percent of the brain develops in the first 4 years of life, so a deficiency of protein during this period results in permanent mental retardation that can never be overcome. How many of our Nation's underprivileged have had proper food during these formative years. Couple this with an education system that has proven to be failure-oriented and we can better understand the reasons for the grave domestic situation facing us today.

Since our future lies with our young, how much brighter would our future be if the minds of our youngsters were developed to maximum

by proper nutrition, then exposed to an educational program based on increased involvement, relevance, and thinking, as opposed to mere memory drill? I do not minimize the adverse effect on children of poverty and bad social conditions, but these are the very things that have a better chance of being overcome by our next generation if we provide them with the tools that can make this a better world for themselves and their fellow man.

As a volunteer worker for the Meals for Millions Foundation of Santa Monica, Calif., I have a proposal that will combine a high protein feeding program using the foundation's low-cost MPF (multi-purpose food) and a success-oriented educational system based upon the theories of Dr. W. Glasser, author of "Schools Without Failure," published by Harper & Row.

This plan involves distribution of high-protein food at the neighborhood level for use especially by pregnant mothers and preschool children. Recipes using MPF and high-protein noodles are already available, and the cost of the multipurpose food is 28 cents a pound or 2 cents per meal, for a well balanced food supplement.

College students majoring in social studies will work with preschool children to teach them how to learn, to think, to communicate in a responsible manner, and to prepare them for an education that will be more meaningful and relevant to their lives. This will not only help the children, but will directly involve our young adults in the most important social problem of our time.

Finally, the children will enter a school where no one fails, yet where there is constant incentive to do better, and to help their fellow students. This type of school has already proven quite successful in California.

This may appear to be a very long-range project, but this is where we must begin now to avoid the continuing deterioration of our social structure in the future. It may be too late to bring all of our underprivileged up to a level of equality in all respects although we must continue to try, but we owe our next generation this God-given right and must do all in our power to make true equality a reality. I firmly believe these recommendations will lead us toward this goal.

Senator PERCY. Thank you very much. I notice this food formula was developed by Dr. Henry Borsook, professor of biochemistry at California Tech. I served on the board there for many years. I feel I have people who would be quite familiar with this. I will send a copy of your testimony with a sample and ask him for his comment on it as well. It is a most interesting thought, and I very much appreciate your being here.

(The following material was supplied for the record by L. B. Deraps:)

## HOW TO USE MPF

For ease in mixing with other ingredients MPF may be added DRY. It absorbs 3 TIMES its weight (2 times its volume) in liquids, so add enough EXTRA liquid to retain juicy quality in finished product. After mixing let stand 15 minutes before using. This allows MPF to absorb juices, improves product. MPF combined with water may also be added as desired to vegetables, gravies, sauces, soups, etc. and for use in meat, soup, fish combinations. It is also suitable for use in doughs, batters, sweetened dishes. Combinations of one part prepared MPF with two parts of other solids (meat loaves, patties, leftovers, etc.) will extend accustomed dishes with little or no change in flavor.

### FOR CEREAL DISHES, BREADS, DESSERTS

Use MPF to extend protein value of cereals. When used in bread, cakes or cookie doughs add extra "binder" (eggs or flour) so they will hold together when baked. One tablespoon (dry) of MPF will add protein without noticeable change of taste or texture to a cupful of ready-to-eat oat or wheat or rice cereals. Many enjoy plain MPF eaten with cream and sugar or with added fruits, jams or jellies.

### PROTEIN BABY FOOD

MPF blended or cooked with liquids, may be used as an infant food, either alone or in combination with other baby foods. By increasing the quantity of water it can be served as a gruel or fed from a bottle.

MPF has been distributed since 1946 into more than 125 countries to combat hunger, protein deficiencies and malnutrition. Its nutritional values and acceptability are well documented.



Recipes Available Upon Request

**MEALS FOR MILLIONS FOUNDATION**  
215 WEST SEVENTH STREET LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90014

2-65-20M

## Meals for Millions MULTI-PURPOSE FOOD (MPF)

THIS FOOD is based on a formula developed by Dr. Henry Borsook, Professor of Biochemistry at the California Institute of Technology, in order to provide protein of superior quality at minimum cost, in minimum bulk, fortified with essential minerals and vitamins.

Two ounces (56.7 grams) of MPF provide one-third or more of the minimum daily adult requirement (MDR) for 12 essential vitamins and minerals and one-third the recommended daily adult allowance (RDA) for protein.

MPF is pre-cooked and can, if desired, be eaten dry, or stirred into liquids such as vegetable or fruit juices, soup, etc.

MPF is preferably used as an ingredient in accustomed dishes to reinforce and increase their nutritive value or to replace more scarce or costly animal proteins and other commonly deficient nutrients, vitamins and minerals.

MPF is satisfying. It is a real food, not a fad or a medicine. One pound of dry MPF makes from 2 to 3 pounds of prepared food. For daily use it should be combined with other foods to avoid monotony, although it can be eaten alone (1 part MPF to 2 parts water). The proportion of MPF to be used in combinations with other foods should not be so great as to materially change the taste or texture of accustomed dishes.

## THE FORMULA OF MPF

**INGREDIENTS:** Toasted soy grits, fortified with calcium carbonate, ascorbic acid (vitamin C), niacin, vitamin A, riboflavin, pyridoxine (vitamin B-6), thiamine, vitamin D, potassium iodide, and vitamin B-12.

Unseasoned. It provides nutritive value without seasoning.

MPF, hermetically sealed in tin, has remarkable stability—is virtually non-perishable and does not require refrigeration. Once opened, the can should be kept covered to protect contents.

### GUARANTEED NUTRIENTS

	Amount in 2 oz.*	% RDA	% MDR
Protein	28.0 Gm	40.0	***
Vitamin A	1667 IU**	33.3	41.7
Thiamine	0.53 Mg	33.3	53.0
Riboflavin	0.60 Mg	33.3	50.0
Niacin	7.00 Mg	33.3	70.0
Vitamin C	25.00 Mg	33.3	83.3
Vitamin D	167 IU**	****	41.7
Calcium	267 Mg	33.3	35.6
Phosphorus	250 Mg	****	33.3
Iron	3.33 Mg*	33.3	33.3
Iodine	0.033 Mg	****	33.3
Vitamin B <sub>6</sub>	0.33 Mg	****	***
Vitamin B <sub>12</sub>	0.85 Mcg	****	***

\* 2 oz. dry weight = 56.7 grams (approx. one-third cup)

\*\* 1 International Unit (IU) = 1 USP Unit

\*\*\* Minimum daily requirement not established

\*\*\*\* Recommended daily allowance not established

### ESSENTIAL AMINO ACIDS

Lysine	1.8 Gms.
Phenylalanine	1.5 Gms.
Tryptophane	0.4 Gms.
*Methionine/Cystine	0.9 Gms.
Threonine	1.1 Gms.
Leucine	2.2 Gms.
Iso-Leucine	1.6 Gms.
Valine	1.5 Gms.

\*Cystine can provide part of the Methionine requirement.

### SPECIAL NOTE ABOUT THE PROTEIN IN MPF:

This protein is prepared under carefully controlled conditions which remove the typical soy flavor, inactivate the enzymes and enzyme inhibitors without damaging the heat-sensitive amino acids. The result—a delicately toasted product, high in protein, exceptionally stable and of good nutritional quality. It violates no known dietary or religious precepts.

### COMPOSITION

The approximate analysis of MPF is

Protein (N x 6.25)	50.0%
Available Carbohydrates	15.5%
Fat	1.0%

#### CARBOHYDRATES:

The carbohydrates in MPF consist principally of soluble sugars including sucrose, stachyose and raffinose; insoluble products such as cellulose, hemicellulose, pentosans and lignin. Approximately 50% of the carbohydrates in MPF are digestible.

Crude Fiber	3.0%
Mineral (Ash)	6.5%
Available Calories in 2 oz.	150

#### MINERALS:

MPF contains approximately 2.5% of potassium, 0.5% calcium, 0.5% phosphorus, and 0.3% sodium.

#### LIPIDS:

In addition to fat, MPF contains small percentages of phosphatides (lecithin) and sterols (no cholesterol).

Senator PERCY. Is there someone else who would like to speak?  
Yes; this lady right here.

#### STATEMENT OF ELIZABETH WARE

Mrs. WARE. I have been listening to the testimony all day long, and first I want to is attack the Illinois public man that spoke before Mr. Wise. I noticed he stated the people might feel funny getting in line about the food stamps, and I am sure that they don't feel funny, but this is the thing what has happened. They give them a certain allowance for food stamps, and these food stamps don't allow for washing powder, soap, and other stuff, and these are the things that a person has to keep their personal up with, so therefore since they have to keep their personal up, maybe something else, a child may need a pair of shoes and that personal money will have to go for a pair of shoes, and this causes a lot of families not to be kept up in personal use.

Back to your recipes, if a person had been living all his life and lived and worked hard all his life down through the South up through now, served in the Army and everywhere else, on recipes, and they don't know how to take care of a family now they will never know how. First thing they knows how to give them milk because we even milked from the cows and give them milk.

Moneys to survive, that is the proper thing. We need these welfare officers to give the proper money for the proper thing which they do not allow. A person would ask for a washing machine or try to get one, they tell you I will give you \$3 for a laundry bill and \$3 will not take care of a laundry bill for 1 month.

Next thing is about drugs, when you are on the aid, about these drugs, they allot a certain kind of drug. Maybe you are a heart patient, you are a nervous patient, you are a patient and have to have different things, you aren't allowed that you get it, that's one thing of our trouble here.

The next thing about raises. I heard them talking about work. People will work, and they aren't too lazy to work. They'll work regardless. I know some is in such a case they drag to work, sick or well, and why? Because the pay is so low in the restaurants, so low in the hospitals, so low in these other places, just a dollar sixty cents, and you can't hardly feed nobody with a dollar sixty cents an hour. You can't take care of you own bills with a dollar sixty cents an hour.

The next thing should be cleaned out is the welfare office. A person goes down there, they'll tell them in a minute, I know I went, I was off my work, that is another thing we need compensation from hospitals. I worked 24 years in a hospital and after I got off from the hospital and couldn't go back to work. First thing I went down and asked for a medical card, didn't ask for no food, the first thing I was given just 6 weeks of a medical card, said but you got a husband, he can afford \$214 mortgage a month on a home, he can afford to take care of it.

We come to not enough doctors in the area to take care of all the patients as adequately as they should be taken. Now I support the doctors on trying to get something to give people scholarships and things to help in the medical field, I support that.

The next thing we need is a school to have engineers, sheet metal, clerk work, and all this other stuff that needs to take care, because the people will if they get the education. Now, we have people in this town that has 2 years of college that can't go any further because they don't have money for scholarships, and if they are turned down for a scholarship, why, because the white man gonna get it first. That's not the only thing, they don't give them a chance to have the opportunity. You have to wait in line to get out.

You talk to the professional but the nonprofessionals haven't had a chance. These nonprofessionals can tell you just like it is because the professionals don't live like we do, and I will states what the professionals states. He was talking about a diabetic, I am and I have to have beef, I have to have insulin and my medicine bill run \$34 to \$36 a month, and there are some others paying more than that, and I asked for medical help and couldn't get it. She said if your husband wasn't home then you could get medical help and I think this should be cut down and satisfied about.

And foreign aid, we go over there helping those folks overseas more than we are doing our own people here, this is why there is a revolution. Now you are sending people up to the moon, that's God's business up there, and we should be doing it down here. God is not going to bless this United States, and I am going to say it, he is not going to bless the United States because he is tending to his business up there.

The next thing is about these recipes you all talk about. These recipes, if my mama hadn't taught me when I was little to cook some beans and neck bones and give my children some milk and stuff, how do you think we survived out of \$21, \$39, \$49 all during this time. Now, we survived. I have survived. I have had nine operations. Dr. Whittico was on one of them. I have survived, and I am out walking the streets every day trying to make a living, so now these are the things that we should do. These people up here don't know what they need. These are the people back here what they talk about. These Senators you are talking about, what are they doing for the people. The EOC, what are they doing for the people. I work with them all, don't think I don't. We are nonprofessional, we stand in back and everything and they shove the nonprofessional back, and the high professional gets all the money putting it in their pockets while we walk around with nothing.

We have got healthy guys walking around now and this is supposed to be a poverty town and how are we going to take care of our people, and this is the thing it should be known in Washington and everywhere else and we are ready to march if it takes us 90 days to get to Washington and find out what's wrong up there.

It's something wrong, and these is the things we need right here. Why you think we living in these houses. We couldn't afford to keep them up. We didn't have the money. This is the reason why East St. Louis is. Don't you know if I had paint to put on my house I would put in on there. I ain't too lazy to get in a pair of pants and put paint on my house. I'm not too lazy to take care of my child. I have to go to work and tell my child get up at a certain time to go to school.

These are the things that's going on. This is what's happening in East St. Louis. People walking around. I knew a lady sitting there

trying to run a beauty shop and can't go and get no help, no medical help. These are the things happening here. These are the people that are supposed to be heard that is really in need of these things.

We've got so many poverty programs but none of them doing nothing, none of them doing nothing. They've got us on a program to get out of poverty, but when you are making \$3,000 a year you ain't out of poverty. It takes one person about \$200 a month to live, and it takes two persons \$400 to \$500 to live.

My taxes right now on a 25-foot lot cost \$103. Now I got a bill the other day raising my water tax. Then they are talking about raising the light bill and gas bill. I pay \$26 and now I am paying \$50 in the wintertime for a gas bill, and man they talk about we out of poverty.

We wouldn't be in this shape. We don't mind working, as Reverend Jackson said we don't mind. We done been in the homes and cleaned floors. I have been on my knees cleaning floors and had to leave my children around in the bed, tell them stay in there and don't you come out and answer the door because somebody may come along and take you, haul you away to the detention home.

If there is a child that would need attention, psychiatrist attention, we can't even get that kind of help sometimes.

These are the things we want to know and thank you. [Applause.]

Senator PERCY. I think for any of the cynics who would wonder why I insisted we come out to Illinois, rather than stay in Washington in an air-conditioned room, that Mrs. Ware's testimony is among the best answer that we have had. We wouldn't have had her testimony if we were having a hearing in Washington. [Applause.]

She spoke right from her mind and heart, and we are glad to have that expression. I will be happy to take that testimony back to my colleagues.

Thank you.

Would you identify yourself, please.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. MABLE TILLMAN

Mrs. TILLMAN. I am Mrs. Mable Tillman, I am a school counselor in East St. Louis. My interest is for the young people and I was wondering what if anything your office could do to help these youngsters to get some jobs where they could feel a little pride and have a little change in their pockets, particularly after school and during the summertime.

Now, I know they have done some hiring lately, but this is just token, and there are many more out there on the streets who need to be working.

The other thing is still along the line of helping the young people, or what if anything could your office do to help us get a vocational school in East St. Louis. I believe Mrs. Ware touched on that lightly, but if we had a vocational school, I believe that it would do training in apprenticeship in the trades, because the market is around us, I believe, St. Louis and the areas around us where they could get jobs.

There are two questions. What could be done now to help more of our youngsters to get jobs, a little change in their pockets? What could be done, what could your office do to help us to get a vocational school going in East St. Louis?

Senator PERCY. Both of your questions are very good.

First on summer jobs, the administration requested and put in the budget about the same amount of money for summer jobs this year as last year. Some of us in the Senate felt that this was inadequate. Not only was it unresponsive to the need, but that it did not take into account the increased population we have since last year.

We waged a battle on the floor of the Senate. I'd be happy to send you the two speeches I gave imploring my colleagues to be more generous in this area, indicating that in my own youthful experience summer work did more to build my skills and abilities than anything else.

In the Senate we asked for \$54 million additional, and we were defeated. A compromise bill provided \$10 million for summer jobs, which is about two and a half million dollars more than we would have otherwise gotten. If you'd like to know how much more the program will be available in St. Louis, we'll ask Mr. Washnis to report to us on that through the local news media. We will do everything we can to get as much of an increased allotment for East St. Louis as we possibly can.

Again for vocational education, I will have to ask Mr. Washnis to report to us on that. I am not as familiar as I'd like to be with vocational capabilities and facilities made available to young people here in the school system in East St. Louis. It is a necessary program. I know that for the State of Illinois we do less relatively speaking for vocational education than we should. However, the Governor is trying to emphasize this aspect of our educational program, but you can't overcome a deficiency of years standing in just a few months in office.

Is there any one else that would like to comment?

We have just a few moments left. Would you make your comments as brief as possible, but we are happy to have you.

#### STATEMENT OF DONALD REEVES

Mr. REEVES. My name is Donald Reeves. What I have to say is concerning summer jobs in East St. Louis. I'd like to know why is it so difficult to get jobs. I have tried repeatedly to get a job at the YOC and different Federal programs that are designed to alleviate poverty and put people on the payroll and all like that, but did you know that some of the guidelines and redtape you have to go through? Sometimes it is not worth trying to look for work, because let's say if you are a little bit over the poverty line, that's about \$4,000 or something like that, you know, but you are not rich enough to make it on your own, it is difficult for you to get a job that is sponsored by the Federal Government. I tried last year. You know, I told them it doesn't make any sense keeping students out of jobs just because they are 15 years old. What you are trying to do is keep people off the streets, and they told me, well, that's a good idea, write my Senator, you know.

Now, I came back this year, I'm 16, and they said that I'm too young, I've got to be 18. Last year they told me I was too young because I was 15. I kept coming back and all like that, and they finally got me, you know, just because my father is making a little bit more than an average person in poverty does, I couldn't get a job, you know.

Maybe some of that money that he makes I may never see, but that's how it is, that if your father makes a little more money than is required, the child cannot get any job, you know, sponsored by the Federal Government and all like that. I would like to see for things like that to be changed.

Senator PERCY. You asked a question. The reason that jobs are difficult in East St. Louis is there was simply not expanding industry and business. There is not enough industry, certainly in the city, in the surrounding community, not enough to keep up with the population growth, and we must bring more industry into St. Louis. In order to do this we have to do a number of things. We have to improve the recreational facilities, and highways. We have to put on more aggressive programs. As I mentioned before, Senator Dirksen, Governor Ogilvie, and I, are working together now to bring a major industry into the area that will provide jobs.

The second reason is that the Percy job opportunity program hasn't been adopted by the Congress yet. This program would provide 500,000 jobs for our presently unemployed by providing a certificate to an individual who is now unemployable, enabling him to take that to any company and have the company deduct from their income tax, as a credit, for the first 4 months of employment, 75 percent of the salary in order to train and educate. They don't have to make application. They don't have to file forms. They don't have to get grants. They can just take it right off their tax statement, the next 4 months, 50 percent; and the next 4 months, 25 percent.

That's the way business wants to do it, it would be low cost and it would train people where there are jobs right in the industry and subsidize their training program directly. We are working hard to get that enacted, but it takes time, and they tell us we have to get the Vietnam war and a few other things over first. Well, that's why we urgently need, along with a lot of other reasons, to write our priorities and get away from some of our commitments abroad and build the Nation here at home.

We have time for just one more person to speak.

Yes, come right forward.

#### STATEMENT OF CURTIS THOMAS

Mr. THOMAS. My name is Curtis Thomas. I am the newly appointed director of PWWTW, which means people who want to work. This young man exemplifies one of our major problems. Our office is flooded with applicants of youngsters needing jobs. We sponsored a youth rally and we had people from all of the agencies, we worked in connection with all of the agencies who are supposed to be employing the youth in the summer. They came out again with the premise that they come every year, they are just waiting for something to happen instead of going to the river maybe and—Senator Percy, I would like to ask you to assure that your home State is given the proper issuance of the State services. I think a great deal of the problems within this city could be solved if you made sure that the issuance of the services weren't done under political patronage. I feel that the city government has failed us, and I feel that until there is some pressure from

above to help straighten the State agencies out that are here, it is going to be a problem.

We'd like to have our program endorsed by you also, so as we can keep some of the youngsters off the street, underemployed and soft core people. I can't emphasize too much that it should be looked into all of these State agencies in this city should be looked into and emphasis on investigation should be placed on welfare, State employment service, your health service and housing. If you give emphasis on those four, I think you would solve most of the problems, all of them aren't going to be solved, it is going to take time, but I feel you should pressurize the people who are heads of State agencies in this town, they are short changing the people, they are short changing the whole town, they aren't giving the people as taxpayers and citizens what they are entitled to.

I would also like to add that if in any way possible that we the people of East St. Louis can be shown some results of an investigation, I think it would be, you know, it would make things a lot better. I am not going to try to get you to make any kind of commitment, I thought you needed to know this, because there are a lot of services that people are entitled to, that they don't even know where they go to get them.

Senator PERCY. Mr. Thomas, I'd like to just say that we are quite familiar with your program. I commend you and your colleagues for carrying out what I think is an exceedingly useful program, efficient and effective in performing a very valuable service to this community which I hope is appreciated fully by the community.

I would like to indicate at this time that we will keep the record of these hearings open until early next week, so that if any of you who have not had a chance to speak or have thoughts after you leave here, will address a letter to me at the U.S. Senate, the New Senate Office Building, and get it down to me early next week I will insert it in the record. I will keep the record open so that Dr. Edward Canady, president of the Illinois State Medical Society, can submit a statement, which he was unable to give in person today, but which he is preparing over the weekend and would like to submit for the record. I would like to indicate my deep appreciation to the National Medical Association, to Operation Breadbasket, Rev. Jesse Jackson, and to all of the witnesses who have put so much time and thought, care and attention to the hearings that we have had today. They have been extremely valuable. I will do everything I can together with our chairman to share their thoughts with our colleagues, and I'd like to express deep appreciation to Senator McGovern who has many responsibilities that he carries in the Senate and inside his own political party for taking the time to be out here with us today, and for providing guidance to this committee which I think is the most important committee that I have served on in the Senate. I will look forward to our presenting to the Congress and to the American people a report at midterm as well as the report at the end of year which I think will be extremely helpful in guiding the future policies of this country and which will enable us to better set the priorities here at home and see that we spend our Federal budget in a much more effective way than we have in the past.

I would like to publicly express appreciation to Gerry Cassidy on my left who has been the chief staff member who has arranged for these hearings, to everyone in East St. Louis that's extended to him such great cooperation, and to Mrs. Carol Khosrovi on my right, who has been extremely helpful as the head of my own legislative department and who I know from deep conviction is devoted to finding answers to this problem and who has the know-how on Capitol Hill to see that this is implemented in programs and legislation so that our efforts today have been extremely worthwhile.

I declare these hearings adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3 :40 p.m., the hearing adjourned.)



# APPENDIX

## PRESS REPORTS

[From Chicago Today magazine, June 29, 1969]

### HUNGER IN THE LAND OF PLENTY

The moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time.—RICHARD M. NIXON.

(By Senator George McGovern)

#### PARENTS CANNOT AFFORD TO BUY THE FOODS WITH WHICH WE ARE SUPPOSEDLY OVERSUPPLIED

For the past several months, the Senate select committee on nutrition and human needs, which I chair, has been conducting an investigation of hunger and malnutrition in the United States. We have found a deplorable situation. We have learned of pregnant women so hungry that they eat laundry starch, of babies so malnourished that they weigh less at 1 year than they did at birth, and of children whose entire diet consists of food foraged from dumps, food which goes mainly to feed not the children, but the foot-long worms with which they are afflicted.

It is simply beyond belief that conditions like these should exist in the world's richest nation. We have the agricultural resources to wipe out hunger in our country and the American people have the compassion to respond to the needs of hungry children whether they live in Biafra or in the United States.

What has been in doubt until this year is whether or not hunger is really a serious problem in this country. The existence of even one starving child is unacceptable, but if malnutrition were confined to a particularly unfortunate few, its elimination could come quickly and easily.

Until recently, I think that most of us have just not been aware of the magnitude of the hunger problem in our own country.

The most important fact presented to the select committee on nutrition this year is that malnutrition affects millions, not hundreds, of Americans. The existence of these millions has been verified in a current survey by the United States public health service. It is one thing to shrug off a person who says he is hungry and imagine that there may be others like him. It is quite another thing to ignore the testimony of qualified doctors who have examined thousands of blood samples and who report that one of every three children in our poorer families is so anemic as to need medical attention.

This kind of evidence cannot be ignored, and it is one of the most important jobs of this Congress to make sure that it is not ignored. For this reason I have introduced amendments to the food stamp act designed to insure that every American has the opportunity to purchase a minimum adequate diet for himself and his family. Our poorest citizens would buy or receive food stamps which can be exchanged for food worth more than the cost of the stamps.

It is ridiculous for us to tell our farmers that they cannot get a decent price because they produce too much, and at the same time to condemn children of our poor to hunger because their parents cannot afford to buy the foods with which we are supposedly oversupplied. A food stamp program is in the interest of the producer, the poor, and the entire nation.

In order to eliminate undernutrition in the United States further steps will be required. These will have to include:

1. The provision of adequate medical care and sanitation facilities to insure that hungry children—not hungry parasites—get the food which we make available.
2. The provision of education in the purchasing and preparation of economical healthful foods.

### 3. The elimination of administrative red tape and local noncompliance from other food programs.

The reforms necessary do not come free. Despite the cost, our nation can well afford to open its attack on hunger this year. President Nixon's decision to do just this was encouraging. He told Congress on May 7 that "the moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time." Tho his proposals do make a start, the 270 million dollars additional which he proposes for fiscal year 1970 is inadequate. Even the billion dollars additional which he asks for fiscal year 1971 will move us only one-third of the way toward the President's goal of "ending hunger in America."

Because I share the President's often repeated belief that it is dangerous to raise false hopes by making promises which will not be fulfilled, I urge him to buttress his strong verbal commitment to the battle against hunger by asking for funds adequate to win this battle.

Certainly our first objective, peace, need not absorb the funds needed to combat malnutrition. An administration dedicated to peace can and should reduce military expenditures by at least 10 billion dollars this year. Some of these cuts can be made in Viet Nam, where a less aggressive strategy toward an imminent political solution to the war would free billions of dollars.

Cuts can also be made in the endlessly expensive military hardware which the Pentagon demands every year. Unless we curb the Pentagon's insatiable dollar lust, every penny now being spent in Viet Nam will go to satisfy the military's craving for ever newer, more costly, and less effective weapons systems.

We are told that our nation can afford 11 trips to the moon, a new multi-billion-dollar manned bomber, and a dubious anti-ballistic missile system, but that we cannot afford to feed all of our children because this would cause inflation.

#### IT IS BEYOND BELIEF THAT CONDITIONS LIKE THESE SHOULD EXIST IN THE WORLD'S RICHEST NATION

In 1968 the average American was taxed \$402.08 for arms. This same American was taxed \$2.52 to provide food and nutrition for his fellow citizens.

The benefits which we would reap were we to eliminate hunger are incalculable. The select committee on nutrition has been told repeatedly that malnourished mothers are likely to have retarded children, that hungry babies die or suffer permanent brain damage far more often than do well-fed babies, that hungry children learn more slowly than their classmates, and that hungry adults lose far more working days due to illness than is normal. There are today 3 million malnourished children and 9 million malnourished adults in the United States. The cost of this to our country in terms of lost productivity, lost intelligence, and lost lives is enormous. Preliminary estimates suggest that, if every hungry American child were to receive proper nutrition from birth to age 18, the achievements of these children would increase by more than the cost of their food for 18 years. When the cost to the public of providing a lifetime of care for the brain damaged, chronically ill, or otherwise unemployable victims of infant malnutrition are calculated, it is clear that this country simply cannot afford, financially or morally, to permit children to go hungry.

The case in favor of an immediate effective attack on hunger is overwhelming but it is sometimes still argued that the poor are poor by choice, that they already get too much from welfare, and that more help will just increase their desire to live on a permanent dole.

#### ONE OUT OF EVERY THREE CHILDREN IN OUR POORER FAMILIES IS ANEMIC

This is nonsense. Welfare today reaches only one of every four poor persons. In most states it does not provide nearly enough money to purchase a minimum adequate diet. It is given out only after investigations which strip the applicant of his dignity. The select committee has learned that for every person who accepts welfare on the terms on which it is presently doled out, there are three or four people who prefer their pride to the government's dollars. This is an admirable attitude, but it means hunger and disease for these people's children.

Even those who imagine that poverty is the poor man's fault—that it is easy for the hungry son of an illiterate poor father to escape from poverty—must admit that the 2-month-old baby of the "lazy" poor man has done nothing to deserve a hunger which may stunt his growth, damage his brain, or even kill him. It is particularly tragic that this misguided belief should persist when we know that food is a key factor in breaking the cycle of poverty. Billions are being spent on subsistence welfare, expensive job training program, and special education programs with disappointing results. Welfare families beget welfare families,

the trainees don't hold their jobs, and the students continue dropping out. The result is frustration and anger both by those citizens who are paying for these failures with their taxes and those who are paying with their wasted lives.

Yet the reason for this failure and frustration may be that it is too little too late. The remedy may be as simple and relatively inexpensive as three square meals a day.

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[From the Des Moines Register, May 9, 1969]

#### PRIORITY ON FOOD FOR HUNGRY

President Nixon's decision to ask for a \$1 billion increase in food aid programs is a turnabout from the stand the President took only a few weeks ago. At that time, he proposed increasing the \$1.46 billion for food aid recommended by President Johnson by only \$15 million.

The \$1 billion increase now sought by the President was the amount suggested by former Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman before he left office. The increase also follows closely a recommendation by a subcommittee of the President's own Urban Affairs Council consisting of Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Robert Finch, and Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans.

A report from the subcommittee Mar. 17 called malnutrition among the poor "a serious problem" and cited a 1965 USDA survey, showing that two-thirds of the households with incomes under \$3,000 had diets far short of standards recommended by the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. The report quoted an HEW hunger study showing "an alarming prevalence" among undernourished groups of low hemoglobin levels, goiter, progressive emaciation due to malnutrition, and a protein deficiency disease.

These conditions are intolerable in a country with as great wealth and capacity for food production as the United States has. Clearly, more than a token increase in federal funding of food programs was called for.

The President will ask Congress to provide free food stamps for families with less than \$30 monthly income. They now pay \$3 a month.

At present, free food stamps are available to poor families only in two counties in South Carolina on an experimental basis. Expanding this free-stamp arrangement to cover the entire country is imperative, but with the income limit at \$30 a month, it would affect only about 200,000 of approximately 3 million in the food stamp program.

The income limit should be substantially above \$30 a month if food programs are to be effective among the families who need it most—those with the lowest income. Senator George McGovern (Dem., S.D.), chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, favors providing free stamps to families with less than \$80 a month income, a far more realistic figure than \$30.

McGovern's proposal is very close to that of the National Planning Association Committee on Agriculture. The committee recommended free stamps for families with incomes less than one-fourth of the Social Security Administration's "poverty line" (\$3,765 for a family of five), or \$940 per year. The N.P.A. committee proposed a variable purchase plan for persons above this income level—the higher the income the higher the price for the stamps.

Larger federal expenditures will not, of course, automatically result in better diets for the 16 million Americans the President spoke about in his message to Congress. To reach more of them will require education about food programs and proper nutrition and the co-operation of local agencies. By putting the elimination of hunger high on the list of national priorities, President Nixon has charted the course toward a nation free of hunger.

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[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 10, 1969]

#### FAST FOOTWORK ON HUNGER

Declaring that hunger and malnutrition are "embarrassing and intolerable," President Nixon has reversed himself a second time and asked Congress to approve an intensified campaign against hunger. The embarrassment appears to have been the President's for it was only when he realized he was about to be cast in the role of the heartless villain that hunger became "intolerable" enough to warrant additional spending.

Originally the President described the 1.5 billion dollar food program proposed by the Johnson Administration for the 1970 fiscal year as a failure, and pledged to give Congress a "vigorous and innovative" program of his own. But later he acquiesced to advisers who said the control of inflation took precedence over a massive anti-hunger campaign. That is where the matter stood until two members of the President's Cabinet, Agriculture Secretary Hardin and Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Finch, were summoned before Senator McGovern's special hunger committee.

No doubt they would have been asked not only why the President had gone back on his word but how it was that he was willing to allow Americans to go hungry to fight inflation yet wanted Congress to add \$86,000,000 to the space budget and initiate an eight-billion dollar ABM program. It was at this juncture that the President rushed to Congress a food program which eventually would add one billion dollars to the amount President Johnson had requested for the coming fiscal year. For this fiscal year Mr. Nixon sought \$270,000,000 more, primarily for food stamps.

It would be pleasant to say the President acted out of compassion and commitment, but it is obvious he was powerfully influenced by political expediency. About all that can be said, then, is that it is better that he should do the right thing for the wrong reasons than that he should not do them at all.

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[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 27, 1969]

#### NEED FOR FOOD PLANS IN EAST ST. LOUIS CITED

Federal food programs in East St. Louis are "too limited in intent and funding and too fragmented to provide much impact" among the poor, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs was told in East St. Louis today.

Dr. Rosellen E. Cohnberg, a physician and consultant to the Metro East Health Services Council, Inc., told a committee hearing that additional food programs were needed for children as well as adults.

"No amount of feeding people, however, is going to solve all of our problems in this area," she said. "There will have to be a complete rethinking of our national priorities and of national economies."

"What all of our people need most is adequate money to spend for their own food needs. Until this economic fact is understood and implemented, however, good, adequate food programs for all of our native citizens is mandatory and sensible," she declared.

The committee, chaired by Sen. George McGovern (Dem.), South Dakota, held an all-day hearing at the South End Neighborhood Opportunity Center, 1501 Russell Avenue, East St. Louis.

Senator Charles Percy (Rep.), Illinois, a member of the committee, said in an opening statement that no city in the nation was beset by problems more severe than those facing East St. Louis.

"Thirty per cent of the population that is able to work is unemployed or underemployed, more than one third of the population receives some form of public assistance, approximately 42 per cent of the city's housing is substandard and one third of the city's adults have received less than an eighth-grade education," he said.

Despite such grim statistics, he said, few cities in the United States have the potential that is found in East St. Louis.

Senator Percy decried the fact that 150,000 to 200,000 children in Illinois suffered from some form of malnutrition.

He noted that East St. Louis receives food through every federal program in existence, including the school lunch, food stamp, supplemental feeding and nutritional aids programs.

The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national director of the Operation Breadbasket for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, termed hunger the nation's greatest domestic crisis of the century.

East St. Louis, he said, is "one of the southernmost and most polarized" communities in Illinois. "There is great division in America today between the rich and poor, the haves and have-nots, the affluent and the poverty stricken.

"Poverty itself is a form of oppression which threatens the essence of man's existence; for men will steal before they will starve," he asserted.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson warned that people who "find themselves drowning in poverty, losing a grip on life in their will to live, resort to the survival ethic of

'any means' necessary, violence notwithstanding, in an effort to find a solution to their problems."

Senator Percy said that the committee, which is conducting hearings around the country, was attempting to learn why present food programs were not reaching more needy persons.

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[From the New York Times, June 28, 1969]

#### SENATE HUNGER INQUIRY IS TOLD AID IN ILLINOIS IS INSUFFICIENT

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., June 27—Senate investigators have been told that although this city participates in all the major food programs, its efforts to feed the needy are a "drop in the bucket."

The statement was made yesterday at a hearing of the Senate Select Committee on Hunger. The hearing was conducted by Senators George S. McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, and Charles H. Percy, Republican of Illinois.

Dr. Rosellen Cohnberg, a pediatrician with the Illinois Department of Public Health, said "food stamps are used poorly because there is no money available to buy the first stamp." She continued:

"There are in the area limited, tentative and erratic food programs for youngsters in day care centers and for some of our schoolchildren. These programs are too limited in intent and funding and too fragmented to provide much impact. We need more programs, open to all children and spread to adults."

Dr. Cohnberg is an adviser to Metro East Health Services Council, Inc., which provides food to needy pregnant women and children five years old. She said that the program should be expanded to cover older children and other adults.

She criticized the Department of Agriculture, which donates the food, for demanding that recipients face a means test to be eligible to participate in the program. "Metro East cannot countenance a proclamation of poverty for people so obviously in need," she said.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Illinois, accused the state of allowing two million persons to go hungry.

When the state switched from distribution of surplus commodities to the use of food stamps, 68,602 fewer persons participated, he said. Only about 3 per cent of those eligible for food stamps are receiving them, he said.

Kenneth Doeblin, chief of special services of the Illinois Department of Public Aid, called for reduced payments for food stamps and simpler administrative procedures.

Dr. James E. Whittico of St. Louis, president of the National Medical Association, proposed that the food stamp program be abolished and be replaced with a system guaranteeing all families a minimum income.

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[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 28, 1969]

#### EAST ST. LOUIS SEEKS U.S. FOOD AID

East St. Louis has applied for special federal funds for 1000 families too poor to purchase food stamps, the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs was told yesterday.

George Washnis, administrative assistant to Mayor Alvin G. Fields of East St. Louis, told a committee hearing that many persons on welfare were unable to accumulate funds to pay for their food 30 days in advance, as required under the stamp program.

The funds being sought by the East St. Louis Economic Opportunity Commission would be used as a supplemental allowance to certain welfare recipients to help them participate in the food stamp program, he said.

Washnis said federal funds should be provided for direct purchase of food, to co-ordinate federal food programs to avoid duplication and to ensure the inclusion of all needy persons.

As did other speakers at the hearing, Washnis said the food programs were not the solution to poverty in the nation. "It would be much more preferable if some form of income maintenance could be provided for low-income families so that they could have the ability to maintain proper nutritional levels, to live in proper housing, in good neighborhoods and to obtain proper educational and vocational levels," he asserted.

[From the Metro-East (Ill.) Journal]

HUNGRY STOMACHS DISTRACT HUNGRY MINDS—EAST ST. LOUIS TEACHER PLEADS FOR SCHOOL HOT LUNCH PROGRAM, EVEN IF ONLY FOR FEW

To the EDITOR:

Have you already started your reducing program—now the holidays are ended but the pounds linger on? Does your scale hold only shock value since Christmas?

For many children in East St. Louis a low calorie diet is not a choice made for losing unwanted pounds. For them, a low calorie diet is an inevitable way of life.

This survey was taken in a third grade class at Longfellow School on Dec. 7. The questions were (A) How many are in your home? (B) What did you eat today? (Survey taken at 2:30 p.m.).

Below is a sampling of replies:

Fourteen are in my family. I ate breakfast. I had a bologna sandwich. I had nothing to drink.

Seven are in my home. I had soup. I had a piece of bread. I had nothing to drink.

Eleven are in my house. I had breakfast and lunch. For breakfast I had rice and a glass of milk. For lunch I had a peanut butter sandwich and a cookie and water.

Ten are in my family. I had a bologna sandwich. I had nothing to drink.

Eleven are in my family. I had rice. I had two weenies.

Eleven are in my family. I had some bacon and rice. I had nothing to drink.

Eight are in my family. I had ham and bread. I did not have anything to drink.

Seven are in my family. I had a bologna sandwich, a cinnamon roll. I had coffee to drink.

Ten are in my family. For breakfast I had toast and apple sauce and grape juice. For lunch I had a sandwich. I had nothing to drink for lunch.

Eight are in my family. I ate breakfast and lunch. For breakfast I had 1 egg and a piece of bread. For lunch I had one piece of fish, nothing to drink.

By 2:30 in the afternoon might this fuel be burning rather low?

Seventeen of the thirty in this third grade had no milk all day. The rest of the menus varied only in their inadequacy.

This is somewhat better than the survey of the 43 third-graders last year. Three replies were: (A) twelve in my family. One piece of cake; (B) seven in my family. One piece of cake; (C) seven in my family. Breakfast—nothing. Lunch—nothing.

Those three were remembered because they presented marked problems of distractibility and listlessness. Another from last year comes to mind, because that child collapsed on the street three times going home from school. In that case the chronic hunger was augmented by a stomach ulcer and a heart condition.

There is a great need for a hot lunch program in the East St. Louis grade schools.

Jackson School at 18th Street and Summit Avenue is in the process of being built. It will relieve overcrowding at Longfellow four blocks away. Before Jackson was started a year ago, it was ascertained in conversation with the architect that this school would be built with a kitchen to meet requirements of the federal government for subsidies to the hot lunch program. So far, the kitchen appears ideal—it has outlets for freezers, stoves, food choppers, dish washers—there will be everything to work with.

May we ask the Board of Education to begin the hot lunch program with the opening of Jackson School—to serve Jackson and Longfellow Schools.

Dr. Boyd Mitchell was asked in a CAPS meeting Oct. 17 when he would begin the hot lunch program. He stated: "Not until the junior high school is finished. I certainly do not intend to start the hot lunch program one school at a time."

To this we can only ask: "Why not one school at a time?"

The bonds are not even sold for the junior high.

Realistically, it will be at least three years before that school is finished. (The original plan was to cook the food in the large junior high kitchen and deliver it by insulated trucks to outlying schools.) There is no just reason to force our children to wait, when it is ideally possible to begin serving Jackson and Longfellow the day Jackson opens its doors. Equipment can be put in the Jackson kitchen and later installed in junior high when that school is ready to prepare foods, and the Jackson kitchen can revert to a satellite school. Therefore the equipment need involve no extra cost.

A perfect set-up will exist, large enough for the two schools. The government commodities are available for the asking—the frozen turkeys, and beef, and butter and oranges—just as they have been available all these years the board has refused to ask for them in the name of our hungry grade school children.

Would you plead inconvenience? I invoke a greater inconvenience: the inconvenience of hunger in young children.

Would you plead expense? Any district that can pay, in the one year just passed, \$183,340 for movie film to Encyclopedia Britannica—to list only one company (see board financial report, Metro-East Journal, Nov. 30, Page 29) is capable of handling a government subsidized hot lunch program for children—and meeting our union demands for teacher needs.

It may not be either the children or the teachers; we push forward to overcome the dreary years when teacher-children consideration balanced at the unvarying level of neither-nor.

It is in winter that inequities of the disadvantaged appear most sharply; then the lowered resistance shows up in severe upper respiratory infection, repeated sore throats, bad tonsils, infected ears, and the appalling number of damaged hearts—all with no out-patient clinics for their treatment. Hot lunches are no substitute for clinics—but hot lunches can raise body resistance.

In sub-standard housing, many of our children are denied the most elemental comforts. Hot lunches are no substitute for housing—but hot lunches can alleviate some of the sting of bad housing.

To make these children wait three years, as Dr. Mitchell suggests, will mean another generation at Longfellow going through the first 3 grades without the push a hot lunch can give them.

Members of IMPACT, meeting with Human Relations Committee at the First Presbyterian Church in the fall, demanded a chance for their young people in the "good jobs on Collinsville Avenue": many promising young people are literally starved out of the race before they leave grade school because chronic hunger and overcrowded classrooms sap their chance to get the basic tools they need for future jobs.

It is in the very young that hunger is most evident. Then later at the fourth to sixth grades the bodies seem to "compensate" (instinct for survival is strong in the individual and race. The Irish birth rate soared during the worst years of the Irish famine of the 1840s)—and somehow in sixth grade these children do grow. But the damage has been done.

Chronic hunger invalidates much of the good of the first three grades. For evidence let us look at the record: Of the 30 children polled above, 14 children have already been retained two years in one grade; number 15 has been retained two years in two grades.

This waste you can afford?

Tests run on malnourished children do not give valid results. How valid then are the elaborate and expensive programs set up to remedy the results shown by these tests?

Is there possibly another approach to our problem—an approach more saving in human values—and in money?

Gentlemen we rephrase our request: can you afford to refuse our hot lunch program?

Even now the program will be less effective than it might have been—because it is so very much too late, but somewhere it must begin. It will present difficulties because eating habits are hard to change. The program will be an enduring education in nutrition—an education denied to many of the mothers of our children.

Now about the opening date for Jackson School. On Oct. 16 at a CAPS meeting, Dr. Mitchell stated Jackson would open Feb. 1.

During Christmas vacation it was possible to visit Jackson two days to see the kitchen. On both days after considerable walking about, it was possible to see only four men at work, and they asked me when this building was to be done! According to their statement, the board had never given them a date to even aim at.

Belleville High East is a compound of 18 buildings. Some buildings are two stories, with 16 rooms; some are three stories with 24 rooms. The 18 building compound was completed with air conditioning at a cost of \$7,300,000 and occupied in two years.

Problem: If it takes Belleville two years to build 18 buildings, how long does it take our contractors and board to build one building? Why?

I believe the average union workman who is a father would understand and would give his best efforts to get this building in quick operation.

There was a consensus that the building "could be done maybe in three months—but it could take a year."

After Christmas vacation there was more activity. The first week of January men were trying to install heating pipes in the kitchen, but it was very cold and the men were understandably threatening to go home because of the cold working conditions.

In a phone conversation with Mr. Goldenberg, architect, Jan. 13 he stated "it might be completed by May."

Whatever the reasons known best to the contractors for taking men off this job, we ask you not to do this to the futures of our school children.

The plumbing and heating man is Mr. (Mayor Alvin G.) Fields. In some cities this might even be regarded as a possible conflict of interest. But let us be realistic, and then view this situation constructively: where else might we turn with more hopes for cooperation in getting the plumbing and heating hurried up, than to the head plumber and head city father, Mayor Fields?

Our children are on shift. They have been on shift as an emergency measure for 2½ years. Our children are good children, but they are on the streets half of the time because they cannot be in school. For the children, the parents, and the teachers this situation makes uphill work. We ask the cooperation of the contractors in getting the children into the new building.

To teach in East St. Louis three things are needed: patience, discretion, and the taste for struggle. Over the years, as basic needs are recognized and in good faith pointed out to the authorities, and pointed out again; and as federal money and state taxes and local taxes come in and are spent, and the physical needs remain untouched—then patience and discretion become eroded away, and there abides only the taste—the bitter taste—for struggle.

Gentlemen and contractors, we ask you to keep a full component of men on this building until it is complete to your lasting credit. Gentlemen of the school board, we ask you again: may we hope that you will open Jackson School only under condition that on the day Jackson opens, the hot lunch program will be initiated for Jackson and Longfellow schools.

VERONICA MCGINLEY,  
*Third grade teacher,*  
*Union Building Representative, AFL-CIO 1220,*  
*Longfellow School, East St. Louis.*

GOVERNOR'S TASK FORCE ON HUNGER—REPORT OF TASK FORCE ONE,  
DEFINITION OF HUNGER

(By Jordan M. Scher, M.D. for Human Resources)

I. DEFINITION

Hunger, as an entity, is subject to considerable controversy. It ranges from simple missed meals to significant and possibly permanent damage in those at a below or marginal, improper or insufficient dietary intake or allotment. A possible classification follows:

(1) Hunger-acute: Including missed or irregular meals and chronic inadequate or improper eating habits over a period of time for whatever reasons.

(2) Undernutrition: general protracted reduction or limitation of all food intake although the balance may be correct.

(3) Faulty nutrition: serious dietary and resulting metabolic imbalance.

(4) Malnutrition: all of the above plus clinical evidences of physiological changes.

(See appendix 1 for more detailed discussion.)

On consultation with experts in the field (see attached list) it was generally felt that the acuteness of the problem overshadowed and took precedence over the necessity for overnice definitions. It was felt that the problem should be seen in its humanitarian immediacy and that an action program should be initiated instantly of a two-fold nature.

## II. IDENTIFICATION OF VICTIMS

First, those with immediate, acute and/or potentially most damaging need should be identified in the community. Several approaches to this may be made. Arbitrarily all of those below a certain income level (the poverty line) such as public aid recipients, new arrivals into the community, transients, migratory workers, and others should be included. Particular attention should be paid to those with critical needs especially young children aged day one to six years, pubertous children ages nine through fifteen, pregnant girls and women, the physically and mentally disabled, the aging, and those identified as addicted or habituated to various damaging drugs, including alcohol. If there are any primary target groups, the children under one year, especially day one to six months, and pregnant women, especially pregnant adolescents should be separated out for attention. (See appendix 1, critical phases and some statistics.)

Other ways of identifying those in acute need are through the schools, churches, community organizations, social or case workers, health care facilities, private physicians or the community agents or contact personnel such as mail men, insurance men, job placement personnel or even the police. (Use of the last for this purpose might help improve their local image.)

Other ways of identifying those in the hunger range could be by specifying particular ethnic or racial groups or those in certain geographical locations as potential hunger candidates and investigating to ascertain their status.

Another suggestion might be to make use of I.R.S. data banks as a source of economic information in finding the hungry.

## III. PROGRAMMATIC RELIEF MEASURES

(a) A program of immediate relief should be instituted utilizing surplus commodities by direct distribution, through indigenous local agencies such as community organizations, churches, schools, etc., on a no questions asked basis, that is simply declared or identified need. Also the use of vouchers for follow up mandatory. The use of both commodities and vouchers or stamps simultaneously, rather than one or the other, is vitally important.

(b) A program of longer term referral and work with those whose need is more than transient, and in whom evidences of malnutrition damage have been identified should be developed. These should be determined by those involved in distribution of acute relief or other agencies in the community who should then insist on medical referral of all questionable cases to the local agencies or call for special examination through the Department of Children and Family services, Public Aid, or other specially designed agency or agencies. Such referral is vital to the development of a data bank and method of assaying the effectiveness of any current program as well as a more orderly and meaningful planning of any future program.

## IV. STANDARDS FOR DETERMINING ADEQUATE DIET

The highest possible level of nutritional needs should be accepted as standard such as that recommended by the National Research Council, the National Academy of Sciences or the Recommended Daily Allowance of the Food and Nutrition Board of the Department of Agriculture.

## V. DIAGNOSTIC FEATURES

(See appendix 1) diagnostic features, clinical science, chemical findings.

Diagnosis of the hungry and malnourished should be made as simply as possible and available to professional as well as nonprofessional individuals. It should not depend upon or wait for medical determination but based on immediate impression of those in closest contact with the problem.

- (1) From history of eating habits recent and long term.
- (2) Visible weight and height through observation or measure (such as the Stuart Charts).
- (3) Attitudinal signs—apathetic, listless, irritable, lethargic, etc.
- (4) Some quickly visible clinical features available to even the untrained: hair dry, face discolored or oily, skin scaling, cracked etc. nails

cracked, lined or change, eyes and sight altered, lips cracked, gums sore, stomach out, muscles poor, excess fat compared to size and musculature, etc. (for details see appendix I, clinical signs.)

#### VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) Identify and assist those on public aid as well as those not on public aid and render immediate help with a minimum of questions or red tape.

(2) Develop program for long term medical and community follow-up of all cases, particularly those with clear cut developmental changes or malnutritional defects.

(3) Public aid procedure should be revamped in order to raise standards of food allowance to recipients.

(4) Provide adequate school breakfast and lunch programs to all identifiable children, if not to all school children based on history and particularly in known affected areas.

(5) No specific surveys or studies of a preliminary nature should be required, however long term ongoing evaluations of progress should be developed on a continuing basis.

(6) Prescriptions for emergency food or special medical attention, high protein diet, etc. should be possible through doctors, ministers, caseworkers, or other agencies who are on the scene witnesses without further investigation or delay and should be routed through a local food assistance program rather than through Springfield.

(7) Development of neighborhood cooperatives inhibit or prevent gouging of the poor by food stores.

(8) Food stamps should be redeemable in all stores, not in currency exchanges, with further loss of value.

(9) Purchase requirements on food stamps should be lowered.

(10) Method should be evolved to remove the stigma for the food stamp or voucher recipient. Perhaps this can be done by means of an identification card that looks like a credit card.

(11) Revamp "aid to first pay" method so that recipient may get more and more immediate help.

(12) Decentralize the public aid checks so that there will not be the customary delay in recipient receipt.

(13) Governor should support pending food legislation especially those bills dealing with school lunch programs.

(14) Two checks to Public Aid recipients instead of three pegged to realistic price rise index.

(15) Community involved, if not control of these programs to help the hungry and malnourished.

(16) Establishment of community pantries for immediate distribution of foods in emergency situations.

(17) "Authority to Purchase" cards, now issued monthly, should be issued once each six months.

(18) Minimum cash contribution by the family in order to benefit from food stamps should be reduced or direct cash payments provided instead of food stamps.

(19) Eligible families should be permitted to purchase food stamps on a weekly or bi-weekly basis.

(20) Distribution points for food stamp acquisition should be more accessible both geographically and time-wise.

(21) Income eligibility levels for non-public assistance cases should be raised.

(22) Increase cash of food stamp allotments to families and individuals.

(23) Remove penalties to intact families or those with minimal marginal side income.

(24) Supplemental Food Programs such as National School Lunch Act, Special Milk Program—U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Breakfast—U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Child Nutrition Act of 1966, Elementary School—Secondary Education Act—Title I, Surplus Commodities for Group Care of Children all should be taken full advantage of.

(25) Use of special food enrichments or supplements such as Incaparina (Guatemala), Fish Flour (Mexico) or other supplements without changing basic style of the diet. Experiments along these lines should be encouraged even though there is currently considerable resistance in the black community to such

a suggestion as being "Un-American" in that it seems to identify and select out certain cases for "Paternalistic" treatment. Educational effort should be made to change this resistant attitude.

(26) Use of innovative approaches such as Food Carts, Prepackaged Food (TV Dinner Like) instead of massive dining room building for school facilities, etc.

(27) Training mothers in nutritional care by school or school kitchens to have them rotate through to see methods, get lectures, and help with preparation of school breakfast and lunch as well as possibly eating breakfast themselves under these circumstances.

(28) Develop indigenous day care centers where children can play together in settings supervised by the mothers themselves on a rotational basis and/or selected basis. This would facilitate both child and mother growth and training. Programs for the mothers could be provided at the same time in such centers.

#### VI. CONCLUSION

The issue of hunger and its grading into malnutrition is of immediate and long term importance. Its care and cure must be also two phased. To help indiscriminately those in the poverty area and others identified with emergency food, and established emergency food systems for new arrivals, and others in urgent temporary need. These approaches should be integrated into the community agencies and facilities already indigenously established, aware of the needs and trusted by the community.

Methods of sorting out those in more chronic or serious medical need must be developed also so that medical care may be instituted immediately and simultaneously. Follow up procedures must be established medically as well as in terms of public aid. Programs to alter the basic concept of public aid to include changing the welfare system to one of progressive training for more independent living should be established. This should include jobs, budgetary and nutritional training. Perhaps mothers might be given nutritional training in the school kitchens. Also group care of children (Day Care Centers) manned by the mothers themselves should be instituted.

The hunger problem is a social, economic, medical and educational one. There is no guarantee that merely providing more money or more food for the economically or medically hungry is going to change ingrained habits concerning the use of food. In fact, there is considerable evidence to the contrary i.e. increasing the standard of living or providing more money does not of itself improve the standard of nutrition. This should be underscored and kept clearly in mind. Such a program might inadvertently provide new and improved methods for rendering the impoverished and hungry segment of the population more dependent reducing their initiative further and ultimately lowering rather than raising the dignity of the poor. This is a clear and present danger which must somehow be thought through and diverted. Such danger should be considered along with the necessary benefits to be derived from the valid and immediate relief of the problem of hunger in the State of Illinois.

#### APPENDIX 1

##### GOVERNOR'S TASK FORCE ON HUNGER—CONFERENCE ON THE MEDICAL ASPECTS

###### *Scope of the problem*

Of thirty million adjudged below the poverty level, ten million men, women, and children are said to be suffering from some degree of hunger and malnutrition in the U.S.A.

###### *Definition and classification (proposed)*

1. Hunger, intentional or unavoidable: This may be simple, temporary, missed meals, diets, money lack, preferring or needing other things to eating, insufficient food.
2. Undernutrition: A general limitation or reduction of all food intake, but proportions and ingredients adequate and in balance.
3. Faulty nutrition: Improper foods, food fads, pica (clay, starcheaters), "malnutrition of affluence", cultural, traditional, local, national styles in eating producing serious dietary imbalances or inadequacies.

4. Malnutrition: Hunger, undernutrition, faulty nutrition, and evidences of moderate to severe food and metabolic deficiencies.

A. Vitamin and/or mineral deficiencies: Alone, but usually in combinations.

B. Anemias: Iron deficiency, nutritional megaloblastic, protein deficiency.

C. Protein-calorie starvation: Kwashiorkor (ages 1 to 4), marasmus (usually below 1 year).

5. Complicating Factors:

A. Infections: Bacterial, rickettsial, viral, amoebic.

B. Infestations: Nematodes (roundworms); Ascariasis, trichuriasis (whipworms); hookworm disease.

#### *Critical phases of nutritional needs*

1. Years 0 to 5: Brain damage, growth retardation.

2. Puberty, ages 9 to 14: Special demands of changing mind and body, particularly female.

3. Pregnancy: Anemia, iron and mineral deficiencies, etc.

4. Aging: Osteomalacia, osteoporosis, other senescent changes.

5. Disabled, physically or mentally.

6. Secondary to use of drugs such as alcohol, narcotics, psychedelics, and amphetamines.

#### *Some statistics*

1. Seventy-five per cent of low income children, 6 months to 2 years of age, have iron deficiency anemia (hemoglobin below 11 GM. %) compared to middle and upper income families where it is less than 10%.

2. Preschool children, ages 2 to 5, show retarded physical development in 12 to 15% of low income youngsters (this is 4 times the rate found in the general population).

3. Among women from poor economic strata, the prematurity rate is 16% (twice that in mothers from more favored circumstances).

4. Malnutrition during the first 6 months reduces the absolute number of cells in all organs, including the brain; later malnutrition, 6 to 18 months, causes reduction in cell size and protein content, not number, (at the time of birth the human brain normally gains weight at the rate of 1 to 2 Mg. per min. or 1.5 Gm. per day).

#### *Diagnostic features*

1. History: Eating habits from patient or family; acute illnesses: diarrhea, URI, measles, other, chronic illnesses, congenital malformities, failure to thrive, below standards on height and weight tables.

2. General condition: Apathetic, listless, abulic, humorless, irritable, frightened.

#### *Clinical signs*

1. General: Height and weight, according to Stuart-Boston charts; muscular thickness, according to formula of Brozek, (with correction for skin fold thickness); subcutaneous fat, triceps, below scapula, at waist with harpenden skin fold caliper.

2. Hair: "Staring" hair, depigmentation.

3. Face: Suborbital pigmentation, nasolabial dissebacia, bilateral erythema, discromia.

4. Glands: Thyroid enlarged, parotid enlarged unilaterally, submaxillary enlarged.

5. Skin: Follicular keratosis; perifolliculosis, dry or scaling (xerosis); cracked; hyperpigmentation; acne vulgaris, acne rosacea; hemorrhagic manifestations, petechiae, bruises, etc.; pallor.

6. Nails: Spooning, striated (horizontal), breakable.

7. Eyes: Thickened conjunctiva, conjunctival infection, blepharitis, night blindness (nyctalopia), light sensitivity (photophobia), glare blindness (hemeralopia).

8. Lips: Cracked lips (cheilosis), Inflammation of mouth (stomatitis) with angular cracking.

9. Tongue: Filiform papillary atrophy; fungiform papillary atrophy; papillary hypertrophy of hyperemia; furrow-scrotal appearance; fissured; red, tip and/or lateral margin; geographic; edema.

10. Gums and teeth: Caries, malocclusion, marginal redness, marginal swelling, swollen red papillae localized or diffuse, bleeding (gingivitis).

11. Abdomen: Protruding, hepatomegaly.

12. Skeletal and muscular: Rachitic deformities—"squared" head, beaded ribs; bowed legs, winged scapulae, knock knees; muscle tone poor; flat buttocks; oostemocalacia in adults.

13. Nervous and mental: Nutritional polyneuritis—vibratory sensation absence, loss of ankle jerk, calf tenderness, loss of knee jerk, motor weakness, combined system disease; degenerative brain disease (encephalopathic states); IQ performance, reduced motoric and intellectual responses; mental retardation.

14. Cardiovascular: Pulse rate greater than 100, blood pressure greater than 140/80, murmur, beriberi heart disease, nutritional edema.

#### *Chemical findings*

1. Total proteins, albumin, and globulin fraction determinations reduced in whole or part.

2. Serum vitamin A and carotene determinations borderline or reduced.

3. Urinary determinations of thiamine, riboflavin, N<sup>2</sup>-methylnicotinamide, and nitrogen in relation to creatinine excretion values altered.

4. Pantothenic acid altered.

5. Cholesterol altered.

6. Iron reduced.

7. Ascorbic acid reduced.

8. CBC, hemoglobin, hematocrit, mean corpuscular haemoglobin concentration altered.

9. Serum assays of vitamin B<sub>12</sub> and folic acid reduced.

#### *Relationship to child abuse*

1. How related to quality of health care and daily food requirements?

2. How much of clinical findings directly related?

3. How reliable an index at a clinical or subclinical level?

#### *Economic aspects and definition*

1. What does current welfare formula provide nutritionally?

2. What changes will be necessary?

3. Will increased money alone provide the answer?

#### *Psychological, social, and cultural factors*

1. How much will individual idiosyncrasies, personal or group resistances, cultural styles ("soul food", etc.) influence the success of dietary innovations?

2. What is the role of education and how should it be developed?

#### *Other factors*

1. What other considerations must be understood or elaborated?

#### *Useful and meaningful amelioratives*

1. "Authority to purchase" cards, now issued monthly, should be issued once each 6 months.

2. Minimum cash contribution by the family in order to benefit from food stamps should be reduced or direct cash payments provided instead of food stamps.

3. Eligible families should be permitted to purchase food stamps on a weekly or biweekly basis.

4. Distribution points for food stamp acquisition should be more accessible both geographically and time-wise.

5. Income eligibility levels for non-public assistance cases should be raised.

6. Increase cash or food stamp allotment to families and individuals.

7. Remove penalty to intact families or those with minimal, marginal side income.

8. Supplemental food programs such as National School Lunch Act, special milk program—U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, breakfast—U.S. Dept. of Agri., Child Nutrition Act of 1966, Elementary-Secondary Education Act—title 1, surplus commodities for group care of children.

9. Use of special food enrichments or supplements, such as incaparina (Guatemala), fish flour (Mexico), or other supplements without changing basic "style" of diet.

10. Use of innovative approaches such as food carts, prepackaged food (TV dinner like) instead of massive dining room building for school facilities, etc.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AID,  
May 25, 1969.

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Director, Assistant to the Director.  
State Director, Food Stamp Program.  
Division Chiefs.  
Assistant Division Chiefs (Community Services, Research & Statistics, and Downstate Operations Only).  
Section Supervisors (Methods and Systems, Case Review, General Assistance, and Legislative Research Only).  
Regional Directors.  
County Superintendents.  
Director, Cook County Department of Public Aid.  
Director, Food Stamp Program, Cook County Department of Public Aid.  
U.S.D.A. Field Agent.

From: Wayne Epperson, Chief, Division of Research and Statistics.  
Re Food stamp program, Statistical Tabulations—1st Quarter 1969.

Of the 101 downstate counties participating during the 1st quarter 1969, only 66 counties participated for the entire 3 months. The 17 counties participating in only February and March were Bureau, Ford, Fulton, Grundy, Kane, Kankakee, Knox, La Salle, Livingston, Marshall, McLean, Peoria, Putnam, Stark, Tazewell, Will and Woodford. The 18 counties participating only for March were Boone, Carroll, De Kalb, Du Page, Henderson, Henry, Jo Daviess, Kendall, Lake, Lee, McHenry, Mercer, Ogle, Rock Island, Stephenson, Warren, Whiteside and Winnebago.

The following tables have been attached to show Food Stamp Program statistics for the First Quarter 1969.

Tables 1 a, b, c, d, e) Amount of Stamps for cases certified and participated, by program.

Tables 2 a, b) Number of persons on assistance, certified, and participating, AABD & ADC Combined.

Tables 3 a, b, c) Number of persons and households certified and participating, All Programs, GA and NA.

These tables are for your convenience. If you are interested in other statistics, please bring it to my attention.

WAYNE EPPERSON.

ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AID

TABLE 1a.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED, 1ST QUARTER, 1969 (AABD)

County	Certified †			Participated †			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	
Total State.....	\$1,243,574	\$446,414	\$1,689,988	\$1,080,500	\$383,930	\$1,464,430	86.7
Total Cook.....	802,120	270,617	1,072,737	707,745	238,385	946,130	88.2
Total downstate.....	441,454	175,797	617,251	372,755	145,545	518,300	84.0
Adams.....	9,719	3,310	13,029	8,459	2,860	11,319	94.1
Alexander.....	7,582	2,594	10,176	6,323	2,180	8,503	83.6
Bond.....	2,173	733	2,906	2,015	675	2,690	92.6
Boone.....	54	90	144	45	75	120	83.3
Brown.....	1,275	414	1,689	1,221	396	1,617	95.7
Bureau.....	210	166	376	156	124	280	74.5
Calhoun.....	2,515	840	3,355	2,126	714	2,840	84.6
Carroll.....	82	136	218	82	136	218	100.0
Cass.....	2,614	848	3,462	2,249	734	2,983	86.2
Champaign.....	5,628	1,930	7,558	4,499	1,513	6,012	79.5
Christian.....	4,338	1,489	5,827	3,805	1,288	5,093	87.4
Clark.....	1,070	390	1,460	902	336	1,238	84.8
Clay.....	3,465	1,164	4,629	3,103	1,035	4,138	89.4
Clinton.....	1,298	414	1,712	1,064	336	1,400	81.8
Coles.....	3,147	1,188	4,335	2,865	1,022	3,887	89.7
Crawford.....	1,760	603	2,363	1,598	549	2,147	90.9
Cumberland.....	498	159	657	480	153	633	96.3
De Kalb.....	54	90	144	36	60	96	66.7
De Witt.....	1,314	420	1,734	903	288	1,191	68.7
Douglas.....	2,520	856	3,376	2,068	681	2,749	81.4
Du Page.....	36	60	96	27	45	72	75.0
Edgar.....	4,339	1,491	5,830	3,813	1,317	5,130	88.0
Edwards.....	399	165	564	300	120	420	74.5

See footnote at end of table, p. 3381.

TABLE 1a.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED,  
1ST QUARTER, 1969 (AABD)—Continued

County	Certified <sup>1</sup>			Participated <sup>1</sup>			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total Amount of stamps	
Effingham	\$2,303	\$750	\$3,053	\$1,954	\$636	\$2,590	84.8
Fayette	3,237	1,117	4,354	2,792	958	3,750	86.1
Ford	833	651	1,484	396	362	758	51.1
Franklin	24,097	8,305	32,402	21,385	7,360	28,745	88.7
Fulton	3,016	2,550	5,566	2,324	2,125	4,449	79.9
Gallatin	6,150	2,051	8,201	5,548	1,861	7,409	90.3
Greene	5,344	1,791	7,125	4,605	1,548	6,153	86.4
Grundy	532	430	962	343	331	674	70.1
Hamilton	2,805	937	3,742	2,061	682	2,743	73.3
Hancock	3,449	1,201	4,650	2,799	952	3,751	80.7
Hardin	2,649	926	3,575	2,389	833	3,222	90.1
Henderson	120	202	322	120	202	322	100.0
Henry	146	242	388	126	210	336	86.6
Iroquois	1,200	384	1,584	1,071	342	1,413	89.2
Jackson	8,726	2,977	11,703	7,840	2,689	10,529	90.0
Jasper	1,210	475	1,685	1,057	427	1,484	88.1
Jefferson	10,513	3,573	14,086	9,457	3,186	12,643	90.0
Jersey	1,021	400	1,601	1,054	350	1,404	87.7
Jo Daviess	163	275	438	163	275	438	100.0
Johnson	3,424	1,159	4,583	2,919	948	3,867	84.4
Kane	2,096	1,662	3,758	872	786	1,658	44.1
Kankakee	2,777	2,333	5,110	1,846	1,606	3,452	67.7
Kendall	46	76	122	37	61	98	80.3
Knox	2,664	2,173	4,837	1,656	1,528	3,184	65.8
Lake	178	292	470	152	248	400	85.1
La Salle	1,097	935	2,032	764	726	1,490	73.3
Lawrence	4,022	1,315	5,337	3,609	1,185	4,794	89.8
Lee	56	92	148	38	62	100	67.6
Livingston	936	776	1,712	625	594	1,219	71.2
Logan	1,045	357	1,402	898	309	1,207	86.1
Macon	13,415	4,544	17,959	10,974	3,684	14,658	81.6
Macoupin	3,021	981	4,002	2,719	873	3,592	90.0
Madison	26,634	9,361	35,995	22,624	7,880	30,504	84.7
Marion	9,289	3,347	12,636	7,914	2,811	10,725	84.9
Marshall	982	832	1,814	426	460	886	48.8
Mason	1,701	570	2,271	1,553	516	2,069	91.1
Massac	7,353	2,449	9,802	6,395	2,139	8,534	87.1
McDonough	1,389	444	1,833	1,335	426	1,761	96.1
McHenry	279	461	740	188	308	496	67.0
McLean	1,345	1,116	2,461	988	909	1,897	77.1
Menard	680	210	890	570	174	744	83.6
Mercer	90	126	216	81	111	192	88.9
Monroe	898	296	1,194	824	272	1,096	91.8
Montgomery	2,633	894	3,527	2,417	818	3,235	91.7
Morgan	6,455	2,147	8,602	5,610	1,863	7,473	86.9
Moultrie	1,832	642	2,474	1,598	555	2,153	87.0
Ogle	276	468	744	222	378	600	80.6
Peoria	11,327	9,140	20,467	6,235	5,903	12,138	59.3
Perry	4,532	1,573	6,105	3,782	1,331	5,113	83.8
Piatt	1,056	348	1,404	930	306	1,236	88.0
Pike	5,438	2,015	7,453	4,284	1,540	5,824	78.1
Pope	2,209	728	2,937	2,032	674	2,706	92.1
Pulaski	8,219	2,882	11,101	7,522	2,651	10,173	91.6
Putnam	225	183	408	90	78	168	41.2
Randolph	1,789	639	2,428	1,680	603	2,283	94.0
Richland	1,516	493	2,009	1,339	429	1,768	88.0
Rock Island	1,692	2,746	4,438	1,021	1,639	2,660	59.9
Saline	21,631	7,327	28,958	19,667	6,668	26,335	90.0
Sangamon	12,746	4,362	17,108	10,573	3,617	14,190	82.9
Schuyler	3,099	1,077	4,176	2,706	951	3,657	87.6
Scott	1,260	420	1,680	1,156	384	1,540	91.7
Shelby	2,870	933	3,803	2,551	831	3,382	88.9
Stark	42	88	130	42	46	88	100.0
St. Clair	77,404	26,531	103,935	65,286	22,383	87,669	84.3
Stephenson	128	212	340	107	172	279	50.6
Tazewell	3,494	2,902	6,396	2,322	2,109	4,431	67.9
Union	4,385	1,545	5,930	4,058	1,412	5,470	92.2
Vermilion	7,355	2,651	10,006	6,322	2,282	8,604	86.0
Wabash	1,716	583	2,299	1,491	502	1,993	86.7
Warren	542	810	1,352	416	624	1,040	76.9
Washington	706	228	934	670	216	886	94.9
Wayne	5,516	1,878	7,394	4,266	1,420	5,686	76.9
White	3,889	1,407	5,296	3,393	1,172	4,565	86.2
Whiteside	529	851	1,380	450	724	1,174	85.1
Will	2,012	1,708	3,720	1,499	1,314	2,813	75.6
Williamson	21,310	7,206	28,516	19,533	6,577	26,110	91.6
Winnebago	1,919	3,113	5,032	1,614	2,656	4,270	84.9
Woodford	511	415	926	313	299	612	66.1

<sup>1</sup> Downstate counties may not add to total downstate due to rounding.

TABLE 1b.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED, 1ST QUARTER, 1969 (ADC COMBINED)

County	Certified <sup>1</sup>			Participated <sup>1</sup>			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	
Total, State.....	\$6,337,118	\$2,569,053	\$8,906,171	\$4,076,378	\$1,662,451	\$5,738,829	64.4
Total Cook.....	4,600,082	1,737,143	6,337,225	3,041,465	1,155,720	4,197,185	66.2
Total downstate.....	1,737,036	831,910	2,568,946	1,034,913	506,731	1,541,644	60.0
Adams.....	18,343	7,323	25,666	10,478	4,208	14,686	57.2
Alexander.....	26,982	10,236	37,218	22,264	8,540	30,804	82.8
Bond.....	4,106	2,165	6,271	3,100	1,609	4,709	75.1
Boone.....	170	294	464	170	294	464	100.0
Brown.....	1,334	534	1,868	805	344	1,149	61.5
Bureau.....	1,414	1,420	2,834	876	1,005	1,881	66.4
Calhoun.....	3,367	1,126	4,493	2,952	994	3,946	77.8
Carroll.....	245	417	662	174	298	472	71.3
Cass.....	2,436	812	3,248	1,398	444	1,842	56.7
Champaign.....	40,839	16,169	57,008	22,924	9,320	32,244	56.6
Christian.....	6,450	2,424	8,874	3,781	1,478	5,259	59.3
Clark.....	2,689	942	3,631	2,177	776	2,953	81.3
Clay.....	7,181	3,088	10,269	4,015	1,793	5,808	56.5
Clinton.....	1,435	661	2,096	1,021	390	1,411	67.3
Coles.....	8,997	3,380	12,377	6,739	2,514	9,253	74.8
Crawford.....	3,784	1,372	5,156	2,575	967	3,542	68.7
Cumberland.....	1,659	677	2,336	1,299	561	1,860	79.6
De Kalb.....	269	404	673	230	392	622	92.4
De Witt.....	1,798	622	2,420	742	262	1,004	41.5
Douglas.....	4,541	2,023	6,564	3,224	1,344	4,568	69.6
Du Page.....	1,182	1,772	2,954	922	1,544	2,466	83.5
Edgar.....	5,534	2,042	7,576	3,725	1,399	5,124	67.6
Edwards.....	883	459	1,342	401	243	644	48.0
Effingham.....	10,281	3,962	14,243	7,064	2,775	9,839	69.1
Fayette.....	4,790	1,679	6,469	3,187	1,155	4,342	67.1
Ford.....	2,302	2,066	4,368	886	823	1,709	39.1
Franklin.....	36,491	14,666	51,157	25,880	10,294	36,174	70.7
Fulton.....	6,120	5,408	11,528	3,561	3,855	7,416	64.3
Gallatin.....	5,726	2,097	7,823	3,236	1,195	4,431	56.8
Greene.....	3,183	1,628	4,811	2,013	1,058	3,071	63.9
Grundy.....	722	599	1,321	624	526	1,150	87.1
Hamilton.....	4,998	1,848	6,846	3,603	1,322	4,925	71.9
Hancock.....	3,285	1,303	4,588	2,076	776	2,852	62.2
Hardin.....	6,838	2,298	9,136	6,059	2,016	8,075	88.4
Henderson.....	310	522	832	200	336	536	64.4
Henry.....	385	647	1,032	214	358	572	55.4
Iroquois.....	4,904	1,716	6,620	3,274	1,134	4,408	66.6
Jackson.....	38,157	14,839	52,996	21,830	8,615	30,445	57.4
Jasper.....	2,467	929	3,396	1,948	739	2,687	79.1
Jefferson.....	36,462	14,324	50,786	25,873	10,326	36,199	71.3
Jersey.....	1,765	614	2,379	1,112	387	1,499	63.0
Jo Daviess.....	697	1,191	1,888	592	1,016	1,608	85.2
Johnson.....	5,010	1,991	7,001	3,497	1,409	4,906	70.1
Kane.....	11,182	9,920	21,102	5,536	5,693	11,229	53.2
Kankakee.....	25,316	22,179	47,495	12,445	13,042	25,487	53.7
Kendall.....	112	220	332	112	220	332	100.0
Knox.....	8,791	7,265	16,056	4,276	4,155	8,431	52.5
Lake.....	3,515	6,053	9,568	2,374	4,098	6,472	67.6
La Salle.....	7,735	7,011	14,746	4,033	4,326	8,359	56.7
Lawrence.....	19,756	7,935	27,692	14,070	5,722	19,792	71.5
Lee.....	518	802	1,320	381	659	1,040	78.8
Livingston.....	3,618	3,280	6,898	2,132	2,120	4,252	61.6
Logan.....	786	540	1,326	644	484	1,128	85.1
Macon.....	73,113	28,580	101,693	38,351	15,238	53,589	52.7
Macoupin.....	9,278	3,999	13,277	4,395	2,103	6,498	48.9
Madison.....	145,646	57,538	203,184	93,124	36,366	129,490	63.7
Marion.....	28,135	11,318	39,453	17,850	7,344	25,194	63.9
Marshall.....	1,174	1,200	2,374	754	734	1,488	62.7
Mason.....	3,181	1,296	4,477	2,364	875	3,239	72.3
Massac.....	17,644	6,546	24,190	10,465	3,951	14,416	59.6
McDonough.....	2,943	1,110	4,053	1,841	640	2,481	61.2
McHenry.....	2,133	3,631	5,764	1,187	2,026	3,213	55.7
McLean.....	2,068	1,884	3,952	1,070	1,100	2,170	54.9
Menard.....	1,344	800	2,144	1,036	587	1,623	75.7
Mercer.....	142	242	384	142	242	384	100.0
Monroe.....	3,949	1,723	5,672	1,829	855	2,684	47.3
Montgomery.....	3,941	1,762	5,703	1,635	890	2,525	44.3
Morgan.....	9,121	3,500	12,621	4,940	1,897	6,837	54.2
Moultrie.....	3,472	1,491	4,963	1,737	721	2,458	49.5
Ogle.....	1,322	2,112	3,434	976	1,602	2,578	75.1
Peoria.....	87,008	74,317	161,325	44,435	43,547	87,982	54.5
Perry.....	4,237	1,952	6,189	2,110	967	3,107	50.2
Piatt.....	2,600	1,108	3,708	1,785	771	2,546	68.7

See footnote at end of table, p. 3383.

TABLE 1b.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED, 1ST QUARTER, 1969 (ADC COMBINED)—Continued

County	Certified <sup>1</sup>			Participated <sup>1</sup>			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	
Pike.....	\$9,866	\$4,220	\$14,086	\$5,336	\$2,450	\$7,786	\$55.3
Pope.....	6,012	2,143	8,155	4,304	1,537	5,841	71.6
Pulaski.....	31,480	12,050	43,530	17,924	6,896	24,820	57.0
Putnam.....	332	358	690	291	287	578	83.8
Randolph.....	2,889	1,549	4,438	1,323	770	2,093	47.2
Richland.....	2,335	812	3,147	1,322	464	1,786	56.8
Rock Island.....	9,386	15,804	25,190	5,332	9,032	14,364	57.0
Saline.....	26,900	9,933	36,833	17,474	6,417	23,891	64.9
Sangamon.....	43,321	15,886	59,207	18,908	6,917	25,825	43.6
Schuyler.....	2,987	1,314	4,301	1,696	806	2,502	58.2
Scott.....	3,273	1,445	4,718	1,306	608	1,914	40.6
Shelby.....	3,727	1,443	5,170	2,239	887	3,126	60.5
Stark.....	242	249	491	179	226	405	82.5
St. Clair.....	650,163	256,099	906,262	385,821	150,195	536,016	59.1
Stephenson.....	1,092	1,862	2,954	656	1,120	1,776	60.1
Tazewell.....	18,650	15,730	34,380	10,258	10,035	20,293	59.0
Union.....	8,772	4,252	13,024	4,960	2,569	7,529	57.8
Vermilion.....	26,088	11,043	37,131	14,274	6,081	20,355	54.8
Wabash.....	4,197	1,492	5,689	2,223	815	3,038	53.4
Warren.....	800	1,364	2,164	608	1,046	1,654	76.4
Washington.....	2,271	1,078	3,349	1,272	655	1,927	57.5
Wayne.....	9,422	4,134	13,556	5,630	2,432	8,062	59.5
White.....	7,225	3,208	10,433	3,935	1,694	5,629	54.0
Whiteside.....	3,237	4,858	8,095	1,712	2,820	4,532	56.0
Will.....	17,095	15,360	32,455	9,129	10,217	19,346	59.6
Williamson.....	22,240	8,383	30,623	13,234	5,023	18,257	59.6
Winnebago.....	17,261	28,461	45,722	11,952	20,059	32,011	70.0
Woodford.....	1,462	1,376	2,838	862	844	1,706	60.1

<sup>1</sup> Downstate counties may not add to total downstate due to rounding.

TABLE 1c.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED, 1ST QUARTER 1969, GENERAL ASSISTANCE

County	Certified <sup>1</sup>			Participated <sup>1</sup>			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	
Total State.....	\$1,034,344	\$397,567	\$1,431,911	\$860,899	\$328,051	\$1,188,950	83.0
Total Cook.....	844,244	317,413	1,161,657	707,299	265,472	972,771	83.7
Total downstate.....	190,100	80,154	270,254	153,600	62,579	216,179	80.0
Adams.....							
Alexander.....	5,071	2,028	7,099	4,469	1,808	6,277	88.4
Bond.....	318	176	494	296	141	437	88.5
Boone.....							
Brown.....	366	152	518	366	152	518	100.0
Bureau.....							
Calhoun.....							
Carroll.....							
Cass.....							
Champaign.....							
Christian.....	646	270	916	646	270	916	100.0
Clark.....							
Clay.....							
Clinton.....							
Coles.....	690	486	1,176	475	388	863	73.4
Crawford.....							
Cumberland.....							
De Kalb.....							
De Witt.....							
Douglas.....	480	186	666	480	186	666	100.0
Du Page.....							
Edgar.....	190	182	372	90	66	156	41.9
Edwards.....							
Effingham.....							
Fayette.....	20	32	52	20	32	52	100.0
Ford.....							
Franklin.....	20,730	9,224	29,954	16,097	7,112	23,209	77.5
Fulton.....	77	87	164	77	87	164	100.0

See footnote at end of table, p. 3384.

TABLE 1c.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED, 1ST QUARTER 1969,  
GENERAL ASSISTANCE—Continued

County	Certified <sup>1</sup>			Participated <sup>1</sup>			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	
Gallatin	\$1,898	\$873	\$2,771	\$1,434	\$658	\$2,092	75.5
Greene	36	60	96	36	60	96	100.0
Grundy							
Hamilton							
Hancock							
Hardin	2,449	1,013	3,462	2,189	927	3,116	90.0
Henderson							
Henry							
Iroquois							
Jackson	450	258	708	434	252	686	96.9
Jasper							
Jefferson	5,551	2,295	7,846	4,508	1,808	6,316	80.5
Jersey	192	108	300	176	102	278	92.7
Jo Daviess	36	60	96	36	60	96	100.0
Johnson	212	84	296	110	36	146	49.3
Kane							
Kankakee	433	376	809	293	243	536	66.3
Kendall							
Knox	985	1,206	2,191	641	783	1,424	65.0
Lake							
La Salle							
Lawrence							
Lee	20	38	58	20	38	58	100.0
Livingston							
Logan							
Macon	10,685	4,961	15,646	7,452	3,426	10,878	69.5
Macoupin	1,574	1,116	2,690	1,210	749	1,959	72.8
Madison	4,521	2,036	6,557	2,954	1,221	4,175	63.7
Marion	1,233	548	1,781	1,052	449	1,501	84.3
Marshall							
Mason							
Massac	1,875	835	2,710	1,690	751	2,441	90.1
McDonough	57	18	75	57	18	75	100.0
McHenry							
McLean							
Menard							
Mercer							
Monroe	1,608	554	2,162	1,245	434	1,679	77.7
Montgomery	486	168	654	486	168	654	100.0
Morgan							
Moultrie							
Ogle							
Peoria	1,645	1,679	3,324	1,145	1,337	2,482	74.7
Perry	821	437	1,258	513	259	772	61.4
Piatt							
Pike							
Pope	1,475	622	2,097	1,456	616	2,072	98.8
Pulaski	11,153	4,394	15,547	9,686	3,814	13,500	86.8
Putnam							
Randolph	114	36	150	114	36	150	71.5
Richland							
Rock Island							
Saline	8,335	3,503	11,838	5,934	2,526	8,460	71.5
Sangamon	14,227	6,595	20,822	9,722	4,045	13,767	66.1
Schuyler							
Scott							
Shelby							
Stark							
St. Clair	82,741	30,265	113,006	70,571	24,938	95,509	84.5
Stephenson							
Tazewell	30	62	92	30	62	92	100.0
Union	48	18	66	48	18	66	100.0
Vermilion	193	151	344	72	66	138	40.1
Wabash							
Warren							
Washington							
Wayne	144	54	198	127	48	175	88.4
White							
Whiteside							
Will							
Williamson	6,285	2,908	9,193	5,135	2,392	7,527	81.9
Winnebago							
Woodford							

<sup>1</sup> Downstate counties may not add to total downstate due to rounding.

TABLE 1d.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED, 1ST QUARTER, 1969  
(NONASSISTANCE)

County	Certified <sup>1</sup>			Participated <sup>1</sup>			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	
Total State.....	\$607,588	\$334,890	\$942,478	\$488,958	\$273,652	\$762,610	80.9
Total Cook.....	155,850	71,758	227,608	127,017	58,677	185,694	81.6
Total downstate.....	451,738	263,132	714,870	361,941	214,975	576,916	80.7
Adams.....	19,731	14,141	33,872	15,150	11,348	26,498	78.2
Alexander.....	7,102	3,502	10,604	6,169	3,118	9,287	87.6
Bond.....	2,694	1,318	4,012	2,522	1,206	3,728	92.9
Brown.....	116	280	396	116	280	396	100.0
Bureau.....	1,366	560	1,926	1,294	532	1,826	94.8
Calhoun.....	219	177	396	165	157	322	81.3
Carroll.....	2,154	1,270	3,424	1,416	916	2,332	68.3
Cass.....	141	287	428	141	287	428	100.0
Champaign.....	2,523	1,129	3,652	2,376	1,002	3,378	92.5
Christian.....	10,222	5,590	15,812	8,522	4,776	13,298	83.6
Clark.....	5,430	2,358	7,788	4,460	1,942	6,402	82.2
Clay.....	2,126	872	2,998	1,780	750	2,530	84.4
Clinton.....	4,178	2,410	6,588	3,529	2,116	5,645	85.7
Coles.....	2,177	1,199	3,376	1,876	1,031	2,907	86.1
Cotes.....	3,187	1,703	4,890	2,622	1,410	4,032	82.5
Crawford.....	3,821	2,387	6,208	3,052	1,966	5,018	80.8
Cumberland.....	1,716	956	2,672	1,554	890	2,444	91.5
De Kalb.....	82	138	220	82	138	220	100.0
De Witt.....	1,130	434	1,564	919	371	1,290	82.5
Douglas.....	4,360	1,926	6,286	3,728	1,701	5,429	86.4
Du Page.....	110	192	302	102	178	280	92.7
Edgar.....	4,939	2,321	7,260	4,154	1,961	6,115	84.2
Edwards.....	2,422	1,156	3,578	1,884	892	2,776	77.6
Effingham.....	3,863	2,241	6,104	2,792	1,599	4,391	71.9
Fayette.....	2,578	1,644	4,222	2,207	1,463	3,670	86.9
Ford.....	162	214	376	162	214	376	100.0
Franklin.....	22,693	10,363	33,056	20,049	9,243	29,292	88.6
Fulton.....	2,547	2,751	5,298	2,313	2,617	4,930	93.1
Gallatin.....	4,672	2,280	6,952	4,161	2,025	6,186	89.0
Greene.....	4,501	2,621	7,122	3,430	1,970	5,400	75.8
Grundy.....	368	408	776	316	340	656	84.5
Hamilton.....	4,075	2,811	6,886	3,105	2,193	5,298	76.9
Hancock.....	3,691	2,255	5,946	2,831	1,847	4,678	78.7
Hardin.....	4,358	2,638	6,996	3,818	2,263	6,081	86.9
Henderson.....	239	445	684	185	317	502	73.4
Henry.....	208	398	606	193	372	565	93.2
Iroquois.....	360	204	564	344	198	542	96.1
Jackson.....	12,649	6,417	19,066	9,487	4,954	14,441	75.7
Jasper.....	1,964	1,178	3,142	1,846	1,118	2,964	94.3
Jefferson.....	11,436	5,006	16,442	9,253	4,123	13,376	81.4
Jersey.....	1,406	1,038	2,444	977	838	1,815	74.3
Jo Daviess.....	265	523	788	210	424	634	80.5
Johnson.....	3,597	2,075	5,672	3,399	1,983	5,382	94.9
Kane.....	413	467	880	268	359	627	71.3
Kankakee.....	697	787	1,484	353	478	831	56.0
Kendall.....	21	45	66	21	45	66	100.0
Knox.....	1,172	1,350	2,522	835	1,080	1,915	75.9
Lake.....	111	139	250	86	92	178	71.2
La Salle.....	530	562	1,092	521	547	1,068	97.8
Lawrence.....	4,819	5,505	10,324	4,146	5,119	9,265	89.7
Lee.....	178	316	494	76	142	218	44.1
Livingston.....	944	1,020	1,964	505	678	1,183	60.2
Logan.....	2,504	1,226	3,730	1,599	832	2,431	65.2
Macon.....	13,419	5,547	18,966	11,168	4,502	15,670	82.6
Macoupin.....	7,498	4,378	11,876	6,385	3,897	10,282	86.6
Madison.....	45,285	30,355	75,640	34,045	24,373	58,418	77.2
Marion.....	15,254	8,490	23,744	10,379	6,161	16,540	44.4
Marshall.....	1,524	1,683	3,212	978	1,253	2,231	69.5
Masson.....	2,758	1,806	4,564	2,061	1,388	3,449	75.6
Massac.....	4,073	1,877	5,950	3,572	1,599	5,171	86.9
McDonough.....	802	434	1,236	772	420	1,192	96.4
McHenry.....	164	318	482	91	177	268	55.6
McLean.....	1,046	1,042	2,088	488	609	1,097	52.5
Menard.....	1,650	794	2,444	1,149	554	1,703	69.7
Mercer.....	650	1,230	1,880	511	952	1,463	77.8
Monroe.....	1,512	800	2,312	966	580	1,546	66.9
Montgomery.....	6,287	3,289	9,576	917	2,604	7,521	78.5
Morgan.....	4,720	2,120	6,840	2,987	1,340	4,327	63.3
Moultrie.....	908	416	1,324	880	400	1,280	96.7
Ogle.....	250	442	692	183	323	506	73.1
Peoria.....	6,479	6,767	13,246	4,463	4,760	9,223	69.6

See footnote at end of table, p. 3386.

TABLE 1d.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED 1ST QUARTER, 1969  
(NONASSISTANCE)—Continued

County	Certified <sup>1</sup>			Participated <sup>1</sup>			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	
Perry.....	\$3,502	\$2,312	\$5,814	\$2,803	\$1,918	\$4,721	81.2
Platt.....	339	171	510	339	171	510	100.0
Pike.....	9,296	5,976	15,272	6,549	4,330	10,879	71.2
Pope.....	3,590	2,088	5,678	3,031	1,793	4,824	85.0
Pulaski.....	7,153	3,241	10,394	5,784	2,564	8,348	80.3
Putnam.....	258	230	488	96	114	210	43.0
Randolph.....	7,654	5,402	13,056	6,015	4,401	10,416	79.8
Richland.....	2,739	1,147	3,886	2,074	898	2,972	76.5
Rock Island.....	864	1,552	2,416	702	1,251	1,953	80.8
Saline.....	16,973	7,649	24,622	14,626	6,480	21,106	85.7
Sangamon.....	14,702	7,122	21,824	10,768	5,238	16,006	73.3
Schuyler.....	1,470	718	2,188	1,192	610	1,802	82.4
Scott.....	2,420	1,008	3,428	2,192	910	3,102	90.5
Shelby.....	1,809	1,055	2,864	1,600	975	2,575	89.9
Stark.....	137	235	372	137	235	372	100.0
St. Clair.....	39,899	17,317	57,216	32,603	14,191	46,794	81.8
Stephenson.....	118	196	314	80	136	216	68.8
Tazewell.....	807	1,095	1,902	597	857	1,454	76.4
Union.....	3,003	1,413	4,416	2,644	1,228	3,872	87.7
Vermilion.....	7,668	3,608	11,276	5,921	2,767	8,688	77.0
Wabash.....	1,458	838	2,296	1,049	534	1,583	68.9
Warren.....	439	771	1,210	425	741	1,166	96.9
Washington.....	901	463	1,364	741	411	1,152	84.4
Wayne.....	8,153	4,211	12,364	6,848	3,616	10,464	84.5
White.....	5,456	2,678	8,134	4,692	2,320	7,012	86.6
Whiteside.....	311	589	900	270	512	782	86.9
Will.....	1,184	1,398	2,582	923	1,164	2,087	80.9
Williamson.....	12,903	6,181	19,084	11,440	5,405	16,845	88.8
Winnebago.....	2,499	4,803	7,302	2,236	4,348	6,548	90.3
Woodford.....	787	639	1,426	465	522	987	69.2

<sup>1</sup> Downstate counties may not add to total downstate due to rounding.

TABLE 1e.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED, 1ST QUARTER, 1969 (ALL PROGRAMS)

County	Certified <sup>1</sup>			Participated <sup>1</sup>			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	
Total, State.....	\$9,222,620	\$3,747,925	\$12,970,545	\$6,506,734	\$2,648,085	\$9,154,819	70.6
Total, Cook.....	6,402,295	2,396,932	8,799,227	4,583,526	1,718,255	6,301,781	71.6
Total, downstate.....	2,820,325	1,350,993	4,171,318	1,923,208	929,830	2,853,038	68.4
Adams.....	47,793	24,775	72,568	34,085	18,416	52,501	72.3
Alexander.....	46,737	18,359	65,096	39,224	15,644	54,868	84.3
Bond.....	9,290	4,394	13,684	7,934	3,630	11,564	84.5
Boone.....	340	664	1,004	331	649	980	97.6
Brown.....	4,340	1,660	6,000	3,685	1,424	5,109	85.2
Bureau.....	1,843	1,763	3,606	1,197	1,286	2,483	68.9
Calhoun.....	8,036	3,236	11,272	6,494	2,624	9,118	80.9
Carroll.....	468	840	1,308	396	721	1,117	85.4
Cass.....	7,572	2,789	10,361	6,024	2,181	8,205	79.2
Champaign.....	56,689	23,690	80,379	35,946	15,608	51,554	64.1
Christian.....	16,865	6,538	23,403	12,692	4,978	17,670	75.5
Clark.....	5,885	2,204	8,089	4,859	1,862	6,721	83.1
Clay.....	14,822	6,664	21,486	10,648	4,945	15,593	72.6
Clinton.....	4,908	2,275	7,183	3,961	1,757	5,718	79.6
Coles.....	16,020	6,756	22,776	12,702	5,334	18,036	79.2
Crawford.....	9,364	4,362	13,726	7,225	3,483	10,708	78.0
Cumberland.....	3,783	1,792	5,575	3,333	1,604	4,937	87.1
De Kalb.....	405	632	1,037	348	590	938	90.5
De Witt.....	4,242	1,476	5,718	2,564	921	3,485	60.9
Douglas.....	11,901	4,991	16,892	9,499	3,911	13,410	79.4
Du Page.....	1,328	2,024	3,352	1,052	1,768	2,820	84.1
Edgar.....	15,003	6,035	21,038	11,783	4,742	16,525	78.5
Edwards.....	3,705	1,779	5,484	2,586	1,256	3,842	70.1
Effingham.....	16,447	6,953	23,400	11,810	5,008	16,818	71.9
Fayette.....	10,625	4,472	15,097	8,206	3,609	11,815	78.3
Ford.....	3,296	2,930	6,226	1,443	1,397	2,840	45.6

See footnote at end of table, p. 3387.

TABLE 1e.—AMOUNT OF STAMPS FOR CASES CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATED, 1ST QUARTER, 1969 (ALL PROGRAMS)—Continued

County	Certified <sup>1</sup>			Participated <sup>1</sup>			Percent of total certified
	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	Total monthly purchase amount	Total bonus	Total amount of stamps	
Franklin	\$104,012	\$42,558	\$146,570	\$83,411	\$34,008	\$117,419	80.1
Fulton	11,761	10,796	22,557	8,274	8,683	16,957	75.2
Gallatin	18,445	7,301	25,746	14,382	5,740	20,122	78.2
Greene	13,052	6,101	19,153	10,084	4,636	14,720	76.9
Grundy	1,622	1,437	3,059	1,283	1,197	2,480	81.1
Hamilton	11,880	5,596	17,476	8,768	4,196	12,964	74.2
Hancock	10,525	4,759	15,184	7,706	3,574	11,280	74.3
Hardin	16,294	6,875	23,169	14,455	6,040	20,495	88.5
Henderson	669	1,169	1,838	506	856	1,362	74.1
Henry	738	1,286	2,024	534	941	1,475	72.9
Ironquois	6,464	2,304	8,768	4,689	1,674	6,363	72.6
Jackson	59,981	24,492	84,473	39,591	16,509	56,100	66.4
Jasper	5,641	2,583	8,224	4,850	2,285	7,135	86.8
Jefferson	63,962	25,197	89,159	49,089	19,443	68,532	76.9
Jersey	4,562	2,160	6,722	3,318	1,677	4,995	74.3
Jo Daviess	1,162	2,049	3,211	1,001	1,775	2,776	86.5
Johnson	12,243	5,309	17,552	9,924	4,376	14,300	81.5
Kane	13,692	12,048	25,740	6,676	6,837	13,513	52.5
Kankakee	29,223	25,675	54,898	14,937	15,368	30,305	55.2
Kendall	178	340	518	170	326	496	95.8
Knox	13,612	11,994	25,606	7,407	7,546	14,953	58.4
Lake	3,804	6,484	10,288	2,610	4,436	7,046	68.5
La Salle	9,362	8,508	17,870	5,318	5,598	10,916	61.1
Lawrence	28,598	14,756	43,354	21,827	12,028	33,855	78.1
Lee	772	1,248	2,020	515	900	1,415	70.0
Livingston	5,498	5,076	10,574	3,261	3,391	6,652	62.9
Logan	4,335	2,123	6,458	3,141	1,625	4,766	73.8
Macon	110,630	43,632	154,262	67,946	26,850	94,796	61.5
Macoupin	21,371	10,474	31,845	14,710	7,621	22,331	70.1
Madison	222,087	99,290	321,377	152,746	69,839	222,585	69.3
Marion	53,911	23,703	77,614	37,196	16,765	53,961	69.5
Marshall	3,678	3,719	7,397	2,159	2,448	4,607	62.3
Mason	7,640	3,672	11,312	5,978	2,779	8,757	77.4
Massac	30,946	11,706	42,652	22,123	8,441	30,564	71.7
McDonough	5,192	2,006	7,198	4,005	1,503	5,508	76.5
McHenry	2,576	4,410	6,986	1,466	2,511	3,977	56.9
McLean	4,459	4,042	8,501	2,543	2,616	5,159	60.7
Menard	3,674	1,804	5,478	2,756	1,315	4,071	74.3
Mercer	882	1,598	2,480	734	1,305	2,039	82.2
Monroe	7,967	3,373	11,340	4,865	2,141	7,006	61.8
Montgomery	13,347	6,113	19,460	9,457	4,480	13,937	71.6
Morgan	20,296	7,767	28,063	13,536	5,100	18,636	66.4
Moultrie	6,211	2,549	8,760	4,215	1,677	5,892	67.3
Ogle	1,848	3,022	4,870	1,381	2,303	3,684	75.6
Peoria	106,459	91,902	198,361	56,280	55,548	111,828	56.4
Perry	13,093	6,275	19,368	9,208	4,506	13,714	70.8
Piatt	3,995	1,627	5,622	3,054	1,238	4,292	76.3
Pike	24,601	12,210	36,811	16,169	8,320	24,489	66.5
Pope	13,287	5,580	18,867	10,823	4,619	15,442	81.8
Pulaski	58,007	22,569	80,576	40,916	15,925	56,841	70.5
Putnam	815	771	1,586	477	479	956	60.3
Randolph	12,447	7,625	20,072	9,133	5,810	14,943	74.4
Richland	6,590	2,452	9,042	4,735	1,791	6,526	72.2
Rock Island	11,942	20,102	32,044	7,055	11,922	18,977	59.2
Saline	73,840	23,412	102,252	57,701	22,092	79,793	78.0
Sangamon	84,995	33,965	118,960	49,972	19,818	69,790	58.7
Schuyler	7,556	3,109	10,665	5,594	2,268	7,862	74.7
Scott	6,953	2,873	9,826	4,654	1,903	6,557	66.7
Shelby	8,406	3,431	11,837	6,390	2,693	9,083	76.7
Stark	422	531	953	358	507	865	90.8
St. Clair	850,208	330,211	1,180,419	554,254	211,706	765,960	64.9
Stephenson	1,337	2,269	3,606	801	1,362	2,163	60.0
Tazewell	22,981	19,790	42,771	13,206	12,973	26,179	61.2
Union	16,209	7,228	23,437	11,710	5,227	16,937	72.3
Vermilion	41,304	17,354	58,758	26,591	11,197	37,788	64.3
Wabash	7,371	2,914	10,285	4,744	1,852	6,616	64.3
Warren	1,780	2,944	4,724	1,468	2,410	3,858	81.7
Washington	3,879	1,770	5,649	2,683	1,282	3,965	70.2
Wayne	23,236	10,276	33,512	16,871	7,514	24,385	72.8
White	16,568	7,294	23,862	12,019	5,185	17,204	72.1
Whiteside	4,077	6,298	10,375	2,432	4,056	6,488	62.5
Will	20,291	18,456	38,757	11,551	12,695	24,246	62.6
Williamson	62,738	24,681	87,419	49,314	19,398	68,739	78.7
Winnebago	21,679	36,377	58,056	15,802	27,063	42,865	73.8
Woodford	2,760	2,430	5,190	1,640	1,664	3,304	63.7

<sup>1</sup> Downstate counties may not add to total downstate due to rounding.

TABLE 2a.—NUMBER OF PERSONS ON ASSISTANCE, CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER, 1969  
(AABD)

County	Persons on assistance	Persons certified	Persons participating	Percent of persons certified	Percent of persons on assistance
Total State.....	211,541	69,819	60,848	87.2	28.8
Total Cook.....	126,014	44,518	39,532	88.8	31.4
Total downstate.....	85,527	29,301	21,316	84.2	24.9
Adams.....	2,671	527	458	86.9	17.1
Alexander.....	1,541	416	349	83.9	22.6
Bond.....	433	120	113	94.2	26.1
Boone.....	30	6	5	83.3	16.7
Brown.....	290	69	66	95.7	22.8
Bureau.....	230	15	11	73.3	4.8
Calhoun.....	331	140	119	85.0	36.0
Carroll.....	50	9	9	100.0	18.0
Cass.....	585	137	118	86.1	20.2
Champaign.....	1,356	310	246	79.4	18.1
Christian.....	934	238	209	87.8	22.4
Clark.....	497	62	53	85.5	10.7
Clay.....	692	191	171	89.5	24.7
Clinton.....	376	69	56	81.2	14.9
Coles.....	1,497	179	161	89.9	10.8
Crawford.....	468	99	90	90.0	19.2
Cumberland.....	218	25	24	96.0	11.0
De Kalb.....	78	6	4	66.7	5.1
De Witt.....	290	70	48	68.6	16.6
Douglas.....	360	138	112	81.2	31.1
Du Page.....	272	4	3	75.0	1.1
Edgar.....	772	239	215	90.0	27.8
Edwards.....	150	23	17	73.9	11.3
Effingham.....	620	124	105	84.7	16.9
Fayette.....	697	179	154	86.0	22.1
Ford.....	120	61	31	50.8	25.8
Franklin.....	2,602	1,323	1,173	88.7	45.1
Fulton.....	732	227	182	80.2	24.9
Gallatin.....	620	333	301	90.4	48.5
Greene.....	992	291	252	86.6	25.4
Grundy.....	114	40	28	70.0	24.6
Hamilton.....	635	153	114	74.5	18.0
Hancock.....	967	191	154	80.6	15.9
Hardin.....	385	144	130	90.3	33.8
Henderson.....	79	13	13	100.0	16.5
Henry.....	154	16	14	87.5	9.1
Iroquois.....	492	64	57	89.1	11.6
Jackson.....	1,665	492	445	90.4	26.7
Jasper.....	276	69	61	88.4	22.1
Jefferson.....	1,512	576	515	89.4	34.1
Jersey.....	429	67	61	91.0	14.2
Jo Daviess.....	80	18	18	100.0	22.5
Johnson.....	356	187	158	84.5	44.4
Kane.....	963	155	69	43.9	7.1
Kankakee.....	2,012	212	147	69.3	7.3
Kendall.....	28	5	4	80.0	14.3
Knox.....	899	196	130	66.3	14.5
Lake.....	492	19	16	84.2	3.3
La Salle.....	628	82	60	73.2	9.6
Lawrence.....	726	217	200	92.2	27.5
Lee.....	167	6	4	66.7	2.4
Livingston.....	316	70	50	71.4	15.8
Logan.....	723	58	50	86.2	6.9
Macon.....	2,365	733	598	81.6	25.3
Macoupin.....	933	162	144	88.9	15.4
Madison.....	4,346	1,485	1,265	85.2	29.1
Marion.....	1,510	521	443	85.0	29.3
Marshall.....	110	76	38	50.0	34.5
Mason.....	371	94	88	93.6	23.7
Massac.....	980	399	346	86.7	35.3
McDonough.....	636	74	71	95.9	11.2
McHenry.....	107	30	20	66.7	18.7
McLean.....	1,264	99	76	76.8	6.0
Menard.....	206	35	29	82.9	14.1
Mercer.....	87	9	8	88.9	9.2
Monroe.....	145	48	44	91.7	30.3
Montgomery.....	624	145	133	91.7	21.3
Morton.....	1,762	351	305	86.9	17.3
Moultrie.....	501	101	88	87.1	17.6
Ogle.....	127	31	25	80.6	19.7
Peoria.....	2,021	831	494	59.4	24.4
Perry.....	585	248	208	83.9	35.6
Piatt.....	263	58	51	87.9	19.4
Pike.....	790	306	239	78.1	30.3
Pope.....	365	118	109	92.4	29.9
Pulaski.....	993	451	414	91.8	41.7

TABLE 2a.—NUMBER OF PERSONS ON ASSISTANCE, CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER, 1969  
(AABD)—Continued

County	Persons on assistance	Persons certified	Persons participating	Percent of persons certified	Percent of persons on assistance
Putnam.....	28	17	7	41.2	25.0
Randolph.....	489	100	94	94.0	19.2
Richland.....	710	80	70	87.5	9.9
Rock Island.....	425	182	112	61.5	26.4
Saline.....	2,087	1,183	1,074	90.8	51.5
Sangamon.....	2,830	703	582	82.8	20.6
Schuyler.....	473	173	158	91.3	33.4
Scott.....	278	70	64	91.4	23.0
Shelby.....	590	154	137	89.0	23.2
Stark.....	137	4	4	100.0	2.9
St. Clair.....	9,954	4,308	3,663	85.0	36.8
Stephenson.....	186	14	7	50.0	3.8
Tazewell.....	725	259	176	68.0	24.3
Union.....	1,670	241	222	92.1	13.3
Vermilion.....	1,841	421	363	86.2	19.7
Wabash.....	1,445	94	84	89.4	18.9
Warren.....	133	54	41	75.9	30.8
Washington.....	418	38	36	94.7	8.6
Wayne.....	525	301	231	76.7	44.0
White.....	837	212	182	85.8	21.7
Whiteside.....	170	57	49	86.0	28.8
Will.....	916	151	114	75.5	12.4
Williamson.....	2,909	1,160	1,062	91.6	36.5
Winebago.....	769	202	171	84.7	22.2
Woodford.....	289	38	25	65.8	8.7

TABLE 2b.—NUMBER OF PERSONS ON ASSISTANCE, CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER, 1969 (ADC COMBINED)

County	Persons on assistance	Persons certified	Persons participating	Percent of persons certified	Percent of persons on assistance
Total State.....	1,027,170	430,724	344,000	79.9	33.5
Total Cook.....	798,270	306,743	251,218	81.9	31.5
Total downstate.....	228,900	123,981	92,782	74.8	40.5
Adams.....	2,898	1,198	767	64.0	26.5
Alexander.....	4,414	1,850	1,666	90.1	37.7
Bond.....	478	298	254	85.2	53.1
Boone.....	58	21	21	100.0	36.2
Brown.....	289	91	63	69.2	21.8
Bureau.....	289	143	114	79.7	39.4
Calhoun.....	337	211	189	89.6	56.1
Carroll.....	70	30	22	73.3	31.4
Cass.....	591	144	79	54.9	13.4
Champaign.....	6,222	2,725	1,823	66.9	29.3
Christian.....	948	408	268	65.7	28.3
Clark.....	455	176	150	85.2	33.0
Clay.....	950	513	327	63.7	34.4
Clinton.....	197	104	71	68.3	36.0
Coles.....	1,473	571	463	81.1	31.4
Crawford.....	489	247	186	75.3	38.0
Cumberland.....	153	111	101	91.0	66.0
De Kalb.....	164	31	29	93.5	17.7
De Witt.....	330	110	56	50.9	17.0
Douglas.....	489	302	213	70.5	43.6
Du Page.....	853	135	117	86.7	13.7
Edgar.....	938	362	284	78.5	30.3
Edwards.....	175	63	34	54.0	19.4
Effingham.....	1,198	655	495	75.6	41.3
Fayette.....	734	302	221	73.2	30.1
Ford.....	258	203	111	54.7	43.0
Franklin.....	3,535	2,314	1,718	74.2	48.6
Fulton.....	901	535	391	73.1	43.4
Gallatin.....	646	353	213	60.3	33.0
Greene.....	815	232	165	71.1	20.2
Grundy.....	115	62	56	90.3	48.7
Hamilton.....	541	316	243	76.9	44.9
Hancock.....	468	213	141	66.2	30.1
Hardin.....	903	419	375	89.5	41.5
Henderson.....	108	38	24	63.2	22.2
Henry.....	294	47	27	57.4	9.2
Iroquois.....	741	315	242	76.8	32.7
Jackson.....	4,613	2,613	1,848	70.7	39.8
Jasper.....	343	165	156	94.5	45.5

TABLE 2b.—NUMBER OF PERSONS ON ASSISTANCE, CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER, 1969 (ADC COMBINED)—Continued

County	Persons on assistance	Persons certified	Persons participating	Percent of persons certified	Percent of persons on assistance
Jefferson.....	3,977	2,419	1,872	77.4	47.1
Jersey.....	197	111	77	69.4	39.1
Jo Daviess.....	146	95	95	100.0	65.1
Johnson.....	455	326	259	79.4	56.9
Kane.....	2,712	1,002	670	66.9	24.7
Kankakee.....	4,246	2,328	1,641	70.5	38.6
Kendall.....	31	16	16	100.0	51.6
Knox.....	1,024	758	521	68.7	50.9
Lake.....	2,153	469	399	85.1	18.5
La Salle.....	1,486	713	489	68.6	32.6
Lawrence.....	1,855	1,335	1,110	83.1	59.8
Lee.....	133	63	53	84.1	39.8
Livingston.....	583	329	235	71.4	40.3
Logan.....	235	64	54	84.4	23.0
Macon.....	10,120	4,938	3,318	67.2	32.8
Macoupin.....	1,601	623	347	55.7	21.7
Madison.....	17,414	9,876	7,886	79.9	45.3
Marion.....	2,786	1,871	1,529	81.7	54.9
Marshall.....	156	108	78	72.2	50.0
Mason.....	394	212	183	86.3	46.4
Massac.....	2,099	1,131	812	71.8	38.7
McDonough.....	425	178	153	86.0	36.0
McHenry.....	422	269	177	65.8	41.9
McLean.....	942	182	132	72.5	14.0
Menard.....	268	111	111	100.0	41.4
Mercer.....	78	18	18	100.0	23.1
Monroe.....	476	263	172	65.4	36.1
Montgomery.....	646	281	195	69.4	30.2
Morgan.....	1,603	587	417	71.0	26.0
Moultrie.....	352	228	151	66.2	42.9
Ogle.....	364	169	150	88.8	41.2
Peoria.....	10,270	7,776	5,749	73.9	56.0
Perry.....	497	290	231	79.7	46.5
Platt.....	332	173	125	72.3	37.7
Pike.....	806	646	490	75.9	60.8
Pope.....	491	370	311	84.1	63.3
Pulaski.....	3,439	2,205	1,909	86.6	55.5
Putnam.....	51	33	33	100.0	64.7
Randolph.....	424	210	144	68.6	34.0
Richland.....	351	149	123	82.6	35.0
Rock Island.....	1,909	1,206	1,002	70.5	52.5
Saline.....	2,842	1,701	1,334	83.1	46.9
Sangamon.....	6,492	2,862	1,776	62.1	27.4
Schuyler.....	331	197	147	74.6	44.4
Scott.....	439	232	142	61.2	32.3
Shelby.....	628	240	157	65.4	24.6
Stark.....	89	23	19	82.6	21.3
St. Clair.....	74,727	44,363	32,987	74.4	44.1
Stephenson.....	393	145	126	86.9	32.1
Tazewell.....	2,602	1,608	1,228	76.4	47.2
Union.....	995	679	617	90.9	62.0
Vermilion.....	5,945	1,814	1,444	79.6	24.3
Wabash.....	518	273	202	74.0	39.0
Warren.....	183	101	96	95.0	52.5
Washington.....	256	157	121	77.1	47.3
Wayne.....	1,063	629	443	70.4	41.7
White.....	1,063	477	343	71.9	32.3
Whiteside.....	773	386	283	73.3	36.6
Will.....	4,856	1,547	1,115	72.1	23.0
Williamson.....	2,637	1,458	1,141	78.3	43.3
Winnebago.....	4,360	2,200	1,821	82.8	41.8
Woodford.....	249	132	80	60.6	32.1

TABLE 3a.—NUMBER OF PERSONS AND HOUSEHOLDS CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER, 1969  
(GENERAL ASSISTANCE)

County	Households			Persons		
	Certified	Participating	Percent certified	Certified	Participating	Percent certified
Total State.....	32,051	27,683	86.4	66,580	57,251	86.0
Total Cook.....	25,294	21,954	86.8	54,594	47,441	86.9
Total downstate.....	6,757	5,729	84.8	11,986	9,810	81.8
Adams.....						
Alexander.....	181	160	88.4	320	284	88.8
Bond.....	8	8	100.0	21	21	100.0
Boone.....						
Brown.....	3	3	100.0	32	32	100.0
Bureau.....						
Calhoun.....						
Carroll.....						
Cass.....						
Champaign.....						
Christian.....	18	18	100.0	54	54	100.0
Clark.....						
Clay.....						
Clinton.....						
Coles.....	14	10	71.4	66	48	72.7
Crawford.....						
Cumberland.....						
De Kalb.....						
De Witt.....						
Douglas.....	13	13	100.0	31	31	100.0
Du Page.....						
Edgar.....	8	4	50.0	15	6	40.0
Edwards.....						
Effingham.....						
Fayette.....	1	1	100.0	2	2	100.0
Ford.....						
Franklin.....	532	445	83.6	1,348	1,081	80.2
Fulton.....	5	5	100.0	8	8	100.0
Gallatin.....	63	46	73.0	121	98	81.0
Greene.....	2	2	100.0	8	8	100.0
Grundy.....						
Hamilton.....						
Hancock.....						
Hardin.....	73	69	94.5	148	132	89.2
Henderson.....						
Henry.....						
Iroquois.....						
Jackson.....	13	12	92.3	31	30	96.8
Jasper.....						
Jefferson.....	205	173	84.4	329	263	79.9
Jersey.....	9	8	88.9	18	17	94.4
Jo Daviess.....	2	2	100.0	4	4	100.0
Johnson.....	8	6	75.0	13	6	46.2
Kane.....						
Kankakee.....	23	16	69.6	33	22	66.7
Kendall.....						
Knox.....	34	28	82.4	101	77	76.2
Lake.....						
La Salle.....						
Lawrence.....						
Lee.....	1	1	100.0	3	3	100.0
Livingston.....						
Logan.....						
Macon.....	458	351	76.6	658	435	69.1
Macoupin.....	53	46	86.8	120	86	71.7
Madison.....	147	110	74.8	290	193	66.6

TABLE 3a.—NUMBER OF PERSONS AND HOUSEHOLDS CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER, 1969  
(GENERAL ASSISTANCE)—Continued

County	Households			Persons		
	Certified	Participating	Percent certified	Certified	Participating	Percent certified
Marion	51	48	94.1	75	62	82.7
Marshall						
Mason						
Massac	64	56	87.5	114	103	90.4
McDonough	3	3	100.0	3	3	100.0
McHenry						
McLean						
Menard						
Mercer						
Monroe	28	21	75.0	99	78	78.8
Montgomery	12	12	100.0	30	30	100.0
Morgan						
Moultrie						
Ogle						
Peoria	64	51	79.7	152	111	73.0
Perry	25	16	64.0	55	34	61.8
Piatt						
Pike						
Pope	37	36	97.3	96	95	99.0
Pulaski	237	211	89.0	794	717	90.3
Putnam						
Randolph	6	6	100.0	6	6	100.0
Richland						
Rock Island						
Saline	259	208	80.3	499	354	70.9
Sangamon	435	331	76.1	944	693	73.4
Schuyler						
Scott						
Shelby						
Stark						
St. Clair	3,383	2,961	87.5	4,929	4,222	85.7
Stephenson						
Tazewell	1	1	100.0	6	6	100.0
Union	3	3	100.0	3	3	100.0
Vermilion	8	4	50.0	18	7	38.9
Wabash						
Warren						
Washington						
Wayne	6	5	83.3	9	8	88.9
White						
Whiteside						
Will						
Williamson	261	219	83.9	380	317	83.4
Winneshago						
Woodford						

TABLE 3b.—NUMBER OF PERSONS AND HOUSEHOLDS CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER 1969  
(NONASSISTANCE)

County	Households			Persons		
	Certified	Participating	Percent certified	Certified	Participating	Percent certified
Total State	17,165	15,665	91.3	46,170	42,034	91.1
Total Cook	4,159	3,877	93.2	11,203	10,558	94.2
Total downstate	13,006	11,788	90.6	34,967	31,476	90.0
Adams	556	473	85.1	1,745	1,438	82.4
Alexander	182	162	89.0	542	499	92.1
Bond	85	81	95.3	186	173	93.0
Boone	7	7	100.0	22	22	100.0
Brown	34	32	94.1	89	85	95.5
Bureau	4	3	75.0	18	15	83.3
Calhoun	53	39	73.6	179	138	77.1
Carroll	11	11	100.0	21	21	100.0
Cass	65	62	95.4	169	160	94.7
Champaign	231	204	88.3	769	672	87.4
Christian	165	150	90.9	360	306	85.0
Clark	54	45	83.3	130	111	85.4

TABLE 3b.—NUMBER OF PERSONS AND HOUSEHOLDS CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER 1969  
(NONASSISTANCE)—Continued

County	Households			Persons		
	Certified	Participating	Percent certified	Certified	Participating	Percent certified
Clay	113	104	92.0	344	324	94.2
Clinton	74	66	89.2	168	157	93.5
Coles	83	72	86.7	234	209	89.3
Crawford	109	97	89.0	319	280	87.8
Cumberland	53	50	94.3	126	116	92.1
De Kalb	3	3	100.0	10	10	100.0
De Witt	40	37	92.5	64	55	85.9
Douglas	110	101	91.8	294	262	89.1
Du Page	4	3	75.0	15	14	93.3
Edgar	112	102	91.1	368	342	92.9
Edwards	72	65	90.3	163	143	87.7
Effingham	103	85	82.5	319	276	86.5
Fayette	89	77	86.5	208	184	88.5
Ford	7	7	100.0	25	25	100.0
Franklin	742	683	92.0	1,482	1,339	90.4
Fulton	106	101	95.3	247	233	94.3
Gallatin	123	113	91.9	329	307	93.3
Greene	114	104	91.2	377	328	87.0
Grundy	18	15	83.3	33	28	84.8
Hamilton	131	110	84.0	359	288	80.2
Hancock	90	80	88.9	299	282	94.3
Hardin	126	119	94.4	323	303	93.8
Henderson	16	13	81.3	30	20	66.7
Henry	6	6	100.0	34	34	100.0
Iroquois	17	16	94.1	25	24	96.0
Jackson	288	266	92.4	977	887	90.8
Jasper	54	50	92.6	164	158	96.3
Jefferson	326	294	90.2	747	659	88.2
Jersey	49	41	83.7	122	100	82.0
Jo Daviess	13	12	92.3	42	39	92.9
Johnson	122	115	94.3	268	257	95.9
Kane	11	11	100.0	46	46	100.0
Kankakee	19	15	78.9	81	54	66.7
Kendall	2	2	100.0	3	3	100.0
Knox	47	40	85.1	126	116	92.1
Lake	3	3	100.0	13	13	100.0
La Salle	15	14	93.3	53	52	98.1
Lawrence	154	142	92.2	500	471	94.2
Lee	7	5	71.4	24	18	75.0
Livingston	26	20	76.9	108	90	83.3
Logan	66	56	84.8	176	146	83.0
Macon	434	394	90.8	830	742	89.4
Macoupin	223	208	93.3	614	574	93.5
Madison	1,270	1,165	91.7	3,982	3,649	91.6
Marion	379	339	89.4	1,212	1,093	90.2
Marshall	59	41	69.5	166	125	75.3
Mason	92	84	91.3	226	210	92.9
Massac	124	111	89.5	271	250	92.3
McDonough	30	28	93.3	54	52	96.3
McHenry	4	4	100.0	30	30	100.0
McLean	26	21	80.8	104	70	67.3
Menard	38	35	92.1	122	117	95.9
Mercer	35	30	85.7	88	72	81.8
Monroe	43	30	69.8	113	93	82.3
Montgomery	206	188	91.3	452	402	88.9
Morgan	99	86	86.9	345	291	84.3
Moultrie	38	37	97.4	57	55	96.5
Ogle	10	10	100.0	33	33	100.0
Peoria	233	209	89.7	683	634	92.8
Perry	90	81	90.0	299	271	90.6
Piatt	13	13	100.0	22	22	100.0
Pike	233	204	87.6	764	676	88.5
Pope	82	77	93.9	273	256	93.8
Pulaski	168	161	95.8	495	466	94.1
Putnam	10	6	60.0	22	9	40.9
Randolph	205	197	96.1	712	693	97.3
Richland	65	55	84.6	177	150	84.7
Rock Island	36	34	94.4	115	111	96.5
Saline	525	492	93.7	1,118	1,031	92.2
Sangamon	439	395	90.0	1,028	900	87.5
Schuyler	48	45	93.8	100	92	92.0
Scott	52	50	96.2	159	155	97.5
Shelby	53	52	98.1	149	146	98.0
Stark	5	5	100.0	21	21	100.0

TABLE 3b.—NUMBER OF PERSONS AND HOUSEHOLDS CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER 1969 (NONASSISTANCE)—Continued

County	Households			Persons		
	Certified	Participating	Percent certified	Certified	Participating	Percent certified
St. Clair.....	1,077	974	98.4	2,691	2,397	89.1
Stephenson.....	4	4	100.0	13	13	100.0
Tazewell.....	35	34	97.1	94	92	97.9
Union.....	81	74	91.4	206	191	92.7
Vermilion.....	192	179	93.2	565	524	92.7
Wabash.....	41	38	92.7	114	103	90.4
Warren.....	16	15	93.8	60	58	96.7
Washington.....	32	30	93.8	61	55	90.2
Wayne.....	198	180	90.9	610	537	88.0
White.....	176	164	93.2	372	344	92.5
Whiteside.....	18	17	94.4	42	40	95.2
Will.....	28	25	89.3	141	122	86.5
Williamson.....	480	445	92.7	856	783	91.5
Winnebago.....	126	118	93.7	366	345	94.3
Woodford.....	25	20	80.0	65	49	75.4

TABLE 3.—NUMBER OF PERSONS AND HOUSEHOLDS CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER, 1969 (ALL PROGRAMS)

County	Households			Persons		
	Certified	Participating	Percent certified	Certified	Participating	Percent certified
Total State.....	195,889	162,533	83.0	613,293	504,133	82.2
Total Cook.....	131,026	110,269	84.2	417,058	348,749	83.6
Total downstate.....	64,863	52,264	80.6	196,235	155,384	79.2
Adams.....	1,288	10,033	80.2	3,470	2,663	76.7
Alexander.....	1,015	879	86.6	3,128	2,798	89.5
Bond.....	256	234	91.4	625	561	89.8
Boone.....	19	18	94.7	49	48	98.0
Brown.....	118	109	92.4	281	246	87.5
Bureau.....	42	32	76.2	176	140	79.5
Cabot.....	202	168	83.2	530	446	84.2
Calhoun.....	25	22	88.0	60	52	86.7
Carroll.....	211	178	84.4	450	357	79.3
Cass.....	1,065	780	73.2	3,804	2,741	72.1
Champaign.....	434	361	83.2	1,060	837	79.0
Christian.....	139	117	84.2	368	314	85.3
Clark.....	353	297	84.1	1,048	822	78.4
Clay.....	164	135	82.3	341	284	83.3
Coles.....	366	313	85.5	1,050	881	83.9
Crawford.....	224	191	85.3	665	556	83.6
Cumberland.....	98	92	93.9	262	241	92.0
De Kalb.....	16	13	81.3	47	43	91.5
De Witt.....	131	95	72.5	244	159	65.2
Douglas.....	308	251	81.5	765	618	80.8
Du Page.....	36	30	83.3	154	134	87.0
Edgar.....	372	318	85.5	984	847	86.1
Edwards.....	107	87	81.3	249	194	77.9
Effingham.....	352	277	78.7	1,098	876	79.8
Fayette.....	281	233	82.9	691	561	81.2
Ford.....	99	54	54.5	289	167	57.8
Franklin.....	2,806	2,410	85.9	6,467	5,311	82.1
Fulton.....	404	328	81.2	1,017	814	80.0
Gallatin.....	503	423	84.1	1,136	919	80.9
Greene.....	381	325	85.3	908	753	82.9
Grundy.....	71	54	76.1	135	112	83.0
Hamilton.....	318	253	79.6	828	645	77.9
Hancock.....	288	232	80.6	703	577	82.1
Hardin.....	394	364	92.4	1,034	940	90.9
Henderson.....	36	30	83.3	81	57	70.4
Henry.....	28	24	85.7	97	75	77.3
Iroquois.....	130	104	80.0	404	323	80.0
Jackson.....	1,127	914	81.1	4,113	3,210	78.0

TABLE 3.—NUMBER OF PERSONS AND HOUSEHOLDS CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING, 1ST QUARTER, 1969 (ALL PROGRAMS)—Continued

County	Households			Persons		
	Certified	Participating	Percent certified	Certified	Participating	Percent certified
Jasper	133	119	89.5	398	375	94.2
Jefferson	1,440	1,208	83.9	4,071	3,309	81.3
Jersey	140	118	84.3	318	255	80.2
Jo Daviess	44	43	97.7	159	156	98.1
Johnson	333	288	86.5	794	680	85.6
Kane	367	215	58.6	1,203	784	65.2
Kankakee	626	424	67.7	2,654	1,864	70.2
Kendall	10	9	90.0	24	23	95.8
Knox	393	273	69.5	1,181	844	71.5
Lake	109	94	86.2	501	428	85.4
La Salle	236	159	67.4	848	601	70.9
Lawrence	569	494	86.8	2,052	1,781	86.8
Lee	27	21	77.8	96	78	81.3
Livingston	151	106	70.2	507	375	74.0
Logan	136	116	85.3	298	250	83.9
Macon	2,526	1,911	75.7	7,159	5,113	71.4
Macoupin	533	448	84.1	1,519	1,151	75.8
Madison	4,619	3,810	82.5	15,633	12,993	83.1
Marion	1,252	1,065	85.1	3,679	3,127	85.0
Marshall	143	83	58.0	350	241	68.9
Mason	216	193	89.4	532	481	90.4
Massac	723	584	80.8	1,915	1,511	78.9
McDonough	136	126	92.6	309	279	90.3
McHenry	85	57	67.1	329	227	69.0
McLean	138	104	75.4	385	278	72.2
Menard	82	74	90.2	268	257	95.9
Mercer	48	42	87.5	115	98	85.2
Monroe	164	117	71.3	523	387	74.0
Montgomery	397	351	88.4	908	760	83.7
Morgan	497	405	81.5	1,283	1,013	79.0
Moultrie	177	147	83.1	386	294	76.2
Ogle	64	56	87.5	233	208	89.3
Peoria	2,612	1,810	69.3	9,442	6,988	74.0
Perry	356	293	82.3	892	744	83.4
Piatt	103	85	82.5	253	198	78.3
Pike	627	507	80.9	1,716	1,405	81.9
Pope	268	244	91.0	857	771	90.0
Pulaski	1,107	989	89.3	3,945	3,506	88.9
Putnam	35	21	60.0	72	49	68.1
Randolph	337	309	91.7	1,028	937	91.1
Richland	159	137	86.2	406	343	84.5
Rock Island	467	349	74.7	1,503	1,225	81.5
Saline	2,014	1,776	88.2	4,501	3,793	84.3
Sangamon	2,059	1,574	76.4	5,537	3,951	71.4
Schuyler	215	186	86.5	470	397	84.5
Scott	149	125	83.9	461	361	78.3
Shelby	231	199	86.1	543	440	81.0
Stark	12	11	91.7	48	44	91.7
St. Clair	16,803	13,148	78.2	56,291	43,269	76.9
Stephenson	44	33	75.0	172	146	84.9
Tazewell	625	463	74.1	1,967	1,502	76.4
Union	387	351	90.7	1,129	1,033	91.5
Vermilion	883	739	83.7	2,818	2,338	83.0
Wabash	173	146	84.4	481	389	80.9
Warren	82	68	82.9	215	195	90.7
Washington	95	82	86.3	256	212	82.8
Wayne	547	434	79.3	1,549	1,219	78.7
White	454	387	85.2	1,061	869	81.9
Whiteside	136	103	75.7	485	372	76.7
Will	449	316	70.4	1,839	1,351	73.5
Williamson	1,894	1,672	88.3	3,854	3,303	85.7
Winnebago	732	609	83.2	2,768	2,337	84.4
Woodford	87	60	69.0	235	154	65.5

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF PERSONS AND HOUSEHOLDS CERTIFIED AND PARTICIPATING IN THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM, Calendar Year 1968

DETERMINATION OF ELIGIBILITY TO PARTICIPATE IN USDA FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Identification No. of Household: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cot. Co./Dist. Cr.Twp. Basic

New Application  Reapplication  Re-certification  
 New Participant  Yes  No Effective Date Certified As "New Participant" \_\_\_\_\_

1. Monthly Net Income

Verification For: _____, 19____	No.	Income
Month _____		
		TOTAL
Verification For: _____, 19____		
Month _____		
		TOTAL
Verification For: _____, 19____		
Month _____		
		TOTAL

2. Assets (If total exceeds \$400 if single or \$600 for family, applicant is not eligible.)

Source and Verification	No.	Amount
		TOTAL

3. Monthly Shelter Costs

A. Rent or Property Payment . . . . .	
B. Utilities Not in 3.A.	
_____ (Type Heat (1/12 yrly.) . . . . .	
Electricity . . . . .	
Cooking Fuel . . . . .	
Water . . . . .	
	TOTAL

4. Hardship Exemptions

Circumstances/Verification	Amt. Exempt
	TOTAL

5. Determination of Eligibility

Shelter & Utility Cost (Item 3) . . . . .	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
30% of Net Income - Total of Item 1 . . . . .	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
Shelter & Utility Deficit . . . . .	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
Net Income - Total of Item 1 . . . . .	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
Less Shelter & Utility Deficit (above) . . . . .	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
Less Hardship Exemptions (Item 4) . . . . .	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
<b>Food Stamp Eligibility Income . . . . .</b>	<b>\$ _____</b>	<b>\$ _____</b>	<b>\$ _____</b>

Initials of Caseworker \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date \_\_\_\_\_

6. Basis of Issuance

FIRST DETERMINATION

No. Eating Together \_\_\_\_\_  
 Purchase Period (Check one)  
 1. Monthly  
 2. Semi-Monthly  
 4. Weekly  
 FS Eligibility Income \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Purchase Requirement \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bonus Amount \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Total Amount of Coupons \$ \_\_\_\_\_

SECOND DETERMINATION\*

No. Eating Together \_\_\_\_\_  
 Purchase Period (Check one)  
 1. Monthly  
 2. Semi-Monthly  
 4. Weekly  
 FS Eligibility Income \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Purchase Requirement \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bonus Amount \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Total Amount of Coupons \$ \_\_\_\_\_

THIRD DETERMINATION\*

No. Eating Together \_\_\_\_\_  
 Purchase Period (Check one)  
 1. Monthly  
 2. Semi-Monthly  
 4. Weekly  
 FS Eligibility Income \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Purchase Requirement \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bonus Amount \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Total Amount of Coupons \$ \_\_\_\_\_

\*To be completed only if Item 1 (Monthly Net Income) is variable in the certification period. If amounts in Items 2, 3, 4 change complete a new 683b.

**7. Disposition**

- Application Approved - Certified From \_\_\_\_\_ To \_\_\_\_\_
- Application Denied - Reason \_\_\_\_\_
- Application Pending - Reason \_\_\_\_\_
- Re-certification Approved - Certified From \_\_\_\_\_ To \_\_\_\_\_
- Re-certification Denied - Reason \_\_\_\_\_

**8. Actions To Be Taken**

Re-certification -  Monthly  Quarterly  Semi-Annually

Follow-up Date For Re-certification \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Signature of Caseworker: \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AID  
APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN USDA FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

TO BE COMPLETED BY HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD:

1. Name: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Address: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Does any member of your household receive Public Assistance?  
 Yes  No
4. Have you ever been in the Food Stamp Program before?  Yes  No  
When? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you have cooking facilities?  Yes  No
6. Number of Persons Eating Together (Include Boarders): \_\_\_\_\_
7. List Names of All Persons Eating Together. Give Income and Assets of Family Members Only.

TO BE COMPLETED BY CASEWORKER:

Case Identification Number: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cat. Co./Dist. Gr./Twp. Basic Number \_\_\_\_\_  
 Caseload Number: \_\_\_\_\_  
 New Application  Reapplication  
 Re-certification

No.	Name	Relationship to Head	Amount	Net Income		Source	Assets	
				Pay Period	Other		(Cash in Banks, Stocks, Bonds)	Description
1.	First	Last		Wk.	Mo.	Amount	Amount	
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								

Nine or more, use reverse side of form.  
 Boarders: 1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_\_ 4. \_\_\_\_\_

8. Certification by Applicant

I hereby make application for the Food Stamp Program for myself and the members of my household and declare, under penalties of perjury, that the above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. I agree to notify the County Department of Public Aid immediately of any change in the information and income contained herein. I agree that I will use the coupons only to provide food for myself and members of my household.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Signature of Applicant: \_\_\_\_\_  
 DPA 683a (R-3-68) Page 1 of 2 Pages.



## ILLINOIS COUNTIES THAT HAVE SWITCHED FROM COMMODITY PROGRAM TO FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

County	Commodity participation just before switch	Stamp participation just after switch	Present food stamp participation	Unrecovered participation	
				Amount	Percent
Adams.....	1,837	493	916	-921	50
Alexander.....	4,289	1,713	890	-2,576	60
Bond.....	574	185	128	-446	72
Brown.....	336	68	96	-240	78
Calhoun.....	423	156	145	-278	66
Cass.....	479	144	140	-339	71
Champaign.....	1,791	639	934	-857	48
Christian.....	1,145	374	239	-906	79
Clark.....	443	153	113	-330	74
Clay.....	929	318	263	-666	72
Clinton.....	212	118	93	-119	56
Crawford.....	717	163	165	-552	77
Cumberland.....	502	77	66	-436	87
De Witt.....	586	91	55	-531	91
Douglas.....	431	173	196	-235	54
Edgar.....	839	239	275	-564	67
Edwards.....	303	65	69	-234	77
Effingham.....	795	261	247	-548	69
Fayette.....	1,034	195	177	-857	85
Franklin.....	8,170	4,967	1,663	-6,507	81
Gallatin.....	1,315	320	285	-1,030	78
Greene.....	1,025	220	229	-796	77
Hamilton.....	1,052	226	199	-853	81
Hancock.....	843	194	186	-357	68
Hardin.....	843	295	247	-596	71
Jackson.....	2,777	1,121	1,029	1,748	63
Jasper.....	424	135	98	326	77
Jefferson.....	3,135	1,154	1,016	2,119	68
Jersey.....	577	124	80	497	86
Johnson.....	588	147	210	378	65
Lawrence.....	1,298	435	402	896	69
Logan.....	584	152	67	517	89
Macon.....	3,861	1,537	1,572	2,289	59
Macoupin.....	1,637	356	377	1,260	78
Madison.....	7,201	3,394	4,269	2,932	41
Marion.....	1,911	776	952	959	51
Mason.....	441	120	155	286	65
Massac.....	1,096	539	522	574	52
McDonough.....	588	73	95	493	84
Monroe.....	198	113	126	72	36
Montgomery.....	1,298	268	263	1,035	80
Morgan.....	794	317	354	440	55
Moultrie.....	367	76	119	248	67
Perry.....	588	243	247	341	58
Piatt.....	277	54	57	220	80
Pike.....	986	182	429	557	56
Pope.....	730	219	193	510	73
Pulaski.....	3,143	1,417	1,209	1,934	61
Randolph.....	648	245	234	414	64
Richland.....	664	96	142	522	79
St. Clair.....	124,879	10,548	14,976	9,903	40
Saline.....	3,779	1,399	1,300	2,479	65
Sangamon.....	2,787	1,099	1,381	1,406	50
Schuyler.....	521	104	120	401	77
Scott.....	402	56	100	302	75
Shelby.....	742	173	162	580	78
Union.....	1,436	351	309	1,127	79
Vermilion.....	2,496	714	790	1,706	68
Wabash.....	518	135	140	378	73
Wayne.....	1,249	355	438	811	66
White.....	1,446	350	330	1,116	77
Williamson.....	5,742	1,767	1,513	4,229	73
Total.....	112,394	41,037	43,792	68,602	61

<sup>1</sup> Switched December 1965.

Note: National average dropped 45 percent.

## REPORT TO THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

The Board of Education, School District 189, East St. Louis, Illinois, presents the following report pursuant to the operation of all existing Food Service Programs now in effect as hereinafter described.

*National School Lunch Program.*—A hot lunch program operating independently in two Senior and four Junior High School cafeterias. Food preparation in cafeteria kitchens. Serving approximately 5,000 students daily.

*Nutri-Lunch Program.*—A cold-pack lunch program in which 27 elementary schools participate. Prepared in a central kitchen and delivered for serving at noonday. Serving approximately 2,600 students daily. A new Junior High School facility under construction will soon provide a central kitchen for hot lunch preparation under this program. Increased participation can therefore be expected.

*Breakfast Program.*—A meal served at the beginning of the school day intended to improve the nutritional requirements of the participants. Operating in one Senior and three Junior High Schools and six Elementary Schools. Food preparation in kitchen facilities of the various participating schools. Serving approximately 660 students daily.

*Adult Education Night School.*—A sandwich and/or snack lunch at Lincoln Senior High School. Serving approximately 100 adult students nightly.

*Child Care Center.*—A hot lunch program serving approximately 25 preschool age children daily.

*Adult Education Day School.*—A sandwich and/or snack lunch. Serving approximately 52 adult students daily.

*Youth Education and Welfare Organization.*—A cold-pack lunch. Serving approximately 40 boys and girls daily.

Meals served in all the above programs conform nutritionally with "Type A" lunches under the Federal School Lunch Program.

Fluid whole milk in half pints is served with all meals. Approximately 13,000 half pints are required daily.

Donated Federal Commodities are used extensively in the preparation of all food and menus are often planned around the use of such Commodities.

The Board of Education financially underwrites all Food Programs. It appears that there will be a deficit of approximately \$20,000.00 in all programs for the 1968-69 School Year in spite of estimated Federal reimbursements in the amount of \$162,000.00.

The Breakfast Program is Federally reimbursed only for the cost of food. Labor costs are approximately \$105.00 per day for which no reimbursement is allowed. This is an annual expenditure of \$18,900.00 paid out of Board of Education funds.

The daily student participation in all programs is approximately 8,458. Seventy percent (70%) of these students are receiving meals without cost or at a reduced cost in accordance with "Guidelines for Free and Reduced-Price Meals" on file in the Office of Supt. of Public Instruction, State of Illinois. These "Guidelines" provide that there shall be no discrimination against needy children. No physical segregation of/or any other discrimination against any child shall be made because of his inability to pay. Children receiving free or reduced-priced meals shall not be required to use a separate lunchroom, serving line, or entrance; eat a different meal or at a different time from paying children; work for their meals; use tickets, tokens, or any other means of paying which identify them as needy children.

Members of the Board of Education, as well as the Administrators, realizing their responsibility to the needy and indigent children, have an obligation to encourage more participation in all Food Service Programs, especially to those who are qualified recipients of free or reduced-price meals.

Respectfully submitted.

R. R. BURTON,  
Supervisor, School Lunch Programs,  
East St. Louis, Ill.

JUNE 26, 1969.

The next 4 Pages came out of an Emergency Food and Medical Services proposal that Kaskaskia Community Action Agency in Centralia submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity in April, 1969. The program was not funded, but the problems remain.

What is expressed by O.E.O. staff in these pages has been expressed by people in the counties of Bond, Clinton, Marion, and Washington.

ROGER G. SWARTZ.  
MARY SWARTZ.

#### KASKASKIA COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

##### *What problems will you deal with in the program account?*

This program account is designed to provide, on an emergency basis, such foodstuffs and medical services as may be necessary to counteract conditions of starvation, hunger, or malnutrition among the poor.

We feel this program account is necessary because lack of an adequate diet or the denial of certain health services related to or caused by malnutrition, or starvation, is or can be one of the leading causes of persons being in and remaining in poverty.

Specific problems this program account will address are as follows:

##### (1) *Migrants*

Last year 1,568 migrants were helped to get food stamps. This represented 311 families. The first purchase was made at half-price. This year that provision no longer exists, and even with the half-price food stamps, 91% of the migrants did not have enough cash to get the stamps without outside assistance.

##### (2) *Food stamps*

Food stamps can be an answer to improving diets and providing enough food for thousands in this area, yet, less than 12% of those who qualify for food stamps are actually utilizing them.

(a) Many do not have an adequate income to get enough "cash" together to buy the stamps.

(b) Transportation is a handicap in this rural area when the only place to make application for food stamps is the Department of Public Aid office in each county, and some people live as far as 30 miles from this particular office in each county.

(c) Many of those in poverty are "poor but proud" and resist going to Public Aid for food stamps when they are not on any other sort of "welfare."

(d) There is a great need for continuing education for all age groups among the poor concerning proper diet, best buys, ways of preparing foods, etc.

(e) Food prices continue to rise, making a bad situation worse.

(f) Since this is an area of large migrant concentration, there is the possibility of a congressional hearing on hunger in this area.

(g) A man with a large family may be "full-time employed" but at a low rate of pay—so is unable to meet his family's needs, but is also uneligible for any aid. This system encourages "getting on relief" and not working at all.

(h) Migrants will be looking for and expecting services comparable to what they received last year. As of now, our agency has little to offer them. Other agencies are hopeful we can offer something approaching what we did last summer. We have written a proposal for migrant health services to U.S. Public Health. This will not be funded this year. This agency may very well find itself condemned from all sides—by the community at large, by the strawberry growers, by other agencies, and by the migrants themselves. This opinion has been voiced by other who have a knowledge of the situation—representatives of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Illinois Migrant Council, and Centralia Area Migrant Council to name a few.

(i) In addition to the migrants who come and go, there is the continuing problems of hunger and lack of emergency care for the poor who live here year around. Not infrequently we are approached directly with these problems as our outreach workers find people in dire need of the very things this program account can provide.

(j) Poor families with a large number of children are in emergency need of family planning. We propose, on a limited scale, to begin offering family planning services so that the poor can have a choice of when to have children, and how many children. The expenses of raising unwanted children drives families deeper into poverty, resulting in families without hope and children without a future. This is a vicious cycle. A tremendous need and demand exists for this service, and we feel that by starting even on a small scale we can show the ready acceptance and growing demand for this basic right. Family planning is "freely" available to the middle and upper economic classes because they have the money to pay for it. It is not right that the poor be denied the benefit of research and knowledge because of their inability to pay.

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The attached petition, signatures, and statement were gathered in 2 hours' time on Thursday night. We had not known all the details about how to present information to the committee until Thursday night. These people are referrals from Public Aid workers who referred us to others. They are black, white, poverty class, and in the words of the Office of Economic Opportunity, "representatives of the poor".

The U.S. Department of Agriculture has a nutrition program started in Marion County with 6 Negroes as outreach workers. These aides have not been allowed to submit a statement. The food stamp program is operated out of the Public Aid Office. People who want to correct this have been silenced by their bosses. Consequently, the people themselves have given their comments.

JEAN CLARK.  
ROGER G. SWARTZ.  
MARY SWARTZ

Attachment.

MARION COUNTY, ILL., June 26, 1969.

We the undersigned know there is poverty and hunger in this territory. We feel there should be a better program for getting food or food stamps.

Mrs. DEAN CLARK  
(And 34 others).

CENTRALIA, ILL.

I Eric M. Collins feel that the present food stamp program is inadequate. Because it only covers certain foods. I feel that this country is giving millions of dollars on other countrys and I feel that being a American all Americans are entitle to a decent meal.

The idea of every man for his self has stood for too long. There are also hungry Americans such as Chicago, Cleveland Saint Louis etc.

Truly,

ERIC M. COLLINS.  
ARNOLD E. WESLEY.  
BUFORD BRYANT.  
JOHNNIE JONES.





