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ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE
ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS: LEGISLA-
TIVE HISTORY AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SUB-
COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER,
AND POVERTY

PREPARED BY THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER,
AND POVERTY
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC
WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE



SEPTEMBER 1968

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(II)

CONTENTS

	Page
Legislation and legislative history:	
1. Members of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs_	iv
2. Text of Senate Resolution 281, as passed by the Senate.....	1
3. Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on Senate Resolution 281 (S. Rept. 1416).....	5
4. Transcript of floor debate on Senate Resolution 281, July 30, 1968..	17
5. Citation of hearings before the subcommittee on Senate Resolution 281.....	25
6. Remarks of Senator George McGovern and other Senators on the introduction of Senate Resolution 281, April 22, 1968.....	27

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SECOND SESSION

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Philip A. Hart
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S. RES. 281

[Report No. 1416]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 26, 1968

Mr. MCGOVERN (for himself, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. BROOKE, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. CASE, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. CLARK, Mr. FONG, Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. HART, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. INOUE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. NELSON, Mr. PELL, Mr. PERCY, Mr. PROUTY, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. YARBOROUGH, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

JULY 17, 1968

Reported by Mr. CLARK, with amendments

JULY 30, 1968

Considered, amended, and agreed to; preamble agreed to

RESOLUTION

Whereas it has been demonstrated that every American does not have the food, medical assistance, and other related necessities essential to life and health; and

Whereas surveys conducted by Government agencies and responsible groups of citizens show that, in spite of America's abundance of food, fiber, and other resources, our Federal food programs fail to reach many of the citizens lacking adequate quantities and/or quality of food, which may result in the lifetime impairment of children mentally and physi-

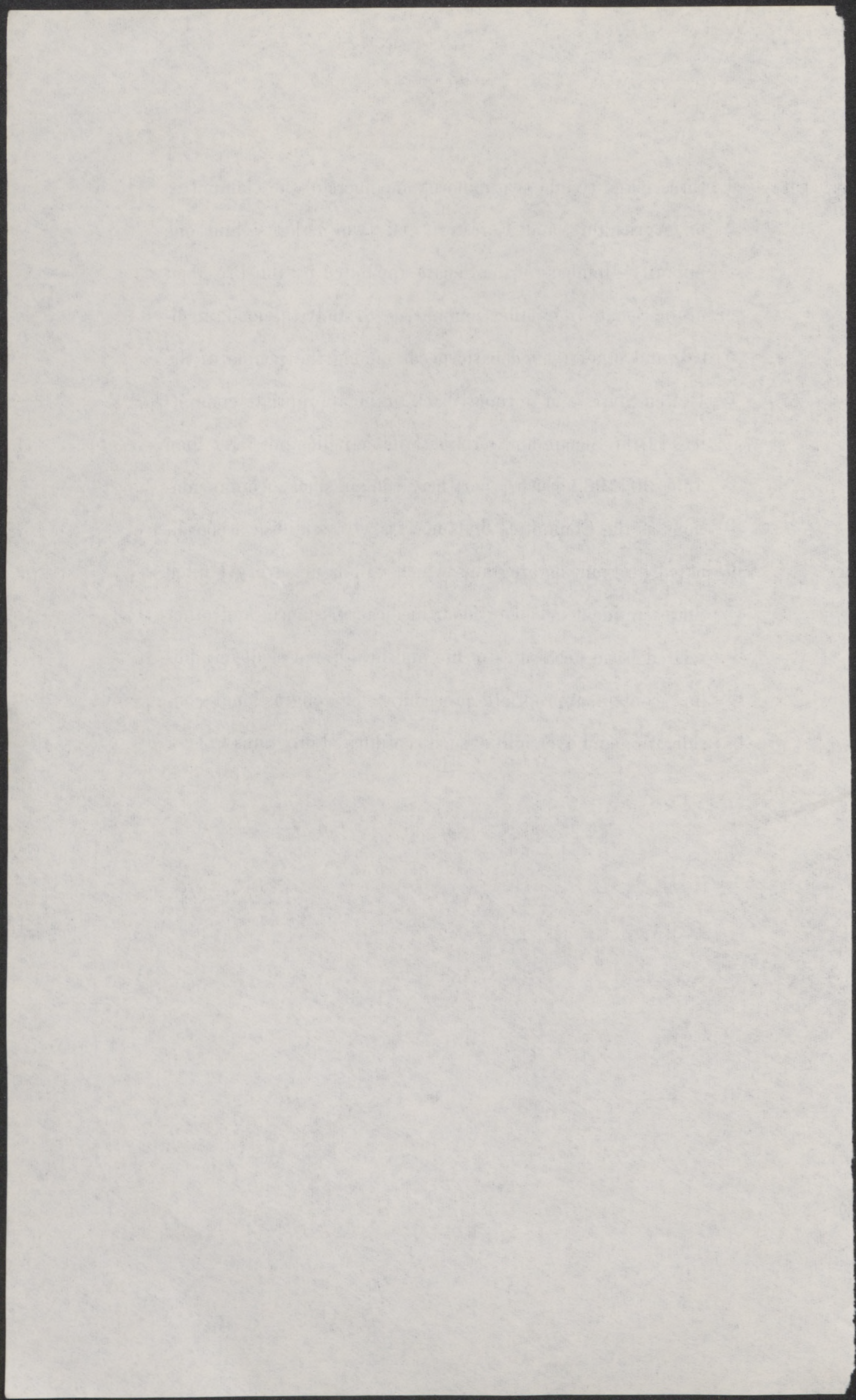
cally, and in unnecessary disease, suffering, and premature deaths among both young and adults; and

Whereas restricted use of programs authorized by Congress, reversion of funds, divisions of responsibility and authority within Congress and administrative agencies, unwise regulations and other obstacles impede and frustrate efforts to banish starvation and want for necessities among desperately disadvantaged poor within our Nation: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That the President, the Department of Health,
2 Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity,
3 the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Indian Affairs,
4 and any and all other agencies with applicable authorities
5 shall use to the fullest possible their authorities under the
6 following existing laws, the Elementary and Secondary Edu-
7 cation Act, the Johnson-O'Malley Act, section 32 of the
8 Agricultural Act of 1935, the Agricultural Act of 1949,
9 Emergency Food and Medical Services Amendment to the
10 Economic Opportunity Act, the Food Stamp Act of 1964,
11 the National School Lunch Act of 1946, and all other author-
12 ities for child aid, medical assistance, and relief programs,
13 to meet immediately the food, medical, and other related
14 basic needs of the Nation's poor to the fullest extent possible;
15 and be it further

16 *Resolved*, That there is established a select committee of
17 the Senate composed of three majority and two minority
18 members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,

1 three majority and two minority members of the Committee
2 on Agriculture and Forestry, and two majority and one
3 minority Members of the Senate appointed by the President
4 of the Senate from other committees, to study the food, medi-
5 cal, and other related basic needs among the people of the
6 United States and to report back to the appropriate commit-
7 tees of the Senate and terminate its activities not later than
8 June 30, 1969. Such report may contain such recommenda-
9 tions as the Committee finds necessary to establish a coordi-
10 nated program or programs which will assure every United
11 States resident adequate food, medical assistance, and other
12 related basic necessities of life and health and shall in addi-
13 tion contain appropriate procedures for congressional con-
14 sideration and oversight of such coordinated programs.



Calendar No. 1394

90TH CONGRESS }
2d Session

SENATE }

REPORT
No. 1416ESTABLISHING A SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION
AND HUMAN NEEDS

 JULY 17, 1968.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. CLARK, from the Committee on Labor and Public
Welfare, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. Res. 281]

The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 281) to establish a Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with amendments and recommends that the resolution as amended do pass.

EXPLANATION OF THE RESOLUTION

The resolution recites, first, that every American does not have the food, medical assistance and other related necessities essential to life and health; second, that Federal food programs fail to reach many of those in need, which may result in the mental and physical impairment of deprived children and in suffering and premature death among both young and adults; and third, that restricted use of programs authorized by Congress, reversion of funds, divisions of responsibility and authority within Congress and administrative agencies, unwise regulations and other obstacles impede and frustrate efforts to eliminate starvation and want among the disadvantaged poor in the United States.

The resolution contains two action provisions. First, it directs the President, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and all other agencies with applicable authorities, to use to the fullest extent their authorities under existing legislation and programs to meet immediately the food, medical, and other related basic needs of the Nation's poor to the fullest extent possible.

Second, it provides for the establishment of a select committee of the Senate to study the food, medical, and other related needs among the people of the United States. The select committee is directed to report back to the Senate not later than the opening of the 91st Congress legislation necessary to establish a coordinated program or programs which will assure every U.S. resident adequate food, medical assistance, and other related basic necessities of life and health. Its membership is to be composed of three majority and two minority members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, three majority and two minority members of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and two majority and one minority Member of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate from other committees. The select committee will cease to exist upon the making of its report.

PURPOSE OF THE RESOLUTION

One year ago the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare conducted two days of hearings in response to a growing body of evidence that hunger and severe malnutrition existed in certain parts of the United States. Those hearings documented that hunger did in fact exist, although the geographical focus of the problem was blurred when one looked beyond the delta area of Mississippi. Testimony submitted by Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman and Surgeon General William H. Stewart revealed that the Federal Government was not thoroughly involved in the alleviation of these problems. It was found that knowledge of the extent and location of hunger and malnutrition in the United States is almost nonexistent. The Surgeon General, for example, testified that the Federal Government did not know the extent of hunger or malnutrition anywhere in the United States.

S. 2138 emanated from those hearings and became the impetus for the emergency food and medical services amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act; it also stimulated the nationwide survey of hunger and malnutrition which was written into Section 14 of the Partnership for Health Amendments.

In the spring of 1968 it became obvious that major private studies were about to be reported and published which would indicate that hunger was a much more widespread phenomenon than previously had been believed. Recognizing the need for congressional response to such a national condition, 39 Senators of both parties cosponsored Senate Resolution 281, introduced by Senator George McGovern, calling for the executive branch to increase its attention to hunger in the United States and calling for the establishment of a select committee of the Senate to report back to the Senate not later than the opening of the 91st Congress the "legislation necessary to establish a coordinated program or programs which will assure every U.S. resident adequate food, medical assistance, and other related basic necessities of life and health." The resolution further provided that "the select committee shall recommend to the Senate appropriate procedures for congressional consideration and oversight of such coordinated programs." Senate Resolution 281 was heard by the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty on May 23, May 29, June 12, June 14, and June 21.

BACKGROUND OF THE RESOLUTION

Prior to these hearings, the Citizens' Board of Inquiry Into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States had published a document entitled "Hunger USA." The Committee on School Lunch Participation had published a booklet entitled "Their Daily Bread." The Columbia Broadcasting System had decided to air a documentary entitled "Hunger in America." These three endeavors suggested to the subcommittee that (a) hunger and malnutrition are widespread in America, (b) chronic hunger primarily is to be found in poverty areas, (c) chronic hunger and medical problems related thereto are, in proportion to population, most acute in the Southeast and Southwest, although some Indian reservations and every major city of the country probably have either a high proportion or large numbers who need assistance, and there is sufficient chronic hunger and malnutrition in every State to warrant attention, (d) malnutrition is generally overlooked by medical and health personnel as they observe more familiar ailments, (e) chronic hunger and malnutrition among the poor are not a focus of specific interest among those in private industry, (f) administrative problems and shared responsibilities at the Federal State, and county level impair programs not specifically designed to feed the poor, (g) chronic hunger among the poor stems from political, economic, bureaucratic, and racial decisions rather than from any national lack of food.

These assertions provoked a wide variety of responses among health, food, farm, and political leaders. Many statements of denial and refutation were offered.

Forty-three witnesses were invited to testify or submit testimony. They included representatives from the following categories (some witnesses fall into more than one category and are so listed) :

Medical and nutritional authorities.....	8
Educators, teachers, and school administrators.....	12
Nationally known private citizens.....	4
The hungry poor.....	15
Welfare officials	1
	<hr/>
Government officials	6
	<hr/>
USDA	2
OEO	2
HEW	1
Civil Rights Commission.....	1
	<hr/>
Elected public officials.....	1
Private food sector.....	1
Other interested citizens.....	1

COMMITTEE FINDINGS

The committee is convinced after hearing from these witnesses that chronic hunger and malnutrition do exist extensively in the United States. In some areas and among some people it is an all too familiar way of life. Many of those who are chronically hungry seem also to want for essential clothing, shoes, soaps, medical care, and education. There is an identifiable geographical nature to some of the pockets of hunger; there are some identifiable dietary deficiencies among low economic groups in some of these areas. The majority of those who are

chronically hungry in the United States come from low-income families with the incidence increasing as income level declines. They may receive public assistance but in such small measure as to receive little real freedom from want. They exist in many of the poverty stricken counties, which may account for the paucity of social services made available to them. Over 20 million of the Nation's 27 million poor are under 16, over 60, or crippled physically or mentally. At the same time only six million persons—poor and near poor—participate in family food programs.

The committee also found that, if remedial action is to be taken, it must jointly stem from the Congress and from the administration, for many of the problems identified require a wholly new attitude and approach by those who seek to eliminate chronic hunger in America. If chronic hunger is to be eliminated, minimum Federal standards of food program performance must be established at the State and county level. Any such standards must endorse imaginative outreach. Any such standards must have as their primary goal the feeding of the poor, and not be diverted by other preoccupations.

THE TESTIMONY

The committee finds that the testimony of the poverty witnesses describes well the recipients' perspective of the family food programs:

Mrs. SIMMONS. * * * I am a mother of two children. I have a little boy at home. He had an operation. He is blind and is paralyzed * * * I am on welfare. I get \$96 a month. I have to pay \$60 for rent; \$7 for the insurance * * * I was (on commodities) and I had to stop. I didn't have the money to pay people to take me out there to get it * * * I have to pay \$7 for insurance and then with the rest I have to buy groceries and some clothes for my kids.

Mrs. BLACKHORSE. * * * My friends are two old ladies that are a little better. They come over and give me gas money. Then I take them to shopping; they buy me food. That is what I lived on three months until now * * * The VA was helping my husband, \$78. That is what we lived on * * * But I am starved.

Mrs. KRUGER. I was in Honduras in Central America for three years. Honduras is considered the most backward country in Central America; yet I saw few people starving. I am shocked at the poverty and starvation that exists in the great State of Texas.

This mother came out with her baby in her arms and handed that baby to me and said, "Here, you take this baby home because I have nothing to feed him. He is dying of starvation. I do not want him to die in my home."

Mrs. MARTINEZ. * * * [Re food stamp purchases] I have to buy \$94 a month of stamps, and they give me \$140 * * * But this leaves me with no detergents and things that I need to keep my home clean. I am poor but I do like to get down on my knees and live the clean way.

Mrs. WILLIE HARDY. The food stamps, themselves, are not adequate for this mother to buy food, no toothpaste, no deodorant, no soap, this kind of thing.

However, over three-fourths of the poor are not on family food programs. In South Carolina 98 percent of the poor are not participating. In Virginia, 97 percent of the poor are not participating. In Arkansas, according to the State welfare director, "a little over one-sixth of the welfare cases * * * are participating in the food stamp program."

The committee heard that "the National School Lunch program is failing to provide lunches for at least two out of three needy children in this country." It heard that "in Cleveland no elementary schools are in the school lunch program; in Detroit 78 slum schools are excluded for lack of facilities; in Philadelphia no slum schools are included out of the only 44 elementary schools in the program; in Minneapolis only nine elementary schools out of a total of 71 participate in the school lunch program."

We heard that "in Seattle, for example, there is a rule that no child who is on welfare may participate because presumably the welfare budget covers the school lunch."

We heard, "Frequently, children who cannot afford to buy lunch and who bring nothing from home are forced to sit in the lunchroom and watch their classmates eat."

Mrs. Florence Robin, director of the Committee on School Lunch Participation, whose backing came from the National Council of Catholic Women, National Council of Negro Women, National Council of Jewish Women, Church Women United, and National Board of the YWCA, described how some schools rotate free lunches among the poor. "* * * frequently children who were scheduled to eat on Tuesday, for example, would skip Monday night supper and Tuesday morning breakfast so that a younger brother or sister could eat, in anticipation of the coming meal. Then, when the schedule was changed, or there was a mixup or the child had made a mistake about his day to eat, he would become ill or cry, or sit for the rest of the afternoon with his head down on his desk."

But one Mobile elementary school principal was quoted: "We choose the children for free lunches at the beginning of the year. There is no rotation of free lunches. If you have to go hungry, you might as well get used to it."

Medical experts testified to the physical and mental implications of hunger. Dr. Joseph English, of OEO, pointed out that five percent of the population is born mentally retarded, but that by the time that age group has reached 12, 11 percent are retarded. He mentioned that 75 percent of the mental retardation in this country comes from poor urban and rural areas "and when you consider the role that malnutrition can play in the incidence of mental retardation environmentally produced, then I think you can see how serious the problem is."

Two other doctors raised other points, both of which have awesome implications. We quote Drs. John Churchill of the National Institute of Health and Joshua Lederberg of Stanford.

Dr. CHURCHILL. The picture emerging from studies of nutritional deficiency in the young child in respect to growth

and intelligence is in general agreement with the findings reported here in prenatal effects. However, since the brain is forming most rapidly prior to birth, shortages of critical nutrients occurring before birth might well be expected to cause greater impairment of cerebral function than shortages occurring after birth.

One must consider the possibility that efforts to prevent effects of malnutrition in the young child, although helpful, might come too late to offset deficits incurred prior to birth. The pregnant woman thus becomes the primary object for attention.

Dr. LEDERBERG. * * * we have just discovered that it is only a minority of the world's population that, as adults, is able to digest milk sugar, the lactose that is present in milk cows, human milk, and so forth * * *

It (turns out) that nonwhite populations throughout the world show a very high frequency of adult lactose intolerance.

* * * the use of dried milk as a prized and highly praised nutrient supplement suffers in its utility if it is also associated with lactose that can give people diarrhea.

Dr. Lederberg's comments are particularly noteworthy when one realizes that dry milk constitutes the primary source of proteins for those on the commodity program.

Secretary Freeman and his staff have testified three times in the past month before various congressional committees on the subject of hunger; they appeared before this committee on June 14. Several of their statements during this period help reveal why the Nation's food programs need improvement.

Since I testified here a year ago, the number of persons reached with the food assistance programs operated by the Department has increased by nearly a fourth, the programs themselves have undergone further improvement and the serious study of the complex problem of hunger and malnutrition in the country has begun at last.

I should point out here that this record would be even more impressive if the Department had more flexibility to shift section 32 funds among the family food program accounts * * * Because of this, we have delayed the opening of some 166 projects which were scheduled to begin in May and June of this year, and we have been unable to begin the program in 68 of the 331 target counties—those which have already affirmed their willingness to begin a stamp program.

* * * the programs we operate today reflect seven years of creative cooperation, of toiling in a rocky soil of public indifference, watered with often casual interest of the Congress, State legislatures and local units of government.

* * * we estimate that at least two million and possibly four million other equally deserving children are not (participating in the national school lunch program) * * * the passage of the Javits amendment would permit the use of section 32 funds for child nutrition purposes but not for food stamps.

Until we develop the kind of program which deals with

poverty as a whole, we will need to continue to attack the individual problems which grow out of poverty—such as hunger and malnutrition.

I am convinced that the best single-purpose tool to combat these twin menaces of inadequate diets is the food stamps program. I, more than anyone else, recognize there is room for improvement. If we are to effectively reach poor families in their homes, it will require a food stamp program which operates in every county and independent city in the country; has eligibility standards that encompass all financially needy families; is accessible to all eligible families—with States and localities giving prompt and prudent certification services and locations readily accessible to those who purchase coupons; makes available to each participating family sufficient total food stamps to provide an adequate family diet—with the family investment related to its basic ability to buy food.

This is the food program we need to operate and fund. There is no other approach now available which gives the promise of eliminating hunger and severe malnutrition.

We cannot develop, fund, or place into nationwide operation this food stamp goal this fiscal year, or even in the coming fiscal year. But we must continue the momentum we have built up.

I urged the House Agriculture Committee earlier this week to support authorization legislation which would place no specific monetary limitation on the program. Sufficient authorization is necessary so the executive branch of the Government and the Congress can have adequate authority to make the wisest decision in the appropriations process.

* * * [The food stamp] law does require that the State and local authorities take full responsibility and finance the sale of the coupons, rather than the Federal Government, or any of its branches.

More needs to be done; the problem of hunger—at times, for some poor families—and of malnutrition for larger numbers of poor families for longer periods of time are a present day fact.

THE IMPACT OF SHARED RESPONSIBILITY—EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The committee heard from witnesses who emphasized those programs which the public conceives of as being developed to feed the poorest of the poor were, in fact, originated for other purposes. From public records it was pointed out that the special milk program was developed to provide an outlet for milk production in excess of commercial market requirements. It was noted that the direct distribution program was developed to divert surplus agricultural production from normal markets and thereby strengthen farm income.

Witnesses declared that the Federal Government has not approached the problem of meeting basic human needs for food and other necessities of life from the standpoint of human welfare; that our food programs for the poor are byproducts of farm policy. The direct

distribution program, according to the testimony, is in the process of being replaced by the food stamp program.

The food stamp plan, witnesses stated, was created for those with incomes but it was also asserted that the formula for the food stamp program leaves sizable doubt that it was designed to provide a month's food supply for families whose incomes are under \$2,000 per year. While much attention has been paid to families with zero income, and while 50 cents per person seems to be a bargain for feeding a person for a month, testimony brought out that zero-income families often have to rely on charity to gain that 50-cent entry into the food stamp program and even then usually run out of food during the third week of the month. Families with incomes from \$500 to \$2,000 per year seemed to be adversely affected by the food stamp formulas, both as to percentage of income required to be allocated to the food budget (37-50 percent) and to volume of food that was purchasable under the monthly budget. Repeated reference was made to the unrealistic assumption that a family living at these destitute levels could save a sufficient proportion of their income for a once-per-month food stamp purchase. In comparison, middle-class families spend about 18 to 20 percent of their budgets on food.

The committee heard from witnesses who contended that while the national school lunch program helps feed 18 million children, only two million poor children get substantially free lunches under this program. Secretary Freeman admitted that another two-four million poor children should get this assistance. The absence of school lunch programs in many of the Nation's slum schools was particularly deplored. The school breakfast program did seem to serve the poor as is the public impression, although the number of breakfasts served in comparison to indicated need was small.

As the committee sought to discover why these programs did not reach more of the poor, particularly in areas where hunger seemed to be a way of life, the shared responsibility among governmental agencies seems to cause much of the problem. The Department of Agriculture has primary control over the size of the programs, drafting most of the regulations and guidelines. However, at State and county levels, the general welfare policies of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare seem to take the dominant role. In addition, the Federal-State relationship, which has necessitated a sharing of responsibility in the past, in the case of food programs, seems to extend into a Federal-State-county relationship.

At the local level, county elected officials and county welfare agencies seem to have the power of crippling or expanding the Nation's food programs with no regard for any national standards of minimum performance. As a result, the poor of one county may have access to a commodity or food stamp program while the poor of the adjoining county have none. In some counties, the customary welfare screening devices dominate admission to a food stamp or commodity program, while in other counties the welfare rules seem to go out the window. In many cases the erratic performance of a food program is blamed by the Department of Agriculture on welfare workers, who allegedly "do not believe in this program." In some cases welfare children cannot get free school lunches; in other cases they are automatically admitted to the lunch program on a free basis.

While the Secretary of Agriculture noted that the "new commodity package" will soon contain 16 ingredients weighing 35.5 pounds, he also admitted that the direct distribution program was considered inferior to the food stamp program and was being subordinated to that program. Testimony showed that the direct distribution program was, in fact, being phased out where communities accepted the food stamp program. But testimony also proved that a large number of counties had neither program, and that there was a noticeable drop in participation by the poor when a county switched from commodities to food stamps because of a lack of income to buy stamps. There was general agreement that approximately six million persons participate in food programs; there was general agreement that the number of poor in the country approximates 27 million persons. There was some testimony to show that the six million may include some on food stamps who have incomes above \$3,000.

A detailed picture of the situation in a typical county is drawn from these facts on Pulaski County, Ark. State Welfare Director Blaylock supplied the welfare and food program figures:

Number of poor.....	70, 000+
Number on public assistance:	
Aid to aged.....	9,100
Aid to blind.....	900
Aid to dependent children.....	5,200
Aid to permanently and totally disabled.....	4,000
Number on public assistance who received food stamps.....	3,200
Number on food stamps who do not receive public assistance.....	1,516

In the State as a whole, a family of four can participate in the food stamp program if the family has an income of less than \$460 per month; in the commodity program if the family has an income of less than \$190 per month; in the welfare program if the family has an income of less than \$174 per month. (Welfare payments average \$56 per month per family case, when it is finally granted. A maximum of \$85 per month per case is permitted.)

This example revealed to the committee how interrelated are the problems of low welfare payments, the food programs, and chronic hunger. Those on welfare still may end up hungry even though participating in a food program. Those on welfare may not be able to afford entry into the food stamp program. Those not on welfare who are poor seem to find it particularly difficult to qualify for food stamp assistance.

The committee heard substantiating testimony that those suffering from a shortage of food may very well be troubled also by serious medical problems, a lack of clothing, particularly shoes, and lack of personal hygiene items, including soap and detergents. These are the first evidences of welfare inadequacies which show up in hungry homes, and it is the intention of this committee that the select committee shall give consideration to these related basic necessities.

The subordination of human need to agricultural policies, as a consequence of our failure to approach that need from the human welfare standpoint, was visible to this committee. There seems to be no unit of Government whose function is to assure food for the poor. It has not been recognized as a public welfare function. In fact, there seems to be a very tight purse string on the funds to feed the poor. Section 32 of Public Law 320 (an appropriation measure in an agricultural

authorization bill) has not been used in behalf of the poor except as agricultural problems caused its use to divert surplus commodities. We question why the administration of the Food Stamp Act, if it is to be considered as a welfare program, is considered by committees concerned with the well-being of an industry rather than human welfare.

THE SHARED RESPONSIBILITY—CONGRESSIONAL BRANCH

Several of the witnesses pleaded that this committee should take the responsibility for assuring food for the poor. The witnesses pointed to public testimony which, they said, suggested that other committees involved have primary responsibility for farmers rather than the hungry poor.

Testimony also underlined the near impossibility of establishing a clearcut authority in the Congress for one committee with knowledge of the poor to hear the food needs of the poor. There are health aspects to malnutrition. There are educational aspects to poor nutrition knowledge. There are welfare aspects to a dollar-short food budget. There are school problems involved in teaching hungry children.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur J. Cohen summed up the problem:

These existing Federal and Federal-State programs to feed the hungry and improve nutrition have stemmed from various sources. Some arose as agriculture programs, some as welfare programs, some as innovations to fight poverty. Each of these had independent policies and separate responsibilities and this separation and independence existed in both the executive and the legislative branches. Under these circumstances it is difficult to shape consistent goals or coordinate programs.

Between the House and the Senate such categories as these require hearings before five committees, not counting the appropriation process. Since there never has been declared a national hunger policy, those who attempt to clarify the rules and regulations through congressional action face a seemingly insurmountable task.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION

Senate Resolution 281 calls upon the executive branch to immediately meet the food, medical, and related basic needs of the Nation's poor to the fullest extent. Testimony demonstrated that the executive branch, were it to use its existing powers in an imaginative manner, could accomplish much of this goal. Since restraints are inferred from past congressional actions and testimony, it is now up to the House and the Senate to clarify the determination of this country to eliminate widespread and chronic hunger and malnutrition. But to accomplish that goal, we must evaluate our own attitudes toward providing food and basic necessities to the poor.

A shortage of food in our society is indefensible, but so, too, is the situation of a child—just marginally fed and probably only marginally well—who cannot obtain the shoes with which to go to school, or the soap with which to appear clean in public. We have the resources to meet the basic needs of the poorest of our poor, and we do not wish

the select committee to study hunger in a manner unrelated to a destitute way of life. We propose that the select committee consider this as it reviews the problems of hunger in our country.

It should be the particular province of the select committee to review the legislative process, and the experience and interests of various committees which might claim an interest in the health, education, welfare, as well as food aspects of hunger. The responsibility for food and medical assistance programs should be assigned to committees where the needs can most quickly be met, and where the comprehension of the problems involved best can be understood. Such a review should cooperate with any similar endeavors in the House of Representatives, for it will do no good to remedy the problem in one branch of Congress while ignoring the other.

It should be the province of the select committee to review the best means by which the private sector, with its intricate processing and distribution system, and its knowledge of innovations in food and nutrition, can be used to eliminate chronic hunger and malnutrition in our country. Testimony discloses that little of the food technology available today is being imaginatively implemented to help the hungry poor.

It should be the province of the select committee to study the means by which this food-rich Nation can bring within the reach of every person, rich or poor, rural or urban, black or white, an adequate supply of nutritious food on a dependable basis throughout 12 months of the year. Such a goal should recognize the various food needs of an infant, a pregnant mother, or an aged solitary person. Those that fear that such food availability runs counter to the Puritan ethic might well heed the words of Mr. Roy Alverson, State superintendent of the Alabama school lunch program, whose testimony was related to us by one of our witnesses:

Mr. Chairman, you can't teach a hungry child. You can't teach a hungry child the right way. A hungry child can learn, but he learns the wrong things. He learns that the world is against him, that he is hungry, and finally, he will turn out to be a dropout and go out and commit crimes and things like that, and if you feed him, then you can teach him, and when you teach him, you can make a citizen out of him.

It should be the commitment of this select committee to assess the position of county and State welfare personnel and regulations in order that the present confused screening and certification devices may be clarified, simplified, and standardized. Particular attention should be paid to the needs of low-income families, and to transient, migrants, infants, the aged, and pregnant mothers.

The select committee should also cooperate fully with any similar hunger investigatory body authorized by the House of Representatives, or by the executive branch, for prompt action by all parties seems a humanitarian urgency.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

The subcommittee, therefore, recommends that the select committee be established; be funded for field and office staff, travel, and research,

be afforded access to private consultants, organizational and individual; be empowered to interview employees in every level of the Federal, State, and county governments; be licensed to take depositions and other testimony; and be authorized to bring back to this body, and to the President, recommendations which will enable this country to guarantee freedom from hunger and malnutrition, and to provide medical assistance and other basic necessities to the poor. We feel the select committee itself, after organizing and reviewing the task assigned to it, should determine the extent of staff, budget, and committee powers it will require and present its own request to the Senate for funds and authorities. The select committee is to report back early in the 91st Congress, and is to make legislative recommendations to the Senate.

Transcript of Floor Debate on Senate Resolution 281, July 30, 1968

[From the Congressional Record, July 30, 1968]

SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield such time as he may need to the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark].

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania will state it.

Mr. CLARK. Is there pending business before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The unfinished business is the Foreign Assistance Act of 1968.

Mr. CLARK. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending business may be temporarily set aside in order that the Senate may proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1394, Senate Resolution 281, to establish a Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. Senate Resolution 281, to establish a Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with amendments, on page 2, line 5, after the word "under", insert "the following"; in line 6, after the word "laws", strike out "including"; in line 8, after the word "the" where it appears the first time, strike out "Tariff" and insert "Agricultural"; in the same line after "1935" strike out "the Office of" and insert "the Agricultural Act of 1949, Emergency Food and Medical Services Amendment to the"; in line 10, after the word "Opportunity", strike out "Food Assistance"; in line 11, after the word "Act", strike out "the school lunch" and insert "the Food Stamp Act of 1964, the National School Lunch Act of 1946"; in line 13, after the word "child", insert "aid, medical assistance, "; in the same line, after the word "relief", strike out "commodity"; in line 14, after the word "food,", strike out "fiber," and insert "medical"; in line 15, after the word "other", insert "related"; on page 3, line 1, after the word "and" where it appears the second time, strike out "three" and insert "two"; in the same line, after the word "and" where it appears the third time, strike out "two" and insert "one"; in line 3, after the word "Senate", strike out "without regard to committee assignments," and insert "from other committees,"; in line 4, after the word "the", strike out "unmet" and insert "food, medical, and other related"; in line 6, after the word "Senate", insert "and terminate its activities"; in line 10, after the word "food,", strike out "clothing," and insert "medical assistance,"

and in the same line, after the word "other," insert "related"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the President, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and any and all other agencies with applicable authorities shall use to the fullest possible their authorities under the following existing laws, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Johnson-O'Malley Act, section 32 of the Agricultural Act of 1935, the Agricultural Act of 1949, Emergency Food and Medical Services Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act, the Food Stamp Act of 1964, the National School Lunch Act of 1946, and all other authorities for child aid, medical assistance, and relief programs, to meet immediately the food, medical, and other related basic needs of the Nation's poor to the fullest extent possible; and be it further

Resolved, That there is established a select committee of the Senate composed of three majority and two minority members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, three majority and two minority members of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and two majority and one minority Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate, from other committees, to study the food, medical, and other related basic needs among the people of the United States and to report back to the Senate and terminate its activities not later than the opening of the ninety-first Congress legislation necessary to establish a coordinated program or programs which will assure every United States resident adequate food, medical assistance, and other related basic necessities of life and health: *Provided further*, That the select committee shall recommend to the Senate appropriate procedures for congressional consideration and oversight of such coordinated programs.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, 1 year ago the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare conducted 2 days of hearings in response to a growing body of evidence that hunger and severe malnutrition existed in certain parts of the United States. Those hearings documented that hunger did in fact exist, although the geographical focus of the problem was blurred when one looked beyond the delta area of Mississippi.

Recognizing the need for congressional response to such a national issue, 39 Senators of both parties cosponsored Senate Resolution 281, introduced by Senator George S. McGovern, calling for the establishment of a select committee of the Senate to report back to the Senate not later than the opening of the 91st Congress the "legislation necessary to establish a coordinated program or programs which will assure every U.S. resident adequate food, medical assistance, and other related basic necessities of life and health."

Forty-three witnesses were invited to testify or submit testimony. They included representatives from the following categories—some witnesses fall into more than one category and are so listed:

Medical and nutritional authorities.....	8
Educators, teachers, and school administrators.....	12
Nationally known private citizens.....	4
The hungry poor.....	15
Welfare officials.....	1
	<hr/>
Government officials.....	6
	<hr/>
USDA.....	2
OEO.....	2
HEW.....	1
Civil Rights Commission.....	1
	<hr/>
Elected public officials.....	1
Private food sector.....	1
Other interested citizens.....	1

The committee is convinced after hearing from these witnesses that chronic hunger and malnutrition do exist extensively in the United States. In some areas and among some people it is an all too familiar way of life. Many of those who are chronically hungry seem also to want for essential clothing, shoes, soaps, medical care, and education. There is an identifiable geographical nature to some of the pockets of hunger; there are some identifiable dietary deficiencies among low economic groups in some of these areas. The majority of those who are chronically hungry in the United States come from low-income families with the incidence increasing as income level declines. Over 20 million of the Nation's 27 million poor are under 16, over 60, or crippled physically or mentally. At the same time only 6 million persons—poor and near poor—participate in family food programs.

The committee also found that, if remedial action is to be taken, it must jointly stem from the Congress and from the administration, for many of the problems identified require a wholly new attitude and approach by those who seek to eliminate a chronic hunger in America. If chronic hunger is to be eliminated, minimum Federal standards of food program performance must be established at the State and county level. Any such standards must endorse imaginative outreach. Any such standards must have as their primary goal the feeding of the poor, and not be diverted by other preoccupations.

Witnesses declare that the Federal Government has not approached the problem of meeting basic human needs for food and other necessities of life from the standpoint of human welfare; that our food programs for the poor are byproducts of farm policy. Secretary Freeman pointed out that the direct distribution program is in the process of being replaced by the food stamp program.

However, families with incomes from \$500 to \$2,000 per year seemed to be adversely affected by the food stamp formulas, both as to percentage of income required to be allocated to the food budget—37 to 50 percent—and to volume of food that was purchasable under the monthly budget. Repeated reference was made to the unrealistic assumption that a family living at these destitute levels could save a sufficient proportion of their income for a once-per-month food stamp purchase. Many families testified that they had no income at all and could not pay the minimum amounts for food stamps.

The committee heard from witnesses who contended that while the national school lunch program helps feed 18 million children, only 2 million poor children get substantially free lunches under this program. Secretary Freeman admitted that another 2 to 4 million poor children should get this assistance. The absence of school lunch programs in many of the Nation's slum schools was particularly deplored.

Testimony showed that the direct distribution program was, in fact, being phased out where communities accepted the food stamp program. But testimony also proved that a large number of counties had neither program, and that there was a noticeable drop in participation by the poor when a county switched from commodities to food stamps because of a lack of income to buy stamps.

Senate Resolution 281 calls upon the executive branch to immediately meet the food, medical, and related basic needs of the Nation's poor to the fullest extent. Testimony demonstrated that the executive branch, were it to use its existing powers in an imaginative and bold manner,

could accomplish much of this goal. Since executive restraints are inferred from past congressional actions and testimony, the House and the Senate need to clarify the determination of this country to eliminate widespread and chronic hunger and malnutrition.

Therefore the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare recommends that the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs be established and given the power to subpoena, hold hearings, and employ staff, and to report back to the Senate legislative recommendations to assure a coordinated program or programs which will assure every American adequate food, medical assistance, and other related basic necessities of life and health.

In this respect, I would hope that the select committee would include in its studies and deliberations:

The effectiveness and delivery of existing Government food programs, and their costs to the Government and to the poor;

Educational aspects of malnutrition—the need for nutrition education and the possible use of vocational education and new careers programs for this purpose; also changes needed in medical curriculum to advance knowledge of malnutrition and its effects and relevance to other medical problems;

Delivery of health services to the poor and the attention given to aspects of malnutrition by the Public Health Service, the OEO neighborhood health centers, and other health programs;

Surveys of hunger and malnutrition—how well are present and on-going surveys covering the issues and what is needed in addition;

Standardization of eligibility for needed food assistance to the poor, and how this can be accomplished given the problems of different intergovernmental eligibility standards between Federal, State, and county units;

Streamlining the legislative process so that comprehensive consideration of nutritional needs and congressional oversight on a coordinated basis can become a reality.

The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare recommends that the select committee itself, after organizing, electing a chairman, and reviewing the task assigned to it, should determine the extent of staff, budget, and committee powers it will require and then present its own request to the Senate for funds and authorities.

Mr. President, the resolution as reported from the committee calls for the select committee to report back to the Senate and terminate its activities not later than the opening of the 91st Congress. Faced with the realities of our heavy Senate schedules, I do not believe that this target date will give the select committee time for adequate implementation of its task.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be amended by striking out, on page 3, line 7, the words “the opening of the 91st Congress” and substituting therefor “not later than June 30, 1969”. The purpose of this amendment is to give the committee created by the resolution appropriate time to prepare its report and report back to the legislative committees of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, now I yield to the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin].

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, first, I commend the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania for his leadership in this field and for his work on this resolution.

Mr. President, on behalf of the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with and that the amendment be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows: .

On page 3, strike everything after "the" in line 6 through line 14 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "appropriate committees of the Senate and terminate its activities not later than June 30, 1969. Such report may contain such recommendations as the Committee finds necessary to establish a coordinated program or programs which will assure every United States resident adequate food, medical assistance, and other related basic necessities of life and health and shall in addition contain appropriate procedures for congressional consideration and oversight of such coordinated programs."

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, the resolution in its present form directs the select committee to report back to the floor of the Senate legislation necessary to establish a coordinating program. This amendment provides for orderly procedures. It directs the select committee to make its report to the appropriate committees of the Senate rather than to the Senate. In addition, this amendment specifies that the report contain "such recommendations as the committee finds necessary to establish a program." The original text required that legislation be reported.

It is my understanding that this amendment is acceptable to the managers of the bill.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I am happy to accept the amendment. It was always our thought—perhaps the language is inartistic—that the committee would not make recommendations directly to the Senate, but, on the contrary, would report to the regularly constituted committees of the Senate, so that those recommendations could be considered by them.

Mr. FANNIN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. CLARK. I am prepared to accept the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendments, as amended.

The amendments, as amended, were agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask that there be a vote on adoption of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

The resolution (S. Res. 281), as amended, was agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 281

Whereas it has been demonstrated that every American does not have the food, medical assistance, and other related necessities essential to life and health; and

Whereas surveys conducted by Government agencies and responsible groups of citizens show that, in spite of America's abundance of food, fiber, and other resources, our Federal food programs fail to reach many of the citizens lacking adequate quantities and/or quality of food, which may result in the lifetime impairment of children mentally and physically, and in unnecessary disease, suffering, and premature deaths among both young and adults; and

Whereas restricted use of programs authorized by Congress, reversion of funds, divisions of responsibility and authority within Congress and administrative agencies, unwise regulations and other obstacles impede and frustrate efforts to banish starvation and want for necessities among desperately disadvantaged poor within our Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the President, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and any and all other agencies with applicable authorities shall use to the fullest possible their authorities under the following existing laws, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Johnson-O'Malley Act, section 32 of the Agricultural Act of 1935, the Agricultural Act of 1949, Emergency Food and Medical Services Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act, the Food Stamp Act of 1964, the National School Lunch Act of 1946, and all other authorities for child aid, medical assistance, and relief programs, to meet immediately the food, medical, and other related basic needs of the Nation's poor to the fullest extent possible; and be it further

Resolved, That there is established a select committee of the Senate composed of three majority and two minority members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, three majority and two minority members of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and two majority and one minority Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate from other committees, to study the food, medical, and other related basic needs among the people of the United States and to report back to the appropriate committees of the Senate and terminate its activities not later than June 30, 1969. Such report may contain such recommendations as the Committee finds necessary to establish a coordinated program or programs which will assure every United States resident adequate food, medical assistance, and other related basic necessities of life and health and shall in addition contain appropriate procedures for congressional consideration and oversight of such coordinated programs.

The preamble was amended so as to read:

Whereas it has been demonstrated that every American does not have the food, medical assistance, and other related necessities essential to life and health; and

Whereas surveys conducted by Government agencies and responsible groups of citizens show that, in spite of America's abundance of food, fiber, and other resources, our Federal food programs fail to reach many of the citizens lacking adequate quantities and/or quality of food, which may result in the lifetime impairment of children mentally and physically, and in unnecessary disease, suffering, and premature deaths among both young adults; and

Whereas restricted use of programs authorized by Congress, reversion of funds, divisions of responsibility and authority within Congress and administrative agencies, unwise regulations and other obstacles impede and frustrate efforts to banish starvation and want for necessities among desperately disadvantaged poor within our Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the resolution was adopted be reconsidered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

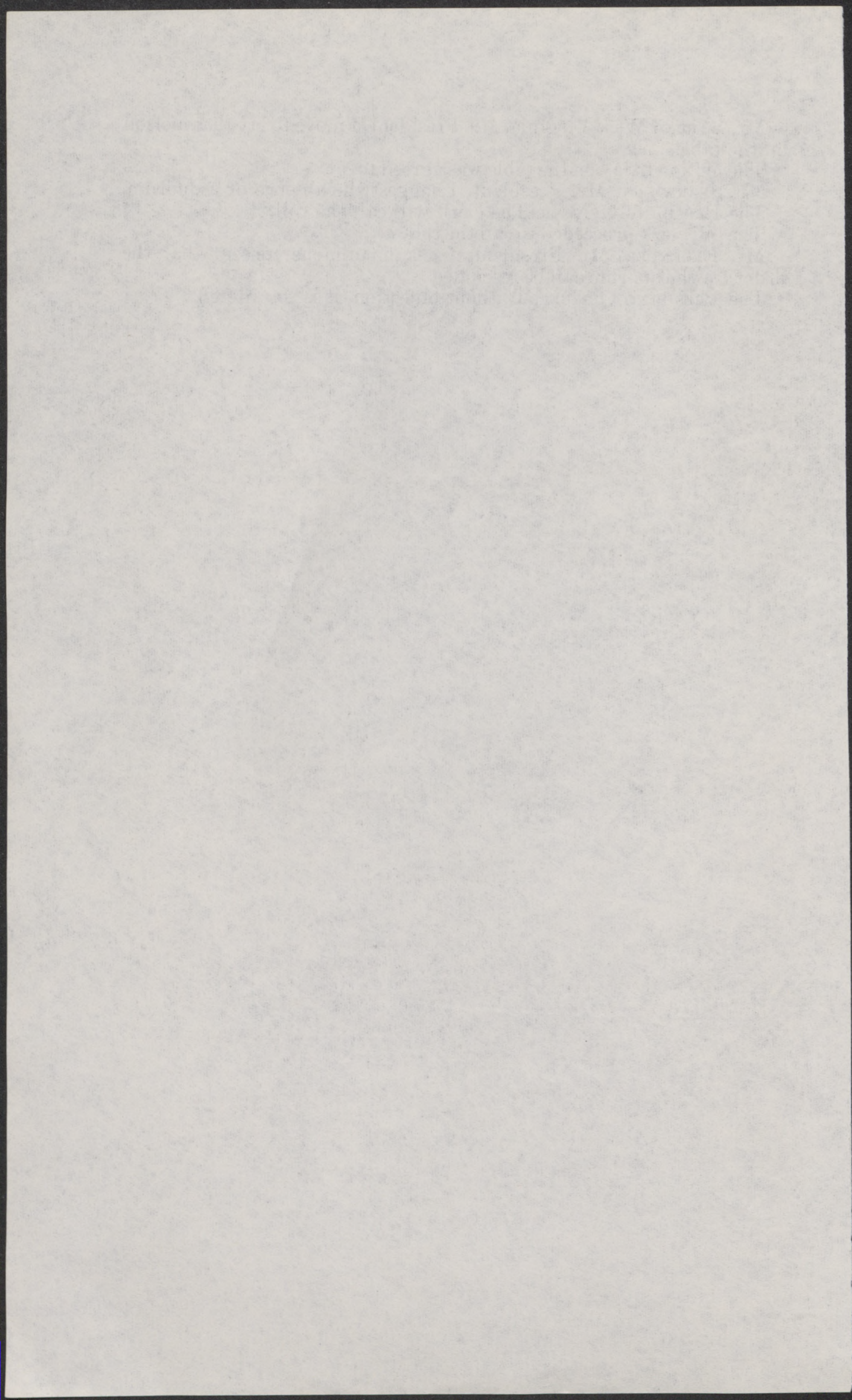
Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.



Citation of Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Senate Resolution 281

The subcommittee held 4 days of hearings, May 23 and 29; June 12 and 14, 1968, on Senate Resolution 281, to establish a Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. For a complete transcript of these hearings see: U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. *Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States*, 90th Congress, second session. 1 vol.

Journal of the American Medical Association
Chicago, Ill., June 15, 1917

Dear Sir:
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. in relation to the matter mentioned therein. The same has been referred to the appropriate authorities for their consideration. I am sorry that I cannot give you a more definite answer at this time, but I will be glad to advise you again as soon as a final decision has been reached.

Remarks of Senator George McGovern and Other Senators on the Introduction of Senate Resolution 281, April 22, 1968

[From the Congressional Record, Apr. 22, 1968]

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, there is today being released a report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry Into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States demonstrating anew that millions of infants, school-children, and adults in this affluent Nation are undernourished. Permanent physical and mental impairments stemming from malnutrition are widespread both in our cities and rural areas.

Entitled "Hunger, U.S.A.," the new report is a study of the inadequacies of our food distribution programs among the poor. However well intentioned, these programs still leave a painful hunger gap among multitudes of Americans condemned to half lives because of deprivations beyond their own control in both childhood and adult life.

The one statistical summary of the overall situation in the report is that only 18 percent of the 30 million poorest Americans are receiving Federal food aid. That cold statistic is highlighted by numerous heart-rending stories of human suffering.

There is sufficient evidence to indict our food distribution efforts on the following charges, the report tells us:

1. Hunger and malnutrition exists in this country, affecting millions of our fellow Americans and increasing in severity and extent from year to year.
2. Hunger and malnutrition take their toll in this country in the form of infant deaths, organic brain damage, retarded growth and learning rates, increased vulnerability to disease, withdrawal, apathy, frustration and violence.
3. There is a shocking absence of knowledge in this country about the extent and severity of malnutrition—a lack of information and action which stands in marked contrast to our recorded knowledge in other countries.
4. Federal efforts aimed at securing adequate nutrition for the needy have failed to reach a significant portion of the poor and to help those it did reach in any substantial or satisfying degree.
5. The failure of Federal efforts to feed the poor cannot be divorced from our agricultural policy, the congressional committees that dictate that policy, and the Department of Agriculture that implements it; for hunger and malnutrition in a country of abundance must be seen as consequences of a political and economic system that spends billions to remove food from the market, to limit production, to retire land from production, to guarantee and sustain profits for the producer.

Perhaps more surprising and shocking is the extent to which it now rests within our power substantially to alleviate hunger and malnutrition * * *.

I shall comment later on as to what I regard to be an injustice in singling out agriculture in such a blanket indictment, but I want now to mention another study.

Last Monday, five national groups of churchwomen told us that the school lunch program is reaching only one-third of the 6 million children who need free or low-cost lunches. Federal, State, and local support of the program, intended not only to guard the lives and the health of our children but to make them capable of acquiring an edu-

cation, has been inadequate to achieve its most important objective—providing adequate nutrition to those children who, because of their parents' economic situation, could not otherwise be nourished adequately.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCGOVERN. I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, who has been such an effective leader in spotlighting the problems of malnutrition and hunger in various parts of the country.

Mr. CLARK. I thank my friend from South Dakota. I wish to commend him for the action he is taking in the speech he is presently making.

I believe it is very important, indeed, that there should be a select committee of the Senate composed of representative members of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and other Senators appointed by the Vice President, without regard to committee assignment, because in my view we are not doing nearly enough at the executive level or in the approach by Congress to see that no American man, woman, or child, and particularly children, should suffer from malnutrition, hunger, or, indeed, starvation.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I am delighted that the Senator from South Dakota has made the proposal which he has suggested. I shall not interrupt the Senator at length nor shall I express my pleasure as fully as I feel it.

Many of us have the impression, and some of us have seen studies which support the feeling, that in this land of plenty there are plenty who do not eat very well.

I do not know how many Americans with incomes of less than \$2,000 a year are actually given Federal assistance to enable them to have some kind of nutritional diet, but I have heard shockingly low estimates. I do know that a great many children, including those in schools, and most particularly preschool children in this country today, are not getting the kind of nutritional food that the most coldhearted, the most sharp-eyed bookkeeper would defend as decent in a land where the opportunity to give that child a decent meal is great.

The difficulty is that because of the several committees, all of which have a measurable responsibility in this area, we are not able to zero in on the problem, identify its extent, the opportunities to meet the need, and then the action that would insure that the need is met.

Therefore, it would seem to me that the select committee that the Senator from South Dakota now proposes may be the most effective means promptly of making sure that this country does do justice to men and women, pensioners and little children alike who today go to bed hungry.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I want to thank the Senator from Michigan, and also take advantage of this occasion to express my appreciation for his leadership last week in restoring the school lunch program to the level authorized by the House, which was one of the really constructive and significant steps that we have taken in the Senate this year. I commend the Senator from Michigan for making it possible.

Mr. President, I am distressed at the picture described in last week's school lunch report, "Their Daily Bread," of children who have no

breakfasts, and nothing to pack for lunch, who have to watch their classmates eat lunch—lunches for which we put up some part of the cost, but not enough to feed all the children who cannot pay the 20 to 45 cents required toward the full cost. A few of the unfortunate children scavenge crusts or share the lunches of compassionate classmates and teachers, but thousands of them—at near starvation—get nothing at all. These malnourished children do not have a chance to absorb the education being made available to them, and it is almost a certainty that one day in later life they will be criticized as ignorant and lazy; a lethargy that is actually no fault of their own but the fault of society.

The new report, "Hunger, U.S.A.," tells us:

If you will go look, you will find America a shocking place.

No other Western country permits such a large proportion of its people to endure the lives we press on our poor. To make four-fifths of a nation more affluent than any people in history, we have to degrade one-fifth mercilessly.

We learn from the report that the introduction of the food stamp program in some counties, as a consequence of the simultaneous discontinuance of direct free food distribution, often results in cutting off aid to thousands of the very poorest people—those who do not have even a small amount of money to pay toward stamps.

We learn that State and local cooperation, which works wonderfully well in some areas, breaks down in others and becomes a barrier between Federal assistance and oppressed minorities in others.

Copies of the report will be made available to all Senators, I am advised. I, therefore, shall not attempt to review or even summarize it. It is something every Member should read, for the existence of this unmet hunger—a national shame in itself—is a revelation of one important source of the schisms that are threatening our society today. As the report comments:

In a land of affluence and agricultural plenty, it (hunger) cannot help but aggravate a sense of injustice, of grievance, of frustration and revolt.

I want to return to the indictment of the performance of agricultural agencies contained in the new study. It reviews correctly the fact that Federal food distribution programs have grown out of agricultural surplus disposal programs; that we did not approach the food needs of the poor from the standpoint of meeting human needs. The food distribution programs exist mainly because we diverted surplus commodities which were creating agricultural problems to welfare uses for whatever good they would do.

As a consequence of this approach—diversion of surpluses—to which we make a continuing allocation of 30 percent of all import duty collections, there are sometimes millions of dollars not used for surplus removal which revert to the Treasury although millions of people are still hungry. A total of \$208 million reverted in 1966, and another \$181 million reverted in 1967. Only relatively small amounts reverted in 1965 and 1964—not because unmet human hunger was less acute but because livestock prices were low, marketings were heavy and there was an obviously large surplus of meat to be removed from the markets.

Because I believe that farmers are entitled to full parity, and supplies which depress prices below that level are surplus to a "proper market"—and I quote those last two words—I would have spent all of that section 32 money to remove surpluses and divert them. My defi-

nition of surplus would have differed from the yardstick used. But regardless of such differences in view, the basic fact remains that the Department of Agriculture is not a welfare agency in the sense of immediate and direct aid to the poor. Its mission is the welfare of agriculture.

I am personally very proud of the fact that out of the compassion of farm-oriented policymakers, administrators, and citizens there has developed a Federal effort to provide our disadvantaged people with food. I am proud that recognition that food is essential to successful education, and that the school milk and school lunch programs to provide that essential originated in the agricultural sector. I am proud that an agricultural economist in the Department of Agriculture, Frederick V. Waugh, and an agricultural administrator, Milo Perkins, conceived and promoted the food stamp program—essentially a two-price system to make adequate food available to lower income citizens, and to help close both the farm income and the nutrition gap in the Nation. I am proud that our food-for-peace legislation came out of agriculture.

I feel that "Hunger, U.S.A." is a little long on criticism of the adequacy of the human welfare job agriculture has not done and short on praise of the agricultural sector for doing all that it has done.

But history will allocate credit and place blame, and it is really not important to allocate it now.

What is important is that there is a serious food gap in the United States today.

We need to meet it just as speedily as is humanly possible.

It is long past time that we quit relying on diversion of unplanned surpluses to provide food for people trapped in poverty and want.

It is time that we took a look at our programs to meet basic human needs for food, clothing, and other necessities of life and health and useful citizenship from the standpoint of our obligations as a civilized people toward our fellow men.

It is time that we arrayed all the things that we are doing through the Department of Agriculture, through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the economic opportunity program, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and elsewhere the Government—the whole patchwork of programs, and that is what it is—and examine their purposes and their adequacy from the viewpoint of our social responsibilities, and then developed a coordinated program or programs to meet basic human requirements for food, clothing, and other necessities of life among our disadvantaged people.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I announce that, on Friday of this week, I shall introduce the resolution for myself, Senators Mondale, Boggs, Hatfield, and any others who care to cosponsor it who so notify me of their desire. We believe that the proposed resolution offers a means for all concerned to face up to the problem of want for basic necessities in our country, resolve such comparatively inconsequential questions as just where the costs go in the budget, and develop a strategy to end the paradox of want and starvation in the most affluent society in the history of mankind.

We invite all Senators to join us as cosponsors. Any who will join can call my office and they will be put on the resolution when it is formally introduced on Friday.

The resolution now carries the sponsorship of Senators Mondale, Boggs, Hatfield, and Clark, as well as all others who notify me during the course of the week. The Senator from Ohio (Mr. Young), the present occupant of the chair, has asked that his name also be added as a cosponsor, as well as the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Scott), and I ask unanimous consent that that be done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota also add me as a cosponsor?

Mr. MCGOVERN. I am particularly happy to do so because of the strong interest the Senator from New York has taken in the problems of malnutrition and the leadership he has provided thereon.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from New York (Mr. Javits) be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield?

Mr. MCGOVERN. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. That is what we were talking about when we were unable to carry the Stennis bill. It has been critically important, and we are learning more and more. While society serves very ably the 80 percent of our Nation, it raises serious deficiencies among the 20 percent in the underpar economic category. That is one of the most shocking manifestations of it. We actually found hunger verging on starvation and malnutrition in children. I think that is a very important reason and I am pleased to join the Senator as a cosponsor of the resolution.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I thank the Senator from New York.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I am most pleased to sponsor the resolution introduced by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGovern). The resolution indicates the very high degree of urgency that we attach to the problem of starvation and malnutrition in the United States today.

In a report released today by a committee of distinguished citizens on hunger in the United States, is a shocking picture of neglect and tragedy. The foreword of this report points out two functions intended to be served by it: First, that the public and Government have been slow to respond to starvation; and second, that the public will in fact respond when it knows all the facts.

The proposed select committee to be established by this resolution should provide a special forum for bringing public opinion to bear on the problem. I believe, too, with the report that the public will act to force its Government to eliminate hunger when it knows the magnitude and depth of the tragedy.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I am pleased to join Senator McGovern and other Senators in sponsoring the Senate resolution: First, urging the executive department to use all existing legislation to meet immediately the food, fiber, and other basic needs of the Nation's poor; and, second, providing for the establishment of a select committee of the Senate to study the unfilled basic human needs of residents of the United States to the end that every U.S. resident be assured the basic food, clothing, and other necessities essential to life and health.

Despite our abundance of food, fiber, and other resources; despite our affluent society; despite our highest living standard in the world;

surveys by a Senate subcommittee and responsible groups of citizens show that there is widespread hunger and malnutrition in the United States. This has been confirmed by a report made public today, of a citizens' board of inquiry into hunger and malnutrition of inquiry into hunger and malnutrition in the United States. The board found concrete evidence of chronic hunger and malnutrition in every part of this country, as a result either of field trips or hearings or upon a review of all available studies evaluating the nutritional status of the poor.

The Board's report states :

That substantial numbers of new-born, who survive the hazards of birth and live through the first month, die between the second month and their second birthday from causes which can be traced directly and primarily to malnutrition.

That protein deprivation between the ages of six months and a year and one-half causes permanent and irreversible brain damage to some young infants.

That nutritional anemia, stemming primarily from protein deficiency and iron deficiency, was commonly found in percentages ranging from 30 to 70 percent among children from poverty backgrounds.

That teachers report children who come to school without breakfast, who are too hungry to learn, and in such pain that they must be taken home or sent to the school nursery.

That mother after mother in region after region reported that the cupboard was bare, sometimes at the beginning and throughout the month, sometimes only the last week of the month.

That doctors personally testified to seeing case after case of premature deaths, infant deaths, and vulnerability to secondary infection, all of which were attributable to or indicative of malnutrition.

That in some communities people band together to share the little food they have, living from hand to mouth.

That the aged living alone, subsist on liquid foods that provide inadequate sustenance.

It is imperative that the executive department use all of its existing authority to meet this shocking and widespread problem of hunger and malnutrition in the United States. And it is important that the Senate establish a select committee of study and oversight to meet the Senate's responsibility in this problem area.

HUNGER IN U.S.A.

MR. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I endorse the efforts of the junior Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGovern) to place in the Senate spotlight the appalling situation which permits an outrageous number of our fellow citizens to suffer the pangs of hunger for much, if not all their lives. It is a situation which cannot be excused or ignored in this Nation of affluence and abundance. It is, therefore, entirely proper that the Senate take special note of this condition and establish special machinery to push forward national efforts to eliminate the scourge of hunger and malnutrition from this country.

The report "Hunger, U.S.A.," published by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry Into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, leaves little room for question that millions of Americans do not receive enough of the right foods to live healthful lives. Many are, in fact, deprived of the opportunity to live, simply because sufficient amounts of food with the necessary nutritional value are not available to them.

The report makes its point abundantly clear: Hunger and malnutrition are not limited to one State or a few States. They are nationwide

occurrences to be found in all 50 States. Our efforts to provide food thus far through the food stamp program and the surplus food distribution programs have been grossly inadequate.

Others may wish to seek someone or some group or some public body upon which to place the blame for the conditions described in "Hunger, U.S.A." I feel that is wasted energy. What is important is that we now assume responsibility to correct this deficiency in American life. Malnutrition is a preventable disease which must be removed as a threat to all Americans, both young and old.

There are many ways to mount an all-out war on hunger and malnutrition. One important element, as "Hunger, U.S.A." points out, in any attack on this conditions is the provision of greater quantities of protein in the diets of this unfortunate group of Americans. Our great resources of the sea, which are still not fully appreciated, can help eradicate forever protein starvation. It is within our capacity and capability to produce a high protein food supplement from fish, fish not marketable today.

Today we are recognizing that hunger and malnutrition are not limited to our considerations of foreign aid. They are not limited to our considerations of agricultural programs. Hunger and starvation are, I am sad to conclude, an American problem. They are not one which we may continue to deal with in a haphazard or piecemeal manner.

The report of the citizens' committee says:

The damage caused by malnutrition begins even before birth and can affect future generations.

Mr. President, consider that statement. Is that a condition which we can permit? I think not.

HUNGER, U.S.A.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I join in cosponsorship of Senate Resolution 281 concerning hunger in the United States. The cold facts contained in the report of the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States show that this problem must be dealt with immediately.

This resolution calls for study of the problem and our programs of assistance. That is needed. But it also calls for immediate action by all Government agencies with responsibility in this area. They should exercise their emergency powers because this is a full national emergency. Helpless people are being permanently crippled in mind and body. Some are starving to death. The facts cannot be avoided any longer.

Last year we heard some reports from Mississippi that people were hungry. Our distinguished colleague Senator Stennis proposed, last July, a bill that recognized this emergency and called for provision of food and medical services to prevent human suffering. I joined in the cosponsorship of that bill. We passed it in the Senate, but the House killed it. The House Agriculture Committee coldly passed it over.

The problem has obviously not gotten better by our refusal to act. This report—Hunger, U.S.A.—indicates just how badly the problem has worsened. Surely no responsible committee will now refuse to act. A nation which has rebuilt Europe, poured \$30 billion a year into destruction in Asia, and is working toward putting a man on the moon,

must be able to muster the concern, compassion, and commitment to aid some of our own fellow citizens who are starving.

And, Mr. President, we do have a problem of starvation. The Citizens' Board of Inquiry went into my home State of Texas, into San Antonio where we have a large percentage of Mexican-American citizens, and found "that severe cases of anemia were commonplace, that children 1 year old frequently weighed less than their birth weights and 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds weighed around 20 pounds."

I spoke in this Chamber recently, when we considered the School Lunch Act, on the effect of such starvation in the early years of life. The effects include permanent mental retardation and physical crippling. Dr. Robert Coles, M.D., of Harvard University, describes the more insidious effects:

Weight loss, muscle weakness, eye infections, and loss of vision, infections of the mouth and throat, rickets and skin diseases of all kinds, loss of appetite and fatigue, and bleeding due to poor protein intake and the whole range of psychological difficulties like lethargy, despair and exhaustion that accompany what might be called a "malnutrition syndrome."

How many Americans have we looked down on and patronizingly told to lift themselves up by their own bootstraps because of their "lethargy, despair, and exhaustion" when in fact their problem was malnutrition?

The effect of starvation on those lucky enough to live is bad enough, but many are dying. Medical specialists tell us that infant mortality during the first year of life can be directly correlated to the level of malnutrition. In my own State of Texas that level is increasing. Infant mortality in Texas is on the rise. In the last 4 years, infant deaths, under 1 year per 1,000 live births, have risen from 21.9 to 24.3 while the U.S. average has been steadily declining.

Something is tragically wrong in Texas and the Nation, and I pledge myself to work to see that young Anglos, young Negroes, young Mexican Americans, and young Indians do not die or grow up into unproductive persons because we let them starve. Our Declaration of Independence lists at the beginning of our inalienable rights the right to life, and we must assure our citizens the necessities of life.

Mr. President, in the comfort of unprecedented affluence it is difficult for most Americans even to imagine the scope and depth of hunger, not to mention starvation, that exists in our country today. In the light of revelations offered by the starving report of the citizens' board of inquiry, it is clear that our present efforts to deal with hunger are not enough. One need not conclude that our present efforts are bad, but one cannot escape the fact that they are woefully inadequate.

The cutting edge of this Government's present attempt to combat hunger is the food stamp program, which was established administratively in 1961, was codified in the Food Stamp Act of 1964, and was extended and expanded last session by approval of Public Law 90-91 on September 27, 1967. Yet the progress of this and other surplus food-for-the-poor programs has not been sufficient to meet the need, and this report documents the fact that millions of our fellow Americans suffer the endless agony and desolation of hunger and malnutrition.

I can turn to my own State for an example of the failure of the food stamp program to meet its basic commitment to the poorest of the poor:

the hungry. There are 254 counties in Texas; only 10 have a food stamp program—El Paso, Hudspeth, Culberson, Jeff Davis, Presidio, Brewster, Pecos, Terrell, Tarrant, and Red River.

In their study, the Citizens' Board of Inquiry found 30 Texas counties with an emergency hunger problem—these are all counties where over 40 percent of the population live in poverty, and a huge percentage of those suffer anemia, growth retardation, protein deficiencies and other signs of malnutrition. The most tragic evidence of starvation in these 30 counties is their outrageous rates of infant mortality. In addition to these 30 emergency-hunger counties scores of other Texas counties were shown to have serious hunger problems. Of course, these statistical units do not account for the miserable pockets of poverty and hunger that exist in virtually every county in Texas and the Nation.

Thus, Mr. President, more than half of the counties in my State have a serious hunger problem, and 30 of those face a problem of emergency proportions, yet a food stamp program is operating in only 10 counties. And there is bitter irony in the fact that not a one of the 30 emergency counties in my State has a food stamp program.

A look at the future of the food stamp program nationally indicates further inadequacy. Only last week, the Consumer and Marketing Service, which is responsible for administering food stamp, testified before the Appropriations Subcommittee considering their budget request for fiscal year 1969. I am a member of that subcommittee, which is very ably chaired by the distinguished Senator from Florida (Mr. Holland).

In light of the findings presented in the report of the Citizens' Board of Inquiry, the budget request of the Consumer and Marketing Service for the food stamp program is very meager indeed; in light of the tragic, human suffering documented by that report, the budget requests appear insensitive, and I find them unacceptable.

Hunger, U.S.A. says at page 32:

... it is possible to assert with a high degree of probability, that we face a problem which, conservatively estimated, affects 10 million Americans and in all likelihood a substantially higher number.

At page 146 of volume 2 of the "U.S. Department of Agriculture 1969 Budget," the following statement is made:

By June 30, 1968, it is estimated that the program will be reaching 2,745,000 participants—an increase of 900,000 above June 30, 1967.

So, Mr. President, we have brought the figure up from something over 1.5 million to about 2.75 million, by June 30, 1968, out of the 10 million in desperate need—just about one-fourth of those in desperate need. Clearly, we are not even approaching the need.

Worse yet, the 1969 budget request shows that the Department of Agriculture contemplates no expansion during 1969 in terms of the number of food stamp participants.

In his testimony last week before the Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Rodney E. Leonard, Administrator of the Consumer and Marketing Service, offered the following explanation of his budget request for the food stamp program:

An increase of \$40,055,000 is proposed for 1969. The funds requested will be necessary in 1969 to finance the 2.7 million participants anticipated by the end of fiscal year 1968.

It is obvious, Mr. President, that if the entire increase of \$40,055,000 is necessary to finance the participants in the program at the end of fiscal year 1968, this leaves no money to allow more people to enter the program in 1969.

The second part of Senate Resolution 281, which I have cosponsored with the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGovern) calls for a select committee to look into the jurisdictional problems to our programs to aid the hungry. This is a real problem that must be met.

I know from personal experience on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, on the Education Subcommittee, and the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee that there is little coordination. One program will deal with hunger under one committee and be administered by OEO. Another will be considered under another subcommittee and go to Agriculture, or HEW or another agency. I congratulate Senator McGovern for recommending this resolution to examine our jurisdictional needs. I am pleased to cosponsor this measure and to lend to it my fullest support.

