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**INTERNATIONAL HEALTH, EDUCATION,  
AND LABOR PROGRAMS**

GOVERNMENT

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND LABOR PROGRAMS

OF THE

**COMMITTEE ON  
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE  
UNITED STATES SENATE**

NINETIETH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

**S. 1779**

TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL HEALTH, EDUCATION,  
AND LABOR PROGRAM TO PROVIDE OPEN SUPPORT FOR  
PRIVATE, NONGOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELDS  
OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND LABOR, AND OTHER WEL-  
FARE FIELDS

**S. 981**

TO AMEND THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1966  
IN ORDER TO AUTHORIZE GRANTS TO FINANCE TRAVEL TO  
INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCES

APRIL 25 AND 26, 1968

Printed for the use of the  
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare



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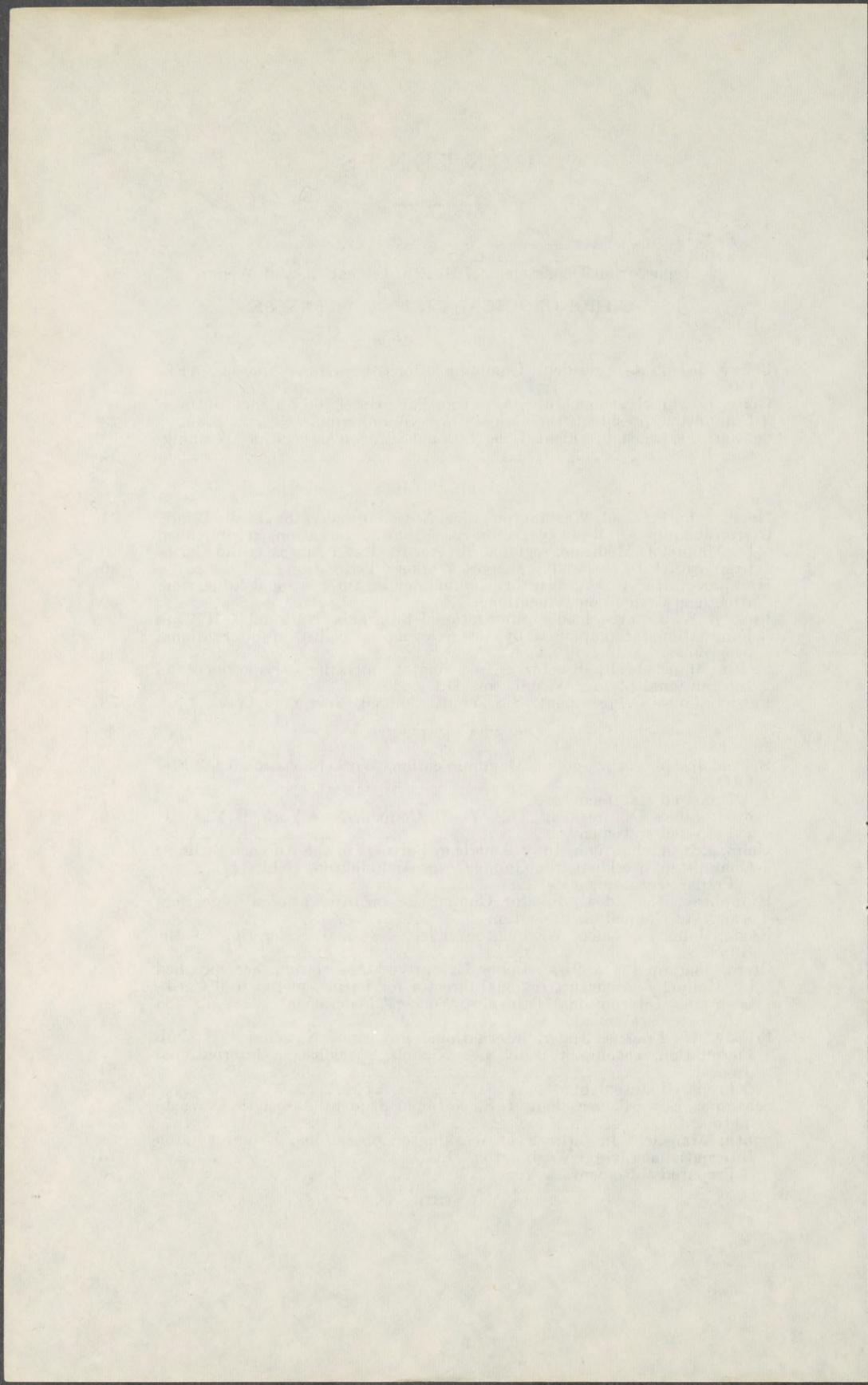
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## INTERNATIONAL HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND LABOR PROGRAMS

THURSDAY, APRIL 25, 1968

U.S. SENATE,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL HEALTH,  
EDUCATION, AND LABOR PROGRAMS OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:45 a.m., in room 4221, New Senate Office Building, Senator Ralph Yarborough, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators Yarborough (presiding), Morse, and Javits.

Committee staff present: Stewart E. McClure, Chief Clerk; Robert O. Harris, counsel to the subcommittee; Roy H. Millenson, minority clerk; and Eugene Mittelman, minority counsel.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The Subcommittee on International Health, Education and Labor Programs will come to order. We begin hearings this morning on S. 1779, a bill to establish an international health, education, and labor foundation to provide open support for private, nongovernmental activities in the fields of health, education, and labor, and other welfare fields on an international scale.

(The text of the bills referred to follows:)

(1)



1 and an International Health, Education, and Labor Council  
2 (hereinafter referred to as the "Council").

3 (c) The purposes of the Foundation shall be estab-  
4 lish and conduct an international health, education, and labor  
5 program under which the Foundation shall provide open  
6 support for private, nongovernmental activities in the fields  
7 of health, education, and labor, and other welfare fields,  
8 designed—

9 (1) to promote a better knowledge of the United  
10 States among the peoples of the world;

11 (2) to increase friendship and understanding among  
12 the peoples of the world; and

13 (3) to strengthen the capacity of the other peoples  
14 of the world to develop and maintain free, independent  
15 societies in their own nations.

16 DIRECTOR OF FOUNDATION

17 SEC. 2. (a) The Foundation shall be headed by a Di-  
18 rector who shall be appointed by the President, by and with  
19 the advice and consent of the Senate. The person nominated  
20 for appointment as the Director shall be a distinguished citi-  
21 zen who has demonstrated exceptional qualities and abilities  
22 necessary to enable him to successfully perform the functions  
23 of the office of the Director.

24 (b) The Director shall receive compensation at the rate  
25 prescribed for level II of the Executive Schedule under sec-

1 tion 5311 of title 5, United States Code, and shall serve  
2 for a term of five years.

3 (c) The Director, with the advice of the Council, shall  
4 exercise all of the authority granted to the Foundation by  
5 this Act and shall serve as chief executive officer of the  
6 Foundation.

7 COUNCIL

8 SEC. 3. (a) The Council shall consist of eleven members  
9 to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice  
10 and consent of the Senate. The persons nominated for ap-  
11 pointment as members of the Council (1) shall be eminent  
12 in the fields of education, student activities, youth activities,  
13 labor, health, scientific research, or other fields pertinent  
14 to the functions of the Foundation; (2) shall be selected  
15 solely on the basis of established records of distinguished  
16 service; and (3) shall not be officers or employees of the  
17 Government of the United States. The President is requested,  
18 in the making of nominations of persons for appointment as  
19 members, to give due consideration to any recommendations  
20 for nomination which may be submitted to him by leading  
21 private associations, institutions, and organizations concerned  
22 with private activities in the fields of health, education, and  
23 labor, and other welfare fields related to the purposes set  
24 forth in the first section of this Act.

25 (b) The term of office of each member of the Council

1 shall be six years, except that (1) the terms of the members  
2 first appointed shall expire, as designated by the President,  
3 three at the end of two years, four at the end of four years,  
4 and four at the end of six years after the date of enactment  
5 of this Act; and (2) any member appointed to fill a vacancy  
6 shall serve for the remainder of the term for which his  
7 predecessor was appointed. No member shall be eligible for  
8 reappointment during the two-year period following the  
9 expiration of his term.

10 (c) The members of the Council shall receive compen-  
11 sation at the rate of \$100 for each day engaged in the busi-  
12 ness of the Foundation and shall be allowed travel expenses  
13 as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

14 (d) The President shall call the first meeting of the  
15 Council and designate an Acting Chairman. The Board shall,  
16 from time to time thereafter, select one of its members to  
17 serve as Chairman of the Council.

18 (e) The Council shall meet at the call of the Chairman,  
19 but not less than once every six months. Six members of the  
20 Council shall constitute a quorum.

21 (f) The Council (1) shall advise the Director with  
22 respect to policies, programs, and procedures for carrying out  
23 his functions, and (2) shall review applications for financial  
24 support submitted pursuant to section 4 and make recom-  
25 mendations thereon to the Director. The Director shall not

1 approve or disapprove any such application until he has  
2 received the recommendation of the Council thereon, unless  
3 the Council fails to make a recommendation on such appli-  
4 cation within a reasonable time.

5 (g) The Council shall, on or before the 31st day of  
6 January, of each year, submit an annual report to the Presi-  
7 dent and the Congress summarizing the activities of the  
8 Council during the preceding calendar year and making such  
9 recommendations as it may deem appropriate. The contents  
10 of each report so submitted shall promptly be made available  
11 to the public.

12 GRANTS IN SUPPORT OF PRIVATE ACTIVITIES

13 SEC. 4. (a) To effectuate the purposes of this Act, the  
14 Director is authorized, subject to section 3 (f), to make  
15 grants to private, nonprofit agencies, associations, and organi-  
16 zations organized in the United States, to public or private  
17 nonprofit educational institutions located in the United States,  
18 and to individuals or groups of individuals who are citizens  
19 of the United States not employed by the Government of the  
20 United States, a State or political subdivision of a State, or  
21 the District of Columbia, for the purpose of enabling them  
22 to assist, provide, or participate in international activities,  
23 conferences, meetings, and seminars in the fields of health,  
24 education, and labor, and other welfare fields related to the

1 purposes set forth in the first section of this Act. No portion  
2 of any funds granted under this section shall be paid by the  
3 Director, or by any recipient of a grant under this section,  
4 to support any intelligence-gathering activity on behalf of the  
5 United States or to support any activity carried on by any  
6 officer or employee of the United States.

7 (b) Each grant shall be made by the Director under  
8 this section only upon application therefor in such form and  
9 containing such information as may be required by the  
10 Director and only on condition that the recipient of such  
11 grant will conduct openly all activities supported by such  
12 grant and make such reports as the Director may require  
13 solely to determine that the funds so granted are applied to  
14 the purpose for which application is made.

15 (c) The Director shall develop procedures and rules  
16 with respect to the approval or disapproval of applications  
17 for grants under this section which will provide, insofar as  
18 practicable, an equitable distribution of grants among the  
19 various applicants for such grants and types of activities to be  
20 supported by such grants, but which will assure that grants  
21 will be made to those qualified recipients most capable of  
22 achieving a successful or significant contribution favorably  
23 related to the purposes set forth in the first section of this  
24 Act. In making grants under this section, the Director shall  
25 not impose any requirements therefor or conditions thereon

1 which impair the freedom of thought and expression of any  
2 recipients or other beneficiaries of such grants.

3 (d) The Director may (1) pay grants in such install-  
4 ments as he may deem appropriate and (2) provide for  
5 such adjustment of payments under this section as may be  
6 necessary, including, where appropriate, total withholding  
7 of payments.

8 PUBLIC REPORTS BY DIRECTOR

9 SEC. 5. The Director shall, on or before the 31st day of  
10 January of each year, submit an annual report to the Presi-  
11 dent and the Congress setting forth a summary of his activi-  
12 ties under this Act during the preceding calendar year. Such  
13 report shall include a list of the grants made by the Director  
14 during the preceding calendar year; a statement of the use  
15 to which each recipient applied any grant received during  
16 the preceding calendar year; and any recommendations  
17 which the Director may deem appropriate. The contents of  
18 each report so submitted shall promptly be made available  
19 to the public.

20 GENERAL AUTHORITY

21 SEC. 6. The Director shall have the authority, within  
22 the limits of funds available under section 9, to—

23 (1) prescribe such rules and regulations as he  
24 deems necessary governing the manner of the opera-

1 tions of the Foundation, and its organization and per-  
2 sonnel;

3 (2) appoint and fix the compensation of such per-  
4 sonnel as may be necessary to enable the Foundation to  
5 carry out its functions under this Act, without regard to  
6 the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing  
7 appointments in the competitive service and the provi-  
8 sions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of  
9 such title relating to classification and General Schedule  
10 pay rates: except that the salary of any person so em-  
11 ployed shall not exceed the maximum salary estab-  
12 lished by the General Schedule under section 5332 of  
13 title 5, United States Code;

14 (3) obtain the services of experts and consultants  
15 from private life, as may be required by the Director or  
16 the Council, in accordance with the provisions of section  
17 3109 of title 5, United States Code;

18 (4) accept and utilize on behalf of the Foundation  
19 the services of voluntary and uncompensated personnel  
20 from private life and reimburse them for travel expenses,  
21 including per diem, as authorized by section 5703 of  
22 title 5, United States Code;

23 (5) receive money and other property donated,  
24 bequeathed, or devised, by private, nongovernmental  
25 sources, without condition or restriction other than that

1 it be used for any of the purposes of the Foundation;  
2 and to use, sell, or otherwise dispose of such property  
3 in carrying out the purposes of this Act; and

4 (6) make other expenditures necessary to carry  
5 into effect the purposes of this Act.

6 PROHIBITION AGAINST REQUIRING INTELLIGENCE

7 GATHERING

8 SEC. 7. No department, agency, officer, or employee of  
9 the United States shall request or require any recipient or  
10 any other beneficiary of any grant made under this Act to  
11 obtain, furnish, or report, or cause to be obtained, furnished,  
12 or reported, any information relating, directly or indirectly,  
13 to any activity supported by such grant, except as is (1)  
14 provided by section 4 (b) of this Act or (2) authorized  
15 under law in the case of any information directly relating  
16 to the violation of any criminal law of the United States by  
17 such recipient or beneficiary.

18 INDEPENDENCE FROM EXECUTIVE CONTROL

19 SEC. 8. (a) Determinations made by the Director and  
20 the Council in the discharge of their functions under this  
21 Act shall not be subject to review or control by the Presi-  
22 dent or by any other department, agency, officer, or em-  
23 ployee of the Government.

24 (b) The provisions of subchapter II of chapter 5 of  
25 title 5, United States Code (relating to administrative pro-

1 cedure), and of chapter 7 of such title (relating to judicial  
2 review), shall not apply with respect to the exercise by  
3 the Director or the Council of their functions under this Act.

4 **APPROPRIATIONS**

5 **SEC. 9.** There are hereby authorized to be appropriated  
6 to the Foundation such sums as may be necessary to carry  
7 out the purposes of this Act, except that the aggregate of  
8 such sums appropriated prior to June 30, 1972, shall not  
9 exceed \$100 million. Sums appropriated under this section  
10 shall remain available until expended.

90TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. 981

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 15, 1967

Mr. YARBOROUGH introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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## A BILL

To amend the International Education Act of 1966 in order to authorize grants to finance travel to international youth conferences.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 That title I of the International Education Act of 1966 is  
4 amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as  
5 follows:

6               “INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCES

7               “SEC. 107. Upon the recommendation of the Secretary  
8 of State that it would strengthen international cooperative  
9 relations, the Secretary is authorized to make grants to  
10 finance travel (including related expenses) to international

- 1 youth conferences by individuals broadly representative of
- 2 the Nation's students."

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,  
Washington, D.C., May 1, 1968.

HON. LISTER HILL,  
*Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This letter is in response to your request of May 17, 1967, for a report on S. 1779, a bill "To establish an international health, education, and labor program to provide open support for private, nongovernmental activities in the fields of health, education, and labor, and other welfare fields."

This bill would establish, as an independent agency of the Government, an International Health, Education, and Labor Foundation, composed of a Director and a policy-making Council consisting of 11 members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The purposes of the Foundation would be to establish and conduct an international health, education, and labor program under which the Foundation would provide open support for openly conducted private nongovernmental activities in the fields of health, education, labor, and other welfare fields, designed (1) to promote a better knowledge of the United States among the peoples of the world; (2) to increase friendship and understanding among the peoples of the world; and (3) to strengthen the capacity of the other peoples of the world to develop and maintain free, independent societies in their own nations.

To these ends, the Director would be authorized to make grants to private nonprofit agencies and organizations organized in the United States, to public or private nonprofit educational institutions in the United States, and to individuals or groups of individuals who are United States citizens and are not governmental employees, for the purpose of enabling them to assist, provide, or participate in international activities, conferences, meetings, and seminars in the fields of health, education, and labor, and other welfare fields related to the purposes of the bill. None of the funds granted could be used to support any intelligence-gathering activity on behalf of the United States or any activity carried on by any officer or employee of the United States. No agency of the United States would be authorized to request or require any recipient or any beneficiary of a grant to obtain or supply information relating to any activity supported by such a grant, except that the Director could require reports solely to determine that the funds granted are applied for the purposes for which application is made.

The bill would authorize to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out its purposes, except that the aggregate amount appropriated prior to June 30, 1972, is not to exceed \$100 million.

As mentioned in our report to your Committee in S. 981, a bill to authorize grants to finance travel to international youth conferences, the President has requested Secretary of State Rusk to serve as chairman of a special committee, which will include representatives of the Executive, the Congress, and the private community, to study the kind of mechanism which should be utilized to provide public funds openly for overseas activities of organizations deserving of public support. Aid of the kind contemplated by the present bill would seem appropriate for consideration by that committee. We, therefore, recommend that no favorable action on proposed legislation such as this bill be taken until that committee has had an opportunity to make its recommendations and we have had an opportunity to study them.

We are advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the presentation of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

WILBUR J. COHEN, *Acting Secretary.*

Senator YARBOROUGH. I introduced this bill on the 15th of May last year with the cosponsorship of the distinguished Senator who sits at my left here, Senator Morse of Oregon, who is chairman of the full Education Subcommittee, and it was with his aid and concurrence, and that of Senator Hill, chairman of the full committee, that this special subcommittee was set up to hold hearings.

Since we introduced the bill, it has gained terrific public support and interest that it did not have at the time.

Our vital national interest in this field is well known. For 15 years the Central Intelligence Agency, following National Security Council

initiatives, contributed millions of dollars to private organizations involved in international affairs, health organizations, educational organizations, and labor organizations. That CIA funding, with its negative implications, has rightly been stopped. But no one can doubt our continuing national interest in seeing private involvement grow, and the greatness of America recognized and moved forward in these international fields of health, education, and labor.

What this bill proposes to do is to stimulate this involvement openly and publicly. Other nations support their student movements in international organizations. Other nations support their labor organizations in international work. Other nations openly support these health movements.

The problem with our doing it through the CIA came about because some people thought we couldn't get Congress to appropriate the money openly, to be frank about it, so they went through CIA because the work needed to be done so badly. They thought that by the secret moneys Congress would appropriate a lump sum, and some could be used for these good purposes. Well, the fact it was done secretly made the whole purpose suspect when it should be open and aboveboard.

The main objective of this bill is to see that this Government does not fail in what I think are its greatest international opportunities in the world, and that its participation is open and public so that everybody will know at home and abroad that our Government is supporting these different activities.

We need to create means by which the private sector can increase its involvement in international relations to the point that it will be recognized as a vital part of our foreign policy, and in a way that there will be nothing that tries to put a clamp on anybody and nothing connected with the gathering of intelligence, because that makes organizations suspect.

Some of the characteristic features that make America great, in education, science, arts, and humanities should provide a new dimension in our foreign relations. In this new dimension we can fight with the weapons of peace, both learning and teaching at the same time.

We are going to have appearing here and tomorrow before this subcommittee representatives of private groups who have demonstrated their willingness to meet the challenge of this new international effort. I welcome their suggestions.

I am very glad this morning that the distinguished Senator from Oregon could forgo his activities in his home State, and come back to join with us in this opening session. With his long membership on the Foreign Relations Committee, as well as his chairmanship of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate, he has a dual expertise that we badly need on this bill. Senator Morse, we would like to hear from you.

Senator MORSE. I want to say a sentence or two. I am pleased to follow your leadership again. I am very proud that you have introduced this bill, and I am pleased to cosponsor it with you. I think it speaks for itself. There is no question about the need for it. The witnesses will make a case for it.

I am very glad we are having Mr. Joe Beirne as our first witness. I want to hear him.

I want you to know that as chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, you will have my complete cooperation, and I will try to

push this bill through the subcommittee and the full committee on the floor. I commend you. I want to thank the witnesses on the list for coming this morning to testify. I am ready to hear them.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you, Senator Morse.

I want to say, when we introduced this bill 11 months ago, we did so not because of a great public demand that we do something. We introduced it because we felt that it was needed.

Mr. Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communication Workers of America, as one of the first of the private groups that began to tell us a considerable time ago he was interested in this. His whole organization is dedicated to good will and understanding around the world, believing in the free enterprise system, and believing in the individual dignity of man.

President Beirne, we welcome you here, knowing that you volunteered some time back to come in and say, "We will help on that bill." Thank you for your leadership.

Senator MORSE. Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Beirne comes to the witness chair, I want this record to show, and I speak for the moment as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs, I want to qualify this witness—although he doesn't need qualification—by telling you, Mr. Chairman, on this record, of the great work that the head of this great union, our witness this morning, has done in Latin America, where he has been one of those in the American labor movement that has helped extend into Latin America this whole concept of the free labor movement in the United States, transported to Latin America.

I will not take more of his time other than to say that I can document the work that this witness has done in Latin America for some years. He has worked closely with the State Department. He has worked closely with the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs; and he has also, I may say, worked closely with the Foreign Relations Committee with regard to this movement.

I want to thank you for the leadership that you have extended in the field of foreign affairs, vis-a-vis the importance of exporting to Latin America the whole concept of our Nation's economic freedom in this country by way of the labor movement, and the importance of free collective bargaining in Latin America, and to the development of their own economy.

As you well know, because of your interests in Latin America, Mr. Chairman, they have not had the same concept of trade unionism in Latin America as we have had here; pretty much subordinated too frequently to governmental policies, rather than being a really free labor movement; and you have done much, along with George Meany and others, to get them to understand what we mean by a free trade union movement; and I want to thank you, as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you, Chairman Morse. I mention in passing also that Senator Morse is chairman of the Latin American Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate.

That subcommittee, due to the Senate responsibility in the field of treaties, has more responsibility for our relationship with Latin America than any other legislative group, body, or committee of this Congress of the United States. President Beirne, we are glad to hear from you.

**STATEMENT OF JOSEPH A. BEIRNE, PRESIDENT, COMMUNICATION  
WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO**

Mr. BEIRNE. Mr. Chairman, my name is Joseph A. Beirne. I am president of the Communications Workers of America.

I wish to thank both Senator Yarborough and Senator Morse for their very flattering remarks. I would prefer, if there are no objections, to not read my statement, but to put my statement in the record, and just talk.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Mr. Beirne, you have appeared before Senate committees many times. Your prepared statement is ordered to be printed in full at this time. Proceed in your own way.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Beirne follows:)

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOSEPH A. BEIRNE, PRESIDENT, COMMUNICATION  
WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO**

Good morning Mr. Chairman. My name is Joseph A. Beirne and I am President of the Communication Workers of America, affiliated with the AFL-CIO. I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear before this special sub-committee to comment upon S. 1779. The broad purposes of this proposed legislation are commendable and deserve the closest attention of the Congress. Personally it gives me great pleasure to see the interest which the Committee has shown in these matters. I believe the Committee and the Congress as a whole, now has the opportunity to create some imaginative new tools of foreign assistance.

The CWA as well as other unions of the AFL-CIO have long had an interest in international affairs, particularly in this hemisphere. The AFL-CIO has consistently supported the foreign assistance program of the United States and our participation in the various multilateral agencies. Within this framework, technical assistance programs have been of particular interest, because we believe that only through a program of continual contact by technicians, farmers, trade unionists, academicians, etc., in problem-solving situations can real communication of skills and attitudes be achieved.

One of the principal shortcomings of the foreign assistance programs, as I see it, is that insufficient attention is paid to people—the workers, students, and farmers. It seems rather ironic that in a foreign assistance program which is in part motivated by the mass movements in the developing nation so little importance is given to the people. It is ironic now, it may be tragic in a few years.

The Bill before you, or one like it, can be the beginning of a new era in foreign assistance. If economic development is really going to result in political and social development then greater efforts must be made both by this country and by those which we assist to achieve a more rapid and just distribution of the wealth generated in the development process. One of the most important ways to achieve this new sharing of national wealth is by equipping the people with the skills to contribute to the expansion of the Gross National Product and by creating organizations such as trade unions to use modern techniques in demanding their share of the national income. I believe trade unions free of domination of political parties, governments, management or self-serving individuals can insure that the mass of the people will benefit from economic growth and will be able to participate meaningfully in the political process.

Before I address myself to the bill before you, I want to tell you of some of the present programs of American and International trade unions in the developing countries. I come to you this morning both as an elected official in an American trade union and as an official in organizations specifically established to assist trade unions in developing countries. The American Institute for Free Labor Development in Latin America, the African-American Labor Center, and the newly formed Asian-American Free Labor Institute all contract with the Agency for International Development to assist democratic trade unions.

These organizations perform their mission by providing classroom instruction in trade union skills, community development, cooperatives, and economics, by assisting the trade unions to develop projects which will show immediate and tangible results of trade unionism, and by helping unionists as they face the day to day problems of organizing, dues collection and collective bargaining. The classes offered may be evening seminars for two weeks—on a very basic level,

often to nearly illiterate rural workers, or 4-5 week residential classes. In addition, advanced training is offered in the United States. The self-help projects funded by the AFL-CIO or the AID range from a potable water system for a rural village to a community center, or a health clinic. In Peru a worker-owned low-cost housing bank was founded which has financed more than 1,000 workers' homes. In many countries in Latin America low-cost housing has been built with AIFLD technical and AFL-CIO-AID financial assistance. In Latin America and Africa vocational schools have been constructed for workers.

Funding for these organizations also comes directly from the AFL-CIO and in the case of the AIFLD, a helpful contribution from more than 70 U.S. business firms operating in Latin America. These labor assistance programs are vital to the growth of democracy in the developing countries. They are making a real contribution. They are education in its most basic and fundamental sense.

Now, let me speak about some trade union programs which do not receive government assistance, but are funded entirely by U.S. trade unionists or by international trade unions.

In 1959 the Communication Workers of America began "Operation South America", under the direction of our late Vice-President, Ray Hackney. The purpose of the program is to support democratic trade union leaders in the communications fields in Latin America, and to involve local unions in this country and Canada in the development of trade unions in Latin America. Each of the 10 local districts of the CWA sponsors the work of a trade unionist who otherwise would be confined to union activity on a part-time and voluntary basis. The CWA locals make an extra contribution each month to their district, in addition to their regular duties, for this purpose. This assistance does not go through the CWA national office nor through the Inter-American office of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International. Each district sends its financial assistance directly to the person or union being sponsored. Through financial assistance and through advice from experienced trade unionists, these Latin Americans have been able to substantially change and improve their own trade unions.

Just one example of many will give you an idea of the kind of progress that can be made with a small amount of money combined with the will of the peoples of the developing nations. In 1963 Romulo Marinho, a national officer in the Telegraph and Cable Workers Union in the state of Guanabara, Brazil, was defeated by the communists. Since he had demonstrated a real dedication to democratic trade unionism, the AIFLD brought him to one of their courses held in Washington, D.C. He was then chosen by District 2 of the CWA for support in Operation South America.

The modest salary he was paid from District 2 enabled him to devote full-time to organizing new unions and recovering the union from the hands of those who would use it for political purposes. Through an education program he directed for the local unions, he was able to regain through an election the leadership he had lost. Within a few years he had emerged as a national leader in the Telegraph and Cable Workers Union. He was instrumental in organizing the National Confederation of Communication Workers with a membership of over 44,000.

From his position as a national leader, he has been able to stimulate the unions to engage in collective bargaining in the communication fields. The first collective contract for communication workers in Brazil was signed through his efforts.

In spite of the difficult conditions under which the unions must work in Brazil, Marinho has been able to make a real contribution to the well-being of the labor movement.

Existing programs of assistance to trade unions in the developing countries are excellent, as far as they go. But they are only scratching the surface of immense problems: that of mobilizing the masses of people so that they can apply constant, effective and pacific pressure on those who control the wealth of the nation; that of mobilizing the manpower of the country so that it can more effectively contribute to the economic development; that of mobilizing political strength of the workers so they can share in political processes of the state. Until these problems are solved, neither the U.S. nor the governments of the developing nations can claim that economic progress is being made or that the political process is approaching the democratic ideals so often voiced.

I think that the bill before you is correctly addressing itself to some of these problems when it states in Section I as one of its purposes: "to strengthen the capacity of the other peoples of the world to develop and maintain free, independent societies in their own nations." The word "capacity" is broad in its

meaning: it signifies willingness and ability. The willingness to achieve a just society is not absent among the workers of the developing countries, but all too infrequently, the ability is. The organizations which I mentioned earlier are striving to assist the unions develop the skills so that they can more effectively represent the workers before management, and government. But their efforts must be expanded and supplemented by other programs, if real progress is to take place.

In the present foreign assistance act, one section, Title IX, specifically instructs the Agency for International Development to emphasize programs which will stimulate the development of democratic institutions. While there are some programs already underway which fulfill this description, I feel they represent a far too small portion of the total foreign assistance program. I am hopeful that AID can and will effectively bring its resources to bear on this area of activity. However, new, imaginative approaches are needed. I think that this bill could fulfill many of these needs. But in my opinion to do this, you will need to change some of the language, particularly in Section 4, page 5. Too often conferences, meetings, seminars of trade unionists, students, or cooperative officials do not allow for the even more important follow-up, or continuing assistance. Without a skilled staff to provide continuing program, the knowledge and techniques discussed in a seminar are soon forgotten or are not utilized. From the description of the trade union programs you can see that one of the most important functions is to provide support to a conference participant when he returns to his union. This support requires an American and host country staff.

So I suggest to you that this foundation would be doing only part of its job if it just provided funds for conferences or exchanges of persons.

Another aspect of the proposed legislation should be changed if you decide that this bill will address itself to the broader problems of the development of democratic institutions. Section 4 authorizes grants to be made "to private, non-profit agencies, associations, and organized in the United States, and to public or private non-profit educational institutions located in the United States and to individuals or groups of individuals who are citizens of the United States." This proviso would prohibit assistance to local institutions such as cooperatives, trade unions, community development centers, and others which must form the foundation of democracy at the grass-roots level. It would also exclude from the participation in the foundation's activities the International Trade Secretariats such as the Postal Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI). These secretariats are the international organizations to which national unions such as the CWA are affiliated.

Frequently, the US foreign assistance program has ignored or has been unable to assist the small, but very vital community development or cooperative movement in a city. Often the US AID mission does not have the time or the money to help them. A foundation such as the one you propose could fill this gap.

I recommend, then, that the U.S. origin provisos on page 5, lines 16-19 be deleted to read:

" . . . to make grants to private, non-profit agencies, associations and organizations, to public and private non-profit educational institutions, and to individuals or groups of individuals who are citizens of the United States. . . . "

In most of the countries where there is a US AID mission, a fund exists called the Special Development Activities Fund or the Ambassador's Fund. Most of the time it is used for small projects such as building a bridge, a community center, or helping a cooperative get started. The trade union development programs with which I am associated have been able to use this fund in many countries. The results have been outstanding. The AFL-CIO, even before this public fund was started, began its own Impact Projects Fund. Hundreds of small projects have received assistance from it in Africa and Latin America. You have before you a publication describing some of the projects in Latin America.

However, the public and private monies available fall far short of the need. This bill could also include the establishment of a large loan and grant fund for small projects of immediate impact for democratic organizations. US based on international organizations could administer the loans or grants in behalf of this foundation.

I suggest the following language be inserted in the bill on page 6:

"A special grant and revolving loan fund will be established for use by the participating agencies, organizations or persons mentioned in Section 4(a). This fund will be available for projects in host countries to further the purpose of this bill. Recognizing the need for tangible examples of modern development, this grant-loan fund will be used for projects such as construction of community centers, potable water systems, health clinics, seed capital for cooperatives, and classrooms."

This committee is considering a new approach to foreign assistance and to development. The foundation that emerges from these deliberations must avoid one of the worst errors of other programs: red-tape—the inability to respond to new situations, the timidity of risking a novel method to solve the complex problems of development. This foundation must studiously avoid intra-government competition if other agencies see it as threatening their field of operation.

In conclusion I want to emphasize my support for the concept of the complete independence of any non-profit organization participating in a foreign assistance program. In trade unions we fully know the need for independence from government or political parties in this country. In our programs in the developing countries the necessity is even more pronounced. If we are to be effective donors, then we must approach the workers of other countries not as representatives of our government, but as representatives of the workers of this country.

The very important role being performed at the Government level in the foreign aid field would be enhanced with this new emphasis on private citizen participation.

Mr. BEIRNE. First I would like to say I come before the committee with clean hands. There was an awful lot of publicity some time back about the involvement of the CIA in certain organizations, and I can assure you that as far as this witness is concerned, I wouldn't be able to recognize a CIA man if I was sitting besides him, nor would I be able to recognize the present head of the CIA, Mr. Helms or whatever his name is.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I doubt that any of us would recognize them, if they were sitting beside us, President Beirne. If we did, they would change their agents.

Mr. BEIRNE. Now, the history of the American labor movement stands on its own merits; I don't want to go into that. The AFL and CIO, even before they merged established, I think, a very worthwhile record in the field of international relations.

My own experience dates back to the 1950's, before there was such a thing as an Alliance for Progress. My interest centers specifically in Latin America, more than in any other part of the world, simply because it is tied to our continent. It is part of our hemisphere. And if we cannot succeed in our own part of the world, then I wonder what we are doing in far off places.

I say quite frankly that I was one of those in the labor movement who made no bones in the fifties about publicizing the fact that we were receiving money from the Federal Government. At that time there was the International Cooperative Association. Harold Stassen was at the time the head of it, and I had no hesitancy in negotiating with the ICA at that time to get funds my own union could not produce, to bring Latin American Communications Workers to the United States, to put them in our educational institute at Front Royal, Va.

We gave them a 6-months' training program. There were initially 16 people. Ten years after that program had ended, 15 of the original 16 were still active in the democratic trade union movement in their respective countries in Latin America.

Senator MORSE. Not only that, if I may interrupt, your Government asked labor to do it, too. We needed your help, and we came to labor and we asked for this kind of assistance.

Mr. BEIRNE. Correct.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I want to say this, Mr. Beirne. From what I read and heard, I think the money that went through the CIA, so far as I can tell, was used for very laudable and many highly motivated

objectives in the interests of freedom. The unfortunate part was that since it came through an unknown channel, that fact was used by people opposed to us overseas to blacken the concept.

This money was used for very high purposes of raising the standard of education, of living, the worker's interest in his work, his capabilities, his participation in the whole economy of his country.

I think it was used for good purposes, but unfortunately the method was secret so we could get the money from Congress. Congress didn't appropriate the money openly back there as we should have.

Mr. BEIRNE. This is the very reason that prompted me to not only support the bill that you introduced, Senator, which is supported by Senator Morse, but to testify on it and say strongly how good it is to see you coming openly and saying, "All right, let us do something that is needed."

When the Alliance for Progress came into existence, and when Congress appropriated huge sums of money to spend in foreign assistance, we made no bones about openly coming to AID. We hold a contract with AID right now. We receive some \$4 to \$5 million a year through an organization we set up, the AIFLD, an organization that is referred to in my testimony. There is a pamphlet before you that shows some of the work that can be done with a few dollars.

Now the value of the Government's help falls into a number of categories. One, it permits organizations like my own, the Communications Workers of America, to go to our own people for contributions over and above the dues to our organization, as we have done since 1955, and collect from them dollars that permits us to, right at the moment, conduct what we call in CWA Operation South America. Every one of our 10 districts is supporting either a man or a project in one of the countries of Latin America, and has supported a man or a project for the last 10 years.

We get hundreds of thousands of dollars voluntarily, only because we are able to say, this is a field our Government cannot operate in as successfully as we can. This is where people can talk to people. This is where we can come and implement the foreign policy of our own Government, the foreign concern of our own Government. People become more generous when they know you are doing something that is in the interest of our Nation.

I might say, Mr. Chairman, that one of the founders of our great work in Latin America was a Texan like yourself, Ray Hackney. He is dead now, but he was an officer for a good many years. He founded Operation Latin America. In Mexico a room is laid out to his memory. He has left an impact. There is no place you can go among the workers in the communications field in Latin America without having somebody come to talk glowing about an American, Ray Hackney, a person. This does more for the overseas efforts than many of the dollars we spend on the basis of government-to-government, although I hasten to add I am behind the government-to-government efforts. We are not doing enough in support of the private enterprise part of our foreign operations.

We now have S. 1779, a bill to have the Government openly suggest the aid that can be given by the students, by the farmers, and by the cooperatives. I think it is a good beginning in firming up the great re-

sponsibilities we have worldwide, and I certainly hope that the Congress will find the interest in this that will match the good that will come from this kind of work.

I have but a few suggestions. It seems the emphasis on the bill seems to go more to the exchange of people, students, exchanging with one another, having conferences, having meetings, having seminars. I think this bill would be greatly strengthened, and amendments have been proposed in my statement, and we don't hold fast just to the kind of amendments we propose, but we just suggest the kind of language that may be needed, and the proposed amendment that we suggest is on page 8. It would be to amend the bill on page 5, lines 16 and 19.

Here we suggest broadening it a little bit to permit direct help through organizations and through citizen's projects which may engage an American and host country citizen, to carry out projects.

I am thinking of these projects we have created through AFL-CIO; in Latin America we call it an "impact project." Now mission directors have ambassadors' funds to be able to finance the digging of a sewer in a small town, putting a roof on a dilapidated school, buying the chairs needed for a kindergarten, buying the chalk that is needed to give to teachers, buying paper pads for children, buying pencils for children, and so forth. The need of the underdeveloped countries and the undeveloped countries is great, so great that there is no area you can think about where something couldn't be done.

The bill, as it is presently written, would restrict funds from being used in these areas, and we would hope that you would see the value of some of the things that have already proved to be successful; but, the funds are so small, and the need is so great, that I think it would take all of our lifetimes to do what needs to be done in a much shorter period of time.

The ironic part of what we do, with all of the money and all of the help we give to people, is that we are playing with the people in power. We forget the people we want to help, who are the "people" of this country. I know of no organization, aside from the cooperatives, the farmer organizations, the universities, and the labor movement, who will get down to dealing with people on a people-to-people basis. It is in this area that there is no provision made for the kinds of dollars that would bring back so great a return to the people involved, to the country involved, and to the United States, so great a return in the respect that we seem to lack in the world today.

The things we do seem to turn to ashes in our hands, and Americans can properly wonder whether all of the dollars and all the generosity they are showing is really being appreciated.

It really isn't important whether it is appreciated or not. It is important as to how it is being spent and who is benefiting by it, and we don't have the right machinery; this bill is an opening wedge to provide the machinery to get down where history is really made, and history is going to be made in these countries by the people in revolt.

We traditionally deal with the "top," the power structure, and with nothing much changing, except the changing of the guard, and as in Brazil today, the ones really paying for the stability are the people, the peasants, the ones who cannot get a voice in their own affairs.

There will be more revolts in the not too distant future, because people, as is evidenced in our own country, will take just so much, and then they have nothing to lose.

You see, in this one area where people are, and where the leaders of tomorrow are really growing up, the revolutionary leaders of tomorrow are really growing up, there is nobody reaching them, except the cooperatives, the missionary religious groups, and the labor movement.

Senator YARBOROUGH. President Beirne, I have one other group to add to that, the Peace Corps.

Mr. BEIRNE. The Peace Corps, I would add them quickly.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I was in one country in South America a few years ago and was talking to some of the people, and they said the very thing you said:

"Well, your ambassadors just deal with our politicians and generals, and we never see them as a people, but these Peace Corps people, they come out here and live with us. We believe they really want to help us. We didn't know there were Americans like that before they came down here. We thought Americans came here to get something from us."

Mr. BEIRNE. Good.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I was told about this in one South American country, and so I add to those working in the cooperatives and the labor movement the Peace Corps volunteers.

Mr. BEIRNE. I would quickly take them. They are doing a wonderful job. And so I say in concluding my remarks, Mr. Chairman, that S. 1779 is a hope, a new kind of thinking being applied openly, as it should be, in this society of ours, for the kind of work that is so much needed, and the kind of work that I think will bring returns far greater than any of the billions of dollars we have really spent. This bill would permit the people to talk to people, and we could lessen the troubles we are going to have I believe, that we are going to have not only in Latin America but maybe in other parts of the world. This might be an opening of a whole new dimension that doesn't need the same number of dollars, because it is dealing in a different field, an aspect that I think is more lasting.

Out own experience with 15 out of 16 trainees staying with it, sacrificing for a principle, for a belief, not for a dollar is illustrative. I am happy that you have given me the opportunity to say in my stumbling way how much we think this kind of a new approach is valuable, and I sure wish that you would get the steam and the power to get it through and make it something real.

Senator YARBOROUGH. President Beirne, we appreciate your appearance. We appreciate more than that the fact that months ago when we were out searching for support for this bill, you were coming to us and saying, "I want to support that. That is needed."

I have read your proposed amendment. I favor your amendments. We must studiously avoid intragovernment competition, that other agencies see as threatening their field of operation.

We must also avoid the danger of red tape bogging the program down. These suggestions show your statesmanship. You are a labor

statesman. You are broader than a labor statesman. You are a statesman in our relationship to the world, and particularly the world south of us, the Western Hemisphere.

Since I live in a State with a thousand mile border with the largest Spanish-speaking nation in the world in population, Mexico, which is pressing toward 40,000,000 now, I have some idea of this problem. I think you have rendered this Government and have rendered all of the people a tremendous service in this field, in addition to your leadership over in leading Americans to a better way of life here, in your own organization which you represent so ably and so well.

Senator MORSE?

Senator MORSE. Mr. Beirne, I want to say contrary to your self description in your testimony, it represented no stumbling approach to this bill. You have helped carry it towards the goal of passage, in my judgment.

You have your proposal for a special grant. You have two amendments. And also the revolving fund loan program which I may say I agree with.

I would like to ask counsel for the committee, Mr. Chairman, to take that amendment and redraft the amendment, setting forth very clearly the provision in it regarding the special grant in the revolving fund loan and list the objectives of it.

Part of the language ought to go into the committee report as to the intent of the amendment, but that we put the amendment just in the form showing what the purpose is, and then use the rest of the language of the amendment to explain congressional intent.

I think it is a very fine amendment. I also support the other amendment that you set forth. I want to thank you very much for your testimony.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Counsel are instructed to take the steps that Senator Morse has suggested. I do favor both of those amendments.

President Beirne, we have here the ranking minority member, a man whom you know well, the distinguished senior Senator from the State of New York, who has been an active worker and a leader in many fields of progress.

I served with him on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee on Education and many other subcommittees. We are glad he could spare time from his busy schedule. I think the fact that he is here indicates the importance of this measure.

Senator Javits is a man who has a great interest in foreign affairs as well as domestic affairs.

Senator Javits?

Senator JAVITS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. President Beirne, I have read with interest your testimony. I heard some of it, and find this bill very interesting. I know of your work in Latin America. I have actually been there and met your people, and consider it very admirable and extremely helpful to the country.

The thing that I think the record ought to be clear on with respect to this bill is why you feel as a highly experienced, prestigious American, this bill would not inhibit other foundation activities, like, let us say, the Ford Foundation, which does operate everywhere in the world if it wishes to.

In view of the fact that the foundation to be established by S. 1779 would have contributions both from Government and from private sources, the first question I think one would ask is why can't Government proceed through the AID or some other Government agency, and private sources through foundations, which are very much favored under our law. Why do you need a combination of the two, and a Government contribution?

Mr. BEIRNE. I think the value of this would come in these areas. First, as far as the great work being done by foundations today, I think the needs exist that would indicate they would be able and I think in fact would continue.

Second, to go through AID, and we work with AID, the American Institute of Free Labor Development, our Asian Labor Foundation, our Afro-American Labor Foundation deals with AID, you run into bureaucracy.

If I could scream loud about the people who consider themselves important that they must change a world, just to show they have a job, a job for 6 months and 8 months, if I could scream loudly to change that, I would.

The kinds of groups this bill addresses itself to gets but a very small fraction of the AID money, because there is so little of the money, and it is needed for so many big things.

Third, this particular bill cuts through redtape, with the kind of a council that is set there, and with the kind of a director this bill sets up. The whole thrust of the bill is cutting and doing some work and getting good projects going, and cutting out the redtape, and work with the immediacy that you have to work with, especially when you are dealing with student groups, when you are dealing with farmer groups, and especially when you are dealing with labor groups. These are three of the activist-oriented organizations that run into the frustrations of AID right now, even though AID is doing a wonderful job, the redtape remains.

The activists, the ones who want to go and do things, get awfully frustrated in not being able to get enough dollars to meet the needs that are so apparent.

Senator JAVITS. Why wouldn't a great international foundation like Ford, which is so favored by our law, be able to do precisely the same thing?

Mr. BEIRNE. Ford's work is pretty well cutout for it. I have been before the Ford Foundation with projects to get some money, and you quickly find that they have their set of priorities. They have their ideas of what is needed.

Let us say, as an example, let us say the Communication Workers of America, as it did, wanted Ford to support its Latin American training institute at Front Royal, back in the fifties. Well, this is education. Well, their educational money is more domestic than overseas.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Senator Javits, as the author of the bill I can partially answer that. During this past year it was brought to my attention that many groups with international activities have been unable to raise funds from foundations, government, or business. They went all over the country, and couldn't raise enough money to carry on their activities.

Senator JAVITS. May I ask, therefore, the author of the bill as to what would he see as being the optimum mix in this bill between public appropriations and private contributions?

Senator YARBOROUGH. We didn't attempt to cross that bridge. We knew we needed more help. We had hoped that there would be no friction.

We did not intend by this bill to infringe on any of the work of any foundations like Ford and Rockefeller. There was no plan in this bill to supersede any of their work or take it over.

Senator JAVITS. I think that the matter is much better pinpointed by a reference to activities indirectly carried on, or directly but not publicly known by the CIA.

May I ask you, President Beirne, would you feel that this Foundation would have to have in order to make it viable in terms that we are discussing private contributions as well as appropriations from Government?

Mr. BEIRNE. Well, my own view on that is that I would like to see it all public money, so that you would not get into going out to the same sources to raise dollars. I am a fundraiser, among other things.

Senator JAVITS. I know that.

Mr. BEIRNE. I had the job for 2 years as president of the United Councils and the Community Funds of America, and raised \$700 million in these United States last year, and it is not easy.

The same ones seem to be getting hit all the time, and the number of organizations and the need seems to be growing as the number of people able to supply the dollars seems to be getting smaller. So I personally would like to see it all Government funds.

I am sure some sort of discussions, with whatever committees get involved, could be instituted in which an equation could be worked out with respect to the number of public and private dollars.

Senator JAVITS. I think that is very frank and very refreshing. I think it is better to say that than to be indefinite and fuzzy about it. This, then, would be essentially a channel for the use of Government funds for foundation purposes, with a special emphasis upon labor, health, and education. That would be your thought.

Work heretofore carried on in terms of encouraging people-to-people organizations of the kind that you have described and that I have seen in action, and which I think are admirable, especially in Latin America, would then get some of their financing at least in this way. You don't feel, I gather, that this would represent an undesirable element of Government intercession or control in these activities?

Mr. BEIRNE. Not the way this bill reads. This bill is pretty clearly written. When I read it, I thought whoever drafted it did a fine job of zeroing in on realities of life and not getting it mixed up with a lot of other things that may be germane, but hard to grasp.

Senator JAVITS. Practicably, of course, bureaucracy is a very insidious disease. Might not these very people on this S. 1779 foundation, because they are beholden to Congress and the executive department for their authority and resources, be in temper and the way they operate just as bureaucratic?

Mr. BEIRNE. They could. I have to say that right away. Anybody who wants to make a career of having a job doing nothing, can do it.

Senator JAVITS. Is that your definition of bureaucracy, President Beirne?

Mr. BEIRNE. Oh, no. Bureaucracy is a very, necessary, a very necessary function of government. We would be lost without it. I just rebel when obvious things can't be done when they should be done, and we wake up losing the ballgame.

That is when bureaucracy is at its worst. Bureaucracy at its best a very necessary thing for a government the size of ours to function. I am probureaucracy, but I'm also looking for ways of cutting the redtape, and not losing control of what you are trying to do.

If the bureaucrats came in to frustrate this just for the sake of having a job, why a person like myself and many like me would be screaming, and I think changes would be brought about.

The whole thrust is what is good to me; unfortunately is connected with the CIA affair. Before you came in Senator, I recited the fact that I am in here with clean hands. I have nothing to do with under-the-table money which I read about in the newspapers.

In the Eisenhower administration, the Communications Workers of America negotiated with the Federal Government, from Mr. Stassen's organization at that time, and printed on our brochure that the Federal Government was our partner. It caused no stir within the American labor movement or within labor movements we dealt with in Latin America.

There was a thought, "Gee, if the Government came in there, Latin Americans would say this is the Big Yankee Government again, infiltrating." It had no such reaction at all. It doesn't today.

When we openly say we get AID funds to run AIFLD, to assist in running our Asian Foundation, our Latin American Foundation, it is over and aboveboard and accepted by workers throughout the world.

Now this bill does the same thing. It zeroes in on a neglected field, people-to-people, this is what is neglected in the big appropriation for AID. Thousands of pages of reports are printed, and I am sure nobody understands these reports of AID.

Now, if a director, or if a council, as outlined in this bill, fell in love with themselves and got bureaucratic, I think there would be screams, and then I would be the first one coming in to say save that \$100 million, get rid of the outfit, it is worthless. I would be the first one to do that.

Senator JAVITS. Thank you very much, President Beirne, for very refreshing and very pertinent testimony.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you, President Beirne. I think your testimony here shows a great knowledge of what is needed and how it should operate.

We appreciate your contribution greatly, and ask your continuing help on this, in pushing the bill through to ultimate passage. I hope that we can move this bill at this session. I think it is badly needed. There is a gap that is left after other governmental financing is stopped. Thank you a lot.

Mr. BEIRNE. Thank you, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The next witness is Mr. Edwin Golin, chairman of the Inter-American Partners of the Alliance Business Committee, president of the Gauge Corp., Wilmington, Del. He is a member of the State Board of Higher Education of Delaware.

My experience in life is that it is very difficult to get people to miss either a meeting of the board of trustees of their university or a State board of higher education. He is missing such a meeting. There is an attraction for Americans to serve on these boards. They have a desire to do something about education, particularly about higher education, and we thank you for taking the time, Mr. Golin, to give up that important meeting to come here to testify on this bill. Proceed in your own way.

**STATEMENT OF EDWIN GOLIN, CHAIRMAN, INTER-AMERICAN PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE BUSINESS COMMITTEE; PRESIDENT, THE GAUGE CORP., WILMINGTON, DEL.**

Mr. GOLIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am faced with a classical nightmare. I was going to say I would, for the sake of brevity and coherence, stick close to the script which is the same that you have in hand. And then in casually looking at it, I find my stenographer had mixed the paragraphs, and hence it will be impossible for coherence's sake to read it as it is. I would like to ask that I reassemble the paragraphs for the permanent record, and that I ad lib from this point on.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Yes, proceed in your own way, Mr. Golin.

Mr. GOLIN. I would like to testify in support of S. 1779 from the experience gained in Partners for the Alliance as well as my experience prior to the Partners program. I have been on two trade missions as an area redevelopment specialist for the U.S. Department of Commerce, as well as the State of Delaware, in such countries as Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia, and Poland, and I know the need for economic development in relatively undeveloped areas.

I also come as a former State economic development director for Delaware, and know the problems involved in striving for economic stability, both in the United States and abroad.

My experience as a statewide school board member also alerts me to the many problems in education as well as health. But I find it most effective to express my feelings through the Partners of the Alliance, an all-encompassing type of program in the fields of health, education, agriculture, and business. I have been with the program for over 3 years.

The Partners of the Alliance typically exemplify the need for a bill such as S. 1779. Here we have some 36 States in a person-to-person, private sector partnership with 16 countries or areas of Latin America trying to help the people; trying to do what can't be done at the higher governmental levels.

We are a very prosperous nation. We are among the privileged few very wealthy nations, and as such we have been watching the spreading gap between the haves and the have-nots develop into a potentially explosive world problem. This major gap exists at the very level that the partners of the Alliance work best at: the peasants, the workers, the students, the small business people, the average citizenry of these areas—the vast majority of the population that most deeply feels and resents this widening chasm. For example, we have seen how much good the contribution of a one-room health center or a one-room school represent in a desperately poor village, and their value for the

relationship between the peoples of the United States and Latin America.

One of the problems that we have found in the partnership program is the need for administrative funds to keep these programs moving. It is amazing how much has been accomplished so far in the partnership program. I must diverge momentarily to congratulate Mr. James Boren, who is here with us today; the originator of the partners program and present Director, and his very accomplished associates, one of whom is also here, Wade Fleetwood.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I concur in your commendation for Mr. Jim Boren. In my visit in 1960 through 1962 to a number of countries in South America, I saw him in action in Peru when he was the deputy administrator of the mission there, the AID mission.

I saw how they, in the early years at least, were trying to get around the bureaucracy of ambassadorial techniques through the State Department, and they were having quite a problem of getting it straight. They were trying then to put in people-to-people programs.

Having seen his work there and observed it for some days, during the succeeding years in his work with the partners of the Alliance, I think he is a typical example of those who are trying to make these programs move. They are not trying to build themselves an empire, as Senator Javits described, but are trying to get something done with these laws.

I think Mr. Boren was faced with frustrations to the point that he has an organization of bureaucrats here. We poke fun at bureaucrats for their slowness in affairs, but we will not put his organizational chart in the record at this time.

Mr. GOLIN. Thanks to such individuals as you, who have been such a great help to the partnership program, and to Jim Boren, I think the current benefit-ratio, Mr. Chairman, between the amount of participation by the private citizenry and the input by Mr. Boren's group, is something like 10 to 1.

There has been over \$10 million of participation by the private sector for an investment, so to speak, of approximately \$1 million by the Agency for International Development. Therefore if we project the budget requested in S. 1779, we would hope that \$100 million on your part would generate a minimum of \$1 billion in private citizens' participation. Our experience in the Delaware-Panama partnership indicates that at least 95 percent of those funds would be expended in the United States or through U.S. owned firms.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I want to commend you for your examples in your statement, how so little money can do so much, such as the example you give, \$200 revitalizing a whole fishing village on the Pacific.

I know in talking with Mr. Boren, working with him over the years on Partners of the Alliance, \$200 can build a road for miles. People put in their labor, and get a well for a whole city. President Beirne mentioned the fact that sometimes for just a little money, crayon for blackboards in schools can be purchased.

I visited with Mr. Boren and he pointed out schools in Peru, where the only books in the classroom would be the books the teacher had, and there was no pupil in the room that owned a book, and none of their families owned a book or had ever owned a book.

We were talking about trying to get some second-hand American textbooks down there, textbooks in English for a child in the third or fourth grade, with color pictures, and Latin alphabet characters, secondhand books cast off by American schools, whether in their language or not, which would be helpful just to meet the bare needs of the students.

Mr. GOLIN. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Such a little money would do so much. You say why don't we do it. There are so many square miles and so many hundreds of millions of people. All of this is needed in my opinion, every effort.

Mr. GOLIN. Here, too, is an example I think of Senator Javits' question concerning the Ford Foundation. We also spoke of a small agricultural village which based an entire economy on onion seeds, amounting to a contribution of \$350 worth of seeds.

The answer, in part, to whether there is a conflict between Ford Foundation and that of the foundation suggested by your bill and also by the work of the partnership is no. I don't believe the Ford Foundation is geared to search out, underwrite and follow through on the very small project such as the \$200 fishing net.

I spoke to one of the representatives of the Inter-American Development Bank, who said the Bank can't consider a loan under millions, and yet there is this agonizing need for the very small loan that can't possibly be administered by the Ford Foundation, various world banks, or even the Government itself.

If such a bill as S. 1779 becomes a reality, the small private efforts such as Partners of the Alliance and Peace Corps and CARE and so on will then have the opportunity to fulfill their function without having to be dragged down by administrative costs involved in conferences, meetings, and travel.

Senator YARBOROUGH. They are only concerned whether a loan is bankable or not.

Mr. GOLIN. That is right.

Senator YARBOROUGH. To get a village going, to get a town going, get a road out.

Mr. GOLIN. If there is such a thing as a soft loan, this is a mushy loan. It really goes beyond soft.

The second part of the answer to the Ford Foundation question proposed by Senator Javits, in my own thinking, is that the private citizenry does not like to feel that its donations are going toward sheer administrative, if you will excuse the expression, nitty-gritty cost. They want every donation to be meaningful, and so there is a hesitancy by the private sector to pay for postage stamps, freight, stenography, and so on. Many of the programs have been lagging for the need of this type of support, exactly the sort of thing that you are talking about.

Mr. Chairman, I don't know the amount of private participation by other international organizations, but when you consider the many fraternal, civil, religious and professional groups which encourage and support international programs, the total must be staggering to imagine.

I cannot speak for other programs, but having been deeply involved in the partners program as the State chairman, and as a cochairman of the Business and Industry Committee, the Inter-American Con-

ference of the partners program, I can say that a program such as outlined in Senate bill 1779 is vital for the future of the Partners of the Alliance.

At the third Inter-American Conference in Lima, Peru, earlier this month, one of the few resolutions adopted, and unanimously, by representatives of 36 States and with the full encouragement by the 16 Latin American countries involved, the resolution was for the enthusiastic support of your Senate bill 1779, and they congratulated you, Senator YARBOROUGH, as its author.

The funding of private, nonprofit organizations through such grants as described in the bill, would assure the continuing and expanding operation of the partners programs. It could save similar programs which may be slowly sinking through lack of such support.

Mr. Chairman, S. 1779 calls for the establishment of an international health, education, and labor program under which the foundation shall provide open support for private, nongovernmental activities in these and related fields, designed to promote a better knowledge of the United States among the peoples of the world, to increase friendship and understanding, to strengthen the capacity of the other peoples of the world to develop and maintain free, independent societies in their own nations.

I feel strongly that the passage of this bill is long overdue. I feel equally strong that continued delay of passage could be responsible for the expiration of important private citizens' efforts in the field of international relations.

Thank you.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you very much for this very helpful, very interesting statement, Mr. Golin. Coming from your broad background and experience in education in your own State and in the different areas in which you have worked in economics, in education, and in other nations in Europe as well as in Latin America, I certainly want to thank you. I want to put your full statement in the record. You say that you would like to rearrange the order of the paragraphs?

Mr. GOLIN. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. If you will mail that back to us, we will tell the reporter to print it in the record at this point.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Golin follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF EDWIN GOLIN, PRESIDENT, GAUGE CORP.,  
WILMINGTON, DEL.

Mr. Chairman, I seek to add a voice from the private sector in staunch support of S. 1779 to establish an international health, education and labor program, and to provide open support for private, nongovernmental activity in these fields.

We are a prosperous, highly developed country—one of a very small group of rich nations. We are the "Haves" and, according to no less an authority than Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the expanding gap between the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots" presents a most explosive world problem.

When struggling humans in underdeveloped areas have done everything possible to attain a better way of life for themselves and their families. . .

When they have pondered and labored and sacrificed meager earnings, and still cannot achieve such relatively simple goals as a one room schoolhouse or health center . . . basic agricultural tools or an ambulance . . . fishing nets or schoolbooks . . . to whom can they turn?

In too many cases, their national and local governments do not have the resources, motivation or understanding to ease these plights. And too often, the immense government-to-government programs exemplified by the United States' participation in the Alliance for Progress does not trickle down to the small but vital needs of the individual.

Part of this challenge has been met by the emergence of a warm and sensitive private citizenry. I take great pride in being part of a uniquely successful private citizen program through which groups and individuals in the United States can work directly with Latin American counterparts to help make a better way of life for all. It is called the Partners of the Alliance.

The ingenuity, practicality and importance of Sente Bill 1779 becomes apparent through the examination of the Partners of the Alliance program. When you multiply this example by the many excellent private groups involved in international programs, the immediate need for that Bill is overwhelming.

The Partners of the Alliance are partnerships of the citizens of the Americas. They are blended in a framework of direct and functional relationships—they are unified by a common purpose and desire to attain the goals of social and economic development through reciprocal action. They are, above all, people working directly with people for a common purpose.

To accomplish this end, the Partners of the Alliance Committees have set out to add substantially to the international dimensions of our society. Every private and public element within our local communities can only gain from this increase of knowledgeable involvement with international affairs. Our schools; professions, corporations and trades; labor unions and civic organizations must each sustain their full share of the support of international programs.

The Partners of the Alliance has already reached the citizens of thirty-three of our states and their counterparts in fifteen Latin American countries. There has been, for the past three years, a constant and practical interchange of persons and their ideas; of techniques to stimulate social change and economic growth; of funds for joint investment and community development; of language and culture—of understanding and lasting friendship.

Diligently, the Partners have pursued, through a wide range of organizations and individuals, solutions to specific projects in the fields of agriculture, education, industrial development and public health and preventive medicine. The implementation of these projects depends to a large extent upon the priorities established and then upon the proper utilization of the resources available, both human and material, within each Partners group.

The small state of Delaware, for example, enjoys a partnership with the Republic of Panama. Since early 1965, approximately one quarter of a million dollars has flowed from the enthusiastic citizens in the form of drugs and medicines, teachers salaries and student exchanges, engineering and agricultural apprenticeships, books and school supplies, agricultural and public health teams, seeds, fishing nets, tractors, crafts supplies, livestock, boy scout equipment and invalid chairs. We cannot begin to estimate the additional value of countless volunteer man-hours and administrative costs that made this program possible.

This week, a small food processing industry on a joint venture basis will begin operation in Panama solely as a result of the partnership activity. Other businesses will follow through investment conferences that are taking place this year. These partnerships between Delaware and Panama businessmen will create new employment opportunities, new skills and new products for Panama and the world.

Because of these activities, a stronger and more prosperous middle class will develop. In turn, the institutions of democracy can become more deeply entrenched, and a new era of social and economic stability will envelop our Hemisphere. It has been our experience that even a little bit can go a long way if the people's heart is behind it.

I have seen the fishing economy of Aquadulce on the Pacific revitalized by a \$200 revolving fund. With this small grant by a Delaware group, a fishing cooperative was formed and nylon netting purchased to replace primitive string-and-hook fishing.

I have seen an agricultural economy revived in the politically sensitive community of Neta through the donation of sufficient seed to produce over one hundred tons of onions—a staple food in Panama.

Teachers and students have been exchanged between the two areas. They have lived in private homes and absorbed one another's culture and warm friendship. Mr. Chairman, these are the types of efforts that can be expanded by your Bill.

Beyond Delaware, the picture enlarges almost in direct proportion to the number of people involved. In education . . . among the more striking accomplishments, Utah, Missouri, Iowa, Connecticut, Colorado, Illinois and Florida with their respective areas of Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico and Colombia have launched projects ranging from scholarships and fellowships to vocational training and language laboratories.

In public health and preventive medicine . . . Alabama, Idaho, North Carolina, Maryland, Connecticut, Arkansas and Michigan with Guatemala, Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil and British Honduras have initiated health programs ranging from dental and medical supplies to water purification and professional services.

In agriculture and cooperatives . . . Vermont, Oklahoma, Utah, Florida, Texas and New Jersey have teamed with areas of Honduras, Mexico, Bolivia, Colombia, Brazil and Peru to form functional cooperatives, provide technical assistance to increase food production, and supply equipment, livestock, seed and soil conditioners.

And so it goes in almost every field of human endeavor: in business and industry, cultural exchange, housing, labor relations and credit unions, the private sectors of North America and Latin America have literally rolled up their sleeves to offer some very desperately needed helping hands.

These programs were accomplished through the Partners of the Alliance with a vital boost from a tiny budget and a handful of dedicated A.I.D. members. I am compelled to diverge momentarily to congratulate James H. Boren, originator and director of the Partners programs, and his most capable associates.

Mr. Chairman, I do not know the amount of private participation by other international organizations. But when you consider the many fraternal, civic, religious and professional groups which encourage and support international programs, the total must be staggering to imagine.

I cannot speak for the other programs. But having been deeply involved in the Partners program as a State chairman, and as co-chairman of the Business and Industry Committee, Inter-American Conferences of the Partners programs, I can say that a program such as outlined in Senate Bill 1779 is vital for the future of the Partners of the Alliance.

At the Third Inter-American Conference in Lima, Peru earlier this month, one of the few resolutions adopted (and unanimously) by representatives of 36 states and 16 Latin American countries involved the enthusiastic support of Senate Bill 1779, and congratulated U.S. Senator Yarborough as its author.

The funding of private non-profit organizations through such grants as described in the Bill would assure the continuing and expanding operation of the Partners programs. It could save similar programs which may be slowly sinking through lack of such support.

Mr. Chairman, Senate Bill 1779 calls for the establishment of an international health, education and labor program under which the Foundation shall provide open support for private non-governmental activities in these and related fields, designed to promote a better knowledge of the U.S. among the peoples of the world; to increase friendship and understanding and to strengthen the capacity of other peoples of the world to develop and maintain free, independent societies in their own nations.

I feel strongly that passage of this bill is long overdue. I feel equally strong that continued delay of passage could be responsible for the expiration of important private citizen efforts in the field of international relations.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I wish Senator Javits had stayed to hear your comments, from the standpoint of a businessman, as to the complete answer to his questions. I will call his attention to those answers, because we work closely together on the full Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Your comments about the need here of moving rapidly, because of the danger of certain programs expiring, is very timely, and I will tell my colleagues—there are five of us on this committee, Senator Javits and Senator Prouty from the minority side, Senator Morse, Senator Pell, and myself on the majority side—as to the need of urgency on this matter before this Congress expires.

Thank you very much for your contribution here.

Mr. GOLIN. You are welcome.

Senator YARBOROUGH. We will call next Mr. Edward Schwartz, president, U.S. National Student Association of Washington.

Come around, please, Mr. Schwartz. Good morning, Mr. Schwartz.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD SCHWARTZ, PRESIDENT, U.S. NATIONAL  
STUDENT ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Good morning.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You have a prepared statement.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, I do.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Proceed in your own way.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. First I want to thank this subcommittee for inviting me to speak here this morning. Our legal status as a tax-exempt organization makes it impossible for us to volunteer testimony of this kind, so we always welcome an invitation from any agency of the Government to provide what information we can on matters of public concern.

Second, I wish to emphasize that my testimony will focus particularly on the prospects and problems which the foundation proposed in this bill would create for students, and for the National Student Association. There are certainly several constituencies which such a foundation could and would serve, and I am confident that you will hear from their representatives during the course of these hearings. Yet the student perspective is somewhat unique, I suggest, and I think it important to provide it.

I will be direct—since the CIA crisis last year, the National Student Association has not sent one staff member abroad for any reason. We have withdrawn our membership in the International Student Conference, an international confederation of pro-Western and neutralist student unions through which many of NSA's international projects were directed. We maintain no official overseas representatives, as we did in the past. Indeed, our only venture internationally since February 1967, has been the sponsorship of a delegation of three students to Asia last summer, funded by the State Department.

Why has this new "isolationism" developed? Is it because NSA now fears to go abroad, out of guilt at our past CIA connections? The answer is "No." Many student unions abroad were far more sympathetic to NSA last year than were many students in this country. Is it because NSA has been unable to find funds to support the kind of activities in which we engaged in the past? The answer, again, is "No." There are foundations which have offered to support student travel to conferences, along similar directions as our international program developed. We were not interested.

The answer lies in a conflict between what we believe to be useful work for students to undertake internationally, and what funding sources believe to be useful work. It lies as well in a consideration of the kinds of provisions which must be included to guarantee the independence of any program from illegitimate intrusion, by Government or by a private foundation. I will deal with each of these questions—first, the nature of the programs; second, the need for independence.

The National Student Association's interventions internationally going back to 1947, stemmed primarily from political considerations. Veterans returning from World War II had become familiar with the growing relationships between national student unions in Europe and the underdeveloped world, as well as the efforts of the Communist forces around the world to seize control of international student structures. Their concern in forming NSA was to provide a vehicle for

representing the U.S. student in these international forums, and to provide a progressive, democratic alternative to the challenge posed by the Communist student unions.

The history of international student politics in the fifties and the early sixties revolved around this theme. In the early fifties the international student world split into two structures—the International Student Conference, generally pro-West; and the International Union of Students, dominated by the Communist unions. NSA, of course, played an important part in the International Student Conference, or ISC, providing it with officers, support, and active participation. The Central Intelligence Agency, through conduit foundations, supported both NSA and the ISC through this period.

Beginning in 1964, however, many within NSA began to challenge the nature of this international involvement. Even without direct knowledge of CIA funding, delegates to our Congress began to question the relevance of sending a few staff members overseas to vote on resolutions which seemed to have little or no impact on the United States or anywhere else, in order to fight battles of the cold war which were becoming increasingly less important to students. The thaw had begun. Students to the Peace Corps were undertaking direct work in underdeveloped countries. Apart from a few programs, NSA's activity seemed to be trivial, seemed to be out of step with shifting international developments.

This challenge grew in dimension at the next two National Student Congresses. The secrecy of the international commission was added to the list of grievances—one could never determine accurate financial statements about their trips. Instances in which delegates to conferences overseas deviated from NSA policy statements became known to the constituents. By 1966, there was a widespread demand for a complete overhaul of the international commission, and, of course, by 1967, with the CIA disclosures, the overhaul was effected.

I recite this history to indicate that student criticism of NSA's international program long preceded the CIA disclosures and stemmed as much from the nature of the programs as it did from suspicious about their operational procedures. There was strong support for bilateral exchange between countries, particularly those involving an exchange of students interested in specific problems; cultural exchanges; assistance to students in trouble with their governments for progressive activity—such as occurred in South Africa; and for programs of international education in this country. There was little, if any support, however, for sending students to conferences which did little more than pass resolutions.

Today, we find many funding sources interested in enabling NSA to send students to resolution-passing conferences. We find no funding source interested in supporting international educational and cultural activities involving students—at least not through NSA.

What kinds of programs would be of interest to the students with whom we associate—the student government and activist leaders of 330 member campuses? I will cite five.

First, there would be programs of direct assistance to student unions abroad, particularly as they involve foreign student travel in the United States. In 1957, NSA brought several Algerian students to the

United States for study following the Algerian War. Some of these students are still here, completing their graduate work. Not only was such of assistance to the students involved, their presence on American campuses became a resource to the institutions which admitted them. Similar efforts, particularly if joined with programs which would encourage the foreign student to become an active force on his American campus, would win wide student support. The program originally was supported by the CIA, later, openly by the State Department. The proposed foundation could support it as well.

Second, there could be exchange programs involving students of similar skills and talents visiting universities in other countries. Last year, for example, NSA brought 10 Bolivian student leaders to the United States to discuss problems of educational reform with students on five American campuses. The group was bright—their presence was a stimulant to the campuses involved. I would like to think that they gained from the venture as well. We had hoped to send an American student delegation to Bolivia, but the CIA crisis interceded. Such programs might well be resumed by the proposed foundation.

Third, there could be cultural delegations. NSA has sent both jazz and folk groups abroad, and we have assisted tours of foreign cultural groups to American campuses. Both American and foreign students have appreciated the projects. An exciting foreign cultural group can draw a large audience in the United States. The opportunity for an American student jazz ensemble to travel is not taken lightly. The value of such ventures should be self-evident; the foundation could support many of them.

Fourth, the foundation might assist projects designed to involve foreign students more fully in the life of the American campus. It is astonishing, for example, how few international relations courses in the United States use foreign students on campus to present their country's positions on critical issues—even when foreign students are enrolled in the course. There is need for much groundwork here, particularly since the whole area of international relations curriculum needs considerable improvement.

Another kind of project along similar lines involves encouraging foreign students to become active in American student programs. Last year, NSA submitted a proposal to several foundations along the lines of a reverse Peace Corps—a program to involve foreign students in community action projects in the United States. Despite a distinguished advisory board, headed by Vice President Humphrey, we were unable to obtain support. The proposed foundation could make such a project one of its priorities.

Finally, the foundation might assist general good-will missions between American students and other countries of the world. Here, however, I must suggest strongly that such good-will missions contain within them mechanisms for publicity in both countries involved. We have had the experience of sending two or three students to another country whose activities were never known by the mass of American students, let alone the public. If ever we were to undertake such a venture again, we would be sure to encourage magazine articles,

speaking engagements, even television appearances so that our student representatives could become a resource to those who sent them, as well as to those who received them.

These, then, are five possible programatic designs which might be supported by the foundation. All have been suggested, even run, by the National Student Association, as part of its international efforts. All have been supported by students. They were, to use the contemporary term, relevant—providing contact between American young people, and young people in other countries, which reflected mutual experiences and interests. The contacts themselves involved more than just a few people from either country.

Having outlined our programatic concerns, I must deal with our structural concerns as well—the need for independence. This, too, is of critical importance, not simply because of the CIA episode, but because of the delicate relationship between today's student and the U.S. Government.

Here, again, I will be direct. At least three major universities—Columbia, the University of Michigan, and Wayne State University—withdraw from NSA this year, in part, because of our willingness to accept funds from the Government for projects deemed in the interests of our constituency. The projects involved work in student course and teacher evaluation, student mental health, and campus tutoring programs funded by the Office of Education, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. That made little difference, however. There are many students today who feel that a student group which accepts money from the Government, ipso facto, sacrifices its independence. At a time when students protest the draft, the war in Vietnam, and the Government's inaction on the problems of the cities, such a sacrifice is deemed a cardinal sin.

If such criticism is levied against Government programs domestically, it would be even more severe against international programs supported by the Government. Student protest in the past 2 years, after all, has focused on international questions; the entire foreign policy of the United States is under attack on many distinguished campuses.

Consequently, the independence of the board of directors would be critical to winning student support for this foundation. There would be many—regardless of the makeup of the board—who would never trust it, or at least not for a long time. I am pleased at the way in which the proposed foundation would be governed, at least as it is outlined in the bill. I can say from personal experience, however, that if the National Student Association ever were to seek a grant from it, our own board would give both the proposal and the program its serious and closest attention. We would hope that congressional scrutiny with the intent of preserving the foundation's independence would be considered seriously.

The second matter relating to the independence involves the question of security clearances. Last summer NSA interviewed applicants for a student delegation to Asia, funded by the State Department. Late in the year, a number of us on the domestic side of NSA

discovered that each of our final choices had to undergo a security clearance. Although the applicants to the delegation had been made aware of this, it still put us in a somewhat awkward position. Were we running our own program, or a State Department program? Our concern increased when one of our final designations—a good friend of ours—decided to withdraw his name in protest against this procedure's use in connection with a presumably independent delegation. Subsequently, the board of NSA voted to refuse sponsorship of any future delegation abroad which included security clearances.

I supported that vote, and I support it now. If the U.S. Government sends its employees abroad, or sends Peace Corps volunteers to other countries, then it has a legitimate right to undertake security precautions against those who will represent it. Support for private citizens—students or otherwise—is another matter. If the delegation is to be independent, even the most precusory check becomes illegitimate. I cannot speak for other constituencies on this matter, but I can say that you will lose some of your most able student travelers if the security check becomes a part of the foundation's procedures.

These, then, are my concerns—a concern for the relevance of the programs undertaken by the foundation; and a concern for the independence of these programs from governmental control. I do not know whether either concern can be met, but I hope that they can. I am not an isolationist; I do favor increased contact between students of all countries. If such a foundation were created, I would like to be among its supporters. I could be counted as such, however, only if it represented a new start in the Government's work in this area.

Again, I thank you for your invitation to make these remarks, and wish you the best of luck in your deliberations.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you, Mr. Schwartz, and I want to congratulate you for spelling out in these five points as you have in your statment; areas which you think this support will make a meaningful contribution to.

You point out you are not concerned merely with travel money to send students to some international conference to pass a meaningless resolution. I think you reach into areas that would result in this money having a more far-reaching effect.

These are very valuable suggestions, and valuable information from the student's standpoint. I would like to ask if counsel has any questions to ask the witness, or any suggestions. If there are no questions from counsel who have worked on it, we have your statement and we will consider it.

I would like to introduce a person who has just come in the room, whom I have not seen since last year, a man who worked on this bill. We have heard President Beirne compliment the bill. We had aid from a good many groups working on it.

The man coordinated that bill, working with the Senate Legislative Drafting Service, with different branches of the Government, and with private groups—this bill wasn't hastily thrown together—left us shortly afterward. He is a graduate of Harvard from San Antonio, Tex., and he said I talked about education so much that it took on him, and he is now working on his doctorate in economics at the University of Michigan.

Allen Mandel, will you stand up. You have done so much work on this bill over many months in my office.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Senator, I would just like to thank you for your personal interest in this whole area. It is sometimes very difficult to get Senators interested in areas that we seem to think are important, and I think your contributions here have been widely appreciated.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I learned of your organization some years ago through a president or two that we had from my home State, the first one, Ray Farrabee, of Wichita Falls. He was president of your student group, national president.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. And through that I began to learn of the contributions which you are making in the field of international goodwill and understanding. I am glad to have your very positive recommendations here for progress in this field. We invite your continuing recommendations, letters, suggestions, or whatever you have to offer through your organization. Thank you.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Thank you very much.

Senator YARBOROUGH. We will recess this hearing. The time of the next hearing is tomorrow morning, Friday, April 26, at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 11 a.m., the subcommittee recessed until tomorrow, Friday, April 26, 1968, at 10 a.m.)

I have been thinking of you very much lately  
 and wondering how you are getting on.  
 I hope you are well and happy.  
 I have not much news to write at present.  
 Everything is going on as usual here.  
 I have been very busy lately.  
 I have not had time to write to you often.  
 I have been very busy lately.  
 I have not had time to write to you often.  
 I have been very busy lately.  
 I have not had time to write to you often.

I have been thinking of you very much lately  
 and wondering how you are getting on.  
 I hope you are well and happy.  
 I have not much news to write at present.  
 Everything is going on as usual here.  
 I have been very busy lately.  
 I have not had time to write to you often.  
 I have been very busy lately.  
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# INTERNATIONAL HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND LABOR PROGRAMS

FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 1968

U.S. SENATE,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND LABOR PROGRAMS OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:15 a.m., in room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Senator Ralph Yarborough, chairman of the special subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senator Yarborough (presiding).

Also present: Robert Harris, counsel; and Roy Millenson, minority clerk.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The Subcommittee on International Health, Education, and Labor Programs will come to order for a continuation of hearings on S. 1779, to establish an international health, education, and labor program to provide open support for private, nongovernmental activities in the fields of health, education, and labor, and other welfare fields.

Mr. Nagle is chief of the Washington Office of the National Federation of the Blind. We welcome you to this committee. This is a subcommittee of the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, which includes the Health Subcommittee, the Education Subcommittee, the Veterans Subcommittee, and a number of other subcommittees that deal with welfare of the people.

You have been before several of our subcommittees before, and we welcome you back again and ask for your advice, counsel, and expertise on this bill. You may proceed in your own way.

## STATEMENT OF JOHN F. NAGLE, CHIEF, WASHINGTON OFFICE, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF THE BLIND

Mr. NAGLE. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is John F. Nagle. I am chief of the Washington office of the National Federation of the Blind. My address is 1908 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20009.

Mr. Chairman, the National Federation of the Blind is appearing here, today, to give its endorsement and support to S. 1779, a bill introduced by the able and distinguished Senator Ralph Yarborough, of Texas, to establish an international health, education, and labor program to provide support for private nongovernmental activities in the fields of health, education, and labor, and other welfare fields.

The National Federation of the Blind is a nationwide organization with a membership primarily of blind men and women, joined together and working together, to secure, for all who are blind, a fair and equal opportunity to live worthwhile lives.

By our organized efforts and individual example, we strive to eradicate misinformation about blindness and false notions about blind people.

We reject the inferior, demeaning, and sterile status of benevolent custodialism—our lot by custom and tradition—and we assert the right of all blind people to determine their own destiny, to direct their own lives, to share fully in the hazards and responsibilities, as well as the rights, privileges, and opportunities of constructive and contributory living.

We, the organized blind, do not limit our concerns or our efforts only to our members, but we seek and we work for improved conditions and equalized opportunities for all without sight in America, for all without sight in the world.

We, the organized of America, know that blind people can live independent, interdependent lives, for we are doing so.

We know that blind people, themselves, are best qualified to solve the problems of blindness, and we assert the right to do so, we assume the responsibility for doing so.

We assert this right, and we demand this right, individually and as members of the National Federation of the Blind.

We assume this responsibility as individuals and as members of the National Federation of the Blind.

In 1940, Mr. Chairman, a dozen blind men and women representing seven statewide organizations of blind people, met in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. and formed the National Federation of the Blind.

Today, with a membership of more than 40,000 sightless Americans, combined in some 300 local chapters, which, in turn, are federated in 37 State organizations, all merged at the national level in the National Federation of the Blind.

Today, Mr. Chairman, the organized blind movement in America is an irrefutable demonstration of the normality of blind people, of their capacities and capabilities, it is a conclusive demonstration of the possibilities of achievement attainable by blind men and women joined in common cause and working together toward shared objectives.

In furtherance of our desire and our determination to encourage and assist the blind of other nations to achieve fulfillment in their lives, to help them realize their potentialities as human beings, we the organized blind of the United States, were instrumental, several years ago, in the creation of the International Federation of the Blind—a worldwide organization of affiliated national organizations of blind people.

In the years prior to the founding of the International Federation of the Blind, and in the subsequent years, we blind Americans have gained a greater understanding of the sorry plight of the blind in other nations, of their great need for help and encouragement.

As we, blind Americans, have become more familiar with the distressing conditions of blind people in other nations, as we have become better acquainted with blind people of the Near and the Far East, of

Europe and Africa, of South and Central America, as we have become better acquainted with blind people from many countries and every area of the world, there has grown in the National Federation of the Blind an increasing desire to assist these people, an increasing determination to share our experience as blind people, our good fortune as blind Americans, with the blind of other nations, that they may gain from our experience, that they may benefit from our good fortune.

Since 1964, Mr. Chairman, when the National Federation of the Blind began expanding the scope of its international activities, we have had more than two dozen leaders of the blind from nations scattered throughout the world attend and participate in our annual national convention, and they have spent time traveling about our country—

They have become acquainted with blind people.

They have learned how we function in our "self-help" organizations.

They have learned of the diversity of our employments and our activities, the extent to which we take part in all aspects of community and national life.

Our members, serving as hosts and guides, gained much from their association with these leaders of the blind from other lands, and, of course, our guests learned much during their stay with us.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, we believe the experiences that we of the National Federation of the Blind shared with our fellow blind from other nations were of much mutual benefit.

Each blind person, who has been with us, has been a leader of the blind in his own country, and actively engaged in seeking a better life for the blind of his own country.

Each blind person who has visited us, who has come from a foreign nation to be with us in the United States, has, by associating with blind Americans, learned about blind Americans, what we are able to do and what we are doing, and because of this time with us, each person has been better able to work in his own country for improved opportunities for his fellow blind citizens.

We of the National Federation of the Blind believe, Mr. Chairman, that by affording leading blind persons of other nations a chance to visit America, results of far-reaching significance are achieved—

Surely, Mr. Chairman, the people of the world have heard far too much of the wealth and the weapons of America, but, we believe, they have heard far too little of the deep and general concern in America for persons who are physically and mentally impaired—of the special helps and services provided to such people, of the educational and training programs available to them, of the gainful employments engaged in by them—

They have heard far too little of the opportunities for normal, self-dependent living achievable and achieved by physically and mentally disabled persons in America.

Mr. Chairman, as American citizens, we of the National Federation of the Blind believe it is most important that this aspect of our national life and culture be better known throughout the world—that the people of the world be informed that basic in our national philosophy and practice, there is the cornerstone belief of the worth of each individual; a belief so solidly rooted and so all-pervasive that it includes the blind, other physically impaired persons, and mentally impaired persons, within its scope.

Of course, blind persons who visit the United States as guests of the National Federation of the Blind are shown the schools, the libraries, and the other institutions and agencies which serve the needs of the blind in this Nation—but that isn't the reason we have them here.

We want them here to meet blind Americans.

For, as foreign blind people meet blind Americans, they discover that here in this country, as in theirs, there are adverse public attitudes toward the disabled, that there exists prejudices and discriminations, social and economic barriers, which bar the way of the impaired who seek to achieve self-dependent lives.

But Mr. Chairman, they also discover that much is being done to combat such attitudes, to eliminate such barriers.

The foreign blind who visit America discover it is the policy of our Government to afford full and fair opportunity to all citizens, and they discover that "all" includes the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the mentally defective—that it includes every American, that none are excluded because of physical defect or mental disability.

Blind leaders from other lands who spend a brief time in America discover that in our democracy, all citizens are guaranteed the right and assured the opportunity to work to change that which they deem unwise, unfair, or disadvantageous to their interests and beliefs, and they may work to achieve such change by individual petition, or in concert with others, by joint and organized action.

They become familiar with the organized efforts of blind Americans to improve their lot, to meet the challenges of sightlessness in a sight-structured society.

They are able to observe and learn our methods and techniques, and they are told of our accomplishments.

But most important of all, Mr. Chairman, we believe, blind persons who come from other lands to be with us, learn of the spirit—the American spirit—which is so well exemplified by blind Americans: Our determination to live normally, to function fully and independently.

They learn of our successful efforts to help ourselves.

And they gain by association with us the realization that their fellow blind, too, may strive and achieve just as we, American blind men and women, have striven and achieved; that the blind of other lands may accomplish much by working together and trying together, as we, the blind of the United States, have worked together, and tried together, and accomplished much together.

Leaders of the blind from foreign nations who meet and become acquainted with American blind persons also learn of the almost limitless number of occupations, businesses, and professions in which we are gainfully, competitively, and successfully engaged, and they return to their country with a strengthened belief in the potentialities available to their fellow blind, with a new knowledge of the economic possibilities available to their fellow blind.

They return to their country with a conviction that if the blind of America can aspire and attain economic self-sufficiency, can attain social equality, so too, can the blind of their own nation.

Mr. Chairman, the National Federation of the Blind has dealt too fully, perhaps, with what we believe are the real gains which result

by enabling blind men and women, leaders of blind people of other lands, to spend a bit of time here in the United States among blind Americans.

But we have done so because we have found such an extensive explanation necessary, and even then, sometimes, our objectives have not been understood.

As you well know, Mr. Chairman, there are already great numbers of publicly and privately financed programs to bring persons from foreign nations to the United States.

However, when the National Federation of the Blind has investigated these programs, usually, we have found them categorical in approach.

We have found that if we wanted to bring teachers of the blind to America to learn how to become better teachers, vocational rehabilitation counsellors to become better vocational rehabilitation counsellors, for other technicians, other specialists in the field of the blind to come here to secure further training in their professional specialties, then funds would have been available to us.

But when we have talked of blind persons coming to the United States to learn by association with American blind persons, when we have talked about blind foreign leaders of the blind visiting the United States that they might learn how blind Americans have worked together in their "self-help" organizations to secure improved status for blind people, then, Mr. Chairman, then we have found that that which we wanted to do just didn't fit in any established category in the various international exchange programs.

There was one exception to this, however—the Educational and Cultural Exchange Program of the State Department.

The personnel of this agency with whom we have dealt have understood the international goals of the National Federation of the Blind, and they have enthusiastically cooperated with us in our efforts to secure financial support for our foreign blind applicants.

But, Mr. Chairman, only seven of our requests to this agency have been approved since 1964—for it has very meager funds, and such funds as it has are disposed of by our embassy people.

And we have usually found that travel grants for blind people to come to the United States are far down on embassy priority lists.

It is our hope, therefore, Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, that S. 1779 will be promptly approved by you, that it will be promptly passed by Congress.

For we believe the kind of international program that would be established by S. 1779 is the very kind that we have looked for in vain—the kind of program that would be administered by personnel who would understand what we are trying to do, who would be responsive to what we are trying to do for the blind of other nations.

We believe the international program established by S. 1779 would offer the National Federation of the Blind the possibility of help in our determined efforts to help the blind of other lands, that they will then be better able to help themselves.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity of appearing.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you, Mr. Nagle, for a very forceful statement, a very forceful presentation.

I hope with you that this bill passes, and that the scientific developments, and the improved methods of instruction for the blind, will be made available through these international health and educational programs to the people of the world.

I was very much interested in seeing the new walking stick for the blind that was exhibited. Is that one with those laser rays in it that you have?

Mr. NAGLE. No. This is just an aluminum one with a rubber core in it.

Senator YARBOROUGH. There was a new one exhibited on television this week with beams that shoot out from it. I guess you are familiar with that one. They shoot out in front, one downward and one upward.

Mr. NAGLE. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. And the beams are reflected to the man's hands. The vibrations tell him about objects above him that would hit him in the face; and if there is a hole in the ground before him, the beams tell him that.

You see this walking stick and other research, grants made under recent laws, and I think we are only at the beginning of breakthroughs that will enable the blind to have a much fuller life than they have had in the past.

I want to thank the National Federation of the Blind for what they have done.

We are very glad to have this fine presentation. Thank you.

Are there any questions by counsel for majority or minority?

Thank you.

Mr. NAGLE. Thank you.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The next witness is Mr. Joaquin F. Otero, assistant director, International Affairs Department, Brotherhood of Railway, Airline, and Steamship Clerks, affiliated with Railway Labor Executives Association, Washington. Come around, Mr. Otero; and, if you have an assistant with you, introduce him.

**STATEMENT OF JOAQUIN F. OTERO, RAILWAY LABOR EXECUTIVES' ASSOCIATION; ACCOMPANIED BY MANUEL J. MEDRANO, REGIONAL DIRECTOR FOR LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN AREA, INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION**

Mr. OTERO. Good morning, Mr. Chairman.

Accompanying me this morning is Mr. Manuel Medrano, regional director, Latin America and the Caribbean area, for the International Transport Workers' Federation.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Does Puerto Rico come under the continental United States?

Mr. OTERO. Puerto Rico comes under the continental United States.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, the prices are high enough there for the continental United States. I was down there last year in Puerto Rico. It has a very affluent society now with all those hotels they are building. They are about to take it away from Florida, and they have got the trade that used to go to Cuba, and I think they are competing with Miami Beach.

Mr. OTEYO. Mr. Medrano is of Peruvian nationality, and he makes his home in Lima, Peru.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You are welcome here. I have been in your beautiful city and great country and hope to go back there next September as a delegate to a meeting. We welcome you here.

In my State, I live in Texas, we have a thousand mile border with Mexico.

I think we have studied the great advance of civilization in Latin America, perhaps more than people do up on the Canadian border, and we have long admired the great history of Peru, the pre-Colombian people, the post-Colombian, the site of one of the two vice royalities of Spain, Mexico City and Lima, so we have a special welcome for you.

Will you proceed, please, Mr. Otero.

Mr. OTERO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am appearing today on behalf of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, with headquarters at 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C. This association speaks for 23 standard railway labor organizations representing nearly all of the Nation's railroad employees. A list of the RLEA affiliates is attached to the end of my statement.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to request that my statement be entered into the record in its entirety so that I may summarize its contents and submit to any questions the committee may have.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Your statement will be printed in the record.

Mr. OTERO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My testimony this morning is in support and endorsement of S. 1779.

My present position is assistant director, International Affairs Department of the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, an affiliate of the Railway Labor Executives' Association.

From the period of 1961 through 1966 I was on a leave of absence from my union in the United States to work for the International Transport Workers Federation in Latin America as director for the region encompassing Latin America and the Caribbean area.

During this period of time, Mr. Chairman, I have traveled and worked in almost every country in Latin America and the Caribbean area.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Pardon me one moment, Mr. Otero. When you asked for the printing of the statement did you want the list of the organizations printed also?

Mr. OTERO. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That list will be printed also.

Proceed, please.

Mr. OTERO. Therefore, my testimony this morning is based on my personal experience in this field, as well as on the active affiliation of the RLEA to the International Transport Workers Federation since 1946.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Where did you live in Brazil while you were residing there?

Mr. OTERO. In Rio de Janeiro for 3½ years, and I lived 2½ years in Peru, Lima, Peru.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Go right ahead, please.

Mr. OTERO. Since my return to the United States in July of 1966 I have continued to travel frequently to the area in an effort to continue to assist the ITF in its worthy endeavors.

Our support of bill S. 1779 stems from our strong belief, Mr. Chairman, that with the proper kind of support and assistance the work of organizations that are already performing this task in the developing nations of the world, such as the ITF, there will be a better chance to enhance and strengthen the capacity of the other peoples of the world to develop and maintain free, independent societies in their own nations.

My testimony, Mr. Chairman, has been developed with the specific objective of helping this committee in learning about the outstanding work being performed by private, nongovernmental, organizations which are employing their own resources, such as the ITF, with the assistance of its affiliated unions in the United States and other parts of the world in a most successful endeavor to lend assistance where it is needed through an international program of people to people.

At this point I would like to concur with the recommendations contained in the testimony offered yesterday morning by Mr. Joseph Beirne, president of the Communication Workers of America, with regard to the fact that the U.S.-origin provisos appearing on page 5, lines 16 through 19, be deleted so that organizations not organized in the United States be included for participation in the foundation's activities.

Mr. Chairman, in order to facilitate the work of this committee, I believe that it would be of assistance to your work if I were to tell you about the ITF and its historical role in the world in preserving democracy.

The International Transport Workers Federation is an international trade union organization to which bona fide trade unions which uphold democratic principles and have members employed in the transport industry can affiliate.

This organization represents 7 million workers in 88 countries of the free world and embraces every type of transport worker without distinction of race, color, or nationality.

Its aims are to provide international assistance to its affiliates; to defend and promote the economic and social standards of the transport worker; to seek universal recognition of his right to the benefits of trade union membership, and to represent the worker in international agencies.

Its history of about 70 years, starting from 1896, has set an unrivaled record as the defender of the transport workers' interests against exploitation by employers and governments alike.

During the days of World War II, when Europe was occupied by Nazi forces, the ITF and its affiliated unions played a most significant role in helping to turn Hitler's dream of world domination into a horrible nightmare.

Members of the ITF unions executed plans designed to create as much disruption in the transportation of materiel and men so that the effort of the Allied Forces in Europe would not be hampered.

One of the most significant programs in the preservation of democracy was carried on by the ITF whereby seafarers of occupied nations were encouraged to take their vessels to allied ports and to turn them over to the democracies. The organization also supplied key personnel for underground work. It assisted in the sabotage of Nazi transport and it aided and saved the lives of many German trade unionists who were being hunted by the Gestapo Forces.

In many other countries, German officials often woke in the morning to find out that the docks, the dock areas, were clogged with vehicles previously unloaded because the ITF had sabotaged those vehicles, taken the rotors and, therefore, making them unable to move.

I have just mentioned a few of the activities that form many chapters in the federation's 70 years of history. This is an organization that has contributed to create a militant force of transport workers around the world and as a relentless, effective enemy of all types of oppression.

An organization of less resilience could not have survived two world wars, world economic depression, and the onslaught of a variety of dictatorships, both from the right and from the left.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association, which I am privileged to represent this morning, has been actively involved in the field of international affairs for many years. Its involvement began during the crucial days following the end of World War II, particularly in connection with the development and implementation of the Marshall plan, and it was, Mr. Chairman, the significant work of the ITF again which permitted the unhampered flow of materials and goods under the Marshall plan to Europe which ultimately assured the success of this worthy program, devised under the administration of President Truman.

Since that time, American railway labor and many other U.S. transportation unions affiliated with the ITF have made a considerable human and financial contribution to the outstanding work performed by the ITF in most of the developing nations of the world.

But in spite of the generous contributions that we have made to the work of the ITF, this organization has found itself always groping with the problem of financing its activities. Although the federation is representative of 7 million workers, it finds it impossible at times to conduct all the activities that this tremendous task requires.

However, it earns enough to maintain a worldwide structure of over 70 years of experience aimed at servicing its affiliates in every corner of the globe. A large part of its income goes to the program of regional activities which is an effective but modest program designed to lend technical and financial assistance to needy democratic transport unions in the developing nations.

Particular emphasis is placed in the areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where the ITF maintains regional offices manned by experienced trade unionists. These representatives travel regularly throughout their regions lending assistance to affiliated unions, assisting them in times of conflict, and helping them to develop and participate in the societies in which they live.

In carrying out these important tasks, ITF representatives are often outnumbered and outfinanced, for they face competition from well-staffed, rich international organizations, sponsored by certain church groups and also, on the other hand, by the international Com-

munist Party, which compete openly with the ITF in luring unions and labor leaders to their respective camps. To compound this problem, in some instances, there are church groups today working hand-in-hand with Communist-dominated internationals. Yet, Mr. Chairman, the ITF has prevailed.

The sad part of this wholly worthy endeavor is less than \$200,000, exactly \$170,000, is available to cover all of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. In spite of this rather stringent budget the ITF has made remarkable progress. In fact, many an emerging nation—Guatemala, the most recent example—struggling to consolidate democratically elected governments, have found the ITF to be of vital assistance in preserving the stability of such governments.

In the case of Guatemala, Mr. Chairman, the ITF responsibly cooperated with the authorities in seeking a prompt and fair solution to a serious labor problem, serious labor conflict, which, if left indefinitely unresolved, might have caused the very collapse of that shaky government. I am referring here, of course, to the recently terminated 73-day strike involving the Railway Workers Union of Guatemala, and an American-owned company, the International Railways of Central America.

The strike was finally settled on March 16, and the ITF played a most significant role in reaching a fair and just solution to the problem.

I would like to say to you, Mr. Chairman, that I had the personal privilege of representing the ITF in this particular conflict, and that it was through my work and the work of other ITF representatives, in meeting with the President of Guatemala and members of the Cabinet, that we were able to resolve the problem to which an American company paid no attention, the problem which may have caused the very collapse of that government in a most difficult political situation.

Senator YARBOROUGH. There are reports of guerrilla activity in Guatemala at the present time, and have been for years; haven't there?

Mr. OTERO. Yes, sir; and they are still continuing.

Senator YARBOROUGH. If this paralyzing strike had not been settled, you think that might have been a strong contributing cause, perhaps, to the ultimate collapse of the government?

Mr. OTERO. Well, Mr. Chairman, I have written a full report of my activities in Guatemala which I will be very pleased to make available to you; and for the record I would like to say that this strike, which was prompted by the company, encouraged by the company, took into consideration the very difficult political situation existing in the country.

May I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

Senator YARBOROUGH. Yes; proceed.

Mr. OTERO. In the field of developing a strong and mature labor leadership as opposed to Communist-dominated cliques or company unions, the ITF has been responsible for the mature leadership of unions being headed today in countries such as Mexico, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Peru, Argentina, Guatemala, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Indonesia, Senegal, Malaysia, the Philippines, among others.

The modest input of ITF human and financial resources in countries like Mexico has multiplied itself severalfold. In fact, today this program of self-help is beginning to pay off for the Mexican affiliates

of the ITF, particularly the Railwaymen's Union is beginning to lend assistance to other ITF affiliates in Latin America.

This degree of achievement notwithstanding, the work yet to be done, Mr. Chairman, staggers the imagination. The problems confronting this type of activity also defy description. But yet, with such tremendous tasks at hand, with overwhelming odds against and with very little financial resources, very limited financial resources, the work of the ITF goes on.

To illustrate to this committee the problems facing this bold undertaking, I have selected the area of Latin America where I have personal experience, and where the ITF spends today more than in Asia and in Africa combined.

The challenge facing the ITF in Latin America, as presumably elsewhere in the developing areas of the world, is to awaken the workers from their age-long apathy, which was born of servitude, to the advantages of uniting actively for the promotion of their economic welfare.

In seeking to achieve this objective, the ITF must offer guidance to local and national union bodies in the essentials of union management and growth, the propagation of union values among the rank and file as well as among the unorganized, and the development of local and national leaders, and the equipping of these leaders and their organizations with the minimum educational and financial tools for insuring that they can do an effective job of developing trade unionism in their own interests and those of the communities in which they live.

It is, however, very unfortunate that major problems affecting the Latin countries of the Western Hemisphere have retarded the progress of democratic unionism.

The big problems facing the growth of democratic trade unionism in Latin America are:

(a) The military or quasi-military domination of society with attendant repression of such basic freedoms as the right of workers to organize, to bargain collectively, and to deny their labor by means of strike to achieve a decent living standard, and the right to educate the workers in the processes of democratic procedures.

(b) The attack by the international Communist movement upon new and unsteady union organizations and upon the masses of the unorganized workers to attain the political ends of that disreputable movement.

(c) The deeply entrenched oligarchy, both of national and foreign origin, which stubbornly refuses to modify its near-feudalist practices, thus enhancing unrest, hatred, and subversion.

(d.) And, finally, Mr. Chairman, very unfortunately, the ineptness and corruption plaguing several Latin American governments and countries.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Have you written a report on that latter point, too?

Mr. OTERO. I beg your pardon?

Senator YARBOROUGH. You have written a report on Guatemala. Have you prepared a written report on the last point?

Mr. OTERO. No, but I would be very pleased to do so.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I have a special interest in Latin America so I would like to see such reports.

Mr. OTERO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Go right ahead.

Mr. OTERO. In face of such tremendous obstacles blocking the future of trade unionism, there is—and together with the hopes for improvement in other spheres of society, we must await the slow process of liberalization. In some happy instances this process of liberalization has been accelerated by universal popular revolution against the military, as in the case of Venezuela, and this instance, to its everlasting credit, the democratic trade union movement was in the vanguard of the movement toward liberalization.

Cuba, on the other hand, is a typical example of the existing danger of violent shifts from the extreme right to the extreme left. In other well-known instances, Paraguay, Haiti, and more lately Brazil and Argentina, the working men must suffer in patience.

This threat of continued domination of Latin American societies by the military is further compounded by a second problem, which is the very activities of the international Communist Party, which is bent upon achieving its political ends through subversion, bribery, and deception, for the Communist Party still pursues its nefarious designs with ominous success among the corruptible and naive people whom they seek out in the working classes, and the leaders in Latin America.

The obvious response to this threat of Communist infiltration in the labor movement in Latin America is not to issue an international appeal, but the approach is to reach to the very roots of the labor movement with the values and demonstrable results of democratic unionism to discredit the Communist impostors where they make their appeal, that is, among the illiterate and semi-illiterate workers, and to give these workers their hope of gaining dignity in their labor, economic security for their families, and mutual solidarity through their freely elected union representatives.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that the threat we face today in Latin America and in many other parts of the world, that of Communist advancement, will not be deterred by simply making speeches or by trying to make appeals. The problem that we confront today is a combination of hunger, frustration, despair, disease, and many others of the calamities which affect large masses of people, millions of people—in fact, one-third of the world's underdeveloped population, over 1 billion people, go to bed hungry every night.

So unless we are able to reach the masses, unless we are able to help these people to help themselves, to be able to reach above the present conditions in which they live and, therefore, earn a decent standard of living and to achieve dignity in their employment, and to feed their families, we will not be able to contain this ever-growing menace of international communism.

And, to compound this very problem, there is still the recalcitrant attitude of the business community in Latin America, including many U.S. firms, which continue and will continue their practices to ignore existing labor laws, to apply coercion and economic pressure to discourage trade unions from gaining strength, and in many instances, Mr. Chairman, we can document that many American companies, protected by military governments or in many so-called democratic coun-

tries, are stymieing the development of democratic free trade unionism, and unwittingly helping the Communist Party by preventing the unions from gaining strength, aided and abetted by their friends and counterparts whom they have helped to reach government power.

So clearly this combination of recalcitrant employers and corrupt, ineffectual government administrators is as detrimental to the development of free trade unions as military juntas and Communist subversion.

Therefore, it becomes imperative that unions become well-organized, stronger, self-financed, democratically oriented, as in the case of Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina—among others—if both reactionary management and the governments are to depart from the present policies of deterring the workers from their goal of attaining social justice.

This process is painstaking and slow. The guiding hands of democratically experienced representatives of democratic international organizations, such as the ITF, are excruciatingly few. We can hardly hope, Mr. Chairman, to completely eliminate this combination of threats within the next few years, but we can, and we should, increase our efforts. I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, the ITF, in particular, should be in the forefront of increasing activity to turn back this threat.

Today the ITF is the recipient of significant assistance for its various educational programs from international institutions such as the International Labor Organization, the Organization of American States, and the American Institute for Free Labor Development. Yet additional funds are urgently needed to carry out basic trade union functions to supplement these educational activities.

Although the AIFLD assistance for trade union education programs is an important step in the development of free and democratic unions, the ITF's inability in many instances to follow up such educational activities with meaningful organizing work, reduces the effectiveness of trade union education.

Our experience in this field, and the experience of 70 years of the ITF has proven that the combination of trade union education and organizing work is the most effective approach in building and strengthening free trade union institutions in developing countries led by free individuals who, in turn, can actively participate in concert with other segments of their society in the painstaking process of nation building.

Where a union is capable of applying self-help measures, the ITF can give the extra needed push toward success. In all ITF programs, Mr. Chairman, the quality of self-help is a key factor in helping a union with its own development program.

So I appear this morning before this committee, for it is in this context where the greatest emphasis for urgent help can be made. The ITF program in the developing areas of the world, with its own resources, with no concealed government money of any kind, is presently seeking to build nothing but constructive forces in the transport labor movement which can and do help in developing durable political and economic structures.

It is a well-known fact that responsible and dynamic ITF affiliates throughout the world have played major roles in helping to preserve

the political and economic stability of the governments, recognizing that if they want help they have to start by helping themselves.

Obviously then, Mr. Chairman, if this bold effort of the ITF, and of many similar organizations like the ITF, is to produce lasting results, these activities in Latin America, as well as in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, must be stepped up to the highest degree possible.

In this task, the ITF could use all support and assistance available. This is, therefore, the reason for our testimony this morning in support of Senate bill 1779, for we feel that these Federal grants would be of great supplemental assistance in these endeavors.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to stress the concept of complete independence on the part of any nonprofit organization receiving this type of assistance, for otherwise the intended purpose of this program would be meaningless.

If we are to be effective in reaching the peoples of Latin America, we must do it not as representatives of the U.S. Government but we must do it on a basis of people to people, of worker to worker, otherwise our efforts would be undermined, and it would be money that would not be properly used.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, I thank you and the committee for giving me this opportunity to appear before you this morning and, at the same time, respectfully and strongly urge your committee to report favorably on this bill to establish the International Health, Education, and Labor Foundation which would make Federal grants available to the ITF and to other international organizations through American unions.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Otero follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOAQUIN F. OTERO, ON BEHALF OF THE RAILWAY LABOR EXECUTIVES' ASSOCIATION

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Joaquin F. Otero. I am appearing today on behalf of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, with headquarters at 400 First Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. This association speaks for 23 standard railway labor organizations representing nearly all of the Nation's railroad employees. A list of the RLEA affiliates is attached to the end of my statement. My testimony is in support of Senate bill S. 1779 pertaining to the establishment of an independent agency of the U.S. Government to be known as the International Health, Education and Labor Foundation.

Since July 1966 I have been employed as Assistant Director, International Affairs Department of the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, an affiliate of the Railway Labor Executives' Association. From April 1961 through June 1966 I am employed by the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) as Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean. During this period of time I resided in Brazil and Perú and travelled to almost all countries encompassed by my area of responsibility.

The following testimony is based on my personal experience in the field of international labor affairs and on the active affiliation of the RLEA to the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) since 1946. A list of the U.S. unions affiliated with the ITF is attached to the end of my statement.

Our support of Senate bill S. 1779 stems from our strong belief that with proper support the work of organizations like the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) will, indeed, enhance and strengthen the capacity of the other peoples of the world to develop and maintain free, independent societies in their own nations.

THE ITF: ITS HISTORICAL ROLE IN PRESERVING DEMOCRACY

The International Transport workers' Federation (ITF) is an international trade union organization to which bona fide trade unions which uphold democratic principles and have members employed in the transport industry can affiliate.

The ITF membership is made up of more than seven million workers, spread throughout 88 countries of the free world, and embraces every type of transport worker without distinction as to race, color or creed.

Its aims are to provide international assistance to its affiliates; generally to defend and promote the economic and social standards of the transport worker; to seek universal recognition of his right to the benefits of trade union membership; to represent the transport worker in international agencies; and to provide its affiliated unions with information and advice.

Its history, which dates from 1896, is almost the longest in international trade unionism; that in itself is testimony to its strength and worth. During that time it has set an unrivalled record as the defender of the transport workers' interests against exploitation by employers and governments alike.

Nations and governments toppled quickly before Hitler's blitzkrieg in the early years of World War II, but more often than not the occupying Nazis soon found that there was a painful gap between a surrender and tasting the fruits of victory. Every dawn uncovered new examples of sabotage.

Members and leaders of European trade unions conceived and executed many of the schemes that helped to turn "Der Fuehrer's" dream of world domination into a horrible nightmare—and no organization was more active in this undertaking than the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF).

The ITF carried out a program, with considerable success, whereby seafarers of occupied nations were encouraged to take their vessels to allied ports and turn them over to the democracies. The organization supplied key workers for the underground. It assisted in the sabotage of Nazi transport. It aided the escape of German trade unionists who were being hunted by the Gestapo.

In occupied countries of Europe, German officials often awoke in the morning to find that a dock area was hopelessly clogged with previously unloaded vehicles that couldn't be moved. Their rotors had mysteriously disappeared during the night. A man who helped with that "project" is now one of Europe's most prominent labor leaders.

Comparatively, these and many other activities by the ITF form only one chapter in the federation's nearly 70 years of history. But they contributed greatly to its reputation as a strong, militant force of free transport workers around the world and as a relentless, effective enemy of all types of oppression. The reputation is a deserved one.

An organization of less resilience could not have survived two world wars, world economic depression and the onslaught of a variety of dictatorships.

An organization of less value would not have commanded the loyalty which made survival possible.

#### AMERICAN RAILWAY LABOR'S INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS

The Railway Labor Executives' Association became actively involved in international labor affairs, as an affiliate of the ITF, during the crucial days following the end of World War II, particularly in connection with the development and implementation of the Marshall Plan. Thanks to the courageous and invaluable cooperation of transport unions affiliated to the ITF it was possible to maintain the flow of goods and materials shipped under the Marshall Plan to European countries. It was the key role played by the ITF, in spite of the threats of communist sabotage, that assured the success of the Marshall Plan. Since then, American railway labor and other U.S. transportation unions affiliated to the ITF have made considerable human and financial contributions to the outstanding trade union work performed by the ITF in most of the developing nations of the world.

#### SCOPE OF ITF WORK: RESOURCES AVAILABLE

In spite of the generous contribution of its affiliates in the United States and other parts of the world, the ITF has always found itself groping with the problem of financing its activities. Though the Federation is representative of seven million workers, its own financial resources are insufficient to adequately undertake the tremendous task it faces. In terms of income arising out of affiliation fees, the ITF earns barely enough to maintain a world-wide structure aimed at servicing affiliates in every corner of the globe. A large part of its income goes to the program of regional activities—an effective but modest program designed to lend technical and financial assistance to needy democratic transport unions in developing nations.

Particular emphasis is placed in the areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the ITF maintains regional offices manned by experienced trade unionists.

The ITF representatives travel regularly throughout their respective regions lending assistance to affiliated unions and seeking to enroll new affiliates.

In carrying out their tasks, ITF representatives are often outnumbered and outfunded. Well-staffed, rich international organizations, sponsored by certain church groups and by the International Communist Party, compete openly with the ITF in luring unions and labor leaders to their respective camps. To compound the problem, in some instances church groups are working hand-in-hand with communist-dominated internationals. Yet, the ITF has prevailed.

The sad part of this worthy endeavor is that only a meager \$170,000 is available to cover all of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. In spite of a rather stringent budget, the ITF has made remarkable progress. Many an emerging nation (Guatemala, the most recent example) struggling to consolidate democratically-selected governments have found the ITF to be of vital assistance in preserving the stability of such governments. In the case of Guatemala, the ITF responsibly cooperated with the authorities in seeking a prompt and fair solution to a serious labor problem which, if left indefinitely unresolved, might have caused the collapse of the very government. I am referring here to the recent 73-day strike involving the U.S.-owned International Railways of Central America (IRCA) and the Guatemalan Railwaymen's Union (SAMF), an ITF affiliate. The strike was settled on March 16 with the ITF playing a key role in the final settlement of the dispute. In the area of development of strong, democratic labor leadership, as opposed to communist-dominated cliques, the ITF has been responsible for the mature leadership heading local and national transport unions today in countries such as Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Argentina, Guatemala, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Indonesia, Senegal, Malaysia, Philippines, Nigeria—among others. The modest input of ITF human and material resources in countries like Mexico, has multiplied itself several fold. In fact, Mexican affiliates of the ITF, especially the Railwaymen's Union, are now lending their valuable technical and financial assistance to other ITF affiliates in Latin America.

This degree of achievement notwithstanding, the work yet to be done staggers the imagination. The problems confronting this type of activity also defy description. And so, with such tremendous tasks at hand, with overwhelming odds against and with very limited financial resources, the work of the ITF must go on.

To illustrate some of the problems facing this bold undertaking, I have selected the area of Latin America where I have personal experience. The ITF spends more in Latin America than in Asia and Africa combined.

#### THE CHALLENGE FACING THE ITF

In Latin America, as presumably elsewhere in the developing areas of the world, the problem that an international labor organization should ultimately address itself to is the awakening of the workers from their age-long apathy, which was born of servitude, to the advantages of uniting actively for the promotion of their economic welfare. This general goal encompasses, for the international organization, guidance of local unions and national bodies in the essentials of union management and growth, the propagation of union values among the rank-and-file as well as among the unorganized, the development of local and national leaders, and the equipping of these leaders and their organizations with the minimum educational and financial tools for ensuring that they can do an effective job of developing unionism in their own interest and those of communities in which they live. It is, however, the unfortunate fact that four major politico-economic phenomena affecting the societies of the Latin countries of the Western Hemisphere have retarded the progress of democratic unionism. These circumstances, which usurp the attention and energies of international labor organizations, will undoubtedly overshadow the events and activities of Latin American trade unionism over the next few years. These phenomena are:

a. The military or quasi-military domination of society with attendant repression of such basic freedoms as the right of workers to organize, to bargain collectively, to deny their labor by means of strike to achieve a decent living standard, and the right to educate the workers in the processes of democratic procedures.

b. The attack by the international communist movement upon new and unsteady union organizations and upon the masses of the unorganized workers to attain the political ends of that disreputable movement.

c. The deeply-entrenched obligarchy, both of national and foreign origin, which stubbornly refuses to modify its near-feudalist practices, thus enhancing unrest, hatred and subversion.

d. The ineptness and corruption plaguing several Latin American governments.

The general response by free labor to the military threat through its international affiliations, has been, is now, and will be several years from now, to bring to bear the moral weight of international democratic unionism and the reprobation of free societies upon the restrictive military juntas. In some instances, this moral pressure has been and will be effective; in other instances such measures are less than effective. In the face of such an obstacle the future of democratic unionism, together with the hopes for improvement in other spheres of society, must await the slow process through which the restlessness of the human spirit will force, pace by pace, one measure of liberalization after another upon oppressors. In some happy instances, this process has been accelerated by universal popular revolution against the military, as in Venezuela, and in these instances, to its everlasting credit, democratic unionism was in the vanguard of the movement toward liberalization. Cuba, on the other hand, is a typical example of the existing danger of violent shifts from extreme right to extreme left. In other well-known instances, Paraguay, Haiti—and more lately Brazil and Argentina, the working man must suffer from the time in patience. The second problem, that relating to the attempt by the international communist movement to conquer the working man and the trade union organizations for political ends, must be met on a different plane. The communist ideology is now discredited among the societies of developing nations—indications are that several years hence its image will be yet dimmer. Nevertheless, the communists, through stripped of their ideological pretensions, are still bent upon achieving their political ends through subversion, bribery and deception. They still pursue their nefarious designs with ominous success among the corruptible and ingenuous people whom they seek out among the working classes and their leaders in Latin America. The obvious response to this threat is not to rely on international appeals, as in the case of isolated military regimes, but rather to reach to the very roots of the labor movement with the values and demonstrable results of democratic unionism to discredit the communist impostors where they make their appeal—that is, among the illiterate and semi-literate workers and to give these workers the hope of gaining dignity in their labor, economic security for their families and mutual solidarity through their freely elected union representatives.

There is no doubt that the business community in Latin America—including many U.S. firms—will continue its practices to ignore existing labor laws, to apply coercion and economic pressure to discourage trade unions from gathering strength. This, of course, so long as they feel protected by military governments or, as in many so-called democratic countries, by their friends and counterparts whom they have helped to reach government power. Clearly, this combination of recalcitrant employers and corrupt, ineffectual government administrators is as detrimental to the development of free trade unions as military juntas and communist subversion.

It is, therefore, imperative that unions become stronger, well-organized, self-financed, as in the case of Argentina, Mexico and Venezuela, if both reactionary management and governments are to depart from their present policies of deterring the workers from their goal of attaining social justice.

This process is painstaking and slow; the guiding hands of representatives of democratic international organizations such as the ITF are excruciatingly few. We can hardly hope to completely eliminate this threat within the next few years, but we can and should increase our efforts. The ITF, in particular, should be in the forefront of increasing activity to turn back this threat.

#### HELP US TO HELP THOSE WHO ARE WILLING TO HELP THEMSELVES

Though the ITF today is the recipient of significant assistance for its educational programs from institutions such as the ILO (International Labor Organization); OAS (Organization of American States); AALC (Afro-American Labor Center) and the AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development), additional funds are urgently needed to carry out basic trade union functions to supplement educational activities. I am referring to programs to organize the unorganized workers; to promote amalgamation of weak unions into single, stronger unions or Federations; to assist unions in the development of community-action projects.

While AIFLD assistance for educational programs—for example—is an important step in the development of free and democratic unions, the inability on the part of the ITF—in many instances—to follow up such educational activities with meaningful organizing work reduces the effectiveness of trade union education.

The combination of trade union education and organizing work is the most effective approach in building and strengthening free trade union institutions in developing countries, led by free individuals who, in turn, can actively participate in concert with other segments of their society in the painstaking process of nation building. Where a union is capable of applying hard self-help measures, the ITF can give the added push toward success. In all ITF programs the quality of self-help is a key factor in helping a union with its own development efforts.

It is in this context where the greatest emphasis for urgent help can be made. The ITF program in the developing areas of the world seeks to build nothing but constructive forces in the transport labor movement which can and do help in developing durable political and economic structures. It is a well known fact that responsible and dynamic ITF affiliates throughout the world have played major roles in helping to preserve the political and economic stability of their governments, recognizing that if they want help they have to start by helping themselves.

Obviously, then, if these efforts are to produce lasting results, the activities of the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) in Latin America, as well as in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, must be stepped up to the highest degree possible. In this task, the ITF could use all support and assistance available. Therefore, Federal grants, as contemplated under Senate bill S. 1779 would be of great supplemental assistance in these endeavors.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, and on behalf of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, I strongly urge your committee to report favorably on this bill to establish the International Health, Education and Labor Foundation, which would make Federal grants available to the ITF, and to other international labor organizations, through American unions.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee.

*Railway Labor Executives' Association affiliated organizations*

American Railway Supervisors' Association.  
 American Train Dispatchers' Association.  
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.  
 Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.  
 Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen.  
 Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.  
 Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America.  
 Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express, and Station Employees.  
 Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.  
 Hotel & Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union.  
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.  
 International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers.  
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.  
 International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers.  
 International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots of America.  
 National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.  
 Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen.  
 Railroad Yardmasters of America.  
 Railway Employees Department, AFL-CIO.  
 Seafarers' International Union of North America.  
 Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.  
 Switchmen's Union of North America.  
 Transportation-Communication Employees Union.

*International Transport Workers' Federation affiliates in the United States*

Railway Labor Executives' Association.  
 Seafarers' International Union of North America.  
 The Radio Officers' Union.  
 International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.  
 Transport Workers' Union of America.  
 National Maritime Union of America.  
 International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots.

Amalgamated Transit Union.  
 Flight Engineers' International Association.  
 American Radio Association.  
 National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.  
 Airline Dispatchers' Association.  
 International Longshoremen's Association.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you, Mr. Otero, for a very fine paper that contributes a great deal of information about the need of this bill in the fields of labor programs overseas. We have your recommendation that these be grants outright to be used by these American labor organizations; that you not set up a bureaucracy to tell them how.

Mr. OTERO. Precisely.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You have made a very forceful statement of the forces at work in different Latin American countries, some for good and some for bad, and it is a great help to this subcommittee, this full committee and the Congress.

This is a campaign year, and the Congress has less time than it would have in a noncampaign year. We need help now, not only testimony here but we need the strength of the 7 million people that your affiliated organizations represent, all through the Congress to procure passage. So we ask you to keep using your influence and your assistance to not merely furnish these facts for us to work on but for all the Members of the Congress.

I hope the National Federation of Blind and all these associations appearing here do the same.

I have learned when you have a bill pro bono publico, just a good measure like this, nobody is going to make any profit out of it and it does not move itself. I have to organize my own lobby, and I am going to organize a lobby of every organization testifying here to get busy on the whole Congress. It is going to take pushing to get any measure this year.

So I am asking not only you but everyone here representing any organization for this bill to start now with everybody on this subcommittee, the full committee, both Houses, for the bill that I helped write here. I ask for help in passing it so we can help around the world.

Thank you very much for your contribution.

Any questions from counsel?

If not, the next witness is Mr. Richard A. Humphrey, director of the Commission on International Education of the American Council on Education, Washington.

Come around, Mr. Humphrey.

You may proceed in your own way.

**STATEMENT OF RICHARD A. HUMPHREY, DIRECTOR, COMMISSION  
 ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON  
 EDUCATION**

MR. HUMPHREY. Mr. Chairman, I am Richard A. Humphrey, the director of the Commission on International Education of the American Council on Education.

I appreciate the opportunity to participate in this hearing. My statement is short. As committee staff will have informed you, the American Council on Education is not prepared to take a position on

S. 1779 at this time. My understanding is that it might be useful to the committee, in these exploratory hearings, if I briefly enumerate certain basic points on which we believe clarification of intent is desirable.

Before doing so, I should first say that the evident general intent of the bill appears sound and timely. I take that intent to be to substitute open Federal sources of funding for certain international private sector enterprises in lieu of hitherto covert sources of support. In principle, it is difficult to defend covert Federal support for such nongovernmental programs. In practice, we have all witnessed how counterproductive such support can be. Credibility, as well as professionalism, are essential to the viability of the functions this bill is intended to fund. The open support contemplated in S. 1779 will comprise neither.

This said, my remaining brief comments will bear primarily upon the mechanisms proposed in the bill for fulfilling this broad purpose. I have essentially two basic points to raise. I believe both are substantial, and that neither are administrative or procedural quibbles. My frame of reference, of course, is international education—the only one of the three fields embraced in S. 1779 in which I have any special competence.

First, I believe the specific purposes of the bill suggest clarification of the proposed Foundation's role vis-a-vis existing, and similar, authorizations.

As set forth in section 1.c the specific objectives of S. 1779 are:

1. To promote a better knowledge of the United States among the peoples of the world;
2. To increase friendship and understanding among the peoples of the world; and
3. To strengthen the capacity of the other peoples of the world to develop and maintain free, independent societies in their own nations.

I think everyone would agree that these are valid and important goals for public policy. Indeed, as the committee knows, they are already reflected in legislative authorizations for a number of Federal agencies—most notably, perhaps, the Department of State, the Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Information Agency. Each of these agencies, in my understanding, now provides open Federal support to nongovernmental entities for precisely the purposes covered in section 1.c of this bill.

The broad question which comes to mind, therefore, is whether the role of the proposed International Health, Education, and Labor Foundation is expected to play will be supplementary to already authorized programs of similar purpose or whether it is expected to supplant such programs.

I recognize, of course, that the answer to this question may lie in the difference between the functions of the wide variety of private agencies previously funded covertly and the functions of the above-mentioned governmental agencies. Nonetheless, I think it would be of advantage, given the similarity in the stated goals of this bill and those of said governmental agencies, to make clear whatever distinctions in function do in fact exist. Conversely, if the proposed Foundation is intended to embrace a wide variety of functions now covered in both public and private sectors, I think it would be helpful if that fact were clarified in the authorizing legislation.

Second. S. 1779 seems to many of us less clear than it might be about the intended status of the proposed Foundation. I use "status", for lack of a better term, to refer to the Foundation's setting or locale in the wide spectrum of possible public or private responsibility. The bill provides, of course, that it shall be an independent agency of the Government; but I am not quite sure what "independent" is intended to mean.

My uncertainty stems from the juxtaposition of three main concepts in the bill. (1) The foundation will be manned, I take it, by private citizens (section 3.c); (2) it is to be given complete independence of Executive control (sec. 8.a) although it will report annually to the President (sec. 3.g); (3) it will be subject to the accountabilities of the appropriations process (sec. 9), and report annually to the Congress (sec. 3.g).

The broad question which appears to me to arise is whether this is a workable "mix" of provisions. I would not argue that precedents are lacking for such a "mix", but I cannot think of any which have very successfully solved the problem of "independence" versus governmental control.

Underlying, of course, what may appear to be my undue preoccupation with mechanics is, in fact, a really serious question of substance and intent. If it is possible, clearly, to summarize my confusion, let me try in the following terms.

If the broad purpose of S. 1779 is simply to provide an open channel for Federal funding, I would think this could be done most easily in one or the other of two ways—either through utilizing presently authorized agencies or through the establishment of a new agency for this purpose within the Government. In neither case would it be necessary to provide for the "mix" of public authorities and private persons embodied in the present bill.

If, on the other hand, the intent is to relieve government of the administration of international activities in the fields of health, education, and labor, as well as to provide an open channel of Federal support, then I suspect a possible course would be to seek for an existing strictly nongovernmental mechanism of professional competence to do the job, channeling funds to it by contract. If no such organization exists presently capable of covering the variety of functions now performed in both the public and private sectors, it ought not to be too difficult to create one, provided assurance was given of continuing Federal support. Here, again, it would be possible to avoid the predictable problems of a hybrid "mix" of public authorities and private persons:

It would seem to me well, in summary, for the bill to reflect a clear-cut decision: either to administer fully within the public sector without an intermediary foundation, or to turn over to a wholly independent, perhaps newly established, private entity the administration of the functions envisioned, under contract to the Federal Government.

Of the two alternatives, the latter would seem to me most nearly to accord with the overall purposes of S. 1779, as I now understand them. Independence would be clear. Accountability for Federal funds would be equally clear, within a pattern (contracts) used extensively and successfully in public-private sector collaboration.

In closing, I hope that the problems I have raised will appeal to the committee as real, and that their solution may become the objective of any revisions of or amendments to this bill.

If there is any way in which we can assist in this process, Mr. Chairman, we would be happy to try to do so. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you, Mr. Humphrey. You have made a real contribution to the study of this bill. You have looked beyond our first aims to ask how it is going to be administered. Of course, we do not intend with this bill to supplant the Department of State, the AID or U.S. Information Agency in any of their functions.

The witnesses yesterday helped illuminate this problem and some problems to be met. For example, when one approaches AID for a loan, there are long delays and AID apparently uses a "banker's" approach. We do not want this bill burdened with the bureaucracy of these other departments, and I say that not in a hostile manner with respect to those departments.

If the USIA puts out a certain type of program, if they are not very careful, they are attacked by the Congress that they are not praising America enough. If AID does not put enough strings on a grant they are attacked by the Appropriations Committees as making giveaways.

It has been pointed out how \$200 rejuvenated a fishing village; another \$200, in which the people contributed their labor, up in the Andes, built a road and connected a village that had no outlet for that except walking on a trail. Some of our agencies, it has been pointed out, will not consider a loan that small.

You seem to recommend that there either be a clear-cut fully administered program within the public sector without any intermediate foundation or that it be turned over wholly to an independent agency.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I think, Mr. Chairman, it might be worth exploring. You are going to have a mix in any case, as you point out, and it might be worth exploring the possibility of working through contract with an independent private organization. This has been done in a number of other cases, as you know.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The areas in which we deal are fairly broad. We are dealing with the field of health, education, and labor. As the gentleman who testified just before you demonstrated, his field is labor; he would not work in the educational field.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I think that is true, Mr. Chairman. Your common denominator of purpose in this bill is in adequate support for certain kinds of international communication and activity. Any such bill would be very wide in scope, I think.

In this really very bureaucratic approach of mine, all I was heading for, I think, was to say the more you can simplify the nature of the mix, the more you can come up with real independence—as the previous witness pointed out—for the organizations which are really involved and which you are giving grants to, on the one hand, and accountability on the other to the Federal Government, the better it will be. I think one of the simplest ways of doing it would be, in effect, by contract to an independent private organization, if one existed, or could be formed adequate to handle this problem. I think this would be a possible option.

Whether it is possible to locate one I do not know, but I think one might be formed. There you have a kind of independence of judgment in the hands of private persons, as your council in the bill would provide for. At the same time, because it is under contract, it would have full accountability to the Congress of the United States, the same way that the Department of State contracts at the present time, for example, with the Conference Board of Associate Research Councils to prescreen and nominate Fulbright scholars. This is a clear contract in the private sector. We are fully accountable to the Department of State and the Congress for the money expended. But the operation is conducted independently and professionally.

Senator YARBOROUGH. This raises many interesting questions the committee needs to solve. Some of these need to be solved, about the possible conflict with other agencies such as AID or USIA by language in our report stating what the objectives are.

We will consider also your other recommendations for a contract in the private sector.

It seems to me that the latter would be pretty difficult when we consider the broad nature of this bill covering both education, labor, and health.

Mr. HUMPHREY. In that sense you are proposing a pioneer effort and you are quite right, there is not any that I know of at the moment this broad. But this does not mean to me it would not be possible to do it.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I agree it would be possible to do it. Starting off I do not know of any existing one to do this service in continents around the world in all these fields with the minimal money this anticipates. Our grants are not intended to be big grants like those for building a dam or—

Mr. HUMPHREY. No.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Or a highway, a new highway, a new railroad along the mountains or something like that.

These are small grants in specific areas, most of the money being for people, with these people-to-people programs in these areas.

I am hopeful that with a minimum amount of money we might accomplish as much as one big multimillion dollar dam would cost. We might spread that in many areas and get out and do with people what USIA can do with radio broadcasts and weekly newspapers and newspaper releases and television.

You, as an educator, know how greatly this can help in the field of education. Some schools of Latin America have blackboards but could not buy chalk for the children to use. I personally have heard of schools down in Peru where there would be one book per subject per room. Not a child in the school owned a book, only the teacher, and nobody in their family ever owned a book in their lives. So I think a little bit of the money here would go a long way in these fields.

Thank you very much for your stimulating discussion which you presented for us to consider.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Thank you.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Our next witness is Mr. Francis Pressly, Director of International Programs, National 4-H Foundation, Washington.

**STATEMENT OF W. FRANCIS PRESSLY, LEADER, INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS, NATIONAL 4-H CLUB FOUNDATION; ACCOMPANIED BY LES NICHOLS, SPECIALIST IN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS**

MR. PRESSLY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce Mr. Les Nichols, who is a specialist in international programs with the National 4-H Club Foundation.

I am W. Francis Pressly, program leader of the International Programs Department of the National 4-H Club Foundation, Washington, D.C. The 4-H Foundation is a private, nonprofit educational institution of the Cooperative Extension Service of the State Land-Grant Universities and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Our mission is to "complement and assist the work of the Cooperative Extension Service, with primary emphasis on youth programs, in ways not readily supported by public funds. In so doing, the foundation has responsibility for securing and using private funds."

The 4-H international programs were among the first to recognize the potential of rural youth programs in the developing countries as one of the keys in fighting the food deficit and population crisis. Agriculture is the base which developing countries must have; it depends upon an educated, motivated people. Rural young people are one of the keys to this vital action. The 4-H international programs are dedicated to mutual understanding and the development of rural youth.

The 4-H "idea" is distinctly American—informal; out-of-school training; volunteer adult leaders; cooperation between local community, State and National Governments; support from private as well as public institutions; and individual youth projects of "learning by doing." This experience, principles, and philosophy are the basic elements that have been adapted, not adopted, by some 80 countries around the world.

You can see from the map that about 80 countries around the world have instituted a 4-H type of program and most of these in the past 18 to 20 years.

Many of the programs are identified by number, initials, combinations, such as 4-S, 3-P, 5-V, 4-T, and this is their adaptation of the ideals of 4-H to their language and culture. Well over half of the some 80 programs over the world use a four-leaf clover in their emblem, making this an accepted international symbol for rural youth work.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, a pioneer step in 4-H international programs was the establishment of the International Farm Youth Exchange, better known as IFYE, just 20 years ago this spring. Since that time, more than 4,000 young people have been exchanged between our Nation and some 72 cooperating host countries. They are between 20 and 30 years old, live with families in rural areas as they learn by doing—working, living, teaching, and playing beside their hosts. Nearly every State and Puerto Rico have had outstanding 4-H members in this program.

In the United States, IFYE is privately financed by 4-H Clubs along with business and industrial firms, foundations, and individuals. Valuable assistance also has been available in recent years to assist in many of our international costs through Public Law 480 funds and State Department educational training grants. I want to emphasize

that these public funds are used outside the United States so we may have exchanges with developing countries that cannot carry their full share of the expense of a reciprocal program. These funds have helped us to reach where the need for these exchanges is the greatest.

IFYE participants are concerned with more than mutual understanding. They are sharing ideas for a better agricultural and home life. There is emphasis on helping adapt the ideas of 4-H to the culture of a developing nation. I have some very significant new developments to report in just a few moments.

IFYE was one of the early international rural youth exchanges, thus it was appropriate that experience from this program should be incorporated into the Peace Corps when it was established in 1961. Hundreds of former 4-H members have shared their practical training and experience with people of other lands through the Peace Corps. The 4-H Foundation, working in behalf of the Extension Service, has administered Peace Corps projects relating to rural youth development in Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela, El Salvador, and Malaysia under contracts with the Peace Corps. Many 4-H Clubs in the United States assist Peace Corps volunteers by providing funds and materials to fledging rural youth programs.

The success of IFYE and other 4-H international programs led to a demand for a short term, family-living experience for older 4-H members (from 17 to 19 years old). This is the 4-H Teen Caravan, now in its fourth year. This program is completely financed by the participants, but is closely related to community 4-H programs.

Mr. Chairman, you would be interested to know that we are working with the Texas Partners for the Alliance Committee at the present time in relation to their program with Peru, and this summer approximately 10 to 15 older 4-H'ers and a few adult volunteer leaders will be going to Peru to live and work with the CAJP Clubs or the 4-H Clubs of that country.

We operate in about 40 countries per year with our 4-H exchange programs. Over the years, we have wanted to change this pattern a bit, to concentrate a large group of people in one country. The opportunity came 2 years ago when an agreement was signed between Japan and the United States which set up the Japanese agricultural training program. About 160 to 200 Japanese young farmers come to the United States for 2 years. They receive about 6 months of formal training plus 18 months of practical on-the-farm or ranch experience. It is a self-supporting program coordinated by the 4-H Foundation. While we are very proud of the program to date, the first trainees will be returning to Japan in July, so it will be at least another year before we can accurately evaluate our effectiveness. This kind of training is much needed in other lands; the Philippines and Ecuador—among others—have approached us about programs for their young farmers.

In recent years, we have given increasing emphasis to training professional rural youth leaders. These leaders hold jobs in their homelands similar to our county and State 4-H extension personnel. The training they have is usually quite limited, as the educational systems of their countries tend to be deficient in agriculture. But there are many, many extension workers who are capable and dedicated; what they need is practical training. This we are attempting to do. We bring them to the United States for about 3 months in the fall. While

they receive some training at the National and State levels, most of their time is spent working alongside county 4-H agents—learning 4-H firsthand. I believe this is one of our most significant contributions to the food and population problem.

The most recent development in our international work has been through the interamerican rural youth program. This was established in 1960 as a cooperative effort of the Interamerican Institute of Agricultural Sciences of the Organization of American States and the American International Association of Economic and Social Development. In December, we assumed the administrative and programing responsibilities for this program from AIA, receiving a 3-year grant from AIA to get our work underway. PIJR, which are its Spanish initials, will be our 4-H international program in the Americas. It combines our IFYE, Teen Caravan, and Professional Leader, and other changes, with the already established PIJR efforts of stimulating increased enrollment in 4-H type programs through incentives, training, and public information. Stimulating private support for rural youth programs—much as we work in the United States—is a keystone of this effort.

Exchanges and foreign training are important. But possibly the most important impact of 4-H international programs is on the thousands, millions of people who participate without ever leaving their homes. They are the host families, the 4-H members, leaders and people of the community who take part in dozens of ways. The 4-H international program gives these people—young and adult—an opportunity to have an international experience. This is a dimension in their education that is needed so very much today. Many State extension leaders have credited these programs with being an important factor in breaking down the traditional isolationism that once was prevalent in rural communities throughout the world.

Probably no bit of Americana has been more rapidly, broadly or enthusiastically accepted in so many parts of the world as has 4-H. 4-H international programs have played a part, especially IFYE and the 4-H Peace Corps projects.

These programs are an important leadership experience for thousands of young people, both those participants and those assisting. Twenty-five former participants in our program have become national leaders of their countries' rural youth programs. They hold such positions in Brazil, Finland, Ecuador, India, Ireland, Peru, Uruguay, and others. Twenty-three IFYE alumni work with the Turkish Extension Service, and 4-K program there; three out of every four IFYE's from Nepal are now working with their national extension service. Whatever their life's work may be, these young people tend to have more concern for other people, and to have developed important leadership skills that make them effective and responsible citizens. They are at the forefront of the fight against hunger and starvation.

While the IFYE experience may be quite personal, the program's impact upon a community or country can be very broad:

One of the first exchanges from Nepal, Debi Prasad Thapalia, who came in 1955, was so impressed with 4-H Club work that upon returning home, he urged His Majesty's Government to adapt the idea to Nepal. This was the basis for the growing, flourishing 4-Leaf Clubs of today.

Washington Naranjo of Ecuador, a 1962 participant, developed a plan for training volunteer 4-F Club leaders. This served as the work paper on leader training at the 1964 Interamerican Rural Youth Leaders Conference. He is now Ecuador's National Director of Technical Extension, an important unit of the Ministry of Agriculture.

A recent fiscal year annual report from the American Embassy in India states:

The IFYE program was enlarged during the fiscal year to provide for 16 young American farmers to visit India and the same number of Indians to visit the United States. This program appears to be the most successful of the youth exchanges. The Ministry of Agriculture has indicated that it makes a genuine, if limited in scope, contribution to the development of agriculture as well as satisfying cultural exchanges objectives.

The agricultural skills possessed by the American students allow them to make a technical contribution which also enhances their cultural effectiveness. On the other hand, a number of the Indian returnees have become active in farm youth work. One young coffee planter in the South has been instrumental in building a farm youth organization with nearly 3,000 participants in his district.

The Assistant Minister of Agriculture of Botswana was impressed by his observation of 4-H in the United States. Feeling that his newly-independent country needed a similar program, he requested help and Lyle Murphy, an 11-year 4-H member and an agricultural education graduate of Michigan State University, was sent there in October 1967. By December, he and the local agricultural demonstrators had approval for organizing 4-B Clubs in rural villages. In 2 months, 509 boys and girls were enrolled in clubs in 9 villages.

This is a part of a new 1-year program for the IFYE's that has been initiated, and we plan this year to send nine young people of similar education and experience to three Central American countries.

Through IFYE and other 4-H international programs, a firm foundation has been laid for increased assistance and support for the rural youth educational programs of the world. America will have made a great contribution if the ideals and principles of 4-H can make a major contribution toward correcting the world's food and population imbalance.

I want to emphasize again that all of these benefits have come about through private enterprise sponsorship of programs developed by the extension service and allied public educational efforts. The exception, of course, has been our contracts with the Peace Corps. But even here, 4-H members and cooperating groups around the Nation have collected materials and money to help "their volunteers" develop 4-H type programs.

The need for these programs, especially in the developing nations, is well known. The only practical limitation to expanding this work in food production is the matter of funds. Even in a country as rich and powerful as America, it is difficult to find funds to meet all of the needs we can identify and program.

There are a number of ways in which Government grants could assist the private efforts of the National 4-H Club Foundation in helping to stimulate the development of more effective rural youth educational programs, and establishing better communications between youth, particularly in the developing countries.

First. Expand 4-H's international educational exchange programs. This, of course, is one of the widely recognized methods in sharing

ideas, methods, techniques, and knowledge between people of different countries. The exchange programs carried out through 4-H in the past 20 years have definitely demonstrated that such programs are valuable tools in improving and expanding rural Youth educational work.

We hope to expand the International Farm Youth Exchange from the current 200 per year to 300 by 1971.

The 4-H Teen Caravan should increase in size from 150 participants to 300 by 1971.

Second. Additional private resources are needed to conduct more specialized exchanges at the professional leader level. The Foundation has experimented in this area, and results indicate the need for expanding this educational service. Few exchange programs focus on the needs of professional rural youth leaders. Most participants who receive some training in rural youth educational programs through current exchange programs must participate in a much more broadly conceived exchange program. While these render valuable service, often there is need for more specialization. Our Professional Rural Youth Leader Exchange offers practical training experience for 3 months to 1 year.

It is a two-way exchange, although a larger number of leaders come to the United States than are programmed abroad.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Pardon me, Mr. Pressly, I have read through all of your statement and some parts of it twice. Let me suggest that we print it all in the record. We had set a limitation of time. We have to finish by 12 o'clock. There are two other witnesses, and we have only 20 minutes.

In addition, I have been called to the floor. The Senate is in session, and I have been asked to participate in debate over there.

Now, I note from your final conclusions you are not worried about the mix between semiprivate and semipublic or quasi-private and quasi-public. You think the two should be blended.

Mr. PRESSLY. Yes.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I want to congratulate you on the great progress the 4-H has made. Frankly, this is a valuable paper to us. I was not familiar with that. We see our 4-H winners each year, and we know of their work in the States and the combination of your IFYE and your Teen Caravan. All of these are very valuable.

Do you have anything further?

Mr. PRESSLY. No.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you very much. It was very well delivered, and it is a very fine statement and will be printed in full. Congratulations on your delivery.

Mr. PRESSLY. Thank you.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Pressly follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF W. FRANCIS PRESSLY, LEADER, INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS, NATIONAL 4-H CLUB FOUNDATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Chairman: I am W. Francis Pressly, Program Leader of the International Programs Department of the National 4-H Club Foundation, Washington, D.C. The 4-H Foundation is a private, non-profit educational institution of the Cooperative Extension Service of the State Land-Grant Universities and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Our mission is to "complement and assist the work of the Cooperative Extension Service, with primary emphasis on youth programs, in ways not readily supported by public funds. In so doing, the Foundation has responsibility for securing and using private funds."

4-H international programs were among the first to recognize the potential of rural youth programs in the developing countries as one of the keys in fighting the food deficit and population crisis. Agriculture is the base which developing countries must have; it depends upon an educated, motivated people. Rural young people are one of the keys to this vital action. 4-H international programs are dedicated to mutual understanding and the development of rural youth.

The 4-H "idea" is distinctively American—informal; out-of-school training; volunteer adult leaders; cooperation between local community, state and national governments; support from private as well as public institutions; and individual youth projects of "learning by doing." This experience, principles, and philosophy are the basic elements that have been adapted in some 80 countries around the world.

A pioneer step in 4-H international programs was the establishment of the International Farm Youth Exchange (IFYE) just 20 years ago this spring. Since that time, 1,937 U.S. young people and 2,154 foreign young people have been exchanged between our nation and 72 cooperating host countries. They are between 20 and 30 years old, live with families in rural areas as they learn by doing—working, living, teaching and playing beside their hosts. Nearly every state and Puerto Rico have had outstanding 4-H members in this program.

In the U.S., IFYE is privately financed by 4-H Clubs along with business and industrial firms, foundations and individuals. Valuable assistance also has been available in recent years to assist in many of our international costs through Public Law 480 funds and State Department educational training grants. I want to emphasize that these public funds are used outside the U.S. so we may have exchanges with developing countries that cannot carry their full share of the expense of a reciprocal program. These funds have helped us to reach where the need for these exchanges is the greatest.

IFYE participants are concerned with more than mutual understanding. They are sharing ideas for a better agricultural and home life. There is emphasis on helping adapt the ideas of 4-H to the culture of a developing nation. I have some very significant new developments to report in just a few moments.

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The success of IFYE and other 4-H international programs led to a demand for a short-term, family-living experience for older 4-H members (from 17 to 19 years old). This is the 4-H Teen Caravan, now in its fourth year. This program is completely financed by the participants, but is closely related to community 4-H programs.

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One of the first exchangees from Nepal, Debi Prasad Thapalia, who came in 1955, was so impressed with 4-H Club work that upon returning home, he urged His Majesty's Government to adapt the idea to Nepal. This was the basis for the growing, flourishing 4-Leaf Clubs of today.

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"The agricultural skills possessed by the American students allow them to make a technical contribution which also enhances their cultural effectiveness. On the other hand, a number of the Indian returnees have become active in farm youth work. One young coffee planter in the South has been instrumental in building a farm youth organization with nearly 3,000 participants in his district."

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demonstrators had approval for organizing 4-B Clubs in rural villages. In two months, 509 boys and girls were enrolled in clubs in nine villages.

Through IFYE and other 4-H international programs, a firm foundation has been laid for increased assistance and support for the rural youth educational programs of the world. America will have made a great contribution if the ideals and principles of 4-H can make a major contribution toward correcting the world's food and population imbalance.

I want to emphasize again that all of these benefits have come about through private enterprise sponsorship of programs developed by the Extension Service and allied public educational efforts. The exception, of course, has been our contracts with the Peace Corps. But even here, 4-H members and cooperating groups around the nation have collected materials and money to help "their volunteers" develop 4-H-type programs.

The need for these programs, especially in the developing nations, is well known. The only practical limitation to expanding this work in food production is the matter of funds. Even in a country as rich and powerful as America, it is difficult to find funds to meet all of the needs we can identify and program.

There are a number of ways in which government grants could assist the private efforts of the National 4-H Club Foundation in helping to stimulate the development of more effective rural youth educational programs, particularly in the developing countries.

1. Expand 4-H's international educational exchange programs. This, of course, is one of the widely recognized methods in sharing ideas, methods, techniques and knowledge between people of different countries. The exchange programs carried out through 4-H in the past 20 years have definitely demonstrated that such programs are valuable tools in improving and expanding rural youth educational work.

We hope to expand the International Farm Youth Exchange from the current 200 per year to 300 by 1971.

The 4-H Teen Caravan should increase in size from 150 participants to 300 by 1971.

2. Additional private resources are needed to conduct more specialized exchanges at the professional leader level. The Foundation has experimented in this area and results indicate the need for expanding this educational service. Few exchange programs focus on the needs of professional rural youth leaders. Most participants who receive some training in rural youth educational programs through current exchange programs must participate in a much more broadly conceived exchange program. While these render valuable service, often there is need for more specialization. Our Professional Rural Youth Leader Exchange offers practical training experiences for three months to one year. A larger number of leaders come to the U.S. than are programmed abroad.

The Professional Youth Leader Exchange will expand to 90 participants by 1971.

3. As the rural youth educational programs have expanded around the world, one of the most efficient and effective ways in which ideas, methods and techniques can be shared is through workshops, seminars, and working conferences of the professional leadership. Because of limited financing, these have been limited in both number and scope. Additional funds are needed to initiate more training opportunities, especially through workshop types of meetings to share knowledge between programs and develop materials that might serve as guides for further development in specific areas or countries. It is proposed that such workshops be conducted on a limited geographical basis to provide an opportunity for specialization of specific practices and techniques and to allow specialists to give more individual attention to participants in such work groups. In addition, government financial resources would help initiate the establishment of regular work conferences on a regional basis for the national rural youth leadership from various countries.

In addition to stimulating and sponsoring certain key training at the international level, the 4-H Foundation proposes to expand its training of professional and voluntary leadership in the United States to improve its competency in the international area. Such conferences would be held on a regional or interstate basis and would be designed to improve leadership in local clubs, county and state 4-H programs.

Additional funds are needed to expand programs in this area which would encourage local 4-H programs to organize activities such as programming for educational television, country study, and organizing community service projects specifically related to the international area.

4. The National 4-H Club Foundation proposes to unite the private resources of the United States with the strengths of 4-H to focus on building and expanding rural youth educational programs around the world by establishing a 4-H International Development Fund. Such an effort would actively involve every 4-H member, his family and friends in this effort. Every 4-H Club would have an international responsibility. All private entities in the U.S. could channel resources into general as well as specific projects designed to improve and expand rural youth programs and food production projects around the world.

The project can be initiated by first inviting the resources of the 4-H program at the local level to relate to specific program development abroad. Resources from the quasi-public foundation could be used to establish the administrative offices of the Fund.

5. There are a number of ways in which government grants could assist the private efforts of the 4-H Foundation in helping to stimulate the development of more effective rural youth educational programs, particularly in the developing countries. There is a need in Latin America for the private sector to become much more actively engaged in building support for many of the programs and institutions our government has helped establish and build to serve the people in rural areas. One type of institution is the Extension-type organization found in most countries which have responsibility for the informal rural youth educational programs similar to our own U.S. 4-H program. As direct U.S. Government support of these programs is withdrawn, there is a growing need to develop leadership, particularly in the private sector in these countries, to get more of their own resources (both government and private) assigned toward strengthening and expanding these programs.

We have assisted in the organization of 20 private groups at the national level in as many countries in Latin America to stimulate the further development and expansion of 4-H-like programs. Of course, there is not the great tradition of private support to such activities in most countries around the world. This must be developed. We have had good success to date but simply do not have enough private resources to get this job done as fast as it needs to be done. Grants of money from an organization such as you propose would be most useful and beneficial in this connection and would certainly help to insure the investment that our government has made in a direct way in the development of these fledgling institutions to serve rural people.

6. We would also propose to utilize funds from the source you suggest for certain kinds of developmental programs that would further stimulate and speed up the development of rural youth educational programs through pilot demonstration programs in a variety of countries. Right now, we are especially interested in stimulating a greater involvement of rural youth in agricultural production-oriented projects, especially in the developing countries. We believe that youth can make a sizeable contribution toward helping to solve our world food problems. We have some small demonstrations going in this regard in Latin America, but more sizeable resources are needed to further stimulate this development. Here, again, many of our business and industrial firms are interested in this work and supporting it where markets have developed sufficiently to warrant the investment.

Added funds at this time to simply initiate such programs would serve an immeasurable cause and I say without question, be one of the great success stories of our century. We need more programs that will involve and relate youth in effective ways to the hard tasks of building societies. Without such constructive programs, there will continue to be a growing number who settle for the easy tasks of marches, protests and carrying placards. On the other hand, they can be fully engaged in helping to build, in the rural areas, for example, a better agriculture, better communities and a more satisfying life. Our goal is two-fold—give opportunities to youth to *do* and *learn*.

I am very much in favor of the type of program you have suggested in Senate Bill No. 1779 which has been introduced to establish a quasi-public foundation to assist private non-governmental efforts to extend the dimensions of our international relations. There is little question that if we expect to move ahead, particularly with agricultural development around the world and especially in the developing countries, we must somehow join private resources with government resources to get the job done. Studies indicate in a rather substantial way, that neither government nor the private sector alone can expect to achieve international development goals. Indeed, we must some way generate greater resources to achieve success.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The next witness is Dr. Mansfield I. Smith, director of Washington operations of the Experiment in International Living, Washington. Is Dr. Smith here?

Come around, Dr. Smith.

Do you have a written statement, Dr. Smith?

**STATEMENT OF DR. MANSFIELD I. SMITH, DIRECTOR OF WASHINGTON OPERATIONS, EXPERIMENT ON INTERNATIONAL LIVING, WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Mr. SMITH. I have, sir, but I have not prepared it in multiple copies yet because of the time limitation.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Well, proceed in your own way and we will try to divide the time equally between you and the witness representing the U.S. Youth Council. The president is here from New York.

Mr. SMITH. My name is Mansfield I. Smith. My position is director of Washington operations for the Experiment in International Living and I come before you as a representative of the experiment.

Let me begin by conveying to you, Senator Yarborough, the personal regrets of the experiment's president, who hoped to appear before you himself this morning but was called away by a matter of the utmost urgency, and I feel both gratified and honored to be called in his stead.

The headquarters of the experiment, as you know, are in Putney, Vt., but it is a worldwide educational exchange in the lexicon of the tens of thousands of persons who have taken an active part in experiment programs since the organization was founded 36 years ago in 1932.

Senator YARBOROUGH. What is the population of Putney?

Mr. SMITH. 1,200 at the last count.

Senator YARBOROUGH. That is a pretty good sized town. My hometown has a population of 600.

Mr. SMITH. Flowing in and out of Putney every day is a floodtide of oral communication comprising thousands of directives and information which will move some 2,000 young Americans in carefully planned programs of educational exchange to 4 dozen countries during the year ahead, most of them on a 2-month summer vacation program and which will bring, perhaps 2,400 young people from 95 nations to the United States. Another 600 will journey between second and third countries, not including our own, for the U.S. experiment is but one of 60 national organizations, each of them manned by citizens of the country concerned, and all of them comprising the worldwide confederation known as the International Experiment.

By rough calculation then, about 4,500 young people from nearly all the nations of the world will participate in experiment programs during 1968-69. But the sum total of participants is less significant and less impressive than the potential value of their individual and collective experience.

The experiment tries to give to each of its members nothing less than a sense of what it means to be a citizen of the world. The approach is deceptively simple. Each experimenter lives for a month in a family in the nation he is visiting. He lives with them not as an honored guest nor as a paying guest but as a participating family

member. Thus he finds himself in a living laboratory for testing his own ability to surmount a cross-cultural challenge, will he be able to adjust successfully to his family? Will they be able to adjust to him?

It is this intensely personal all-engrossing process of mutual accommodation which makes this overseas program an experiment in cross-cultural understanding, and it is for this very reason that we continue to call our organization the experiment.

For the young person who succeeds there is the stunning self-revelation that he can get along even in times of disagreement and stress with the citizens of another nation who have habits of thought, word and deed which may be very different from his own.

In brief, then, the experiment has been devoted over the past three and a half decades to furthering the very purposes which Senate bill S. 1779 has been designed to serve.

We wish to endorse this bill not only as a constructive alternative to the covert funding process which has brought such embarrassment and pain to so many worthy educational exchange organizations which were truly deserving of government support but, as a contribution, to the concept of public-private partnerships in those international educational endeavors which clearly serve the national interest.

We do not, however, offer our endorsement without the caveat or proviso. For one thing, we must necessarily qualify our expertise as applying only to that aspect of the bill which envisions the movement of persons across national borders in organized programs which tend to serve the objectives set forth in section 1.

For another, we must confess to a nagging concern that our response to the great promise of S. 1779, our enthusiasm, our sense of commitment, our determination to participate, may all come a cropper unless there is more pervasive recognition on the part of the American people and the Representatives in Congress that international educational exchange serves the national interest in ways that deserve their wholehearted fiscal support.

The simple fact, and we have not seen any cause to be encouraged on this score, is that the International Education Act of 1966, which signaled a major step toward a productive partnership of the Federal Government with colleges and universities concerned with strengthening international components of research and curricular has not yet been funded. The budget in the Department of State has been reduced from \$53 million to \$46 million in 2 consecutive years, with the immediate result that grants-in-aid to organizations such as the experiment have even been sharply curtailed or altogether eliminated. Grants from any Government source in these days are few and far between, and prospects for the next fiscal year seem even grimmer.

The experiment has not been hurt so badly as some because our board of trustees wisely decided several years ago to permit no more than 25 percent of our gross operating budget to be funded by Government contracts, and to diversify our Government grant folio by seeking grants from as many different agencies as possible, to hedge against a crippling loss of any one contract through budgetary cutback.

In a negative sort of way we have had cause to rejoice over S. 1779 in times of budgetary stringency for we have discovered for ourselves that there is no area of official involvement in international affairs so innocuous, so noncontroversial, so unrepresented by a

vociferous lobby or nervous electorate so relatively susceptible to the budgetary scissors as the cultural exchange activities.

We cannot ask those of you who will determine the fate of S. 1779 can you somehow hold out the promise of a less tenuous relationship for your willing and dedicated partners in the private sector? Is there a real need for the kind of financial assistance proposed in the bill?

For most, if not all, of the private nonprofit organizations working in the field of international educational exchange, the answer must surely be an unequivocal "Yes."

The experiment, as an example, must aggressively seek contributions from alumni, friends and foundations in the amount of \$300,000 a year to keep its programs going, this out of a gross operating budget of from \$2 to \$2½ million annually.

The reason is simple enough and persuasive enough. In decades past travel abroad was the prerogative of the rich or the very well to do. More recently it has increasingly become a middle class phenomenon. But with an important reservation for young people attending college, even families of better than average income, a trip abroad during a summer vacation may be out of the question, and for them a program fee of \$1,000 might just as well be \$1 million. Yet many of these may be the very persons who will benefit the most from a significant cross-cultural experience.

The directorship of the experiment is embarked upon a program with a view toward making it possible for deserving young people in the United States to go abroad through its programs, through scholarship subsidies, and for young people from other countries to visit the United States on programs offered well below costs.

These subsidies are especially important for those going to and coming from the nations of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, because of the high cost of traversing the distances involved and because of the low-income level of participants from the developing nations.

How then, do we use the grants-in-aid we receive? Almost without exception to open up experiment programs for outstanding people who ordinarily find them beyond financial reach, despite the most persistent and vigorous efforts on our part to hold costs to an absolute minimum.

If the International Health, Education, and Labor Foundation comes to pass, as we devoutly hope it will, it must immediately devise a setup of operating principles to guide its relationship with organizations such as ours. Some of these principles are implicit in what has already been said. Let me spell them out and add a few others.

Should funds become available to the new foundation, the crucial question will not be that of program evaluation, as one might expect; that is, deciding for what purposes grants should be given, but rather an organizational accreditation—

Senator YARBOROUGH. Dr. Smith, I am sorry to interrupt but we have seven and a half minutes left for the other witness. We either must ask you to lay your statement in and let me read it or we screen the other witness out entirely, and he has come down from New York to testify.

Mr. SMITH. I would much rather—

Senator YARBOROUGH. It will be printed in full in the record so that the other members will be able to study it.

Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you very much for your willingness to share the remaining time with the president of the U.S. Youth Council.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Smith follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. MANSFIELD I. SMITH, DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON OPERATIONS OF THE EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL LIVING, WASHINGTON, D.C.

My name is Mansfield I. Smith, and my position is Director for Washington Operations of The Experiment in International Living.

Let me begin by conveying to each of you the personal respects and regrets of Experiment President F. Gordon Boyce, who had hoped to appear himself this morning, but who was called away at the last minute on a matter of the utmost urgency. I feel both gratified and honored to be serving in his stead.

The Experiment, as you know, has its headquarters in Putney, Vt. Putney is a small town by any standard; but it is a town which looms large in the atlas of worldwide educational exchange, and in the lexicon of the tens of thousands of persons who have taken an active part in Experiment programs since the organization was founded 36 years ago, in 1932.

Flowing in and out of Putney every day is a flood-tide of oral and written communication, comprising the thousands of directives and informationals which will move some 2,000 young Americans on carefully-planned programs of educational exchange to four dozen countries during the year ahead (most of them on two-month summer vacation programs) and which will bring perhaps 2,400 young persons from 95 nations to the United States. Another 600 will journey between second and third countries not including our own; for the United States Experiment is but one of 60 national organizations, each of them manned by citizens of the country concerned, and all of them comprising the worldwide confederation known as the International Experiment.

By rough calculation, then, about 4,500 young people from nearly all the nations of the world will participate in Experiment programs during 1968-1969. But the sum total of participants is less significant, and less impressive, than the potential value of their individual and collective experience. The Experiment tries to give to each of its members nothing less than a sense of what it means to be a citizen of the world. The approach is deceptively simple. Each Experimenteer lives for a month with a family in the nation he is visiting. He lives with them not as an honored guest, nor as a paying guest, but as a participating family member. Thus, he finds himself in a living laboratory for testing his own ability to surmount a cross-cultural challenge. Will he be able to adjust successfully to his family? Will they be able to adjust to him? It is this intensely personal, all-engrossing process of mutual accommodation which makes his overseas program an experiment in cross-cultural understanding—and it is for this very reason that we continue to call our organization The Experiment. For the young person who succeeds, there is the stunning self-revelation that he can get along, even in times of disagreement and stress, with the citizens of another nation who have habits of thought, word, and deed which may be very different from his own.

In brief, then, The Experiment has been devoted over the past 3½ decades to furthering the very purposes which Senate Bill S. 1779 has been designed to serve. We wish to endorse this bill not only as a constructive alternative to the covert funding process which has brought such embarrassment and pain to so many worthy educational-exchange enterprises, which were truly deserving of Government support, but as a contribution to the concept of public-private partnership in those international-education endeavors which clearly serve the national interest.

We do not, however, offer our endorsement without caveat or proviso. For one thing, we must necessarily qualify our expertise as applying only to that aspect of the bill which envisions the movement of persons across national borders on organized programs which tend to serve the objectives set forth in Section 1. For another, we must confess to a nagging concern that our response to the

great promise of S. 1779—our enthusiasm, our sense of commitment, our determination to participate—may all come a cropper, unless there is a more pervasive recognition, on the part of the American people and their representatives in Congress, that international educational exchange serves the national interest in ways which deserve their wholehearted fiscal support.

The simple fact is that we have not seen any cause to be encouraged on this score. The International Education Act of 1966, which signalled a major step toward a productive partnership of the Federal Government with colleges and universities concerned with strengthening the international components of their research programs and curricula, has not yet been funded. The budget of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, has been reduced from \$53 million to \$46 million in two consecutive years, with the immediate result that grants-in-aid to organizations such as The Experiment have either been sharply curtailed or altogether eliminated. Grants from *any* Government source these days are few and far between; and prospects for the next fiscal year seem even grimmer.

The Experiment has not been hurt so badly as some, because our Board of Trustees wisely decided several years ago to permit no more than 25% of our gross operating budget to be funded by Government contracts, and to diversify our Government portfolio by seeking grants from as many different agencies as possible, to hedge against crippling loss of any one contract through budgetary cutback. In a negative sort of way, we have had cause to rejoice at our own foresight. In times of budgetary stringency, we have discovered to our sorrow, there is no area of official involvement in international affairs so innocuous, so non-controversial, so unrepresented by a vociferous lobby or a nervous electorate, so readily susceptible to the budgetary scissors, as educational and cultural exchange. We cannot help but ask those of you who will determine the fate of S. 1779: "Can you somehow hold out the promise not of a less strenuous, but of a less tenuous relationship for your willing and dedicated partners in the private sector?"

Is there a real need for the kind of financial assistance proposed in the bill? For most, if not all, of the private, nonprofit organizations working in the field of international educational exchange, the answer must surely be an unequivocal "yes." The Experiment, as an example, must aggressively seek contributions from alumni, friends, and foundations in the amount of \$300,000 a year to keep its programs going—this out of a gross operating budget of two to two-and-a-half million dollars annually. The reason is simple enough, and persuasive enough. In decades past, travel abroad was the prerogative of the rich or of the very well-to-do. More recently, it has increasingly become a middle-class phenomenon—but with an important reservation. For young people attending college, even from families of better-than-average income, a trip abroad during the summer vacation may be out of the question. For them, a program fee of \$1,000 might as well be a million. Yet many of these are the very persons who would most benefit from a significant cross-cultural experience. The Experiment has directed a large proportion of its talents and resources toward making it possible for deserving young people from the United States to go abroad on its programs through scholarship subsidies, and for young people from other countries to visit the United States on programs offered well below cost. These subsidies are especially important for those going to and coming from the nations of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, because of the high cost of traversing the distances involved, and because of the low income levels of participants from the developing nations. How, then, do we use the grants-in-aid we receive? Almost without exception, to open up Experiment programs for outstanding young people who would ordinarily find them beyond financial reach, despite the most consistent and vigorous efforts on our part to hold costs to an absolute minimum.

If the International Health, Education, and Labor Foundation comes to pass, as we devoutly hope it will, it must immediately devise a set of operating principles to guide its relationship with organizations such as ours. Some of these principles are implicit in what has already been said—let me spell them out and add a few others.

Should funds become available to a new Foundation, the crucial problem will not be that of program evaluation, as one might expect—that is, of deciding *for what purposes* grants should be given; but rather, or organizational accreditation—that is, of deciding *to what organizations* funds should be given. The problem of accrediting educational-exchange organizations has never been tackled directly either by Government or by the private sector—or if it has, the results are nowhere apparent. Organizational performance in the educational-exchange field varies from dubious to outstanding; but it is a measure of the nonprofessionalism

still rampant in the field that few institutional heads will admit that standards of performance can and should be imposed, and that the imposition should come, by all means, from within the profession.

Let me commend to the new Foundation director a daring and innovative project—that he make his first grant to one of the existing exchange organizations, or to an *ad hoc* consortium of such organizations, for the specific purpose of convening a conference of all institutions interested in receiving Foundation grants, and with the specific objective of agreeing on common standards of organization, management, and performance to be met as a precondition to consideration for a grant. Accreditation would be granted not by the Foundation alone, but in collaboration with a self-accrediting committee constituted at the conference by agreement of the participating private agencies. Such an opening gambit on the part of the Foundation could be a lightning-bolt in the sometimes murky skies of educational-exchange programming.

Here, quickly, are some representative criteria which might be established for educational-exchange enterprises:

1. Stated organization objectives consonant with those of S. 1779.
2. Nonprofit status recognized by the Internal Revenue Service.
3. A paid professional staff (not to the exclusion of volunteer staff).
4. Demonstrated fiscal responsibility.
5. A proven record of responsible performance, with particular regard to continuous attention to, and management of, each sponsored program throughout its duration.
6. Open, nondiscriminatory recruitment of participants.
7. Careful selection of participants, on their merits and their suitability for the program at hand.
8. Careful selection and systematic training of program leaders.
9. Effective cross-cultural orientation of participants.
10. Established contacts in host countries abroad or in American host communities, as appropriate.

Government experience in program evaluation in the educational and cultural exchange field is so extensive that there is no need to dwell on it. The Experiment has one prejudice, however, which I feel compelled to raise. We are persuaded that only those projects should be funded which would afford each participant a genuine cross-cultural experience, by making it possible for him to meet and work with people of an unfamiliar culture and society on their own terms. There are many ways in which this type of immersion in another way of life may be achieved—the Experiment homestay is only one of these. There are many other ways in which it cannot be achieved; the hop-skip-and-jump-tour of several countries in dizzying succession is an example on the negative side. The new Foundation must be prepared to tell one approach from the other.

Finally, as a general rule, the Foundation should make only partial grants, with the expectation that the remaining fiscal requirements of the program would be met through fees paid by participants, through donations from other sources, or through a combination of both. The Experiment expects each participant to pay what he can, even if the sacrificial amount is only \$50. The participant who contributes to the program to the best of his ability tends to take his participation seriously, and to enter into all activities with determination to derive from them everything he possibly can. A partial grant serves the interests of the institutional sponsor as well though he will not necessarily acknowledge the fact when applying for the grant. With a partial grant, he is likely to be zealous in holding down his costs, and aggressive in seeking other sources of support; but just as important, he has a built-in guarantee of his integrity as a private, independent enterprise cooperating with, but not dominated by, a public agency.

These points, rather rapidly made, represent our initial contribution to your thinking on this constructive and significant piece of legislation. We hope they will prove useful. Beyond that, we offer you assurance of our continued interest in, and support of, the bill as it progresses, and of our willingness to comment further and at greater length, should such testimony and analysis be helpful to you in your deliberations.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Our next witness is Mr. James Fowler, president of the United States Youth Council.

Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. FOWLER. Yes, I do, Senator. I gave it to your aide.

Senator YARBOROUGH. You have it here. Present it in your own way, and I will follow it.

**STATEMENT OF JAMES D. FOWLER, PRESIDENT, U.S. YOUTH  
COUNCIL, NEW YORK, N.Y.**

Mr. FOWLER. Fine, sir.

Mr. Chairman, my name is James D. Fowler, president of the United States Youth Council, which is a coordinating body of over 30 national youth and student organizations. Internationally, the Council is the United States affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth (WAY), an international grouping of national youth organizations from over 60 countries.

Although the council has been in existence for 20 years until 1962 it was known as the Young Adult Council—the significant international program activities of the organization started only in 1962. There are many explanations for this; but, most important, one must consider the tone of the times. In 1962 the real “in” type thing among young people in this country was to become involved in helping other people through volunteer or full-time activity. This can best be seen in a structure like the Peace Corps, which has become in a short time such a accepted structure in our society that it is now considered almost “establishment.”

I might further add, Senator, that one of the interesting things I think that still exists in the youth milieu in this country, that there is a continued commitment to volunteer activity, and I hope this will continue, I hope that it will.

Since 1962 the types of international programs which have been developed by the youth and student milieu of this country are extremely impressive. In many ways, the programs which in the recent past and are now, currently, being run by young people in this country are as good in content and often times better than the programs which are being run by the old line established nongovernmental type organizations. And yet, these old line nongovernmental organizations are the ones which have least difficulty in funding their same tired programs.

I think, in the interest of time, Senator, I go into and I am talking about three types of international involvement. I talk about the delegation, I talk about the seminar format, and I talk about leadership training, and I think, in the interest of time, I will skip that since you do have a copy, and I will go and talk about specifically what we have done in the last 2 years.

In the past 2½ years that I have been associated with the U.S. Youth Council, we have organized three delegations (India, Singapore, Japan representation at the 1966 general assembly of WAY), held numerous seminars on an equally numerous range of topics and conducted three in-depth leadership training programs for Guyana, Singapore, and Sudan. During that same period of time we have also hosted for different periods of time on the average of two to three groups of foreign youth and student leaders a month, who pass through New York City. This kind of activity is exemplified by our hosting of a recent delegation of young British politicians, all of them under 35 years of age, who were visiting this country under the sponsorship of the American Council of Young Political Leaders. Also, we are currently planning a 4-day program for a group of youth leaders from Somalia who are here on a training program sponsored by the Agency for International Development.

Even with all this activity, the Youth Council still has a continual program in raising the necessary funds to conduct programs which almost everyone consider to be useful and important. The standard comment that we hear from foundations is that our program is admirable but they have already exceeded their authorized donation level or that our program does come within the narrow confines of what they define as the essential criteria for making grants.

In a recent fundraising drive, the Youth Council actively solicited support from corporations and foundations. Out of the 60 institutions contacted, we were able to eventually receive grants from only two. However, these grants together were not sufficient to pay the annual costs of running the U.S. Youth Council. It has become rather apparent to us that if the U.S. Youth Council wants to continue sponsoring international programs, we will have to receive funding from a structure other than the regular, established foundation and corporate institutions. The logical source, of course, is the Government.

It is my opinion that the kind of Foundation which is suggested by Senate bill 1779 could make a tremendous contribution to the whole field of international youth and student activity, not to mention the whole broad field of international education, health, and labor. The value of such an institution is that it can help youth organizations sponsor useful international programs which before have always had serious funding problems.

Another value of such a Foundation is the fact that it would represent continuity in a field which has always had a very high level of turnover due to the nature of the work. Although a regular fresh input is good, oftentimes organizations have problems picking up the slack when they lose key people. The Foundation, however, could serve as a repository of continuity which could be utilized to shore up any serious gaps which might occur in youth organization's programs.

My only recommendation to this committee is that every effort should be made to have qualified, relevant young people serve as members of the International Health, Education, and Labor Council of your proposed Foundation. I realize that you have written such representation into your bill, but sometimes such high sounding words as "eminent in the field of youth activity" and "selected solely on the basis of established records of distinguished service" can bring stiffness to a structure which should be fresh, alive, and innovative.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Are you going to be innovative so as to crawl in the windows and wreck the offices of the president of the university?

Mr. FOWLER. Pardon?

Senator YARBOROUGH. You would not want to be innovative by crawling through the windows and wrecking the offices of the president of the university.

Mr. FOWLER. You would be surprised, Senator, these type of people oftentimes have more success, related to the people in Germany who are doing the same thing, and it is very, very important, I think, to have the ability to communicate with these young people. I would say probably they have a better chance than you and I in talking to the followers of Red Rudi in Germany at this time, and I think it is important—these people are important for us to talk to.

But, all kidding aside, I do not think we would storm the Bastille in this way. There are other ways to do it.

But I do thank you for inviting me to express our opinions, and if the U.S. Youth Council can be of any further assistance to you in an advisory capacity, we would be very happy to do so.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Fowler follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES D. FOWLER, PRESIDENT, U.S. YOUTH COUNCIL, NEW YORK, N.Y.

My name is James D. Fowler, President of the United States Youth Council, which is a coordinating body of over thirty national youth and student organizations. Internationally, the Council is the United States affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth (WAY), an international grouping of national youth organizations from over 60 countries.

Although the Council has been in existence for twenty years (until 1962 it was known as the Young Adult Council), the significant international program activities of the organization started only in 1962. There are many explanations for this; but, most important, one must consider the tone of the times. In 1962 the real "in" type thing among young people in this country was to become involved in helping other people through volunteer or full-time activity. This can best be seen in a structure like the Peace Corps, which has become in a short time such an accepted structure in our society that it is now considered almost "establishment".

Since 1962 the types of international programs which have been developed by the youth and student milieu of this country are extremely impressive. In many ways, the programs which in the recent past and are now, currently, being run by young people in this country are as good in content and often times better than the programs which are being run by the old line established non-governmental type organizations. And yet, these old line NGO organizations are the ones which have least difficulty in funding their same tired programs.

The basic form of international involvement by most youth organizations is the delegation. Since 1962, however, we have seen the very nature and reasons for this structure change so that now it has a much more meaningful role. For the most part, delegations in the past were of the fraternal nature. This essentially meant that groups of young people would visit one or more countries for the purpose of meeting counterpart organization members and for seeing the sights of that particular country. If they were lucky, there might also be some substantive program activity during the trip, but often times this was not the case. Upon return home, some correspondence might follow between host and visitor, but for the most part, the whole thing would be counted as an experience. Now, however, the idea of a delegation is different. Young people are demanding that this type of international activity have a well-drawn program with meaningful goals. They also want allowance for built-in components which enable substantive follow-through. In this way, participants feel more of a responsibility to somehow implement their experience.

The seminar structure is another format which has been around for a long period of time and in that time has achieved equal success with equal failure. Essentially, this type of activity is built around a central theme. Participants are chosen, based on the nature of the theme and where it is being held.

In many ways, this kind of structure can be used most effectively if properly organized. The seminar format allows the organizer maximum flexibility to conduct a program on a subject which is of some interest to those in attendance. This kind of program is also useful because it allows for good follow-through. You have a better idea what the interests of your participants are and of what help they can be following up.

The third kind of activity which is carried on by several youth groups is the leadership training format. In this type of activity the sponsoring organization assembles a program which is designed to provide the participants with some useful information which will enable them to become a more effective leader. There are many variations of this kind of program which depend mostly on the sophistication and expertise which already exists in the group. One of the real successful components of this kind of training, however, is utilization of group dynamic specialists (T-group methods, role playing, etc.). In this way you can

transfer lectures and discussions into meaningful experience in such a way that you can critique the results during the actual course of the program.

In the past two and one half years that I have been associated with the U.S. Youth Council, we have organized three delegations (India, Singapore, Japan-representation at the 1966 General Assembly of WAY), held numerous seminars on an equally numerous range of topics and conducted three in-depth leadership training programs for Guyana, Singapore, and the Sudan. During that same period of time we have also hosted for different periods of time on the average of two to three groups of foreign youth and student leaders a month, who pass through New York City. This kind of activity is exemplified by our hosting of a recent delegation of young British Politicians who were visiting this country under the sponsorship of the American Council of Young Political Leaders. Also, we are currently planning a four day program for a group of youth leaders from Somalia who are here on a training program sponsored by the Agency for International Development.

Even with all this activity, the Youth Council still has a continual problem in raising the necessary funds to conduct programs which almost everyone consider to be useful and important. The standard comment that we hear from foundations is that our program is admirable but they have already exceeded their authorized donation level or that our program does come within the narrow confines of what they define as the essential criteria for making grants.

In a recent fund-raising drive, the Youth Council actively solicited support from corporations and foundations. Out of the sixty institutions contacted, we were able to eventually receive grants from only two. However, these grants together were not sufficient to pay the annual costs of running the U.S. Youth Council.

It has become rather apparent to us that if the United States Youth Council wants to continue sponsoring international programs, we will have to receive funding from a structure other than the regular, established foundation and corporate institutions. The logical source, of course, is the Government.

It is my opinion that the kind of Foundation which is suggested by Senate Bill 1779 could make a tremendous contribution to the whole field of international youth and student activity, not to mention the whole broad field of international education, health, and labor. The value of such an institution is that it can help youth organizations sponsor useful international program which before have always had serious funding problems.

Another value of such a Foundation is the fact that it would represent continuity in a field which has always had a very high level of turnover due to the nature of the work. Although a regular fresh input is good, often times organizations have problem in picking up the slack when they lose key people. The Foundation, however, could serve as a repository of continuity which could be utilized so shore up any serious gaps which might occur in youth organization's programs.

My only recommendation to this committee is that every effort should be made to have qualified, relevant young people serve as members of the International Health, Education, and Labor Council of your proposed Foundation. I realize that you have written such representation into your bill, but sometimes such high sounding words as "eminent in the field of youth activity" and "selected solely on the basis of established records of distinguished service" can bring stiffness to a structure which should be fresh, alive, and innovative.

I would like to thank you for inviting me to express my opinions on your proposal. If the United States Youth Council can be of any further assistance to you on your proposed bill, we will be most happy to cooperate with you in any way possible. Please call upon us at your convenience.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you very much for your statement. It is a very frank and beneficial statement. You have a very unusual prepared statement where you say that the seminar structure at times has achieved equal success and equal failure. It is very rare that a witness comes before our committee and admits he has failed part of the time.

Mr. FOWLER. That depends on the expertise you have and ability. But oftentimes if you do not have enough funding to get qualified people to pull these programs together—

Senator YARBOROUGH. I was not talking about the fact that one failed, but as to the stunning fact to me that somebody would come in and admit they had failed.

Mr. FOWLER. I have been through them.

Senator YARBOROUGH. We all have successes and failures, and I think it strengthens your statement when you admit that. I appreciate your candor.

Mr. FOWLER. Thank you, sir.

Senator YARBOROUGH. Thank you very much. Thank you for coming down here to testify.

Mr. FOWLER. It is my pleasure.

Senator YARBOROUGH. We expected you yesterday, but we understood you could not make it in the fog. I was in New York City and I can well understand why. I was there during the rain and fog at La Guardia.

Mr. FOWLER. Thank you.

Senator YARBOROUGH. The hearing is adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

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