

FILE COPY



1973 LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP



*When you  
write to Washington*

A  
GUIDE FOR  
CITIZEN ACTION  
including  
CONGRESSIONAL  
DIRECTORY  
1971-1972

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

## INTRODUCTION

Citizens in all 50 states have an opportunity to lobby their elected officials at the local level and in the state legislatures. Unfortunately, Congress is not so readily accessible and, except for citizens living near the nation's capital, opportunities for face-to-face lobbying on national legislation are limited—but the pen is close at hand. This pamphlet is designed to help all citizens make effective use of the pen in expressing their views to their senators and representatives.

The following pages include suggested ways to write more effective letters, tips on when and how to write, and some sample approaches to letter writing. Also included are lists of congressional delegations by state and the major committee assignments.

## WHY WRITE?

"If you are wondering whether or not it is really worthwhile to communicate your views to your own senator or representative in Congress, consider this fact: Others who disagree with you are doing so constantly . . . .

"Your congressman is one person to whom your opinion definitely is important. With exceptions so rare that they are hardly worth mentioning, members of the National Congress positively do read their mail. Moreover, they are interested in its contents. The mood and tenor of the daily mail from home is a recurrent topic of conversation among members when they gather in the cloakrooms in the rear of the House and Senate Chambers or around the coffee cups in the dining rooms of the Capitol." (*You and Your Congressman* by Congressman Jim Wright.)

The mail is obviously of great importance to senators and representatives in determining thoughtful constituent opinion. During the long congressional sessions many do not get home as often as they would like and they depend on constituents' letters as a major way of "taking the pulse" back home. As a concerned citizen, you can be part of that "pulse."

You may ask, "Does my letter really make a difference?" Your voice, like your vote, does count. While one letter may not accomplish your goal, your opinion added to that of many others in your community and thousands of like-minded citizens from around the nation who are working for common goals, can make a difference.

## WHEN TO WRITE

Whatever your writing technique, the most important thing is to take pen in hand, write and get your letter or note off to Washington. A short, simple letter or telegram stating your views can be of great value—both in stating your commitment to a goal and in adding to the voices speaking on your side of the issue.<sup>1</sup>

You must use your own personal judgment on when and how best to influence your senators and representative. There are certain times when letters are more effective. Early in the congressional session letters are useful because they notify elected officials what issues are important to their constituents. If you write early, your letter may be the one that helps your senator or representative make up his mind.

The time to write members of a committee is when legislation is pending before the committee. Another key time comes when a bill is about to come before the full Senate or House. The letters should go to both senators or your representative, whichever is the case.

There are other times when it is appropriate to write to the President and/or a cabinet officer. Such letters are usually most effective if they are written when the executive branch is making policy decisions or drafting legislation.

A useful aid to citizens as well as Leagues is the League Action Service (see p. 24). Subscribers who use this service are informed when the time has come for concerted action on pending legislation. Publications provided by the service also include information on the status of legislation and background on the issue.

## WRITING MORE EFFECTIVE LETTERS

### Know the Issues

You will already know some things about a particular issue when you decide to write. But you may wish to seek additional information to back up your point of view. Whether you are supporting or opposing a piece of legislation, clear reasonable letters expressing your personal opinion will get priority treatment on the Hill,

<sup>1</sup>You can send a 15-word telegram called a Public Opinion Message (P.O.M.), to the President, Vice President, or congressman from anywhere in the United States for only \$1.00. Your name and address are not counted as part of the message unless there are additional signers. The same rate applies to wires sent to your governor and state legislators.

particularly if they arrive in congressional offices early in the legislative process.

There are many sources of information on issues readily available to every citizen and every member of the League. The National VOTER carries articles concerning issues and the League's position on them as well as a regular Federal Spotlight feature describing what is happening on Capitol Hill. Frequently, state Voters and local bulletins carry articles on national issues and alerts to action. In addition, members and non-members can subscribe to the League Action Service (see back cover) designed to help them keep up-to-date on both issues of concern to the League and on current congressional activity. (League positions on issues are also explained in *Study and Action: 1970-72 National Program*. See p. 24.)

### Know Your Representative and Senators

The more you know about those you elect to represent you and about the legislative process, the easier it is to write letters and tailor them effectively. There are many sources of information about your senators and representative.

One good source is usually your local newspaper. If the paper prints voting records, clip these, along with other stories on your senators and representative. You might also wish to ask the League office in your community if a file is kept on your congressional delegation.

Many senators and representatives publish newsletters to keep their constituents aware of their activities. Items in these newsletters frequently provide an excellent source of ideas for comment. Write to your senators and representative asking to be added to their mailing lists.

You should also know on what committees those you elect to Congress serve. Most national legislators specialize in legislation which comes under the jurisdiction of their committees. Is your representative, or either of your senators, the chairman of a committee or subcommittee? (Committee assignments are listed in the back of this publication.) If you don't know on what subcommittees your senators and representative serve, write and ask for this information.

Of course, the best way to get to know your elected officials is through personal or political contact during their campaigns. If your senators or representative know you, one phone call or letter from you about a piece of legislation may carry more weight than many letters from unknown citizens. If your elected representative to Washington has already made up his mind,

however, even contacting him on a "first-name" basis may not be sufficient to change his opinion. But, your views, combined with similar concerns of other citizens, may make him realize that he is out of step and convince him to change his position.

The first letter can be the beginning of a long and fruitful relationship with your elected representatives. It can bring you satisfaction of first-hand involvement in the political process. They are your elected representatives, and even if you rarely agree on issues they should know what their constituents think.

### Know the Legislative Process

A piece of legislation can go through as many as 25 steps before it is enacted and funds are appropriated to carry out the legislation's intent. Citizens interested in the legislative process might find helpful the League publication *You and Your National Government*, including a section "How a Bill Becomes a Law." Understanding the difference between authorization process and the appropriation process is essential. Any legislation which requires federal funding must go through both processes. If an authorization bill is passed but no funds are approved, the authorization bill is meaningless. Or, if only limited funds are appropriated, a program can be so restricted it really can't get off the ground.

Since major decisions on legislation are usually made in committee, an understanding of the committee system is vital to effective lobbying. There are 38 legislative committees—17 in the Senate and 21 in the House—and numerous select and joint committees. These committees break down into well over 200 subcommittees.

Due to space limitations, it is impossible to list the subcommittees in this pamphlet. However, the significance of the subcommittees should not be overlooked; in many cases, the basic legislation is written by the subcommittee before it is submitted to the full committee.

For example, the appropriations bill for Labor & HEW first goes to a House appropriations subcommittee. The ten members of this subcommittee handle the second largest appropriations bill (only the Defense Department bill is larger) in Congress. Since all appropriations bills originate in the House, these ten men have substantial influence on what federal funds are appropriated for programs of primary importance to many citizens—i.e., money for education, manpower and poverty programs.

## RECOMMENDED APPROACHES TO LETTER WRITING

It's easy to write a good letter when your senator or representative agrees with you and you know him well enough to call him by his first name:

*Dear Bill,*

*I was delighted to see in the morning paper that you have announced your support for legislation authorizing funds for the third replenishment of the International Development Association. I certainly agree with you that IDA's loans are urgently needed by the poorer nations which cannot afford hard development loans.*

It is always useful to relate local needs to national legislation. If you have first-hand knowledge of what is happening in your community, include comments in your letter:

*I strongly urge you to support the full funding for sewage treatment facility construction which is now pending before your appropriations subcommittee. The need for federal grants is imperative here in Falls City, where no one is far from beach, lake or canal. Our rivers are receiving the effluence of North Beach, Thomason Beach and the Clark River. The condition of Lake Middlesex is worsening. These instances of pollution must be stopped. Federal incentives seem to provide the most reasonable hope of remedying these shocking conditions . . . .*

It is helpful to indicate your familiarity with your senator's or representative's past actions on an issue, particularly if you are trying to change his mind:

*I know you opposed Senate approval of ratification of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty last year, but I think the situation has changed since then. . . .*

If you find an editorial or article in a local paper you might include it:

*Enclosed is last Wednesday's Local Star editorial on our local community action agency. I have been following the work of our CAA for the past two years, and this editorial confirms my observations of the effective work being done here in Katalone . . . .*

If you have recently met your elected representative to Congress or heard him speak at a local meeting it is useful to relate to this experience:

*It was a pleasure to meet you at the King County Republican dinner. Your comments on the present federal job training programs were helpful. As mentioned, I've been serving on a local committee to work with businessmen to find jobs for the hard-core unemployed.*

*I was amazed to learn about the closing of 59 Job Corps centers, including our state's. The proposed "mini" urban skill centers seem another feasible way to train the unemployed and underemployed, but isn't it unrealistic to close the centers before available replacement? I hope you will do all possible to prevent closing the centers, especially the Palma Job Corps Center . . . .*

## DO'S AND DON'TS OF LETTER WRITING

### The Fundamental Do's

**DO address your senator or representative properly.**

**DO write legibly** (handwritten letters are fine if they are readable).

**DO be brief and to the point;** discuss only one issue in each letter; identify a bill by number or title if possible.

**DO use your own words and your own stationery.**

**DO be sure to include your address and sign your name legibly.** If your name could be either masculine or feminine, identify your sex. If you have family, business or political connections related to the issue, explain it. It may serve as identification when your point of view is considered.

**DO be courteous and reasonable.**

**DO feel free to write if you have a question or problem dealing with procedures of government departments.** Congressional offices can often help you cut through red tape or give you advice that will save you time and wasted effort.

**DO write when your spokesman in Washington does something of which you approve.** Public officials hear mostly from constituents who oppose their actions. A barrage of criticism gives them a one-sided picture of their constituencies. (A note of appreciation will make your senator or representative remember you favorably the next time you write.)

**DO include pertinent editorials from local papers.**

**DO write early in the session before a bill has been introduced if you have ideas about an issue you would like to see incorporated in legislation.** If you are "lobbying" for or against a bill, and your senator or representative is a member of the committee to which it has been referred, write when the committee begins hearings. If he is not a member of the committee handling the bill, write him just before the bill comes to the floor for debate and vote.

**DO write the chairman or members of a committee holding hearings on legislation in which you are interested.** Remember, however, that you have more influence with senators from your state and representative from your district than with other members of Congress.

### The Fundamental Don'ts

**DON'T sign and send a form or mimeograph letter.**

**DON'T begin on the righteous note of "as a citizen and taxpayer."** Your elected representative assumes you are not an alien, and he knows we all pay taxes.

**DON'T apologize for writing and taking his time.** If your letter is short and expresses your opinion, he is glad to give you a hearing.

**DON'T say "I hope this gets by your secretary."** This only irritates the office staff.

**DON'T be rude or threatening.** It will get you nowhere.

**DON'T be vague.** Some letters received in congressional offices are couched in such general terms that it leaves the senator or representative and his staff wondering what the writer had in mind.

**DON'T just because you disagree politically with your senator or representative ignore him and write to one from another district or state.** Congressional courtesy calls for the recipient of such a letter to forward it to the congressman from the district or state involved.

**DON'T send a carbon copy to your second senator or representative when you have addressed the letter to the first senator.** Write each one individually; it's the courteous thing to do.

## CORRECT SALUTATION AND CLOSING FOR LETTERS TO OFFICIALS

### President

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Very respectfully yours,

### Senator

The Honorable Philip A. Hart  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Hart:

Sincerely yours,

### Vice President

The Vice President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Sincerely yours,

### Representative

The Honorable Silvio O. Conte  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Conte:

Sincerely yours,

### Member of the Cabinet

The Honorable William P. Rogers  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Sincerely yours,

### CABINET OFFICERS

**Agriculture**  
**Attorney General**  
**Commerce**  
**Defense**  
**HEW**  
**HUD**  
**Interior**  
**Labor**  
**State**  
**Transportation**  
**Treasury**  
**U.N. Ambassador**

Clifford M. Hardin  
John N. Mitchell  
Maurice H. Stans  
Melvin R. Laird  
Elliot L. Richardson  
George Romney  
Rogers C. B. Morton  
James D. Hodgson  
William P. Rogers  
John A. Volpe  
John B. Connally  
George Bush

## NAMES OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ARRANGED BY STATES AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

Democrats in roman; Republicans in *italic*; Conservative in CAPITALS; Independent in SMALL CAPS

<i>Congressional District</i>	<i>Congressional District</i>	
<b>ALABAMA</b>		
<b>Senators:</b>	<i>Burt L. Talcott</i> . . . . . 12	
John Sparkman	<i>Charles M. Teague</i> . . . . . 13	
James B. Allen	Jerome R. Waldie . . . . . 14	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	John J. McFall . . . . . 15	
<i>Jack Edwards</i> . . . . . 1	B. F. Sisk . . . . . 16	
<i>William L. Dickinson</i> . . . . . 2	Glenn M. Anderson . . . . . 17	
(vacant) . . . . . 3	<i>Robert B. (Bob) Mathias</i> . . . . . 18	
Bill Nichols . . . . . 4	Chet Hollifield . . . . . 19	
Walter Flowers . . . . . 5	<i>H. Allen Smith</i> . . . . . 20	
<i>John Buchanan</i> . . . . . 6	Augustus F. Hawkins . . . . . 21	
Tom Bevill . . . . . 7	James C. Corman . . . . . 22	
Robert E. Jones . . . . . 8	<i>Del Clawson</i> . . . . . 23	
<b>ALASKA</b>		
<b>Senators:</b>	<i>John H. Rousselot</i> . . . . . 24	
Mike Gravel	<i>Charles E. Wiggins</i> . . . . . 25	
<i>Ted Stevens</i>	Thomas M. Rees . . . . . 26	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	<i>Barry M. Goldwater, Jr.</i> . . . . . 27	
Nick Begich . . . . . AL	<i>Alphonzo Bell</i> . . . . . 28	
<b>ARIZONA</b>		
<b>Senators:</b>	George E. Danielson . . . . . 29	
<i>Paul J. Fannin</i>	Edward R. Roybal . . . . . 30	
<i>Barry Goldwater</i>	Charles H. Wilson . . . . . 31	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	<i>Craig Hosmer</i> . . . . . 32	
<i>John J. Rhodes</i> . . . . . 1	<i>Jerry L. Pettis</i> . . . . . 33	
Morris K. Udall . . . . . 2	Richard T. Hanna . . . . . 34	
<i>Sam Steiger</i> . . . . . 3	<i>John G. Schmitz</i> . . . . . 35	
<b>ARKANSAS</b>		
<b>Senators:</b>	<i>Bob Wilson</i> . . . . . 36	
John L. McClellan	Lionel Van Deertlin . . . . . 37	
J. W. Fulbright	<i>Victor V. Veysey</i> . . . . . 38	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	<b>COLORADO</b>	
Bill Alexander . . . . . 1	<b>Senators:</b>	
Wilbur D. Mills . . . . . 2	Gordon Allott	
<i>John Paul Hammerschmidt</i> . . . . . 3	<i>Peter H. Dominick</i>	
David Pryor . . . . . 4	<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>		
<b>Senators:</b>	<i>James D. (Mike) McKeivitt</i> . . . . . 1	
Alan Cranston	<i>Donald G. Brozman</i> . . . . . 2	
John V. Tunney	Frank E. Evans . . . . . 3	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	Wayne N. Aspinall . . . . . 4	
<i>Don H. Clausen</i> . . . . . 1	<b>CONNECTICUT</b>	
Harold T. Johnson . . . . . 2	<b>Senators:</b>	
John E. Moss . . . . . 3	Abraham A. Ribicoff	
Robert L. Leggett . . . . . 4	<i>Lowell P. Weicker</i>	
Phillip Burton . . . . . 5	<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
<i>William S. Mailliard</i> . . . . . 6	William R. Cotter . . . . . 1	
Ronald V. Dellums . . . . . 7	<i>Robert H. Steele</i> . . . . . 2	
George P. Miller . . . . . 8	Robert N. Giaimo . . . . . 3	
Don Edwards . . . . . 9	<i>Stewart B. McKinney</i> . . . . . 4	
<i>Charles S. Gubser</i> . . . . . 10	John S. Monagan . . . . . 5	
<i>Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.</i> . . . . . 11	Ella T. Grasso . . . . . 6	
<b>DELAWARE</b>		
<b>Senators:</b>	<b>Senators:</b>	
<i>J. Caleb Boggs</i>	<i>J. Caleb Boggs</i>	
<i>William V. Roth, Jr.</i>	<i>William V. Roth, Jr.</i>	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
<i>Pierre S. (Pete) duPont</i> . . . . . AL	<i>Pierre S. (Pete) duPont</i> . . . . . AL	
<b>DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA</b>		
	Walter E. Fauntroy	

FLORIDA

**Senators:**

Edward J. Gurney  
Lawton Chiles

**House of Representatives:**

Robert L. F. Sikes ..... 1  
Don Fuqua ..... 2  
Charles E. Bennett ..... 3  
Bill Chappell, Jr. .... 4  
Louis Frey, Jr. .... 5  
Sam Gibbons ..... 6  
James A. Haley ..... 7  
C. W. Bill Young ..... 8  
Paul G. Rogers ..... 9  
J. Herbert Burke ..... 10  
Claude Pepper ..... 11  
Dante B. Fascell ..... 12

GEORGIA

**Senators:**

Herman E. Talmadge  
David H. Gambrell

**House of Representatives:**

G. Elliott Hegan ..... 1  
Dawson Mathis ..... 2  
Jack Brinkley ..... 3  
Ben B. Blackburn ..... 4  
Fletcher Thompson ..... 5  
John J. Flynt, Jr. .... 6  
John W. Davis ..... 7  
W. S. (Bill) Stuckey, Jr. .... 8  
Phil M. Landrum ..... 9  
Robert G. Stephens, Jr. .... 10

HAWAII

**Senators:**

Hiram L. Fong  
Daniel K. Inouye

**House of Representatives:**

Spark M. Matsunaga ..... 1  
Patsy T. Mink ..... 2

IDAHO

**Senators:**

Frank Church  
Len B. Jordan

**House of Representatives:**

James A. McClure ..... 1  
Orval Hansen ..... 2

ILLINOIS

**Senators:**

Charles H. Percy  
Adlai E. Stevenson III.

**House of Representatives:**

Ralph H. Metcalfe ..... 1  
Abner J. Mikva ..... 2  
Morgan F. Murphy ..... 3  
Edward J. Derwinski ..... 4  
John C. Kluczynski ..... 5  
George W. Collins ..... 6  
Frank Annunzio ..... 7  
Dan Rostenkowski ..... 8  
Sidney R. Yates ..... 9  
Harold R. Collier ..... 10  
Roman C. Pucinski ..... 11  
Robert McClory ..... 12

Philip M. Crane ..... 13  
John N. Erlenborn ..... 14  
(vacant) ..... 15  
John B. Anderson ..... 16  
Leslie C. Arends ..... 17  
Robert H. Michel ..... 18  
Tom Railsback ..... 19  
Paul Findley ..... 20  
Kenneth J. Gray ..... 21  
William L. Springer ..... 22  
George E. Shipley ..... 23  
Melvin Price ..... 24

INDIANA

**Senators:**

Vance Hartke  
Birch E. Bayh

**House of Representatives:**

Ray J. Madden ..... 1  
Earl F. Landgrebe ..... 2  
John Brademas ..... 3  
J. Edward Roush ..... 4  
Ellwood Hillis ..... 5  
William G. Bray ..... 6  
John T. Myers ..... 7  
Roger H. Zion ..... 8  
Lee H. Hamilton ..... 9  
David W. Dennis ..... 10  
Andrew Jacobs, Jr. .... 11

IOWA

**Senators:**

Jack Miller  
Harold E. Hughes

**House of Representatives:**

Fred Schwengel ..... 1  
John C. Culver ..... 2  
H. R. Gross ..... 3  
John Kyl ..... 4  
Neal Smith ..... 5  
Wiley Mayne ..... 6  
William J. Scherle ..... 7

KANSAS

**Senators:**

James B. Pearson  
Bob Dole

**House of Representatives:**

Keith G. Sebelius ..... 1  
William R. Roy ..... 2  
Larry Winn, Jr. .... 3  
Garner E. Shriver ..... 4  
Joe Skubitz ..... 5

KENTUCKY

**Senators:**

John S. Cooper  
Marlow W. Cook

**House of Representatives:**

Frank A. Stubblefield ..... 1  
William H. Natcher ..... 2  
Romano L. Mazzoli ..... 3  
M. G. (Gene) Snyder ..... 4  
Tim Lee Carter ..... 5  
William P. Curtin, Jr. .... 6  
Carl D. Perkins ..... 7

LOUISIANA

**Senators:**

Allen J. Ellender  
Russell B. Long

**House of Representatives:**

F. Edward Hébert ..... 1  
Hale Boggs ..... 2  
Patrick T. Caffery ..... 3  
Joe D. Waggoner, Jr. .... 4  
Otto E. Passman ..... 5  
John R. Rarick ..... 6  
Edwin W. Edwards ..... 7  
Speedy O. Long ..... 8

MAINE

**Senators:**

Margaret Chase Smith  
Edmund S. Muskie

**House of Representatives:**

Peter N. Kyros ..... 1  
William D. Hathaway ..... 2

MARYLAND

**Senators:**

Charles McC. Mathias  
J. Glenn Beall, Jr.

**House of Representatives:**

William O. Mills ..... 1  
Clarence D. Long ..... 2  
Edward A. Garmatz ..... 3  
Paul S. Sarbanes ..... 4  
Lawrence J. Hogan ..... 5  
Goodloe E. Byron ..... 6  
Parren J. Mitchell ..... 7  
Gilbert Gude ..... 8

MASSACHUSETTS

**Senators:**

Edward M. Kennedy  
Edward W. Brooke

**House of Representatives:**

Silvio O. Conte ..... 1  
Edward P. Boland ..... 2  
Robert F. Drinan ..... 3  
Harold D. Donohue ..... 4  
F. Bradford Morse ..... 5  
Michael Harrington ..... 6  
Torbert H. Macdonald ..... 7  
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. .... 8  
Louise Day Hicks ..... 9  
Margaret M. Heckler ..... 10  
James A. Burke ..... 11  
Hastings Keith ..... 12

MICHIGAN

**Senators:**

Philip A. Hart  
Robert P. Griffin

**House of Representatives:**

John Conyers, Jr. .... 1  
Marvin L. Esch ..... 2  
Gary Brown ..... 3  
Edward Hutchinson ..... 4  
Gerald R. Ford ..... 5  
Charles E. Chamberlain ..... 6  
Donald W. Riegle, Jr. .... 7  
James Harvey ..... 8

Guy Vander Jagt ..... 9  
Elford A. Cederberg ..... 10  
Philip E. Ruppe ..... 11  
James G. O'Hara ..... 12  
Charles C. Diggs, Jr. .... 13  
Lucien N. Nedzi ..... 14  
William D. Ford ..... 15  
John D. Dingell ..... 16  
Martha W. Griffiths ..... 17  
William S. Broomfield ..... 18  
Jack H. McDonald ..... 19

MINNESOTA

**Senators:**

Walter F. Mondale  
Hubert H. Humphrey

**House of Representatives:**

Albert H. Quie ..... 1  
Ancher Nelsen ..... 2  
Bill Frenzel ..... 3  
Joseph E. Karth ..... 4  
Donald M. Fraser ..... 5  
John M. Zwach ..... 6  
Bob Bergland ..... 7  
John A. Blatnik ..... 8

MISSISSIPPI

**Senators:**

James O. Eastland  
John C. Stennis

**House of Representatives:**

Thomas G. Abernethy ..... 1  
Jamie L. Whitten ..... 2  
Charles H. Griffin ..... 3  
G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery ..... 4  
William M. Colmer ..... 5

MISSOURI

**Senators:**

Stuart Symington  
Thomas F. Eagleton

**House of Representatives:**

William (Bill) Clay ..... 1  
James W. Symington ..... 2  
Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.)  
Sullivan ..... 3  
Wm. J. Randall ..... 4  
Richard Bolling ..... 5  
W. R. Hull, Jr. .... 6  
Durward G. Hall ..... 7  
Richard H. Ichord ..... 8  
William L. Hungate ..... 9  
Bill D. Burlison ..... 10

MONTANA

**Senators:**

Mike Mansfield  
Lee Metcalf

**House of Representatives:**

Richard G. Shoup ..... 1  
John Melcher ..... 2

NEBRASKA

**Senators:**

Roman L. Hruska  
Carl T. Curtis

**House of Representatives:**

Charles Thone ..... 1

<i>(Continued)</i>	<i>Congressional District</i>
John Y. McCollister .....	2
Dave Martin .....	3

### NEVADA

<b>Senators:</b>	
Alan Bible	
Howard W. Cannon	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Walter S. Baring .....	AL

### NEW HAMPSHIRE

<b>Senators:</b>	
Norris Cotton	
Thomas J. McIntyre	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Louis C. Wyman .....	1
James C. Cleveland .....	2

### NEW JERSEY

<b>Senators:</b>	
Clifford P. Case	
Harrison A. Williams, Jr.	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
John E. Hunt .....	1
Charles W. Sandman, Jr. ....	2
James J. Howard .....	3
Frank Thompson, Jr. ....	4
Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen ..	5
Edwin B. Forsythe .....	6
William B. Widnall .....	7
Robert A. Roe .....	8
Henry Helstoski .....	9
Peter W. Rodino, Jr. ....	10
Joseph G. Minish .....	11
Florence P. Dwyer .....	12
Cornelius E. Gallagher .....	13
Dominick V. Daniels .....	14
Edward J. Patten .....	15

### NEW MEXICO

<b>Senators:</b>	
Clinton P. Anderson	
Joseph M. Montoya	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Manuel Lujan, Jr. ....	1
Harold Runnels .....	2

### NEW YORK

<b>Senators:</b>	
Jacob K. Javits	
JAMES L. BUCKLEY	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Otis G. Pike .....	1
James R. Grover, Jr. ....	2
Lester L. Wolff .....	3
John W. Wyder .....	4
Norman F. Lent .....	5
Seymour Halpern .....	6
Joseph P. Addabbo .....	7
Benjamin S. Rosenthal .....	8
James J. Delaney .....	9
Emanuel Celler .....	10
Frank J. Brasco .....	11
Shirley Chisholm .....	12
Bertram L. Podell .....	13

<i>Congressional District</i>	
John J. Rooney .....	14
Hugh L. Carey .....	15
John M. Murphy .....	16
Edward I. Koch .....	17
Charles B. Rangel .....	18
Bella S. Abzug .....	19
William F. Ryan .....	20
Herman Badillo .....	21
James H. Scheuer .....	22
Jonathan B. Bingham .....	23
Mario Biaggi .....	24
Peter A. Peyster .....	25
Ogden R. Reid .....	26
John G. Dow .....	27
Hamilton Fish, Jr. ....	28
Samuel S. Stratton .....	29
Carleton J. King .....	30
Robert C. McEwen .....	31
Alexander Pirnie .....	32
Howard W. Robison .....	33
John H. Terry .....	34
James M. Hanley .....	35
Frank Horton .....	36
Barber B. Conable, Jr. ....	37
James F. Hastings .....	38
Jack F. Kemp .....	39
Henry P. Smith III .....	40
Thaddeus J. Dulski .....	41

### NORTH CAROLINA

<b>Senators:</b>	
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	
B. Everett Jordan	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Walter B. Jones .....	1
L. H. Fountain .....	2
David N. Henderson .....	3
Nick Galifianakis .....	4
Wilmer (Vinegar Bend) Mizell	5
Richardson Preyer .....	6
Alton Lennon .....	7
Earl B. Ruth .....	8
Charles Raper Jonas .....	9
James T. Broyhill .....	10
Roy A. Taylor .....	11

### NORTH DAKOTA

<b>Senators:</b>	
Milton R. Young	
Quentin Burdick	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Mark Andrews .....	1
Arthur A. Link .....	2

### OHIO

<b>Senators:</b>	
William B. Saxbe	
Robert Taft, Jr.	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
William J. Keating .....	1
Donald D. Clancy .....	2
Charles W. Whalen, Jr. ....	3
William M. McCulloch .....	4
Delbert L. Latta .....	5
William H. Harsha .....	6
Clarence J. Brown .....	7
Jackson E. Betts .....	8
Thomas L. Ashley .....	9
Clarence E. Miller .....	10
J. William Stanton .....	11

<i>Congressional District</i>	
Samuel L. Devine .....	12
Charles A. Mosher .....	13
John F. Seiberling .....	14
Chalmers P. Wylie .....	15
Frank T. Bow .....	16
John M. Ashbrook .....	17
Wayne L. Hays .....	18
Charles J. Carney .....	19
James V. Stanton .....	20
Louis Stokes .....	21
Charles A. Vanik .....	22
William E. Minshall .....	23
Walter E. Powell .....	24

### OKLAHOMA

<b>Senators:</b>	
Fred R. Harris	
Henry Bellmon	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Page Belcher .....	1
Ed Edmondson .....	2
Carl Albert .....	3
Tom Steed .....	4
John Jarman .....	5
John N. Happy Camp .....	6

### OREGON

<b>Senators:</b>	
Mark Hatfield	
Robert W. Packwood	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Wendell Wyatt .....	1
Al Ullman .....	2
Edith Green .....	3
John Dellenback .....	4

### PENNSYLVANIA

<b>Senators:</b>	
Hugh Scott	
Richard S. Schweiker	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
William A. Barrett .....	1
Robert N. C. Nix .....	2
James A. Byrne .....	3
Joshua Eilberg .....	4
William J. Green .....	5
Gus Yatron .....	6
Lawrence G. Williams .....	7
Edward G. Biester, Jr. ....	8
John Ware .....	9
Joseph M. McDade .....	10
Daniel J. Flood .....	11
J. Irving Whalley .....	12
R. Lawrence Coughlin .....	13
William S. Moorhead .....	14
Fred B. Rooney .....	15
Edwin D. Eshleman .....	16
Herman T. Schneebeli .....	17
H. John Heinz III .....	18
George A. Goodling .....	19
Joseph M. Gaydos .....	20
John H. Dent .....	21
John P. Saylor .....	22
Albert W. Johnson .....	23
Joseph P. Vigrorto .....	24
Frank M. Clark .....	25
Thomas E. Morgan .....	26
(vacant) .....	27

### RHODE ISLAND

<b>Senators:</b>	
John O. Pastore	
Claiborne Pell	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Fernand J. St. Germain .....	1
Robert O. Tiernan .....	2

### SOUTH CAROLINA

<b>Senators:</b>	
Strom Thurmond	
Ernest F. Hollings	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Mendel Davis .....	1
Floyd Spence .....	2
Wm. Jennings Bryan Don ..	3
James R. Mann .....	4
Tom S. Gettys .....	5
John L. McMillan .....	6

### SOUTH DAKOTA

<b>Senators:</b>	
Karl E. Mundt	
George S. McGovern	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Frank E. Denholm .....	1
James Abourezk .....	2

### TENNESSEE

<b>Senators:</b>	
Howard H. Baker, Jr.	
Bill Brock	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
James H. (Jimmy) Quillen .....	1
John J. Duncan .....	2
LaMar Baker .....	3
Joe L. Ewins .....	4
Richard H. Fulton .....	5
William R. Anderson .....	6
Ray Blanton .....	7
Ed Jones .....	8
Dan Kuykendall .....	9

### TEXAS

<b>Senators:</b>	
John G. Tower	
Lloyd M. Bentsen	
<b>House of Representatives:</b>	
Wright Patman .....	1
John Dowdy .....	2
James M. Collins .....	3
Ray Roberts .....	4
Earle Cabell .....	5
Olin E. Teague .....	6
Bill Archer .....	7
Bob Eckhardt .....	8
Jack Brooks .....	9
J. J. Pickle .....	10
W. R. Poage .....	11
Jim Wright .....	12
Graham Purcell .....	13
John Young .....	14
Eligio de la Garza .....	15
Richard C. White .....	16
Omar Burleson .....	17
Robert Price .....	18
George Mahon .....	19

<i>(Continued)</i>	<i>Congressional District</i>
Henry B. Gonzalez	20
O. C. Fisher	21
Bob Casey	22
Abraham Kazen, Jr.	23

### UTAH

#### Senators:

Wallace F. Bennett  
Frank E. Moss

#### House of Representatives:

K. Gunn McKay 1  
Sherman P. Lloyd 2

### VERMONT

#### Senators:

George D. Aiken  
Robert T. Stafford

#### House of Representatives:

Richard Mallary AL

### VIRGINIA

#### Senators:

HARRY FLOOD BYRD, JR.  
William B. Spong, Jr.

#### House of Representatives:

Thomas N. Downing 1  
G. William Whitehurst 2  
David E. Satterfield III 3  
Watkins M. Abbitt 4  
W. C. (Dan) Daniel 5  
Richard H. Poff 6  
J. Kenneth Robinson 7  
William Lloyd Scott 8  
William C. Wampler 9  
Joel T. Broyhill 10

### WASHINGTON

#### Senators:

Warren G. Magnuson  
Henry M. Jackson

#### House of Representatives:

Thomas M. Pelly 1  
Lloyd Meeds 2  
Julia Butler Hansen 3

## CONGRESSIONAL PARTY LEADERS

### Senate

**President of the Senate:** Spiro T. Agnew (Vice President)

**President Pro-Tempore:** Allen J. Ellender (D., LA)

**Majority Leader:** Mike Mansfield (D., MT)

**Majority Whip:** Robert C. Byrd (D., WV)

**Minority Leader:** Hugh Scott (R., PA)

**Minority Whip:** Robert P. Griffin (R., MI)

### House

**Speaker:** Carl Albert (D., OK)

**Majority Leader:** Hale Boggs (D., LA)

**Majority Whip:** Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D., MA)

**Minority Leader:** Gerald R. Ford (R., MI)

**Minority Whip:** Leslie Arends (R., IL)

<i>Congressional District</i>
Mike McCormack 4
Thomas S. Foley 5
Floyd V. Hicks 6
Brock Adams 7

### WEST VIRGINIA

#### Senators:

Jennings Randolph  
Robert C. Byrd

#### House of Representatives:

Robert H. Mollohan 1  
Harley O. Staggers 2  
John M. Slack 3  
Ken Hechler 4  
James Kee 5

### WISCONSIN

#### Senators:

William Proxmire  
Gaylord Nelson

#### House of Representatives:

Les Aspin 1  
Robert W. Kastenmeier 2  
Vernon W. Thomson 3  
Clement J. Zablocki 4  
Henry S. Reuss 5  
William A. Steiger 6  
David R. Obey 7  
John W. Byrnes 8  
Glenn R. Davis 9  
Alvin E. O'Konski 10

### WYOMING

#### Senators:

Gale W. McGee  
Clifford P. Hansen

#### House of Representatives:

Teno Roncalio AL

### PUERTO RICO

#### Resident Commissioner:

Jorge L. Córdova

## SENATE COMMITTEES 92D CONGRESS

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in *italic*.)

### AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES

Clinton P. Anderson, *Chairman* NM  
Warren G. Magnuson WA  
Stuart Symington MO  
John C. Stennis MS  
Howard W. Cannon NV  
David H. Gambrell GA  
Carl T. Curtis NB  
Margaret Chase Smith ME  
Barry Goldwater AZ  
Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. CT  
James L. Buckley NY

### AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

Herman E. Talmadge, *Chairman* GA  
Allen J. Ellender LA  
James O. Eastland MS  
B. Everett Jordan NC  
George McGovern SD  
James B. Allen AL  
Hubert H. Humphrey MN  
Lawton Chiles FL  
Jack Miller IA  
George D. Aiken VT  
Milton R. Young ND  
Carl T. Curtis NB  
Robert Dole KS  
Henry Bellmon OK

### APPROPRIATIONS

Allen J. Ellender, *Chairman* LA  
John L. McClellan AR  
Warren G. Magnuson WA  
John C. Stennis MS  
John O. Pastore RI  
Alan Bible NV  
Robert C. Byrd WV  
Gale W. McGee WY  
Mike Mansfield MT  
William Proxmire WI  
Joseph M. Montoya NM  
Daniel K. Inouye HI  
Ernest F. Hollings SC  
Milton R. Young ND  
Karl E. Mundt SD  
Margaret Chase Smith ME  
Roman L. Hruska NB  
Gordon Allott CO  
Norris Cotton NH  
Clifford P. Case NJ  
Hiram L. Fong HI  
J. Caleb Boggs DE  
Charles H. Percy IL  
Edward W. Brooke MA

### ARMED SERVICES

John C. Stennis, *Chairman* MS  
Stuart Symington MO  
Henry M. Jackson WA  
Sam J. Ervin, Jr. NC

Howard W. Cannon NV  
Thomas J. McIntyre NH  
Harry F. Byrd, Jr. VA  
Harold E. Hughes IA  
Lloyd Bentsen TX  
Margaret Chase Smith ME  
Strom Thurmond SC  
John G. Tower TX  
Peter H. Dominick CO  
Barry Goldwater AZ  
Richard S. Schweiker PA  
William B. Saxbe OH

### BANKING, HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS

John Sparkman, *Chairman* AL  
William Proxmire WI  
Harrison A. Williams, Jr. NJ  
Thomas J. McIntyre NH  
Walter F. Mondale MN  
Alan Cranston CA  
Adlai E. Stevenson III IL  
David H. Gambrell GA  
John G. Tower TX  
Wallace F. Bennett UT  
Edward W. Brooke MA  
Bob Packwood OR  
William V. Roth, Jr. DE  
Bill Brock TN  
Robert Taft, Jr. OH

### COMMERCE

Warren G. Magnuson, *Chairman* WA  
John O. Pastore RI  
Vance Hartke IN  
Philip A. Hart MI  
Howard W. Cannon NV  
Russell B. Long LA  
Frank E. Moss UT  
Ernest F. Hollings SC  
Daniel K. Inouye HI  
William B. Spong, Jr. VA  
Norris Cotton NH  
James B. Pearson KS  
Robert P. Griffin MI  
Howard H. Baker, Jr. TN  
Marlow W. Cook KY  
Mark O. Hatfield OR  
Ted Stevens AK

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Thomas F. Eagleton, *Chairman* MO  
Daniel K. Inouye HI  
Adlai E. Stevenson III IL  
John V. Tunney CA  
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. MD  
Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. CT  
James L. Buckley NY

### FINANCE

Russell B. Long, *Chairman* LA  
Clinton P. Anderson NM  
Herman E. Talmadge GA

Vance Hartke	IN
J. W. Fulbright	AR
Abraham Ribicoff	CT
Fred R. Harris	OK
Harry F. Byrd, Jr.	VA
Gaylord Nelson	WI
Wallace F. Bennett	UT
Carl T. Curtis	NB
Jack Miller	IA
Len B. Jordan	ID
Paul J. Fannin	AZ
Clifford P. Hansen	WY
Robert P. Griffin	MI

### FOREIGN RELATIONS

J. W. Fulbright, <i>Chairman</i>	AR
John Sparkman	AL
Mike Mansfield	MT
Frank Church	ID
Stuart Symington	MO
Claiborne Pell	RI
Gale W. McGee	WY
Edmund S. Muskie	ME
William B. Spong, Jr.	VA
George D. Aiken	VT
Karl E. Mundt	SD
Clifford P. Case	NJ
John Sherman Cooper	KY
Jacob K. Javits	NY
Hugh Scott	PA
James B. Pearson	KS

### GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

John L. McClellan, <i>Chairman</i>	AR
Henry M. Jackson	WA
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	NC
Edmund S. Muskie	ME
Abraham Ribicoff	CT
Fred R. Harris	OK
Lee Metcalf	MT
James B. Allen	AL
Hubert H. Humphrey	MN
Lawton Chiles	FL
Karl E. Mundt	SD
Jacob K. Javits	NY
Charles H. Percy	IL
Edward J. Gurney	FL
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	MD
William B. Saxbe	OH
William V. Roth, Jr.	DE
Bill Brock	TN

### INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Henry M. Jackson, <i>Chairman</i>	WA
Clinton P. Anderson	NM
Alan Bible	NV
Frank Church	ID
Frank E. Moss	UT
Quentin N. Burdick	ND
George McGovern	SD
Lee Metcalf	MT
Mike Gravel	AK
Gordon Allott	CO
Len B. Jordan	ID
Paul J. Fannin	AZ
Clifford P. Hansen	WY
Mark O. Hatfield	OR
Ted Stevens	AK
Henry Bellmon	OK

### JUDICIARY

James O. Eastland, <i>Chairman</i>	MS
John L. McClellan	AR
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	NC
Philip A. Hart	MI
Edward M. Kennedy	MA
Birch Bayh	IN
Quentin N. Burdick	ND
Robert C. Byrd	WV
John V. Tunney	CA
Roman L. Hruske	NB
Hiram L. Fong	HI
Hugh Scott	PA
Strom Thurmond	SC
Marlow W. Cook	KY
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	MD
Edward J. Gurney	FL

### LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Harrison A. Williams, Jr., <i>Chairman</i>	NJ
Jennings Randolph	WV
Claiborne Pell	RI
Edward M. Kennedy	MA
Gaylord Nelson	WI
Walter F. Mondale	MN
Thomas F. Eagleton	MD
Alan Cranston	CA
Harold E. Hughes	IA
Adlai E. Stevenson III	IL
Jacob K. Javits	NY
Peter H. Dominick	CO
Richard S. Schweiker	PA
Bob Packwood	OR
Robert Taft, Jr.	OH
J. Glenn Beall, Jr.	MD
Robert T. Stafford	VT

### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Gale W. McGee, <i>Chairman</i>	WY
Jennings Randolph	WV
Quentin N. Burdick	ND
Ernest F. Hollings	SC
Frank E. Moss	UT
Hiram L. Fong	HI
J. Caleb Boggs	DE
Ted Stevens	AK
Henry Bellmon	OK

### PUBLIC WORKS

Jennings Randolph, <i>Chairman</i>	WV
Edmund S. Muskie	ME
B. Everett Jordan	NC
Birch Bayh	IN
Joseph M. Montoya	NM
Thomas F. Eagleton	MO
Mike Gravel	AK
John V. Tunney	CA
Lloyd Bentsen	TX
John Sherman Cooper	KY
J. Caleb Boggs	DE
Howard H. Baker, Jr.	TN
Robert Dole	KS
J. Glenn Beall, Jr.	MD
James L. Buckley	NY
Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.	CT
Robert T. Stafford	VT

### RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

B. Everett Jordan, <i>Chairman</i>	NC
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Howard W. Cannon	NV
Claiborne Pell	RI
Robert C. Byrd	WV
James B. Allen	AL
John Sherman Cooper	KY
Hugh Scott	PA
Robert P. Griffin	MI
Ted Stevens	AK

### VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Vance Hartke, <i>Chairman</i>	IN
Herman E. Talmadge	GA
Jennings Randolph	WV
Harold E. Hughes	IA
Alan Cranston	CA
Strom Thurmond	SC
Clifford P. Hansen	WY
Marlow W. Cook	KY
Ted Stevens	AK
Robert T. Stafford	VT

### SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NUTRITION AND HUMAN NEEDS

George McGovern, <i>Chairman</i>	SD
Allen J. Ellender	LA
Herman Talmadge	GA
Philip A. Hart	MI
Walter F. Mondale	MN
Edward M. Kennedy	MA
Gaylord Nelson	WI
Alan Cranston	CA
Charles H. Percy	IL
Marlow W. Cook	KY
Robert Dole	KS
Henry Bellmon	OK
Richard S. Schweiker	PA
Robert Taft, Jr.	OH

### SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Walter Mondale, <i>Chairman</i>	MN
John McClellan	AR
Warren Magnuson	WA
William J. Randolph	WV
Daniel Inouye	HI
Birch Bayh	IN
William Spong	VA
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	NC
Adlai Stevenson III	IL
Roman Hruska	NB
Jacob Javits	NY
Peter Dominick	CO
Edward Brooke	MA
Mark Hatfield	OR
Marlow Cook	KY

### Joint Economic Committee

Sen. William Proxmire, D. WI, Chairman  
Rep. Wright Patman, D. TX, Vice Chairman

#### Senate Members

John J. Sparkman	AL	Jacob Javits	NY
J. W. Fulbright	AR	Jack Miller	IA
Abraham A. Ribicoff	CT	Charles H. Percy	IL
Hubert Humphrey	MN	James B. Pearson	KS
Lloyd M. Bentsen	TX		

#### House Members

Richard Bolling	MO	William B. Widnell	NJ
Hale Boggs	LA	Barber B. Conable	NY
Henry S. Reuss	WI	Clerence J. Brown	OH
Martha W. Griffiths	MI	Ben Blackburn	GA
William S. Moorhead	PA		

## HOUSE COMMITTEES 92D CONGRESS

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in *italic*; Resident  
Commissioner in **bold face**.)

### AGRICULTURE

W. R. Poage, <i>Chairman</i> . . . . .	TX
John L. McMillan . . . . .	SC
Thomas G. Abernethy . . . . .	MS
Watkins M. Abbutt . . . . .	VA
Frank A. Stubblefield . . . . .	KY
Graham Purcell . . . . .	TX
Thomas S. Foley . . . . .	WA
Eligio de la Garza . . . . .	TX
Joseph P. Viorito . . . . .	PA
Walter B. Jones . . . . .	NC
B. F. Sisk . . . . .	CA
Bill Alexander . . . . .	AR
Bill D. Burlison . . . . .	MO
John R. Rarick . . . . .	LA
Ed Jones . . . . .	TN
John Melcher . . . . .	MT
John G. Dow . . . . .	NY
Dawson Mathis . . . . .	GA
Bob Bergland . . . . .	MN
Arthur A. Link . . . . .	ND
Frank E. Denholm . . . . .	SD
Spark Matsunaga . . . . .	HI
Page Belcher . . . . .	OK
Charles M. Teague . . . . .	CA
William C. Wampler . . . . .	VA
George A. Goodling . . . . .	PA
Clarence E. Miller . . . . .	OH
Robert B. Mathias . . . . .	CA
Wiley Mayne . . . . .	IA
John M. Zwach . . . . .	MN
Robert Price . . . . .	TX
Keith G. Sebelius . . . . .	KS
Wilmer Mizell . . . . .	NC
Paul Findley . . . . .	IL
John Kyl . . . . .	IA
Jorge L. Córdova . . . . .	PR

### APPROPRIATIONS

George H. Mahon, <i>Chairman</i> . . . . .	TX
Jamie L. Whitten . . . . .	MS
John J. Rooney . . . . .	NY
Robert L. F. Sikes . . . . .	FL
Otto E. Passman . . . . .	LA
Joe L. Evins . . . . .	TN
Edward P. Boland . . . . .	MA
William H. Natcher . . . . .	KY
Daniel J. Flood . . . . .	PA
Tom Steed . . . . .	OK
George E. Shipley . . . . .	IL
John M. Slack . . . . .	WV
John J. Flynt, Jr. . . . .	GA
Neal Smith . . . . .	IA
Robert N. Giacomini . . . . .	CT
Julia Butler Hansen . . . . .	WA
Joseph P. Addabbo . . . . .	NY
John J. McFall . . . . .	CA
W. R. Hull, Jr. . . . .	MO
Edward J. Patten . . . . .	NJ
Clarence D. Long . . . . .	MD
Sidney R. Yates . . . . .	IL
Bob Casey . . . . .	TX
David Pryor . . . . .	AR
Frank E. Evans . . . . .	CO
David R. Obey . . . . .	WI
Edward R. Roybal . . . . .	CA

William D. Hathaway . . . . .	ME
Nick Galifianakis . . . . .	NC
Louis Stokes . . . . .	OH
J. Edward Roush . . . . .	IN
K. Gunn McKay . . . . .	UT
<i>Frank T. Bow</i> . . . . .	OH
<i>Charles Raper Jonas</i> . . . . .	NC
<i>Efford A. Cederberg</i> . . . . .	MI
<i>John J. Rhodes</i> . . . . .	AZ
<i>William E. Minshall</i> . . . . .	OH
<i>Robert H. Michel</i> . . . . .	IL
<i>Silvio O. Conte</i> . . . . .	MA
<i>Glenn R. Davis</i> . . . . .	WI
<i>Howard W. Robison</i> . . . . .	NY
<i>Garner E. Shriver</i> . . . . .	KS
<i>Joseph M. McDade</i> . . . . .	PA
<i>Mark Andrews</i> . . . . .	ND
<i>Louis C. Wyman</i> . . . . .	NH
<i>Burt L. Talcott</i> . . . . .	CA
<i>Donald W. Riegle, Jr.</i> . . . . .	MI
<i>Wendell Wyatt</i> . . . . .	OR
<i>Jack Edwards</i> . . . . .	AL
<i>Del Clawson</i> . . . . .	CA
<i>William J. Scherle</i> . . . . .	IA
<i>Robert C. McEwen</i> . . . . .	NY
<i>John T. Myers</i> . . . . .	IN
<i>J. Kenneth Robinson</i> . . . . .	VA

### ARMED SERVICES

F. Edward Hebert, <i>Chairman</i> . . . . .	LA
Melvin Price . . . . .	IL
O. C. Fisher . . . . .	TX
Charles E. Bennett . . . . .	FL
James A. Byrne . . . . .	PA
Samuel S. Stratton . . . . .	NY
Otis G. Pike . . . . .	NY
Richard H. Ichord . . . . .	MO
Lucien N. Nedzi . . . . .	MI
Alton Lennon . . . . .	NC
Wm. J. Randall . . . . .	MO
G. Elliott Hagan . . . . .	GA
Charles H. Wilson . . . . .	CA
Robert L. Leggett . . . . .	CA
Floyd V. Hicks . . . . .	WA
Speedy O. Long . . . . .	LA
Richard C. White . . . . .	TX
Bill Nichols . . . . .	AL
Jack Brinkley . . . . .	GA
Robert H. (Bob) Mollohan . . . . .	WV
W. C. (Dan) Daniel . . . . .	VA
G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery . . . . .	MS
Michael J. Harrington . . . . .	MA
Harold Runnels . . . . .	NM
Les Aspin . . . . .	WI
<i>Leslie C. Arends</i> . . . . .	IL
<i>Alvin E. O'Konski</i> . . . . .	WI
<i>William G. Bray</i> . . . . .	IN
<i>Bob Wilson</i> . . . . .	CA
<i>Charles S. Gubser</i> . . . . .	CA
<i>Alexander Pirnie</i> . . . . .	NY
<i>Durward G. Hall</i> . . . . .	MO
<i>Donald D. Clancy</i> . . . . .	OH
<i>Carleton J. King</i> . . . . .	NY
<i>William L. Dickinson</i> . . . . .	AL
<i>John E. Hunt</i> . . . . .	NJ
<i>G. William Whitehurst</i> . . . . .	VA

C. W. Bill Young . . . . .	FL
Floyd D. Spence . . . . .	SC
Jorge L. Córdova . . . . .	PR

### BANKING AND CURRENCY

Wright Patman, <i>Chairman</i> . . . . .	TX
William A. Barrett . . . . .	PA
Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan . . . . .	MO
Henry S. Reuss . . . . .	WI
Thomas L. Ashley . . . . .	OH
William S. Moorhead . . . . .	PA
Robert G. Stephens, Jr. . . . .	GA
Fernand J. St. Germain . . . . .	RI
Henry B. Gonzalez . . . . .	TX
Joseph G. Minish . . . . .	NJ
Richard T. Hanna . . . . .	CA
Tom S. Gettys . . . . .	SC
Frank Annunzio . . . . .	IL
Thomas M. Rees . . . . .	CA
Tom Bevill . . . . .	AL
Charles H. Griffin . . . . .	MS
James M. Hanley . . . . .	NY
Frank J. Brasco . . . . .	NY
Bill Chappell, Jr. . . . .	FL
Edward I. Koch . . . . .	NY
William R. Cotter . . . . .	CT
Parren J. Mitchell . . . . .	MD
<i>William B. Widnall</i> . . . . .	NJ
<i>Florence P. Dwyer</i> . . . . .	NJ
<i>Albert W. Johnson</i> . . . . .	PA
<i>J. William Stanton</i> . . . . .	OH
<i>Benjamin B. Blackburn</i> . . . . .	GA
<i>Garry Brown</i> . . . . .	MI
<i>Lawrence G. Williams</i> . . . . .	PA
<i>Chalmers P. Wylie</i> . . . . .	OH
<i>Margaret M. Heckler</i> . . . . .	MA
<i>Philip M. Crane</i> . . . . .	IL
<i>John H. Roussetot</i> . . . . .	CA
<i>Stewart B. McKinney</i> . . . . .	CT
<i>Norman F. Lent</i> . . . . .	NY
<i>Bill Archer</i> . . . . .	TX
<i>Bill Frenzel</i> . . . . .	MN

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

John L. McMillan, <i>Chairman</i> . . . . .	SC
Thomas G. Abernethy . . . . .	MS
John Dowdy . . . . .	TX
Charles C. Diggs, Jr. . . . .	MI
G. Elliott Hagan . . . . .	GA
Donald M. Fraser . . . . .	MN
Andrew Jacobs, Jr. . . . .	IN
Earle Cabell . . . . .	TX
Ray Blanton . . . . .	TN
W. S. (Bill) Stuckey . . . . .	GA
Abner J. Mikva . . . . .	IL
Arthur A. Link . . . . .	ND
Ronald V. Dellums . . . . .	CA
Edith Green . . . . .	OR
Walter E. Fauntroy . . . . .	DC
<i>Ancher Nelson</i> . . . . .	MN
<i>William L. Springer</i> . . . . .	IL
<i>Alvin E. O'Konski</i> . . . . .	WI
<i>William H. Harsha</i> . . . . .	OH
<i>Joel T. Broyhill</i> . . . . .	VA
<i>Gilbert Gude</i> . . . . .	MD
<i>Vernon W. Thomson</i> . . . . .	WI
<i>Henry P. Smith III</i> . . . . .	NY
<i>Earl F. Landgrebe</i> . . . . .	IN
<i>Stewart B. McKinney</i> . . . . .	CT

### EDUCATION AND LABOR

Carl D. Perkins, <i>Chairman</i> . . . . .	KY
Edith Green . . . . .	OR

Frank Thompson, Jr. . . . .	NJ
John H. Dent . . . . .	PA
Roman C. Pucinski . . . . .	IL
Dominick V. Daniels . . . . .	NJ
John Brademas . . . . .	IN
James G. O'Hara . . . . .	MI
Augustus F. Hawkins . . . . .	CA
William D. Ford . . . . .	MI
Patsy T. Mink . . . . .	HI
James H. Scheuer . . . . .	NY
Lloyd Meeds . . . . .	WA
Phillip Burton . . . . .	CA
Joseph M. Gaydos . . . . .	PA
William (Bill) Clay . . . . .	MO
Shirley Chisholm . . . . .	NY
Mario Biaggi . . . . .	NY
Ella T. Grasso . . . . .	CT
Louise Day Hicks . . . . .	MA
Romano L. Mazzoli . . . . .	KY
Herman Badillo . . . . .	NY
<i>Albert H. Quie</i> . . . . .	MN
<i>John M. Ashbrook</i> . . . . .	OH
<i>Alphonzo Bell</i> . . . . .	CA
<i>Ogden R. Reid</i> . . . . .	NY
<i>John N. Erlenborn</i> . . . . .	IL
<i>John Dellenback</i> . . . . .	OR
<i>Marvin L. Esch</i> . . . . .	MI
<i>Edwin D. Eshleman</i> . . . . .	PA
<i>William A. Steiger</i> . . . . .	WI
<i>Earl F. Landgrebe</i> . . . . .	IN
<i>Orval Hansen</i> . . . . .	ID
<i>Earl B. Ruth</i> . . . . .	NC
<i>Edwin B. Forsythe</i> . . . . .	NJ
<i>Victor V. Veysey</i> . . . . .	CA
<i>Jack F. Kemp</i> . . . . .	NY
<i>Peter A. Peyser</i> . . . . .	NY

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Thomas E. Morgan, <i>Chairman</i> . . . . .	PA
Clement J. Zablocki . . . . .	WI
Wayne L. Hays . . . . .	OH
L. H. Fountain . . . . .	NC
Dante B. Fascell . . . . .	FL
Charles C. Diggs, Jr. . . . .	MI
Cornelius E. Gallagher . . . . .	NJ
Robert N. C. Nix . . . . .	PA
John S. Monagan . . . . .	CT
Donald M. Fraser . . . . .	MN
Benjamin S. Rosenthal . . . . .	NY
John C. Culver . . . . .	IA
Lee H. Hamilton . . . . .	IN
Abraham Kazen, Jr. . . . .	TX
Lester L. Wolff . . . . .	NY
Jonathan B. Bingham . . . . .	NY
Gus Yatron . . . . .	PA
Roy A. Taylor . . . . .	NC
John W. Davis . . . . .	GA
Morgan F. Murphy . . . . .	IL
Ronald V. Dellums . . . . .	CA
<i>William S. Mailiard</i> . . . . .	CA
<i>Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen</i> . . . . .	NJ
<i>William S. Broomfield</i> . . . . .	MI
<i>J. Irving Whalley</i> . . . . .	PA
<i>H. R. Gross</i> . . . . .	IA
<i>Edward J. Derwinski</i> . . . . .	IL
<i>F. Bradford Morse</i> . . . . .	MA
<i>Vernon W. Thomson</i> . . . . .	WI
<i>Paul Findley</i> . . . . .	IL
<i>John Buchanan</i> . . . . .	AL
<i>Sherman P. Lloyd</i> . . . . .	UT
<i>J. Herbert Burke</i> . . . . .	FL
<i>Seymour Halpern</i> . . . . .	NY
<i>Guy Vander Jagt</i> . . . . .	MI
<i>Robert H. Steele</i> . . . . .	CT
<i>Pierre S. du Pont IV</i> . . . . .	DE
<i>Charles W. Whalen</i> . . . . .	OH

## GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Chet Holifield, <i>Chairman</i> .....	CA
Jack Brooks .....	TX
L. H. Fountain .....	NC
Robert E. Jones .....	AL
Edward A. Garmatz .....	MD
John E. Moss .....	CA
Dante B. Fascell .....	FL
Henry S. Reuss .....	WI
John S. Monagan .....	CT
Torbert H. Macdonald .....	MA
William S. Moorhead .....	PA
Cornelius E. Gallagher .....	NJ
Wm. J. Randall .....	MO
Benjamin S. Rosenthal .....	NY
Jim Wright .....	TX
Fernand J. St Germain .....	RI
John C. Culver .....	IA
Floyd V. Hicks .....	WA
George W. Collins .....	IL
Don Fuqua .....	FL
John Conyers, Jr. ....	MI
Bill Alexander .....	AR
Bella S. Abzug .....	NY
Florence P. Dwyer .....	NJ
Ogden R. Reid .....	NY
Frank Horton .....	NY
John N. Erlenborn .....	IL
John W. Wydler .....	NY
Clarence J. Brown .....	OH
Guy Vander Jagt .....	MI
Gilbert Gude .....	MD
Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. ....	CA
John Buchanan .....	AL
Sam Steiger .....	AZ
Garry Brown .....	MI
Barry M. Goldwater, Jr. ....	CA
Walter E. Powell .....	OH
Charles Thone .....	NB
H. John Heinz III .....	PA

## HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

Wayne L. Hays, <i>Chairman</i> .....	OH
Frank Thompson, Jr. ....	NJ
Watkins M. Abbott .....	VA
John H. Dent .....	PA
Lucien N. Nedzi .....	MI
John Brademas .....	IN
Kenneth J. Gray .....	IL
Augustus F. Hawkins .....	CA
Tom S. Gettys .....	SC
Jonathan B. Bingham .....	NY
Bertram L. Podell .....	NY
Frank Annunzio .....	IL
Joseph M. Gaydos .....	PA
Ed Jones .....	TN
Robert H. Mollohan .....	WV
Samuel L. Devine .....	OH
William L. Dickinson .....	AL
James C. Cleveland .....	NH
Fred Schwengel .....	IA
James Harvey .....	MI
Orval Hansen .....	ID
Philip M. Crane .....	IL
John H. Ware .....	PA
Victor V. Veysey .....	CA
Bill Frenzel .....	MN

## INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Wayne N. Aspinall, <i>Chairman</i> .....	CO
James A. Haley .....	FL
Ed Edmondson .....	OK

Walter S. Baring .....	NV
Roy A. Taylor .....	NC
Harold T. Johnson .....	CA
Morris K. Udall .....	AZ
Phillip Burton .....	CA
Thomas S. Foley .....	WA
Robert W. Kastenmeier .....	WI
James G. O'Hara .....	MI
William F. Ryan .....	NY
Patsy T. Mink .....	HI
James Kee .....	WV
Lloyd Meeds .....	WA
Abraham Kazen, Jr. ....	TX
Bill D. Burlison .....	MO
Robert G. Stephens, Jr. ....	GA
Joseph P. Vigorito .....	PA
John Melcher .....	MT
Teno Roncalio .....	WY
N. J. (Nick) Begich .....	AK
James Abourezk .....	SD
John P. Saylor .....	PA
Craig Hosmer .....	CA
Joe Skubitz .....	KS
John Kyl .....	IA
Sam Steiger .....	AZ
James A. McClure .....	ID
Don H. Clausen .....	CA
Philip E. Ruppe .....	MI
John N. Happy Camp .....	OK
Manuel Lujan, Jr. ....	NM
Sherman P. Lloyd .....	UT
John Dellenback .....	OR
Keith G. Sebelius .....	KS
James D. (Mike) McKeivitt .....	CO
John H. Terry .....	NY
Jorge L. Cordova .....	PR

## INTERNAL SECURITY

Richard H. Ichord, <i>Chairman</i> .....	MO
Claude Pepper .....	LA
Edwin W. Edwards .....	FL
Richardson Preyer .....	NC
Robert F. Drinan .....	MA
John M. Ashbrook .....	OH
Roger H. Zion .....	IN
Fletcher Thompson .....	GA
John G. Schmitz .....	CA

## INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Harley O. Staggers, <i>Chairman</i> .....	WV
Torbert H. Macdonald .....	MA
John Jarman .....	OK
John E. Moss .....	CA
John D. Dingell .....	MI
Paul G. Rogers .....	FL
Lionel Van Deerlin .....	CA
J. J. Pickle .....	TX
Fred B. Rooney .....	PA
John M. Murphy .....	NY
David E. Satterfield III .....	VA
Rock Adams .....	WA
Ray Blanton .....	TN
W. S. (Bill) Stuckey .....	GA
Peter N. Kyros .....	ME
Bob Eckhardt .....	TX
Robert O. Tiernan .....	RI
Richardson Preyer .....	NC
Bertram L. Podell .....	NY
Henry Helstoski .....	NJ
James W. Symington .....	MO
Charles J. Carney .....	OH
Ralph H. Metcalfe .....	IL
Goodloe E. Byron .....	MD

William R. Roy .....	KS
William L. Springer .....	IL
Samuel L. Devine .....	OH
Ancher Nelsen .....	MN
Hastings Keith .....	MA
James T. Broyhill .....	NC
James Harvey .....	MI
Tim Lee Carter .....	KY
Clarence J. Brown .....	OH
Dan Kuykendall .....	TN
Joe Skubitz .....	KS
Fletcher Thompson .....	GA
James F. Hastings .....	NY
John G. Schmitz .....	CA
James M. Collins .....	TX
Louis Frey, Jr. ....	FL
John H. Ware .....	PA
John Y. McCollister .....	NB
Richard G. Shoup .....	MT

## JUDICIARY

Emanuel Celler, <i>Chairman</i> .....	NY
Peter W. Rodino, Jr. ....	NJ
Harold D. Donohue .....	MA
Jack Brooks .....	TX
John Dowdy .....	TX
Robert W. Kastenmeier .....	WI
Don Edwards .....	CA
William L. Hungate .....	MO
John Conyers, Jr. ....	MI
Andrew Jacobs, Jr. ....	IN
Joshua Eilberg .....	PA
William F. Ryan .....	NY
Jerome R. Waldie .....	CA
Edwin W. Edwards .....	LA
Walter Flowers .....	AL
James R. Mann .....	SC
Abner J. Mikva .....	IL
Paul S. Sarbanes .....	MD
John F. Seiberling, Jr. ....	OH
James Abourezk .....	SD
George E. Danielson .....	CA
Robert F. Drinan .....	MA
William M. McCulloch .....	OH
Richard H. Poff .....	VA
Edward Hutchinson .....	MI
Robert McClory .....	IL
Henry P. Smith III .....	NY
Charles W. Sandman, Jr. ....	NJ
Tom Railsback .....	IL
Edward G. Biester, Jr. ....	PA
Charles E. Wiggins .....	CA
David W. Dennis .....	IN
Hamilton Fish, Jr. ....	NY
R. Lawrence Coughlin .....	PA
Wiley Wayne .....	IA
Lawrence J. Hogan .....	MD
William J. Keating .....	OH
James D. (Mike) McKeivitt .....	CO

## MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Edward A. Garmatz, <i>Chairman</i> .....	MD
Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan .....	MO
Frank M. Clark .....	PA
Thomas L. Ashley .....	OH
John D. Dingell .....	MI
Alton Lennon .....	NC
Thomas N. Downing .....	VA
James A. Byrne .....	PA
Paul G. Rogers .....	FL
Frank A. Stubblefield .....	KY
John M. Murphy .....	NY

Walter B. Jones .....	NC
Robert L. Leggett .....	CA
Speedy O. Long .....	LA
Mario Biaggi .....	NY
Charles H. Griffin .....	MS
Glenn M. Anderson .....	CA
Eligio de la Garza .....	TX
Peter N. Kyros .....	ME
Robert O. Tiernan .....	RI
James V. Stanton .....	OH
Thomas M. Pelly .....	WA
William S. Mailliard .....	CA
Charles A. Mosher .....	CA
James R. Grover, Jr. ....	NY
Hastings Keith .....	MA
Philip E. Ruppe .....	MI
George A. Goodling .....	PA
William G. Bray .....	IN
Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. ....	CA
Jack H. McDonald .....	MI
M. G. (Gene) Snyder .....	KY
Robert H. Steele .....	CT
Edwin B. Forsythe .....	NJ
Pierre S. du Pont IV .....	DE
William O. Mills .....	MD

## POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Thaddeus J. Dulski, <i>Chairman</i> .....	NY
David N. Henderson .....	NC
Morris K. Udall .....	AZ
Dominick V. Daniels .....	NJ
Robert N. C. Nix .....	PA
James M. Hanley .....	NY
Charles H. Wilson .....	CA
Jerome R. Waldie .....	CA
Richard C. White .....	TX
William D. Ford .....	MI
Lee H. Hamilton .....	IN
Frank J. Brasco .....	NY
Graham Purcell .....	TX
Tom Bevill .....	AL
Bill Chappell, Jr. ....	FL
H. R. Gross .....	IA
Edward J. Derwinski .....	IL
Albert W. Johnson .....	PA
William Lloyd Scott .....	VA
James A. McClure .....	ID
Lawrence J. Hogan .....	MD
John H. Rousselot .....	CA
Elwood H. Hillis .....	IN
Walter E. Powell .....	OH
C. W. Bill Young .....	FL
William O. Mills .....	MD

## PUBLIC WORKS

John A. Blatnik, <i>Chairman</i> .....	MN
Robert E. Jones .....	AL
John C. Kluczynski .....	IL
Jim Wright .....	TX
Kenneth J. Gray .....	IL
Frank M. Clark .....	PA
Ed Edmondson .....	OK
Harold T. Johnson .....	CA
Wm. Jennings Bryan Dorn .....	SC
David N. Henderson .....	NC
Ray Roberts .....	TX
James Kee .....	WV
James J. Howard .....	NJ
Glenn M. Anderson .....	CA
Patrick T. Caffery .....	LA
Robert A. Roe .....	IL
George W. Collins .....	NJ

Teno Roncalio	WY
N. J. (Nick) Begich	AK
Mike McCormack	WA
Charles B. Rangel	NY
James V. Stanton	OH
Bella S. Abzug	NY
William H. Harsha	OH
James R. Grover, Jr.	NY
James C. Cleveland	NH
Don H. Clausen	CA
Fred Schwengel	IA
M. G. (Gene) Snyder	KY
Roger H. Zion	IN
Jack H. McDonald	MI
John Paul Hammerschmidt	AR
Clarence E. Miller	OH
Wilmer Mizell	NC
John H. Terry	NY
Charles Thone	NB
LaMar Baker	TN

## RULES

William M. Colmer, Chairman	MS
Ray J. Madden	IN
James J. Delaney	NY
Richard Bolling	MO
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.	MA
B. F. Sisk	CA
John Young	TX
Claude Pepper	FL
Spark M. Matsunaga	HI
William R. Anderson	TN
H. Allen Smith	CA
John B. Anderson	IL
Dave Martin	NB
James H. Quillen	TN
Delbert Latta	OH

## SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS

George P. Miller, <i>Chairman</i>	CA
Olin E. Teague	TX
Ken Hechler	WV
John W. Davis	GA
Thomas N. Downing	VA
Don Fuqua	FL
Earle Cabell	TX
James W. Symington	MO
Richard T. Hanna	CA
Walter Flowers	AL
Robert A. Roe	NJ
John F. Seiberling, Jr.	OH
William R. Cotter	CT
Charles B. Rangel	NY
Morgan F. Murphy	IL
Mike McCormack	WA
Mendel Davis	SC
Charles A. Mosher	OH
Alphonzo Bell	CA
Thomas M. Pelly	WA
John W. Wylder	NY
Larry Winn, Jr.	KS
Robert Price	TX
Louis Frey, Jr.	FL
Barry M. Goldwater, Jr.	CA
Marvin L. Esch	MI
R. Lawrence Coughlin	PA
John N. Happy Camp	OK

## STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT

Melvin Price, <i>Chairman</i>	IL
Olin E. Teague	TX
Watkins M. Abbitt	VA
Wayne N. Aspinall	CO
F. Edward Hébert	LA
Chet Holifield	CA
Jackson E. Betts	OH
James H. Quillen	TN
Lawrence G. Williams	PA
Edward Hutchinson	MI
Floyd Spence	SC
Carleton J. King	NY

## VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Olin E. Teague, <i>Chairman</i>	TX
Wm. Jennings Bryan Dorn	SC
James A. Haley	FL
Walter S. Baring	NV
Thaddeus J. Dulski	NY
Ray Roberts	TX
David E. Satterfield III	VA
Henry Helstoski	NJ
Roman C. Pucinski	IL
Don Edwards	CA
G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery	MS
Charles J. Carney	OH
Louise Day Hicks	MA
George E. Danielson	CA
Ella T. Grasso	CT
Lester Wolff	NY
Charles M. Teague	CA
John P. Saylor	PA
John Paul Hammerschmidt	AR
William Lloyd Scott	VA
Margaret M. Heckler	MA
John M. Zwach	MN
Chalmers P. Wylie	OH
Larry Winn, Jr.	KS
Earl B. Ruth	NC
Elwood Hillis	IN

## WAYS AND MEANS

Wilbur D. Mills, <i>Chairman</i>	AR
Al Ullman	OR
James A. Burke	MA
Martha W. Griffiths	MI
Dan Rostenkowski	IL
Phil Landrum	GA
Charles A. Vanik	OH
Richard H. Fulton	TN
Omar Burlison	TX
James C. Corman	CA
William J. Green	PA
Sam M. Gibbons	FL
Hugh L. Carey	NY
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr.	LA
Joseph E. Karth	MN
John W. Byrnes	WI
Jackson E. Betts	OH
Herman T. Schneebeli	PA
Harold R. Collier	IL
Joel T. Broyhill	VA
Barber B. Conable, Jr.	NY
Charles E. Chamberlain	MI
Jerry L. Pettis	CA
John J. Duncan	TN
Donald G. Brotzman	CO

## NOTES

## LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS

**League Action Service.** Includes *Times for Action* and *Reports from the Hill* informing members when it is time to act on pending legislation of importance to the League and on the background and status of legislation. \$5.00 for each congressional year. 25¢ an issue.

**Publications Service.** Includes new publications on current topics as well as League information. (Does not include specific League material such as *Leaders' Guides* or *National Board Reports*.) \$10.00 annually. Payment in advance or charge to League account.

*Study and Action: 1970-72 National Program.* #409, 40 pp. An outline of League positions on issues on which members are prepared to act and a discussion of issues under study. 75¢.

*When You Come to Washington—How to Take a Look at the Federal Government.* 1967, #300, 24 pp. A guidebook for seeing our federal government in action and some of the more important buildings in which it is housed. 35¢.

*Is Politics Your Job?* 1969, #179, 46 pp. Stresses importance of knowledgeable participation in self-government. 75¢.

*You and Your National Government.* 1962, #273, 40 pp. Guide to federal governmental processes. 25¢.

*How a Bill Becomes a Law.* 1963, #287, 8 pp. An excerpt from *You and Your National Government*. 15¢.

*Choosing the President.* 1968, #301. 96 pp. The step-by-step process of nominating and electing the President of the U.S. \$1.00.

*Architects of Compromise . . . . Agents of Change?* 1971, #418, 6 pp. A Facts and Issues outline of how the U.S. Congress works. Includes chart on how a bill becomes a law. 35¢. Discount rates on request.

## NATIONAL PROGRAM 1970-72

**U.S. CONGRESS:** An evaluation of congressional structures, procedures and practices and their effect on responsive legislative processes.

**ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY:** Evaluation of measures to achieve and maintain a physical environment beneficial to life, with emphasis on the relationship of population growth and distribution.

Support of national policies and procedures which promote comprehensive long-range planning for conservation and development of water resources and improvement of water quality.

**HUMAN RESOURCES:** Support of equal opportunity in education, employment and housing. Evaluation of further measures to combat poverty and discrimination.

**FOREIGN POLICY:** Support of U.S. policies to promote **development** efforts which focus on human needs and which emphasize cooperation between the developed and developing countries; promote world **trade** while maintaining a sound U.S. economy; relax tensions and normalize relations with the People's Republic of **China** and facilitate mainland China's participation in the world community; strengthen the peacekeeping and peacebuilding capacities of the **United Nations** system.

### REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND VOTING RIGHTS

**ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT:** Support of the national direct popular vote method to elect the President and Vice President of the United States.

**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:** Support of self-government and representation in Congress for citizens of the District of Columbia.

**APPORTIONMENT:** Support of apportionment of both houses of state legislatures substantially on population.

**VOTING RIGHTS:** Action to protect the right to vote of every citizen (Bylaws, Article XIII, Section 1.a).

# STANDARDIZATION

The League of Women Voters of the United States is a national organization of women who are interested in the government and who wish to make their voices heard in the election process. The League is a non-partisan organization and does not support any political party or candidate for office. Its purpose is to help women understand the government and to help them make their voices heard in the election process. The League is a national organization and has chapters in every state and in the District of Columbia. The League is a non-partisan organization and does not support any political party or candidate for office. Its purpose is to help women understand the government and to help them make their voices heard in the election process.

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The League of Women Voters of the United States  
1730 M STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036  
Pub No. 349, 35¢ per copy.



# FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE POLICY



# FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE POLICY

*of the*

AMERICAN  
LIBRARY  
ASSOCIATION



*Adopted by the*

*American Library Association  
Council* Atlantic City, New Jersey

*June 27, 1969*

*Prepared by the  
American Library Association  
Legislation Committee*

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The AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION is an organization of libraries, librarians, library trustees, and others interested in libraries and in their contributions to the educational, scientific, economic, social, and cultural needs of society. The development of the Association has paralleled that of the major library movement and of the growth of librarianship in America. With members in every state and in many other countries, it is the chief spokesman for the people of the United States in their search for all types of library and information services. It has a close working relationship with more than seventy other library associations in the United States, Canada, and other countries and also works closely with many other organizations concerned with education, research, recreation, cultural development, and public service.

Government at all levels has recognized, both in the declaration of legislative intent and policy and by increased financial support, the educational, cultural, scientific, and economic importance of libraries as essential to the national interest. National and individual progress depends upon access to a wide range of media of communication. People of all ages, interests, and socioeconomic conditions must be provided with materials to meet their needs for information and for intellectual growth.

To facilitate library cooperation on all governmental levels and to assist in interpreting library needs to the Congress, to the federal and state executive agencies, and to the people of the United States, the Association maintains an office in Washington, D.C., in addition to its headquarters in Chicago. At the national level the American Library Association is the only nongovernmental organization representing all types of library and information services.

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## *American Library Association Objectives*

The Association promotes library development throughout the United States to ensure that all citizens have easy access to library materials and services to meet their needs. For the benefit of library users, it works to improve the professional standards of librarianship to assist in making library materials and services more vital forces in American life. It endeavors to improve state, public, school, and academic libraries and the special libraries serving government, the armed services, commerce and industry, hospitals and other specialized institutions. It promotes the coordination of all library resources for research and cooperation among libraries in planning and providing services. It encourages the establishment of library services for those with special needs, such as the aging, the handicapped or disadvantaged, the gifted or talented, and the non-English-speaking population. It supports more effective use of libraries in the education of adults, young people, and children. To upgrade the quality of professional library services, the Association works to improve the library manpower situation through an active recruitment program, the adoption of policies for better professional education, and the development of personnel standards for libraries of all types, including personnel qualifications, salaries, working conditions, and personnel benefits. It stimulates the production and distribution of books and other library materials to meet the needs of the people.

Adequate library resources and services must be made an integral part of all communities, schools, vocational institutions, junior and senior colleges, universities, and agencies with specialized requirements. Library resources must encompass human

knowledge in all its forms, totality, and complexity, organized in ways that will make it possible readily to locate and disseminate ideas and information to satisfy the needs and demands of individuals and groups in our dynamic society.

Libraries, as integral institutions in the total educational structure in our democracy and as the primary depositories of man's knowledge and ideas, have direct responsibility for promoting intellectual freedom and in making books and other materials of communication readily available in quantity to Americans of all ages, races, creeds, and circumstances. In performing this essential work, libraries require and deserve adequate public support at all levels of government. The nation itself has a stake in achieving this goal.

Important contributions to world peace can be made by promoting the development of libraries in other nations; by encouraging the interchange of ideas, informational materials, and persons with all nations; and by advancing research and scholarship which know no national boundaries.

## *Federal Legislative Policy*

Federal legislation relates directly to the achievement of these objectives. Representing the users of libraries, the Association serves as a source of information to those concerned with establishing or implementing legislation affecting library and information services. Legislative developments in the following areas are considered especially pertinent:

### **1 DIRECT SERVICES TO LIBRARIES**

#### FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Comprehensive federal aid to public education is needed to support the states and their subdivisions in establishing and maintaining

adequate educational services and facilities and in equalizing educational opportunities. The success of federal programs of categorical aid to education, as exemplified by the several existing federal-aid-to-education programs, clearly demonstrates the contribution the federal government can make to promoting broadened educational opportunities for all.

#### NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

Achievement of the objectives of the American Library Association requires formulation of a national policy, enunciated by the President and enacted into law by the Congress, which affirms that the American people should be provided with library and information services adequate to their needs and that the federal government, in collaboration with state and local governments and private agencies, should exercise leadership in assuring the provision of such services.

For implementation of the national policy with respect to library and informational services, the ALA supports the recommendation of the National Advisory Commission on Libraries that a National Commission on Libraries and Information Science be established as a continuing federal planning agency.

#### SCHOOL LIBRARIES

The school library is an integral part of the school, supporting every aspect of the curriculum. It may be designated as an educational media center, an instructional materials center, a learning resources center, or a school library. At all levels of elementary and secondary education and in vocational schools, effective teaching and learning are increasingly dependent on well-stocked school libraries staffed by professional librarians and other media specialists. The federal government has recognized the school library's contributions to education and espe-

cially its important function in stimulating intellectual and cultural growth in both advantaged and disadvantaged children, as evidenced by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the National Defense Education Act, and the Higher Education Act.

The Association supports increased federal assistance to provide professional library personnel in individual schools, in school systems, and at the state level; adequate collections of library books and other educational media; and the library facilities essential to stimulate and strengthen the development of school library services required in programs of quality education.

#### JUNIOR COLLEGE, COLLEGE, AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Libraries are a vital part of higher education and must be expanded greatly to meet the needs of fast-increasing numbers of undergraduate and graduate students and to support significant efforts to strengthen existing programs of instruction and research. Funds for library materials and personnel, federal scholarships and loans, special grants, research grants and contracts, assistance in building programs, and tax exemptions for educational institutions benefit the nation by improving the quality of higher education. The Higher Education Act and the Higher Education Facilities Act have contributed to higher education improvement by providing for library resources and facilities.

Increased support of junior college, college, and university libraries must be a part of, or a corollary to, increased support of higher education. Any federal legislation which stimulates new or expanded educational programs should provide additional funds for meeting the library needs which will be created inevitably by these programs.

#### PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Public libraries are essential components of our total educational structure and are of so-

cial, educational, and economic benefit to citizens of all ages in every community. Their services and resources must be strengthened and expanded greatly to meet growing needs of a diverse population for information, understanding, and self-realization.

Increased federal assistance is needed to strengthen basic library resources, to develop strong library systems, and to provide for adequate library facilities. Additional federal legislation and funding are recommended that will stimulate and assist public libraries in developing new programs and services that will assist in meeting critical social and educational needs, in providing coordinated library services in metropolitan areas and in improving access to information.

The Association also supports the inclusion of the public library in federal legislation designed to strengthen or create community services and programs of social and educational nature.

#### LIBRARY SERVICES TO THE BLIND AND HANDICAPPED

Substantial progress has been made in the development of specialized library service to the blind and to the physically handicapped. The Association supports programs to strengthen and expand library service not only to these persons but also to all persons with handicaps to reading. It also encourages adequate financial support from federal, state, and local sources for libraries which undertake these specialized services.

#### STATE LIBRARIES

State library agencies are the keystone to the development of a program of total library services in a state. They are responsible for statewide library planning that provides for state support, for the effective utilization and administration of federal funds for libraries, and for the coordination of library development. They support and backstop the resources and services of libraries in the states,

and provide for services to state government, institutions, and special groups.

State library agencies must be strengthened in order to discharge these responsibilities effectively. The Association recommends federal legislation that will assist the states to provide strong state library agencies.

#### LIBRARY SERVICE TO INSTITUTIONS

The Association strongly advocates that a library service program be provided in institutions. Service should be available to the residents and staff in correctional institutions, mental and general hospitals, nursing and medical schools, orphanages, and residential schools for special handicaps. Adequate financial support should be supplied on the federal, state, and local levels to provide for these services.

#### EDUCATION OF LIBRARIANS AND INFORMATION SPECIALISTS

The critical shortage of librarians, information specialists, and supportive staff to effect library development programs makes it imperative that funds be provided to increase the quantity and quality of preservice and continuing library education programs through scholarships, fellowships, and training institutes. Manpower is one key to improvement of libraries of all types, and increased federal assistance is necessary in the national interest. Especially needed is funding of legislation to assist in establishing or strengthening programs for the education of librarians and information specialists.

#### RESEARCH IN LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

With the tremendous acceleration in the production of information and the increasing demands of larger numbers of people in business, industry, government, research, and educational organizations for information, it is essential that additional federal support become available for research in library science and information storage and retrieval.

#### PUBLIC WORKS

As a means by which library facilities may be extended and improved, the Association favors the inclusion of libraries in legislation providing for programs of public works.

#### SURPLUS PROPERTY

The Association supports the policy of permitting libraries, like other educational institutions, to receive both real and personal surplus property.

#### FEDERAL LIBRARY SERVICES

##### LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The Library of Congress, together with other national libraries of the United States, forms the keystone upon which any program of national library service must rest. In addition to serving the Congress, it performs more national library functions than does any other library in the world. These functions are vital to the library and research communities of the United States. The Association supports the improvement and extension of its present services and advocates the appropriation of sufficient funds to carry them out effectively. The Association believes that additional research programs should be undertaken by the Library of Congress in library techniques and services and encourages the Library to take even greater leadership in making library materials and services available in cooperation with other libraries, assisting libraries in acquiring foreign materials, utilizing new technological advances, and increasing responsibility for the provision of cataloging information. The Library of Congress should be specifically authorized by Congress to exercise these leadership functions by designation as the national library.

##### OTHER FEDERAL LIBRARIES

The Library of Congress, the National Agricultural Library, and the National Library of

Medicine are each recognized as having national responsibility for collecting, organizing, and servicing research materials in its field. Numerous other federal libraries have significant research collections and a considerable measure of national responsibility beyond the specific agencies which they serve. Such federal libraries should receive financial and other support commensurate with their responsibilities. A national system of library services, with federal libraries and federal funds providing resources and support, should be created and developed to serve the library needs of the nation.

As the nation's needs for more specialized information become increasingly more acute, additional networks of highly specialized library and information services must be created and developed to serve both private and public interests.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHIC SERVICES

Catalog card distribution, production of bibliographies, and other bibliographic services of the Library of Congress and other federal libraries should be strengthened and made available through local library services. Only effective distribution of bibliographic works can ensure access to and fullest use of this material. The Association supports full implementation of the centralized cataloging services of the Library of Congress authorized under Title II, Part C, of the Higher Education Act.

The Association supports the use of libraries as reference centers for providing scientific and technical information to business, commerce, and industry, under the State Technical Services Act of 1965, administered by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

#### U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Adequate educational services and facilities and the equalization of educational opportunities are essential to our national welfare. As a primary agency in promoting the im-

provement of education, the U.S. Office of Education carries responsibilities for libraries and library services. Since library service cuts across all bureau lines, there should be a strong staff to review and coordinate all library activities in the Office of Education and to maintain leadership not only within the limits of current legislation but also in terms of an ongoing program.

The U.S. Office of Education gives advisory and technical assistance in extending and improving library education and the resources, services, and facilities of school, college, university, research, state, special, and public libraries; prepares valuable statistical compilations, research reports, and other essential library publications; and administers programs of importance to libraries under a number of legislative acts. The Association is vitally interested in and gives support to a fully developed and coordinated program of library services in the U.S. Office of Education.

#### POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AFFECTING ITS LIBRARIES AND LIBRARY EMPLOYEES

##### PERSONNEL POLICIES

*General.* In order to fulfill the library's function of serving as an unbiased, nonpartisan source of information, the Association supports a library personnel program based on the following: (1) a sound position classification plan; (2) selection and promotion based solely on merit, with persons chosen for their educational, professional, and personal qualifications; (3) well-organized plans for in-service training and merit rating; (4) fair conditions of employment, including vacations with pay, paid sick leave, and provisions for group insurance, to promote job satisfaction and high morale; (5) an equitable and adequate pay plan to attract and hold men and women of marked ability; (6) an actuarially sound retirement plan supplemented by, or including, federal social se-

curity; (7) security of intellectual freedom; and (8) tenure with protection against discharge and demotion without adequate cause and fair hearing.

*Civil Service.* The influence of a strong, flexible federal civil service system extends beyond the federal system and affects standards for library positions everywhere. The Association supports the development and maintenance of a valid classification system for all levels of library personnel. For professional positions the Association advocates that qualifications be in terms of professional education.

*Recruiting of Librarians.* Along with a strong, flexible civil service system there should be an aggressive recruiting program for librarians by the federal government.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY LIBRARY SERVICES FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The federal government and the nation's libraries have entered into a series of joint programs designed to bring information to the citizenry and especially to scholarly and research communities. These programs should be strengthened so that public information, scholarship, and research will not suffer from inadequate resources.

#### DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES FOR FEDERAL PUBLICATIONS

The Depository Library System makes certain federal documents available to those libraries of the country designated as Depository Libraries. These depositories, in turn, constitute a network of information centers through which citizens may request and use federal publications. This is a sound program essential to an informed citizenry.

Vigorous, wholehearted administrative support is needed to include more publications, to establish an advisory and consultative program and an improved bibliographic service, and to promote closer liaison with the cooperating libraries. The Association

supports further improvement and extension of the depository library program.

The Association believes that concurrent, comprehensive research studies of the federal depository library system and of the provision of the publications of all state governments, within each state, should be undertaken as early as possible. The aim of such studies should be to develop a national plan for government publications that would result in more logical systems of depositories for federal and state publications and to make information more readily available and accessible to the general citizenry, scholars, and research workers.

## 2 INDIRECT SERVICES TO LIBRARIES

### POSTAL RATES

The widest possible dissemination of information is essential to our nation's welfare. The Association, therefore, believes in low postal rates on all informational, cultural, and educational materials. It recognizes the assistance given by the Congress in establishing and in designating these rates as public service functions of the Post Office Department.

### TAXATION

The Association believes it is in the public interest that libraries as educational institutions, and the distribution of educational, cultural, and scientific materials used by libraries, not be unjustly burdened by taxation. Libraries and library materials are already frequently given special treatment and exemptions in the tax laws of the federal, state, and local governments. In the various studies of tax policy either underway or contemplated, the application of this principle needs to be extended further.

### COPYRIGHT

The Association strongly favors the adaptation of the United States copyright law to

reflect the changing techniques of communication in the interest of interposing the fewest possible obstacles to the communication of ideas, consistent with preserving the fundamental constitutional purpose of encouraging creative endeavor.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The Association supports a strong federal social security program as an important contribution to, and as a basis for, actuarially sound retirement programs for librarians.

### INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

#### INTRODUCTION

Librarianship is a profession which transcends national boundaries. The efforts which our own government and people have made and are making to promote international understanding put upon the librarians of the United States the obligation to inform themselves about international issues and to intensify their efforts to promote understanding of international affairs in the people they serve. In addition, the American Library Association should continue in its role of working with international library groups, national library associations, and librarians abroad toward common professional goals and of assisting in the development of librarians and a profession in those countries where none exist.

#### UNITED NATIONS

The Association supports participation by the United States in those programs of the United Nations and of its specialized agencies which, in fulfillment of the objective of the Charter, relate significantly and constructively to books, reading, and libraries. The Association will support legislation implementing United States participation in the United Nations and its specialized agencies toward these ends.

#### UNESCO

The Association supports the principles of UNESCO as stated in the UNESCO constitution and endorsed by the government of the United States. Through its representation in the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO and through the work of its various committees and individual libraries and librarians, it seeks to assist in the implementation of the UNESCO program in this country and abroad, particularly those aspects of it involving the development of library services and bibliographic activities throughout the world. It favors adequate support for the necessary staff in the Department of State to facilitate this work.

The Association supports implementation by the United States of the Florence Agreement (Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials) and the Beirut Agreement (Agreement for Facilitating the International Circulation of Visual and Auditory Materials of an Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Character).

#### ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

The Association has long been active in programs for the improvement of library and bibliographic services in Latin America and of relations among the libraries of the Americas. It collaborates with the Library Development Program of the Pan American Union, General Secretariat of the Organization of American States, and favors strengthening the program to meet its objectives of improved communication among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

#### INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF PERSONS

The International Exchange of Persons program, which has contributed to better understanding, should be continued, and foreign visitors under the program should be given the opportunity to observe libraries in this country and to understand their contribution to American life. The exchange of librarians

between this and other countries should be encouraged with government subvention to libraries and library schools for observation, study, and in-service training.

#### INTERNATIONAL FLOW OF PUBLICATIONS

The interchange of publications between the United States and other countries is important for international understanding. Federal programs should be supported to improve the supply of books from abroad in libraries of all types to inform the citizens of the United States concerning the issues involved in international affairs and the points of view of other peoples of the world.

The wide distribution of American publications abroad is a most effective means of providing information about the United States to the people of other nations. The American Library Association continues to be convinced that the federal government should maintain strong programs of book distribution and translation to this end, and that the financial support for these purposes should be at a high level, consistent with the importance of the ends to be achieved.

The federal government should support and strengthen exchange agencies to make them positive forces for the exchange of official foreign documents for American libraries, and should take advantage of exchanges as a means of improving the flow of publications of all kinds between the libraries of the United States and those abroad. This kind of activity should be closely correlated with that of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and other research libraries, and such services should be developed to give rapid service.

#### CUSTOMS REGULATIONS

The easy importation of foreign books and other library materials for scholarly and research purposes and the continuance of customs policies which permit library materials to enter duty free under simplified customs

regulations should be continued. (See also reference to the Florence and Beirut agreements under UNESCO, page 17.)

#### UNITED STATES LIBRARIES ABROAD

The Association continues to encourage the federal government to provide adequate funds to establish and maintain abroad information libraries administered by professionally trained and experienced American librarians, in order to assure competent and reliable sources of information about the United States. Accordingly, the Association favors the concept of a public-private mechanism that would operate or assure the funding of such libraries as models of an important institution in the United States.

#### INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT

The establishment of reciprocal copyright relationships with other countries through appropriate international arrangement such as the Universal Copyright Convention should be encouraged.

#### INTERNATIONAL POSTAL POLICY

The United States international postal rates on educational and cultural materials should continue to be based on the optional provision in the Universal Postal Convention permitting reduced rates on these materials. The several proposals made by UNESCO for the modification of the Universal Postal Convention to encourage wider and easier international distribution of educational and cultural materials should be supported.

#### ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

United States programs to help underdeveloped countries with their educational problems should be continued and should include assistance in developing local publishing capabilities, adequate distribution

arrangements for publications, libraries, bibliographic control of publications, and information services of all kinds.

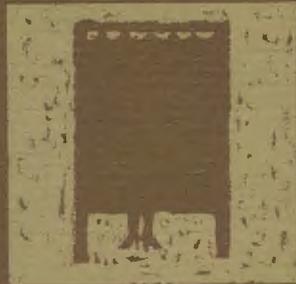
#### 4 INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

The Association holds intellectual freedom to be indispensable to the preservation of those individual liberties and democratic institutions guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Free communication in every form through all media is the foundation of intellectual freedom. The Association's position in support of intellectual freedom is clearly set forth in its officially adopted "Library Bill of Rights."

#### 5 EXISTING FEDERAL LAWS AFFECTING LIBRARIES

Agricultural Trade Development Assistance Act of 1954 (Title VII)	P. L. 83-480
American Revolution Bicentennial Commission	P. L. 89-591
Appalachian Regional Development Act (Title II)	P. L. 89-4, as amended
Beirut Agreement (Joint Resolution to give effect to the Agreement for Facilitating the International Circulation of Visual and Auditory Materials of an Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Character, approved at Beirut in 1948)	P. L. 89-634
Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act (Model Cities)	P. L. 89-754, as amended
Depository Library Act	P. L. 87-579
Economic Opportunity Act	P. L. 88-452, as amended
Elementary and Secondary Education Act	P. L. 89-10, as amended
Federal Property and Administrative Services Act (Sec. 203 [j] [3])	P. L. 87-786, as amended
Florence Agreement (Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials Importation Act of 1966)	P. L. 89-651
Higher Education Act	P. L. 89-329, as amended

Higher Education Facilities Act	P. L. 88-204, as amended
Housing and Urban Development Act (Title VII)	P. L. 89-117, as amended
International Education Act	P. L. 89-698, as amended
Library of Congress Books for the Blind and Handicapped	P. L. 89-522
Library Services and Construction Act	P. L. 88-269, as amended
Manpower Development and Training Act	P. L. 87-415, as amended
Medical Library Assistance Act	P. L. 89-291
Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act	P. L. 87-256
National Defense Education Act (Title III)	P. L. 88-665, as amended
National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act (Secs. 12 and 13)	P. L. 89-209, as amended
Older Americans Act	P. L. 89-73
Public Works and Economic Development Act (Title I)	P. L. 89-136, as amended
Social Security Act	P. L. 89-97, as amended
State Technical Services Act	P. L. 89-182
Vocational Education Act	P. L. 88-210, as amended



IS POLITICS YOUR JOB?



IS POLITICS YOUR JOB?

PUBLISHED BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE U.S.

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## Introduction



# Is Politics Your Job?

"Politics," says Theodore H. White, "is the number one spectator and participation sport in the United States."

If his contention is indeed true, Mr. White, author of *The Making of the President—1960*, *The Making of the President—1964* and *The Making of the President—1968*, has himself been a party to the deed; his books have helped to make the game of politics better understood both by the participants and the spectators.

There have been others—people, institutions, media—that have helped.

Television has helped.

The political parties themselves continue to be great recruiters and educators. Labor unions and business groups offer courses on practical training in politics and many of the "graduates" put their training to good use.

As the Negro has insisted on his voting rights and his place in the political power structure, he has helped focus attention on politics.

Accused in the 1950s of being "indifferent" and "bland," today's college student participates in political events; indeed he is sometimes criticized for being too emotional and too involved in his causes.

Commitment is no longer "square."

High school boys and girls are also becoming more interested in government and politics. Young people put on mock political conventions and run effective campaigns. An increasing number of teachers are active political workers; some even run for office.

Students of all ages find no lack of material on how to get started; books have been written on the subject as well as on how to run a successful campaign, how to win an election, and how to analyze what went wrong.

Magazines such as the Ladies Home Journal and McCall's have helped women get into the act; nonpartisan organizations like the League of Women Voters have encouraged their members to work in the party of their choice and have held workshops and courses on how to get started. And, of course, many organizations, including the League, go all out in support of, or opposition to, selected issues and this, too, is part of politics.

So if politics isn't the number one sport in this country it isn't for lack of exhortation, invitation, or instruction.

Not everyone agrees with Mr. White's premise, however.

Some point to the relatively poor voting record of the American people (especially in nonpresidential election years) as the sign of a deep indifference to public affairs. If a person doesn't vote, they contend, how can it be said he is even an interested spectator, much less a participant in "America's favorite sport"? Those observers who find politics way down the list of "favorite" U.S. pastimes also point out that the direction of cultural change in this country is away from commitment and enthusiasm toward alienation and apathy. Our language is full of such terms as "estrangement," "withdrawal," and "noninvolvement."

It follows then that these observers find politics, which is inevitably concerned with people and commitment and enthusiasm, not as popular as Mr. White contends.

Dislike of controversy is another reason for nonparticipation. David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd* and William H. Whyte in *The Organization Man* make the same point about "organization men" who are highly sensitive to the opinion of others and who want more than anything else to be liked and to get along. They are not forced to be conformists; they want to conform because life is easier that way. Politics is often controversial. Thus there is a tendency on the part of many to withdraw to the security of home and family and to a small circle of like-minded friends, to television and golf and bridge-playing and to leave to others important political decisions.

There are other conflicting observations.

In some places politics is still considered "not nice for ladies," and newcomers of either sex are made to feel unwelcome by the political parties—even as envelope stuffers or stamp lickens. The political party in a particular community may like things just as they are and not wish the unsettling influence of political amateurs.

The books and magazine articles, the television programs giving an "inside view" may make fascinating reading or viewing but they may also confirm the suspicion that politics is a "dirty business" or a "jungle" where the only ones who survive are those who live by the fang and the claw. The reader may conclude "not for me."

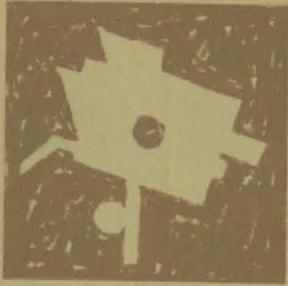
And yet, all of us are in politics whether we choose to be or not. We are in politics when we sound off about the schools or taxes or war. We are in politics when we vote, when we give money to a cause, join a group which is backing an issue. We are in politics when we sign a petition, contribute money to a candidate, write a letter to a Congressman. Even the person who wants government to play a minimum role is in politics as he strives to carry out his purpose of limiting government.

This publication *Is Politics Your Job?* therefore poses a rhetorical question. Politics is our job. We don't all have to participate in the same way or to the same extent but if self-government is going to be successful all of us should participate to the extent of our time and ability. And whatever we do in the self-governing process—whatever we do in politics—should be done with as much knowledge as we can muster.

If, as independents, we confine our political activity to voting in the general election, we should try to be well enough informed so that our vote counts the way we want it to.

If we vote a straight party ticket we should be sure that we vote in the primaries and that our voice is heard at the precinct meeting.

If our political activity is channeled mainly through a pressure group we should be sure the leaders of that group have had the benefit of our thinking.



### Is Politics the Same Old Game?

Politics has changed in the last decade or two. Personnel has changed. The political boss—in the old-fashioned sense—is on the wane. Some say his place has been taken by the public relations man. Scientific polling and electronic computers have taken the place of political instinct in detecting public opinion. Television has not only entered the picture but is a means of getting the picture out. The growth and multiplication of all media have called for new skills.

In the meantime the American public is becoming better educated, better informed. Thus issues grow in importance. No longer are people limited to information on politics from one or two newspapers in a community. Both men and women belong to many organizations and special interest groups that put out publications and hold meetings. The citizen is released from having only parochial pressures; he is a plural man.

And, perhaps most important of all, candidates have changed. In most places it is increasingly difficult to run for office with nothing to offer but honesty and a willingness to work. Politics is not so much a matter of "driving the rascals out" as it is of being—or finding—candidates with the brains and the inclination to solve the increasingly complex problems of government and with the money or backing to make the race, because politics has grown increasingly expensive.

#### Farewell to "The Last Hurrah"

When in 1956 Edwin O'Connor published his sympathetic tribute to the tribal chieftain of American politics—the big city boss—the old type of political machine was already well on its way out. Political organizations—machines if you will—will be with us always but the position of the old type political ward heeler has been seriously

weakened. Social agencies have taken one part of his job and civil service a share of what remained.

Furthermore a new type of leader is springing up to organize the poor on a basis quite outside the political parties. Under the two-pronged prodding of governmental agencies urging participation of the poor in local programs and of militant organizers who urge the poor to band together and demand their rights, the big-city party machine finds it has company—not to say competition.

#### The New Faces

As politics has become more scientific, the pollster is an increasingly familiar face. His importance lies not only in letting the candidate know where he stands in relation to other candidates, but also in telling him what image he presents to the voters and which issues he should hit and which he should leave alone.

Another new face is that of the intellectual. Issues are likely to be complicated and technical. Experts are needed in the party. The parties are also attracting professional people in greater numbers, more educated types, people for whom political doctrines and the conscious pursuit of public policies are likely to be important.

And then there is the public relations man. His activities can run the gamut from advice on how to project a favorable image on television to thinking up a catchy slogan.

There are more women in politics these days and they are not only giving coffee parties and keeping the headquarters tidy, but also appearing in the "smoke-filled" room. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the smoke-filled room is often the kitchen of the party chairwoman. Many of these women are in politics not for what they can get out of it but because they want to serve. Thus they are less easily "controlled" than party workers of another day and this, too, makes a difference.

#### New Techniques

Television is something else that has changed politics. Television exposure has caused an increase in interest and knowledge about candidates and elections and thus has increased an interest in politics itself.

Most people agree that of particular benefit is the face-to-face confrontations between candidates. Undoubtedly "The Great Debates" between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon had their effect in the 1960 campaign. Meeting face to face there was less possibility of one candidate distorting what the other said and surprisingly several issues emerged on which the candidates did not

differ materially. At the same time the debates clarified the differences between the two and exposed the differences in specific form.

Without confrontation, television campaigning can blur the issues. Knowing that he is speaking to all kinds of people the candidate may tend to soften his presentations and to depend on punch lines and slogans.

Candidates regard television as both a boon and a headache. It is a boon because of the great many people reached at one time. It is a headache because of the regulations governing "equal time" on a public service basis, the expense of purchased time, and the fact that using television to advantage takes skilled production.

In between campaigns television can, and does, bring issues into focus. "The service that television news performs is . . . to . . . make visible things that had become invisible," Howard K. Smith said late in 1965. "I am absolutely sure that the presentation on television of what was happening in Birmingham and Selma caused Americans—even those afflicted with racial prejudice to say: 'That cannot be permitted to continue.' This feeling, articulated into political pressure, largely caused Congress to pass the landmark rights bill and the more remarkable voting bill."

### **Issues and Ideology Gaining in Importance with—and within—the Parties**

Traditionally in the United States the chief function of the political party has been to win elections. Both parties have tried to appeal to as wide a range of voters as possible and their platforms have covered a wide ideological spectrum. Realistic party leaders have seen to it that moderate candidates are run in moderate districts and liberal candidates run in liberal districts.

Of late years, however, there has been a fight for control within the parties along ideological lines. The struggle is particularly apparent in the Republican Party. "Unlike the Democratic Party which has tended to have its philosophical wings neatly separated by geography into two major blocs, the Republican Party has had different philosophies within each state and local unit" wrote Allan L. Otten and Charles B. Seib in *The Reporter Magazine* for February 3, 1966. With an influx of Negro voters in the South this same sort of struggle may take place in the Democratic Party.

### **Campaigns Are More Expensive**

Along with the new faces in politics there are new and increasing expenses. It costs money to have spot announcements on radio and television, to take polls, to put up billboards, to rent headquarters and

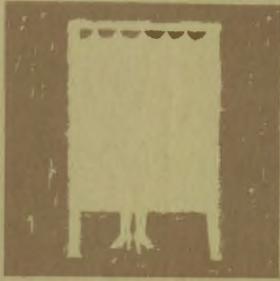
furnishings, to pay telephone bills and bills for printing and stamps and envelopes. Even meetings cost money.

To raise the needed funds the parties—and the individual candidates—have fund-raising dinners, accept the contributions of friends and well-wishers, dig deep in their own pockets and increasingly they ask for small gifts from a wide range of contributors.

The American Heritage Foundation, with Advertising Council support, mounted a campaign in 1960 to persuade the American people to give by exhorting them "Don't pass the buck, give a buck to the party of your choice." And there is considerable backing for legislative action to make modest gifts for political purposes exempt from federal income tax.

Dr. Herbert E. Alexander of the Citizens' Research Foundation in Princeton, N.J., estimates that 12 million individuals made contributions to a party or a candidate in 1964 in contrast to 3 million individual givers in 1952. According to Dr. Alexander, Senator Barry Goldwater received 651,000 contributions in small sums as the result of direct mail and television appeals for funds in his bid for the presidency in 1964.

The problem of large-sum contributors who ask for political favors still remains, as does the practice of asking campaign support from those who receive contracts and jobs from the government—local, state, and national. Dr. Alexander estimates the political bill for 1968 for all campaigns was \$300 million, a 50 percent increase over 1964. This amount could have been raised without recourse to large contributors if the more than 73 million persons who voted had contributed about \$4.00 each.



### Voting

The vote is the primary instrument of political power in a self-governing country.

No wonder men have died for the privilege of voting. No wonder the women of America spent 72 years, millions of dollars, and the "accumulated possibilities of entire lifetimes" so that women could have the franchise.

Negroes have faced jail, economic reprisal, and bodily harm to make the promise of a constitutional amendment a reality at the ballot box.

To vote is a fundamental political right in a self-governing country.

The vote is a symbol of equality.

The vote is a weapon for self-protection.

The vote is a tool to get things done.

The vote assures that the voice will be heard even after election day.

Go into your Representative's office and tell his secretary that you are visiting "from the District"—you will see him almost immediately, regardless of what he is working on at the time.

#### Voting in the United States

It is generally assumed that this country was founded on the premise of free, universal manhood suffrage. This is not true. When the United States was a young country only about 6 out of each 100 white grown males had sufficient property and other essentials to fulfill the voting qualifications of the separate states.

Over the years the various states gradually abolished the property-holding and tax-paying qualifications for voting, but it was necessary for the federal government to step in to extend suffrage to Negroes

and to women. In theory, Negro males got the vote in 1870 with the adoption of the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution; in practice, the implementation of the amendment took a long, bitter fight necessitating federal legislation and Supreme Court decisions.

It took a fight for women to get the vote too. But once the 19th Amendment was passed there were no organized attempts to interfere with the right of women to vote.

#### The American Record

In 1876 an estimated 85.8 percent of those eligible to vote went to the polls. This was the high point of voting participation in the United States. After that the percentage of those voting declined. The worst drop came in 1920 when women were first eligible to vote nationwide and they were either too timid, too uninformed, or too indifferent to take advantage of it. The highest percentage of voters in recent years was in 1960 with 64.3; in 1964 it was 62.1 and in 1968 61 percent even though the *number* of voters was the largest ever.

Presidential elections bring out the greatest number of voters. According to the Bureau of the Census, since 1920 the vote for members of the U.S. House of Representatives has never touched 60 percent in a nonpresidential election year. In 1926 only 30.1 percent of the civilian population of voting age went to the polls. This went up to 48.9 percent in 1962 and to 55 percent in 1966.

In local elections where theoretically the decisions made at the polls most affect the voters, the turnout is often the lowest of all. An extreme example is the case of Kansas City, Mo., where in 1955 the question of a \$25 million city water bond issue was up for vote. Out of 186,613 eligible voters only 13,580, or 7 percent, cast ballots. In one precinct only one vote was cast!

#### Reasons for Not Voting

In 1963 President Kennedy appointed a Commission to study the reasons for failure of many citizens to register and vote and to make recommendations on what to do about it. The Commission found that the reasons for not voting in this country were both psychological and legal.

To counter the psychological reasons—apathy and indifference—arising from the feeling that voting doesn't make much difference, the Commission suggested education and continued attempts to involve the indifferent in political activity of some sort.

To focus attention on the legal and administrative obstacles to voting the Commission drew up a list of 21 standards for public consideration based on its findings in many states that both election laws and administrative practices are "unreasonable, unfair, and out-

moded." The Commission found, for example, that residence requirements alone prevent millions of citizens from voting.

Registration procedures are other obstacles. Often to register means a long trip to a central registration bureau, a wait in line, and other inconveniences. In some states registration is cut off many months before election day. Absentee voting laws—or the lack of them—deprive many potential voters of their franchise.

Election day procedures that make it hard to vote include: poorly located polling places, early closing, long lines at the polls, and long ballots. Implementation by the states of the standards suggested by the Commission would change all that.

The Commission pointed out that, under our federal system of government, constitutional responsibilities for elections are divided between the nation and the states and concluded that "if our election mechanics can so guarantee the right to vote to every citizen, then we will be able to return to the responsible elector as the keystone of our democratic system."

### **Voting in Other Countries**

Other democratic countries are said to have better voting records than the United States. In 1968, for instance, the voting age population in this country was 120 million and 73 million votes were counted in the presidential election. This is a 61 percent turnout. Typical percentages posted by other western democracies are: France in the first 1969 election for President, 78 percent; Canada, 75 percent in 1965; West Germany, 87 percent in 1965. In Japan 74 percent of the voters turned out to elect members of the Diet in 1967. The President's Commission pointed out, however, that "turnout figures for other countries are not strictly comparable to U.S. figures." In some foreign countries percentages are based not on citizens of voting age but on numbers of registered voters. Using such figures here the record for 1960 would have been 85.3 instead of 64.3.

### **Getting Out the Vote**

Political parties have always been interested in getting their partisans registered and off to the polls on election day. It wasn't until comparatively recent times that nonpartisan groups have urged their fellow citizens to register and vote.

The lead in the nonpartisan effort was taken by women's groups in the early 1920s. The idea spread, with the result that many groups now work actively to "get out the vote."

In 1952 the American Heritage Foundation entered the scene. With the cooperation of the Advertising Council, extensive campaigns have

been mounted in the mass media to encourage registration and voting. The Foundation has also been a source of materials and encouragement to organizations working at the grass-roots level to broaden citizen participation in government.

The passage of the Voting Rights Bill in 1965 gave impetus to the efforts of Civil Rights groups and others interested in increasing registration and voting among those who had long been deprived of the franchise and those who never had made the connection between voting and having their own interests taken into account.

In their registration and vote campaigns the two parties are careful to "target" their efforts to the areas where they are likely to be most fruitful. The efforts of nonpartisan groups to get out the vote are, therefore, sometimes viewed with mixed feelings by the parties. On the other hand a universal campaign such as those put on by the Advertising Council can help create an atmosphere of receptivity so that the person-to-person approach of the parties does not fall on deaf ears.

There are some who are frankly anti-campaign and contend that those who have to be urged to the polls shouldn't be dragged there.

In the Saturday Review for July 30, 1960, Robert and Leona Rienow said: "Refraining from voting is also a form of political expression." And Robert E. Coulson wrote in Harper's Magazine "The silliest idea of all is the notion that it is un-American or unpatriotic not to vote. . . . Instead of urging people to vote, we ought to be urging them to study and form opinions. If thought and inspection of the candidates do not create a real desire to vote, then the citizen should be encouraged to stay at home on election day. A low vote is part of the public record and itself a significant voter reaction which ought to be preserved. Maybe neither of the candidates was worth voting for."

### **Voting in the Primary**

Actually, of course, the selection of good government officials begins long before election day. In most states only enrolled or registered party members may vote in primaries and it is at this time that the nomination of candidates takes place. In some states, of course, winning the primary is tantamount to winning the general election but even in two-party states those who skip the primary are missing a real chance to have their say. It is in the primary that the voter can:

- 1) help select the candidates of his political party;
- 2) show his party whether or not its present policies are acceptable to him;
- 3) choose his party leaders—the men and women who determine party policy between elections;

- 4) demonstrate the strength of his party by helping to swell the total vote;
- 5) assure that his party has a good choice to offer in the general elections;
- 6) see that political party control stays in the hands of the voters.

### Types of Voters

Voters fall into different categories. There are some who vote the straight party ticket regardless of who the candidates are or what they stand for. These are the "Committed" or the "Party Regulars."

The "Independents" are an increasingly large group in American politics. They can be divided into two groups, the "Undecideds" or "Mugwumps" and the "Indifferents" or the "Unstable."

The "Mugwump" may tend toward one party but he is not to be depended on all of the time. Some think he has a healthy effect on the political organization. Party leaders know they need his vote. If he is reluctant they ask "What's bothering him?" and sometimes make a move to please him.

The "Indifferents," on the other hand, are those who don't care enough to become affiliated with a party and at the same time are unwilling to spend the time to be a really knowledgeable "Mugwump." According to Stephen C. Shadegg, a professional manager of political campaigns "The 'Indifferents' are those who don't vote at all, or vote only in response to an emotional appeal or as a result of some carefully planned campaign technique which makes it easy for them to reach a decision. The 'Indifferents'—that segment of the body politic which really couldn't care less—decide elections."

### One Vote Makes a Difference

In trying to persuade others to vote a frequent device is to point out the importance of a single ballot. There are endless examples. A real cliff-hanger occurred in Nassau County, New York in an election for a judgeship in 1964. The first count was 53,371 to 53,370. A recount was ordered. In the meantime ten absentee ballots were counted. They were split five to five. In the recount the man declared "loser" in the first count won by five votes!

In 1968 Senator Wayne Morse lost his seat in the United States Senate by 3,293 votes. Two extra votes in each of Oregon's 2,943 precincts would have put him in the winner's column.

It isn't always *people* who win or lose close elections, sometimes it's an issue. In June 1969 a \$220,000 bond issue for school construction in Medicine Bow, Wyoming was defeated by a tie vote. One vote for the bond issue would have changed the outcome.

History offers some classic examples:

1960 Presidential Election

John F. Kennedy barely topped Richard M. Nixon with a national plurality of 112,253 votes out of almost 69 million cast—a margin of less than one vote per precinct.

1916 Presidential Election

Charles Evans Hughes looked like a sure winner on election night. But when the returns came in from California the next morning, Woodrow Wilson had carried the state by 3,806 votes out of nearly 1 million cast. That did it. Less than one vote per precinct in one state swung the election.

It is the vote per precinct that saddens the party worker on the losing side the day after the election. Every party worker knows at least one more vote he could have gotten if he had worked a little harder!

### Where to Go for Voting Information

Before he votes, two kinds of information are needed by the voter. First, he has to know where and when to register, where the polling place is, when the elections will be held, etc. He can get this information from his political party or the local election officials, city, town, or county.

Second, in order to make his vote count the way he wants it to, the voter must be informed on the candidates and the issues and know how to put the two together.

Elections are held more frequently in the United States than in most countries. The ballots are long; the issues are sometimes complicated. In a presidential election it takes determination *not* to be aware of the candidates and the issues. Not so on the local and state level or even in congressional races.

The voter has three methods to use in making his vote count the way he wants it to:

First, he can make a real effort to be informed. He can clip the newspapers, watch for television programs featuring candidates, attend political rallies (one doesn't have to be a party member to attend a rally or even a neighborhood coffee), and he can seek out a "Voters Guide," nonpartisan information on the candidates put out in many communities by the League of Women Voters or other nonpartisan organizations.

Second, even if he regards himself as an "Independent" he may lean to one party or the other. In case of unfamiliarity with the candi-

dates or doubt about their stands, voting a straight party ticket rather than picking names at random will be more likely to make the vote of a "party leaner" count the way he wants it to.

Third, the voter who has a strong ideological position does well to find a group whose outlook he approves and follow their recommendations as to candidates.

Even those who are sophisticated politically seek the advice of friends.

### **After the Election is Over**

A visit to city hall, the state legislature, or the national Congress is one way to assure a citizen that his vote makes a difference. The first question a public official asks of those who come seeking help or offering advice or just "to look around" is, "Where do you vote?"

So voting is both an end and a beginning. It is the end of the line for a particular campaign—the day when all of the work and all of the effort and all of the strategy either pays off or is down the drain. But it is also the beginning—the beginning of a new term for the winning candidate and the beginning of greater political awareness for the citizen who uses his vote as the key.

## *Chapter 3*



### **Political Parties**

To be fully effective the citizen should join and be active in a political party for the simple reason that the political party is the chief instrument of popular control over government in a representative democracy.

#### **Party Functions**

First, the most obvious function of a political party is to fill public office. This takes organized group action at every level—from the precinct to the nation as a whole. Political parties supply this organization.

Second, the political party performs an educational function. The parties teach government in a practical "learning by doing," "learning by seeing" sort of way. Party conventions, caucuses, political rallies, and observation at headquarters teach how the wheels go round.

Third, although not primarily ideological, political parties define the issues of the day and sharpen the choice between alternative paths the government may follow. What party leaders think has an effect on party followers as well as the other way around.

Fourth, political parties provide a unifying force. They bring diverse elements of the population together in a coalition to agree (more or less) on immediate political aims. This kind of cohesiveness before the election enables the winning party to organize the government both in the legislative and executive branches and undertake to carry out the work of government.

The same kind of cohesiveness enables the minority party to engage in criticism of governmental policies and to suggest alternative legislative and administrative practices.

Fifth, the political party acts as a middleman between the citizen

and officialdom. Most people today do not know much about what is going on inside the bureaucracy, and the elected official serves as a link between the citizen and his government. He is the ombudsman making it possible for the citizen to complain and to examine what his government is doing.

### Party Needs

Any organization—political or otherwise—has to be constantly supplied with *money* and *workers*. A political party needs both to win elections. This seems very simple but a great many people seem not to understand it. They belong to the parties but they contribute neither work nor money. Then they are surprised when the party pays little attention to them. The more active an individual is in the party the more weight his voice will carry.

### Organization is the Key

Whether a political worker concentrates on registration or raising money or getting elected, everyone who is involved in politics at all will agree that *organization* is essential. Abraham Lincoln, a shrewd politician as well as a noble statesman made this appeal to party workers: "The whole state must be so well organized that every Whig can be brought to the polls. This cannot be done without your help.

"So divide your county into small districts and . . . make a perfect list of all the voters, and ascertain with certainty for whom they will vote. Designate doubtful voters in separate lines, indicating their probable choice. Each subcommittee must keep a constant watch on the doubtful voters and have them talked to by those in whom they have the most confidence.

"On election day see that every Whig is brought to the polls."

The advice still holds. To "see that doubtful voters are talked to" and eventually "brought to the polls" takes people—lots of people.

"In politics," says one political leader, "we need a lot of 'Indians.' Too often we have 'chiefs' but not enough people who are willing to be selfless in the sense that they do what needs to be done. These are the key people needed to win elections.

"People who won't read, who won't listen, who won't pay attention, who have a very limited attention span in political matters will stop, will look, will listen, will act when someone talks to them directly, intimately, and personally. This is the key to precinct success and election success."

### How to Get Started

There are many ways to get started in party work. What one does depends somewhat on where he lives and what he has to offer in

terms of time and experience, but even teenagers can get into the act.

In some places all that is needed is a call to party headquarters to volunteer, or attendance at a party meeting, or a word to a friend who is active. For example: "A good friend of mine decided to run for office and I asked if I could help out," said Bill S. "He said I sure could. And what he needed most was money. I was so enthusiastic about what he could do for the party—and for the state—that I found it little trouble to ask my friends—and even perfect strangers—for support. After the campaign was over—he was elected by the way—I was asked to do some money raising for the party as a whole. This isn't quite as easy as raising money for a popular candidate but I find that those who are asked usually give and those who give become more interested in party affairs."

\* \* \* \* \*

Edward Z. got started this way: "I had gone to a number of political meetings but I hadn't done anything much. One year a candidate in whom I was interested lost by just a few votes. I was convinced that the counting hadn't been done right. The next election I asked my party to appoint me a poll watcher. I have been doing it ever since."

\* \* \* \* \*

"I got started in politics when I asked a friend if I could accompany her to her precinct meeting," said Betty T. who is now county chairwoman of her party in a small town in the mid-West. "She was delighted. And when I got to the meeting, I found out why. There were only 15 of us there in a precinct where there are over 300 voters registered in our party. The 15 of us at the meeting elected the precinct chairman and chairwoman, selected delegates to the county convention, went on record endorsing a candidate for Governor, and we passed resolutions favoring three ballot issues and opposing two. I also found myself agreeing to be a block captain!"

\* \* \* \* \*

"My husband is a member of the union and I volunteered to work on a registration drive after I realized how few of our people were registered compared to those in 'silk-stocking' districts," said Elinor W. "As a member of the Women's Activities Department of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) I check union lists with lists of registered voters, make cards for all voters and prospects and keep them up to date for those who make the calls."

Some start young: Stanley A. began at the age of 14 by running errands and passing out literature for his Sunday School teacher who was running for office. Some years later the Sunday School teacher was governor of the state and Stan had a responsible position in the national headquarters of the party.

\* \* \* \* \*

### Jobs To Be Done

Here are some ways to help the party of your choice:

#### PRECINCT WORK

Preparing voter index cards and lists	Poll Clerk
Phone calls (to get people to register and vote)	Registration Clerk
House-to-house canvassing	Poll Watcher
Recruiting party workers	Registration Watcher
Providing transportation to polls on election day	Block Captain
	Precinct Leader
	Money raising

#### CAMPAIGN WORK

Publicity	Planning and putting out mailings
Public speaking	Manning sound truck
Arranging speaking engagements	Preparing posters, streamers, etc.
Speech writing	Putting up posters
Research	Designing buttons, car stickers, etc.
Typing	Buying time and space in advertising media
Filing	
Distributing literature	
Money raising	

### Political Clubs

In some states much of the leadership of the political parties originates in political clubs. In fact, in a few states the clubs of both parties have a good deal of influence in the determination of party candidates and party policy. (After all Tammany Hall is a "club.")

Joining a club is a good way to get started in politics. College students join the Young Democrats and Young Republicans; women join the Federation of Republican Women and its equivalent on the Democratic side. The clubs, unlike the parties, offer year-round activities as they combine social functions with political aims. Some clubs also provide members an opportunity to study the issues. And most clubs engage in fund-raising for the party. Party clubs are usually organized on a local, state, and national level and thus provide opportunities for members to acquire new ideas and new techniques.

Political clubs provide services to the party—workers, money, enthusiasm—but sometimes they provide headaches as well. Very often it is in the clubs that opposition develops to the established

leadership. Clubs are a way to build a following and a channel to get the ear of the leadership.

### Onward and Upward

Many people are content to go on being political "Indians" in the party for all of their lives. The faithful workers who spend hours bringing registration cards up to date; the poll watcher who wouldn't think of relinquishing his job come election day; many who staff the headquarters and make the coffee and run the mimeograph machine find satisfaction enough in "doing their bit" for the party in which they believe. They will stick to their party through thick and thin—through ideological convolutions and regardless of the leadership.

There are others, however, who have an urge to run things, who want to have a "say" in party matters. It is out of the ranks of the "Indians" that the chiefs usually emerge. How does this come about?

There is, of course, the classic story of George Washington Plunkett who started out in politics by getting one man to accept his political leadership and gradually by extending his influence almost person-by-person became the leader of Tammany Hall.

A rise to power may be more difficult nowadays than it was in Mr. Plunkett's time. Nevertheless as the alert newcomer takes a look around from the inside he begins to see where the power lies. He may find out that his precinct or district leaders take "orders" from the president of a political club or from a large contributor.

He also begins to find that there are people in the party whose aims he shares and there are others in the party whose aspirations he would like to terminate. As a precinct captain from Pittsburgh once remarked about the candidates in her own party: "There are some of our candidates I would cheerfully die for and there are others I wish would drop dead."

Party discipline insists that the party worker accept the choice of the majority (although workers have been known to "sit out" an election headed by a ticket they did not approve) but jockeying for power within the party is an essential part of the process. Here, too, organization—organization of small groups of people—is necessary for success.

An old hand at power moves within the party puts it this way: "Say that an election district consists of 1000 potential voters. Six hundred of these people will vote. To be safe for the political party it must be able to count on 60 percent or 360 voters. Of these, 280 will vote for the party out of habit so all we have to worry about in the general election is getting the other 80."

"If we can count on 280 to vote for the party regardless of what it does, what we have to worry about is winning control of the party organization and getting them to nominate our kind of guy. To win the nomination we will want to carry about 60 percent of the primary vote. Usually about 20 to 30 percent of the voters will participate in the primary, so what we need in our district is from 45 to 60 loyal voters on whom we can count on primary day. If we have them we can control the party, the nominations, the district."

He had further advice. "You can answer the question of how many voters you need to control the party machinery," he said, "by finding out how many people usually turn out for that kind of meeting. In my city it is one half of one percent."

### Policy-Making Meetings

The kind of meeting where crucial decisions are made on who controls the machinery differs from state to state and from party to party. The names differ too. A precinct *convention* in Texas is similar to a precinct *caucus* in Minnesota. They are both neighborhood meetings open to all eligible voters of a political party living within the election district or precinct. In some states such meetings are not required by the state election laws, but in the states where precinct meetings are mandatory they offer a fine opportunity to take part in political decision-making.

In 1966 the League of Women Voters of Minnesota in cooperation with both political parties made a real push to interest citizens in attending their precinct caucuses. The League distributed thousands of brochures pointing out "You won't be the only one attending for the first time. You will be comfortable and feel at home with neighbors who share the same party affiliation and the same concern for good government."

The flyer went on to describe the business of the caucus, how to find the time and place of the meeting, and how to introduce a resolution.

Some years ago the Texas League got out a guide in similar vein but perhaps even more practical and down to earth. The Texas guide advocated calling a preliminary meeting of those whose aims are similar prior to the public meeting. At this preliminary meeting the guide suggests: "Choose a leader who will stick up for your side—someone fast on his feet and familiar with election laws and parliamentary procedure. Find a secretary who will keep an accurate list of your delegates and resolutions and see that they are properly handled. Line up delegates representative of your point of view to represent you at the county conventions. Agree on policies your political party

should support. Put these in writing as resolutions to be presented at the precinct meeting."

In some states it is not as easy to attend a policy-making meeting as it is in Minnesota or in Texas. Indeed, in some states political party organization has been called "hidden government" by some students of political science. But the role of the political organization won't be hidden long if interested citizens take the trouble to seek it out.\*

### Courses in Practical Politics

One way to find out how political parties work in a community is to take a course in practical politics. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has prepared a course of this type which is used in thousands of communities across the country.

Called "The Action Course in Practical Politics" the plan outlines nine two-hour workshops to be attended by 12 to 20 participants for a period of 10 to 20 weeks. In preparation for each workshop the participant reads a pamphlet on such subjects as "The Individual in Politics," "Political Party Organization," "The Political Precinct," etc. All workshops are conducted as discussions, and participants work out solutions to one or more "problems" presented as case studies. The last session of the workshop is usually designed to help the participants relate what they have learned to the local scene. Local politicians are invited to the session to answer questions. Many participants have found that this session is a good time to make their political interests known to representatives of the party of their choice.

The Action Course materials are not limited to Chamber-sponsored groups. Any group may buy the materials and set up such a course. For further information write: Business Relations Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

For many years labor unions have been offering excellent courses designed to increase the political awareness of their members. Although these are not generally open to the public such labor groups as COPE have materials which are available to others. Address inquiries to COPE, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

\* A list of questions to ask in getting started can be found on page 44.



### Tricks of the Trade

A first experience of the tricky side of politics can come at an early age and sometimes leave a bitter taste. Take Ed Gilmoie, for example. Ed graduated from Franklin Junior High School—the largest of the three junior highs in his mid-West city—and the next fall entered Central High School where he and his former classmates were joined by junior high graduates of McKinley and North.

At the first meeting of the sophomore class Ed was nominated for president. As he was able and popular with the Franklin crowd and Franklin had the biggest group at the high school he was considered to be the likely winner. At the meeting a McKinley graduate was also nominated for the presidency and then one from North. The North nominee declined the honor and in so doing nominated another graduate from Franklin—Ed's school. Someone then moved that the nominations be closed. The McKinley nominee won the election. The nomination of the second Franklin graduate had done the trick by successfully splitting the Franklin vote.

"Dirty politics," cried some of Ed's followers.

"Just common sense," replied the winner.

This kind of experience sometimes disillusion political amateurs of any age, but the wise "Eds" of this world learn from such happenings to be a little more alert the next time.

In politics there are parliamentary techniques and tricks of propaganda and persuasion and then there are practices which get beyond the "tricky" stage and are downright scurrilous. Neither turning the other cheek nor abandoning politics is the answer. Not everyone wants to employ the "tricks of the trade" be they in politics or business, but it's no fun to be fooled and even those who have no intention of using the techniques can profit by knowing them.

### Parliamentary Shenanigans

Everyone who has attended a meeting where there was a wide split over policy or candidates has witnessed parliamentary maneuvers. Groups interested in "taking over" an organization—as well as those interested in maintaining the status quo—very often meet with those who agree with them ahead of the public meeting. (See page 24.)

Those really interested in the outcome of a meeting are well advised to arrive early, thoroughly informed on parliamentary techniques and well aware of what they wish to accomplish. If they discover that those with whom they are in accord are in the majority they move to get the business of the meeting accomplished quickly and then adjourn.

If they find they are in the minority there are ways their interests can be considered. If one of the matters of business is selecting delegates, for example, a move can be made that everyone present be named a delegate or an alternate. If someone tries to have delegates chosen by committee, those opposed can insist on nominations from the floor. If both attempts fail, a motion can be made to amend any list of delegates to include some of the minority. Those in the minority are advised to vote against unit rule.\*

If strength at a meeting seems evenly divided, one side or another may decide to play for time and use delaying tactics of various kinds.

These include long speeches, extraneous motions, and points of order. Or a motion can be made to lay a matter on the table, or to postpone consideration or to refer the matter to a committee, or to attach an unacceptable amendment to the motion before the group. The object is to delay votes until re-enforcements arrive or until the patience of the other faction is sorely tried and many depart from the meeting leaving the field clear. Sometimes the balance of power is so slight that no one dares to leave the room lest a vote be called for in his absence!

Such parliamentary tricks are often used to defeat legislation. They are also employed in the nominating and election process. Thus would-be politicians will better understand what is going on in political meetings and will be more adept in lining up support or preventing railroading if they have a practical knowledge of parliamentary procedures and the rules of order.

\* Unit rule means that the delegation votes as a single unit, determination being made by majority vote.

## Tricks of Propaganda and Persuasion

The propagandist appeals to existing attitudes and opinions which he attempts to manipulate for his own purpose. The objective of the propaganda might be to sell breakfast food, promote a worthy charity, encourage safe driving, or gain support for a political candidate. The motives may be worthy or unworthy, obvious or subtle. We all know when we are invited to buy a certain brand of soap or soft drink; we are not always aware we are being "sold" a candidate or a political program.

Almost everyone who has ever voted has been the recipient of a "Dear Friend" letter from a candidate. Sometimes the letter has been "personalized" to a degree that it is hard to believe the candidate himself didn't sit down and write it with the recipient in mind. Stephen C. Shadegg in his fascinating book *How to Win an Election* tells of several techniques of this sort.

He describes one instance when as campaign manager for a man running in a close election for the U. S. Senate he purchased 50,000 ordinary government printed postcards. Using a first-name approach, this message, handwritten, was addressed to voters registered in the opposition party. "Dear Jim:" the card read, "Tuesday is election day. I sure hope you'll vote and I hope you'll vote for me." It was signed with the name of the candidate.

The author points out that anyone receiving such a card should know immediately that the candidate could not possibly have taken the time to write the message personally. What's more Mr. Shadegg was aware that most of the voters receiving the card couldn't be moved to cross the party line, but says he "I also knew that if I were lucky, perhaps ten percent of the cards would be received by the 'Indifferents,' those who had not yet made up their minds, by voters who were not committed emotionally or ideologically to the other candidate."

On election day, poll watchers reported that in the precincts solicited a number of voters showed up with the postcards in their hands or pockets and after the election any number of people mentioned the card and how pleased they were to have the request!

Mr. Shadegg also reports a considerably more sophisticated type of communication used in campaigns to recruit members of what he calls "Cell Groups." Cell members are recruited by identifying their interests and linking them to a candidate in a personal way. Through a careful analysis of the potential member and his interests (this is done through the use of computers) and through the initial approach of writing one or two letters carefully tailored to those interests, Mr. Shadegg has been able to recruit up to 100,000 cell members for a

candidate and to make them feel as if they are in an "inner" circle even after they have been transferred to bulk mailings after the first exchange of letters. Mr. Shadegg attributes the success of the device to an initial request for advice in the first letter and to giving the recipients the impression they are "in the know."

Cell group members are not identified with the party or with a political organization. "The list of things Cell Group members can do for a candidate," claims Mr. Shadegg, "is almost inexhaustible." Among these services he includes providing an accurate index to public sentiment, advice on activities of the opposition, and, most important service of all, they can mention the candidate's name frequently. Not being identified with the party makes this more effective, Mr. Shadegg claims!

This type of activity, although clever, is not deceitful. There are other types of "persuasion" which go far beyond the appeal to the simple vanity of "being in the know."

## Extremists

The democratic process is built around a twin concept—continuing conflict and a consensus about the ground rules for that conflict.

The continuing conflict is the conflict of ideas which is inevitable and essential in a democracy. The essential ground rule in a democracy is that ideas are to be countered by ideas and not by repressive or conspiratorial techniques. There is no limit to the extent of conflict in ideas that can exist in a democracy as long as the consensus about the ground rules remains strong and clear.

This process is seriously threatened by extremists—right and left—who would destroy democracy in pursuit of their goals. Extremists employ many techniques to suppress open argument on issues. These techniques are characterized by a reliance on the discussion of motivations rather than issues, a reliance on attacking personalities rather than ideas, and a reliance on insinuation rather than documentation.

## Character Assassination and "The Smear"

Derogatory references to candidates are not a new phenomenon. Indeed some of the campaigns of 100 years ago make most of today's battles look mild. George Washington was called a traitor and it was said of him "He has brought upon America the loss of character she now suffers in the world." Even worse things were said of Abraham Lincoln and others. Cartoonists of an earlier day were just as pointed as they are today.

In the mid-20th century, however, in addition to the direct accusation and the cartoon, we have the doctored photograph, the edited

tape recording, and the quote out of context. In George Washington's day the printed word was expensive and scarce; the spoken word was heard only within sound of the speaker's voice. Today newspapers and magazines, pamphlets and paperbacks are spewed off the press in millions of copies and the air is full of voices which originate thousands of miles away. The Fair Campaign Practices Committee has identified a number of dubious practices for the alert and wary voter:

- 1) Invisible Authors: Who wrote it? Who published it? Missing names and addresses mean the author is hiding. Ask yourself why.
- 2) Missing Papers: Where is the proof? If a sensational charge is not documented, insist on seeing the evidence before you believe it.
- 3) Photo trickery can sneak people into or out of real pictures.
- 4) Leaving out a key word can reverse the meaning of a quotation.
- 5) Do you still beat your wife? There is no right answer. Either way, you lose. "I have no proof he still beats his wife, as everybody believes," is a switch on the same trick.
- 6) Note the date on quotations. Statements of 10 or 50 or 100 years ago often don't have the same meaning today. Parties and other organizations change with the times.
- 7) Separate the damaging facts from words and pictures. True charges usually can be made straight out.
- 8) False ideas can be planted without actually stating them: "What did the mayor do with the payoff money?" Or "Some say it wasn't the mayor but his assistant."
- 9) Be skeptical about any new charge that appears for the first time just before election day.
- 10) Make sure the name of the organization is exactly what it "sounds something like." Look for names of officers, and the address. Check by telephone or in person.
- 11) Relevance. If a statement doesn't have some reasonable connection with the candidate or the office he seeks, ask yourself "So what?"

### Dishonest Voting Practices

There are a number of dishonest ways to get a vote. One way is to pay for it. Back in the "good old days" it was common practice, especially in the big cities, for impoverished hangers-on to sell their votes to the highest bidder. Before the days of permanent personal registration it was not unusual for the zealous election day workers to hustle busloads of "voters" from one precinct to another where they cast ballots using different names. In some places where care is not taken

to purge the election rolls of those who are dead or who have moved away there are still instances where bogus voters pass themselves off as men and women who have once registered legally. People have also been known to have registered from vacant lots and empty buildings.

Chicanery can also take place at the time that votes are counted or when they are put in the ballot box by a dishonest election official. Ballots which are incorrectly marked—a check instead of a cross, for example, if that is the law in a particular state—are supposed to be thrown out, but sometimes the election official looks the other way if the vote to be discarded happens to be one for his candidate. It is also possible for a dishonest official to deface an opposition ballot during the count and then see that it is thrown out.

"Assistance" is sometimes given to voters who are handicapped, illiterate, or blind, and, in the process of "helping," advice is also supplied. In other cases there is collusion between the election judges to allow for dishonest practices. Where there is collusion between the representatives of the two parties even voting machines can be rigged by casting "ghost votes" before the polls open.

Several steps are necessary to assure honest and efficient elections:

- 1) Keep registration lists up to date by eliminating those who have moved away or who have died. Very often a bipartisan or non-partisan group—respected in the community—can help election officials in this job.
- 2) Be sure there are challengers from both parties present at the polling places in addition to poll watchers. These officials should be well aware of the election laws and if possible go through a short training program, not only so they will be well versed in what the law says but to give them added confidence in carrying out the law as it was intended.
- 3) Work for the installation of voting machines. It is generally conceded that voting machines are not only faster and more efficient than paper ballots, but that the chance of voting fraud is reduced by the use of machines.
- 4) Carry on an educational campaign on how to use voting machines (demonstrations are the best way to do this) and how to mark paper ballots correctly if this is the method used.
- 5) If stricter election laws are needed, work for them.



### Pressure Groups

In the United States, more than in other modern democracies, organizations outside the party structure are important parts of the political system. Some think they are as important as the political parties themselves.

Broadly speaking, interest groups are of two kinds: those organized for professional or economic interests like the labor unions, trade associations, veteran and farm groups, Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, American Medical Association, National Education Association, etc., and those primarily made up of citizens working for what they believe to be in the public interest. Among these latter groups are church groups, PTAs, League of Women Voters, and all the various ad hoc groups that are set up to advance prison reform, combat juvenile delinquency, or promote slum clearance, to name a few examples.

It is not always easy to draw the line between economic interest and public interest groups since many of the most responsible of the economically oriented groups have broad programs relating to schools, foreign affairs, community development, etc., that are only indirectly related to their economic interest.

#### Effect on Issues

These interest groups, or pressure groups if you will, have, along with third parties, always imparted the dynamic to politics. These are the groups oriented toward issues, toward public policy. Unlike the parties they are not so much interested in winning elections (although some of them endorse candidates) as in developing policy and having that policy accepted by those who win. Most of the bigger groups employ research staffs to make studies, get the facts, and develop

practical programs in line with the philosophies of their memberships. Some of these groups are primarily educational and influence the legislative process indirectly through a long-term evolutionary effect on voters and on the candidates. Others actively engage in politics and influence the parties or elected and appointed officials by lobbying and other activities. Some, such as the unions, take a stand on an issue and then seek pledges from the candidates for office to take a similar stand if elected. Organization support is withheld if the pledge is not given, and if the pledge is given and not filled the organization is heard from and reprisal threatened at the next election.

#### Lobbying

A good deal has been said about the bad effects of pressure groups—and individual interests—and lobbying. Some groups may overstep the bounds, but for every group on one side there is likely to be a group on the other and out of their conflict and struggle for dominance comes a nongovernmental system of checks and balances.

What is more, lobbyists make a great deal of information available to the lawmakers. Because of their special interests they gather all the relevant facts about every aspect of an issue and often come up with information not readily available to the legislator.

Lobbyists are also a transmission belt to certain segments of voters—keeping them informed on what is happening legislatively and in governmental departments on issues of particular interest. Farm lobbyists report to the farmers; business lobbyists to the businessmen; civil rights lobbyists to the civil rights groups, etc.

#### Who's in Charge?

A need to know who the decision-makers are is a prerequisite to accomplishment of political ends. It is also important to know who influences the decision-makers. The political parties themselves are of great influence. A Congressman is likely to influence a fellow Congressman especially on matters on which the latter has no great personal commitment. "Lacking strong pressure from their constituents," declares Congressman Henry Reuss (D., Wis.) "most Congressmen are likely to want to refrain from offending some congressional colleague who is opposed."

Those who have made studies of local power structures have learned that power is not monolithic. The decision-makers on one problem are not necessarily the decision-makers on another matter—even in the same community. The bigger the city the more fragmented

the power and the harder it is to find. The relationships are intricate, especially on complex issues.

### How to Organize

To accomplish a political or civic objective—whether it be clean water or a new school—it is usually necessary to meet, seek out the facts, study and analyze, come to agreement on a plan, make assignments, and follow through.

J. Douglas Nunn, former Executive Director of the Louisville (Ky.) Central Area gives this advice: \*

- 1) Know what it is you are seeking and, above all, why you are seeking it. Know the opposing position.
- 2) Know who is in charge—who can help you, who can hurt you. Know the decision-making machinery in your community where your cause is concerned.
- 3) Inform the public through every educational and public relations facility.
- 4) Approach your campaign of action with enthusiasm, sincerity, and determination—but not grimness.

Jim Fain, Editor of the Dayton (Ohio) News, makes two additions. "Don't try to avoid a fight," he advises. Most groups underestimate "controversy as an educational tool in a democracy. . . . The battlegrounds of people with intense interest in their own concepts or projects are also the schoolroom for the citizenry as a whole," Mr. Fain contends.

He also believes that "there are tides of mass receptivity to subjects and that anybody attempting to influence attitudes has to ride those tides. . . . You can't expect to impose your own priorities and timetable entirely on your educational program—you have to have a certain respect for expediency."

### The Old School Tie

The kind of group—or groups—an individual supports either with his membership or his money depends on who he is and what he wants to accomplish. If he has the ear of the "establishment" or the local power structure he—or she—has a decided advantage.

In an article in Harper's Magazine, Florence Robin told the story of a group of women in Georgia who formed an organization called

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\* Other techniques are found in *Getting Something Done: Political Effectiveness and Conference Techniques* published by the League of Women Voters Education Fund. 30 cents.

HOPE (Help Our Public Education) whose purpose was to keep the schools open when the Governor and the legislature threatened closure rather than bow to the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the schools. The women in HOPE were organized and they obtained considerable publicity, but their success lay, according to Mrs. Robin, in the fact that they knew everyone, kept their white gloves on, and made the most of the "personal" atmosphere which abounds in the South.

The "old school tie" method of communication and influence was given a new twist by John M. Kemper, the headmaster of Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass. He said: "I can't help wondering what would happen in a labor management dispute if the negotiators on either side of the table had all gone to Andover and Yale. Or what if in a Southern town two or three of the leading Negroes and two or three of the leading whites were products of Exeter and Harvard." There is no doubt better communication would have resulted.\*

The old school tie doesn't have to be Ivy League; a common experience at the state university or even Central High School can provide a bond. But what of those who didn't go to the university or even to Central High? What about those whose voices aren't heard either by the government or by the "establishment"? It's clear that those "on the outside" can't very well pick up the telephone and get through to the mayor or ask members of the city council for lunch at the Metropolitan Club "to talk over matters of mutual interest." And sometimes they get tired of waiting hat in hand in the ante room.

So Martin Luther King organized a bus boycott.

Saul Alinsky organized a rent strike.

SNCC sat in.

They communicated their message to the power structure and the whole world listened in.

### Different Functions of Different Groups

Not every group wants to march or to sit in. Such methods serve to dramatize situations which may have been neglected. They make news and they force the public to pay attention. But other kinds of groups are needed too. There comes a time when someone has to sit down around a table and work out effective means for carrying out a policy which may have been enacted into law because of public opinion aroused through activist methods.

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\* On the other hand Mr. Fain contends "it is possible to communicate with great precision with someone and discover that you really do hate his guts."

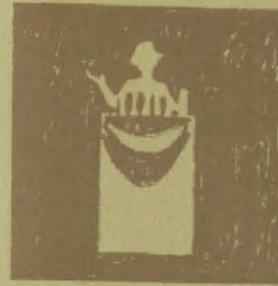
Sometimes an organization which has not been closely identified in the achievement of a goal can be useful in its implementation by helping avoid polarization of the community during the time the policy is put into effect.

Particularly useful are those organizations whose members have a knowledge of the structure and function of government and a willingness to penetrate the complexity of modern problems. In a paper presented to the National Municipal League Conference in 1964, James R. Ellis of Seattle, Washington, called for the continuation of "militant citizens leagues" which came into being in the days of the "muck rakers" like Lincoln Steffens. These groups are especially needed in metropolitan communities, Mr. Ellis contends, where existing governmental machinery and financing are not adequate to meet the needs.

"The greatest internal danger for citizen leagues stems from the substantial success which they have achieved in cleaning up the most shameful abuses of local government," Mr. Ellis pointed out. "All of us like to fight a recognizable villain—some crooked politician with the mark of evil on him. . . . Today's enemy is the confused web of government by fragments. Today's enemy is the subtle growth of unresponsive bureaucracy. . . . Today's enemy is the person who runs away from the hard thinking and hard money necessary to do the tough jobs."

Or as Erwin D. Canham, editor of *The Christian Science Monitor*, said: "Government has its hands full these days at every level. It is being overwhelmed. Problems are too big, too complex. . . . Therefore the voluntary organizations whose chief role is maintaining relationship with government have an increasingly big job to do."

## Chapter 6



### Women and Politics

Women doers are high style in Washington, but the place where they are likely to count in politics is back home in their own town. And this isn't a bad place to count. Self-government is learned in the community. More and more women are learning every day.

Although critics still point out that women are less likely to vote than men, that women office-holders are the exception and not the rule, and that women are given the "housekeeping" chores but are not allowed in on the decision-making, a case can be made that women's effect on politics is more real than apparent and in some places it is becoming more apparent all the time.

#### Voting

Women have had the vote nationwide for nearly 50 years and during that time the record has steadily improved. There was no actual physical count of women voters in that first election in 1920; there is none now except in occasional areas for study purposes. Now, as in 1920, there is only an "educated guess." According to Dr. George Gallup, the celebrated pollster and "educated guesser," 26 percent of the newly enfranchised women voted in 1920. In 1960 the percentage of women who voted is estimated at 62 percent with the percentage of men voting placed at 67 percent. About as many women as men voted in 1960 according to Dr. Gallup but as there were more women than men of voting age the percentage figure for women was lower. In 1968 an estimated 2½ million more women than men went to the polls but in percentage terms men had the better record: 62 percent of the men; 60 percent of the women.

#### Women as Innovators and Educators

When women got the vote suffrage leaders were determined not only to go to the polls in full force but to know what they were

doing when they got there. Interest in getting out the vote was kindled by the humiliating record made in the 1920 election. The determination to learn plus the motivation to improve the record led to political innovations and to a new type of citizen education.

The innovations included nonpartisan registration and "get out the vote" campaigns; candidates meetings at which all candidates were invited to speak; candidates questionnaires; the use of voting records; parties for 21-year-olds; traveling registration booths; telephone squads, etc.

In teaching themselves about government, even in such simple things as marking the ballot and using the voting machine, women taught men a few things too. When women got the vote it was difficult in most states to find out just what the regulations were as the election laws were not codified. Women's groups set about seeing that this was done. In 1924 the League of Women Voters got out *The ABC of Voting*, a compilation of the voting qualifications in each of the states. This led to a move to improve election machinery. Election law reforms were achieved in many states; permanent registration became more prevalent and in many states there was a legal list of voters for the first time.

### Women and the Issues

Perhaps the greatest contribution women have made in the field of government and politics is in the formulation of issues and the building of opinion to be expressed through the ballot.

Women have been effective on issues in five different ways.

First, simply by studying an issue they have some effect. Study helps build public opinion. Take foreign policy for example. Even during the period of this country's deepest isolationism there were sturdy groups of women who met together over coffee to discuss the League of Nations, American adherence to the World Court, the cause and cure of war, and dozens of allied topics. These activities helped provide the kind of climate which made the idea of a United Nations readily acceptable in this country. It is these same women with their UN Day celebrations, their Foreign Policy Association discussion groups, their League of Women Voters or American Association of University Women meetings which have provided a nucleus of informed opinion ready to meet attacks on the United Nations and other foreign policy issues.

Second, women have often been the sparkplug for an issue—bringing a governmental problem to public attention, getting other people and groups interested in doing something about it, and then keeping the interest going.

Back in the 1920s and '30s women provided the impetus on many issues in the welfare field, in consumer protection, in civil service reform, and in the elimination of discrimination against women. They also took the lead in work for improved election laws, better libraries, compulsory school attendance, consolidated schools, and a variety of other "causes." And they have continued to push issues—not only the so-called "woman-related" issues but those which have deep importance for the entire community.

Third, women are good researchers, and they are not afraid of appearing stupid by asking questions. In the League of Women Voters, for example, each new League does a Know Your Town Government study and as a prerequisite to action on local problems usually conducts a survey in the field where action is contemplated. For example, if action on water pollution seems to be indicated members find out the source of the local water supply and how it is treated, the kind of waste system the community has, and the degree of treatment given to sewage. They find out who is responsible in their local government and in their state for setting standards and seeing that the standards are maintained. They interview those in charge and make frequent "go-see" trips. Above all they ask questions and persist until they feel they know the answers.

Fourth, women are good opinion-makers. They can organize behind an idea just as they can organize behind a candidate. If they believe that a new school is needed or that spot zoning is a bad thing, they get others to cooperate with them and join in the campaign. Women are particularly good on local issues. "Women decide most of the school elections," says John Bailey of the Democratic National Committee. "They determine the fate of most bond issues for city improvements."

Fifth, women are good lobbyists. Many women's organizations try to get Congress to do what they want them to and many more are familiar figures in the halls of state legislatures and in the courthouse and the city hall.

### Work in the Political Parties

Marion Sanders, an editor of Harper's Magazine and an unsuccessful candidate for office, wrote a book (*The Lady and the Vote*) in which she isolated six types of women in politics. They are, she said "1) the Grand Dames, e.g., ex-First Ladies; 2) the Great Battle Axes, e.g., survivors of the old suffrage movement, still fighting the war between men and women; 3) the Lesser Battle Axes—younger and subtler 'crypto-feminists'; 4) the Yes Women—docile nonentities who fill the innumerable 'co-chairman' roles in both parties; 5) the

Operators, who achieve real power by being smarter than they pretend to be; and 6) the Ardent Amateurs, who are becoming indispensable."

The tribe of "ardent amateurs" continues to increase.

"Both political parties in our community would fall apart if the women withdrew their interest and activity," says one civic leader.

"Ninety-nine percent of our precinct workers are women," put in a mid-West Republican leader. "They do the house-to-house canvassing; they set up the telephone committees; they raise most of the funds; they provide poll watchers, baby sitters, handle mailing lists, and they give coffee parties endlessly. They are great campaign managers."

And increasingly, individual women are having a say in party policy. The woman who has organized the district for a particular candidate or who has gone out and raised money, made speeches, contributed unlimited time and energy, has gained experience valuable to the party. A woman in political work gets around. From all of her contacts it is inevitable that she would learn something of political attitudes of people. She develops political savvy. The party pros pay attention to her because she is one of them; she's a pro herself. She does not expect to be consulted because she is a woman or in spite of the fact that she is a woman but because she has earned the respect of her male and female co-workers through hard work and sound judgment.

### Women in Public Office

"Running for office is great. Try it." This is the advice of a young wife and mother ten years out of college who ran for the state legislature and won on the first try. She is typical of a small group of women who learn politics through active participation in civic groups and then, feeling they can be of more service "where the action is," they run for public office.

They run for city council, state legislature, school board, and occasionally they run for the U. S. Congress. But not very often.

In the 91st Congress only one of the 100 Senators and only 10 of the 435 members of the House of Representatives are women. Since women received the franchise 10 women have served in the Senate (7 for less than a full term) and 64 in the House of Representatives.

Women are also appointed to office: 2 women have held cabinet rank in the federal government; 10 have served as ambassadors or ministers. No women have served on the Supreme Court.

One reason women don't seek either elective or appointive office away from home is that most women are wives and mothers and thus not as mobile as men.

The Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women offers another explanation. The low proportion of women in public office reflects "the low proportion of women prominent in the private occupations that normally lead to political activity and advancement. Few women possess the practical experience obtained at middle and upper levels of administrative and executive responsibility, and they therefore lack the public visibility that goes with such posts and in turn become a basis for appointment to public office."

This may be true at the national level. In the community, however, women are gaining practical experience through civic work which serves them well as elected or appointed members of boards and commissions. Observers from organizations like the League of Women Voters make a practice of regularly covering meetings of planning and zoning boards, the city council, the recreation board, and the board of education. They are there not only to "keep an eye on things" but also to learn what is going on and what kind of citizen action would be useful. Often they are subsequently appointed or elected to such boards. Similarly those who have worked closely with the schools through the PTA or other groups are often urged to run for the school board and those who have campaigned for new city charters are asked to serve on the charter commission. Having become steeped in the subject through their civic activities they are in a good position to make a real contribution. In a survey in 1964 the League of Women Voters of Illinois found that 1 out of every 38 League members was participating in government at the policy level. Those who do serve—especially in elective office—have good advice for women who aim to do likewise.

Before seeking office:

- 1) Know your community; work hard on community affairs.
- 2) Acquire a knowledge of government by observing and by lobbying for causes in which you are interested.
- 3) Do some work for your party. Raise some money. Make a contribution yourself.
- 4) Learn the rules. How are nominations made? When and by whom?
- 5) Learn all you can about the office you seek. Let party officials know you are interested in running. Don't wait to be asked.

During the campaign:

- 1) Be willing to work hard. Knock on every door.
- 2) Get a strong committee going for you. Women make good campaign workers but you should have men on your committee too.
- 3) Listen to people. Find out what they are interested in, what their problems are.

- 4) Be willing to work harder than those you are running against or working with after the election.

After election:

- 1) Listen and look but speak only when you know what you are talking about. One successful office holder put it this way: "Never show more strength than you need. Keep your ears open, eyes open, and mouth shut as much as humanly possible."
- 2) Be a lady. Be friendly but businesslike with male colleagues. Don't be competitive; work with them.
- 3) Be willing to sacrifice other activities if you want to do a thorough and excellent job.
- 4) Don't try to make over the world too fast.
- 5) Do what you think is right and don't be sensitive or "have your feelings hurt."
- 6) Develop your own particular interests and work hard at learning about them.

The satisfactions of public office are many according to women legislators but there are frustrations too. Satisfactions come in "big" terms of getting wanted legislation through and "little" terms of helping people with problems. Frustrations come from lack of public understanding of the many problems facing the law-making bodies and lack of time to do all that needs to be done.

### A Final Word

"Lack of time to do all that needs to be done" suggests that perhaps the energy, talent, and time of more women are sorely needed on the political scene. In her book *Understanding Politics* published in 1950, Dr. Louise Young said this: ". . . direct participation in the governing process is, for those properly qualified, the most important single way to discharge their duties . . . more women should enter the lists—hundreds and thousands more at all levels of government than are to be found there now. Participation in local government probably could be increased a thousand-fold and in state government a hundred-fold if those who already have the 'know-how' would use it more aggressively. And untold numbers need to learn the 'know-how.'"

Nineteen years later the advice still applies. Women who go into public life and make a success of it can be a source of strength not only to their communities but to the nation as a whole.

## Epilogue



### The Individual Choice

Elihu Root once said, "Politics is the practical exercise of self-government, and somebody must attend to it if we are to have self-government. The principal ground of reproach against any American citizen should be that he is not a politician."

Ways of being a politician—a person skilled in the art and science of government—are many. It is good to be a party member, share the chores and the excitement of the political campaign, have a real hand in writing platforms and in the selection of candidates. It is good to run for office and actually participate in making the decisions that will shape the community, the state, and the nation. It is good to be an active worker in an organization and bring pressure to bear on behalf of worthwhile issues. But perhaps it is best of all to combine these roles. Be everything.

Gus Tyler, author, lecturer, politician, and officer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, suggests that the person who exercises his political power primarily through organizations should also be a party member. When he goes to a party meeting he speaks of his loyalty to the party but presses the ideas wanted by his organized group. And Mr. Tyler goes on to suggest that the person who is primarily a party man should, in turn, keep in touch with the organizations with which he is affiliated. "It is so easy to become a hack," says Mr. Tyler. "Many people have gone into the parties to be more realistic; then they begin to play the game. They become so fascinated with the game that there is nothing but the game."

And Mr. Tyler's advice suggests in turn that perhaps it is time to stop regarding politics as a sport either of the spectator or participation variety. It can be a vocation, a calling, or a fascinating part-time avocation. Politics is everybody's job, and a serious job it is.

## Political Quiz

1. How can I join a party? Where? When?  
Can I change my party affiliation, once I have joined? How? Where? When?
2. Party policy is set by committee and in convention.  
Who is my representative on the local party committee?  
Is he or she elected by me? Where? When? Is he or she appointed? By whom?  
What are the duties of this committee? Does it endorse candidates? Who are my state committeeman and committeewoman?  
Are they elected by me? Where? When? Are they appointed? By whom?  
What are their duties?  
Who are my national committeeman and committeewoman?  
How are they chosen? What are their duties?  
Are there any other committees?
3. Can I vote in the primary or caucus if I am not enrolled or registered in a party?
4. Is there a penalty if I fail to vote? Must I re-register?
5. How, where, and when are my local candidates nominated? (local means town, city, or county)  
How, where, and when are my state candidates nominated? Primary? Convention? Other method?  
How, where, and when are my Congressmen nominated? Primary? Convention? Other method?  
If candidates are nominated by convention, how, where, and when are my delegates selected or elected?  
Do I help nominate the President of the U.S.? \* How are my delegates to the national convention chosen? Elected? Appointed? By whom?
6. Must I vote a straight ticket if I join a party?
7. How can I become a candidate for local office? By petition?  
How many signatures? Is there a filing fee? How much?
8. How many candidates' petitions may I sign?  
Am I taken off my party list if I sign a petition in another party?
9. Who are my appointed local public officials? Who appoints them?

\* For a thorough discussion of this subject see *Choosing the President*, League of Women Voters of the U.S. 1968, one dollar.

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**League of Women Voters of the United States**

1730 M Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

Publication #79

Published 1966 Updated 1969

Price: 50 cents

UP-DATING YOU AND YOUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Since You and Your National Government was published in 1961, certain changes have taken place. Following are corrections which should be made to bring your copy more up to date.

The Legislative Branch (page 7 through 21)

p. 6: Representatives now receive \$42,500 per year. (3d paragraph)

Footnote: Change "will revert" to "reverted". Omit last eight words.

p. 7: First sentence: "The 1970 census figures will mean gains for some states, for example, probably 5 seats for California, and losses for others." Omit first sentence of second paragraph ("As long...as it pleases.") Substitute: "The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that Congressional districts must be as equal in population as practicable. Since this ruling legislatures have redrawn their Congressional districts to be more nearly equal in population size. Before this Court ruling some states had variations of over 100% from the state average district population. (In most states the variation now falls within a 15% limit.)"

Senators now receive \$42,500 per year. (3d paragraph)

p. 9: The second-to-last paragraph may be brought up to date as follows: The 1969-70 Congress, elected in November 1968, was the 91st Congress. Each year of the Congress is a session: 1969 was the first session of the 91st Congress; 1970 was the second session: The Congress meeting in 1971 will be the 92nd Congress."

p. 10: For example, a total of 20,387 measures was introduced in 1967; 249 bills were finally enacted into law (1st paragraph)

p. 12: There are 21 standing committees in the House, but still 237 subcommittees in both houses. (1st paragraph under "Standing Committees") The new standing committee (pink list) is the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

p. 16: After phrase "in the House (fifth line, 2d paragraph under "Introducing a Bill") change "only one member" to "up to 25 members."

p. 20: The last sentence on the bottom of the page should begin: "A look at the last five full administrations". (3d paragraph)

p. 21: Top of the page after "181": "in three years, President Kennedy, none out of 21; and in five years, President Johnson, none out of 30."

The Executive Branch (pages 22 through 29)

p. 22: Second paragraph add: "The President's salary is now \$200,000 a year and is taxable. The President also receives a \$50,000 taxable allowance to help defray expenses resulting from official duties. There is also a \$40,000 non-taxable allowance for travel and official entertaining.

There are two additional cabinet posts (bottom of page): Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, 1965, and Secretary of Transportation, 1967.

- p. 25: In the paragraph under the cartoon, change "ten" to "twelve" departments.
- p. 26: The first line should say "Leader of a nation of over 200.2 million persons (preliminary figures of 1970 census)..."

Under Civil Servants, change "ten" to "twelve" in line 5. (paragraph 2) The statistics should read: Total civil servants: 3 million--about 2.6 in the following 12 departments (as of 1968); Defense (civilian only), 1.3 million: Post Office, 716,000; Agriculture, 122,000; Health, Education and Welfare, 105,000; Treasury, 89,000; Interior, 76,000; Transportation, 58,000; State, 47,000; Commerce, 38,000; Justice, 34,000; Housing & Urban Development, 15,000; and Labor, 10,000.

In the footnote, the number of federal employees in California and in the District of Columbia is about 250,000 in each place.

p. 27: Under Executive Office of the President, the number of employees in the White House Staff section (paragraph 1) is now 548. The number in the Office of Management and Budget (formerly Bureau of the Budget, paragraph 2) has increased to 580 permanent full-time staff.

p. 28: Four more Executive Offices have been added. They are:

7. The Office of Science and Technology, established June 8, 1962, provides advice and assistance to the President in developing policies and coordinating programs to assure effective use of science and technology for national security and general welfare.

8. The Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, established January 15, 1963, advises and assists the President about international trade agreements and matters related to trade.

9. The Office of Economic Opportunity, established in 1964, administers the programs designed to alleviate illiteracy, poverty, unemployment, lack of public services and other contributors to the causes of poverty in the United States.

10. The Office of Telecommunications Policy was established in 1970. It coordinates governmental inter-communications.

#### The Judicial Branch (pages 30 through 35)

p. 31: Salaries have been increased as follows (2nd paragraph): Chief Justice, \$62,500; Associate Justice, \$60,000; Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals, \$42,500, and Judge, U.S. District Courts, \$40,000.

There are now 93 U.S. District Courts and 11 Circuit Courts of Appeals (change last sentence, page 31, to read: "The federal judgeships in both circuit and district courts total 520.")

p. 32: Third paragraph: "Of the 3,200 cases filed, about 200 cases are argued before the U.S. Supreme Court each term. Of about 127,000 civil and criminal cases filed, the district courts in 1970 tried about 16,000 cases (either with or without a jury), of which about 60% went to the court of appeals."



**YOU**  
and your  
**NATIONAL  
GOVERNMENT**

**the indivisible partnership**

League of Women Voters of the United States



## YOU AND YOUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT The Indivisible Partnership

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Publication #273

January, 1962

Price 25¢

League of Women Voters of the United States  
1026 17th St., N.W.      Washington 6, D.C.





**L**arge and complex and far away as the United States government may seem to you, what you say and do can and does have an effect on it just as it has an effect on you.

In your home town it is easy to see government at work every day. For example, when the traffic cop blows his whistle to remind you to come to a full stop, that is government affecting you. And when you and other citizens protest about a hazardous intersection and succeed in getting a traffic light put there, you are affecting government. If you begin to think of the national government in similar terms of interaction—even of partnership—you will find yourself becoming more aware of your part in it.

It is, of course, impossible for you, the individual citizen, to have an informed opinion about every proposed law. Nor could you be expected to vote on each law or see to it that it is carried out. Instead, you elect people to carry on the job for you. You elect someone who you believe has integrity, intelligence, and competence, and then you let him exercise his judgment on legislation, or on the making and executing of policy.

Whether you call our system of government a republic or a democracy, the essence is the same—the ultimate power resides in the people through their elected representatives. Your opinion is doubly important because you not only have the power of your own vote but also the power to influence other voters.

Your opinion will carry much more weight if it is an informed one. When an important national issue is under consideration, you can effectively express your opinion, bolstered by factual information, through letters to Congress, to newspapers, to your party leaders, to the President. You can arouse the interest of other citizens in the issue at stake. You can be active in groups interested in the issue. And you can be active in your party to influence nominations, elections, and the party platform.

To confine your role as a citizen to voting on election day but ignore your year-round responsibilities is to be only half a citizen. In a democracy everyone is a participating citizen; inaction, no less than action, has its effects. The end effect of inaction is to weaken democracy itself.

“You and Your National Government” is designed to give you some basic information about the structure and processes of the federal government and its relationship to you.

This pamphlet is by no means a complete description of the federal government and your relationship to it. It would require volumes to explain in detail all the influences and actions that make our government what it is. This pamphlet is intended to be no more than a guide to active citizenship and its contents are limited to a brief summary of:

1. *how Congress makes the laws—the legislative branch*
2. *how policy is determined and carried out—the executive branch*
3. *how laws and governmental action are reviewed—the judicial branch*
4. *how you as a citizen can affect your national government—the indivisible partnership*

The government is described in this pamphlet as it was set forth in the Constitution and as it has evolved through nearly two centuries of changing conditions and pressures. The expansion across the continent, the building of the railroads, industrial development, growing involvement in world affairs, the airplane, two world wars, space exploration—none of these could be foreseen by the authors of the Constitution. Fortunately for us, they created a Constitution which provides flexibility to adapt to change within the system of self-government they set up.

Because the confederation of states which this country tried from 1781 to 1789 had proved weak and inadequate, the men who wrote the Constitution wanted a federal government. Because they had so recently won their independence from colonialism—especially the arbitrary rule of George III—they wanted to make sure that their new government would never become despotic. So they provided in the Constitution for a government of checks and balances, a government of three separate but interdependent branches—legislative, executive, judicial—each with power to check the others.





## THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH



### Congress—its powers

Article I, Section 1, the Constitution says: *All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.* There are nine additional sections under Article I, which enumerate in some detail the legislative powers of Congress, and the composition and organization of both houses.

Each of the two houses of Congress has certain unique functions and certain traditions, but together they share the basic responsibilities of Congress. Eighteen legislative powers are enumerated in Article I of the Constitution, including “to lay and collect taxes . . . to borrow money . . . to regulate commerce . . .” to name only a few. Last in the list of 18 is the power “to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.”

### Congress—its membership

**In the House**—The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives shall be composed of members (at least 25 years of age) chosen every two years by popular vote. It also provides that the number of Representatives from each state shall be based upon the population of the state, with every state entitled to at least one Representative. Each Representative receives a salary of \$22,500 a year.

After each national population census (taken every ten years) the Bureau of the Census determines how many Representatives are to be allotted to each state. Indeed, the constitutional requirement for such an enumeration led to the creation of the Census Bureau. A law which has been in effect since 1929 limits the size of the House to 435 members.\* As long as the number of members remains fixed, a population increase calls for a redistribution of

\*When the 49th and 50th states were admitted to the Union—Alaska in 1959 and Hawaii in 1960—the number of Representatives was temporarily increased to 437, but the number will revert to 435 in the 1962 elections unless Congress changes the law before that time.

seats. The 1960 census figures meant, for example, a gain in representation by California and a loss by New York.

Such redistribution takes place every ten years, beginning with the Census Bureau’s report to the President. He in turn transmits the report to Congress and Congress notifies the Governor of each state how many House “seats” his state is entitled to. It then becomes the responsibility of the state legislature to adjust the congressional districts within the state if the number of Representatives has been changed.

As long as a state legislature adjusts the number of House seats to conform to the Census Bureau’s determination, it is free to draw new congressional district lines as it pleases. At times the lines are drawn in such a way as to give the maximum number of votes to the party which holds the majority in the state legislature. This device to secure voting advantages through odd-shaped districts is called “gerrymandering,” a term which combines “salamander” with “Gerry” (Mr. Gerry was a Massachusetts politician whose party in 1812 redrew his district in a shape which happened to resemble a dragon).



**In the Senate**—The Constitution provides that two Senators (at least 30 years of age) shall be elected from each state, each for a six-year term, and that one third of the Senate shall be elected every second year. Inasmuch as there are 50 states, there are 100 Senators. Each Senator receives a salary of \$22,500 a year.

The men who wrote the Constitution believed that Senators should be men of exceptionally high caliber—statesmen. Believing that such men could be chosen more wisely by state legislatures than by popular vote, our forefathers provided in the Constitution that Senators would be elected by the legislatures. This system remained in effect into the early 20th century. Finally, a growing demand that Senators be elected by the people led in 1913 to the adoption of the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, which provided for direct election of Senators by popular vote.

**The Individual Congressman**—Before we consider how Congress is organized, how it functions, how it works through the committee system, how a bill becomes a law, we need to stop and remind ourselves that Congress is not in fact one impersonal body. It is made up of people—individuals, each with his or her own interests, problems, and beliefs.

Senators are elected from states of widely differing needs; Representatives, from districts of greatly differing opinions. To be elected at all, each Congressman must persuade a majority of the voters in his state or district to vote for him. While serving in Congress he must speak a great part of the time on behalf of state or district needs or he probably will not be re-elected.

The member of Congress has a staggering responsibility. Often he must ponder perennial problems for which there are no clear-cut or easy solutions. Today's society is so complex that almost any problem is related to other problems. Consider a river. All people need pure water to drink; farmers need water to irrigate their lands; industries need water for power. When these needs must be met by the same river, and three bills are before him, each bill meeting one need to the exclusion of the other two, how does he decide which way to vote?

On top of this, the Congressman is expected to be an expert on every imaginable subject, from how to help chicken farmers maintain the price of eggs to how to save the world from nuclear destruction.



And everything he does is under the steady glare of publicity. Every word he speaks on the floor of his house is recorded for posterity in the *Congressional Record*—and often his words are repeated in the daily paper or in the evening newscast.

A Senator has six years in office and can therefore hope that an unpopular vote on a measure early in his term will be forgotten by the time he must run for re-election. But a Representative, who must run for office every two years, is perpetually faced with an election campaign.

As a Congressman is not likely to underestimate the power of his constituents back home, neither is he likely to underestimate the advantage of getting along with his colleagues in Congress. Every member has at least one bill he is particularly anxious to get through Congress. If he expects others to vote for his bill, he must be willing to vote for the favorite bills of other Congressmen.

To be effective within Congress, and to be re-elected, the Congressman needs not only the support of the voters but the backing of his party's leaders. The quality of the candidate and the kind of action he feels free to take, once he is elected, therefore depends to a great extent on the quality of party leadership and of the electorate in his state or district. Will the people he depends on for votes support a high standard of legislation even if it does not coincide with their personal interests? If so, the legislator is freer to exercise independent judgment and support the laws he deems wisest. If not, he is more or less restricted to carrying out the will of his constituents regardless of whether it is beneficial or harmful to the nation as a whole.

### **Congress—its organization**

Each Congress covers a two-year span and is identified by its number, in sequence—First, Second, Third, and so on. Congressional elections are held in November of even-numbered years. The First Congress, elected in 1788, ran from March 1789 to March 1791. Since the adoption of the 20th—Lame Duck—Amendment to the Constitution in 1933, the terms of Representatives (and new Senators) have begun on January 3.

The 1961-62 Congress, elected in November 1960, is the 87th Congress. Each year of the Congress is a session: 1961 is the first session of the 87th Congress; 1962, the second session.

Each house devotes the first days of a new Congress to organizing itself and assigning members to committees—and, in the case of the House, adopting new rules. The Senate, which is a continuing body because of the system of staggered elections, has traditionally continued its rules from one Congress to another.

**Committee System**—Both houses operate by the committee system, which indeed is basic and vital to the conduct of congressional business. Every one of the 14,026 measures introduced in 1961 was referred to a committee in one or both houses of Congress. Committee hearings were held on many of these measures; prolonged hearings were held on many of the 401 bills which finally were enacted into public law.

Every member of Congress serves on one or more committees. Committee responsibilities occupy a large portion of a legislator's time.



Since each house is organized by the party that has the majority in that house, the chairman of every committee and the larger number of members on each committee belong to the majority party. Each party in each house has a mechanism for assigning members to committees, subject to approval by the party caucus or conference. Each party then submits its slate of committee membership to the full chamber for approval. This approval is automatic. Neither party would want to interfere with the committee assignments of the other since it does not want any interference with its own.

**Seniority System**—Rank in committees is determined in each house by seniority. Under this system the member of the majority party in that house who has been longest on the committee is the chairman; the member of the minority party who has been on longest is ranking minority member. There have been exceptions to the seniority system and probably will be again, but they remain exceptions.

There is much complaint outside of Congress about the seniority system. Those who defend it maintain that it provides experienced leadership and sometimes results in restraining ill-considered legislation. Those who oppose it complain that it rewards tenure

in office irrespective of other qualifications. New ways are often suggested of making committee assignments: specialized interest, experience, geographical region; none of these suggestions has met with general approval.

Until another way is found, many hold that the best protection against the shortcomings of the seniority formula is an active two-party system in every state and every district. In states which are known as one-party states (or in areas within a state which are traditionally one-party) the same party usually succeeds in electing its candidates and frequently the same legislator is re-elected term after term. This puts the Congressman in line for a chairmanship when his party has the majority in Congress, and since he already has the advantage by sheer length of service he may wield undue influence. But in states where there are strong two-party systems there is much less likelihood that anyone will be returned to Congress over a very long period.

Another effect of the seniority system is that freshmen legislators are generally assigned to the least important committees and have to earn promotion through re-election. However, exceptions to the system are sometimes made, as when the majority party in the Senate gave each one of its freshman Senators one major committee assignment in the 85th and 86th Congresses.

**Types and Functions of Committees**—There are three types of committees: standing committees, joint committees, special or select committees. The main purpose of most congressional committees is to study the proposed legislation assigned to them and to decide whether or not to recommend it for passage.

In the course of this function, committees are usually divided into subcommittees. Committees and subcommittees conduct hearings in order to gain information as well as to get expressions of opinion from groups and individuals who wish to testify for or against the legislation under consideration. Although hearings are usually open, they are sometimes closed to the public.

In addition to hearings, committees sometimes conduct investigations. It is interesting to note that investigations began in the very first Congress, when one was held to look into the failure of a military expedition.

The purpose of congressional investigations varies. Some are held to elicit information which shows whether there is need for more, or less, or different legislation. Others are designed to

determine how well the executive branch is administering laws which the Congress has already passed. Still others seem to have as their primary purpose the influencing of public opinion. There is a wide difference of opinion on the latter kind of investigation, particularly when in the course of the hearings the investigation resembles a trial.

**Standing Committees**—There are 20 standing committees in the House and 16 in the Senate. The Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946 sharply reduced the number of standing committees that had been created in both houses over the years, but the proliferation of subcommittees, which numbered 237 in 1961, has undone much of the benefit of the Act.

Generally speaking, each Standing Committee has jurisdiction over a specific subject or subjects. For example, a bill that deals with the Army, Navy, or Air Force is referred to the Committee on Armed Services; a bill dealing with some aspect of agriculture is referred to the Committee on Agriculture.

The Standing Committees are:

HOUSE	SENATE
Agriculture	Agriculture and Forestry
Appropriations	Appropriations
Armed Services	Armed Services
Banking and Currency	Banking and Currency
District of Columbia	District of Columbia
Education and Labor	Labor and Public Welfare
Foreign Affairs	Foreign Relations
Government Operations	Government Operations
Interior and Insular Affairs	Interior and Insular Affairs
Interstate and Foreign Commerce	Commerce
Judiciary	Judiciary
Post Office and Civil Service	Post Office and Civil Service
Public Works	Public Works
Rules	Rules and Administration
Science and Aeronautics	Aeronautical and Space Sciences
Ways and Means	Finance
House Administration	
Merchant Marine and Fisheries	
Un-American Activities	
Veterans' Affairs	

Most of the above-listed titles are self-explanatory, since they clearly indicate the main responsibilities of the committees concerned. However, the names of the Standing Committees in each house which have fiscal responsibilities do not indicate sufficiently the scope of their work. These committees bear further description.

### **Ways and Means Committee (House) and Finance Committee (Senate)**

—The Constitution provides that “all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives . . .” The House revenue committee is the Ways and Means Committee, which has authority over bills to raise money, including taxes of all kinds—income, excise, special. In the Senate, the revenue committee is the Finance Committee.

Some matters which are less obviously fiscal are also sent to these committees. Foreign trade bills introduced in the House, for example, are referred to the House Ways and Means Committee rather than Foreign Affairs or Interstate and Foreign Commerce, since tariffs were originally regarded as a source of revenue rather than as an instrument of foreign policy or foreign commerce.



**Appropriations Committees**—The constitutional provision on revenue measures has long been interpreted to include all money bills—not only tax legislation but also measures appropriating public funds. So, traditionally, appropriation bills originate in the House Appropriations Committee, making that committee one of the most powerful in Congress. The dozen or so appropriation bills considered first by the House Appropriations Committee and then by the Senate Appropriations Committee should not be confused with the bills which authorized the respective programs.

**Joint Committees**—Joint committees, made up of an equal number of members of each house, have existed since the first Congress. However, because of the long tradition of independence and special prerogatives within each house of Congress, joint committees have seldom been set up as legislative committees on major public policy issues.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, set up in 1946, is an exception. Not only does this committee "make continuing studies of the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission and of problems relating to the development, use, and control of atomic energy," it also has authority to act on legislation.

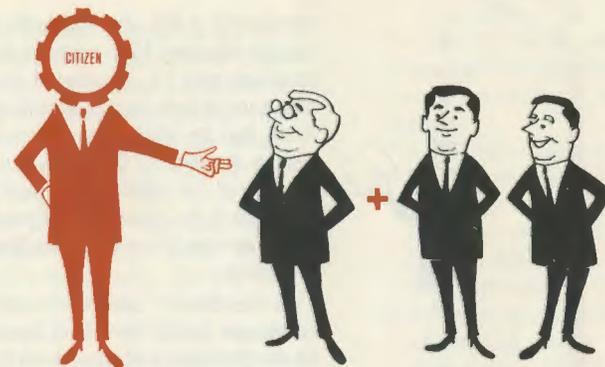
Most joint committees have been set up for routine or limited purposes. Those set up for routine administrative purposes include the Joint Committee on Printing, Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers, and Joint Committee on the Library. Some, such as the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Expenditures, have been set up primarily as watchdog committees over the executive branch. Others, such as the Joint Economic Committee, are primarily research and study groups. Occasionally joint committees are set up to conduct a specific investigation over a limited period of time.



**Special and Select Committees**—Special and select committees are set up by either house for a special purpose. For example, each house has a select committee on the problems of small business.

**Rules Committee**—The House Rules Committee has charge of bringing most major legislation to the floor of the House. It sets rules under which bills may be debated. It may ask the House to consider a bill ahead of others on "the calendar"—an agenda or list of pending business. It has the power to refuse to bring a bill to the floor for a vote; it has the power to refuse to send it to conference.

The Senate Rules and Administration Committee, on the other hand, is not charged with the responsibility of bringing bills to the floor. It has jurisdiction over such matters as Senate expenses and administration of the Senate Office Buildings, as well as parliamentary procedures.



### Congress and the Citizen

You, by your vote, help determine the composition of Congress. Then, as a constituent of one U.S. Representative and two U.S. Senators, you are in a position to have a constructive influence on the legislation which Congress passes.

Constituents who are active in the party of their choice all year long as well as at election time, who are informed about public issues, who cultivate the acquaintance of their Congressmen, who know when to make their views known, and who understand what pressures are being brought to bear on their Congressmen are effective citizens. Those who vote on election day and then forget about their Representative and Senators until the next election, are not.

It is not easy to represent you in Congress. Almost every issue with which your Congressmen must cope is so complex and the implications are so far-reaching that it is impossible to know exactly what the consequences would be under the legislation if enacted; you, the citizen, should bear this in mind. You will also need to remember that your three Congressmen have only one vote apiece in a body of over 500 members—nevertheless, you should watch to see how those three votes are cast.

When judging your Congressmen's voting records, you need to look beyond the vote on one measure. You will need to know, for example, not only whether your Congressmen voted to authorize a program but whether they also voted to appropriate the funds necessary to carry it out.

# HOW A BILL becomes A LAW

**Introducing a Bill**—Any bill (with the exception of money bills—revenue or appropriation) may be introduced in either house, or in both houses simultaneously. A bill may be written by someone other than a member of Congress, but to be considered for legislation it must be introduced in the House of Representatives by a Representative or in the Senate by a Senator.

In the Senate, several Senators may cosponsor a bill; there have been cases where the names of more than half the Senators appeared on a measure when it was introduced. In the House, only one member may sponsor a bill; if another representative wants to sponsor it he must introduce an identical measure. Thus there may be any number of identical bills on any subject, each one printed and distributed.

**Multiple sponsorship**—under either the Senate or the House system—is employed for various reasons. It may be used to show that the measure has wide support. Since it gives the Congressman the right to say he was responsible for introducing legislation desired by his constituents, it is sometimes used for creating good public relations back home.

In the House, a bill is introduced at any time by a simple process: a Representative merely drops it in the “hopper” at the Speaker’s desk. In order to introduce a bill in the Senate, a Senator is recognized by the Chair during a period when routine business is being transacted.

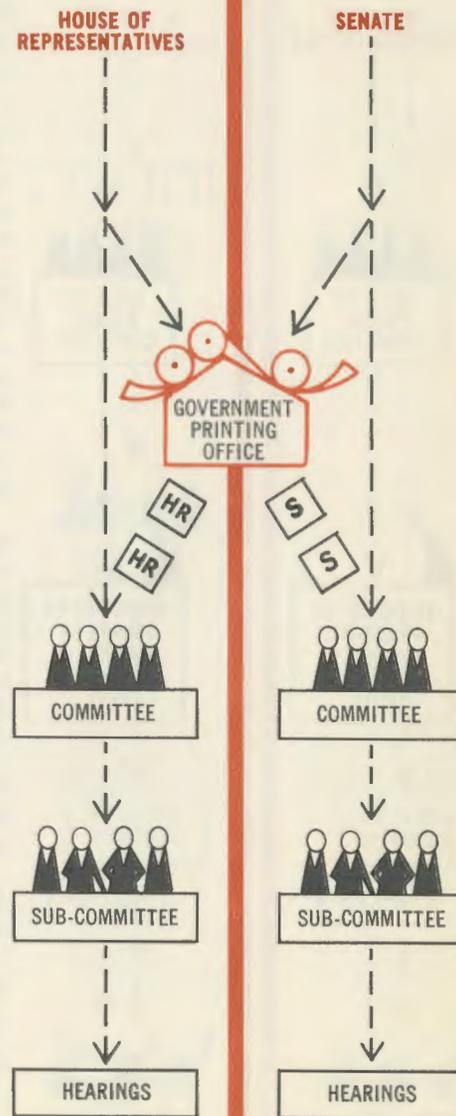
In each house the bill is referred to a committee by the parliamentarian unless there is disagreement as to which committee should have jurisdiction, in which

case the decision is made by the presiding officer. The jurisdiction of standing committees is broad and sometimes overlapping with other committees. For example, a bill introduced in the Senate to create a disarmament agency was referred to the Government Operations Committee; this jurisdiction was questioned by the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and, finally, the bill was referred to the latter committee. In assigning a bill, the choice of committee, when there is a choice, can be most important. For whatever reasons the choice is made, the opinions of the members of the committee to which it is sent will likely affect the provisions of the bill as well as its ultimate fate.

As soon as a bill is introduced it is given a number and sent to the Government Printing Office. There it is printed, and copies are sent to the committee to which the bill has been referred; copies are also put in the House or Senate Document Room for general distribution. Bills introduced in the House of Representatives carry the initials H.R. preceding the number of the bill; those introduced in the Senate carry the initial S. followed by the number.

**Committee Action on a Bill**—Once a bill has been referred to a committee, that committee has full jurisdiction over it. In turn, the committee usually refers it to the subcommittee having jurisdiction over the particular subject; sometimes a subcommittee is created to study a single bill and then is dissolved.

After hearings on a bill, a subcommittee makes a report to the parent committee, which then decides whether or not to



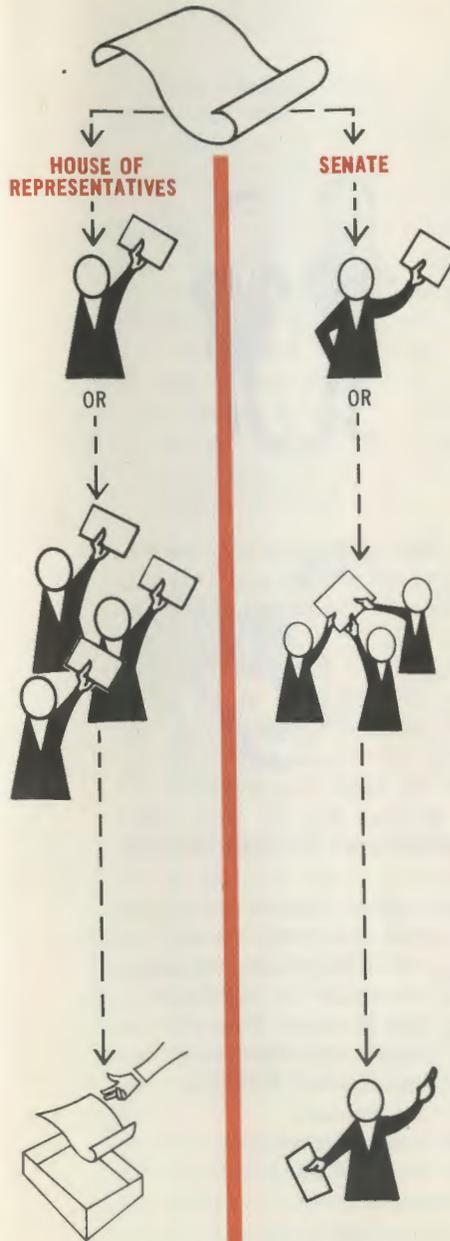
**How a Bill becomes a Law**—A legislative measure may be introduced in Congress in one of several forms, depending on the purpose:

- 1) A bill, either public or private, is the form in which most legislative proposals are made. A public bill relates to public matters; a private bill relates to one or more specified persons, institutions, corporations, etc.
- 2) A joint resolution either proposes an amendment to the Constitution or gives guidance to the President.
- 3) A concurrent resolution expresses a position of both houses of Congress.
- 4) A simple resolution, in either House or Senate, deals with affairs of only the one house.

Except for simple resolutions, all legislative measures must be passed by both houses of Congress. Before they can become law, bills must also be signed by the President. Since concurrent resolutions do not become laws they do not require the President's signature.

A joint resolution calling for a constitutional amendment follows a unique pattern. First, a two-thirds vote in each house is required for passage. Next, the resolution is sent directly to the state legislatures for ratification, without being submitted to the President for signature. Congress may specify in the text of the amendment a time limit for ratification. Only when three-fourths of the state legislatures approve the amendment does it become a part of the Constitution.\*

\*There is another method for amending the Constitution: two-thirds of the state legislatures can petition Congress to call a constitutional convention. This method has never been used.



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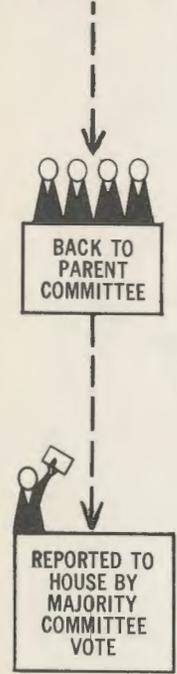
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OR

"KILLED"

OR

"DIED"

SENATE



OR

"KILLED"

OR

"DIED"

accept the subcommittee's recommendations.

The committee may report the bill, with or without amendment, to its full chamber for a vote; there may be a majority and a minority report. Committee recommendations usually carry considerable weight with colleagues outside the committee. Or the committee may decide not to "report out" the bill, in which case the bill is said to have been "killed" by the committee. Or the committee may never consider the bill at all, in which case the bill is said to have "died" in committee.

**Discharge Petition**—In the House, if some Representatives wish to vote on a bill which is being held in committee, the rules provide for a Petition to Discharge. This must be signed by a majority of the members. There are many obstacles to this course. Even when the majority of the members of the House are in favor of the legislation, they are reluctant to join in what might be construed as an attack on the committee concerned or on the leadership of the House or even on the committee system itself.

The procedure for getting bills out of committee in the Senate is different. If a Senator wishes a bill brought to the floor for a vote, he may make a motion to discharge the committee from further consideration. If the Senate approves such a discharge, the bill can come up for consideration on the floor the next day.

**Debate on and Passage of a Bill**—In the House, a bill is reported by a committee to the Clerk of the House, who places the bill on one of five "calendars," each devoted to certain categories of bills. Each calendar has a special day assigned to it, and

a bill which has been put on a particular calendar can be considered on that day only—unless special circumstances warrant special consideration.

The rules of debate in the House are established by the House Rules Committee, and they are particularly rigid because of the large membership of the House. A bill may be sent to the floor under a rule which does not allow any amendment, in which case members must vote for or against the bill as it was reported. On the other hand, a bill may be sent to the floor under a rule permitting amendments. The amount of time granted for debate on a bill is controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the committee which handled the bill.

In the Senate, a bill does not go through a rules committee as does a bill in the House, but is placed directly on the Senate Calendar as soon as it is reported by the legislative committee which handled it. Debate in the Senate is also handled differently. The Senate has a strong tradition of independence and individuality, and is jealous of its dignity, its prerogatives, its authority. A Senator may speak as long as he likes on a bill under debate. However, debate on amendments may be limited by unanimous consent.

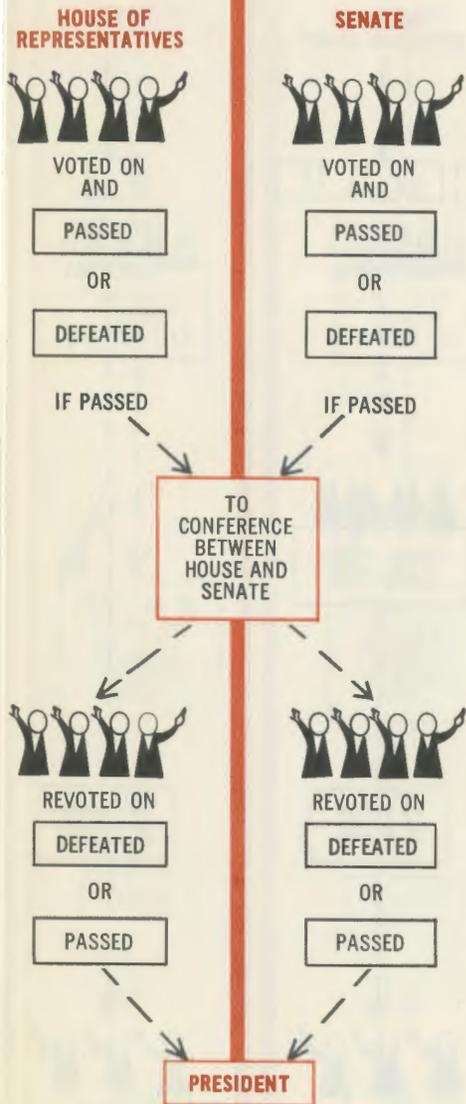
In practice, Senate debate is unlimited, although Rule 22 permits cloture (motion to cut off debate) provided two-thirds of the Senators present vote for it. But Senators rarely do vote to close off debate. And so the filibuster developed. A filibuster is a delaying tactic by which one Senator or a group of Senators talks endlessly to keep some bill from being

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brought to a vote. The strongest argument against the filibuster is that it prevents the majority from acting on important legislation. But there is a cogent argument that the filibuster has also been used to obstruct ill-advised legislation induced by a poorly informed or an inflamed public opinion.

The usual path of a bill through Congress is as follows: it is referred to committee, then to subcommittee, hearings are held, committee reports out bill, members debate and vote. Once it passes one house, it is sent to the other house, where it goes through more or less the same process.

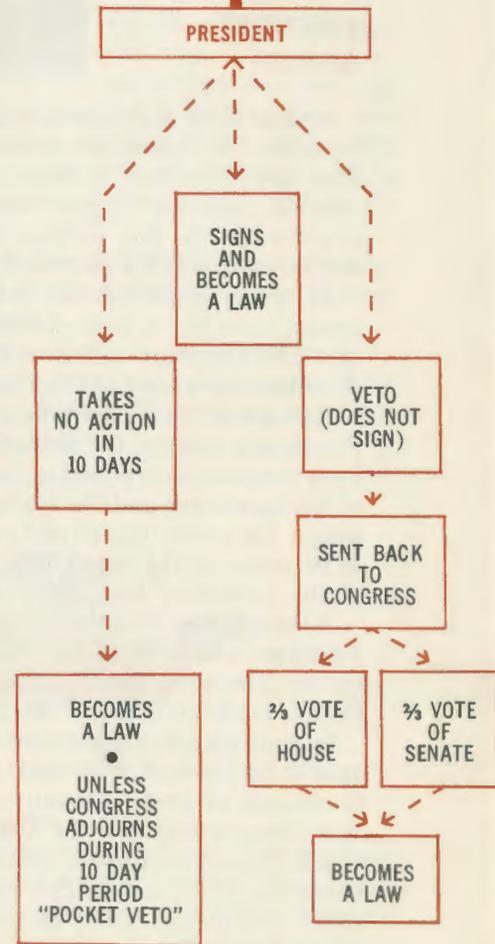
If a different version is passed by the second house and the differences are minor, the bill goes back to the first house, where the differences may be accepted. If the differences in the two versions are serious, as they often are, members of each house are appointed to a conference to resolve the differences to the satisfaction of both bodies; each house must then vote on the final version. If both houses pass the bill, it is sent to the President for signature; if he signs it, the measure becomes law.

If the President does not sign the bill he is said to have vetoed it. In this case he sends it back to the house in which it originated, with a message explaining why he did not sign it. If the bill's supporters are still intent on its passage they must try to muster enough votes—two-thirds of those present in each house—to override the veto. Not often are vetoes overridden. A look at the last three administrations show that in 12-plus years

President Roosevelt had nine out of 631 vetoes overridden; in nearly eight years, President Truman, 12 out of 250; in eight years, President Eisenhower, two out of 181. If the President has stated in advance his intention to veto a bill if Congress passes it in a form to which he objects, the mere threat of a veto may have one of several effects: the bill may not be put to a vote at all; it may be passed in its original form in order to put the onus of the veto on the President or perhaps to get a party's position on record; or it may be changed to meet the President's objections.

While Congress is in session, the President has ten days in which to sign a bill or to veto it; if he takes no action within this period a bill becomes a law automatically. If Congress adjourns before the ten days have elapsed and he has not signed, the bill does not become a law; the President's failure to sign under these circumstances is called a "pocket veto." Since it is not uncommon for a Congress to pass many bills toward the close of a session, a President frequently falls back on the pocket veto and the bill dies by default without the President's having to declare himself one way or the other on the issue.

The veto can be a real source of power in the hands of the President. Woodrow Wilson considered it beyond all comparison his most formidable prerogative. Despite Congress' power to override the President's veto, the fact that Congress seldom does is still another example of how the system of checks and balances works in practice.





## THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH



Article II of the Constitution, which deals with the executive branch of the federal government, opens with this provision: *The Executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.* All the *specific* powers of the President are briefly described in the four sections of Article II—except for the presidential veto, which is described in Article I (the legislative article).

In order to assume the responsibilities of the presidency, a person must be “a natural-born citizen” and at least 35 years of age. The President’s salary is \$100,000 a year. Since 1958, former Presidents have been entitled to a lifetime pension of \$25,000 a year.

Because of the Constitution’s lack of detail in delineating the President’s powers, the nature and scope of the presidency have been variously interpreted and applied according to the personality of the incumbent and the era in which he served. However, as the nation has grown in size and economic and political strength and as its power in the community of nations has increased, the office of the presidency has grown steadily.

Although the Constitution vests the executive power in the President, and he does bear the responsibility of everything done by the executive branch of government, the executive branch itself is made up of many parts.

In carrying out his responsibilities the President has the assistance of his Cabinet. Ever since 1789, the Cabinet has included the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense (until recent years, the War Department), and the Attorney General. The other members of the Cabinet as it exists today were added later: the Postmaster General in 1829; and the Secretaries of Interior, 1849; Agriculture, 1889; Commerce, 1903; Labor, 1913; Health, Education, and Welfare, 1953.\*

Since 1939 the President has also had the Executive Office of the President to assist him.

\*The beginning dates for cabinet membership do not necessarily coincide with the beginnings of the departments. For example, the Department of Justice, which the Attorney General heads, did not come into being until 1870 and the Post Office Department not until 1872. On the other hand, the Department of Agriculture began to function in 1862, long before its secretary became a cabinet member. The Defense Department, successor to the War Department, was not established until 1947.

The President of the United States is in reality many persons in one.

He is the chief of state, the head of the nation in the eyes of the world.

He is the chief executive, responsible for the administration of the government and the enforcement of the laws.

He is the major policy-maker in more ways than one. Not only does the ultimate responsibility for foreign policy decisions rest with the President, he is in effect making policy with every executive order he issues, and in fact with nearly every step he takes. And he shares with Congress a policy-making role in the formulation of laws.

Furthermore, he is the national leader of his political party.

And, as expressly designated in the Constitution, he is commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

His effectiveness in each role influences his effectiveness in the others. The President can never cease functioning in any of his capacities if he is to discharge faithfully the obligations of his office and be the leader of all the people.



### The President's legislative program

The President presents his legislative program to Congress each year, soon after Congress convenes in early January. First comes his State-of-the-Union Message, which, traditionally, he reads to both houses meeting in joint session in the chamber of the House of Representatives. This message draws in broad strokes a picture of the condition of the nation as a whole—as it is and as the President would like to see it. He highlights the national economy and the federal budget, also the policy areas in which he thinks new legislation is needed. The State-of-the-Union Message is soon

followed by the Budget Message, then the Economic Report (these are not delivered in person by the President).

Indeed, messages from the President to Congress constitute a continuing process. From time to time, the President might submit a special message proposing legislation affecting, say, agriculture, labor, trade, education—whatever area of government concern he believes needs additional legislative action.

The President can employ a multitude of methods to promote his program through Congress. All his qualities of leadership come into play: his grasp of national and international problems, his sensitivity to the mood of the country, his personal diplomacy with Congress, his strength within his party, his ability as an administrator.

His approach to Congress varies, depending on whether his party is the majority or the minority in either or both houses, on the extent to which his viewpoint coincides with the viewpoint of the various committee chairmen involved, and on his own conception of his leadership role. But regardless of whether his party is in the majority in Congress, the President inevitably is caught up in a tradition of rivalry between the Capitol and the White House.

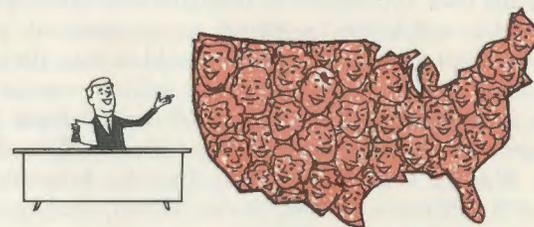
The President's constituency is all the people; the very nature of his office demands that he consider the nation as a whole. But while a Congressman, too, is expected to serve the national interest, he must at the same time be responsive to the interest of his own particular constituency (his congressional district if he is a Representative, his state if he is a Senator) and the two interests do not always coincide.

For a high legislative box score, the President needs to maintain a good working relationship with Congress. The priority which congressional committees give to his proposals, the extent to which these proposals are altered in the legislative process, the amount of money that is appropriated to carry out his requests—all are bound to be affected by the President's personal relations with Congress. This relationship, in turn, depends in no small measure upon his initial as well as continuing consultations with party leaders.

No matter how successful are his relations with Congress, a President will encounter some legislative disappointments, even defeats. Even when his proposals eventually get through Congress,

the final law is not likely to be in the form proposed by the President. Furthermore, Congress may write restrictions into the law curbing the President's powers to administer the program. Or the full amount of money the President requested to carry out the program may not be appropriated. If the legislation Congress passes and sends to the President for signature is completely unacceptable to him, the President can always veto the measure.

Should the President's arguments fall on deaf ears in Congress, he can try to build up support for his program by taking his case directly to the people. It has always been true that anything any President says is news. With the advent of radio and television he can today literally enter almost every home in the country and communicate directly and simultaneously with the entire populace.



In the process of shepherding his program through Congress, the President obviously needs the continuing help of the rest of the executive branch, including his Cabinet and the ten departments they head, the Bureau of the Budget, the White House staff, and others.

Legislation the President requests is frequently drafted in the executive department which would administer the law if it is enacted. Representatives of the various executive departments appear before committees of the House and the Senate before legislation is finally passed—particularly major legislation. The departments not only testify in favor of legislation the President supports, they also present the President's case against proposals that run counter to the Administration's program.

### **The President as an administrator**

Important as is the President's leadership role in the making of laws, Congress has the responsibility for enacting them. But when it comes to carrying out the laws, the President bears the responsibility.

**Presidential Appointees**—Leader of a nation of over 185 million persons, the President obviously needs a large corps of advisers in policy-making positions. Those closest to him are cabinet officers and personal aides. Most of these will be selected by him personally. It is not likely that any President, from his circle of personal friends, can select the necessary number of properly qualified individuals. So he turns to others, including party leaders throughout the country, for suggestions and recommendations. Some appointees not previously known to the President except by general reputation are tapped for high office because of outstanding achievements in a particular field, sometimes regardless of party.

**Civil Servants**—In administering the government the President has not only his own appointees to help him but career personnel as well. *Civilian* employees working in government positions throughout the United States\* and the world in late 1961 totaled about 2.4 million. Of this total about two million were in the ten departments in approximate figures as follows: Defense (civilian only, military not included), 1 million; Post Office, 568,000; Agriculture, 87,000; Treasury, 77,000; Health, Education, and Welfare, 65,000; Interior, 51,000; State, 38,000; Justice, 31,000; Commerce, 31,000; Labor, 7,000.



Not many people know a member of the Cabinet or an Ambassador. But millions of us know a county agent, a post office clerk, a Veterans Administration contact representative, a Social

\*The largest concentration of federal civilian employees is in California (about 241,000) and the metropolitan area of Washington, D. C. (about 238,000); these two localities seesaw back and forth for first place.

Security claims representative, a clerk-typist at a nearby air base. There is probably not a single person in the United States who does not have some contact with a federal civil servant. Each of these employees, by attitudes and actions, has an influence on the public image of the civil service; each, by degree of efficiency and effectiveness in his or her job, has an influence on the administration of the government.

Government departments and agencies are an indispensable aid to the President. They are a source of information, providing, for example, agricultural statistics sent straight from farm areas by county agents, economic data about a foreign country compiled by the U.S. embassy there. When such information from many points has been put together and analyzed, it becomes the basis for helping determine national policy.

**Executive Office of the President**—The Executive Office of the President, established in 1939, is at present made up of the following six parts:

1. The White House Staff consists of personal aides to the President, their assistants, and clerical workers. Currently totaling about 400 persons, the staff varies in size—and even in function—according to the preferences of the President. The over-all function is to facilitate the staggering work load of the President. One major job is the scheduling of the President's time to include meetings he desires with groups or individuals in or outside of government. Another is to serve as a clearing house for the voluminous information flowing to the White House from governmental and nongovernmental sources, especially to see that the President has all the necessary facts on which to base a decision.

2. The Bureau of the Budget, established in 1921, has a staff of around 450 persons. Its primary function is to assist the President in preparing the annual budget for submission to Congress. It is empowered by law to "assemble, correlate, revise, reduce, or increase" the budgetary estimates of departments and agencies. In addition, the Bureau serves as the President's staff for improving management and organization in the executive branch, for clearing legislative proposals coming from federal agencies, and for coordinating and improving the government's statistical services.

3. The National Security Council, established in 1947, advises the President on defense and military matters in order to further cooperation among the military services and governmental

agencies concerned with national security. In addition to the President, Council members include the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, and such others as the President appoints with the approval of the Senate. The Council has jurisdiction over the Central Intelligence Agency, which coordinates the intelligence activities of the government to protect the national security.

4. The Council of Economic Advisers, established by the Employment Act of 1946, assists the President in preparing the annual Economic Report for submission to Congress. Throughout the year the Council advises the President on the state of the national economy and makes recommendations on policies to promote economic growth, employment, and price stability.

5. The Office of Emergency Planning (OEP) replaced the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization (OCDM) in July 1961. Released from the civil defense operating responsibilities of the OCDM, which were assigned to the Defense Department, the OEP is designed principally to assist the President in planning, determining, and coordinating policy of the nonmilitary defense program.

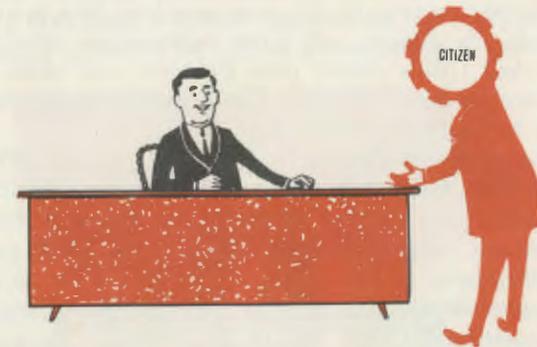
6. The National Aeronautics and Space Council, established in 1959, advises the President on policies, plans, programs, and accomplishments of federal agencies engaged in space activities and in the development of a comprehensive program.

**The Independent Agencies**—In addition to the ten departments and the Executive Office of the President, there is a third category in the executive branch of the federal government—the independent agencies. They are called independent for various reasons. None is within any of the ten departments. In the case of those agencies whose administrators are appointed for definite and overlapping terms, all longer than four years, a change in Administration does not automatically bring about a replacement of the entire governing body. Those agencies whose administrators must represent both major political parties are even further removed from White House control.

Because of their position outside the traditional structure of the executive branch, their relationship to the President is less clear than that of the cabinet departments. However, the independence of these agencies is by no means unqualified. For one thing, the President nominates and the Senate must confirm appointments

to these agencies. For another, funds to operate the agencies must be appropriated by Congress through the traditional process.

Whether administrative, regulatory, or corporate, all independent agencies have been established by act of Congress. There are over 50 of them. They cover a wide range of governmental activities. The variety is indicated by the names of a few—Securities and Exchange Commission, Veterans Administration, Tennessee Valley Authority, Tariff Commission, Small Business Administration, Export-Import Bank, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Aviation Agency, Interstate Commerce Commission, National Labor Relations Board.



### **The President and the Citizen**

The President is the person whom you, the voter, can hold responsible for administering the federal government and enforcing its laws. You will remember that he also has a responsibility to present a program and a budget to Congress each year. Congress will probably enact most of the President's proposals and meet most of his appropriation requests. But Congress initiates much legislation on its own, which if enacted will add to the numerous administrative responsibilities of the President.

You also have a responsibility to the President. It is up to you to inform yourself on the President's program, and then to take action in support of or in opposition to that program during the various stages of the legislative process—by letters to the White House, to your Congressmen, to newspapers, to your party leaders. He also deserves your thoughtful concern throughout the year on the major issues facing his Administration.



## THE JUDICIAL BRANCH



Article III, Section 1, the Constitution says: *The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.*

The Supreme Court came into being in September 1789, about six months after ratification of the Constitution. The two other levels of federal courts, the courts of appeals and the district courts, were not established as we know them today until more than a century later, in 1891. With the growth of the nation there was an unprecedented increase in the number of legal cases, creating an intolerable work load on the courts.

While the Constitution provides, under the appointive powers of the President, that judges of the Supreme Court shall be nominated by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, the Constitution says practically nothing as to how the judicial branch of the federal government shall be organized. Although it provides for one Supreme Court, it does not provide for the number of judges or the composition of that Court. Curiously, the only reference to a Chief Justice is not in the judicial article but in the legislative article of the Constitution, in the clause describing the impeachment powers of the Senate: "The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments . . . When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside . . ."

The size and composition of the Supreme Court have been determined through congressional action, and the size has varied, up and down. Originally, the Court consisted of a Chief Justice and five Associate Justices. The number was gradually increased

and by 1863, midway in the Civil War, the total reached 10. During the turbulent Reconstruction period—with relations between Congress and the Executive so tense that impeachment of President Andrew Johnson was attempted by Congress—Congress reduced the number of justices to seven, this number to be reached by not filling vacancies. Congress took this action to prevent President Johnson from making any new appointments. However, as things worked out, the number of justices never went below eight. After President Johnson's term expired, Congress in 1869 increased the number to nine, where it has remained ever since.

The fluctuation in the number of justices is an interesting illustration of the power of Congress over federal courts. However, the judiciary does have a distinct function and an independence of its own, clearly provided for in the Constitution. Once a federal



judge has been appointed, he retains his office during "good behavior," he cannot be removed from his office except by impeachment,\* and his salary cannot be decreased. The salary for the Chief Justice is \$35,500 a year; for Associate Justices, \$35,000. Judges on the U.S. Court of Appeals draw salaries of \$25,500; on District Courts, \$22,500.

There are three levels of federal courts: the Supreme Court, the highest court in the United States; 11 intermediate courts, known as courts of appeals, which serve groups of states assigned to 11 judicial circuits; 91 trial courts, known as district courts, of which at least one is located in each of the 50 states, with some of the larger states having as many as four. The federal judgeships in both circuit and district courts total 386, including the 73 new positions created in 1961.

\*There has been only one instance of impeachment proceedings brought against a member of the Supreme Court—Justice Samuel Chase in 1805.

There are also specialized federal courts, created to deal with particular types of cases—Court of Claims, Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, Customs Court, Territorial Courts, and Court of Military Appeals.

The annual term of the Supreme Court begins the first Monday in October and usually ends around the middle of June, depending upon the number of cases. Six members constitute a quorum. A decision is handed down by a majority vote. In the event of a tie the previous judgment of a lower court is affirmed.

Approximately 200 cases are argued before the Supreme Court each term. The district courts try about 10,000 cases each year, of which about 3,200 go to the courts of appeals.

### Jurisdiction

While the Constitution says nothing about the size or composition of the Supreme Court, it does say something about the type of cases which come within the Court's jurisdiction. Article III, Section 2, of the Constitution extends "*the judicial Power of the United States*" to nine classes of "*cases*" and "*controversies*," which are then enumerated:

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Cases arising under the Constitution   | } Depending on character of Cause   |
| 2. Cases arising under federal laws and treaties  |                                     |
| 3. Admiralty and maritime cases   |                                     |
| 4. Cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls   | } Depending on character of Parties |
| 5. Controversies to which the United States is a party  |                                     |
| 6. Controversies between two or more states   |                                     |
| 7. Controversies between a state and citizens of another state  |                                     |
| 8. Controversies between citizens of different states   |                                     |
| 9. Controversies between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state or the citizens thereof and foreign states, citizens, or subjects. |                                     |

Few cases begin in the Supreme Court. Indeed, the only cases which can originate there are those which the Constitution specifies as coming under the Court's "*original jurisdiction*," i.e., "*Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party.*" All other cases reach the Supreme Court by way of appeal, after possibilities of remedy in the lower federal courts or the highest state courts have been exhausted.

Although the Supreme Court's "*original jurisdiction*" cannot be either expanded or restricted by act of Congress, the appellate jurisdiction shall be subject to "*. . . such Exceptions, and . . . such Regulations as the Congress shall make,*" according to the Constitution. Use of this congressional power is illustrated by an attempt in Congress in 1958 to limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in five areas of internal security. The move was made by Congressmen who strongly disagreed with several of the Court's decisions in these areas. The attempt was defeated by a close vote.

The Supreme Court does not advise Congress on the legality of any law before it is passed, nor does it advise the executive branch on any official action before the action is taken. Only when "*cases*" or "*controversies*" arising from laws or executive action come before the Supreme Court does the Court render a decision.



### Judicial Review

The power of judicial review is implied rather than spelled out in the Constitution but it has become firmly established through a long line of Supreme Court decisions. Through the power of review the Supreme Court has protected the federal government against encroachment by the states and has upheld the rights of the states under the Constitution. And, equally important, it protects persons against encroachment upon their constitutional rights as individuals by either federal or state government.

Checking and balancing the powers of the executive and legislative branches of the federal government are fundamental functions of the judicial branch. Interestingly enough, few acts of the President or Congress have been declared unconstitutional. This fact is accounted for not only by the restraining influence which the ever-present possibility of "judicial annulment" has had on the Congress and the Executive, but on the self-restraint which the

Supreme Court has imposed on itself. It has long been the Court's general practice to decide cases on the narrowest grounds possible.

History reveals that if an act has been declared unconstitutional in time of grave crisis—as during the Civil War and post-Civil War period and during the great depression of the early 1930's—the Congress or the President sometimes attempts to decrease or increase the size of the Supreme Court, as the case may be, or to alter its power. But the more usual adjustment to a Supreme Court decision which voids legislation has been to rewrite the legislation, or, in the case of a decision which voids an executive order, to rewrite the executive order.

### The Courts and the Citizen

You as a citizen have no direct influence on the federal courts. Indeed, trying to influence the decision of any judge is against the law.

But you do have an indirect influence in this domain. Judges are assumed to be above political partisanship in the execution of their legal judgments, and once on the bench they do not participate actively in political campaigns. However, an Administration selects the majority of its nominees for judgeships from its own party lists. Therefore the quality of judges appointed depends in great part upon the quality of your nation's and your party's leaders. So you help determine the quality of the courts when you, through activity in your party and through your vote in primaries and on election day, help select your national leaders. You should exert your influence to assure the selection and election of officials who have high standards of public service.



The system of checks and balances as set forth in the Constitution has endured more than a century and a half. Each major

branch has been given certain broad powers but each is subject to restraints.

The *legislative power* of the federal government is vested in Congress. But the power of Congress is checked by the presidential veto power and by the power of judicial review by the Supreme Court.

The *executive power* of the federal government is vested in the President. But the power of the President is checked by the fact that he cannot spend public monies unless Congress authorizes him to do so and appropriates the funds. The President has the power to make appointments and negotiate treaties but must have the advice and consent of the Senate to carry out this power. Congress can override his veto and even impeach him. The President's power is further checked and balanced by the power of judicial review by the Supreme Court.

The *judicial power* of the federal government is vested in the Supreme Court and in other federal courts. But Congress has the power to ordain and establish the lower courts as well as to alter their jurisdiction. The size of the Supreme Court and its appellate jurisdiction is subject to alteration by Congress. The President has the power to appoint federal judges, but the Senate must confirm the appointments. Judges can be impeached by Congress. The Supreme Court interprets the Constitution, but only the people, through their elected representatives, can amend it.

The fact that our governmental system of checks and balances has endured does not mean that it has endured without change. In the early days the United States was a weak young nation, rich in natural and human resources as yet undeveloped. Today the United States is a firmly established highly developed nation. The major problems of 1961 are not the problems of 1789.

As Thomas Jefferson noted, ". . . laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths discovered and manners and opinions change, with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also to keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors."

In this age of complexity and anxiety a special premium is placed on a concerned and informed citizenry.



## YOU AS AN ACTIVE CITIZEN

The average citizen is not expected to be an expert on government. Even the specialists spend nearly a lifetime acquiring a thorough knowledge of the complexities of government. But it is by no means impossible for a citizen to develop understanding of what kind of government we have, how it has evolved, and why it operates as it does today. Knowledge about our national government is essential for any citizen who wants to be an effective and active participant in public affairs.

There are many ways in which it is possible for you to participate actively in our national government:

- **In the nomination of candidates to federal office—to the House, to the Senate, to the presidency . . .**

Most candidates are chosen by political leaders who have been elected by party members or by their committeemen and committeewomen, although some candidates do file directly in a primary election. The caliber of a candidate is affected by the caliber of the political leaders, which in turn is determined by the voters who actively participate in party elections. In other words, the quality of a candidate to a public office depends on you.

Do you belong to a political party? Are you active in it? Do you encourage others to run for party or public office? Do you vote in the primary? Do you attend your party's meetings often enough to become acquainted with prospective leaders, party committee-

men and committeewomen, candidates? Do you contribute money to your party? Do you urge others to contribute and to be active?

An understanding of the role of political parties—how to have a voice in your party's councils, how to influence its platform, how to help choose its candidates—is a first step in active participation in government.

- **In the election of candidates . . .**

Helping to see that a qualified candidate is nominated for office is only the first step; you need to continue and expand your efforts to get him elected. No matter how well qualified, a candidate is not likely to win without the help of enthusiastic and active supporters who are willing to spend time and money in his campaign. Any candidate needs more than individual supporters. He also needs an organization. Whether your support is given in the form of a contribution of \$5 or \$500, addressing envelopes or making a speech, your role is an important one.

- **In the enactment of legislation . . .**

Most issues take a lot of push to get enacted into law. If you are really interested in a particular issue you can work for it . . .

*Through individual action . . .*

You can communicate with your party leaders. You can write to your Representative or send him a pamphlet or a newspaper clipping dealing with an issue which interests you. Although legislators are likely to get much more material than they can possibly read on major issues, they are especially interested in material on subjects just coming into public focus on which little research has been done, and material relating a national issue to his district.

You can follow a similar pattern with your Senators.

In addition to writing your Representative you will want to seek opportunities to meet him when he is back home; and you will want to have your home address on his mailing list. Also, you will want to find out what committees he is on and, if you are in Washington, you can even attend hearings of those committees.

*Through an organization . . .*

One of the best ways to exert influence on legislation is to work through organizations. In this way you can accomplish some things that would be difficult to achieve by yourself. For example, leaders of organizations sometimes are able to talk to key Administration or congressional leaders. Organization leaders can testify on your

behalf at congressional hearings; they can let you know the timing on legislation, so that you can make your views known at the most effective moment. Through these means your organization can likewise help defeat legislation you do not want to see enacted.

Your organization can express *your* views, however, only if you let its leaders know what you think about a particular issue.

● **In affecting public opinion . . .**

Here again you can work both individually and as part of a group. Organizations usually issue publications and press releases and often attempt to place speakers on radio and television programs—all in an effort to educate the public on subjects in which they are especially interested and concerned.

As an individual, too, you can affect public opinion. You can write letters to the editor of your newspaper. If asked to participate on a radio or television program, you can say yes. And you can share your concern with others through just plain conversation.

You can even affect public opinion by being a responsive audience. Your reaction to a newspaper columnist—a television commentator—a magazine article—an editorial—a book—a documentary film—is not only a reflection of your opinion, it can persuade others and thus help mold public opinion.

Once again we come back to the fact that your influence on your federal government is what you make it. Even as an active citizen, you won't always get your own way, but you will at least be an effective part of the political process. But as an inactive citizen you will find yourself outside the political process, dependent on the decisions of others.

Francis Bacon may not have had the citizen in mind when he said that "knowledge is power" but the thought is applicable here: Knowledge of *how* to be an effective citizen can go a long way in providing you with the power *to be* one.



## SUGGESTED READINGS

### General—Government Publications

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, published daily when Congress is in session. United States Government Printing Office. \$1.50 a month or free from your Congressman.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. \$2.00.

U.S. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. \$1.50. (Published annually, this is the official organization handbook of the federal government.)

### General—Textbooks

Burns, James M. and Peltason, Jade W., GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, fourth edition, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1960.

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**League of Women Voters of the United States**  
1026—17th St., N. W. Washington 6, D. C.



# “How To Work Effectively With State Legislatures”

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES

# HOW TO WORK EFFECTIVELY WITH STATE LEGISLATURES

by  
James I. Ritchie, CAE

American Society of Association Executives

**How to Work Effectively With State Legislatures**

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Single Copy, Member Price . . . . . \$2.75 each

Five Or More, Member Price . . . . . \$2.50 each

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2011 Eye Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20006  
(202) 659-3333

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## INTRODUCTION

The majority of members of the American Society of Association Executives has a significant interest in and working relationship with state governments and their respective legislatures. It is appropriate, therefore, that we publish this study to help make the association executive's work more effective.

*How to Work Effectively With State Legislatures* is the first book of its kind ever published. ASAE will continue to furnish its members with similar tools for this important area of association management.

The expertise of the contributing authors, many of whom have served in their own state legislatures, makes the study valuable reading for all association executives.

James P. Low  
Executive Vice President  
American Society of Association Executives

## Preface

If there is to be a continuing improvement in the governmental process in America, it will come from the increased interest and participation of the governed. In no other modern nation are the citizens so instrumental in their own collective political destiny as in the United States. Representative government achieves its greatest expression through the participation of an informed citizenry.

Voluntary trade and professional organizations have the responsibility through their legislative activities of providing leadership in improving the voice of the people in their own affairs. It is to this principle of good government that this text is dedicated.

Acknowledgement is made of the valuable contribution of seven professional colleagues in the American Society of Association Executives. Five have been state legislators in their own right. All, distinguished by their experience, record and stature in this field, give accreditation to this work: Marshall W. Cobleigh, General Manager, Independent Mutual Insurance Agents of New England, and member, New Hampshire House of Representatives; Robert E. Cook, CAE, Executive Vice President, Illinois Association of Real Estate Boards; George P. Johns, President, Credit Bureau of Decatur, and member, Illinois General Assembly; John W. Johnson, CAE, Executive Vice President, American Collectors Association, Inc., and member, Minnesota House of Representatives; Tom Judge, President, Judge Advertising, and Montana State Senator; Terry Townsend, Executive Director, Texas Motor Transportation Association, and former member, Texas House of Representatives; and S. Rayburn Watkins, CAE, Executive Vice President, Associated Industries of Kentucky. Credit is additionally due S. Rayburn Watkins, CAE, ASAE President, and James P. Low, ASAE Executive Vice President, who catalyzed this publication project into final fruition.

James I. Ritchie, CAE  
Executive Vice President  
Alabama Trucking Association

# Beginning A Legislative Program

Chapter 1

*Legislative goals should be in the member's interest, fair to the public, conducive to free enterprise, and reasonably obtainable in the association's favor of success.*

**T**HE legislative goals set by any association must be realistic. They must be goals that are applicable to the industry or profession, and they must be the kind of goals that are capable of accomplishment.

The membership of any association would understandably be unappreciative of any association's program which resulted in a substantial portion going down to defeat. It is to be expected that a losing legislative session will occasionally be in the cards. However, if possible, it should be avoided as much as possible, in order to encourage broad, active participation by the membership.

A continuous losing effort will certainly not engender any enthusiasm from among the membership. It can very well bring criticism down around the shoulders of the association leadership. Therefore it is advisable to exercise prudent judgment in devising a legislative program with a reasonable hope of success.

It should also be recognized that there are times when a losing cause must be espoused as 1) a matter of principle, 2) to establish a beachhead for a future operation or 3) to do



an education job that might prevent a bad situation from becoming worse. While it is true that constant losses will stultify an association's reputation, credibility and growth, it is equally true that important victories can often grow from the seed bed of today's defeats.

The important thing is to recognize both sides of the 'losing-winning' coin and exercise prudent judgment that will protect an association's intellectual integrity and produce a respectable number of winners at the same time.

### **Goals Should Leave Latitude**

Occasionally associations get too specific in setting their legislative goals. That is, policy positions lock in the chief executive and staff in such a way that any maneuvering, negotiation, or quick decision-making becomes difficult or impossible. Flexibility is preferable to immobility, and this should be an understood part of the legislative planning.

### **Determine Legal Guidelines**

Whatever goals are set must, of course, be done in conjunction with competent legal authority. If the association has no legal counsel of its own, then advice may be possibly gained from agencies of state government or the attorney general's office concerning statutes dealing with lobbying activities or the specific nature of the legislation under consideration. There is no more embarrassing situation than to have to retrench from a published legislative goal because of legal restrictions.

These should be ironed out well in advance of any adopted program. As much as possible, alternatives and amendments to adopted legislative goals should also be considered in the light of their legality, if necessary, at the last minute. This should be done as much as possible in advance as it will save embarrassing delays and possible defeats later on in the program.

### **Legal Counsel Worthwhile**

Legal restrictions upon lobbying vary greatly from state to state. It is necessary that the chief executive and his staff be

thoroughly familiar with the laws relating to legislative activity as they pertain to associations in his respective state. It is also worthwhile at the outset, to retain legal counsel for this specific purpose even if it is not to be continuously retained for all association or legislative functions.

The association executive should keep up to date on development in this area by current reading of legislative and regulatory developments as reported in the press, periodicals, ASAE special reports and releases of the Internal Revenue Service. No association or its membership should ever suffer embarrassment or even worse, restraint to its goals, by an association executive found operating outside of the law whether by device or ignorance, and it is fundamentally important that the executive be on sound legal ground in all his action. He should, as a matter of fact, be the guiding conscience of his association in the area of legal compliance in all his association activities and duties.

### **Federal And State Laws Differ Widely**

The laws of the states vary so widely as to defy generalization here, with some states having virtually no prohibitions. The actions of a state association executive in relation to federal office seekers, however, are more clearcut, as provided for in the Federal Corrupt Practices Act.

Copies of this act, available from the Clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives, or the Government Printing Office, contain such specifics as to render quotation here unwarranted. It is however, important to note that two standards of compliance are usually indicated, in the normally more stringent standards of the federal statute over state laws.

### **Assure Appropriate Financing**

Accurate budget forecasts should be made in advance with complete assurance of adequate funds to carry out the legislative activity. Associations might consider program budgeting, rather than line item budgeting, as too often too much of the financial resources are allocated to put out brush fires and handle member services that are unimportant by comparison.

Lack of funds at a crucial time can spell disaster to the entire legislative program. It is much better to reduce the scope and complexity of the legislative operation in order to stay within assured financial income, rather than embark on an ambitious program which would have to be curtailed before completion.

By going into program budgeting, an association executive may be better able to stimulate his board into establishing goals for the association, followed by priorities, and then utilizing his staff and resources to carry out the priority objectives of the association. Here again, it is important that the financing be cleared with proper legal authority to make certain that neither the contributors nor the association is endangered because of restrictions on political or legislative contributions, which laws and restrictions vary from state to state.

While it is dangerous to generalize, it is often felt that a budget for legislative activities of less than 10 percent of the association's overall budget is usually inadequate to accomplish much in influencing legislation.

Some associations undertaking program budgeting have found that the Board of Directors will thereby establish higher priority for legislative activity than previously and will therefore devote more adequate resources and staff activity to this endeavor. It has been found moreover to be an effective method of financial planning.

Some associations resort to voluntary contributions from members for legislative activity and this can be advantageous, though it is important to consider in the light of tax considerations. In such a case, care should be taken not to promise more in the legislative fund solicitation than can be realistically achieved.

#### **Establish Public Relations And Education Programs**

It must be assumed that a basic part of any association's function is to represent its membership to the general public in a program of public relations for that trade or profession. It is then a natural second step for the legislative goals of the membership to be translated through this information facility to the public at large.

While these methods can assume a separate and distinct professional operation, suffice it to say that whatever the size of the association or industry, no group or its membership can very long be successful in disregarding the public interest in its legislative program. It should be determined to what degree public support is necessary in order either to achieve the desired legislative result, or to try to convince the public that what is desired is for the public's good, and the appropriate steps then taken.

There is no question that an internal education program is necessary in order to assure the association of an informed membership so that prompt action can be taken at the proper times during the conduct of the actual legislative program. To disregard an internal education program with the membership could result in misunderstanding, friction, inaction, factionalism and defeat from within. Such an internal education program implies periodic legislative reports or bulletins covering all legislative subjects of interest or concern to the membership as well as developments within the specific goals.

#### **To Tell Or Not To Tell**

Many successful legislative observers and counselors occasionally advocate a legislative strategy of measured secrecy. This usually pertains particularly to timing as might involve the known opposition. Some newspapers, for example, will react violently in opposition to a threatened principle or ownership policy.

In this case, the association may pursue a wise strategy in not showing its hand at a critical moment. This matter of strategy is admittedly more concerned with actual floor handling of bills, but it bears note at this point in the consideration of external public relations programs.

#### **Establish A Functioning Legislative Structure**

Most associations operate with a volunteer committee for guidance and coordination in the legislative or public affairs activity. These committees utilize the organization membership selected on a geographic, congressional district, balanced interest, or other basis.

Legislative committees can experience the handicap of having willing and energetic volunteers whose background is too broad and general and are therefore of little help to the executive except on a policy basis. When considering technical subjects, it is usually more advantageous to have legislative committees or subcommittees comprised of technically competent, knowledgeable individuals, even though they be lower in the management scale of their company. Some association executives feel that one overall legislative committee is worse than useless if it tries to handle all types of issues. Such cases might be better handled by the Board of Directors without interposing another hurdle between the decision-makers and those who work to get the job done in the state legislature.

Many, if not most associations, invite the members to state a committee preference which is probably good member relations but can result in poor committee appointments if not conditioned by other considerations. There is often a low percentage of replies received to such preference surveys but they may occasionally develop some new competent talent. There is no substitute for the infrequent volunteer member who has the trade or professional knowledge, political and legislative "savvy," and limitless energy and willingness to work and pull in the team harness of an association legislative activity.

By the same token, an association executive should maximize the usefulness of any of his staff members to serve the purpose. Even an office secretary who is knowledgeable about the legislative process and the association's goals can be a readily available aide back at the association office when the executive is busy in the state capitol and needs coordination from association headquarters. In a larger association, the chief executive should train and develop other staff members in working with state legislatures since there are times when there can never be an adequate number of resources available to the executive.

### **Volunteers Versus The Pro's**

It also serves to note here that some associations actually prohibit their members from legislative representation of the

association in the capitol. This is more typically the case of associations of larger membership, staff and financial means, where the volunteer member worker is not so urgently needed, or where the legislative program is so complex, or the members' interests so diverse, that the legislative program is entrusted solely to paid lobbyists who are well grounded and can be counted upon to steer the straight, impersonal course.

A word of caution right here about the eager or inexperienced volunteer worker who can undo a lot of good if he doesn't have all the facts, or lets his own personal, selfish interest rule his activity, or allows his temper to come to the surface in a trying circumstance.

For the association that is able to do so financially, or for the one that has such inadequate member participation or staff to meet the problem, then a retained lobbyist can be a wise expenditure. It is sometimes possible to combine in hiring such a lobbyist with other groups having no conflict of interest, to obtain a better legislative representative. Such an arrangement is undoubtedly less costly than having a full-time staff person whose performance is limited solely to legislative work, and it probably incurs less stigma among legislators and the public as well.

### **Using A Hired Lobbyist**

Experience has proven a few tried and true rules in the use of a hired lobbyist whether full or part-time.

First and foremost the retained lobbyist must be answerable to the chief association executive who bears the ultimate responsibility for the legislative program. Regardless whether the association may have a legislative staff director, or a committee of volunteers, the lobbyist must receive his instructions, make his reports, and get any "change-orders" from the chief executive. The chief executive translates the association legislative policy to the lobbyist, and afterward, takes the legislative results back to the association committee, Board or membership, as may be the case. Without this, the lobbyist may be diverted in his work by the whims of others or himself, may become involved innocently or otherwise in side deals, or may usurp the authority of the chief executive or association.

By the same measure, the lobbyist must never be allowed to represent any association member individually, or any segment of members within the association, nor naturally, any other group outside the association of a conflicting interest. It is a good practice to have regular periodic briefing and reporting sessions with the paid lobbyist, at least daily, if not more often during an active session, and certainly not less than weekly in periods of lesser activity.

The most common method of retention of a lobbyist is by fixed fee, payable in regular equal monthly amounts, either for the legislative session, or as a continuous year-round retainer. The latter is the most preferable, usually to both sides. Sometimes a lobbyist may be retained to work on a specific legislative project separate from the total legislative program of the association. A contingency relationship where the retainer is dependent upon degree of success, with a nominal payment in event of failure, is usually considered of questionable ethics by all sides, and from the association's position is certainly the least to be desired, if at all.

### **SOME SPECIAL CONDITIONS**

#### **National Associations Without State Affiliation**

The first thing needed by any national association with state legislative problems but no affiliated state association, is an information pipeline to know what the problems are and when they occur. There is usually available in any state capitol a legislative reporting service on either a subscription or some very informal basis. Some newspaper reporters have been known to perform such service as a "moonlight" operation handled by simple carbon copies to the subscriber. While services that advise the introduction of bills and their status is rarely cheap, it is inexpensive in comparison to having full-time observers.

It is invariably true that even those organizations with full-time legislative personnel utilize legislative reporting services. Normally, a local service has advantages over a national legislative reporting service which has to buy its own reporting.

Having assured the flow of information, the national association must then consider what to do about its problem,

and this can be resolved in several ways: through retention of a full or part-time lobbyist, lawyer, public relations firm or other connection. Many national associations without state affiliations work closely with an existing state organization that has an allied or related interest posing no conflict with its own. These arrangements are usually highly informal.

Clearly no state association can do its own job, and someone else's also, without some criticism from its membership that its primary effort is diluted. It would therefore be well considered for any national association to endeavor a reimbursement or compensatory understanding for any service or assistance expected from a non-affiliated state association. It is probably safe to say that there are more national associations without state affiliation than there are those which do have affiliated state organizations in their structure.

This facet of state legislative representation by national organizations has possibly been one of the most overlooked and neglected to date. There are solutions to this need, and the opportunities for cooperative engagement are probably as unlimited as they have been untested.

#### **Legislative Activity With Local Governments**

It is often as difficult for a state association to lobby effectively with local government, as it is for a national association to operate at the state legislative level without on-the-ground representation. As with the states where conditions experience fifty variations, there is a comparable kaleidoscope of conditions and personalities throughout local governments. While it is true that most local governments have reasonably standard procedures within a given state, due to uniform statutory requirements, it is equally true that local government officials are interested only in the expression and representation of local citizens in local matters. This enforces the desirability of a state association developing a local structure for a local legislative issue.

Occasionally the prestige and authority of a state association will be accepted influentially in a local government matter. Local municipal governments are becoming increasingly zealous and jealous of their prerogatives for home con-

trol. Except in the very largest cities, there are not usually local or metropolitan associations available to act on local legislative problems.

Fortunately, however, the number and breadth of legislative problems at the local government level have neither the same proliferation nor involvement for state and national associations, as do those they both experience at the state level. It is a good rule of thumb that those precepts which apply to state legislative activity generally have the same merit and application to legislative activity at any other level of government.

# Pre-Election Planning

Chapter 2



**A**N intelligence file on candidates, and even more so when they become legislators, is indispensable. This is merely a dossier on each candidate or legislator including biographical data, clippings, speeches, copies of letters, etc., with no limit of the kind and quantity of information collected, especially on key legislators.

Throughout a legislative program, there is nothing more important than accurate information about the background, interest and personal acquaintances of members of the legislature. Such information can be simply put on a set of index cards, but more desirably, a comprehensive index of file folders should be used. This can be invaluable when making contact with the individuals, particularly if the file includes information about members who supported the candidate in his election, or how he fits into his backhome power structure.

Design your own cards or files to fit your own purpose. Include all pertinent facts about the candidate, remembering this will be even more important once he's elected. List his family business associates and members who may sell to him, or are his best customers. His campaign manager may be the key to later contact, just as those who made campaign contributions. Perhaps the local political power structure involves someone close to him who relates to your association or

members. He may have hobbies or whims that help you understand him.

In listing your members who can relate to him, it is good to show a qualitative analysis. For example, are they just acquainted with him, better still are they a good friend, or better yet can they call him any hour of the night? If his banker is also interested in your association's program or services, this can be a very good thing to know. This type of a file must never be considered, viewed, or used as a "black-mail" file, but should always be used constructively to help the association executive in working with the individual.

The sources of intelligence data on legislators are most numerous and fruitful when they are still candidates. The collection of this material usually spans an extended period of time. Actually the file never closes, for as subsequent items occur throughout his career they should be added to the dossier. It is important as one executive points out to keep the file up to date because as he says, "politics are like a fickle girl and the alignments do change."

It is not uncommon for association executives to be consulted by "outsiders" for information about legislators, and in at least one case an association on request of the governor's office has provided information from its file.

### **Your Legislative Who's Who**

If the association executive knew each and every candidate intimately and with warm, mutual respect, he'd be on his way. Since he doesn't, (and no one does,) then the best thing he can do is take the quickest, short cut of learning, understanding and cultivating such a relationship. There's nothing illegal, immoral or wrong about this. It's a simple fact that people more readily listen to and respect the judgment of friends, than they do of strangers. This is merely a way to simplify making friends—honest, understanding, helpful friends—for the association.

### **Recruit Able Candidates**

In the interest of good government and citizenship the members of an association should seek from among their own

membership or related groups capable and qualified candidates to run for public office. They should recruit competent candidates who are outstanding men of ability in the business or professional community.

Invariably the capable businessman who receives a high degree of encouragement and support from other business friends makes an exceptional legislator since he has sought the office solely because he was made to feel it was his duty to serve. As one association executive observes, "who is better equipped to hold public office and decide on the merit of vast expenditures of money than an individual who has himself known what it was to meet a payroll."

One association executive points out the danger of recruiting candidates to run against an incumbent. It is obvious that if the association recruits an able candidate, who loses to the incumbent, it will undoubtedly stir the animosity of the incumbent. Of course, he may be already violently opposed to your industry or profession's viewpoint. Nevertheless, in addition to the merits of good government and citizenship, a winning candidate becomes a lasting ally to the trade or profession and association that helped recruit him.

### **Selection Of Other Able Candidates**

The determination as to which candidates are "able" must be made as early in the campaign as possible. Be pragmatic about this. No matter how able the man is, make certain he has at least an outside chance of winning, before getting on his bandwagon. This determination of course may best be made by the members who reside and work in the district involved. Once you have helped select a man, then get as many of the people in your association to assist him as you can. Candidates always need volunteer workers, and they need money. Any member of your industry who can help a candidate obtain either, will be a good contact during the legislative session. It is particularly true that the person who serves as campaign manager or finance manager for a successful candidate holds an ideal position with that candidate when elected, and can provide the key contact for the association of which he is a member.

It is not unprecedented that candidates with an unfavorable past record to a trade or a profession can be brought around to a favorable, or at least neutral, position with a little attention given them in their campaign. It has also been found in the case of an individual who has been against an industry 90 percent of the time that there is nothing to lose in backing his opponent. Even if the opponent loses, the association is out only 10 percent. Also the winner at least tends to respect the association more if it goes against him, and may well work to incur its favor for future campaigns.

### **Picking A Loser Can Make You A Winner**

It is sometimes even beneficial to select and back a candidate who perhaps cannot defeat the incumbent, especially if the incumbent's record has been one of unswerving opposition to your organization. One association executive recalls an instance, when a capable underdog afforded the association an opportunity for its side to be heard for the first time. After the incumbent won the election he came around and made peace with the association. Suddenly, he knew who they were. Several times during the session that followed he asked for the association's opinion, and even voted favorably on a few subjects. The ice had been broken by backing his opponent. Even if it hadn't been, nothing would have been lost, but something was gained. It's worth sizing up the situation, and then acting.

### **Personal Relationships With Candidates**

It is an effective method to have candidates meet with the association membership, particularly if it has local affiliates. This also allows members to pursue individual personal relationships with the candidates which will be beneficial in later legislative programs.

It is more important to get acquainted before and during the campaign than trying to do it once the legislature is in session. In the absence of meetings to which he can be invited, local members can introduce the candidate to the association leadership and an understanding can be established.

No promises should be made to the candidate that cannot actually be carried out.

This is a good time to find out how the candidate feels about your industry and to make suggestions useful to him in his campaign and subsequent legislative service. He won't want to be bored with technical problems, but if there is an issue that he can latch on to obtain votes, he will be grateful for your assistance. More than anything else, a candidate needs and is looking for campaign assistance and financing. The more your members can help him with this, the more he will be grateful to you.

### **Political Action Committee**

Political Action Committees can often be formed to receive contributions from individuals in a particular industry or profession and to channel these funds into the campaigns of appropriate candidates. These political committees are not affiliated with any industry association or company member, and receive contributions solely from individuals, not from companies or associations. They do not engage in legislative activity.

Many political action committees have been formed after the pattern upheld by court tests of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE). While it must be a separate and distinct activity from the association, the COPE method does provide a trade or professional group with the opportunity of raising "hard", tax-paid dollars for purposes of direct political activity including contributions to candidates' campaigns. There are a number of groups, both state and national, which employ this method which is described in the May 1968 issue of *Association Management*, entitled "Political Action Committees".<sup>1</sup>

A brief summary of the operating rules of these committees is as follows:

1. Location of the committee should be out of the association office.

<sup>1</sup>Webster, "Political Action Committees", 20 *Association Management* 22 (May, 1968). See also, Webster, *Business and Professional Political Action Committees*, published October, 1968 by the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.

2. For all committee work, there should always be outside secretarial assistance completely apart from the association. At least, if association secretarial services are used, they should be paid for separately by committee funds.

3. If possible, the committee should have a separate office where all activities should be carried on.

4. The principal activities of any company or association personnel in connection with the committee should always be performed in other than ordinary working hours.

5. There should never be a dual billing for dues and contributions, even in professional associations where this could be conveniently accomplished.

6. Never accept a corporate check unless it is for political education activities or for activity on a state level where permitted.

7. Never contribute cash to a candidate; always give by check of the committee.

8. Have an audit each year of committee finances by a certified public accountant.

9. File the reports as required by the Corrupt Practices Act with the Clerk of the House of Representatives and also all required state reports. Also file the Form 1120 with your local District Director of Internal Revenue until the IRS determines otherwise.

10. Follow precisely the specific rules and limitations set forth in any applicable state corrupt practices acts, the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, and the provisions of the federal tax statutes if applicable.

### **Campaign Assistance To Candidates**

It is physically impossible, and somewhat impractical for a state association executive to involve himself heavily in the campaign of a number of legislators. The greatest contribution he can make is to involve his members in the candidate's campaign. The extent to which members can do this is generally limited only by their number, energy and willingness. It is of course, essential that the candidate understand the association executive's part in his members' participation with him.

The executive can assist his members by providing voting records of the candidate's opponents, research and information in his field of competence, useful mailing lists, well placed telephone calls, speech writing, speaking appointments, and endless other ways. In the exceptional case that an association executive can involve himself in an important candidate's campaign, he should do so only after assuring the legality of his participation as well as the wisdom of his involvement. Most association executives are by their background and performance well suited to perform a valuable service in any candidate's campaign.

On the other side of the coin is the consideration of an association executive's not involving himself in the candidate's campaign, since there are situations where this is equally as merited as the foregoing. It is not the purpose here to discuss the conditions, but only to emphasize the difference calling for cautious choice.

# Pre-Session Preparation

Chapter 3



**I**T is important to improve and better an existing relationship, or to generate a previously unexisting relationship, with the newly elected legislator. This can be done through personal contacts, letters, telephone calls and suggestions on matters of interests to the legislator and to the association. Never forget that the legislator is a human being and is interested in personal attitudes. Attention and visits shown to a legislator in his home town can have a much greater impact than buttonholing him in the busy atmosphere of the legislative session.

Some associations find it advantageous to invite legislators to meetings of small groups of their members. One association holds a Board of Directors meeting at the state capitol during each legislature, when each board member brings his own senator and representative to dinner as his personal guest. Another association holds a series of small dinner meetings entertaining the newly elected legislators and inviting members who have a close relationship with the legislator. The association presents a nice but inexpensive gift to the legislator to take home to his wife who wasn't invited.

The association executive should make business a very small part of such meetings, emphasizing instead the get-acquainted purpose. However, it is a good idea to have very brief remarks made explaining the association, who it is, what

it is, and who are its supporters. In such a get-acquainted session there should be no mention of issues as it would dilute the primary purpose or work in reverse. Don't forget that it is also important to the legislator to know your members. He will always welcome opportunities to broaden his base of friends and supporters.

### **Politicians Love Meetings**

If the state association executive has to attend a local meeting, it is proper to call a senator or representative while in his town to merely say hello. It would be a further courtesy to invite him to come to your meeting as a guest. Although he probably wouldn't come on such short notice, he would appreciate the gesture.

It is good to remember there are frequently interim committees working at the state capitol from time to time. The legislators attending these meetings have considerably more time on their hands than during a normal session, which also affords an opportunity to get better acquainted.

It is also well to plan and make occasional special interest mailings to the legislators before or between sessions of the legislature. This keeps your name and organization before them, makes them realize you work on other matters than current bills and conveys a favorable opinion in your consideration of them.

### **Cooperation With Legislators**

Most legislators do not have any strong feeling for or against most legislation when they first see it. However, they do care what their supporters think about the legislation, and normally will vote according to what their supporters think and express to them.

Yet most legislators are swamped with work and they cannot possibly understand all of the legislation upon which they must vote. Consequently, they have to depend upon other people to help them decide how to vote.

It follows that anyone having the confidence of a legislator will be asked or depended upon for advice on legislation referring to his interest or industry. As long as the suggestions are made in the light of public interest generally, and not

only in the light of selfish personal interest, the legislator will welcome the advice and be guided and influenced by it.

### **Legislative Committee Operation**

The legislative committee should be organized and operated to meet local conditions on the best basis of whatever "patterning" dictates. This varies from state to state, association to association, and industry to industry with even other possible ramifications. It is, however, important that the legislative committee be of workable size, competent composition, adequate authority and effective action.

Here again, the tool is chosen for the job. One way is to align legislative committee membership with congressional districts. This gives "back home" coverage of each congressman on national issues, while also giving a fairly representative distribution for state legislative matters. Some state associations want one of their own people in each county. With a large number of counties this can be unwieldy, or with a sparsely distributed membership, it can leave holes. Some committees are based on state senatorial districts. This works well to the extent that key association members aligned with the senators are effective with the house members. Generally representatives get along well with their own senator.

Another method of committee alignment may be that of legislative subject. One very effective organization uses a workmen's compensation committee, a transportation committee, an air pollution committee, and so on. This can require a demanding staff coordination job, but it gets real results.

Another criterion in committee selection is how far they are to go at the job. It's quite a different thing if they only handle the back home contacts, and don't have to go to the capitol. Selection of the latter type working committee needs to be made first of all on individual qualification aside from all other considerations.

### **No Set Rules Apply**

During a recent convention of the American Society of Association Executives, one executive got word that a dor-

mant legislative bill had unexpectedly come to life so suddenly as to prevent his return home in time to handle strategy for enactment. In the initial critical period, he got the principal association officers to the capitol, and working by telephone directed their efforts. Those four association members, more than any others, now respect the association executive's job, and understand how to pass a bill. It illustrates what can be done by members or a good working committee. Incidentally, the bill passed.

While the operation of legislative committees varies widely between associations, it is most generally true that the legislative committee translates into legislative action the basic policy established by the association governing body. The legislative committee may serve as a self-generating action group actually working in the chambers and corridors of the state capitol, or it may serve and do its work completely removed from the state capitol, as conditions apply. Though most association executives would welcome any and all help from their members, there is to the contrary, at least one association which has a rigidly enforced rule prohibiting any of its members from personally representing the industry interest at the state capitol during a legislative session.

If there are any precautions in this area, it is the repetitive admonition of most association executives that the legislative committee must have ample authority and flexibility. This must extend as well to the executive, since the legislative atmosphere frequently demands decisions on a basis that prevent even telephone coordination with a single outside person.

### **What Do Legislators Think About You**

A legislator has suggested that association executives should conduct a survey of legislators' likes and dislikes about associations in general, and the executives in particular. He submits that many interesting things will be learned and considerable benefit derived. If not endeavored on an individual basis this might make an interesting project for a state affiliate group of ASAE, but at least it suggests an area in which little has been done and some valuable information might be gained.

Every legislative session has newcomers who like to make a name for themselves, or who enjoy playing to the galleries, or the press corps. Occasionally one of these will make a speech against lobbyists in general, or associations or industries in particular. This is generally traceable to some earlier misinformation or mistreatment.

The intelligent, reasonable lawmaker will rely heavily on the counsel of the competent and reliable association executive or lobbyist who is a source of authoritative and dependable information and guidance to him in his performance. Invariably the legislator who disdains an industry or its association or representative, is motivated by some earlier experience, which if it cannot be changed to a favorable attitude, can usually be neutralized. In the case of a lawmaker who is unreasonable in all appeals, as there are occasionally a few, then it is the best thing to write him off, work around him and pass him by, though all the while doing so courteously.

### **Understanding Legislators**

It is good to remember, though sometimes difficult in adversity, that the average legislator is after all a human being. He has the same wants, needs, psychological drives, and desires that propel all other human beings. It is true in most cases that he also has a strong ego and drive, and may be a self-motivated man who more than average, appreciates and enjoys recognition. In all probability, he is sincere and honest and is trying to do a good job.

Admittedly, there are men in politics who have a lower set of values from the average, but despite the rumor mills, every man is nevertheless innocent until he is proven guilty. This is at least a good premise upon which to operate in relations with all legislators.

In general, most legislators are overworked, usually underpaid and have wholly inadequate staffs and facilities for their assistance. Many of them have no office space of any kind, at home or at the capitol, and are provided no funds to return your telephone call, or even to defray postage on their legislative mail. Understanding the legislator's motives and problems will help you understand him, and similarly help him understand and appreciate you and your position.

## The Legislative Process

It is most important, whether or not the association executive does the actual lobbying, that he be completely knowledgeable about legislative procedures, rules, handling of bills and the entire fabric of the legislative process. He must be a student and scholar of the legislative process to be effective. He must know all of the legislative procedures and should know them even better than the legislators themselves.

Since no two states are alike, this becomes a matter of individual research, development, and learning. There are usually available for this purpose various publications of the legislature, including books on the parliamentary procedures of both bodies. These are obtainable usually, on simple request from the legislative staff employees, or the house and senate clerks.

An excellent suggestion has been made that an association executive new in this area should make the friendship of a retired, experienced legislator. He would usually be most happy to relate his experiences and knowledge that could be indispensable to the executive.

### Know The Ropes

Every association executive should equip himself with copies of his own state statutes usually contained in several bound volumes. He should also not be without copies of the bound acts of the legislature as they are passed in periods between updating of the bound statutes. It is indispensable for the association executive to read daily the journals of each legislative body and be familiar with each day's calendar. He should also spend all the time possible in the chamber observing and learning the legislative process in operation.

It is important for the association executive, in the period after the election and before the session, to see that those committees in which he is interested and affected, are comprised of capable, cooperative legislators when the appointments are made. He should assist the administration and legislative leadership, when they are still getting acquainted with each other, by providing constructive suggestions on the committee appointments.

Finally, the association executive new in his job or new to the legislative arena, can find considerable help and encouragement from his fellow executives. For the most part they will be flattered to be called upon to share their experience and wisdom.

### Never Forget The Losers

It goes without saying, particularly in the state legislatures, that today's losers well may be tomorrow's winners. As an example in point, one of the contributing editors of this publication was defeated four times before finally winning his seat, and is today majority floor leader. It is also not to be forgotten that legislative bodies tend to protect their own. Often a loser ends up with a staff job around the legislature. Many times the association story can be conveyed better through a staff member, than directly to the legislator who depends on the staff for his direction.

Many association executives make it a policy, after the elections are over, to write a letter to the losers as well as to the winners. They invite them to visit the association offices or to call on the association executive for assistance.

It is also not infrequently true that a loser can help you with the winner. People experienced in the political arena never forget that no man lives unto himself, and that tomorrow comes soon, and is another day.

# Legislative Session Activity

Chapter 4

**L**obbying has been given a bad image by the unscrupulous practices of a few and a number of sensational books on the subject. Suffice it to say that lobbying is woven into the very cloth of American representative government. Without it—which is to say without representation—a totalitarian state exists.

There is therefore no shame connected with lobbyist activities unless the practitioner is one of that very small minority that bring discredit to the name. On the contrary, the creditable, successful lobbyist or association executive who operates in this arena must be a competent, qualified individual in the technology of his special field, possessing and acting with unquestioned integrity.

One legislator commenting on this subject was specific and to the point. He said, “Be honest, and don’t wheel and deal. Be available. Don’t try and buy a legislator’s vote either directly or indirectly. All your lobbying activity, friendship and indirect legislative pressure entitles you to, is the legislator’s ear to tell your story. He will make the final decision and must evaluate all sides of the situation, and will do it most favorably if you handle the relationship properly.” The legislator continued, “Don’t look down on him, but be straightforward with him. If there is a problem side of your case, explain it and then accentuate the good points in your favor.



Don't try and conceal things from him because he will find out. It is better that he find out from you, than from the opposition."

### Essential Qualities Of A Lobbyist

The "do's" of lobbying are as follows:

**Integrity**—It is a prerequisite to be honest and dependable, and have a legitimate purpose.

**Sincerity**—You must believe in your own cause, and so deal with others.

**Knowledge**—You must be competent to answer any question, from supporters as well as opponents. You must have knowledge of the legislative process, the persons involved and every nuance of legislative influence.

**Accuracy**—Honesty alone is not enough, but accuracy is also required, since otherwise you can destroy confidence in yourself.

**Flexibility**—You must be able to meet situations and to make compromises when necessary without damaging your position or that of your legislative friends or members.

While the list can be almost endless, at the top of it is integrity followed by other qualities.

The association executive or lobbyist needs to be present at the right times as well as absent from the chambers and halls at the right times, since nothing can be worse than being too conspicuous during somebody else's dogfight. It is also a good reminder not to forget to call on friends as well as foes, because oftentimes your friends won't know you are interested in an issue unless you tell them, and they should not be taken for granted. It is an accepted fact also, that you always thank the fellows that stick with you in the voting and never let any favor go unacknowledged.

Don't forget that you can't win them all, and when you lose a proposition take it in good taste. Don't get mad. Remember there is another day coming, and start getting ready for it. This will endear you to friends and foes alike, and help you in the next turn around.

### Working With Legislators

How do associations work effectively with state legislators? One experienced legislator answers this simply saying, "Practice the golden rule." He also adds "Legislators, by and large, have strong egos, and enjoy recognition," and if you can find a sincere way to reward this need it will improve your relationship. It is good to remember that people respond to different stimuli. Some stick their necks out, regardless of the result, because they think they are right. Your impetus with such people is strict adherence to principle.

Others assign less importance to principle, but are interested in the end result. With these persons you are more successful when helping them achieve their particular goal as it relates to your objective.

It is a good practice in your contacts with legislators to make your conversations brief and to cover only one subject at a time. Like anyone, he enjoys someone else's interest in him and will usually give you hearing when approached with the statement, "we need your help," or "we'd appreciate your support on this."

Be sure to leave no doubts in his mind how you want him to vote and better still give him a selling point on which he can capitalize. Most legislators can be approached almost anywhere, but the quieter and less distracting the place, the better. Obviously picking up bar checks is not usually one of the more effective lobbying techniques. Earning the reputation as a "soft touch" will not enhance lobbyist prestige.

### Smoke-filled Room — Not Necessarily

One old-time, experienced hand at lobbying says he does his most effective work with legislators at breakfast, and early in the morning in the chambers, before the session convenes for the day. In this way he is conveying clear ideas to clear heads with retentive memories. By the same token it is important not to waste time talking to the wrong people, but to concentrate instead on those whom you have some chance to sway and on those key people who command a block of votes.

Never threaten or bully. Pressure is rarely justified except on "do or die" matters. It is always better to meet minor challenges with calm, logical arguments and facts. If the legislator's vote is already committed, respect his position and let him know that you do. You can go back to him later on another issue.

### Entertaining Legislators

There are as many variations in the methods of legislative entertaining as there are associations or lobbyists. Everyone works differently and as in other comparisons, the true test is probably that which works best in the individual situation. By and large the matter of highpowered entertaining is probably overdone both in fiction and fact, and most lobbyists as well as legislators will agree that the principal accomplishment of any entertaining is the improvement of personal relationships, rather than the resolution of legislative issues. Certainly few, if any, legislators are ever bought for the price of dinner or drinks.

The hospitality room approach is generally agreed to be not as effective as it used to be, and this pattern of entertaining is fast changing. Many associations that avoid the practice of entertaining legislators singly or in small groups in bars and restaurants, have turned to sponsoring a legislative reception or dinner one evening during the session when all legislators and their staffs are invited.

When this is done, members of the association, and particularly the legislative committee, Board of Directors and key members, should be present and serve as hosts. This should be strictly a get-acquainted occasion. In the absence of a budget of this scale, it is possible for two or more associations to join together in a joint sponsorship. This is even possible for a state affiliate group of association executives.

It is important to emphasize here that any association executive should first be guided in any legislative entertaining by the particular statutes of his state, as well as the customs of the locale. As one effective lobbyist has pointed out, "The best legislators—the ones you really want—will give you their ear, whether you *ever* buy them a drink or not." It is increasingly becoming the principle that legislative entertaining

is incidental to the primary purpose of lobbying. It is best conducted in this light as a get-acquainted, goodwill or appreciatory gesture.

### Assistance To Legislators

The association executive should be a fountainhead of information concerning the association's membership, sphere of interest and representation. Whenever possible the association executive should readily render all of the technical and detailed assistance within his grasp. There is no better way to convince legislators that you know what you are talking about than when you can back it up with facts.

The legislators will then come to depend upon the association for information and will call upon the executive for assistance whenever legislation arises in his particular field. This is one of the best ways to develop a good reputation in the legislative arena. After all, very few legislators are expert in more than one or two areas of their own immediate experience. If nothing else, the association executive has an obligation to his membership to provide the very best technical assistance to the legislators concerning his organization and membership, and their business or profession.

### Factors Influencing A Legislator's Activity

Most legislators sincerely want to do a good job, and sincerely believe they are doing a good job. Most sincerely want to do what is in the best interest of the people of their state, and particularly of their constituency. Equally, most legislators have at least some desire for political promotion, advancement in government, or at least perpetuation in office, and are therefore concerned about the public reaction to their record and to any proposal that affects it. Again, most legislators have work load problems as well as a budgetary problems and any assistance to them by an association executive in making their job easier, or getting more information for them is not generally forgotten.

No man, especially in political life, lives unto himself. This is most true of legislators who are beholden to their voters,

campaign managers, political party, the governor's office, or to any number of influences. This makes it important that the association executive know and understand these influences on the legislator, which invariably will include some of his own members. The preparation and upkeep of an "intelligence" file is highly important in this area for to know how and why he thinks as he does, is to know how to better approach and appeal to him.

### **Legislative Channels And Handling Bills**

Great care should be taken in selecting the chief sponsors for any bills which the association is sponsoring. Where possible, by-partisan support should also be indicated by the sponsorship, and party leaders on either side of the aisle are excellent choices. If at all possible, legislators outside the area of business of the association are usually preferable.

It is also well to consider as a sponsor, the chairman of the particular committee through which the bill will pass. Some bills are assisted by having as many co-authors as possible, while there is also merit in limiting the number of sponsors on some bills. In any event it is the association executive's responsibility, whether a lobbyist is used or not, to determine the best handling for the bill's success and this comes only with experience.

Similarly, the executive must decide if it is advantageous to introduce identical bills in both chambers simultaneously so as to expedite matters, or whether such a move would create contention. It is also important for the decision to be made on the best timing for the introduction of the bill. While an early introduction is generally desirable, it might also have the effect of prematurely showing your hand before the lines were drawn.

In all of these considerations the sponsors should be given weighted authority in the decision made, since they will be responsible for the bill's movement. It is needless to say that the bill should be steered to the desirable committee and scheduled for hearing as soon as conditions are advantageous to its favorable report.

It is sometimes important in some states, to be sure following any action on a bill, that the bill proceeds properly

through the prescribed channels and is not misplaced or lost at any stage. It is possible, in the heavy press of business that committee reports or copies of bills can be unintentionally, or otherwise waylaid. On this basis, it is good for the association executive to be acquainted with staff employees for the purpose of checking and pushing the bill along through channels, so that it comes to second reading and listing on the calendar as quickly as possible.

### **Floor Strategy Important**

If the bill has proceeded to this point without the threat of amendments, it now becomes increasingly important that the executive be prepared to combat unfavorable amendments on the floor. He must also be ready to compromise as may be necessary on reasonable amendments.

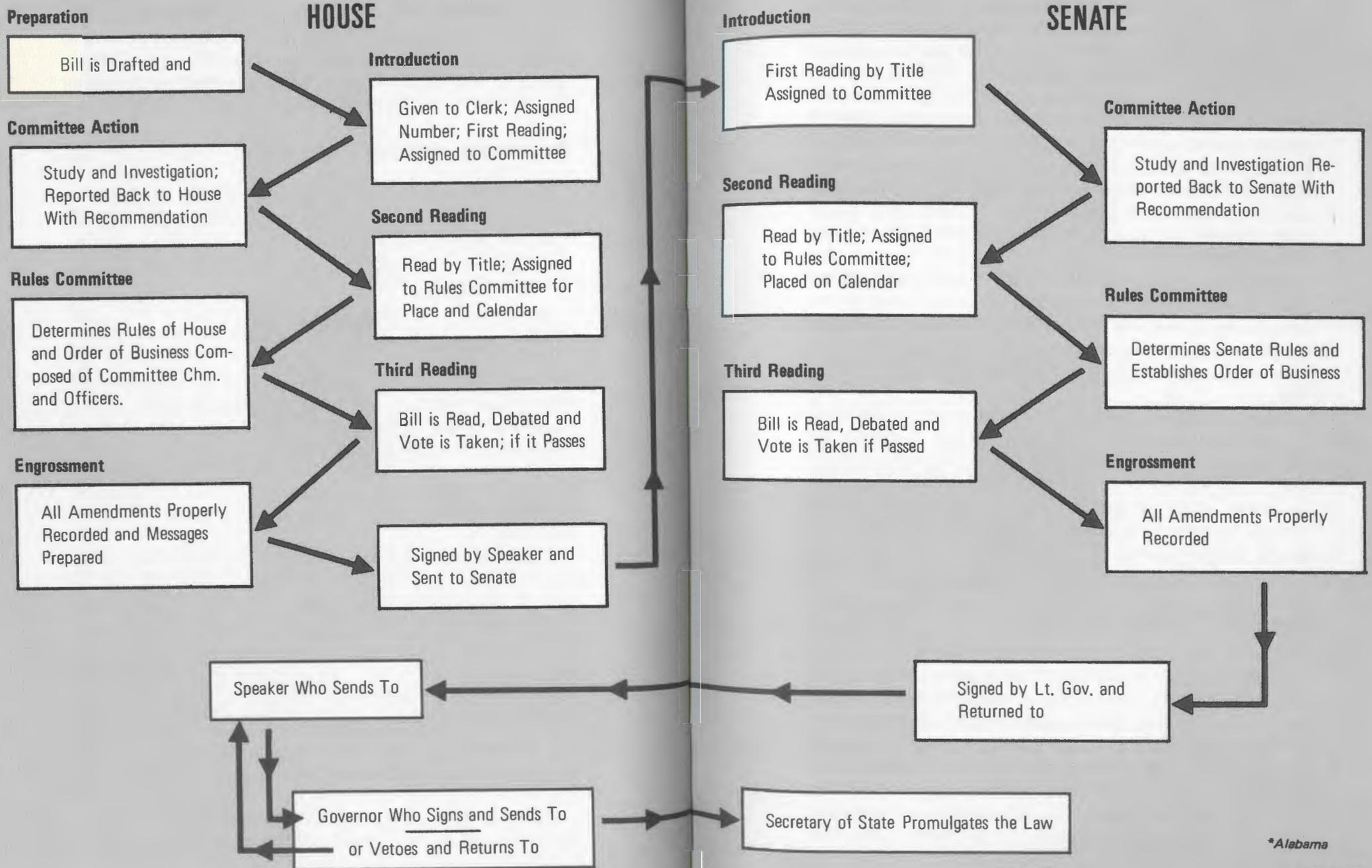
As the daily legislative calendar becomes ever more burdened with bills and the end of the legislative session comes closer in sight, it is usually customary that "special orders" of bills are taken off the regular calendar for consideration ahead of all others. It is at this point that the correct choice of sponsor makes itself evident. Many good bills in every legislative session die on the calendar for want of an opportunity to have been brought up for a vote. Here sponsorship is of utmost importance. The association executive must be knowledgeable and alert to an opportunity to get the bill up and voted on.

There are very few associations or industries which do not have some opponents to their legislation regardless of what it may be, because of its subject or due to personalities. However, except in a special session where other rules apply, most measures usually require a simple majority (though this may vary in some states). The executive must therefore, at this point, be able to fairly well count off his "aye" and "nay" votes to know where any last minute effort is needed.

### **Through The Second Chamber**

After the vote, all is not yet done except in a unicameral legislature, for the bill must be processed through the house

# COURSE OF A BILL THROUGH A LEGISLATURE \*



In this instance the bill is introduced in the House of Representatives and accepted without amendment by the Senate.

◆ House may over-ride Veto

*NOTE: Bills, other than Revenue, may originate in the Senate. The same procedure as above follows beginning in Senate.*

\*Alabama

staff, and then passed to the other chamber by a message from the first body.

The wise and efficient executive will insure that the bill's passage from one chamber to the other is expeditious, with the least interruption and the greatest time saving. It is at this point that further decisions are to be made and the executive and the sponsors must again concur.

If an identical bill has been moved through the second chamber, then it becomes the gambit to substitute the bill already passed in the first chamber for that which has progressed in the second. And the hour-to-hour, day-to-day and sometimes minute-to-minute watching, shifting, changing, always progressing as possible, keeps up until both bodies have adopted the measure, hopefully without change one from the other.

If change in a bill has taken place in one body different from its adoption in another, this of course poses a conference committee action to resolve differences. It again becomes important for the association executive to assist in every way to achieve the best bill possible from the conference.

Once the bill has cleared both houses and been processed in every way prescribed, the work is still not done until the bill is signed by the governor. This can be the greatest hurdle. Here again, the selection of the sponsors for the bill proves itself most important since it is the sponsors who will first of all seek the governor's signature, necessary in most cases for the bill to become law.

### **After The Bill Is Signed Or Vetoed**

At this point, if the bill has been signed and presumably becomes law, it can become urgently necessary that a court test be made to assure its complete legality. In this the association executive must again be prepared to pursue the final favorable result. On the other hand, if the bill has been vetoed, there are opportunities in most states for the measure to be sent back through the two chambers to override the governor's veto and make the bill law notwithstanding. The

association executive must again be prepared to function in this area.

Getting the governor's signature can sometimes be the most difficult part of the entire legislative process. Whatever the case, the association executive's responsibility is to continue the work of negotiation, checking, rechecking, pushing, pulling or whatever else is required to get a signed bill. It is of some consolation that most bills that get this far along usually do get signed, but this in no way lessens the urgency of absolutely assuring the ultimate success.

It is to be remembered that no two states are alike in their legislative rules and procedures, and that no overall discussion can be given in one treatment that would embody the differences to be generally applicable. The foregoing discussion endeavors to describe the conditions considered most generally similar with the majority of jurisdictions.

### **Appearing Before Legislative Committees**

Most association executives attach great importance to appearances and testimony before legislative committees, for it is here that the industry, profession or whomever the association represents, has its best opportunity for a clear public statement on their own terms. This makes it doubly important that the person presenting your association's viewpoint makes a good presentation, can capably answer questions, and think quickly and clearly on his feet.

Association executives and lobbyists sometimes forget all they know about public speaking and visual presentations when making appearances before a legislative committee. It is nonetheless important that the techniques association executives use in their own meetings to sell their own programs to their members and to other publics be no less effectively utilized in legislative committee appearances.

It is a good precaution if visuals or staged presentations are planned, to clear it in advance with the chairman of the committee for his understanding and agreement, so that no resentment will be felt for an "over-production". If there are several members or segments of your membership who will take part in the testimony, it is important that they don't all get up and say the same thing repetitively.

## Plan Well For The Committee Hearing

Legislators dislike long hearings, but welcome concise, pointed, and informative presentations. It can also be very beneficial, if permitted, for copies of a written brief of the testimony to be left with the committee members, which also provides an excellent means for your stated case to be easily reviewed and covered by the reporting press. As one lobbyist observes, the legislators will be thumbing through and reading your written statement while the opposition who follows you is testifying against your position, and your preparation thereby doubly weakens the opponent's.

It is also recommended where possible, that you obtain appearance by third parties such as governmental agencies which may be favorable to your position or at least neutral to your position so that it will be known to all that they at least do not oppose the measure.

The selection of the person to make the committee appearance and give testimony is very important. In some instances the association executive or lobbyist is unquestionably the best choice, but this decision, like that of selecting co-authors of a bill, must be gauged on the nature of the situation and effects of the decision. It is unquestionably true that in some situations committee testimony can be best made by an association member or officer, or even hired consultants for the purpose, with the association executive closeby to answer questions and coach the witness. The stature of the witness can be even more impressive to the legislative committee than the material contained in the testimony, and this selection therefore, recommends itself to careful consideration.

## Preparing For Committee Appearance

In listing some cardinal points in the preparation for committee appearances and testimony, most executives agree on the following:

**Brevity** is unquestionably the point emphasized by most association executives. Remember that in many cases, particularly the most controversial, many votes are usually committed even before the hearing.

**Flawless preparation** is necessary because this is usually the association's only opportunity for its own public statement.

**Personal recriminations** should be avoided at all cost. Even though frequently deserved and strongly tempted it is important never to say anything to embarrass the committee or its members. Instead, let the facts speak for themselves, which will do more to change an opposing legislator's mind in your behalf.

Other points mentioned by seasoned association executives are that arguments should be colored to pick up those legislators who are riding the fence and can be swayed in your favor. It is also a good idea to include one or two press-worthy "punchlines" in your testimony. If the vote is split or uncertain, it can be a shrewd maneuver to direct questions through the chairman to some member of the power side of the committee you may know already agrees with you, but hasn't until then expressed himself. This gives him an opportunity to agree with you and his colleagues who may not have known how he felt, and lets the fence sitters jump on the strong or prevailing side which many frequently wait to do.

## Help The Committee Help You

After everything else has been secured and assured to the best degree possible, it can become evident that key legislators favorable to your side cannot be present at the hearing, or that there are other adverse conditions prevalent. A good move can be to arrange for the hearing to be postponed for a more advantageous time to your case. It is not infrequent that legislators have several committee assignments which result in overlapping and conflicts for their time. This can make it impossible for your best proponents to be available to you when needed.

Finally, it is again important to always thank those legislators who assisted you and voted in support of your position in the committee. Personal thanks at the time is of course important, but more importantly a followup thank you letter will be better remembered. In the same vein, there will always be some opposition to almost any proposal, and it is

wise not to make any enemies among the committee members who may have opposed you. It's entirely possible he may be on your side in the next round, and certainly much more likely to be so if you have not antagonized him in the previous encounter.

### **Coordinating With Other Groups**

The success of any proposal is advanced proportionately by the combined interest and promotion of additional groups, organizations or interests. Very few associations feel they can afford the luxury of being "loners" in the legislative arena when there is any other joint interest available for combined support of the proposal. This makes it important and effective for association executives to know and communicate with each other, and to combine efforts where possible.

Of course, it is wise never to give an appearance by which one or a group of legislators feel they are "ganged up on". It is safe to say that most associations try to coordinate their activities with other allied interests and this oftentimes assumes the proportion of meetings, or programs devised for the particular purpose.

The effectiveness of such inter-association groups is the smoothness with which they work together. Naturally, each interest, group or association must retain its individuality in the joint effort and must in its own members' eyes get the credit for success. Logically, one group or association might, because of its natural dominance in the field, hold a commanding position. This group has a greater responsibility in the interest of preserving the successful joint effort that it does not overshadow any of the other or lesser groups or associations in the combined effort.

This is an area in which the true professionalism of the individual association executive is tested and demonstrated. There are rarely problems when the success and the credit of the outcome are distributed fairly among the participants.

### **Expanding Legislative Capability**

Many, if not the majority of state associations, are unable to maintain a fulltime legislative activity with either a re-

tained outsider, or a single staff person assigned this responsibility solely. Therefore many variations result which rely upon volunteer association members. Occasionally these are lawyers or company personnel, part-time lobbyists, and most frequently, association staff personnel having other responsibilities but wearing a "second hat" during legislative sessions. The association with very limited resources for legislative activity will unquestionably have to depend increasingly on volunteer member assistance, but should also consider use of a retained lobbyist, if only on a joint basis with another association or industry having no conflict of interest.

It is also well to remember that some of the most effective lobbyists are not lawyers and that there is frequently available in an industry some very competent individuals or executives who are on retirement, and who are eager and enthusiastic to be back in the center of things. These executives are usually available on more favorable compensatory arrangements. Similarly, many former legislators out of office for one reason, may also be available on similar basis. Naturally, if they later return to the legislature, they would be of steadfast loyalty to the same cause.

### **After The Bill Is Signed**

Association legislative activity, like most association work, is never done. Having the bill signed signifies success, but no end to the work on it. Those legislators who stood with you on the measure should each be personally thanked and those who accepted key roles should be particularly commended and rewarded with due praise to your membership. It is not unwise to confer in friendly fashion with those who voted against you, telling them you respected their position and would invite and welcome their support on future measures.

When a bill becomes law, it is a good time for drum beating and the usual photographs, signing ceremony photographs and releases. Special promotions such as convention introduction and recognition of the sponsors, etc., are now in order. It is no less important also to recognize those volunteer association members who deserve it, since only in this way will they again be available the next time.

## Don't Go Away Afterwards

There is one more admonition to the association executive with a successful legislative activity. He should assume and perform the proper role of the winner. Having gotten the bill through and signed does not entitle the executive to drastically change his former role and desert the capitol, or the legislature and its members. Most times the association executive will have matters of continuing demand that will require his presence. In any case, he should still be seen and not be regarded as a fellow who ran out after he got what he wanted.

# Post-Session Re-Evaluation

Chapter 5

**T**HE association executive having completed a successful or unsuccessful legislative session, now has ahead the matter of between-sessions activity. One seasoned association executive simplifies the program as: "*Work* at keeping in touch; *work* at finding different ways to reach legislators; *work* at visiting legislators; *work* making telephone calls and finding excuses to correspond; and more *work*".

Just as soon as one session is completed, preparation should begin all over again, and the association should start rebuilding its legislative and contact program. It is in this period that most interim committees do their work which results oftentimes in the bills coming up in the next session. The guidance and assistance to such interim committees can be a most productive and promising activity between sessions. It also provides the executive with the additional opportunity for building personal relationships with those legislators.

The association executive or lobbyist is advised to capitalize on any opportunities for social or other friendly relationships with legislators at political events and gatherings in the period between sessions. It is through these encounters that the executive has his best opportunity to be remembered well in preparation when the next crisis arises. It is also a period when sometimes otherwise obstructive legislators will



mellow in their attitudes toward an association, its industry, profession or membership. This between-sessions period can be of inestimable value to the association executive and his cause.

### How To Get Attention

This is the time you can get the best attention. The legislator has more time to read his mail at home, and appreciates being remembered. Now is the time to send that "thank you note" to those who have helped. Skip the long form letters in favor of the warm, sincere, short, personal expression.

Write a letter also to those who didn't vote with you, or maybe even voted against you. It doesn't have to praise their voting record. Simply mention how important it is to serve in the legislature, and how you hope in future sessions to better convey your side of the issue in a more meaningful way. There will be very few situations where even this is out of line. Discretion is the better part of valor, but the key to this post-session period is clearly fence-mending.

If you have a two-year legislative term with biennial sessions, there is still time to turn to the front of this handbook and start reading all over again, even making a checklist as you go. If you have a four-year legislative term you may be able to skip the first two sections, but you will want to begin your preparation for the next session, starting now.

### Ask Yourself These Questions

If you wonder whether to start, you might ask yourself these questions:

1. Is there regular contact between the association and the state legislature key legislators?
2. Is association policy examined in terms of all present and pending state legislation?
3. Does the association have an active legislative committee?
4. Does the association endorse specific legislation or testify in hearings about pending legislation?

5. Is there an active regular effort made to communicate legislative developments and other news to the total membership?

6. Is there effective liaison with appropriate state departments?

7. Is there liaison with the governor's office?

8. Is there liaison with other state trade, professional, and business organizations?

9. Does the association have a favorable image with the legislative branch of state government?

10. Is sufficient information available concerning association industry needs to provide an intelligent rationale for legislative proposals?

11. Does the association muster support in behalf of legislation?

12. Is the association of significant consequence in influencing legislation?

13. Does the association have a planned follow-up to those engaged in the legislative process?

14. Does the association provide for an aggressive and effective legislative lobby at state and congressional levels?

15. Is the association effective in its work with the legislature? Does its point of view prevail 50% or more of the time?

If you answered all fifteen affirmatively, you got a perfect grade. If you missed one or more, you've probably got some work to do. Either way, good luck. It'll take that, and more.



A National Legislative Network for Libraries:  
Summary of the Network Mechanism

**GOAL:** To bring maximum constituent effort to bear upon the Congress, the several legislatures, national and state administrations and appropriate regulatory agencies in support of library programs and the ideals of the library profession.

**OBJECTIVES:**

- A. To inform as many individuals as possible of the functions and importance of libraries and of federal and state library programs, in order to enlist citizens, local and national officials and library employees alike in joint legislative efforts.
- B. To establish and maintain a timely flow of information on current library legislative proposals to all interested or potentially interested persons.
- C. To assign specific responsibility for liaison with each member of the Congress and the state legislatures in order to insure his receipt of appropriate information and to provide feedback on his position.
- D. To maximize the effectiveness of the ALA Washington Office and its counterparts in those states where they exist or may be established.
- E. To avoid unnecessary duplication of effort on the part of library organizations, national, state and local.

**STRUCTURE:** The suggested mechanism is a federal network built from state components in this manner:

**IN EACH STATE:** - a broadly based library association legislation committee to develop legislative programs and positions and provide background to:

- a legislative contact - one person for each Congressman and each state legislator
- a state legislative coordinator - usually one person - to take primary responsibility for action toward accomplishing legislative goals
- a program of legislative advocacy with state legislatures
- a federal relations coordinator in each state to coordinate promotion of federal legislation within the state in cooperation with the ALA Washington Office
- a key proponent system using reliable persons who will act promptly upon receipt of information
- a communications system ranging in function from immediate action calls to regular background letters and association publications.

States are encouraged to develop their own responses to the need for a network, but to make components compatible so that all states can be easily linked in an action network.

This summary is based on the paper "The National Legislative Network for Libraries: A Master Plan" available from the ALA Washington Office. This publication should be consulted for valuable suggestions on implementation of the basic plan.

THE PUBLIC INTEREST  
generates professional concern

THE STATE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION AND GROUPS  
and  
STATE LIBRARY AGENCY  
cooperate to develop methods of accomplishing objectives of library service in all kinds of libraries

THE STATE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION  
establishes a  
LEGISLATION COMMITTEE  
to develop programs, positions and plans for legislative implementation of goals and provide background to

ALA WASHINGTON OFFICE  
coordinates activity on national issues through

LEGISLATIVE ADVOCATE  
talks directly to legislators and their staffs on behalf of the Association and Coalitions; watches progress of bills; communicates

FEDERAL RELATIONS COORDINATOR  
is prepared to stimulate the network promptly upon information from Washington; responsible for the "care and feeding" of the network

LEGISLATIVE COORDINATOR  
prepares background material; keeps proponents informed; responsible for strategic steps and timing of activity

LEGISLATIVE CONTACTS  
maintain contact with legislators and work on specific issues

STATE LEGISLATURE  
receives input on needs and priorities from professional, trade and other groups; considers and acts on legislation

KEY PROPONENTS  
maintain links to Congressmen; a first-alerted component of the federal network

LEGISLATIVE CONTACTS  
maintain working relationships on a one-to-one basis with Congressmen; move quickly when alerted

KEY PROPONENTS  
maintain relationship to legislators and move into action when alerted; have information function to media and libraries



# AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

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January 3, 1973

TO: Participants of the ALA Legislative Workshop

We are very pleased that you have registered to attend the ALA Legislative Workshop at Midwinter on Thursday, February 1, 1973 in the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Two background papers have been prepared for the Workshop. "Building Legislative Support for Library Programs" by Germaine Krettek appears in the January 1973 issue of American Libraries, and will also be included in your Workshop kit. The other, "A National Legislative Network for Libraries," is enclosed. Both papers should be read before attending the Workshop.

If you have agreed to serve as a discussion leader or recorder, you should read these papers with particular care. Discussion leaders and recorders will also receive a separate briefing letter and are reminded of the briefing session to be held on Wednesday, January 31 at 4:30 p.m. in the Palladian Room of the Shoreham.

Kits for the Workshop and your dinner ticket for the evening session can be picked up at the ALA Registration Desk during the hours 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, January 31.

The program of the Workshop included in your kit will give you the names of the rooms in which the Workshop is to be held. The opening session begins at 8:30 a.m.

We're looking forward to seeing you in Washington, D.C.!  
PLEASE BRING THE ENCLOSED NETWORK PAPER WITH YOU AS IT WILL NOT BE INCLUDED IN YOUR KIT.

## MARK YOUR CALENDAR NOW!

Attend: ALA Legislation Committee Meeting  
Monday, January 29, 1973,  
Forum Room, Shoreham Hotel,  
9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon.

Visit: ALA Washington Office Booth 416-418 in Shoreham Hotel  
Exhibit Area

A NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE NETWORK

FOR LIBRARIES

Working Paper for the  
ALA LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP

Washington, D.C.      February 1, 1973

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Legislation Committee  
American Library Association  
December 1972

## INTRODUCTION

This draft has been prepared as a working paper for the ALA Legislative Workshop, Washington, D.C., February 1, 1973. It has as its premise the need for a more intensive and systematic approach to the achievement of beneficial library legislation in the years ahead.

It is anticipated that the workshop participants will analyze, discuss and re-fashion the proposals into a plan which they can agree is both effective and practical. It will then be their responsibility to implement the plan in their home states during the coming year.

That library development at the state level has been uneven is documented in a 1970 study of state support for public libraries.<sup>1/</sup> Less predictable was the researchers' discovery that relatively high achievement in this area has little or no correlation with population, wealth or other socio-economic characteristics of a state.

What can be inferred is a high correlation between legislative success and the program of action employed by the proponents. In an attempt to develop a profile of legislative operations within each state a three-page questionnaire was mailed last fall to the president of every state library association and association of school librarians. Fifty-four completed questionnaires were returned, representing 38 states and the District of Columbia. They included 36 state library associations and 18 school library associations.

As was to be expected the returns show a wide spread in the stages of development of state associations and their legislative action programs. Thus some states will require a far greater effort than others to achieve a standard level of operation.

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<sup>1/</sup> Douglas St. Angelo, Annie Mary Hartsfield and Harold Goldstein. State Library Policy: Its Legislative and Environmental Contexts. Chicago, American Library Association, 1971. (\$4.50, 118 p.).

This draft plan is a synthesis of the most successful practices which can be identified nationwide. No single state has all of the elements which are proposed. It seems essential, however, to construct the strongest possible mechanism at this critical period in library development, recognizing the huge effort which will be required.

The stakes are high. If every state could be prevailed upon to increase its support of school, public and academic libraries by a total of \$1.00 per capita, these additional funds would exceed the amount which the federal government currently spends in these areas.

At the federal level the situation is unsettled now because ongoing programs are operating on a temporary funding authority until Congress convenes and passes another appropriations measure, to replace the FY 1973 Labor-HEW bill vetoed by the President after adjournment. Meanwhile, the stop-gap money bill has reduced spending to the President's budget level - a 35 percent cutback for library services under LSCA, with no money for public library construction.

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## A NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE NETWORK FOR LIBRARIES

### The Draft of a Plan

#### I. GOAL

To bring maximum constituent effort to bear upon the Congress, the several state legislatures, national and state administrations, and appropriate regulatory agencies in support of library programs and the ideals of the library profession.

One need only scan ALA's Legislative Policy Statement <sup>1/</sup> to appreciate the variety of areas in which the federal government has or can have an important effect upon the quality of library service in the nation. The accomplishments of the Washington Office in the last twenty years, supported by the rest of the Association, its chapters and its members everywhere, are impressive indeed whether measured in funds for libraries; the materials, building and service purchased with these funds; or the many ancillary benefits within the power of the federal government to grant.

Currently, however, federal library programs are not being funded at authorized levels, and many have been cut back or not funded at all. Copyright revision and postal rate increases present difficult problems. The need for a national library network becomes increasingly urgent as our technological society expands and becomes more complex.

At the same time the responsibility of each state for the promotion and funding of library service has in many cases hardly been faced, and in no instance is it being fully discharged. Areas which ought to be of especial state concern include elementary school libraries; the funding of school library service at all levels

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<sup>1/</sup> American Library Association. Federal Legislative Policy. Adopted by the American Library Association Council, Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 24, 1969. (Note: Revision in process.)

in light of recent judicial decisions regarding school finance; college library service for new and expanding state institutions; public library finance in the context of property tax reform; regional public library systems; and statewide networks involving all types of libraries.

Federal revenue sharing with the states and localities, now a reality, presents an opportunity for libraries which they must be quick and aggressive in seizing. Past battles in Washington to secure funds for libraries may have to be repeated in each state, and perhaps for the same funds.

Intellectual freedom, employee rights and benefits; full exploitation of new communication techniques: these are issues which must be addressed at the federal, state and local levels.

## II. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

A. To inform as many individuals as possible of the functions and importance of libraries, and of federal and state library programs, in order to enlist citizens, local and national officials and library employees alike in joint legislative efforts.

Understanding and appreciation must precede support, and the actual support of large numbers of voters as well as persons in key positions can produce favorable decisions by government at any level. It is ironic that libraries, whose role it is to furnish information, should find their own programs suffering from lack of public awareness.

B. To establish and maintain a timely flow of information on current library legislative proposals to all interested or potentially interested persons.

Accurate information about a proposal is essential if an individual or organization is to take effective action. Timeliness is also a major requirement in matters

awaiting administrative or legislative decision. The very fact that the public is cognizant of actions being contemplated by officials insures a greater degree of responsiveness to public opinion on the part of the latter.

C. To assign specific responsibility for liaison with each member of the Congress and the state legislatures in order to insure his receipt of appropriate information and to provide feedback on his position.

While legislative bodies do have formal structures and procedures, it is important to realize that they are composed of distinct individuals, each with his own unique background and philosophy, and with a specific constituency to serve. With rare exceptions these are responsible persons who desire expert advice, particularly as to the effect of a given measure upon their constituencies. Their doubts and queries must be known in order to be satisfied, and knowledge of their positions, pro and con, is essential to those coordinating overall legislative strategy.

D. To maximize the effectiveness of the ALA Washington Office and its counterparts in those states where they exist or may be established.

An individual or team responsible for coordinating legislative action must operate on two fronts: the legislative body, with its committees, hearings, staff people and intricate procedures on the one hand; and library supporters and potential supporters on the other. No one office has sufficient manpower and funds to do both jobs thoroughly, and must depend upon people in the field, particularly in matters of public information and citizen action.

E. To avoid duplication of effort on the part of library organizations, national, state and local.

It is important for proponents of library legislation to stretch their human and financial resources to the maximum by developing clear lines of communication and

action, and avoiding duplicate effort by parallel organizations. The latter involves continuing and strengthening ALA's working relationships with other national associations; sharing know-how with state chapters, and they with each other; and integrating activities undertaken on behalf of federal, state and local legislation.

### III. A FEDERAL STRUCTURE WITH STATE COMPONENTS

A National Legislative Network for Libraries must be organized on the basis of the fifty states and the District of Columbia.

The fundamental logic of this approach derives from the structure of the Congress, whose members are elected by states or districts within the states and are most effectively reached at these levels. It is reinforced by the following additional facts:

Funds for federal library programs are allocated to the states, where plans are developed and considerable administrative authority rests. The state administrations need input from the library associations.

Data on library service needs and the results of federal programs are available or can be collected by state library agencies working closely with local authorities.

States themselves must assume larger roles in the provision and coordination of library services. State legislative programs require much the same approach as do federal ones and can utilize the same apparatus to a considerable degree.

Federal revenue sharing with states and local governments requires intensified effort at state and local levels to secure appropriate shares of such funds for library purposes.

While a network based upon special interests within the American Library Association (e.g., school libraries, college libraries, public libraries) has certain advantages in greater knowledge of, and commitment to, programs benefiting such areas, these are far outweighed by the ability of a unified approach to reach into every congressional district and bring the total weight of library proponents to bear upon every appropriate issue.

The role of the ALA divisions lies in developing legislative programs through their legislative committees, executive boards, the Legislation Assembly and the ALA Legislation Committee. Securing legislative action on programs is a responsibility of all members, whose numbers even so are far from adequate for the task.

#### IV. STATE LEGISLATION COMMITTEES

Every state library association should have a standing committee on legislation, to concern itself with all actions of the state government affecting the interests of libraries, library employees, and that of the general public in libraries.

Thirty-three out of thirty-six state library associations responding to a questionnaire in 1972 have legislation committees. More than half of the state associations of school libraries reporting have such committees also. (The term "government relations committee" is coming into vogue, connoting as it does a mutual exchange of information with government.)

A legislation committee should be broadly based, with representation from all types of libraries and from library consumers.

There is no type of library, even in the private sector, which can remain untouched by state administrative or legislative action or which has no potential legislative needs.

Where there are two or more library associations within a state there should be close cooperation between their respective legislation committees, perhaps through

interlocking memberships. Data can be pooled, programs coordinated and conflicting testimony avoided. To the extent that these committees are involved in legislative action they can materially assist each other in work with the legislature.

The head of the state library agency and the school library coordinator for the state should be members of, or meet with, the legislation committee.

These officials have important responsibilities in regard to the statewide development of library services. It follows that they have an interest in existing and future library legislation. Their knowledge and expertise can be invaluable to the deliberations of the committee. Their plans for library development must be fused with those of the library association or associations if substantial progress is to be made.

A legislation committee should be concerned primarily with developing legislative programs and positions.

Final positions on major policy matters, in order to be binding, must normally be taken by an association's governing body. Such bodies, however, need the advice of committees which have time for careful analysis and deliberation and which are conversant with the legislative process. When any committee of an association perceives a need for legislative action it should work with and through the legislation committee.

While most legislation committees are committees for both deliberation and action, the latter role must be questioned. The task of directing a legislative campaign is most efficiently left to one or two persons. (See State Legislative Coordinators, page 8.) On the other hand more people are required in the field to cover each legislative district than can possibly serve on a committee where deliberation in depth is necessary. (See Legislative Contacts, page 7.)

Confusion of roles among active proponents is a common occurrence in legislative campaigns, along with a tendency to allow a few people to do the bulk of work. Nowhere, however, is widespread participation more vital than in influencing a body of elected representatives of the people.

## V. LEGISLATIVE CONTACTS

One person should be recruited and designated as official Legislative Contact with each congressman and each state legislator.

This one-to-one relationship is the best way of insuring complete coverage of a legislative body on an intensive basis and with two-way communication.

The individual assigned as Contact with a federal or state representative should normally be a constituent. Other things being equal a constituent is more likely to have access to a legislator, to gain his interest, and to elicit responses from him. The term constituent can be broadened to include a city or county librarian or library trustee whose jurisdiction includes all or part of a legislator's district.

The number of individuals required to perform this function within a state is not necessarily the total of state legislative districts, both upper and lower houses, and of Congressional districts. Any person can serve as Contact with two members of his state legislature, since he will have a representative in each house, and also with his Congressman. Trustees or administrators of large library systems serving several legislative and Congressional districts can appropriately contact all of their representatives. An individual should be wary, however, of taking on more representatives than he has time to work with effectively.

A Legislative Contact should assume primary responsibility for informing his assigned representative about the functions and importance of libraries; specific federal or state library programs and how they have or can affect his district; the rationale behind pending legislation sponsored by the library association

(state or federal); and the position of the appropriate association on all pending legislation which can affect libraries, their users and their employees.

To perform his task successfully the Legislative Contact must be knowledgeable about library legislative programs and current in his information.

The associations have a responsibility to provide him with both background material and progress reports on specific legislation. Beyond this he should be able to turn to an authoritative source for additional facts, preferably one designated individual in his state. On matters outside his special field he should not hesitate to contact another librarian in the area who can provide additional information and still relate the issue to the local district.

In time the representative or his staff will turn to the contact person for information and advice on library matters which come to the former's attention. A working relationship of this sort, arising from mutual confidence and respect, is the soundest possible basis for progress.

The Contact should be able to report to the association his representative's position on each issue, and, if the latter has objections or reservations, what these are. Such feedback is invaluable in assessing the chances of a piece of legislation and determining such matters as timing, testimony and any desirable modifications.

## VI. STATE LEGISLATIVE COORDINATORS

The primary responsibility for coordinating a legislative campaign should be vested in one person.

In a political campaign, strategy must be planned and changed as circumstances dictate: intelligence must be solicited from both the legislative front and the home front, synthesized and utilized; prompt, clear instructions must go out to all proponents without risk of delay or conflict; supporters must have a specific person

to whom problems can be relayed and through whom answers can be secured. A single individual is best able to perform these functions, although he should avail himself of as much expert advice as is available to him.

The Legislative Coordinator requires sufficient time, support, staff and communication facilities to accomplish the tasks at hand.

The time required will vary in accordance with the importance and scope of the legislative program and with its various stages. Full time and even overtime work is not an unreasonable need during the height of a legislative session.

Support staff should include secretarial help, again measured by the size and intensity of the campaign. The more knowledgeable the staff can be about the program itself the better, since queries will inevitably be received during the principal's absence.

Communication facilities should at a minimum include a budget for telephone, telegraph and postage; copying and rapid duplication equipment; and the ability to provide instant input into appropriate publications. (See Association Publications and Citizen Newsletters, pages 16 and 17.)

The Legislative Coordinator should have the authority to make rapid policy decisions in the heat of a campaign with a minimum of procedural delay.

In the course of its passage through a legislative body a bill becomes subject to amendments at almost any point. Sometimes these can be considered at leisure, but more frequently, require almost instantaneous decisions. The membership of an association should delegate broad policy-making latitude to its governing body, preferably within the framework of a master plan for library development and a long-range statement of legislative policy.

The governing body, in turn, should be prepared to delegate temporary decision-making authority to a committee of its own or a membership committee on legislation.

Finally, the Legislative Coordinator, chairman of the legislation committee and president of the association should have the power to make decisions when time prevents any broader consultation.

The choice of a Legislative Coordinator should reflect the association's legislative commitment, financial ability, organizational structure and the extent of its immediate legislative goals.

The commitment of time is frequently such that ideally the Legislative Coordinator should be salaried by the association. Rarely can an individual be found who combines the necessary knowledge, skill and interest with sufficient freedom from his own work. Such an individual, in fairness to himself and his employer, cannot be expected to continue in the post for more than a year or two, while solid legislative progress requires continuity of leadership over a longer period.

Nine state library associations employ full time executive directors. Four of these directors are located in the state capitals. These officers, especially the latter, are in good positions to function as State Legislative Coordinators, provided they have sufficient time free from other duties or have assistants who can act as their surrogates.

At least nine other states have part time executive secretaries. These associations and others may wish to establish full time executive positions with legislative responsibility. Alternately, a state may be prepared to appoint a Legislative Coordinator with secondary responsibility for internal association affairs. As a third approach a librarian might secure leave from his position to accept temporary appointment as Legislative Coordinator during the critical portion of a legislative session.

In all cases support staff and communication facilities must be available to the Coordinator. Even where a nonsalaried person is concerned, it would be good policy to reimburse him for expenses.

A nonsalaried Legislative Coordinator should be the chairman of the legislation committee.

This is the most common practice and has the following advantages:

- . it avoids the difficult task of defining distinct roles for the chairman and Coordinator.
- . it gives the Coordinator direct access to the members of the committee for the purpose of submitting reports, calling meetings and eliciting decisions.
- . it simplifies emergency decision-making, since the chairman/coordinator and association president can more easily confer than can three individuals.

#### VII. LEGISLATIVE ADVOCACY WITHIN STATE CAPITOLS

Lobbying or legislative advocacy is an art unto itself, requiring considerable experience, skill and commitment. It has become a career for many, or at least a full time occupation during legislative sessions. As in any field there are varying degrees of proficiency to be found, and a variety of individual approaches.

In the larger states, at least, very little legislation of significance (and that includes most money measures) is enacted without the ministrations of a competent advocate within the capitol building. For library associations the problems of enlisting such a person are many: 1) identifying a lobbyist with the proper contacts and skills whose reputation, affiliations and methods are appropriate for library programs; 2) affording the not inconsiderable fee of a professional advocate; 3) familiarizing the advocate with specific library programs and library services in general. (Knowledge of the latter is necessary for assessing the impact upon libraries of much legislation not introduced by library interests.)

It is the last problem particularly which leads many state library associations to entrust lobbying activities in the capitol to a librarian, usually the person coordinating legislative activity on the home front. That this approach is practical is demonstrated by the extraordinary success of ALA's Washington office staff which ably performs both functions. Where a salaried Legislative Coordinator is employed he probably should serve as legislative advocate as well.

A nonsalaried Legislative Coordinator performing legislative advocacy must possess or acquire the necessary experience and skill, and have the additional time to devote to this aspect of the job (probably the most time-consuming of all). Proximity to the capital city will be a major factor, affecting time, cost and effectiveness.

The Legislative Advocate's chief stock in trade is his knowledge of legislative procedures; acquaintance with individual legislators and their staffs; and awareness of the moods, cross-currents, alliances and other intangible but potent forces in the capitol. This requires time far beyond that needed to present a particular bill.

A compromise approach is to share the services of a professional lobbyist with other education or professional organizations, and to do so for a limited period of time, corresponding to the life of a particular bill or bills. This will minimize the fee involved.

Still another solution is to employ a librarian, either between positions or on leave, on the same limited time basis. If one is to pay equal time for equal work, however, the cost would not be less - and might even be more if the librarian is not resident in the capital city and requires reimbursement for travel or subsistence.

Where they are not the same individual the closest possible working relationship should exist between the State Legislative Coordinator and the Legislative Advocate.

It is obvious that the Legislative Contacts and other workers, the membership of the association and the public must be kept informed by the Legislative Coordinator of

the progress of a piece of legislation at each stage through which it passes if they are to take appropriate action. The Advocate, in turn, must obtain readings from constituents to guide him in his approach to individual legislators. When decisions are required which affect the substance of a measure it is the Legislative Coordinator who will have or share the authority to make them.

A close working relationship should exist between the State Legislative Coordinator on the one hand, and the state librarian and school library coordinator on the other.

While these public officials have certain constraints upon them in the advocacy of legislation, they have access to information, support staff and communication facilities which can assist immeasurably in furthering common goals. As members of the state administration they have both the opportunity and the responsibility of informing those in still higher positions of library needs and of the merits or demerits of specific legislative proposals.

A distinction must be made between legislative advocacy on a one-to-one basis and more formal actions such as oral testimony before legislative committees or written statements of official positions. The appropriate individuals should be involved in each case. Frequently it is desirable for the president of an association to appear in order to lend the greatest weight to the testimony, and major policy positions should go out over his name.

#### VIII. FEDERAL RELATIONS COORDINATORS

Each of the fifty state library associations and that of the District of Columbia annually appoints an individual to serve as that state's Federal Relations Coordinator. This person's role is to coordinate the promotion of federal legislation within the state based upon information and directions received from the ALA Washington Office. The posts have been in existence since shortly after the Office was established in 1945.

From the 1972 questionnaire (36 state library associations responding) a current profile of Federal Relations Coordinators emerges. In only one instance reported is the person a salaried officer of an association. Fourteen are chairmen of their associations' legislation committees. Two chair separate "Federal Relations Committees." Nine are listed as members of their associations' legislative committees. Six are not so listed, for only one of whom is there specific mention of his working with the committee. Two of the six are state librarians. Four association presidents did not respond to the query.

The position of Federal Relations Coordinator and State Legislative Coordinator should be combined.

The responsibilities of the two positions closely parallel each other. Federal legislative policy and overall strategy are, of course, the responsibility of ALA. The objects of campaigns for federal legislation are U.S. senators and congressmen rather than state legislators. The methods of influencing them, however, are the same.

The Federal Relations Coordinator, no less than the State Legislative Coordinator, requires time, support staff and communication facilities. The machinery for informing legislators and the public, ranging from liaison persons to legislative newsletters and mailing lists of interested citizens, can do double duty, thus making maximum use of the resources available within each state.

The person assigned responsibility for coordinating federal legislative activity with a state should have the full support of all library associations within a state, and access to whatever legislative machinery exists.

ALA's federal legislative policy and activities affect all types of libraries. Where there is a state association of school librarians or other specialized organization it should see that the Federal Relations Coordinator for the state is fully informed about this field as it is affected by federal legislation. This done,

its organization should contribute volunteers, access to its publications or mailing lists, and even financial support to further appropriate legislative action.

#### IX. KEY PROPONENTS

It is not possible instantly to communicate with all interested or potentially interested persons even in a small state. The cost of first class mail, to say nothing of wires or telephone calls, limits the speed and frequency with which one can be in contact with the entire membership of an association or large numbers of citizens.

The Legislative Coordinator should have available a list of key individuals who can be contacted immediately and relied upon for prompt action.

This list will largely be composed of Legislative Contacts (see page 7). To them should be added, if only for information purposes, the top officers of the association or associations; the members of the legislation committee or committees; and the head of the state library agency. If they are not otherwise included one should add the heads of major libraries in the state and other especially influential persons, both librarians and non-librarians, who have sufficient interest.

In general one cannot count on overnight delivery of even first class mail unless it is posted early in the day, and this should be done whenever possible. The Postal Service advises airmail for distances of 150 miles or more. It is wise to keep on hand sets of pre-addressed envelopes, and these can frequently be run off in quantity on addressing or duplicating machines.

When a particular action is anticipated, a memorandum can be prepared in advance so that it can be posted without delay.

When received in institutions or offices of any size the legislative memorandum may not be handled as expeditiously as one would like. It is well to mark both the

memorandum and the envelope in a distinctive way so that the urgency is apparent. Telegrams (or TWX transmissions where the equipment exists) have obvious advantages in speed and ability to command attention. The cost is greater and lengthy messages may be impractical.

Costly and time-consuming though they are, telephone calls are frequently the best method of employ. In addition to speed they provide an opportunity for two-way exchange which can be important in resolving questions. Perhaps because they entail personal exchanges experience indicates that telephone calls tend to elicit a higher degree of response than do written communications.

When explaining a situation which is at all complex, or when giving instructions beyond the simplest, it is well not to depend upon a relay system, in which those persons called each call several others. Too much can be garbled or lost in the process. This method can be successful only when the groundwork is laid and a simple message is sufficient to trigger the desired response.

Copies of communications to legislators and other key persons should be sent to the State Legislative Coordinator.

In this way he can monitor and assess the activity within the state.

Communications received from legislators should be forwarded to the State Legislative Coordinator.

This feedback is essential in order to gauge progress and plan further strategy; both in the field and in the capitol.

#### X. ASSOCIATION PUBLICATIONS

Of 54 library associations responding to the 1972 questionnaire (38 states represented), only three publish legislative newsletters. Only three associations

publish monthly newsletters which contain legislative information, and another five states have periodicals appearing five to six times per year with such news. Most associations publish only quarterly journals where frequency and lead time preclude dissemination of topical legislative news.

The American Library Association does an excellent job in this regard. Not only does its monthly journal consistently carry reports from the Washington Office, but the latter provides regular reports for another national library journal as well. All of this is in addition to the ALA Washington Newsletter and an occasional Urgent Memorandum issued directly by the Washington Office. (See Information Flow from Washington, page 19.)

The members of a library association should receive regular reports of legislative activity, and whenever time permits their direct participation should be solicited.

Anyone who pays dues to an association for the support of a legislative program has the right to be kept informed. Reports on legislation of import to libraries should appear regularly in all general association publications. Reports should also be given at annual conferences and regional or other meetings.

Unless the association has a monthly newsletter, and sometimes not even then, such reports will not be timely enough for reader response to a particular appeal. They will serve, however, to record progress and develop support for future programs. They will also educate the membership to the many ways in which legislation affects the interests of libraries and library employees.

Because timely information is necessary to elicit active membership support, consideration should be given to a legislative newsletter to be published as frequently as needed. It can take a format which is inexpensive to produce and mail.

#### XI. CITIZEN NEWSLETTERS

In the long run libraries will prosper only to the extent that citizens become interested in their well-being and express this interest to public officials.

The most difficult but most important task in a successful legislative program is that of informing the public of program needs and the means by which they can be met.

A formidable array of obstacles must be overcome in reaching the general public: its tendency to take libraries for granted; its inability to visualize their developmental needs; its ignorance of their funding patterns; and widespread though not universal political and legislative naivete.

Each state should develop a citizens newsletter on library services and legislation.

For maximum credibility and impact such a newsletter should be published by a citizens' organization. This can range from a small committee of prominent names to a large organization with a statewide structure. It should be resolutely non-partisan.

A large organization may have greater financial resources, but a small one can have greater freedom of action. In any event a mailing list should be assembled with the aid of librarians throughout the state to include the following elements:

- Local officials with responsibility for library service (e.g., city councilmen, school trustees, college administrators).
- Influential citizens who have or may develop an interest in libraries.
- Avid library users and supporters, regardless of position or influence.
- Individuals in the above categories resident in each state legislative district and each congressional district.

(If possible, individuals in every county or township as well.)

The newsletter should be distributed without charge, since it is designed to have a long-range educational function as well as to solicit immediate response. It may be several years before an appreciable number of recipients become active library supporters. (Appeals for contributions to defray costs can be issued from time to time, particularly when there are important programs at stake.)

Costs can be minimized by use of mimeograph or offset printing; a self-mailing format; paper address labels or plates; and a bulk mailing permit.

Such a newsletter can be mailed to the membership of the state library association as a substitute for its own legislative newsletter. In any event, it should be sent to head librarians throughout the state so that they know what their constituents are being told.

If the mailing list can be coded and sorted by legislative district it can be used for selective appeals where key votes on a measure are being courted.

Supplementary fact sheets should be prepared as needed, and duplicated in quantity.

Concise one-page statements outlining a particular plight of libraries, the substance of a piece of legislation, or specific ways in which citizens can promote passage of legislation can be of considerable use to those on the mailing list. Frequently they will find an even larger audience as individuals distribute them to friends and community organizations.

## XII. INFORMATION FLOW FROM WASHINGTON

The ALA Washington Newsletter is presently mailed to some 1800 individuals and

institutions. The number of copies cannot substantially be increased without a loss of efficiency, i.e., greater production time and a corresponding time-lag in the information provided. Wider dissemination must be obtained through greater utilization of the present copies.

Less than half of the library associations surveyed in 1972 reproduce, excerpt from, or summarize the ALA Washington Newsletter in their own membership publications. Of those which do, few are equipped to republish this information as quickly as it is received.

Information contained in the ALA Washington Newsletter should be republished in legislative newsletters and memoranda issued by library associations and in citizen newsletters.

Every library which receives the ALA Washington Newsletter should make its contents instantly available to all interested employees, officials and citizens. In most institutions this can be accomplished by posting or rapid routing. In larger ones, especially those with branches, the contents should be republished in local bulletins. Issues of the ALA Washington Newsletter should be retained at least a year for reference purposes.

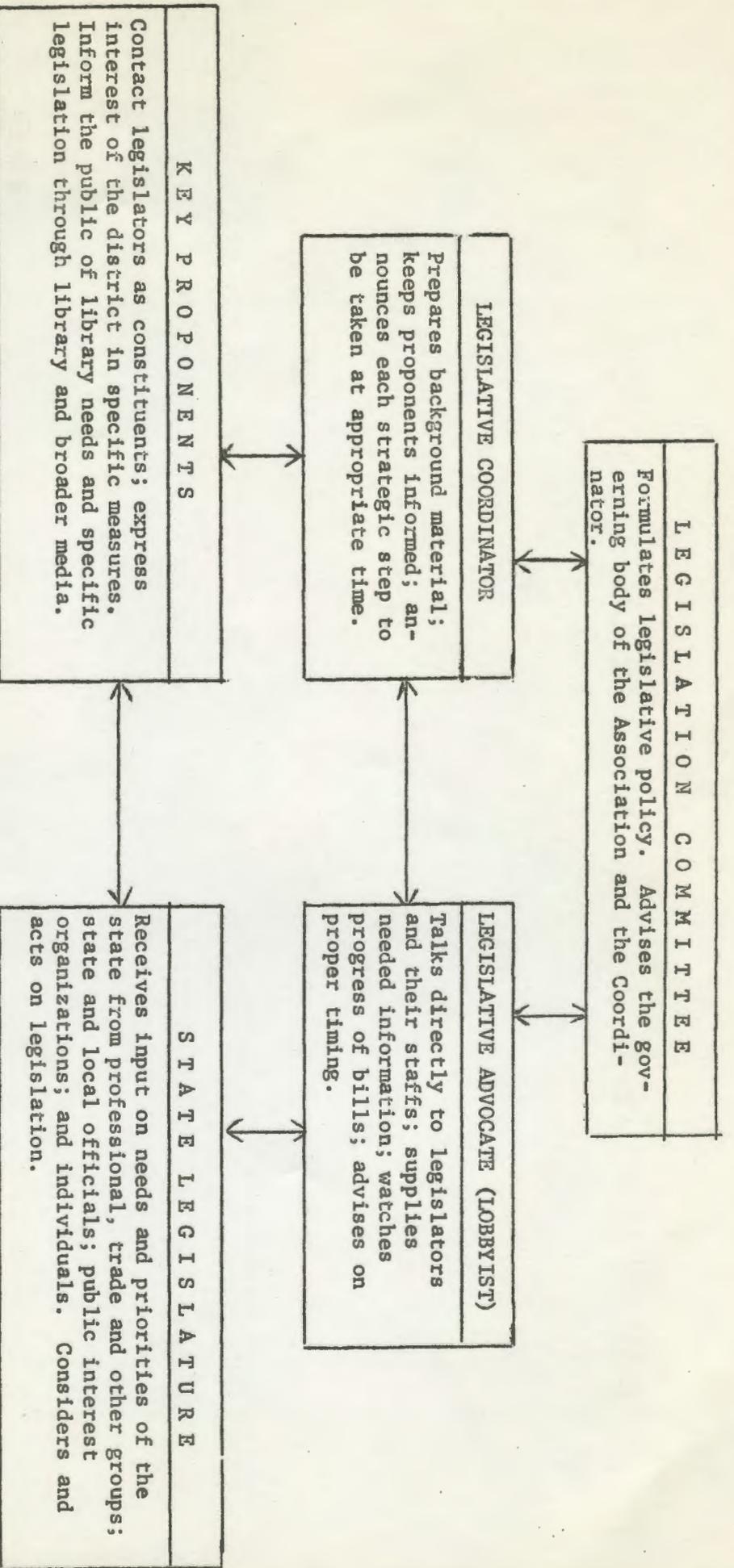
When urgent action is required the ALA Washington Office should be able to telephone or wire Federal Relations Coordinators with assurance that they will take the requisite action within their states.

Even when selective activity is all that is necessary the Washington Office cannot be aware of those persons who are the local contacts with individual congressmen or senators. When a nationwide push is needed, one telephone call or wire to each of the fifty states is all that the office should be required to make.

Copies of communications to Members of Congress and copies of their replies should be sent to the Federal Relations Coordinator for forwarding to the Washington Office.

Positions taken by Members of Congress are vital information to the Washington Office. The amount of activity within each state is important for both the Federal Relations Coordinator and the Washington Office in evaluating the operation of the network.

\* \* \*



**COMMUNICATION CHART.** Shown are key elements in a state legislative program, the chief responsibilities of each, and the lines of communication between them. In every instance, communication is to be considered two-way. The Legislative Coordinator and the Legislative Advocate may be the same individual. The Legislative Coordinator may also serve as chairman of the Legislation Committee. These interrelationships are discussed in the text. The state librarian and school library coordinator are not shown, although they have important roles in any library legislative program and their activities must be coordinated with those outlined above.

ALA LEGISLATION COMMITTEE

ALA LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP

Shoreham Hotel  
Washington, D.C.

February 1, 1973

MORNING SESSION

8:30 - 11:30 a.m.

Palladian Room

Opening Remarks, Joseph Shubert, Chairman,  
ALA Legislation Committee

Assessment of Future Legislative Goals and Concerns,  
Eileen Cooke, Director, ALA Washington Office

Potential for New and Improved State Library Legislation -  
Allie Beth Martin, Director, Tulsa City-County  
Library System

A Plan for a National Legislative Network for Libraries -  
David Sabsay, Director, Santa Rosa-Sonoma County  
Free Public Library

Pros and Cons of the Plan for a National Legislative Network  
Moderator: Robert H. Rohlf, Director, Hennepin County  
Library

Panelists: Elizabeth P. Hoffman, Coordinator,  
Department of Education, Harrisburg, Pa.

Brooke E. Sheldon, Associate Director,  
Leadership Training Institute

Ralph E. McCoy, Dean of Library Affairs,  
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Audience Discussion following Panelists, led by  
Lillian M. Bradshaw, Director, Dallas Public  
Library

12:30 p.m.

Regency Ballroom

CONGRESSIONAL LUNCHEON

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:45 - 5:30 p.m.

Palladian Room

Participants should sit with their state delegations  
at designated tables for the Afternoon Session.

What's It All About - The Legislative Game? -  
A Dialogue between Charles Lee, Executive Secretary,  
Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs,  
and Lesley Dunn, Staff Director, Legislative Action,  
League of Women Voters of the U.S.

Tools of the Trade - Alice Ihrig, President,  
Illinois League of Women Voters

States work in group session to plan for "back home" action.

EVENING SESSION

(See reverse side of this sheet)

**EVENING SESSION**

6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

Cash Bar

7:00 - 8:30 p.m.

8:30 - 10:30 p.m.

Regency Ballroom

**DINNER**

**Feedback from States' Group Sessions**

Moderator: Joseph Shubert, Chairman,  
ALA Legislation Committee

Reporting Team: Peggy Sullivan, Assistant Professor  
Grad. Sch. of Inf. Sciences, Univ. of Pittsburgh;  
Harold Goldstein, Dean, Fla. St. Univ. Sch. of L.Sc.  
Travis Tyer, Director, Continuing Educ., Ill. St. L.

All Signs Are Go! - Damon Weber, Director,  
Political Action Committee, National Education Association

Closing Remarks - Joseph Shubert

DIALING INSTRUCTIONS

CALLER WILL CALL... GOVERNMENT AGENCY CALLS... DISTRICT STATION NUMBER... DISTRICT STATION NUMBER...

CAPITOL DIRECTORY
Compiled by W. Pat Jennings, Clerk of the House of Representatives, January 2, 1973

LEGISLATIVE BILL SIGNALS: 1 ring-Tellers, 2 rings-Tags and Tags as Recorded... 4 rings-Authorized... 5 rings-Recalls... 6 rings-Civil Defense Warning...

(Room numbers with 3 digits are in the Cannon HOB, 4 digits beginning with 1 are in the Longworth HOB, 4 digits beginning with 2 are in the Rayburn HOB)

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Democrat in roman—Republican in italic—Independent in SMALL CAPS—Resident Commissioner and Delegate in boldface

Table listing House members: NAME, Telephone, Room No., NAME, Telephone, Room No. (A-Z)

Table listing House members: NAME, Telephone, Room No., NAME, Telephone, Room No. (A-Z)

Table listing House members: NAME, Telephone, Room No., NAME, Telephone, Room No. (A-Z)

Table listing House members: NAME, Telephone, Room No., NAME, Telephone, Room No. (A-Z)

CIVIL DEFENSE INSTRUCTIONS

Attack Warning Signal. Legislative bells sound series of 2-second rings for 3 minutes or longer. GO IMMEDIATELY TO SHELTER in nearest corridor posted with... Test of Attack Warning Signal. Second Wednesday of each month at 11 a.m., as follows: Legislative bells sound twelve 2-second rings. No action by building occupants required.

MISCELLANEOUS TELEPHONES

Table listing various services and organizations: NAME, Telephone, NAME, Telephone, NAME, Telephone, NAME, Telephone

UNITED STATES SENATE

(Room numbers with 3 digits are in the Russell Building and 4 digits are in the Dirksen Building)

Table listing Senate members and committees: SENATORS, Telephone, Room No., SENATORS, Telephone, Room No., SENATORS, Telephone, Room No., SENATORS, Telephone, Room No.

## WORK SHEET

### WHAT SHOULD A GOOD BLUEPRINT FOR BACK-HOME ACTION INCLUDE?

- A. A concrete and realistic statement of what you would like to accomplish (the ultimate goal of the blueprint)
- B. An analysis of the current situation re this statement or this problem (assets, liabilities, difficulties, available resources)
- C. Action needed to move from B to A -- the heart of the blueprint (specific, practical, realistic, step-by-step)
- D. Deadline dates -- a calendar -- for the step-by-step action program
- E. A plan for periodic checking on progress, and for evaluation when the action plan has been carried out.

**IMPORTANT:** As soon as possible -- perhaps even while at the workshop -- names of individual people must be attached to each of the steps in the blueprint.

(What is everyone's responsibility usually turns out to be nobody's responsibility.)

Designed by, and used with the permission of the National Education Association.

# washington

## Building Legislative Support for Library Programs: 1957-1972

by Germaine Krettek

It may be difficult for the young librarian of today, who is accustomed to what is almost a galaxy of federal programs, to imagine the paucity of assistance that was available from the national government in the mid-1950s. The fifteen years during which I was privileged to represent ALA in Washington were among the most significant in American history. This was a period in which Congress enacted landmark legislation strengthening and supporting library services, education, and civil rights. It covered part or all of the administrations of four presidents: Eisenhower, who signed the rural Library Services Act even though he had neither proposed nor supported it; Kennedy, first to mention libraries in his Education Message to Congress, and also first president to sponsor a major program of federal library legislation; Johnson, who put his enormous legislative skill behind enactment of a great series of laws benefiting libraries and all of education; and the no less skillful Nixon, a consummate politician who has preferred to economize rather than to expand in the field of domestic legislation but who appointed the first permanent National Commission on Libraries.

My tenure in Washington began in 1957 just as it ended fifteen years later in 1972, with a Congress controlled by the Democrats facing a Republican in the White House. We felt becalmed in those days. In the late 1950s the Senate was receptive to extending federal aid to education on a massive scale, but the House of Representatives was deadlocked because of what the press sometimes called "the three Rs of education legislation—race, religion, and the Rules Committee." The small staff of the ALA Washington Office attended innumerable meetings with Washington representatives of the major education organizations, bills were introduced and hearings held, support was rallied among the public and the press, and yet these efforts seemingly came to naught. After the social activism of the Depression years and the emergency improvisations of World War II, the nation was content

to enjoy peace and to avoid problems that were predicted by a few. The federal budget was less than half its present size, it was balanced in several fiscal years, and that was the way a great majority of the electorate wanted things to continue. Unrecognized by most people in those days, however, were trends that were gathering force outside Washington which would transform the domestic political scene and propel the federal government into supporting libraries and many other educational and social agencies on a vastly expanded scale.

When I first came to Washington, one major law providing federal assistance to libraries was then on the books, the Library Services Act, approved June 19, 1956, the culmination of my predecessors' hard work and the efforts of the entire profession over many decades. The necessity at that time was to win appropriations under that statute large enough to permit a demonstration of LSA's validity and potential. We were aided mightily by the understanding and support of Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama and Rep. John Fogarty of Rhode Island, who held the purse strings in those days. Both had been among the early sponsors and supporters of the legislation along with many others who are still major powers on Capitol Hill—senators Mike Mansfield of Montana, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Warren Magnuson of Washington, George Aiken of Vermont, Clifford Case of New Jersey, for example; and representatives Carl Albert of Oklahoma, Carl Perkins of Kentucky, Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, Ray Madden of Indiana, Edith Green of Oregon, Tom Steed of Oklahoma, and John Brademas of Indiana, to name but a few.

The longevity of members of Congress demonstrates a fact of legislative life that is often hard to take, and yet the lasting support of certain members of Congress, of both parties, has been a decisive factor in the enactment of major library and education legislation. While the general political climate is important, and while legislation can be enacted or funded generously with greater ease during some periods than in others, we have been aided time and again by certain long-time supporters who have a personal commitment to libraries, believing in them because of their own life experiences or because of their association with librarians and trustees in their home communities who have won their adherence to our cause through faith and persistence. In my messages from Washington through the years, and in the many speeches I have given, I have emphasized this factor repeatedly, and it is still

worthy of repetition. Cultivation of the young man or woman from the time of his or her entrance into public life—when running for the state legislature or a county or city council, let us say—can yield votes in favor of libraries over a lifetime of public service, and often only one crucial vote is needed in committee or among the party leadership.

The first measure on which I testified in committee illustrates this point. It was House Concurrent Resolution 226, which proposed to authorize the president to designate March 16–22, 1958, as National Library Week. This measure was not before the House or Senate education committees where many of our friends sat, but was the business of a House Judiciary Subcommittee. It was eventually pushed through by some thirty powerful members of Congress, in both Houses and both parties, who had been sponsors of the original Library Services Act first introduced in 1953.

The support of the key congressmen who enacted that bill, and the many others that followed, was won by a process of providing information to policymakers, not by reliance on their friendship alone, but by strengthening that friendship by grounding it in knowledge of the needs and achievements of libraries. We marshalled our facts so that we could tell congressmen, factually and objectively, the ways in which their local libraries could help meet the human and community needs of their constituents. We furnished specific, accurate, and current information, not statistics of budgets and services alone, but compelling and dramatic examples of the impact of libraries on the lives of people. This was not the work of the Washington Office alone; it could not have been. We drew upon the experiences and the assistance of thousands of librarians and trustees throughout the country.

The persuasive information gathered thus was used in many places as well as in the nation's capital. It was supplied to legislators and government administrators in state capitals and counties and cities throughout the land. The power structure in each state and in every major local community was made aware—and must continually be made aware—of the effectiveness of library programs, of how carefully the public funds have been used, of how much more could be accomplished with greater support. Often overlooked is the requirement that most federal appropriations must be matched to some extent by state or local funds or by college and university allocations. In Washington we have been able to point to the readiness with which matching funds were made available for library

programs as convincing evidence of strong local support. On the other hand, when federal appropriations have not kept pace with needs, and when cutbacks or restrictions have been imposed, we have been able to demonstrate their harmful impact in specific detail, thanks again to the willingness of librarians everywhere to pool their efforts.

Congressmen, like other legislators, not only need information from their constituents, they welcome it. If they are supporting a library measure, they crave clear, concise information to buttress their support. If they are uncommitted, reasoned and factual information about the bill's potential for their own district presents the most persuasive argument for winning their support. Even if they must oppose the bill, cogent information has an impact. It may temper their opposition and eventually change their minds. This applies, as well, to the aides of the legislators and to the staffs of their committees, all of whom have important roles in determining the outcome of a legislative effort even though they work in the background.

Most of the information needed and sought by legislators is presented to them by mail. They value their mail so highly that many regularly count or even weigh the letters they receive. To be most effective, letters should be short, specific and factual, explaining the benefits or dangers of a bill or appropriation in terms of the writer's library and community. These letters should be timely, when the matter is on the legislator's mind, arriving neither too soon nor too late. They should, of course, be friendly in tone, never threatening.

Personal visits to congressmen are more effective than letters, but necessarily are less frequent. Face-to-face contacts when the congressman is visiting his district or while he is in his hometown office help build a relationship that leads him to welcome a well-written letter later. If properly scheduled at the crucial time in the long and complicated legislative process, visits to Washington can be the determining factor in reaching the few legislators whose aid is vital. Extension of the original Library Services Act in 1960 provides an illustration. The bill was blocked in the House Rules Committee by a 6-6 vote which prevented it from coming to the floor for consideration by the House membership as a whole. The late Rep. Fogarty stayed up all night on July 2, and at 5:30 a.m. obtained the consent of the late Speaker Sam Rayburn to consider the legislation under Suspension of the Rules (a parliamentary situation requiring that a quorum of the House be present and that

two-thirds vote affirmatively) on August 22, the last possible time before adjournment.

Our efforts were concentrated upon the membership of the House during the few weeks that remained before the vote. The opportunity for a vote had been obtained by the House leadership with whom we had worked for many years. However, their assistance would have come to nothing had we failed to enlist sufficient support among the members of the House of both parties. Letters poured into Washington, many telephone calls were made and telegrams sent, and personal visits to certain congressmen were made by librarians, trustees and their friends. When the all-important day arrived, there were forty minutes of tense debate in the House, the vote was taken, and 190 representatives were recorded in favor of continuing the act, while only 29 were opposed.

After the voting, whether resulting in victory or defeat, letters and other communications to the legislators are of vital importance. Many groups neglect to transmit their appreciation to those who supported their cause, yet a word at this time is long remembered, particularly if the congressman has cast a vote for libraries in vain. Many have told me of their pleasure upon receiving letters after the voting and have commented that they did not receive such letters of gratitude from other groups as they often did from librarians. This is a simple, essential, but frequently neglected technique for building legislative support for achievement of our profession's goals.

A victory of this kind is not achieved by librarians and library trustees alone. In all our legislative campaigns, we have worked closely with other groups with similar interests. These include the National Education Association, the Ameri-

#### Highlights of Federal Library Legislation: Fiscal Years 1958-1973

**1958.** President Eisenhower proposed \$3 million for Library Services Act; Congress voted \$5 million. National Defense Education Act provided some assistance for school library resources and training of school librarians. National Library Week proclamation authorized.

**1960.** LSA extended to 1966. President proposed \$6.6 million for LSA; Congress voted \$7.4 million, virtually the full \$7.5 million then authorized. Library plank first included in both political party platforms.

**1962.** President Kennedy proposed and Congress voted \$7.5 million for LSA, the full authorization. Act amended to include American Samoa. Depository Library Act changed for first time since 1895.

**1963.** Higher Education Facilities Act authorized grants and loans for construction of academic libraries.

**1964.** LSA broadened to become Library Services and Construction Act with \$45 million authorized for first year. LSCA was actually being debated on the floor of the Senate November 22, 1963, when the news came that President Kennedy had been shot. Congressional action was not completed until 1964, after five hours of spirited House debate with a vote of 254-107. LSCA signed by President Johnson at a White House ceremony.

**1965.** President proposed and Congress voted \$55 million for LSCA, the full authorization. Elementary and Secondary Education Act provided assistance to school libraries. Higher Education Act provided support for college library resources, library training and research, and cataloging and other bibliographic services. Medical Library Assistance Act established new categories of construction, training and other forms of assistance.

**1966.** LSCA broadened to include interlibrary cooperation, state institutional services, and services to the physically handicapped. ESEA II funded at full authorization—\$100 million.

**1967.** President by executive order appointed a temporary National Advisory Commission on Libraries.

**1970.** President Nixon proposed \$23.2 million for LSCA; Congress voted \$43.2 million and consolidated act to three titles. National Commission on Libraries and Information Science authorized. Medical Library Assistance Act extended three years.

**1972.** President proposed \$18 million for LSCA, the lowest recommendation in eight years; Congress voted \$58.7 million. Higher Education Act extended through fiscal year 1975.

**1973.** President Nixon twice vetoed appropriations for LSCA and ESEA II, the second veto occurring after *sine die* adjournment of the 92nd Congress. The 93rd Congress, convening January 3, 1973, is expected to enact a third HEW appropriation bill for the last half of the fiscal year.

# washington

Building Legislative Support for Library Programs 1958-1973

by [illegible]

It may be difficult for the average reader of this journal to understand the extent to which the passage of the Public Library Act of 1958 was a landmark in the history of the profession. It was a period in which Congress enacted landmark legislation strengthening and supporting library services, education, and research. It was a period in which the administration of the federal library program was transferred to the Department of Education, and in which the federal library program was expanded to include the National Technical Information Administration.

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In order to understand the extent to which the passage of the Public Library Act of 1958 was a landmark in the history of the profession, it is necessary to look upon the tedious day-to-day work of winning legislative victories with some measure of historical perspective.

When the Public Library Act of 1958 was passed, the federal government first began to assume major responsibilities for the human services of state and local government only some forty years ago. Substantial federal assistance to the school systems of the country began little more than twenty years ago. Federal grants were first offered to a limited number of public libraries only fifteen years ago. Support for school and college libraries and for training and research in librarianship came only seven years ago.

It will be many years before we can even begin to be confident that our profession can provide the right book for the right person at the right time and place, as well as the right record, the right film, the right microform, the right work of art, or whatever the replication of the creations of the human mind and spirit that can be devised by technology.

can Council on Education, American Vocational Association, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Council of Teachers of English, and other education organizations. Our allies have also included the AFL-CIO, National Grange, Farmers Union, National League of Cities, U.S. Conference of Mayors, General Federation of Women's Clubs, American Association of University Women, and other diverse national groups. Truly, in unity there is strength.

It is important to look upon the tedious day-to-day work of winning legislative victories with some measure of historical perspective. The federal government first began to assume major responsibilities for the human services of state and local government only some forty years ago. Substantial federal assistance to the school systems of the country began little more than twenty years ago. Federal grants were first offered to a limited number of public libraries only fifteen years ago. Support for school and college libraries and for training and research in librarianship came only seven years ago. (See "Highlights of Federal Library Legislation, Fiscal Years 1958-1973.")

It will be many years before we can even begin to be confident that our profession can provide the right book for the right person at the right time and place, as well as the right record, the right film, the right microform, the right work of art, or whatever the replication of the creations of the human mind and spirit that can be devised by technology. In this era of communications satellites, computers and cable TV, brave indeed would be the librarians who would hazard a forecast of what we might be acquiring, cataloging and offering at the end of another decade or two. Our budgets may never be large enough to acquire all the items we know, as professionals, we need for our patrons. We may never have enough librarians to provide really adequate services. We will always be desperately short of facilities in some communities. As far as we can see ahead, continued federal assistance will be required, state aid must be expanded, and local support increased. Understanding of the legislative process and legislative techniques at all levels of government will become increasingly important. Yes, we still have far to go in Washington, in the state legislatures, and in every community. The planning, achieving, implementing of legislation, is a never-ending process but of utmost importance if we are to respond adequately and creatively to the growing demands of all our citizens for library resources and services to meet the needs of today and tomorrow.

# It's As Easy As A B C

1. My active participation in political action this year included:

- a. *Work at precinct level*
- b. *Work at ward level*
- c. *Work at city level*
- d. *Work at county level*
- e. *Work at district level*
- f. *Work at state level*
- g. *Work at national level*

2. My active participation in political action this year included:

- a. *Handing out cards, posters, and stickers*
- b. *Placing posters and stickers*
- c. *Using posters and stickers on my own property*
- d. *Attending political rallies and meetings*
- e. *Working in my party's office*
- f. *Working in a candidate's office*
- g. *Telephoning*
- h. *Raising funds*
- i. *Speaking*
- j. *Addressing mailings*
- k. *Donating money*
- l. *Other*

3. I was involved in political action:

- a. *On my own*
- b. *With a friend*
- c. *With an ordinarily non-political group*
- d. *With the political arm of a group*
- e. *With one of the political parties*

4. I backed:

- a. *Nothing but losers*
- b. *Nothing but winners*
- c. *75% winners - 25% losers*
- d. *50% of each*
- e. *25% winners - 75% losers*
- f. *Something in between c & d*
- g. *Something in between d & e*

5. The candidate I backed:

- a. *Is an old friend of mine*
- b. *Was a stranger to me*
- c. *Became friendly to me during the campaign*
- d. *Gladly accepted my support*
- e. *Solicited my support*
- f. *Acknowledged my support*
- g. *Acknowledged the support of my group*
- h. *Never acknowledged the existence of me or my group*

6. If the election were tomorrow, I'd:

- a. Back the other candidate
- b. Work less
- c. Leave it to George
- d. Not become involved
- e. Work harder

7. I contribute regularly to:

- a. Church
- b. Red Cross
- c. United Fund
- d. Political party
- e. Political action groups
- f. Other charities

8. I belong to:

- a. My local association
- b. My state association
- c. The National Education Association
- d. A political action committee for education
- e. A civic club
- f. PTA
- g. Church
- h. Other

9. My financial contributions to all these things together is:

- a. 100% of my salary (martyr)
- b. 50% of my salary (missionary)
- c. 25% of my salary (philanthropist)
- d. 10% of my salary (a tithe)
- e. 5% of my salary (a twithe)
- f. 1% of my salary (an ouch)
- g. 0% of my salary (a yick)
- h. I get money from them (a problem)

10. I have contacted in the month just past:

- a. My United States Congressman
- b. My United States Senator
- c. My incumbent legislative representative
- d. The mayor
- e. My city councilman or county representative
- f. At least 10 candidates
- g. At least 5 candidates
- h. One candidate, maybe



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Washington, D. C. 20036

# DRAWING OUR POLITICAL PROFILE

## INFLUENCE IN THE PARTY

1. Do you know your precinct chairman? yes
2. Do you know him (her) well? yes
3. Have you at least once served as a delegate from your precinct to a county or State party convention? yes
4. Have you had an influential part in selecting delegates to your county or State party convention? yes
5. Have you served or are you now serving as an officer in your party--precinct, county, or State? yes
6. Have you ever tried to get a worthy person to run for an office within the party? yes
7. Have you campaigned within the party for some candidate for county chairman? yes
8. Have you campaigned within the party for some candidate for State chairman? yes
9. Have you worked on the platform for your party at any level? yes
10. Have you worked on the national or State platform committee for your party? yes

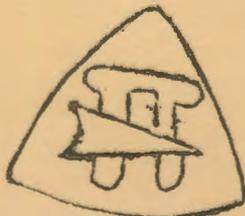
## PUTTING YOUR TIME WHERE YOUR CONVICTION IS

11. Did you work at least 20 hours for some candidate or in one of the political party headquarters during the pre-November campaigns? yes
12. Did you work at least 40 hours? yes
13. Did you personally try to influence as many as 10 votes other than your own? yes
14. Did you organize at least one meet-the-candidate party? yes
15. Since the election, have you devoted at least 3 hours to work with your group, taking stock of results? yes

## PUTTING YOUR MONEY WHERE YOUR CONVICTION IS

16. Did you sponsor at least one kaffee klatch, tea, or money-investment affair to "make hay" for a November-election candidate? yes
17. Did you give as much as  $\frac{1}{2}$  percent of your salary during the past 12 months to the party or to candidates of your choice? yes
18. Did you give as much as 1%? yes
19. Did you give more than that? yes
20. Would you at least look considerably and with sympathy at the effort to get teachers to give 5% toward "making democracy work"? (a "twithe"!)

Total number of "YES" answers \_\_\_\_\_



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# Quick Quiz on Politics

Politics is one of the best words in the English language. It has been debased only because good people have neglected it. Our communities, our states, our nation, our world will be improved in ratio to the numbers of responsible and unselfish people who become "versed or experienced in the art of government"—hence, politicians.

Are you a good politician? Try these questions as a possible gauge of your political competency. Circle the Yes if that is your answer.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Are you registered to vote? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p><i>Did you vote *</i></p> <p>2. In the most recent primary election? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p>3. In the most recent general election? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p>4. In the most recent schoolboard election? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p>5. Have you ever helped in a political (partisan or nonpartisan) campaign by doing at least two of the following: <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Telephoning?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Ringing doorbells?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Volunteering for clerical work?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Making a voluntary financial contribution?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Using a car or other facility to get out the voters on election day?</p> <p>6. Have you ever written a letter on some political issue to any three of the following: <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your senior United States Senator?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your junior United States Senator?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your United States Congressman?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your governor?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your state senator?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your state representative?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your mayor?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your city council?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your local newspaper?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A broadcasting studio?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A TV or radio news commentator?</p> <p>7. Have you listened to or read carefully a speech by any political figure with whom you are in strong disagreement? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> | <p>8. Have you spoken out within the past six months, either in a private discussion or in a public meeting, in defense of your point of view on a political issue? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p>9. Have you ever attended a political-party meeting on the local, state, or national level? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p>10. Do you belong to at least one political group, either a political-party club or an independent action group? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p>11. Have you ever run for public office, or would you be willing to run if you were urged to do so? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p>12. Have you ever urged any person to run for public office? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p>13. Have you ever served on a jury without trying to get out of it? Or, if you have never been asked to serve, would you serve if you were asked to do so <i>this week</i>? <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p>14. Have you ever visited any three of the following: <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">The United States Congress?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your state legislature?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A United States Congressional committee hearing?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A state legislative committee hearing?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A court session (juvenile, police, criminal, etc.)?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A court ceremony for new citizens?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A meeting of your schoolboard?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A meeting of your county supervisors?</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">A meeting of your city council?</p> <p>15. Have you made it a point to meet any two of the following: <span style="float: right;">Yes</span></p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Your senior United States Senator?</p> |
|---|--|

\* One politically-minded teacher said, "I always make it a practice to vote before school so I can say during the day that I have already voted when I suggest that students urge their parents to vote."

**How Do I Address My Governor? My Mayor? My Congressman?**  
 The handbooks differ, "The Honorable . . ." is an accepted pattern.

The Honorable John Doe  
 United States House of Representatives  
 Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Congressman Doe:

Simply change the title and address for any of your elected officials.

- Your junior United States Senator?
- Your United States Congressman?
- Your state senator?
- Your state representative?
- Your mayor?

*Have you done anything to help promote*

- 32. Better state legislation? Yes
- 33. Better federal legislation? Yes

*Can you give the first and last names of*

- 16. Your senior United States Senator? Yes
- 17. Your junior United States Senator? Yes
- 18. Your United States Congressman? Yes
- 19. Your governor? Yes
- 20. Your state senator? Yes
- 21. Your state representative? Yes
- 22. Your chief state school officer? Yes
- 23. Your mayor or the head of your local unit of government? Yes

**SUGGESTIONS:**

1. *Why not compute the score of your association?* Thru this questionnaire, it is possible to obtain not only an individual score, but the score of a group. **THIS MATERIAL IS NOT COPYRIGHTED. YOUR LOCAL ASSOCIATION MAY WANT TO DUPLICATE IT.**

2. *Discuss a possible revision of this questionnaire.* The questionnaire is a suggestive score sheet. It is limited to the teacher's participation in governmental affairs. Your group may want to develop a revised list of questions.

3. *Use this score sheet only as a beginning of activities.* Even if your association's score is *Excellent*, this is still the first step. Write to the NEA Citizenship Committee for additional suggestions.

4. *Send your comments on the questionnaire to the NEA Citizenship Committee.* Or, if you develop another form, send a copy. The committee is interested in items you think should be added or eliminated.

*Do you know the stand on educational legislation of*

- 24. Your senior United States Senator? Yes
- 25. Your junior United States Senator? Yes
- 26. Your United States Congressman? Yes
- 27. Your governor? Yes
- 28. Your state senator? Yes
- 29. Your state representative? Yes

This questionnaire was developed by the NEA Citizenship Committee. To assist local associations to increase the political know-how of teachers, the committee has a packet of proposals for civic practices. Each suggested practice describe an idea for action and spells it out in terms of *what, why, and how*, together with supplementary considerations important to the enterprise. The first packet of civic practices, *A Pocketful of Ideas*, is now available. Request it today from the NEA Citizenship Committee.

*Can you summarize the legislative program of*

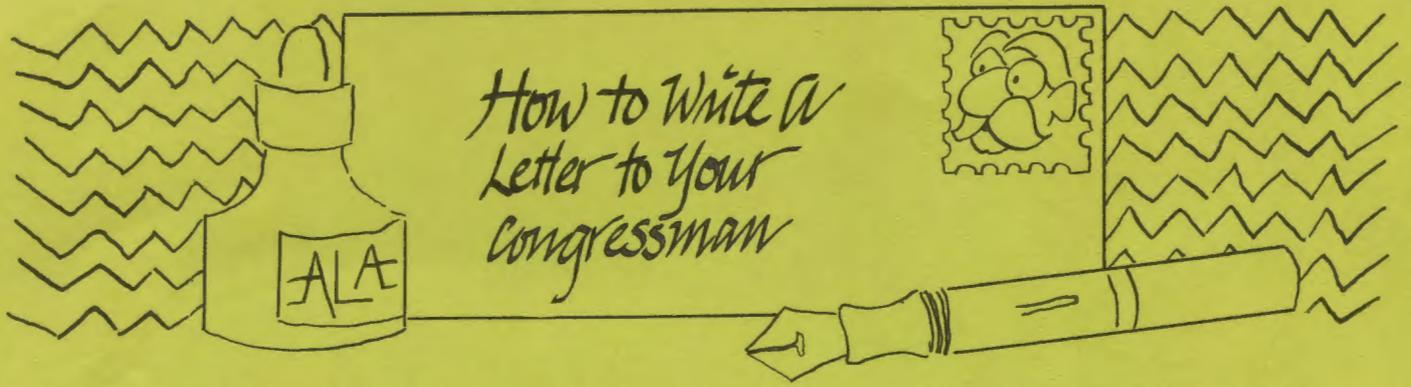
- 30. Your state education association? Yes
- 31. Your national education association? Yes

**TO SCORE**

Count three points for each circled Yes. Add one point to total. SCORE \_\_\_\_\_

A	90-100	Excellent
B	80-90	Good
C	70-80	Fair

Below 70—Politically unsatisfactory!



**The most frequently used, correct forms of address are:**

To your Senator:  
 The Honorable (full name)  
 United States Senate  
 Washington, D.C. 20510

To your Representative:  
 The Honorable (full name)  
 U.S. House of Representatives  
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Senator \_\_\_\_\_:

Dear Mr. \_\_\_\_\_:

"Sincerely yours" is in good taste as a complimentary close. Remember to sign your given name and surname. If you use a title in your signature (Miss, Mrs., etc.), be sure to enclose it in parentheses.

Forms similar to the above, addressed to your state capital, are appropriate for your state representatives and senators.

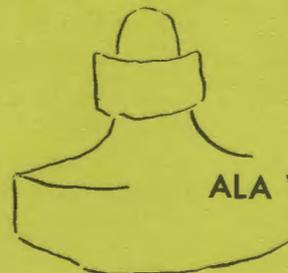
Where possible use your official letterhead. If this is not in order, and you write as an individual, use plain white bond paper, and give your official title following your signature as a means of identification and to indicate your competency to speak on the subject.

**REMEMBER**

1. your Congressman likes to hear opinions from home and wants to be kept informed of conditions in the district. Base your letter on your own pertinent experiences and observations.
2. if writing about a specific bill, describe it by number or its popular name. Your Congressman has thousands of bills before him in the course of a year, and cannot always take time to figure out to which one you are referring.
3. he likes intelligent, well-thought-out letters which present a definite position, even if he does not agree with it.
4. even more important and valuable to him is a concrete statement of the reasons for your position -- particularly if you are writing about a field in which you have specialized knowledge. He has to vote on many matters with which he has had little or no first-hand experience. Some of the most valuable help he gets in making up his own mind comes from facts presented in letters from persons who have knowledge in the field.
5. short letters are almost always best. Members of Congress receive many, many letters each day, and a long one may not get as prompt a reading as a brief statement.
6. letters should be timed to arrive while the issue is alive. If your Congressman is a member of the committee considering the bill, he will appreciate having your views while the bill is before him for study and action.
7. your Congressman likes to know when he has done something of which you approve. He is quite as human as you, so don't forget to follow through with a thank-you letter.

**AVOID**

1. letters that merely demand or insist that he vote for or against a certain bill; or that tell him how you want him to vote, but not why. He has no way of knowing whether your reasons are good or bad, and therefore he is not greatly influenced.
2. threats of defeat at the next election.
3. boasts of how influential the writer is in his own community.
4. asking him to commit himself on a particular bill before the committee in charge of the subject has had a chance to hear the evidence and make its report.
5. form letters or letters which include excerpts from other letters on the same subject.
6. writing to a Congressman from another district, except when the letter deals with a matter which is before a committee of which he is a member. Otherwise, Congressional courtesy makes him refer letters from non-constituents to the proper persons.
7. writing too many letters on the same subject. Quality, not quantity, is what counts.



**ALA Washington Office**



# WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

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Vol. 25

January 5, 1973

No. 1

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## 93rd Congress, 1st Session Convenes

The new Congress convened at noon on Wednesday, January 3, and immediately set about the business of selecting its leaders. The only major leadership change occurred in the House, where Rep. T.P. O'Neill (D-Mass.), formerly majority whip, was elected majority leader, replacing Hale Boggs who disappeared in an airplane over Alaska last October. The new majority whip will be appointed by the speaker, Rep. Carl Albert (D-Okla.).

## FY 1973 Labor-HEW Appropriations

During these opening weeks of Congress, both House and Senate leadership will be engaged in reorganizing their respective committees. Until this work is completed, it is not likely that any action will be taken on the twice-vetoed FY 1973 Labor-HEW Appropriations bill, whose programs including LSCA and ESEA II are funded under provisions of the continuing resolution until February 28. (See October 31, 1972 newsletter.) Once organized in committees, Congress may enact a third Labor-HEW bill or they may just attempt to extend the continuing resolution through the remainder of the 1973 fiscal year. It is not yet clear which route they will take.

## FY 1974 Budget Rumors

President Nixon is expected to submit his FY 1974 budget recommendations to Congress on January 29, 1973. Although not officially confirmed, rumor has it that the budget picture is grim, with no funds whatever for library programs. Thus a major battle is on the horizon.

## ACTION NEEDED NOW

Communicate at once with your Representatives and Senators. Send each one positive information on the contributions LSCA and/or ESEA II have made in the congressional district and in the state as a whole. Do not wait for President Nixon's FY 1974 budget. Concentrate now on the FY 1973 appropriations. Urge that Congress enact a third FY 1973 Labor-HEW Appropriations bill. Give specific examples of library programs and services made possible by LSCA and/or ESEA II. Give graphic examples of what will happen if library programs are funded all year at the level of the continuing resolution. State library agencies should send to each member of the state's delegation in Washington annual reports or other positive documents highlighting beneficial effects of LSCA. Public and school librarians should send each member information about the accomplishments made possible in their libraries by LSCA or ESEA II. Library trustees and library users, children as well as adults, should be urged to do the same. Do not delay. Act now. Send copies of your correspondence to the ALA Washington Office.

### Impoundment Challenged in Court

"Senate Leaders to Attack Impoundment Practices in Court Case," was the heading on a press release issued January 2, 1973, by the chairman of the Government Operations Committee, Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D-N.C.). He announced that 15 chairmen of major Senate committees and the Senate majority leadership have joined in a friend-of-the-court brief in a case which challenges the President's power to impound federal highway trust funds. The case is on appeal to the 8th circuit from the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Missouri. Speaking for the Senate group, Sen. Ervin said, in part:

This practice by the executive is contemptuous of the role of Congress in our tripartite system of government. The fact that the Senate committee chairmen and the majority leadership have joined together in this effort indicates how deeply Congress is concerned with maintaining its constitutional powers and prerogatives. All Americans should be greatly encouraged by this historic action, and I believe its significance will equal that of the actions of the Congress in refusing the President's court packing scheme in the 1930's.

With the President steadfastly maintaining that he will impound FY 1973 funds to keep overall federal spending within \$250 billion despite the fact that Congress refused to grant him that power last October, the progress of this case through the courts bears close watching.

### CATV

At open meetings in San Diego on January 15 and 16, 1973 (City Administration Building, Room 2000, 202 C Street, beginning at 10:00 a.m.), the steering committee of the Federal Communications Commission's Cable Television Federal/State-Local Advisory Committee will discuss four reports developed by its subcommittees on (1) the initial organizational phase, (2) the study phase, (3) the franchising phase, and (4) the post-award regulatory phase. From these four, the advisory committee will develop an overall report. The committee's functions, in general, include consideration of the procedural aspects of cable franchising and regulation as they are developing under the FCC regulations issued last March; identification of specific problems likely to be encountered and recommendation of solutions; and consideration of regulatory functions among federal, state and local governments.

The Federal Communications Commission, in action effective October 28, 1972, modified its CATV rules concerning procedures for filing applications. When there is a dispute as to whether the appropriate franchising authority is on the state or local level, notice of filing of an application for a certificate of compliance should be served on all authorities that are claiming jurisdiction. In addition, in several states a state regulatory body has jurisdiction to confirm or deny franchises granted by local authorities, or otherwise regulate cable television. In either case, both the local and state authorities should be served with copies of the application for certificate of compliance. To emphasize this procedural point, the rules have been amended (1) to insure that in cases where there are state and local authorities asserting jurisdiction over cable television (even where a law suit or action is pending), both are served with copies of the application for certificate of compliance; and (2) to make it clear that, unless either the state or local body makes a copy of the application available for public inspection in the community of the system, the applicant will provide for its public inspection in an accessible place "such as a public library, public registry for documents, or an attorney's office in the community of the system at any time during regular business hours."



WASHINGTON  
REFRESHER  
COURSE

\*\*\*\*\*  
\* SHORT COURSE IN \*  
\* \* \* \* \*  
\* FEDERAL AID GRANTSMANSHIP \*  
\* \* \* \* \*  
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**CAPSULE:** The federal dollar authorized and appropriated for local school district use, often seems elusive, almost impossible to get. Complexities of regulations, limitations, guidelines--as well as competition--add to the problem. But often the local educator himself is partly to blame as he loses his direction and his sense of humor in the tangle of proposal preparation. Below is a 15-minute refresher course that may help sharpen your skills in grantsmanship. It was prepared by Russell A. Working, executive director, State and Federal Programs, Toledo Public Schools, Toledo, Ohio.

Getting your share of the federal dollar calls for the application of effort, time, common sense and a knowledge of the rules and guidelines established by federal law--in short, working through a game plan.

It may appear to the novice in federal grantsmanship that the rules of the game are ambiguous, restricting and all too time-consuming. And, indeed, at first they seem to be so.

But mastering the skills of grantsmanship is worth the effort. What school district, large or small, rural or urban, cannot use additional monies to improve its programs through research and demonstration projects or through supplementary services and activities.

Skills in Grantsmanship

Fewer federal dollars have found their way to the smaller school district or to the rural district than to urban and suburban districts. One reason for this disparity is grantsmanship. Suburban and urban schools often have personnel who are charged with full-time assignments that require them to learn the grantsmanship game. Two comments must be made here:

1. An aggressive approach to grantsmanship does not require that the school district designate a full-time person to seek federal funds. Part-time and cooperative efforts to seek federal funds often serve to strengthen the leadership ability of the local participating staff. Of course, this potential is given a shot in the arm if the proposal is funded.
2. Grantsmanship skills are not that complex. They are, in fact, equivalent to common sense. They can be learned by reorganizing and sharpening what a good educator already knows. Grantsmanship puts to work the rules of public relations, staff involvement and commitment, disciplined thinking and a respect for accountability.

Orientation to Proposal Development

Basically, it does not matter whether the school district is considering developing a proposal for allocated or discretionary funds in terms of the process you must go through to bring that proposal to its final form. The school district

is more certain to receive the allocated funds because these funds, e.g., ESEA Title I and II, are earmarked for eligible districts on a formula basis. Discretionary funds are significantly different. These are monies for which the school district must compete and the quality, orientation and scope of the proposal is more crucial. Irrespective of the differences between these two types of funding sources the procedures for developing proposals are very similar.

Getting Organized

Proposal planning and development is not recommended as a one-man operation. True, one person should be assigned the task of coordinating the effort and others under him should be given specific, identified tasks that mesh with others carried out by other staff members. But under no instance is it suggested that the superintendent or a member of the staff attempt to develop a one-man proposal. Share the load. One-man proposals quite often turn out to be "thin" and do not reflect the needs and purposes of a school district. This becomes quickly apparent to the federal authorities. The result is a reduced possibility of being funded. But even if funded, one-man proposals meet substantial resistance in the implementing stages. People who are to implement programs should be involved in their planning from the very beginning.

Secure from your Congressman copies of the laws and the amendments that govern the federal funding sources to which you consider making application. Use also (1) your state department of education, (2) your regional commissioner of education, and (3) officials in Washington. The Winter 1972 and Spring 1972 issues of the FEDERAL AID PLANNER give names and addresses of federal staff members who can be helpful on specific programs.

Assign someone the task of ordering copies of U.S. regulations and federal or state guidelines for those program areas in which you have an interest. These documents are more specific than the basic laws concerning who is eligible, the procedures for making application, when you may apply and to whom, and the funding limits within which you can apply.

Organize a steering committee comprised of administrators, teachers and community members. What should be its tasks? One thing is clear: it should not write the proposal. Committees should not attempt to write proposals. They can set goals, provide direction and review. But don't expect a committee to do the writing. The steering committee will guide the proposal planning through a number of significant tasks, including:

- . needs assessment
- . problem identification
- . identified alternative solutions
- . program priority specification
- . proposal development

You will hear bureaucrats--federal, state and local--say such things as, "You must first identify the educational needs in your school district before you even consider applying for funds." There is, of course, more than a little truth to this, but it is not that easily accomplished. There needs to be some reasonable blend between the perceived needs of teachers, students and community and the needs that can be inferred from objective data such as achievement indicators, drop-out rates, numbers of students going on to training beyond high school,

attendance rates. Making determinations from these data to establish program priorities is essential. Don't try to sidestep this important first stage in proposal development. You must be prepared to document the underlying needs to justify your proposal. The needs assessment presents to the proposal reviewers the degree to which you know the current status of your school district and, equally important, what direction you want to go. Don't allow yourself to use educational platitudes. Be specific about where your school system stands. Candor is rewarding.

While assessment is proceeding at the local level, cast your eyes about at the state and national levels. Call or write key people. Find out what the national priorities are. The extent that you can reasonably relate your needs to national priorities is the extent to which your proposal may be a turnkey for you. Such obvious tactics are helpful and certainly opportunistic. A word of caution: don't force your identified educational needs in a contrived way to correlate with the national needs. Do keep in mind, however, that the federal government is looking for local school districts who can serve as partners in the pursuit of solutions to mutual problems.

### Identify Your Resources

Your greatest resource is in your staff and the community. You may need to rebuild your contacts and strengthen the cooperative spirit among the people around you, if you have not routinely relied on staff and community input in the planning. But if you are convinced of the importance of what federal dollars can do to benefit all those involved, then you have the necessary fuel to stir them into constructive action. Your plan will be better for all of this effort. The formula goes something like this:

Administration

+  
Teachers + { Knowledge of school + { Consensus + { Plan of action  
+ problems and needs + on goals + to meet goals  
+  
Community

Before you reach out for assistance from consultants from nearby colleges and universities, or from private consulting firms, do your homework. Know what you expect from consultants that will permit you and your staff to proceed with clarity and understanding. It is inappropriate to delegate proposal writing to outside individuals or groups. The real value of having your staff assume the responsibility is that it "pulls" the staff together and generates a much stronger commitment on the part of the staff to the proposal. This commitment has real payoff during the implementation period.

There is much to be gained by establishing "inside" contacts with your state education agency and at the federal level. Staff members within these organizations not only can be very helpful, they want to be! They do want to react to specific or general program plans. They are not enthusiastic, however, about "fishing expeditions," in which there is an aimless conversational wandering among "possible" projects.

There is one important additional resource: research findings. For some reason educators tend to shy away from doing this part of their homework in proposal writing. When the program priority has been selected, a review of the literature and research studies will be of inestimable value to the proposal

designers--those who make preliminary decisions about how the program is to be organized and how it will operate. The program design team is, under optimal conditions, a sub-group of the steering committee. ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) represents one of many helpful sources for the design team in their search for appropriate and current research findings. Make sure the proposal design team covers the research resources thoroughly.

### Writing the Proposal

When the design team has cleared its project recommendations through the steering committee, a proposal writer, who has been selected earlier and who has participated in the planning sessions, can be asked to prepare an initial draft for committee review. What does the draft proposal include? That varies with the funding source. They practically all have different proposal formats and application forms. But the writer's job is not to create the Great American Novel.

While significant differences do exist among acceptable proposal formats from one program funding source to another, there are some similarities which include:

- Justification for the proposal: Why should the proposal be funded? What are the specific needs that are to be met by the proposal? What are the target populations that are to receive the services? How long has the problem existed? What has already been done about it? What is the likelihood of success?
- Specific objectives that are to be achieved as a result of the project: What is to be changed (behavior), over how long a period, and according to what measurement indicators?
- Detailed operational procedures: How will participants be selected? How will the program be conducted and for how long? What kinds of facilities and supplies are needed? What are staffing requirements? Are consultants to be employed--if so, who, and for what purpose?
- Adequate evaluation design: Using the objectives as indicators of desired ends, what evaluation techniques are to be used? Who will administer them, and when?

If time permits, it would be helpful to have the proposal read by others not involved in its design or writing to see if it meets an essential criterion: Does the proposal say to others what you want it to say?

The local board of education should be kept informed about the progress of the proposal. But now comes the point when the board must review and accept the proposal before it is officially submitted, either to the state education agency or the federal office. An assurance of support for the proposal from the top to the bottom of a school district is not only highly desirable but also mandatory if the proposal is viewed as a means of bringing about controlled change.

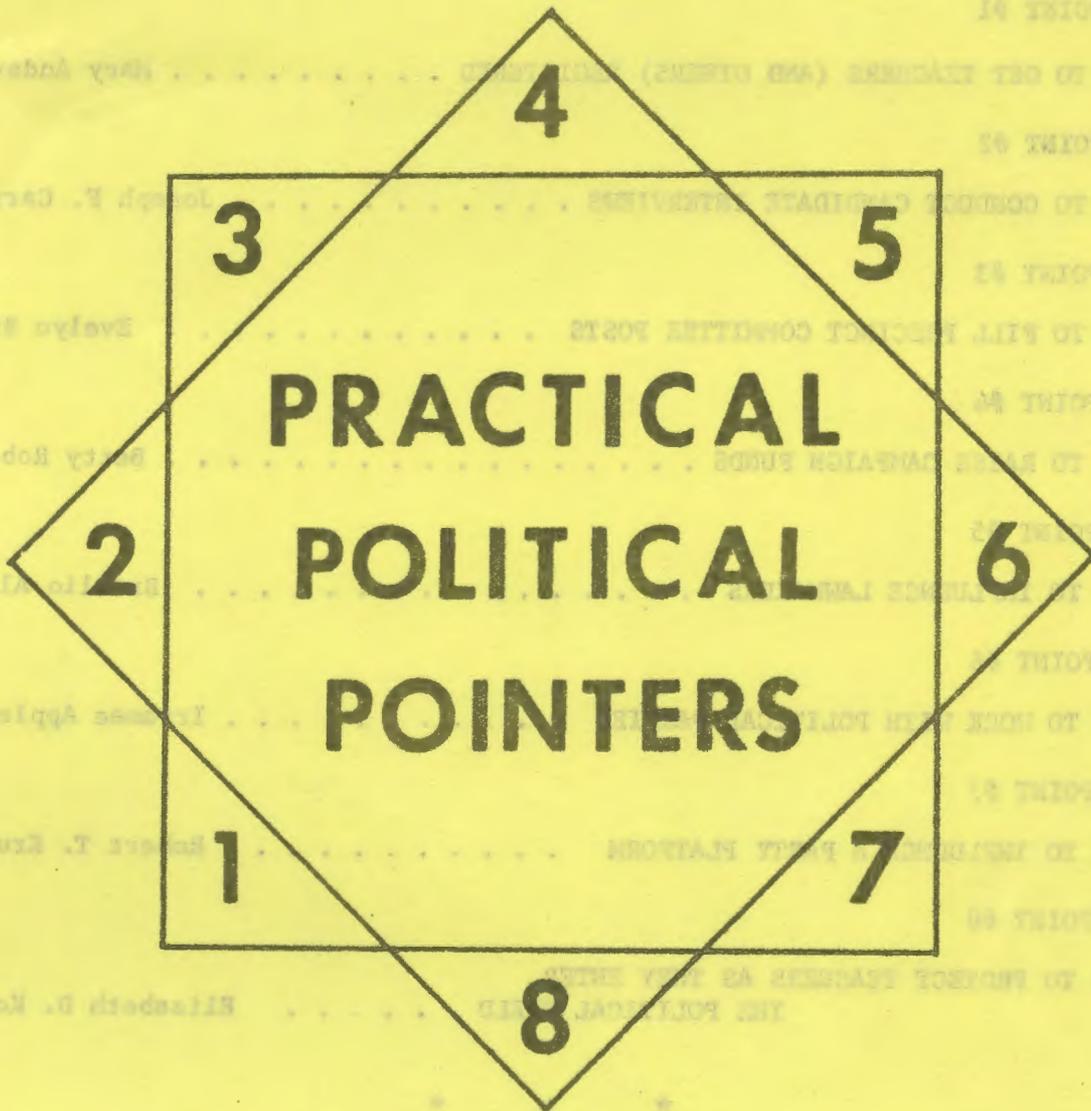
A Summary of Helpful Hints

Securing the elusive federal dollars will be easier, if these suggestions are followed:

1. Read and reread the guidelines.
2. Share the task of researching the basis for the proposal.
3. Reach out for community participation in proposal planning.
4. Be sensitive to state and national priorities.
5. Do a thorough job of needs assessment.
6. Research the proposal topic well.
7. Seek expert advice as you need it.
8. Be your own proposal manager.
9. Try to build the proposed program into the school system as an integral part, not separate and detached.
10. Secure top-to-bottom support for the proposal before it is submitted.
11. Set schedules for yourself and your staff. Meet your deadlines.
12. Use your staff according to their capabilities. Assign jobs to people who can do them.
13. Seek advice and counsel from state and federal agencies--get to know "key" staff members.
14. Eliminate education jargon--and avoid the emotional appeal.
15. Submit a project that you can manage. Don't try to do too much.
16. Have confidence. You and your staff can do it.

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## **Eight Salient Points**

### **For Teacher-Politicians**

Compiled and published by the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036  
 Bob C. Lee, chairman; Louise Alford, Robert T. Kewger, Felix G. Kopp, Anne Mae Turner, members; Lucille Ellison, secretary; Virginia Parker, assistant secretary; Co-Editors: the Office of Government Relations and Assistant Secretary for Vocational Development and Welfare, NEA.

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PRACTICAL POLITICAL POINTERS

SALIENT POINT #1

HOW TO GET TEACHERS (AND OTHERS) REGISTERED . . . . . Mary Anderson

SALIENT POINT #2

HOW TO CONDUCT CANDIDATE INTERVIEWS . . . . . Joseph F. Carroll

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HOW TO PROTECT TEACHERS AS THEY ENTER  
THE POLITICAL FIELD . . . . . Elizabeth D. Koontz

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SALIENT POINT #1

HOW TO GET TEACHERS AND OTHERS REGISTERED

by Senator Mary Anderson

All of the political "hoo raw" in the world is a waste of time, money, and energy if those who meet voting requirements are not registered.

A good registration drive, like any other worthwhile activity, requires organization, planning, and perseverance.

The local education association can conduct a voter registration drive, on a nonpartisan basis, as a public service to the community. Or, if there is a local political action arm of the education association, a registration drive aimed primarily at registering persons who support the position and candidates of the political action arm is essential.

The first type of activity, that is a drive to get every eligible citizen registered, should enlist the cooperation of other civic groups and service organizations. A coordinating committee of the local education association and representatives of other cooperating groups is a must. Specific assignments should be delineated, a timetable determined, and a realistic goal established. Each cooperating group should be able to provide a number of reliable volunteers in each precinct for doorbell ringing, telephoning, reviewing current registration lists, identifying people who have moved into the precinct since the last election, etc.

The Steering Committee should be fully conversant with registration procedures and should prepare a simple condensed version of what the requirements are for every volunteer. This information is available ordinarily in the County Clerk's office. Many jurisdictions provide for "roving registrars" who can register voters in their homes or places of employment at any time. Others require registrants to come in person to a specific place in the precinct, with proof of eligibility. A few may even require citizens to register in the county courthouse. The modus operandi of the registration drive will have to be planned accordingly.

If roving registrars are permitted, a number of volunteers (depending on the population and geographic size of the precinct) should be certified for each precinct by the proper legal authority. If possible, have a team in each block in each precinct, authorized to register voters. In areas with large apartment buildings, try to have a team in each building. Or arrange with the manager to have a voter registration desk in the lobby for a few days, preferably manned by residents of the building.

If roving registrars are not permitted, the problem is tougher. Here a telephone campaign is essential. Each phone volunteer should be given a list of



not more than 20 names of persons in the area who are not registered. This can be compiled by a group of volunteers who check registration lists with the latest city directory. The phone volunteers should be polite and able to complete a call in not over two minutes. The script could be something like this: "Is this Mrs. Jones?" "Yes." "I am Mrs. Smith with the voter registration drive. Are you a registered voter?" If the answer is "yes" say, "Good for you. Are all adults in your home also registered?" If the answer is "No" or "I don't know," then say, "The registration place for this precinct is (give address) and registration is open between ( 9 ) and ( 5 ) o'clock every day but Sunday," (or whatever the situation is).

If a motor pool has been organized to take people to register, inform the citizen of the time that such service will be available and whom to call to make arrangements. It is impractical to make arrangements to take one person at a time, but it is practical to arrange to pick up four or five per trip.

This type of registration program is best suited to medium-sized and small communities.

In large urban areas registration drives are usually carried on by the two major political parties. In such situations, the local education association should probably realistically concentrate on registering instructional and other school related personnel, such as engineers, school lunch workers, etc., on a nonpartisan basis.

The success of any registration drive depends on getting an early start, developing a realistic plan, recruiting reliable volunteers -- enough so that no one is overworked -- and setting a realistic goal. The by-product of such an activity is the provision of an opportunity for teachers to get acquainted with others in the community in which they serve. For more detailed information ask the chairmen of both major political parties for their handbook on registration drives.

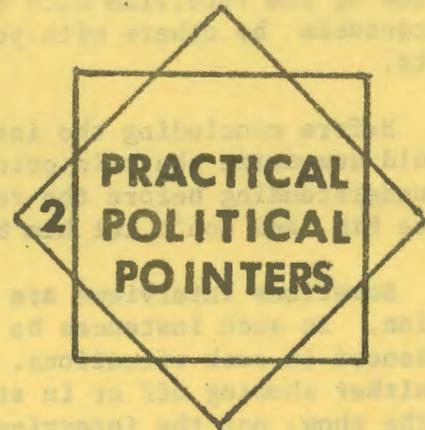
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Mrs. Anderson, a veteran of two terms in the Tennessee House of Representatives, is now serving her first term in that state's Senate. While in the House she was vice chairman of the Committee on Education, and a member of several other committees. She is director of the After-School Study Center in the metropolitan Nashville school system.

SALIENT POINT #2

HOW TO CONDUCT CANDIDATE INTERVIEWS

by Dr. Joseph F. Carroll



Most candidates, understandably, prefer to avoid taking a firm position on any issue. They learn to glitter a generality with the best of them. Affirmations of support for motherhood, the American flag and dogs have parlayed more than one charmer into public office. Unfortunately, educators are often as gullible as the general public and learn too late that the handsome, erudite candidate they "fell" for is, in truth, no friend of education.

In interviewing candidates the key to success lies in preparation. The interviewing committee should determine in advance what questions to ask -- and how to phrase them. It is highly desirable to submit questions a day or two in advance in order that the candidate can have time to consider his or her answers.

Tailor the questions to the office the candidate seeks. A candidate for Congress shouldn't be bothered with questions about local school policies, for example. And pinning the state treasurer candidate to the mat on federal defense expenditure is ridiculous. Find out what state boards or commissions that state government officials serve on -- and ask some questions pertinent to the responsibilities of such bodies.

Respect a candidate's busy schedule and give him reasonable leeway in making an appointment for an interview. However, if it is apparent he is not interested in your support as evidenced by frequent postponements, you should not "protect" him. If he says, "no comment," report this to your group.

Treat all candidates in a friendly, courteous manner, not with an attitude of suspicion. You are not trying to trap him; you are trying to find out where he stands on matters of special concern to your group.

A very effective question on financial support for schools is a multiple choice question: "Which do you favor: more state aid, increased local taxes, increased federal aid, reducing the quality of education, charging tuition to attend public schools, or what?" If the answer is "eliminate the frills" insist on identification of what the "frills" are -- and be sure to report the response.

It is best to have at least three members on the interviewing team. The candidate often wants one of his staff present also. Don't allow the staff member to speak for the candidate, however.

Resist the impulse to argue with the candidate if his position is not in

agreement with yours. You won't change him during the interview. You should follow up the interview with efforts to "enlighten" him, however, by letters, by contacts by others with your point of view, with sound arguments based on facts.

Before concluding the interview, the chairman of the interviewing committee should summarize the main points covered so that the candidate can clarify any misunderstanding before the results of the interview are published. Don't misquote him, and don't let him be in a position to claim he is misquoted.

Sometimes interviews are conducted at public meetings or on radio or television. In such instances be sure the interviewers are persons poised and experienced in such situations. Inexperience with the media too often results in either showing off or in stage fright. Remember, the candidate is the star of the show, not the interviewer. It is also essential, however, that the interviewer retains control; otherwise, the affair may degenerate into a filibuster. If the candidate makes blatant misstatements of fact, the chief interviewer should, of course, correct him briefly, firmly, and courteously since the listening or viewing audience might otherwise be misled.

Interviewing a group of candidates all at once is a less satisfactory method, but sometimes necessary. The chief interviewer must be sure that each is given a fair chance to respond and that none dominates.

If possible, see if the candidate will issue a public statement to newspapers indicating his stand on a particular issue.

In some instances you might want to issue, ahead of time, a series of questions for each of the candidates for a particular office. The candidates, if they cannot attend the interview, can write out their answers and forward them. Local newspapers can print questions and answers of each candidate.

Sometimes the only practical method of "interviewing" candidates is by questionnaire. This takes skillful preparation so that questions require specific responses. Different questions should be prepared for different offices. In other words, questions aimed at state legislative candidates will be different from those designed for Congressional candidates.

As you see, the interviewing of candidates, like every other meaningful activity, takes time, planning, and careful preparation.

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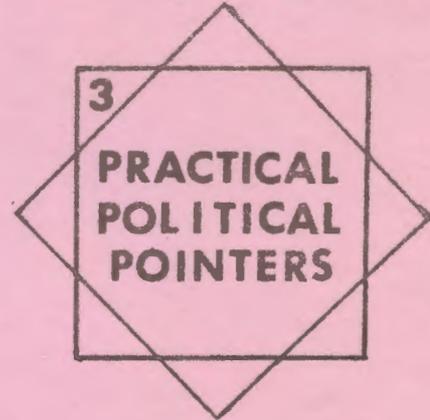
Long active in party politics, Dr. Carroll now serves as vice president of the Camden (N.J.) County Democrat Association. He is chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of Applied Politics at Trenton State College, a program funded by the New Jersey State Department of Community Affairs. He is a full professor of Education at Trenton State College.

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SALIENT POINT #3

HOW TO FILL PRECINCT COMMITTEE POSTS

by Evelyn Brown



Leaders of both major political parties constantly stress the importance of the precinct worker. Yet, very often, in county after county this grass roots job is left unfilled, or is allowed to languish in the hands of a totally ineffective functionary who does nothing.

If a party organization in any community is in the control of a small group which is unresponsive to the wishes and needs of the community, then the public has no one to blame but itself. You cannot change things overnight, but you can change things.

All across the country the counties are divided geographically into precincts. In many states there are laws which provide for a precinct man and a precinct woman for each party for each precinct. The law describes the method of selection and the duties and privileges of these persons. In most cases, precinct posts are filled by election. If no candidate runs in a precinct, the position is filled by appointment of the party county central committee. Since many -- and in some cases most -- of these precinct posts go by default because no one runs, the "old guard" that runs the local party can fill these posts with people who will rubberstamp the powers that be.

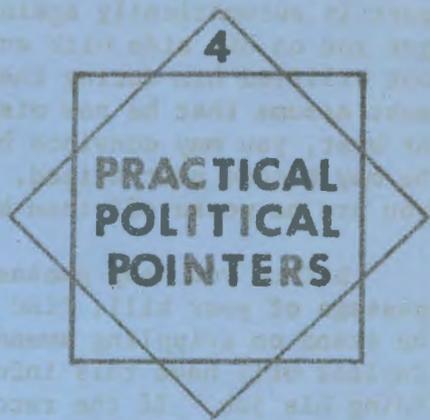
The first thing to do is to designate a member of your political action committee to become familiar with the law on precincts as it concerns your specific locality. Try the public library if you hesitate to go to the county or city attorney.

Next secure from the county clerk a list of all precinct committeemen and committeewomen in the county. Assign committee members to finding out who they are, how active, how they achieved office, etc. (Don't be surprised if you find some have been long dead!) Identify the weakest spots, recruit members from, or friends of, your organization who reside in the precinct to file for the position at the next election. (Obviously a registered Democrat can't file for Republican precinctman, and vice versa.) After the election you may well find your group with a strong voice in both parties! For precinct people elect party county committee members, elect delegates to state conventions, often elect members of the platform committee and sometimes determine who party candidates will be.

This may well be an activity about which you want the minimum of publicity. Like diplomacy, some phases of politics do not thrive on public attention. Of course, the "powers that be" will scream "foul" if you are successful, and will thwart you if possible. Thus, be sure you recruit good, effective people who will



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SALIENT POINT #4

HOW TO INFLUENCE LAWMAKERS

by Braulio Alonso

After the election is over, the real work begins. If your candidates were successful you must resist the impulse to take them for granted. It is far easier to make campaign promises than it is to "deliver" once the Congress, legislature, city council, or school board convenes. Other points of view must be given consideration by the legislator. He learns to give and take--hopefully to give on smaller points in order to achieve main goals. You must help him decide priorities. If he is unyielding, if he goes all out on everything you ask, then he will be of little use to you, himself, or anyone else--because his colleagues will identify him as your stooge, and will discount everything he says. To be effective he must be respected by those with whom he works. Fiery speeches and flamboyant press releases seldom, if ever, impress a legislator's colleagues--even if they do bring joy to you.

So, if your candidate wins, offer your advice but don't "instruct" him how to vote. Give him sound reasons for supporting your position, not just platitudes. Don't expect him, as a freshman, to accomplish miracles. The seniority system, while frustratingly imperfect, is the system he has to live with. Legislative halls are no place for prima donnas in the freshman class.

In the Congress, for example, a bill must "pass" at least 14 times. It must pass the test of approval for consideration by the chairman of the committee to which it is assigned. It then must pass the test of subcommittee hearings and approval, full committee amendment and approval, rules committee approval, scheduling for floor action, amendments and passage on the floor, transmittal to the "other body" for repetition of the entire process, conference committee action, action by both bodies to accept the conference, and be signed by the President. Anywhere along the line it may be killed, or so amended that the chief sponsor will find himself forced to vote against it!

It is impossible to secure enactment of important legislation without organization. Supporters of a bill need to have faith in the leaders of the organization who are skilled lobbyists. They in turn must keep the members informed as to the progress of the bill through the maze described above. The members must be patient, but not apathetic. When asked for help they must respond and not assume their team at the Capitol can handle the job alone. The leaders should be specific as to the kind of support needed. (A flood of form letters from time to time is often worse than useless.) The lobbyist must know key people in every district who will be able to influence each legislator. The local group should identify these people for him. They are not necessarily officers of the association. More bills have been lost because of local competition for glory than anyone can count.

It is a mistake to assume that the successful candidate you did not support is automatically against you. As a matter of fact, he may be anxious to get you on his side with an eye to future elections. Assuming that you have not vilified him during the campaign--and vilification is never excusable--you must assume that he now wishes to represent all of his constituents fairly. At best, you may convince him if your arguments are sound. If unconvinced, he may become neutralized. And, at least, if he remains adamantly opposed, you are no worse off than before.

Before you heap paeans of praise on a legislator who voted for final passage of your bill, find out whether he was with you all the way. Where did he stand on crippling amendments? Your organization's representative in the Capitol will have this information on each legislator--or should have if he is doing his job. If the record is bad, except for final passage, don't make a hero of the legislator. Don't write letters of abuse, even if he was "bad" all the way. Do express regret, publicly, though.

If, on the other hand, he was with you on all key votes, thank him by letter, honor him at a public gathering, give him a citation, do everything possible to give him the credit he deserves.

And -- re-elect him!

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President of the National Education Association for 1967-68, Mr. Alonso is principal of King High School, Tampa, Florida. Both an educational and a political leader, he is an accomplished speaker, and an active proponent of the need for effective political action by teachers.

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SALIENT POINT #5

HOW TO RAISE CAMPAIGN FUNDS

by Representative Betty Roberts

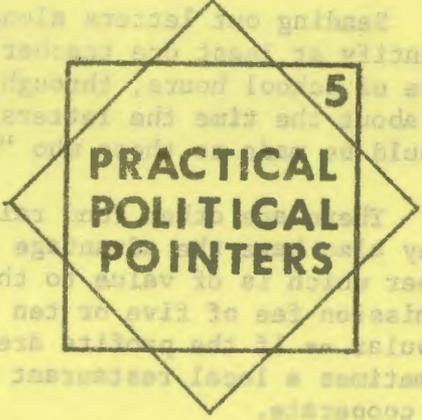
There is considerable concern among political scientists and others about the high cost of political campaigns in this day of electronic mass media. Several proposals are before Congress but action in the near future is not likely. Politics is becoming expensive to the point that it is attractive mainly to millionaires, since the average citizen cannot afford to take the chance. Congressional races commonly cost over \$100,000. Senatorial and gubernatorial campaigns have run into the millions, with \$500,000 not uncommon. Even contests for county office or the state legislature commonly run beyond \$10,000. A candidate is almost forced to turn to big contributors if he expects to get his story before the public.

Most candidates much prefer not to rely on large single contributions for they do not wish to be obligated to the contributors. However, it is unrealistic to launch a campaign in the hope that the thousands of small contributions will roll in in time to be of decisive value.

Most teachers cannot make individual contributions to candidates' campaigns of a size significant enough to be of more than sentimental value. Many can afford to do better than the one or two dollars they contribute, although this is far better than nothing, of course. If teachers will contribute to a special fund and if this is made available to the candidate's campaign in a lump sum, these small contributions take on real meaning. If half of the faculty of a school system of 1,000 teachers put \$10 each into a campaign fund, the \$5,000 would be of great help to candidates for public office. If all of the teachers contributed \$10 the results would be twice as good!

There are certain expenses connected with raising funds. Under no circumstances should the school duplicating equipment be used nor is it advisable to use the association's facilities for printing solicitation letters. Postage expenses also must be considered. Usually a committee finds it practical to collect "seed money" from its own members to get the fund raising campaign off the ground. A committee of 15, by contributing \$10 each, can start with a fund of \$150. This should not be given to the candidate, but should be used to pay the initial expenses of getting the fund raising campaign started.

Local or state education associations usually have policies concerning releasing their membership lists. Many provide that candidates may "run off" a set of envelopes on their addressograph plates. This privilege should be extended to all candidates, on request, or to none. The committee of teachers supporting a specific candidate should avail themselves of this privilege early in the campaign season. The solicitation letter should be carefully written,



state the case for the candidate, why his election is important to teachers, and contain a return envelope for contributions.

Sending out letters alone is not enough, however. The committee needs to identify at least one teacher in each building who will "carry the ball" outside of school hours, through a telephone campaign among his or her colleagues at about the time the letters are sent out. Follow-up calls around pay day should be made to those who "miss" the first chance.

There are other fund raising techniques which have also proved successful. They also have the advantage of providing a basis for a news item in the local paper which is of value to the candidate. A no-host social hour, with an admission fee of five or ten dollars, at which the candidate is present is popular -- if the profits are not "eaten up" by the cost of renting the hall. Sometimes a local restaurant owner who also supports the candidate will be happy to cooperate.

A group of teachers may hold a Saturday morning coffee hour at the home of one teacher, with each in attendance contributing one or two dollars and promising to hold a similar affair for a different group of teachers in the following weeks. Don't expect the candidate to be in attendance at all of these affairs, especially if he has not been contacted well in advance. A representative of the candidate's committee should attend, however.

It is axiomatic in politics that a dollar raised early in the campaign is worth ten raised during the end of the campaign. If a candidate has funds on hand he can contract for the best TV and radio time, can avoid high costs for rush printing jobs, can plan effectively in order to save travel costs. He will be more appreciative to those who were with him all the way, rather than those who jumped on the bandwagon toward the end of the campaign.

Remember, as has been said elsewhere in this series, you cannot expect to buy a candidate's support for your objectives. If he is "for sale" there are others who can pay far more than you. If he is "for sale" he should not be elected, so find an honest candidate to support.

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Mrs. Roberts is serving a second consecutive term as a Representative in the Oregon State Legislature. A social studies teacher in Portland and a member of the Finance Committee of the Oregon Education Association, she serves on the Education Committee in the Legislature and has served on the Fiscal Committee of that body.

SALIENT POINT #6

HOW TO WORK WITH POLITICAL PARTIES

by Dr. Irvamae Applegate

Despite George Washington's statement in his Farewell Address deploring political parties, the government of this nation has been kept viable and progressive because of the political party system.

In the earliest days of the nation, the political philosophies of government around which adherents rallied were clear-cut and definite. Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans were dedicated to strong state government and a limited national government. Hamilton's Federalists wanted a strong federal government and believed that business interests should be paramount. As the new nation matured and issues became more complex, the policies and principles--as well as the names--of the parties changed back and forth. The people, however, have consistently grouped themselves into two parties, with only abortive flirtations with third or fourth party movements usually centered around a specific emotional question of the moment. American history indicates that the two-party system is an integral factor of our national existence.

Some people, and notably many teachers, seem to believe that the person who remains aloof from party affiliation is somehow nobly exercising his individuality. As a matter of fact, he is disenfranchising himself by denying himself a voice in selecting the candidates and in determining the platform of the candidates nominated by the two parties. A far more responsible citizen recognizes the importance of party membership and works within the party of his choice to put forward the best possible candidates for office in competition with the other party with which he disagrees.

It is unwise for a special interest group such as an education association to become identified with one party or the other. This is sometimes hard to avoid, especially if one party in a county or state consistently supports good education with more vigor than does the other party. Ideally, members of the association should become active in both parties so that both are committed to good education--and the elections will be decided on other issues. Individual teachers can influence parties if they are willing to make the effort.

Other papers in this series have dealt with registration campaigns, precinct work, fund raising for candidates. All of these activities normally take place within a political party structure.

On extremely rare occasions, local party leaders will seek to draft a popular educator as a candidate, even though he or she has not been involved in the party's activities. It is unrealistic to wait for such lightning to strike, however, and such a situation often means that the party is attempting to polish a tarnished

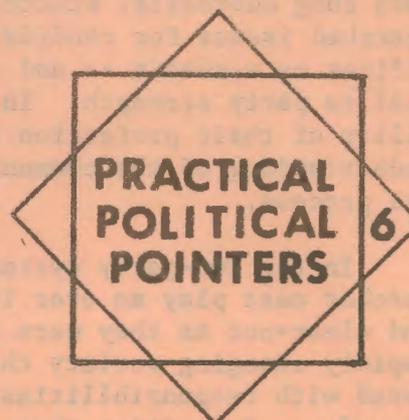


image. The vast majority of teacher politicians have been workers in the vineyards for many years before being honored by nomination for office. They have rung doorbells, stuffed envelopes, worked on registration drives, researched issues for candidates, worked as poll watchers, manned headquarters offices on weekends -- and all of the other political labors that are essential to party strength. In so doing they have brought the aura of respectability of their profession to the party of their choice, have deepened their understanding of the community they serve, and have become better teachers in the process.

In the two-party system which has helped lead America to greatness, the teacher must play an ever increasing role. The issues are no longer as simple and clear-cut as they were in the Nation's early days. In addition, in this rapidly changing society the office holders at all levels of government are faced with responsibilities which profoundly affect all our lives. It is, therefore, imperative that educated people become involved in the political parties so that decisions can be made on the basis of wisdom and less on emotional appeal.

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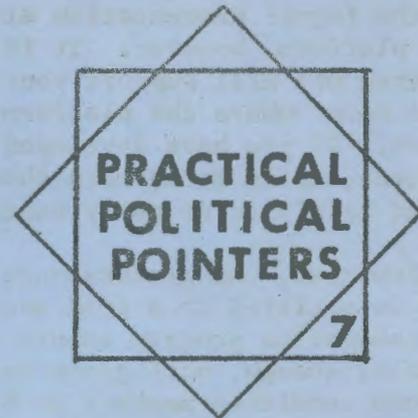
Dr. Applegate served as President of the National Education Association during 1966-67. She is dean of the School of Education, St. Cloud State College, Minnesota, and a strong advocate of teacher activity on the political front.

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SALIENT POINT #7

HOW TO INFLUENCE A PARTY PLATFORM

by Robert T. Krueger



Every four years the two national major political parties enunciate a set of principles to which, theoretically, the candidates bearing the party banner are committed. In each state at least every four years -- and sometimes every two years -- the state parties follow a similar procedure. While these platforms are not irrevocably binding on the candidates, since circumstances can change during a term of office, they do serve as guidelines for voters to make judgements when casting their ballots.

Professional party politicians seem to prefer to keep party platforms couched in vague platitudes extolling motherhood and the flag. Special interest groups seek to get statements in the platforms which commit the party to their point of view. The success of the interest group will be in direct proportion to its strength, the number of members it represents, the popular appeal its cause will have -- and how well its local affiliates do their job.

Party platforms are usually developed by a committee composed of incumbent office holders of the executive branch of the government and party leaders or their representatives. In addition, key legislative committee leaders have much to say about "planks" related to their area of concern. Usually the platform committee conducts some kind of open hearing in which spokesmen for particular interests are afforded an opportunity to present their views. Public sentiment and public opinion do have some influence on the platforms of both parties.

It is very proper for an education association to appear before the platform committees of both parties and formally present a proposed platform plank on education. The National Education Association performs this function at the national level. The appropriate state association should do likewise at the state level, and the local association at the county level if the county party holds such hearings. If there are no county hearings, the local association should ask for an opportunity to present its views to the delegates from the county to the state party convention. The state association legislative committee should be sure that local associations are aware of the state association's legislative objectives well in advance of such hearings. Under ideal circumstances, county delegations to state party conventions would be well informed on the state association's objectives by the time they arrive at the state party convention--because the local education association had done its job well.

It is better, generally, to get items on education debated in the Committee, rather than on the convention floor. A defeat of a plank on the convention floor is bad publicity for education and also for the party. The true compromise and debate generally occur in the committee hearings.

The formal presentation alone will not assure a good education plank in a party platform, however. It is essential to have some friends on the platform committee who will support your position, in the give and take of the "smoke-filled room" where the platform will be drafted for presentation to the convention. If you have developed the friendship of a good party worker on the committee, he is worth more than an "official representative" of education who has had little or no party experience.

Remember, the professional party leaders prefer platitudes such as "Every child is entitled to a good education" to your specific plank which might be, "The foundation program should be increased by not less than 20 per cent." Recently, though, both group opinion and public demand have been influencing platform committee members to be more specific.

If suggestions in other papers in the Practical Political Pointers series have been followed, you will have supporters on the platform committee. They will be teachers who started in the precincts, office holders whom you helped campaign, legislators whom you have advised.

When party platforms have been adopted, be sure they are publicized widely. Comment publicly on them -- favorably, if they support your position; regretfully, but not viciously, if they do not. If one is good and the other is bad or innocuous, say so. If both are good, say so. If both are bad -- you have a real problem!

It is important in making public comments that teachers and other voters are not misled by the high sounding statements of an education plank that is negated by another plank which pledges no new taxes or opposes increased government expenditures at all levels -- a popular, if extremely unrealistic, political promise. It is good practice to analyze platforms from all levels of a party as they affect one another. For example, if all three levels promise increased financial support for education, but the local platform promises no new taxes, the state platform promises no new taxes, and the national platform declares education to be solely a state and local financial responsibility, you have a right to be somewhat cynical.

It is fair and proper to question candidates as to their commitment to the platforms of their party at all levels. They will be the ones responsible for the platform implementation.

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A high school English teacher in Utah, Mr. Krueger is currently serving as vice chairman of the NEA Citizenship Committee (1967-68). He has long been active in his own party, with considerable influence in shaping party policy. He is a past president of the Utah Education Association and was active in the formation of the Utah Council for the Improvement of Education.

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**SALIENT POINT #8**

**HOW TO PROTECT TEACHERS AS THEY ENTER  
THE POLITICAL FIELD**

by Elizabeth D. Koontz

Teachers get their strength and protection through numbers and unity, and through laws, ordinances, and policies that they are able to "get on the books" through such strength and unity.

Teachers are freed for political activity on the national level by an amendment to the Hatch Act, an amendment sponsored by the National Education Association and passed in 1942. However, in a number of places "Little Hatch Acts" infringe on the political rights of teachers. Only one state, California, plainly forbids local governing bodies from inflicting such restrictions.

Each year the National Education Association Representative Assembly and the Association of Classroom Teachers Representative Assembly formally urge that every school system in its written personnel policies guarantee full political rights for teachers. Even so, few school systems have written policies on political activity. Teachers are likely to say, "We have no such policy, but we don't need it -- no one tries to stop our political activity;" or else they may feel, as in parts of the South, that securing such a policy presents such great difficulties and expense that they cannot undertake the task of getting the necessary approval.

The NEA Citizenship Committee has gathered much documentation to show that in those places where this is possible the best time to formulate a policy on teachers' political action and to ask for its adoption by the board is when there is no community pressure against this activity. The formulation of such a policy can be one of the first tasks of a local association's citizenship committee. Once the association's beliefs are in writing, the policy can be sought either through negotiation of a master contract, or through cooperative efforts with boards of education.

The policy should state that outside of school hours and school business, teachers have the rights of any other citizen, but that school facilities and school channels should not be used for partisan political activities. The policy should guarantee equal rights in such activities as jury duty, voting, discussing political issues, campaigning for candidates, and running for and serving in public office. Provision should be made to enable teachers to serve in public office without personal loss and without curtailment of annual increments or tenure, retirement, or seniority rights.

**PRACTICAL  
POLITICAL  
POINTERS**

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Obviously, if a city council or a school board, or even a state legislature has on its books restrictions and discriminations against teachers in the form of school board policies, city ordinances, or state laws, teachers should at once band together and seek to remove these restrictions. Further, teachers should seek to prohibit such restrictions by state law. Section 13004 of the Education Code of the State of California says, "Neither any local legislative body nor any school district governing board shall enact or enforce any rule or regulation which limits, during their off-duty hours, the participation of school employees in political activities not prohibited by this code." Such a prohibition should become an integral part of Professional Practices Acts, now being sought in increasing numbers of states.

Coming through strong and clear in the discussion at the political clinics sponsored by the NEA Citizenship Committee, has been the need for adequate teacher-tenure laws. Teachers openly admit that in the past the lack of adequate teacher-tenure laws has hampered their political activity, even though such political influence was needed to provide better educational opportunity for children. Today they are fully aware that teacher-tenure laws are at the very foundation of quality education programs.

In all political activities, judgment is a key word. Particularly where jobs are not secure, it is wise to put seasoned teachers into the front line, not probationary teachers who are vulnerable to reprisals. Teachers who have stature in the community as well as status are then protected by that stature.

It is the duty of a professional association to protect its members. If teachers stand together in other matters, they will also stand together when a member of the profession is threatened with reprisal for legitimate political activity. The DuShane Defense Fund of the National Education Association has come to the rescue of numerous teachers whose jobs or livelihood were threatened by reprisals from the ruling political faction or other sources. A teacher's insurance for the protection of his own rights begins with that personal contribution to the fund that helps to protect the rights of all teachers. Have you made your contribution?

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A teacher of retarded children in Salisbury, North Carolina, Mrs. Koontz will assume the office of president of the National Education Association in July 1968, the first Negro to be elected to this office. She has been called a teacher "in tune with the times . . . an example of the new breed of teachers." Mrs. Koontz believes that one of the big opportunities open to the profession is to "stimulate teachers to participate in politics at all levels."

## SOME ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT LEGISLATORS

In addition to the publications included in the workshop kit (which are itemized on the other side of this page), there are many other sources of information about legislators at both the national and state levels.

Several organizations publish pocket-size directories listing members of Congress and their committee assignments. Individual copies are often free, and the directories can be ordered in quantity for a small price. Contact, for example: the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., Legislative Department, 1615 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, or the American Medical Association, 1776 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. The League of Women Voters of the U.S. publishes a congressional directory which costs 35¢. At the state level, directories are also available from lobbying organizations in the state capital, or from the Secretary of State in the capitol.

A number of organizations with active lobbies in Washington, D.C. publish legislative materials, and most have price lists or catalogs of what is available. Write, for example, the following: Common Cause, 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20037; Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 2nd Street, N.E., Washington, D.C., 20002; League of Women Voters of the U.S., 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; National Education Association, Office of Government Relations, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Official sources of information about Congress include the Congressional Record and the Congressional Directory, available in many libraries, or from the Government Printing Office. You may be able to get the directory free from your Senator or Representative. An unofficial source, The Almanac of American Politics by Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews (Boston: Gambit, 1972. Update expected. 1030 pp., \$4.95.) gives information supplementary to the Congressional Directory. Both provide useful biographical information about each congressional district and its share of federal outlays as well as voting records on selective issues.

A useful pamphlet is "How Our Laws Are Made," by Charles J. Zinn. Frequently updated, this pamphlet is published as a House Document, and it can be obtained free of charge from your Senator or Representative, or can be purchased from the Government Printing Office for 35¢. The latest edition is dated June 30, 1972.

For general information on the workings of Congress, see Who Runs Congress? The President, Big Business, or You?, a Ralph Nader Congress Project publication by Mark J. Green, James M. Fallows and David R. Zwick (N.Y.: Grossman, 1972, 307 pp., \$1.95). The Nader Congress Project also produced individual profiles on virtually all members of Congress in office during 1972. These profiles, \$1.00 each, can be ordered from Ralph Nader Congress Project, Grossman Publications, Dept. BB, P.O. Box No. 19281, Washington, D.C., 20036. (Compiled largely by volunteers, the profiles vary in quality and accuracy.)

Commercial sources for discovering, checking and obtaining legislative material include: Congressional Quarterly (1735 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005), National Journal (Center for Political Research, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036), Congressional Index Reporter (Commerce Clearing House, 425 13th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004), and Congressional Information Service Index to Publications of the U.S. Congress (4720 Montgomery Lane, Bethesda, Md. 20014). These are all expensive, but available in many libraries. All provide useful information.

Price List and Ordering Information for Publications  
Included in ALA Legislative Workshop Kit

NOTE: THE PUBLICATIONS IN THE WORKSHOP KIT CAN BE PURCHASED OR REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION AS INDICATED BELOW.

American Library Association, Washington Office. "How to Write a Letter to Your Congressman." Can be reproduced, with credit to ALA Washington Office.

American Society of Association Executives. How to Work Effectively with State Legislatures, by James I. Ritchie. 1968. 49 pp. Single copy, member price \$2.75 each; five or more, member price \$2.50 each; nonmember price \$5.00 each. (Order from American Society of Association Executives, 1101 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.)

Kretzler, Germaine. "Building Legislative Support for Library Programs: 1957-1972," American Libraries, January 1973, pp. 42-44. (For permission to reprint, write Office of Rights and Permissions, American Library Association, 50 E. Huron Street, Chicago, Ill., 60611.)

League of Women Voters of the U.S. Is Politics Your Job? 1966, updated 1969. 46 pp. 50¢ (Order from League of Women Voters, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, or through your local chapter of LWV.)

\_\_\_\_\_. When You Write to Washington: A Guide for Citizen Action Including Congressional Directory 1971-1972. Updated annually. 1973 issue available in February 1973. 35¢ (Order from LWV, as above.)

\_\_\_\_\_. You and Your National Government: The Indivisible Partnership. 1962. 39 pp. 25¢ (Order from LWV, as above.)

National Education Association. Office of Government Relations. "Drawing Our Political Profile." 2 pp. mimeo. (For permission to reprint, write National Education Association, Office of Governmental Relations, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "It's As Easy As A-B-C." A political participation rating sheet. 2 pp. mimeo. (For permission to reprint, write NEA, as above.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Practical Political Pointers: Eight Salient Points for Teacher-Politicians." 1968. Out of print. 18 pp. mimeo. (For permission to reprint, write NEA, as above.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Quick Quiz on Politics." A self-scoring diagnostic test reprinted from NEA Journal, February 1956. (For permission to reprint, write NEA, as above.)

"Short Course in Federal Aid Grantsmanship," Federal Aid Planner: A Guide for School District Administrators, Summer 1972. Arlington, Va.: National School Public Relations Association, pp. 44-48.

U.S. Congress. "Capitol Directory." An alphabetical listing of U.S. Senators and Representatives, with room and telephone numbers. Updated periodically. Write Clerk of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515, and Secretary of the Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510, for an official listing of Representatives and Senators, by committee assignments and by states. Single copies free.

ALA LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP

Shoreham Hotel  
Washington, D.C.

February 1, 1973

A National Legislative Network  
Planning for Follow-up in the States

INTRODUCTION: The ALA Legislative Workshop has given you a cram course in information and inspiration on using the legislative process to gain support for libraries and the improvement and expansion of their services. WHAT'S NEXT? Follow-up in your own state, where you can be the catalysts in developing the NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE NETWORK FOR LIBRARIES that has been discussed and refined in the workshop.

This material is offered as an outline of the kinds of action you can take when you go home to organize for library legislation.

PLANNING THE FOLLOW-UP: Each state has an identity which gives direction to the kind of follow-up program, but each state also is an integral part of the national effort. Your job is to use your state's strengths to make it a strong link in the NATIONAL NETWORK.

In planning for follow-up, you will want to consider:

1. What mechanisms are now being used in the state which can be the base for an effective network? How can weaknesses be spotted and overcome? How do you bring interested people and institutions into the kind of network discussed at the national workshop?
2. How do you present the national network plan in your state? If the choice is a meeting - a workshop - how soon can it be held? For how many people? Where? How long? What are your goals for the workshop?
3. What ancillary activities should occur? Widely distributed reports on the national workshop? Invitations to attend a workshop in the state? Opportunities for many people to suggest the makeup of workshop attendance? State-developed papers linking the national network to local needs? Support of prominent persons, many not involved in libraries? Immediate refresher contacts with Congressmen? Ideas for a constant flow of information?
4. What support is needed from the state's library associations? Do you need approval for the network plan? Do you need a budget item to pursue it? What are your personnel needs?
5. What's the time table? Can portions of the network plan be put into operation now? What's the target date for full operation?
6. How do you work for full implementation - followed by good maintenance - of the network? What incentives and motivations are needed to get action and avoid cracks and gaps in the system?

AN ACTION PLAN: The national workshop was designed to motivate you to lead the action in your state. We suggest the following steps:

1. Report the plans you make today to your library associations and their boards IMMEDIATELY.
2. Push for an early date to begin your plan of action.
3. Obtain the funds you need to go ahead.
4. Start an information campaign to your members - on what you have learned, what you plan to do about it, and where they can fit into the picture.

SOME SUGGESTIONS ON FORMAT OF WORKSHOPS: Because workshops offer one of the easiest methods of communication with the key people in the design of your network, we offer some suggestions on format. WORKSHOPS ARE NOT THE ONLY WAYS TO MOVE: THEY ARE A TARGET-TYPE ACTIVITY WHICH CAN BE PUT TOGETHER RAPIDLY, INEXPENSIVELY AND WITH THE SKILLS ASSOCIATION MEMBERS POSSESS.

A ONE-DAY WORKSHOP:

FORMAT: Registration and coffee in the earliest practical a.m.  
Opening remarks (carefully prepared) by an interested layman.

(Use a well-known educator, a state legislator, your Congressman if available, the Governor, an industrialist, a top trustee)

Subject: Libraries: Neglected Resources for Learning  
(Covering the role of libraries in your state and the need to develop resources to keep libraries a lively part of every community)

A report on the national workshop

(Emphasize the predictions for problems and the enthusiasm you have for a network as a method of building needed support)

A NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE NETWORK: How it would work, who would be links, the purposes and prospects for action  
Discussion, with emphasis on how to make a network work in the state.

Lunch break

Building the network: Opportunity for small groups (or the total group depending on size) to work on structure, including names, costs, mechanisms, communications, pitfalls, trial runs, comprehensiveness.

Assigning responsibility for the next steps: What will it take? Money? Association(s) commitment? A committee to recruit personnel? The decision to find funds for an employee? A series of regional meetings? A handbook of how-to ideas? A flying squad to move through the state?

Priority setting: What are the immediate goals? Is there a state action campaign that can be used to test the network and generate interest in improving it? What are the deadlines?

Commitment: Does every member of the group leave with a commitment to support the plan? Does each understand his role? Has a mechanism been contrived for reporting back? Form a group, such as a steering committee, to move ahead, maintain contact, perfect the process and plan for implementation?

A HALF-DAY MEETING: (Probably for area leaders)

FORMAT: Registration  
Report on the national workshop  
Presentation of the planning group's response/plan  
(A summary of material sent to participants  
in advance to save time)  
Discussion of implementation  
Assignment of responsibilities to perfect segments  
of the state's plan  
Setting of deadlines for reporting back to specified  
group on readiness in the areas assigned

NOTE: This kind of workshop can be a half-day event, and would be good as a dinner-meeting program. However, if held in morning or afternoon, urge car pools to plan on the way home for area action on the tasks assigned.

THE CORE GROUP WORKSHOP: (For states with geographical and cost problems)

PARTICIPANTS: Dependable leaders from selected areas

FORMAT: Presentation of the problem as it affects your state and the plan which the national workshop participants view as practical  
Agreement on elements of the plan  
Assignment of specific responsibilities, down to people to contact, reports to make, deadlines, financing, structure to keep the network in readiness.  
Operation: Time to use a telephone or prepare letters or otherwise move immediately to stimulate a network with the objective of having a good part of the job done in the one-day meeting.

NOTE: If this type of meeting is held at the proper location, space, telephone and secretarial assistance can be made available to get area leaders moving immediately.

A MEETING WITHIN THE CONFERENCE FORMAT: (For states with planned Conferences soon)

FORMAT: The Conference provides immediate contact with many of the persons necessary to the network operation and often cuts across types-of-library lines. Ask for Conference time, even if more detailed planning is in process.

IN ONE HOUR, you can report briefly on the national workshop and fully explain the network product, thus setting the stage for signing up volunteers during Conference (at booth or table) and alerting them to future contacts.

IN TWO HOURS, you can report and describe and break into area groups to hammer out details.

AT A MEAL, you can ask area groups to sit together and discuss the plan before they sign up on special cards or fill out commitment sheets.

THE ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT can include the network plan in his program for the Association's activities during his administration.

A VOLUNTARY SPECIAL SESSION can be scheduled to work through the plan with volunteers, who would also identify other persons to fill network roles.

THE BUDGET PRESENTATION can include plans for personnel, materials and promotion necessary to gear up the network.

OTHER TECHNIQUES:

The core committee concept: This is a low-cost way to make plans which are to be expanded by the addition and understanding of more people. An existing committee can serve.

The task force method: Especially well-qualified leaders take on the responsibility of network development and produce the plan and steps toward implementation as the product of the task force.

The information campaign: To be operated concurrently with the establishment of a network and charged with the job of producing a "kit" of materials for the key person chain in the network.

The recruitment of network links, with a workshop or other meeting to come later as a training session for members who will fill the jobs.

The upgrading of existing legislative committees to the ability to serve as advocates for both state and national library legislation.

YOUR JOB is to participate in the development of a working NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE NETWORK FOR LIBRARIES by carrying your commitment and enthusiasm home to a program of immediate action. Your knowledge of your own state and its resources, applied to your state's plan, will result in the kind of campaign that will generate initial success and long-term operation of a state network.

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