

BENEDICT PRESTIANNI
DELAWARE LEGIS. WORKSHOP COORD.

LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP AND CONGRESSIONAL VISITS

February 3, 1977

ALA Legislation Committee

ALA Midwinter Meeting, Washington, D.C.

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

1. Develop a more effective legislative action network
 - Improve communications with legislators in each Congressional district
 - Involve more librarians, trustees, students and others in the legislative process
 - Coordinate our efforts nationwide
2. Analyze the new Congress and plan legislative strategy
 - Identify key lawmakers
 - Consider legislative priorities of the Carter Administration and of the new Congress
 - Develop library legislative strategy for early months of 1977, and begin to implement it with visits to Capitol Hill

PROGRAM

Legislative Workshop. 10:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Shoreham Ambassador Room

- 10:00 - 10:15 - "Where We Go from Here in Network Development," Ed Holley, ALA Legislation Committee Chairperson
- 10:15 - 10:45 - "The Federal Legislative Process and How YOU Can Influence It," Don White, Deputy Superintendent for Congressional Relations, California State Department of Education
- 10:45 - 11:15 - "Growing Your Own Grassroots," Alice Ihrig, ALA Legislative Network Consultant
- 11:15 - 11:30 - "Prospects for the New Congress and Upcoming Legislation," Eileen D. Cooke, Director, ALA Washington Office
- 11:30 - noon - State Group Planning Sessions for Congressional Visits

Luncheon. - 12:00 - 12:45. On your own.

Congressional Office Visits.

- 12:45 - Board buses outside the Shoreham on Calvert Street
- 1:00 - Buses leave Shoreham for Capitol Hill
- 1:30 - Buses arrive at 1st Street, behind the Capitol
- 4:15 - Board buses on 1st Street, between Library of Congress and the Capitol
- 4:30 - Buses leave for return trip to the Shoreham

Wrap-up Session and Cocktail Party. 6:00 p.m., Shoreham Ambassador Room. Cash bar. Come in, have a drink, and compare notes with your colleagues. Be sure to report back on your Congressional visits; it's important both for your state network and for the ALA Washington Office.

Federal Library Legislation

Major Revision Ahead

Federal library legislation is likely to be revised substantially within the next few years, to make it more responsive to today's needs.

As a first step toward such revision, the 93rd Congress passed a law calling for a White House Conference on Library and Information Services by 1978 (PL 93-568), with the idea that this Conference and the related state conferences would provide citizens from all walks of life an opportunity to reassess the services libraries are now providing and to plan for their future development.

In the Interim

Until the state and national Conference findings are in, existing library legislation must be continued, with amendments as needed to address critical issues.

January-March 1977

Immediate Congressional Action Needed

Several pieces of existing library legislation need Congressional attention early in 1977. Details on these immediate needs are provided inside.

For additional information on library legislation, contact the Washington Office of the American Library Association, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel. (202) 547-4440

Libraries today are hard pressed financially, and many have been forced to curtail service, reduce purchases of materials, and lay off staff. This disastrous trend must be reversed in 1977.

ACTION NEEDED IN THE EARLY MONTHS OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 95th CONGRESS

I. LEGISLATION

The Library Services and Construction Act must be extended early in 1977, for the authorization expires at the end of FY 1977. LSCA is the only federal program that helps libraries cooperate across jurisdictional lines in order to improve service to all. It also helps libraries extend their services to the handicapped, the bilingual, the disadvantaged, the aging; and it authorizes funds for public library construction.

It is important that LSCA extension be enacted early in 1977 so that appropriations for LSCA can be included in the regular annual HEW appropriations bill for FY 1978. If enactment of the LSCA extension bill is delayed until summer or fall 1977, chances are great that FY 1978 funding for LSCA will be delayed until late in the year. Delayed funding results in program disruption and staff layoffs nationwide. LSCA authorizing legislation should be amended to strengthen interlibrary cooperation and to target increased federal support to urban public libraries many of which are in grave financial crisis today.

II. SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS (FY 1977)

FY 1977 appropriations for certain library programs have been deferred (because of late enactment last year of authorizing legislation) and others are seriously underfunded. The following programs require supplemental funding early in the 95th Congress:

<u>Higher Education Act</u>	FY 1976	FY 1977	FY 1977
	<u>Approp.</u>	<u>To date</u>	<u>Needed</u>
Title II-A (grants for college lib. resources)	\$ 9,975,000	\$ -0-	\$21,000,000
Title II-B (training grants)	500,000	-0-	6,000,000
Title II-B (research/demonstrations)	1,000,000	-0-	3,000,000
Title II-C (research library grants)	-0-	-0-	10,000,000
Title VI-A (educational equipment for colleges)	7,500,000	-0-	12,500,000
White House Conference on Library & Info. Services	-0-	-0-	3,500,000
<u>Elementary and Secondary Education Act</u>			
Title IV-B (school libraries & learning resources)	137,330,000	147,330,000	20,000,000
<u>Library Services and Construction Act</u>			
Title II (library construction)	-0-	-0-	97,000,000

Justification for Requested Supplemental Appropriations

1. The new copyright law (PL 94-553) has placed restrictions on library copying, and as a result libraries must have additional funds to purchase materials they can no longer copy for their users.
2. Personnel must be re-trained to handle new technology in libraries, and fellowships are needed to attract more minority group members to the library profession, a need that has been documented by the Labor Department.
3. Funding for the White House Conference is needed immediately so that activities already under way in the states can be coordinated to provide the kind of nationwide reassessment contemplated by Congress in enacting the White House Conference Law.
4. School libraries need additional federal support to help offset reduced percentage of per pupil expenditures demanded to libraries locally because of increasing costs of uncontrollables (salaries, energy costs, etc.).
5. Hundreds of public library construction projects are ready to begin, if federal matching funds under LSCA are made available, which would help stimulate employment in the construction industry, provide needed public library facilities, and make existing buildings more accessible to the handicapped.

FUNDS FOR LIBRARY AND RELATED PROGRAMS

<u>Library Programs</u>	FY 1977 Appropriation	FY 1978 Authorization	Ford FY '78 Budget
White Hse. Conf. on Lib. & Info. Serv.	pending	\$ 3,500,000	\$ 3,500,000 ¹
Library Services & Construction Act	\$ 60,237,000	Needs new auth.	51,749,000
Title I - Library Services	56,900,000 ²	"	41,749,000
II - Public Library Construction	-0-	"	-0-
III - Interlibrary Cooperation	3,337,000 ^{1,2,3,4}	"	10,000,000
Elementary & Secondary Educ. Act (ESEA)			
Title IV-B - Libraries & Learn. Resources	154,330,000 ²	Necessary sums	154,330,000 ²
Higher Education Act (HEA) Title II			
Title II-A - College Library Resources	deferred	80,500,000	9,975,000
II-B - Library Training	"	23,000,000	-0-
II-B - Lib. Research/Demonstrations	"	11,500,000	-0-
II-C - Research Libraries	pending	15,000,000	-0-
Title VI-A - Undergrad. Educ. Equipment	deferred	70,000,000	-0-
Library of Congress (LC)	137,895,200	2 USC 131-167	173,627,200
LC National Prog. Acquis. & Cataloging	10,767,497	2 USC 131-167	11,185,245
National Library of Medicine (NLM)	27,234,000	40 USC 275	28,759,000
Medical Library Assistance Act	8,000,000	Needs new auth.	7,987,000
Nat'l. Comm. Libs. & Info. Sci. (NCLIS)	492,575	750,000	563,000
GPO Superintendent of Documents	47,188,400	44 USC 301	49,602,000

Library-Related Programs

ESEA Title I - Educ. Deprived Children	2,285,000,000 ²	Formula-based	2,285,000,000 ²
IV-C - Educ. Innov. & Support	194,000,000 ²	Necessary sums	194,000,000
VII - Bilingual Education	115,000,000	160,000,000	90,000,000
VIII - State Equalization	10,500,000	Formula-based	-0-
IX - Ethnic Heritage	2,300,000 ²	15,000,000	1,800,000 ²
Educ. Handicap. Children (State grants)	315,000,000 ²	Formula-based	315,000,000
Metric Education	2,090,000	10,000,000	1,875,000
Gifted & Talented Children	2,560,000	12,250,000	2,560,000
Women's Educational Equity	7,270,000	30,000,000	8,085,000
Consumer Education	3,135,000	15,000,000	2,660,000
Community Education	3,553,000	17,000,000	3,553,000
Right to Read	26,000,000	144,200,000	12,000,000
Educ. Broadcasting Facilities	14,000,000	30,000,000	7,000,000
Telecommunications Demonstrations	1,000,000 ³	Needs new auth.	-0-
Corporation for Public Broadcasting	103,000,000 ²	160,000,000	115,000,000 ²
Adult Education Act	80,500,000 ²	200,000,000	80,500,000 ²
HEA Title I-A - Community Serv. & Cont. Ed.	deferred	40,000,000	-0-
I-B - Lifelong Learning	"	30,000,000	-0-
III - Developing Institutions	"	120,000,000	110,000,000
NDEA Title VI - Language Development	"	75,000,000	8,640,000
Nat'l. Ctr. for Educ. Statistics (program)	13,000,000	30,000,000	15,940,000
Postsecondary Educ. Improvement Fund	deferred	75,000,000	14,500,000
Indian Education Act	44,933,000	Formula-based	45,087,000
Nat'l. Endowment for Humanities (NEH)	77,500,000	105,000,000	85,500,000
Nat'l. Endowment for Arts (NEA)	77,500,000	105,000,000	87,000,000
NEH & NEA Matching Grants	14,500,000	25,000,000	15,000,000
NEH & NEA Challenge Grants	pending	36,000,000	36,000,000
Nat'l. Sci. Fdn. - Sci. Info. Activities	5,000,000	Needs new auth.	5,000,000

¹ FY 1977 supplemental appropriation request.

² Advance funding for the following fiscal year.

³ CPB also received advance funding:

⁴ \$107,150,000 for '78; \$120,200,000 for '79.

Authorizations and budget figures for FY 1980.

LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT (LSCA)

ACTION NEEDED: LSCA extension legislation must be passed during the early months of the new Congress, so that LSCA appropriations for the coming fiscal year (FY 1978) can be included in the regular annual Labor-HEW appropriations bill. If extension is delayed until summer or later, appropriations for LSCA will likewise be delayed, with resulting disruptions and service cutbacks at the state and local levels.

PL 91-600 extended LSCA through FY 1976, and a one-year extension under the General Education Provisions Act carries it through FY 1977. The House passed a five-year extension bill (HR 11233) in February 1976, but since no action occurred in the Senate, the bill died, and both Houses must act early this year.

NEED FOR THE PROGRAM:

Title I promotes extension of public library services to areas without adequate service, helps provide services to the handicapped, institutionalized, disadvantaged, and bilingual. It strengthens metropolitan public libraries that function as regional or national resource centers, and strengthens the leadership capacity of state library administrative agencies. An ALA survey of state library agencies in 1976 showed that although progress under LSCA has been substantial, the needs remain great:

- 4% of the U.S. population is without public library service.
- 297 counties are without public library service.
- Only 13% of the population has adequate public library service as determined by the states' adopted standards.
- From FY 1971 through FY 1975, only \$30,572,000 or 13% of LSCA Title I funds were used to strengthen metropolitan public libraries serving as national or regional resource centers.

Continuation of LSCA is necessary to assure continued progress along the lines of the following accomplishments shown by the ALA survey:

- The percent of the population without public library service dropped from 16% in 1956 to 4% in 1976.
- The percent of the population with adequate service rose from 3% in 1956 to 13% in 1976.
- Specially-designed projects funded under LSCA since 1972 reached over 20 million new users among the disadvantaged, over 4 million new bilingual users, and over 4 million new users among the aging.

Title II, although not funded since FY 1973, has provided assistance in the construction or renovation of about 2000 buildings for public library use. Some \$178 million in Federal funds for public library construction projects have been matched by \$717 million in state and local funds -- a ratio of \$1 in Federal funds to \$4 in state and local. A 1975 survey determined that at least 750 library construction projects could be started immediately if Federal matching funds were available, and another 750 projects would be needed in the next 2 to 3 years.

Title III provides for the planning, establishment and maintenance of cooperative networks of libraries at the local, regional or interstate level. Under LSCA the number of libraries participating in such networks increased from 8,000 in 1967 to 21,000 in 1976. LSCA funds supported 710 TWX or other teletype installations which provide rapid communication for statewide reference networks and interlibrary loan of materials. (Other activities supported include production of union catalogs and serials lists, centralized processing of materials, and agreements for cooperative services across state lines.) Continued support of interlibrary cooperative activities under LSCA is essential, both to increase access for users to needed materials regardless of location, and because no library has the economic resources to provide everything its users need.

Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA)

Summary of Amendments Recommended by the American Library Association
to the Library Services and Construction Act

Amendments proposed by the American Library Association in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Select Education in December 1975:

1. Extend LSCA for five years, with specific dollar amounts for the first three years, and for the remaining two, such sums as necessary, depending upon the findings of the state and national conferences on library and information services preceding the White House Conference on Library and Information Services (to be held by 1978 - PL 93-568).

Continue authorization at FY 1976 levels for Titles I, II, and IV, but raise the authorization for LSCA Title III so that over a three-year period it reaches at least \$50 million.

2. Amend the Act to require State (rather than allowing the option of local) matching of LSCA Titles I and III, to provide incentive for States to increase their own support for local public libraries. To allow time for States without aid programs to establish them, it is recommended that any State matching requirement be deferred in the legislation until two or perhaps three years after enactment. (A State matching requirement would not be appropriate for Title II.)
3. Amend the Act to place a limit of no more than 10 percent of a State's LSCA Title I allotment that can be retained at the State level for administration of the State plan or indirect costs.
4. Provide for forward funding of LSCA, as has now been done for many ESEA programs, so the States will know a year in advance and can plan for more effective use of their LSCA funds.

Urban Libraries: Because the needs of certain big city public libraries have become increasingly acute, ALA will recommend in 1977 that LSCA be further amended by the addition of a new Title V to assist major urban public libraries that serve as regional or national resource centers. As the economic problems of the cities multiply and the property tax base is further eroded, these libraries are increasingly unable to maintain their magnificent collections; they have severely restricted new acquisitions, have cut back staff, reduced their hours of operation, and in some cases, closed their doors altogether. This trend of deteriorating center city public libraries must be reversed before irreparable damage is done.

ALA Washington Office
January 1977

PUBLIC LIBRARY CONSTRUCTION
Library Services and Construction Act, Title II

ACTION NEEDED: \$97,000,000, the full authorization, is critically needed in FY 1977 supplemental funding. This appropriation would provide needed public library facilities, stimulate state and local dollars, provide jobs for construction workers, and improve access to library buildings for the handicapped.

	FY 1976 <u>Appropriations</u>	FY 1977 <u>To date</u>	FY 1977 <u>Needed</u>
LSCA Title II Public Library Construction	-0-	-0-	\$97,000,000

JUSTIFICATION FOR REQUESTED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION:

1. Public library construction projects are badly needed in all parts of the country. A survey now in progress, with reports in from 34 states, shows that 587 public library construction projects could be started if Congress would appropriate funds for Title II of the Library Services and Construction Act during FY 1977. Most of these would be funded with a combination of local dollars and federal dollars under LSCA Title II. In some cases, state dollars would be available also. The survey shows that a total of \$371 million is needed for these 587 projects. Of this amount, some \$236 million would come from local or state sources, and the remaining \$135 million from LSCA Title II. FY 1977 appropriation of the full authorization for LSCA Title II is thus urgently needed. Even the full amount will be inadequate to fund all the projects pending.

2. Some public library construction projects have been funded with assistance from general revenue sharing and the Public Works Employment Act. Despite the federal dollars that have assisted libraries under these two programs, a great backlog of public library construction projects remains because LSCA Title II has not been funded since FY 1973.

3. LSCA Title II funding would provide desperately needed jobs in the construction industry. This is a matching program, with about 2 - 2½ local or state dollars spent for each federal dollar provided. A resumption of federal funding under this program would thus add new state and local dollars to the economy as well, creating a multiplier effect in stimulating the economy, giving jobs to unemployed construction workers, and assisting depressed construction industry suppliers.

4. Many public libraries throughout the country are inaccessible to persons in wheelchairs or with other handicaps, including elderly people who have difficulty negotiating steps. For example, Ohio reports that 60 percent (or 151) of the state's 250 main library facilities lack a single entrance which meets standards for access by the handicapped. Resumption of federal funding of projects under LSCA II would enable communities throughout the country to make their library facilities accessible to all Americans.

5. The Library Services and Construction Act Title II public library construction program is an existing authority which can be tapped to serve a number one priority of both Congress and the new administration -- creating jobs and stimulating the economy.

SCHOOL LIBRARIES AND LEARNING RESOURCES

Title IV-B, Elementary and Secondary Education Act (PL 93-380)

ACTION NEEDED: An additional \$20,000,000 in FY 1977 supplemental funding is needed:

	FY 1976 <u>Approp.</u>	FY 1977 <u>To date</u>	FY 1977 <u>Needed</u>
ESEA IV-B			
School Libraries & Learning Resources	\$137,330,000	\$147,330,000	\$20,000,000

BACKGROUND: Title IV-B represents a consolidation of ESEA II (school library resources), NDEA III (instructional equipment and minor remodeling) and the guidance portion of ESEA III. It is a state grant program with local discretion on the part of Local Educational Agencies as to how funds are allocated among the program purposes. It is advance funded; the most recent appropriation of \$154,330,000 will not be available until FY 1978. In the meantime the amount appropriated for FY 1977, \$147.3 million, is not adequate to the needs of U.S. school children.

JUSTIFICATION FOR REQUESTED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION:

1. The enacted funding level for IV-B, \$147,330,000, is simply unrealistic, as a glance at prior funding levels will show. In 1971 total Federal funds for ESEA II and NDEA III were \$130 million. In 1972 this level rose to \$140 million, and in 1973 it was \$150 million, plus approximately \$18 million for the guidance, counseling and testing portion of ESEA III. Since 1973 the Consumer Price Index has risen more than 28%. To date, however, Congress has appropriated only \$147.3 million for FY 1977, \$21 million less than the FY 1973 appropriation for the three components of the program. Inflation alone makes the 1977 amount totally insufficient. At a minimum, \$20 million must be provided in the FY 1977 supplemental.

2. The prolonged recession has particularly affected state and local budgets. During the past year, 44 states were obliged to reduce the percentage of per pupil expenditures devoted to instructional materials, while increasing the proportion of expenditures for such uncontrollable items as energy costs, retirement benefits, transportation, and for salaries of teachers and maintenance personnel.

3. While with Federal help, the percentage of elementary schools without library/media centers was reduced from 70% to 20% between 1965 and 1975, an NCES survey indicates that only about 10% of all high school library/media centers meet ALA standards. With state and local educational agencies cutting back their acquisitions of instructional materials, some LEAs have expressed concern not only about meeting regional accrediting requirements for library resources, but also about meeting standards established by their own state agencies. In addition, there remains the 20% of all elementary schools without library/media centers.

4. Up-to-date library resources are essential to producing literate and informed high school graduates. The knowledge explosion and new technology have increasingly resulted in tomorrow's adults being trained with yesterday's tools. As noted by the authorizing committees, "quality in school library programs is directly related to academic achievement, to remaining in high school, and to continuing in college."

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT (HEA) LIBRARY PROGRAMS

ACTION NEEDED: Supplemental FY 1977 appropriations are needed because HEA programs were reauthorized (PL 94-482) too late last year to be funded. HEA library programs needing supplemental funding early in the 95th Congress include:

	FY 1976 Approp.	FY 1977 To date	FY 1977 Needed
HEA Title II-A - College library resources	\$9,975,000	-0-	\$21,000,000
HEA Title II-B - Library training	500,000	-0-	6,000,000
HEA Title II-B - Lib. research/demonstrations	1,000,000	-0-	3,000,000
HEA Title II-C - Research libraries	-0-	-0-	10,000,000
HEA Title VI-A - Undergrad. educ. equipment	7,500,000	-0-	12,500,000

JUSTIFICATION FOR REQUESTED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS:

HEA II-A. The essential element of part A is the \$5,000 basic grant, to be funded first under the statute. To provide basic grants to all eligible institutions, \$12.8 million is required. An additional \$8 million would provide funding for part A supplemental and special purpose grants, enabling developing institution libraries to acquire basic resources a little faster, and enabling all academic libraries to better serve increasing numbers of adult and part-time learners. New copyright legislation places restrictions on photocopying by libraries, and academic libraries must be enabled to acquire all materials their faculty and students use even occasionally.

HEA II-B has been seriously underfunded in recent years. Part B training funds provide education for minority librarians (a need documented by the Labor Department), community outreach librarians, audiovisual specialists and library automation specialists, positions for which demand remains strong. Personnel must be trained to work with technological advances such as computer networks, online information retrieval, and cable television. Part B funds also demonstrate innovative library service, networking, and new ways to serve handicapped, institutionalized and disadvantaged persons. Only 36 of 267 part B applications received funding under the FY 1976 appropriation.

HEA III-C is the new program of grants to major research libraries. The materials these libraries acquire come from all over the world in many different languages and include fugitive materials, manuscripts and research reports. Such materials are difficult and expensive to obtain and organize, but essential to the work of educators, researchers, and those in business and government. Collections of research libraries are being seriously eroded by inflation and financial stringency. NCES statistics indicate that in 1974-75 academic library expenditures for books increased only 2.8%, in contrast to an 8% increase in the average book price. In 1976 the average subscription price of a U.S. periodical was \$22.52, a 13% increase over the previous year. Research libraries, used by researchers outside their own institutions and geographical areas, and serving other libraries' users through interlibrary loan, have a legitimate and urgent need for Federal support.

HEA VI-A is serving a basic need in upgrading the services of libraries and educational media facilities in colleges and universities. It provides matching funds to states for institutions of higher education to acquire instructional equipment and related minor remodeling. The budgets of these institutions are simply unable to support the cost of buying this equipment, yet the changing character of the student body and evolving teaching techniques make it essential. Adult learners can study at their own rate and at a time convenient to their work and family schedules by using video-cassettes of lectures and special individualized instruction systems. Many colleges, no longer able to expand their physical plant, are utilizing educational technology to extend existing resources to new students in more effective ways.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

ACTION NEEDED: A supplemental appropriation for FY 1977 in the full amount authorized, \$3,500,000, is needed early this year so that the planning process for the White House Conference on Library and Information Services (WHCOLIS) can begin. The states need to begin planning and holding their own conferences in time for the data they collect on the library and information needs of their residents to be used as the underpinnings for the WHCOLIS in 1978.

BACKGROUND: In December 1974, Congress passed PL 93-568 calling for a White House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held not later than 1978. The purpose of the Conference is to develop recommendations for the further improvement of the nation's libraries and information centers and their use by the public. The Conference is to be administered by the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science in consultation with an Advisory Committee. The composition of the Advisory Committee is now complete with the announcement of presidential appointments on January 17, 1977. Outgoing President Ford included a supplemental FY 1977 appropriation request of \$3.5 million in his FY 1978 budget. Incoming President Carter, in his message on Libraries in July of 1976, stated:

If we are to succeed in developing libraries to their full service potential we must have the interest and participation of large numbers of the American public....The White House Conference process will help to develop a public knowledgeable about alternative ways of providing good library service, and it will help create public support for libraries. Results from the state conferences can be pooled at the White House Conference. We will then have a sound foundation upon which to devise complementary local, state and federal plans for library and information services in the decade ahead.

JUSTIFICATION FOR REQUESTED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION: The states are ready to move forward on planning their own conferences to reassess the library and information needs of their residents. They need clear direction from the National Commission and the WHCOLIS Advisory Committee, and assurance that financial and technical assistance and national coordination will be forthcoming as specified in PL 93-568. If funding is delayed, the states will not have sufficient lead time to make effective plans for their own conferences. If the White House Conference process is rushed, less effective results can be expected.

State legislatures will be meeting early in 1977. The appropriation of Federal funds will enable the state legislatures to provide their own funds for state conferences. In addition state officials as well as federal officials need the results of the national library reassessment that will be made possible by the WHCOLIS and its preceding state conferences. Without such information, it is difficult if not impossible to design effective library legislation at the state or national levels.

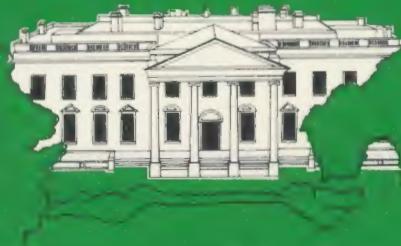
The White House Conference on Library and Information Services will involve the participation of a wide spectrum of the American people in reassessing their information needs. This process is responsive to the recent trend to reorganize and streamline Federal services to better meet public needs. A Federal policy on libraries is needed, but it should be based on identified needs. The White House Conference will provide the means for identifying these. It is a crucial step in any Federal library reorganization plan.



Public Law 93-568
93rd Congress, S.J. Res. 40
December 31, 1974

Joint Resolution

To authorize and request the President to call a White House Conference on Library and Information Services not later than 1978, and for other purposes.



WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

PL 93-568 specifies that the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science will plan and conduct the White House Conference, and a 28-member advisory committee is to be appointed to assist and advise the Commission. The advisory committee is to be composed of:

- five persons appointed by the President Pro Tempore of the Senate
- five persons appointed by the Speaker of the House
- at least three members of the National Commission appointed by the chairman
- no more than fifteen persons appointed by the President of the United States

The following persons have been appointed to serve on the Advisory Committee:

John H.M. Chen, Dean, Library and Learning Resources, Alabama State University, Montgomery, Alabama;

Walter W. Curley, President, Gaylord, Inc., Syracuse, New York;

Ann Heidbreder Eastman, Director of Administration, Chatham College, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania;

Oscar E. Everhardt, Librarian, Miami Beach Public Library, Miami Beach, Florida;

The Honorable William D. Ford, U.S. Representative from Michigan;

Marian G. Gallagher, Professor of Law and Law Librarian, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington;

Dave G. Gergen, Former Director, White House Communication; Former Special Consultant to the President, McLean, Virginia;

Donald T. Gibbs, Librarian, Newport Public Library, Newport, Rhode Island;

Esther Mae Henke, Associate Director for Library Services, Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma;

Alice Ihrig, Member, American Library Association Executive Board, Library Consultant, Oak Lawn, Illinois;

The Honorable Jacob Javits, U.S. Senator from New York;

Kenneth Jernigan, Director, Iowa Commission for the Blind, President of the National Federation for the Blind;

Louis A. Lerner, Publisher, Lerner Home Newspapers, Chicago, Illinois;

Samuel Jackson Martz, Chairman of the Board, Memorial Bibles International, Inc., and Chairman of World Research, Inc., Nashville, Tennessee

Michael Arthur McCarroll, Director of Lexington Books, a Division of D.C. Heath,
Lexington, Massachusetts;

Bessie Boehm Moore, Coordinator, Economic and Environmental Education, State Department of Education, Little Rock, Arkansas;

Agnes M. Myers, Librarian, Loretto Heights College Library, Denver, Colorado;

Edwin B. Parker, Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, Stanford, California;

J.C. Redd, Businessman from Jackson, Mississippi;

Elizabeth F. Ruffner, Chairman, City-County Library Board, Prescott, Arizona;

Gene Shalit of New York City, Panelist on NBC's Today Show;

John T. Short, Past President, American Library Trustee Association, Avon, Connecticut;

Joseph F. Shubert, State Librarian, Columbus, Ohio;

Jeanne Hurley Simon, Former Member of Illinois Assembly, Carbondale, Illinois;

Margaret Warden, State Senator and Library Trustee, Great Falls, Montana;

Martha S. Williams, Communications Arts, Fochs Middle School, Board of Education, Detroit, Michigan;

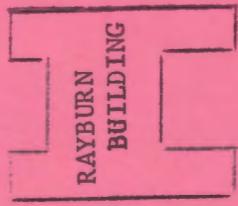
John E. Velde, Jr., Businessman, Hollywood, California;

Virginia Young, Chairman, Missouri Coordinating Board for Higher Education, Columbia, Missouri; and

Frederick Burkhardt, President-emeritus, American Council of Learned Societies, Chairman, National Commission on Libraries and Information Science; serves as Chairman of the advisory committee.

KEY TO REPRESENTATIVES' OFFICES
Room numbers with three digits
are in the Cannon Building...Four
digits beginning with one are in
the Longworth Building...Four digits
beginning with two are in the Rayburn
Building.

KEY TO SENATORS' OFFICES
Room numbers with three digits
are in the Russell Building...Four
digits beginning with one are in
the Dirksen Building.



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SUPREME COURT

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ALA OFFICE*
110 Maryland N.E.
phone...54-4440

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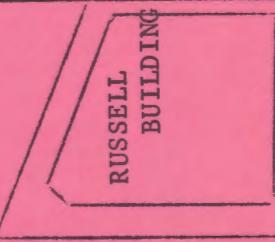
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U.S. SENATE
Committee on Appropriations

95th Congress
1st Session

John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), Temporary Chairman

DEMOCRATS

Warren G. Magnuson, Washington
John C. Stennis, Mississippi
Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia
William Proxmire, Wisconsin
Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii
Ernest F. Hollings, South Carolina
Birch Bayh, Indiana
Thomas F. Eagleton, Missouri
Lawton Chiles, Florida
J. Bennett Johnston, Jr., Louisiana
Walter D. Huddleston, Kentucky
Donald W. Reigle, Jr., Michigan (temporary)
John Melcher, Montana (temporary)
Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (temporary)
Dennis DeConcini, Arizona (temporary)

REPUBLICANS

Milton R. Young, North Dakota
Clifford P. Case, New Jersey
Edward W. Brooke, Massachusetts
Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon
Ted Stevens, Alaska
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.,
Maryland
Richard S. Schweiker,
Pennsylvania
Henry Bellmon, Oklahoma

Senate committee assignments are temporary, and subcommittee assignments uncertain, pending the outcome of a plan to reorganize the Senate committee structure.

ALA Washington Office
January 27, 1977

U.S. SENATE
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

95th Congress
1st Session

Harrison A. Williams, Jr., (D-N.J.), Temporary Chairman

DEMOCRATS

Jennings Randolph, West Virginia
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island
Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts
Gaylord Nelson, Wisconsin
Thomas F. Eagleton, Missouri
Alan Cranston, California
William D. Hathaway, Maine
John. A. Durkin, New Hampshire
John Melcher, Montana (temporary)

REPUBLICANS

Jacob K. Javits, New York
Richard S. Schweiker,
Pennsylvania
Robert T. Stafford, Vermont
Paul Laxalt, Nevada
John C. Danforth, Missouri
. . . (temporary)
Richard G. Lugar, Indiana
(temporary)

Senate committee assignments are temporary, and subcommittee assignments uncertain, pending the outcome of a plan to reorganize the Senate committee structure.

ALA Washington Office
January 27, 1977

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Committee on Appropriations

95th Congress

1st Session

George H. Mahon (D.-Tex.), Chairman

DEMOCRATS

REPUBLICANS

Jamie L. Whitten, Mississippi
Robert L.F. Sikes, Florida
Edward P. Boland, Massachusetts
William H. Natcher, Kentucky
Daniel J. Flood, Pennsylvania
Tom Steed, Oklahoma
George E. Shiple, Illinois
John M. Slack, West Virginia
John J. Flynt, Jr., Georgia
Neal Smith, Iowa
Robert N. Giaimo, Connecticut
Joseph P. Addabbo, New York
John J. McFall, California
Edward J. Patten, New Jersey
Clarence D. Long, Maryland
Sidney R. Yates, Illinois
Frank E. Evans, Colorado
David R. Obey, Wisconsin
Edward R. Roybal, California
Louis Stokes, Ohio
Gunn McKay, Utah
Tom Bevill, Alabama
Bill Chappell, Jr., Florida
Bill D. Burlison, Missouri
Bill Alexander, Arkansas
Edward I. Koch, New York
Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, California
John P. Murtha, Pennsylvania
Bob Traxler, Michigan
Robert Duncan, Oregon
Joseph D. Early, Massachusetts
Max Baucus, Montana
Charles Wilson, Texas
Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs, Louisiana
Adam Benjamin, Jr., Indiana
Norman D. Dicks, Washington

Elford A. Cederberg, Michigan
Robert H. Michel, Illinois
Silvio O. Conte, Massachusetts
Joseph M. McDade, Pennsylvania
Mark Andrews, North Dakota
Jack Edwards, Alabama
Robert C. McEwen, New York
John T. Myers, Indiana
J. Kenneth Robinson, Virginia
Clarence E. Miller, Ohio
Lawrence Coughlin, Pennsylvania
C.W. Bill Young, Florida
Jack F. Kemp, New York
William L. Armstrong, Colorado
Ralph S. Regula, Ohio
Clair W. Burgener, California
George M. O'Brien, Illinois
Virginia Smith, Nebraska

INVITATION TO HEAR

27-100-100

REPRESENTATIVES NO. 27-100-100

REPRESENTATIVES NO. 27-100-100

REPRESENTATIVES NO. 27-100-100

Labor-HEW Appropriations Subcommittee**Daniel J. Flood (D.-Pa.), Chairman**DEMOCRATS

William H. Natcher, Kentucky
 Neal Smith, Iowa
 Edward J. Patten, New Jersey
 David R. Obey, Wisconsin
 Edward R. Roybal, California
 Louis Stokes, Ohio
 Joseph D. Early, Massachusetts

REPUBLICANS

Robert H. Michel, Illinois
 Silvio O. Conte, Massachusetts
 George M. O'Brien, Illinois

Legislative Appropriations Subcommittee**George E. Shipley, (D-Ill.), Chairman**DEMOCRATS

Robert N. Giaimo, Connecticut
 John J. McFall, California
 John P. Murtha, Pennsylvania
 Bob Traxler, Michigan
 Adam Benjamin, Jr., Indiana

REPUBLICANS

Lawrence Coughlin, Pennsylvania
 Elford A. Gederberg, Michigan
 William L. Armstrong, Colorado

January 27, 1977

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Committee on Education and Labor

95th Congress

1st Session

Carl D. Perkins, (D-Ky.), Chairman

DEMOCRATS

Frank Thompson, Jr., New Jersey
John H. Dent, Pennsylvania
John Brademas, Indiana
Augustus F. Hawkins, California
William D. Ford, Michigan
Phillip Burton, California
Joseph M. Gaydos, Pennsylvania
William (Bill) Clay, Missouri
Mario Biaggi, New York
Ike F. Andrews, North Carolina
Michael T. Blouin, Iowa
Robert J. Cornell, Wisconsin
Paul Simon, Illinois
Edward P. Beard, Rhode Island
Leo C. Zeferetti, New York
George Miller, California
Ronald M. Mottl, Ohio
Michael O. Myers, Pennsylvania
Austin J. Murphy, Pennsylvania
Joseph A. Lefante, New Jersey
Theodore S. Weiss, New York
Cecil (Cec) Heftel, Hawaii
Baltasar Corrado, Puerto Rico
Dale E. Kildee, Michigan

REPUBLICANS

Albert H. Quie, Minnesota
John M. Ashbrook, Ohio
John N. Erlenborn, Illinois
Ronald A. Sarasin, Connecticut
John Buchanan, Alabama
James M. Jeffords, Vermont
Larry Pressler, South Dakota
William F. Goodling, Pennsylvania
Bud Shuster, Pennsylvania
Shirley N. Pettis, California
Carl D. Pursell, Michigan
Mickey Edwards, Oklahoma

American Library Association
Washington Office
January 27, 1977

Subcommittee assignments pending.

GIVE US YOUR REACTIONS TO
THIS PROPOSAL FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE LEGISLATIVE NETWORK

Some Problems with Existing Network

1. Time

The ALA Washington Office does not give people sufficient advance notice when action is needed. Sometimes, when the newsletter or mailgram is received, the time for action is at hand or has already passed. There is not time at the state or local level to activate the state network. At best, perhaps one telephone call or wire can be sent. There is not time to generate the outpouring of wires or letters that is usually needed from each congressional district.

2. Unnecessary Duplication and Expense

Being unsure who will act, the ALA Washington Office usually sends mailgrams and/or TWX messages to two or three persons in each state. This is becoming increasingly costly.

3. Involving more people

Trustees and librarians of all types in each congressional district should be active in the legislative network. We need to involve as many people as possible at the district level, so that each legislator will be aware of his/her library constituency.

A Proposal for Improving the Network

To help solve these problems, the ALA Washington Office could move entirely to TWX for communicating legislative action. This would mean that someone in each state would know of the action needed almost as soon as the Washington Office knows. There would then be more time to activate the state network.

A shift to TWX would require organization at the state level as well as some expense. Do you think it would work in your state?? Could you --

- designate one person with a TWX to receive legislative action messages from the Washington Office?
- provide the person who activates your state network with a budget so that he/she could notify other persons in the state of the action needed?
- see that all types of libraries and trustees are included in the action?

If we were to try to implement this procedure, the ALA Washington Office would communicate action needed items by TWX to one person in each state, and provide background information (hopefully in advance) to many people in each state through the newsletter.

If the designated TWX recipient in your state were not the person in charge of activating the state legislative action network, he or she would have to notify that person immediately upon receipt of the message. Otherwise the system would break down.

What problems do you see in this proposal? What other suggestions do you have for improving our legislative action network? We are open to all ideas and suggestions. Give us your thoughts on the attached page.

REACTIONS

Your name _____ State _____

1. Do you think the ALA Washington Office should shift entirely to TWX for communicating legislative action messages? _____

2. Could your state association, with the school library/media association, come to agreement on designating one person with a TWX to receive these messages? _____

3. Could your state association, together with the school library/media association, provide a budget to the person and/or to the person who would activate the state network? _____

4. What problems do you see in this approach? _____

5. Any ideas or suggestions?

Please leave this form with the ALA Washington Office staff (or at the Washington Office's table 35 at the Sheraton Park), or mail it to the ALA Washington Office, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Thanks.

SAMPLE PUBLICATIONS WITH IDEAS
YOU CAN USE IN YOUR STATE

Among the excellent state fact sheets and publications we have received are the following:

1. "Pocket Fact Sheet on Pennsylvania Libraries." A good example of an eye-catching but inexpensively produced state fact sheet on libraries -- for handing out to legislators, and for other uses as well. A sufficient amount of information is given, but it is subdivided and arranged well so that the recipient is not overwhelmed with a mass of print.
2. "Mediawrite." The entire May issue of this Massachusetts library agency newsletter was devoted to last April's Legislative Day in Washington, D.C. Excellent use of pictures, snappy captions, and down-to-earth copy on the reactions of the Massachusetts Senators and Representatives. Make a meeting with members of Congress the subject of similar publicity in your state's library association or library agency publication. Take advantage of such opportunities for good state and local publicity -- both for the library community and for your legislators.

(We did not have enough copies of these for all workshop participants, so one copy per state has been given to the Legislative Workshop Coordinator. Please share the ideas.)

ALA Washington Office
January 1977

for more information

The information on this fact sheet has been compiled by people in Pennsylvania with the hope that it will be of assistance to you. We hope that you will feel free to call on the Pennsylvania Library Association or the State Library of Pennsylvania if we can be of help to you or your staff. Both the Association and the State Library, on behalf of all Pennsylvania libraries, thank you for your continued interest and concern for this vital part of our education program.

The State Library of Pennsylvania
Box 1601
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17126
717-787-8007

Pennsylvania Library Association
100 Woodland Road
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15232
412-362-6400

POCKET FACT SHEET ON PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARIES



why we need good libraries

Good libraries are an essential part of good government, for they help to ensure a well-informed and aware electorate. Libraries are as vital to the American system of education as any of our schools or institutions of higher learning. Libraries are, in short, the peoples' best and most accessible link to information. The entire citizenry has the opportunity to benefit from good library service.

People of all ages, races, religions, ethnic backgrounds, economic means, educational levels, and political persuasions are library users. The image that many have of library service would picture young children and suburban matrons on weekly trips to the clean, neat, and quiet public library for picture books and popular novels. The image is erroneous: a more accurate picture would add shut-ins receiving library service at home, blind and physically handicapped persons selecting talking books on tapes and records, business people calling the library for research information on highly technical topics, and gatherings in library meeting rooms of people with subjects to discuss and interests to share. Activities taking place in and out of library facilities are part of good library service.

Since libraries vary so throughout the state, residents have varying levels of service available to them; fully eight per cent of Pennsylvania's residents have no library service at all. Continuous efforts to extend library service to all residents are underway, with over four per cent of Pennsylvanians having library service for the first time during the past five years.

The development and extension of basic library service, and the improvement of existing services, can be greatly attributed to federal legislation. The Library Services and Construction Act, the Higher Education Act, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have helped to improve public, academic, and schools libraries over the past decade and a half.

public libraries and LSCA

Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) funds have been used for the development, extension, and improvement of libraries throughout the Commonwealth. In the early years of the act, LSCA funds were awarded to libraries for materials grants to build and update collections of books, periodicals and audiovisual materials. In more recent years, the bulk of LSCA funding has gone into demonstrations of library service and training and recruiting efforts. Demonstration projects have extended library service-by-mail, reached persons who are not traditionally library-oriented, provided basic costs for library systems serving larger direct service areas, started media centers for pre-school children and extended services to institutionalized and older citizens in hospitals, nursing homes, and other institutions. In the 1960's recruiting and training efforts took a large share of LSCA funds, and many library staff members in the state are former trainees. Now, LSCA funds provide for in-

Pennsylvania libraries

The Commonwealth is home to over 500 public libraries, almost 200 college and academic libraries, thousands of school library/media centers and several hundred special business, commerce, industrial, and related libraries. These libraries vary from collections of hundreds of thousands of volumes, staff complements of hundreds, and budgets of millions of dollars to small operations with materials collections of a few hundred volumes, all volunteer staffs, and budgets too small to mention.

service training, management training, and a variety of other specialized in-service opportunities. Further, LSCA has provided for district level services for Pennsylvania public libraries and for a large share of library buildings that were constructed between 1964 and 1972.

academic libraries and federal programs

Pennsylvania is home to almost 200 colleges and universities. The academic libraries at these institutions vary as greatly as the public libraries in size and scope.

In 1975 academic libraries in the Commonwealth reported over 24 million volumes and expenditures of over \$54 million. Generous funding during the 1960's helped these libraries to expand their services and build large collections. A large measure of this growth was due to Higher Education Act Title II funds. Now, however, the fiscal crisis faced by higher education generally has hit the college and research libraries as well.

Funding from HEA Title II provided material resources as well as opportunities for college and university librarians to take advantage of training programs at Pennsylvania's graduate schools of library and information science and through workshops and seminars offered on an occasional basis. Library personnel statewide have benefitted from these as well as other federally funded continuing education programs.

Library Services and Construction Act funds have made it possible for academic libraries to share resources with one another and with other types of libraries. While academic libraries in the Commonwealth ranked high nationwide in numbers of resources and in incomes, continued support will be necessary if the quality of college and university library service is to be maintained.

school libraries and ESEA Title II

Pennsylvania has thousands of school libraries in public, private and parochial schools throughout the state. Again, these range from classroom collections to very sophisticated library/media centers. The Department of Education administered \$5 million in federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title II funds in 1975. These monies were used for the purchase of print and nonprint materials to upgrade collections of almost all school libraries in the Commonwealth.

Benefitting the school library programs statewide are 5 library media examination centers situated in various locations in the Commonwealth. Set up with ESEA Title II monies, these centers are used to display the latest and best in new school library materials and to aid selection by school librarians and media specialists. These examination centers operate on a shared-cost agreement with 5 intermediate units throughout the Commonwealth.

ESEA Title II funds have made it possible for students to have the learning aids necessary to compete with students from other states across the country, in their higher education programs, careers, and later pursuits.

the State Library and federal programs

The State Library of Pennsylvania, responsible for providing books and materials to back-up library services statewide; for providing a law library for use by government, the legal profession, and the public; and for providing advisory and consultative services on library development, receives a substantial amount of its funding from federal (LSCA) sources. The State Library serves as the hub of the

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state's interlibrary network, and administers State and federal funds for interlibrary cooperative projects. These programs are maintained, but cannot grow unless more federal and state funds are provided.

The need for more coordination of library services is evident. Rather than maintaining hundreds of large independent libraries, each attempting to provide the full range of services to the public, the State Library prefers to encourage interlibrary cooperation - shared resources and services - an interlibrary delivery service, and other forms of resource sharing. LSCA I and LSCA II funds have been used for start-up costs, but additional monies are necessary to continue these efforts. The potential for resource sharing is not limited by state boundaries; already Pennsylvania libraries are sharing resources with cooperatives nationwide. Only thru continued efforts in this area can the public be well served with all available materials and services, no matter the geographical location or type of library.

what can be done?

Pennsylvania libraries ask you to:

programs are to be maintained (especially at the State level) and if library service to the public is to be improved and extended.

2. FUND A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

Plans are underway for a Pennsylvania Governor's Conference - where the public can indicate their library needs and interests. A White House conference would serve the same purpose at the national level. Interest, among the library profession and public, is intense. Funding is the next step.

3. CONTINUE TO SUPPORT HEA & ESEA

These programs are essential not only to college and school libraries, but to build excellent library collections for use by all people thru interlibrary networks and loan programs.

4. SUPPORT COOPERATIVE EFFORTS

Superior library service will be available to

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-3-

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what can be done?

Pennsylvania libraries ask you to:

1. EXTEND LSCA

The Library Services and Construction Act is essential to Pennsylvania Libraries if current

are 5 library media examination centers situated in various locations in the Commonwealth. Set up with ESEA Title II monies, these centers are used to display the latest and best in new school library materials and to aid selection by school librarians and media specialists. These examination centers operate on a shared-cost agreement with 5 intermediate units throughout the Commonwealth.

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These programs are essential not only to college and school libraries, but to build excellent library collections for use by all people thru interlibrary networks and loan programs.

4. SUPPORT COOPERATIVE EFFORTS

Superior library service will be available to all citizens if all sizes and types of libraries cooperate. Support the efforts of national and state groups to make greater cooperation and resource sharing a reality of the 1970's.

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media write



Massachusetts Board of Library Commissioners

Vol. 2 No. 5 May 1976

***** LIBRARY LEGISLATIVE DAY *****

CONTE — DRINAN — EARLY — BROOKE RESPOND TO THE ISSUES



MEDIWRITE GOES TO WASHINGTON

EILEEN COOKE
DIRECTOR,
ALA WASHINGTON

KATE KRUSCHWITZ
MEDIWRITE
CONGRESSMAN SILVIO CONTE
(R) PITTSFIELD
MARY SPILLANE
MEDIWRITE
BOB WEDGEWORTH
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
ALA

Library Legislative Day sounds about as exciting as National Library Week--lots of handshaking and milling around, congressional aides patiently listening to humdrum pleas for money, lots of discussion among the already-converted, and some pleasant socializing over the golden bubbles with several of the more interested--or thirsty--congressmen in attendance.

This one was all of that, but it was a lot more for Massachusetts.

(Continued, page 2)

LIBRARY LEGISLATIVE DAY continued

Last fall MEDIWRITE, like other library periodicals, was telling its readers about the grim prospects ahead: LSCA was expiring. The best it could expect from the administration was to be thrown into a block grant hopper with a clutch of unrelated education programs--or zero funding if it got its own line item. The library portions of the Higher Education Act were to fare no better, and copyright legislation was a disaster area that no one wanted to contemplate.

All of that has changed, and Library Legislative Day was the culmination of that change. Following is MEDIWRITE's report on the events of the day. They aren't spectacular. There were no moving speeches, no breathtakingly close votes, no last minute conversions. Legislative success is seldom won by those means, but rather by long, persistent, intelligent effort--properly timed and aimed.

Most of this issue of MEDIWRITE is devoted to this quiet, behind-the-scenes story told in words and pictures. Much of the story is not told at all--especially the energetic efforts of many librarians, trustees, and library supporters over the past six months and the assistance received from congressional staffers.

We will focus on the Massachusetts senators and representatives. MEDIWRITE featured them in its October 1975 issue when all fourteen voted to override the veto of the Education Appropriations Bill. All of them later endorsed the extension of the Library Services and Construction Act for five years. If we expect them to go on supporting library services, then all of them need to receive your thanks and your assurance that their votes have resulted in meaningful services to their constituents.

In this issue, however, we will concentrate on the ones whose committee positions and interests make them key figures for libraries at this time. Much is being done in Washington for library users nationally and these members of Congress are prime movers in that process.

THE SILVER FOX COMES THROUGH FOR LIBRARIES



Congressman Conte

First among the prime movers for libraries would have to be Silvio Conte, representative from the First Congressional District (much of the far western part of Massachusetts). Now in his 9th term, Conte is in a key position on the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor-HEW. He has long been an advocate of improved library services, but his interest and influence have never been more vital than in the past few months.

Having enjoyed a great deal of assistance and encouragement from Conte over the past few months and having observed that words were followed by deeds in his case, the Massachusetts contingent zeroed in on him on Library Legislative Day.

We were not disappointed. Congressman Conte offered much more than moral support. He knew generally what is lacking in the local-state-federal support of libraries, knew what specific questions to ask, and knew what answers made sense.

LSCA

This is the big one for libraries. Not that the money is so much, but this act, if reasonably funded, can lead to greatly improved and extended services and to new approaches and new clienteles among libraries of all kinds.

Congressman Conte had been a strong supporter of extending LSCA and maintaining its funding level. He has now turned his efforts to securing LSCA funding for the July-September

transition quarter of this fiscal year--LSCA having been one of the programs left out of previous appropriations for this period.

Conte informed the Massachusetts contingent that he had urged the subcommittee to take care of LSCA and that he had been successful. It appears, therefore, that Massachusetts will receive \$300,000, of which it was not at all sure until Conte got behind the request.

Conte is also much interested in Title III of LSCA--interlibrary cooperative projects--which has always been minimally funded. It will be very difficult to get results for Massachusetts there, but Conte is going to try.

COPYRIGHT - CETA - CONSTRUCTION

Conte is willing to introduce an amendment to the copyright legislation on the floor of the House if this should be necessary. (Hopefully it won't, as recounted in the next story.)

Although not enthusiastic about the CETA approach to unemployment, Congressman Conte appreciates the fact that the program has had some benefits for libraries.

He is much more impressed with the potential of the Public Works Bill (S 3201 & HR 12972) to assist libraries through public library construction and strengthen the economy of the state by providing much needed construction and related jobs.

The original version of this bill (HR 5247) bit the dust on February 19 when the Senate, by a vote of 63-35, fell three votes short of overriding the President's veto. Conte was a

sponsor for HR 5247 and is confident that the new compromise version will win approval from both Congress and the Administration.

This bill will be important, giving priority to areas of high unemployment and providing total funding of up to \$2.5 billion. It may be much more useful to library construction and renovation than the HUD Community Block Grants and the Farmer's Home Administration, since, unlike those, it can be drawn upon by communities of all sizes.

Finally--and potentially of great significance to libraries, we asked Congressman Conte about the possibility of getting Title II Public Library Construction supported; Congress has not appropriated a dime since FY 73. In light of the high unemployment rate and the depressed construction industry in the Commonwealth, Title II would have the dual impact of alleviating serious economic stress and providing many communities with desperately needed new facilities and renovations.

Conte listened attentively on Title II as we told him there were 1535 construction projects waiting for federal funds in order to begin work within two years--60 in Massachusetts, six of which could begin within 90 days. Conte had received input on this previously, and this conversation was the clincher. He agreed to sponsor an amendment for \$50 million to the FY 77 budget--a really unexpected and gratifying bonus. Somehow Title II of LSCA has lost its original appeal in Congress. Now that 1973 funds have run their course completely, though, the time may be ripe to restore it. Don't be against it if your man in Washington is Silvio Conte.

Conte leads round table discussion.





Congressman Conte's (center) round table discussion proved he was well-informed on the issues. Just to make sure, we left him extra copies of MEDIWRITE.



Upon an invitation to the evening's cocktail reception Congressman Joe Early replied, "Why, I didn't know librarians drank."



lobby (lō'bē)
 n., pl. -ies.
 2. A public room next to the assembly chamber of a legislative body.
 3. A group of private persons engaged in influencing legislation.*

*The American Heritage Dictionary



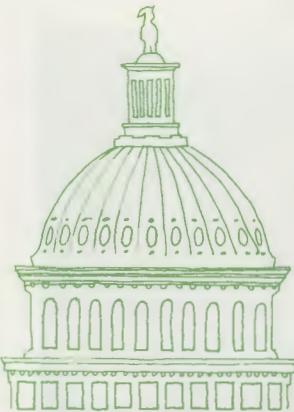
Confronted on Copyright: Congressman Drinan, "Another mailgram, more letters! Where are all you librarians coming from?"



The indefatigable Eileen Cooke (left, ALA Lobbyist) gets in another plug for the White House Conference to Congressman Conte.

LIBRARY LEGISLATIVE DAY — 1976

Librarians, trustees, and library friends from 29 states gathered on Capitol Hill to demonstrate their growing awareness that political ignorance and complacency is increasingly dangerous to the current plight of libraries across the nation. Meaningful support can be generated only through an active campaign to inform federal and local legislators about library needs and library contributions. If the April 6 turn-out is any indication, the library community is beginning to accept and act upon this role.



A champagne reception marked the end of Library Legislative Day. It offered library and legislative participants a chance to mingle and share their experiences--ideas for next year's Day flowed as freely as the champagne.



A toast to MEDIWRITE's first Library Legislative Day--and all the not-so-glamorous ones in between.



In the office of Senator Pastore (D-Rhode Island) we listen intently with (left to right) Jim Giles, President of the R.I. Library Association; Dick Waters, Assistant Director of the R.I. Department of State Library Services; Selma Brown, trustee of the Warwick, R.I. Public Library; and Bob Moroney, trustee of the Shrewsbury Public Library, and President of the New England Library Trustees Association.



Bob Wedgeworth, Executive Director of LA, was amused by our day's escapades.



Senator Ed Brooke was unable to attend our festive reception for he was too busy practicing for his "Hustle" with Liz Taylor later on that evening.



*May Gillane
Kate Kruschwitz*

"PLEASE, CALL OFF THE LIBRARIANS."
ROBERT DRINAN APRIL 6, 1976

Robert Drinan probably wished he had as clear a problem as programs and money to contend with.

"I have had it with this whole copyright business," stated Drinan when asked what the prospects were for clarifying the language in the proposed General Revision of the Copyright Law--S 22. The stickler was Section 108 (g)(2)--the one the library community feared would mean the end of interlibrary loans. Under this section the Senate endorsed version (97-0) prohibited but did not define "...the systematic reproduction or distribution of single or multiple copies..." by libraries or archives. The report accompanying the Senate bill was nebulous in its explanation of the section and therefore susceptible to countless interpretations. The law could well be construed as prohibiting the interlibrary loan of copies of articles and sections of books.

For two months Drinan and the House Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice grappled with the conflicting positions of the various interest groups, all clamoring to be heard.

On April 6, the Massachusetts contingent charged this thicket head on. When Drinan strode out of his office, we met him with a sheaf of letters from District 4--though he obviously had already had enough copyright input for a lifetime. The dialogue went something like this:

- Drinan: "You librarians keep posing these questions to me--when you and the publishers and whoever else should be coming up with the compromises. These questions--"
- Mass.
Contingent: "You were elected to provide answers. Librarians have tried to work with the publishers on this and no agreement has been reached."
- Drinan: "I know and I am sick of the whole thing. My subcommittee is stuck with a mess that the courts haven't been able to solve. You can't please everyone. I know what you want. We are going to take care of interlibrary loans in a reasonable way. Mark-up is tomorrow, and I'll let you know what happens."
- Mass.
Contingent: "We'll know what happens, for we'll be there."
- Drinan: "Good, good. I don't know if I can get the committee to support an amendment but I'll try. All I can do is try. Please call off the librarians and no more letters. You got the point across."

Father Drinan did more than try; he succeeded.

At the mark-up of this crucial section, it was Drinan who was the sole spokesman and defender of the library position. He convinced the committee to adopt an amendment that would insure protection of interlibrary loans.

Following this episode, Drinan went directly from Washington to his district. Not to rest up for other battles but to check with his constituents on current issues. This follow-up included a meeting with librarians in the Fitchburg-Leominster area on their reactions to the Copyright amendment.

Those from Massachusetts who worked with Drinan on this thankless, no-win issue regret having to pour so much stress solely on him and commend him for doing a tremendous job.



Rep. Robert Drinan

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN LIBRARIANSHIP

SENATOR BROOKE GIVES A NEGLECTED PROGRAM A LIFT



Senator Brooke, Mary Spillane

As the ranking Republican on the Senate Subcommittee on Labor-HEW, Ed Brooke has been in a good spot to boost library legislation--something the Higher Education Act, Title IIB, Library Training and Demonstrations, needs badly right now. The Massachusetts contingent's interview with the Senator focused on this act.

Senator Brooke was responsive and was well-versed in the various programs. He asked many questions about HEA IIB regarding the manpower situation in the profession and the minority employment level. He mentioned the administration's intent to kill this program but added that with the information we presented he viewed its continuance as justifiable. We expounded on the point that Massachusetts had recognized the need for these minority training fellowships to the extent that we were using LSCA Title I funds. He said that he was aware of our Fellowship Program and asked if we planned to continue it. We said that we did in the light of the serious lack of minority professionals in Massachusetts. We explained our own minority recruitment problems in the State Agency and also those of public and academic libraries. We told him about our minority manpower survey and he said, "Please send that information on as soon as you get it."

Congress this year cut HEA IIB funding from \$2 million to \$500,000. Senator Brooke promised to act for this program, and he may be the champion it needs.

JOE EARLY ON REVENUE SHARING:

**"UNLESS LIBRARIANS GET OUT
AND DEMAND THE MONEY
FROM LOCAL AUTHORITIES,
THEY'LL NEVER GET IT."**

If you want straight talk on funding, Joe Early is the man to give it to you. The Massachusetts contingent, recognizing his new position on the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor-HEW, was prepared to try to sell him on maintenance of LSCA funding, renewal of LSCA construction money, and passage of the Public Works Bill--as well as the amended copyright bill when it reaches the House floor. However, he already knew a good deal about these programs and expected to support them.

In Joe Early, it appears that libraries have another friend on Capitol Hill just as they had on the Massachusetts House Ways and Means Committee. He has tough but compelling advice for libraries who wish to share in limited tax funds--get in with hard facts and a real case or forget it. The flavor of his remarks is best captured in his own forceful speech:



Rep. Joe Early with Mary Spillane and Bob Moroney

"Librarians must make a case for their budgets. I remember when I was a state rep. and unfamiliar with the needs of the libraries in my district. A group of local librarians invited me to a meeting where they presented a solid justification for an increase in state aid. They did a fine job and made a lot of sense. So I supported them. Librarians should deal this way locally as well. Educate those town officials. Explain the purpose, progress, and financial needs of the library. It will work--it does work!"

FREE STAFF

Could your library use some additional help this summer while the regular staff goes on vacation? Well, \$14.8 million is on its way to Massachusetts; money that could provide 20,000 jobs for economically disadvantaged young people, ages 14 to 21.

Congress has appropriated a total of \$528.4 million for the program under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). It will be administered by state, city, and county governments acting as prime sponsors.

Participants are being recruited through local schools, job services, and CETA offices. They will be paid at least the federal minimum wage of \$2.30 an hour and may work as many as 40 hours a week. The summer youth program may begin as soon as school is over and finish by September 30.

Typical public service jobs will be clerk-typist, receptionist, and library aide. For further details on the Summer Jobs Program for disadvantaged youths contact your local city hall or CETA office.

INFORMATION UPDATE

The Bureau's Planning and Evaluation Unit announces the availability of a new statistical report. Data for Massachusetts: FY 1975 Comparative Public Library Report updates last year's document for FY 1974, and is designed to allow public librarians to quickly compare their levels of support and activity with other libraries in their population groups, as well as with libraries in other population groups.

Write or call Barbara Beltrand at the Bureau if you would like to receive a copy.

COMMUNICATION KITS AVAILABLE

The Bureau has twenty Communication Kits available for distribution to qualified public libraries. Produced by the International Association of Parents of the Deaf, this kit contains signed picture books, toys, and other materials for hearing-impaired children, as well as materials for use by their parents.

Any library interested in serving these special patrons should contact Tom Ploeg at the Bureau for an application form.



BUREAU OF LIBRARY EXTENSION, 648 BEACON ST., BOSTON 02215

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THE
NATIONAL
LEGISLATIVE
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FOR
LIBRARIES:
A
MASTER
PLAN

THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE NETWORK
FOR LIBRARIES: A MASTER PLAN

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Legislation Committee
American Library Association
May 1973

INTRODUCTION

This Master Plan has as its premise the need for a more intensive and systematical approach to the achievement of beneficial library legislation in the years ahead. It was first presented in draft form at the ALA Legislative Workshop, Washington, D.C., February 1, 1973, where it was analyzed and discussed at length. Revisions were made in the draft as a result of comments and suggestions of panelists and conference attendants.

That library development at the state level has been uneven is documented in a 1970 study of state support for public libraries.¹ 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 proponents. In an attempt to develop a profile of legislative operations within each state a three-page questionnaire was mailed in the fall of 1972 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.

This Master 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 spent for its major support programs in these areas in 1972-73.

At the federal level the situation is ominous. In 1971-72, after considerable effort, appropriations were secured totalling \$164.5 million for ESEA Title II (School Library Resources), LSCA (Library Services & Construction Act), and HEA Title II A&B (College Library Resources & Library Training and Research). In addition \$50 million were appropriated for NDEA Title III-A (Instructional Assistance under the National Defense Education Act) and HEA Title VI-A (Equipment & Materials for Higher Education). In 1972-73 less than \$140 million were requested by the Administration for the first three programs, and no funds were originally requested for NDEA III-A or HEA VI-A. This time efforts to increase these and other education items failed.

For fiscal year 1973-74 the Administration has recommended 0 funding for all library programs.

Public Libraries were directed toward general revenue sharing funds allocated to state and local governments. To date they have had only moderate and sporadic success in securing such funds, and

¹ 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.).

then largely for construction purposes. School library support is, under the Administration's plan, to be subsumed under special education revenue sharing, with no requirement that any specific amount be expended exclusively for library materials. No alternatives to HEA have even been offered to college libraries.

With considerable residual interest in existing library programs remaining in the Congress there is no cause for despair. On the other hand it is clear that a far greater effort than ever before must be mounted in support of federal assistance to libraries of all types.

THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE NETWORK FOR LIBRARIES: A MASTER 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 Statement¹ 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.

The current Administration, however, intends to kill all major programs of federal support for libraries, in what would be an unmitigated disaster. Copyright revision and postal rate increases are among other 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 in light of recent judicial decisions in several states on the equalization of 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 presents certain opportunities for libraries which they must be aggressive in seizing. Past battles in Washington to secure funds for libraries are being repeated in each state, and, it would seem, 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 heavily upon many 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. To achieve 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.

¹ American Library Association. Federal Legislative Policy. Adopted by the American Library Association Council, January 1973.

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 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 most 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 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 those of the general public in libraries.

Thirty-three out of thirty-six state library associations responding to a questionnaire in 1972 had legislation committees. More than half of the state associations of school libraries reporting had such committees also. (The term "government relations committee" is coming into vogue, more accurately connoting what should be a mutual exchange of information with government.)

A legislation committee should be broadly based, with representation from all types of libraries, both publicly and privately supported, 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 a keen 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.

The legislation committee should be primarily one of deliberation, concerned 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 6.) 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*, below.)

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

At least 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.

An individual assigned as Contact with a federal or state representative should normally be his 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. Where more than one Contact is assigned to a given legislator they must closely coordinate their activities.

The minimum 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. Strategically 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 back 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 11 and 12.)

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 in 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 and funding in general. Such knowledge is necessary for assessing the impact upon libraries of much legislation not introduced by library interests and frequently without specific reference to libraries. The advocate's watchdog role cannot be overestimated.

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 tend to labor under certain constraints in advocating 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. It is normal for a state agency head to present that agency's position. Frequently it is desirable for the president of an association to appear in its behalf 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 recent profile of Federal Relations Coordinators emerges. In only one instance reported was the person a salaried officer of an association. Fourteen were chairmen of their associations' legislation committees. Two chaired separate "Federal Relations Committees." Nine were listed as members of their associations' legislative committees. Six were not so listed, for only one of whom was there specific mention of his working with the committee. Two of the six were 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 information campaigns for

federal legislation are U.S. senators and congressmen rather than state legislators. The methods of informing 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 PROONENTS

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 5). 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 to 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 13.)

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 citizen 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 nonpartisan.

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 such techniques as 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.

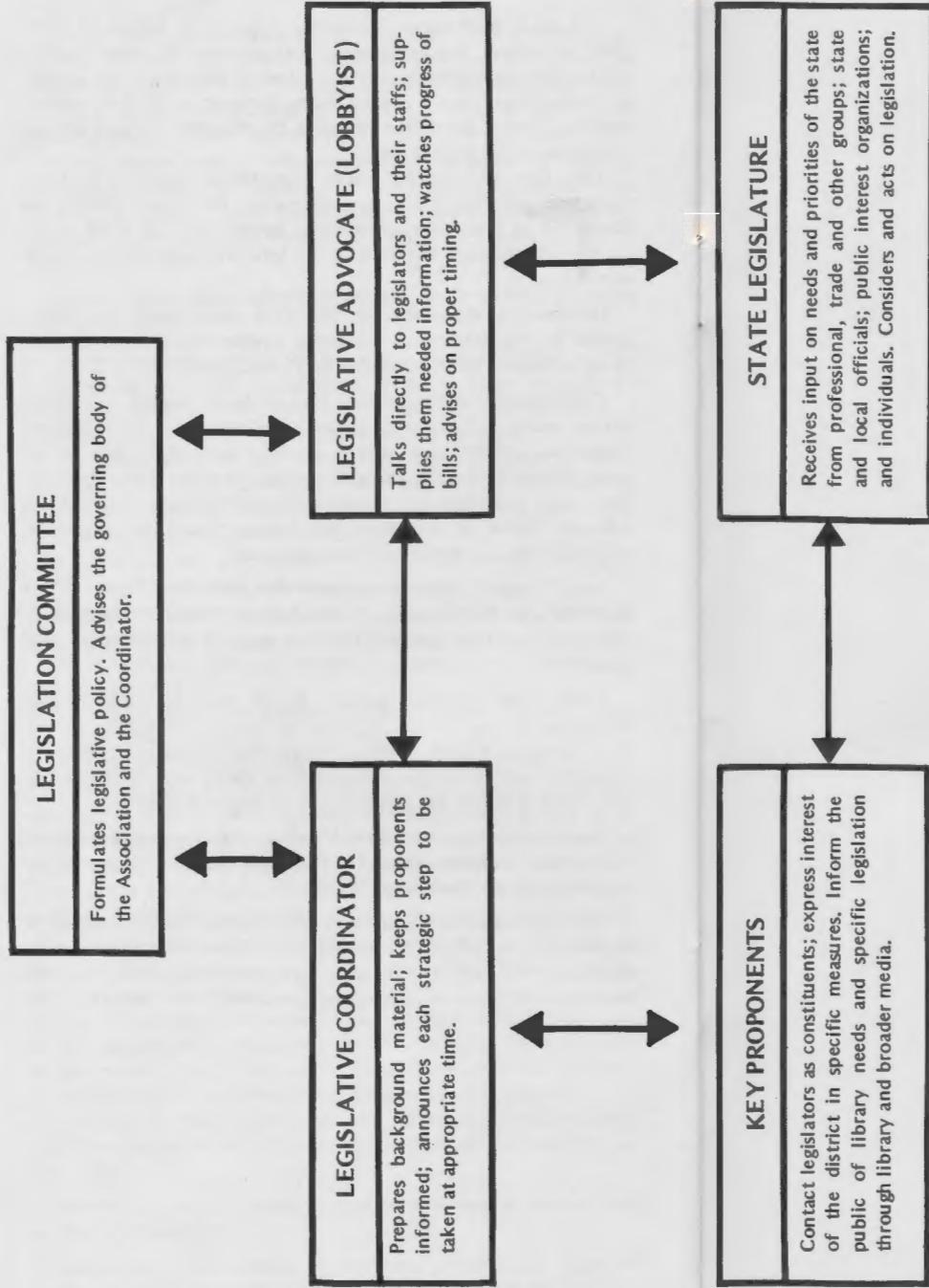
Every library which receives the *ALA Washington Newsletter* should make its contents instantly available to all interested employees, officials and citizens. In most institutions this can be accomplished by posting or rapid routing. In larger ones, especially those with branches, the contents should 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 role of the state librarian and school library coordinator will vary, but inevitably they are important figures in any library legislative program and their activities must be closely coordinated with the rest.

CAPITOL DIRECTORY

Compiled by Edmund L. Henshaw, Jr., Clerk of the House of Representatives, January 19, 1977

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Dissertationen und Communiqués der Deutschen Akademie

SENATORS

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in *italic*; Independent in CAPS)

[Room numbers with 3 digits are in the Russell Building, 4 digits are in the Dirksen Building, and Capitol numbers begin with S]

Name	Telephone No.	Room No.	Name	Telephone No.	Room No.
Vice President Mondale, Walter F. (Minn.)-----	42424	2203	Jackson, Henry M. (Wash.)-----	43441	137
Abourezk, James (S. Dak.)-----	45842	1105	Javits, Jacob K. (N.Y.)-----	46542	321
Allen, James B. (Ala.)-----	45744	6205	Johnston, J. Bennett, Jr. (La.)-----	45824	432
Anderson, Wendell R. (Minn.)-----	45641	443C	Kennedy, Edward M. (Mass.)-----	44543	431
Baker, Howard H., Jr. (Tenn.)-----	44944	4123	Laxalt, Paul (Nev.)-----	43542	326
Bartlett, Dewey F. (Okla.)-----	44721	140	Leahy, Patrick J. (Vt.)-----	44242	1203
Bayh, Birch (Ind.)-----	45623	363	Long, Russell B. (La.)-----	44623	217
Bellmon, Henry (Okla.)-----	45754	125	Lugar, Richard G. (Ind.)-----	44814	254
Bentsen, Lloyd (Tex.)-----	45922	240	McClellan, John L. (Ark.)-----	42353	3241
Biden, Joseph R., Jr. (Del.)-----	45042	440	McClure, James A. (Idaho)-----	42752	460
Brooke, Edward W. (Mass.)-----	42742	437	McGovern, George (S. Dak.)-----	42321	4241
Bumpers, Dale (Ark.)-----	44843	6313	McIntyre, Thomas J. (N.H.)-----	42841	105
Burdick, Quentin N. (N. Dak.)-----	42551	451	Magnuson, Warren G. (Wash.)-----	42621	127
BYRD, HARRY F., Jr. (Va.)-----	44024	417	Mathias, Charles McC., Jr. (Md.)-----	44654	358
Byrd, Robert C. (W. Va.)-----	43954	133	Matsunaga, Spark M. (Hawaii)-----	46361	2121
Cannon, Howard W. (Nev.)-----	46244	259	Melcher, John (Mont.)-----	42644	313
Case, Clifford P. (N.J.)-----	43224	315	Metcalf, Lee (Mont.)-----	42651	1121
Chafee, John H. (R.I.)-----	42921	3215	Metzenbaum, Howard M. (Ohio)-----	42315	405
Chiles, Lawton (Fla.)-----	45274	2107	Morgan, Robert (N.C.)-----	43154	1251
Church, Frank (Idaho)-----	46142	245	Moynihan, Daniel Patrick (N.Y.)-----	44451	304
Clark, Dick (Iowa)-----	43254	404	Muskie, Edmund S. (Maine)-----	45344	145
Cranston, Alan (Calif.)-----	43553	452	Nelson, Gaylord (Wis.)-----	45323	221
Culver, John C. (Iowa)-----	43744	2327	Nunn, Sam (Ga.)-----	43521	110
Curtis, Carl T. (Nebr.)-----	44224	2213	Packwood, Bob (Oreg.)-----	45244	1317
Danforth, John C. (Mo.)-----	46154	229A	Pearson, James B. (Kans.)-----	44774	5313
DeConcini, Dennis (Ariz.)-----	44521	3121	Pell, Claiborne (R.I.)-----	44642	325
Dole, Robert (Kans.)-----	46521	4213	Percy, Charles H. (Ill.)-----	42152	4321
Domenici, Pete V. (N. Mex.)-----	46621	4107	Proxmire, William (Wis.)-----	45653	5241
Durkin, John A. (N.H.)-----	43324	3230	Randolph, Jennings (W. Va.)-----	46472	5121
Eagleton, Thomas F. (Mo.)-----	45721	1215	Ribicoff, Abraham (Conn.)-----	42823	337
Eastland, James O. (Miss.)-----	45054	2241	Riegle, Donald W. (Mich.)-----	44822	253
Ford, Wendell H. (Ky.)-----	44343	2104	Roth, William V., Jr. (Del.)-----	42441	4327
Garn, Jake (Utah)-----	45444	4203	Sarbanes, Paul S. (Md.)-----	44524	362
Glenn, John (Ohio)-----	43353	204	Sasser, James R. (Tenn.)-----	43344	229D
Goldwater, Barry (Ariz.)-----	42235	427	Schmitt, Harrison (Jack) (N. Mex.)-----	45521	5229
Gravel, Mike (Alaska)-----	46665	3317	Schweiker, Richard S. (Pa.)-----	44254	347
Griffin, Robert P. (Mich.)-----	46221	353	Scott, William Lloyd (Va.)-----	42023	3109
Hansen, Clifford P. (Wyo.)-----	43424	3229	Sparkman, John (Ala.)-----	44124	3203
Hart, Gary (Colo.)-----	45852	6327	Stafford, Robert T. (Vt.)-----	45141	5219
Haskell, Floyd K. (Colo.)-----	45941	4104	Stennis, John C. (Miss.)-----	46253	205
Hatch, Orrin G. (Utah)-----	45251	15B	Stevens, Ted (Alaska)-----	43004	411
Hatfield, Mark O. (Oreg.)-----	43753	463	Stevenson, Adlai E. (Ill.)-----	42854	456
Hathaway, William D. (Maine)-----	42523	248	Stone, Richard (Dick) (Fla.)-----	43041	1327
Hayakawa, S. I. (Sam) (Calif.)-----	43841	6221	Talmadge, Herman E. (Ga.)-----	43643	109
Heinz, H. John, III (Pa.)-----	46324	260	Thurmond, Strom (S.C.)-----	45972	209
Helms, Jesse A. (N.C.)-----	46342	5107	Tower, John (Tex.)-----	42934	142
Hollings, Ernest F. (S.C.)-----	46121	115	Wallop, Malcolm (Wyo.)-----	46441	344
Huddleston, Walter (Ky.)-----	42541	3327	Weicker, Lowell P., Jr. (Conn.)-----	44041	342
Humphrey, Hubert H. (Minn.)-----	43244	232	Williams, Harrison A., Jr. (N.J.)-----	44744	352
Inouye, Daniel K. (Hawaii)-----	43934	442	Young, Milton R. (N. Dak.)-----	42043	5205
			Zorinsky, Edward (Nebr.)-----	46551	1407



CONGRESSIONAL ROSTER

95th Congress — First Session

Senate: 61 Democrats; 38 Republicans; 1 Independent
House: 292 Democrats; 143 Republicans

December 2, 1976 Use boxes for tallying purposes.

Numbers indicate congressional districts; AL indicates At-Large
 Democrats in roman; Republicans in italic; Independent in small caps.

ALABAMA

Sen. John Sparkman	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. James B. Allen	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Jack Edwards	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. William L. Dickinson	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Bill Nichols	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Tom Bevill	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Ronnie G. Flippo	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. John Buchanan	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Walter Flowers	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

ALASKA

Sen. Ted Stevens	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Mike Gravel	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
AL Don Young	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

ARIZONA

Sen. Barry Goldwater	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Dennis DeConcini	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. John J. Rhodes	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Morris K. Udall	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Bob Stump	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Eldon Rudd	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

ARKANSAS

Sen. John L. McClellan	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Dale Bumpers	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Bill Alexander	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Jim Guy Tucker	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. John Paul Hammerschmidt	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Ray Thornton	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

CALIFORNIA

Sen. Alan Cranston	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. S.I. (Sam) Hayakawa	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Harold T. Johnson	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Don H. Clausen	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. John E. Moss	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Robert L. Leggett	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. John L. Burton	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Phillip Burton	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. George Miller	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Ronald V. Dellums	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Fortney H. (Pete) Stark	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Don Edwards	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Leo J. Ryan	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Norman Y. Mineta	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. John J. McFall	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. B. F. Sisk	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Leon E. Panetta	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. John Krebs	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. William M. Ketchum	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Robert J. Lagomarsino	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Barry M. Goldwater, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. James C. Corman	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Carlos J. Moorhead	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Anthony C. Beilenson	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Henry A. Waxman	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. Edward R. Roybal	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. John H. Roussetot	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. Robert K. Dornan	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke
- (D)
29. Augustus F. Hawkins
- (D)
30. George E. Danielson
- (D)
31. Charles H. Wilson
- (D)
32. Glenn M. Anderson
- (D)
33. Del Clawson
- (R)
34. Mark W. Hannaford
- (D)
35. Jim Lloyd
- (D)
36. George E. Brown, Jr.
- (D)
37. Shirley N. Pettis
- (R)
38. Jerry M. Patterson
- (D)
39. Charles E. Wiggins
- (R)
40. Robert E. Badham
- (R)
41. Bob Wilson
- (R)
42. Lionel Van Deerlin
- (D)
43. Clair W. Burgener
- (R)

1. Bo Ginn
- (D)
2. Dawson Mathis
- (D)
3. Jack Brinkley
- (D)
4. Elliott H. Levitas
- (D)
5. Andrew Young
- (D)
6. John J. Flynt, Jr.
- (D)
7. Larry McDonald
- (D)
8. Bill Lee Evans
- (D)
9. Ed Jenkins
- (D)
10. Doug Barnard
- (D)

HAWAII

Sen. Daniel K. Inouye	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Spark M. Matsunaga	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

1. Cecil L. Heftel
- (D)
2. Daniel K. Akaka
- (D)

IDAHO

Sen. Frank Church	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. James A. McClure	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Steven D. Symms	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. George Hansen	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

ILLINOIS

Sen. Charles H. Percy	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Ralph H. Metcalfe	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Morgan F. Murphy	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Marty Russo	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Edward J. Derwinski	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. John G. Fary	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Henry J. Hyde	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Cardiss Collins	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Dan Rostenkowski	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Sidney R. Yates	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Abner K. Mikva	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Frank Annunzio	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Philip M. Crane	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Robert McClosky	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. John N. Erlenborn	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Tom Corcoran	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. John B. Anderson	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. George M. O'Brien	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Robert H. Michel	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Tom Railsback	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Paul Findley	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Edward R. Madigan	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. George E. Shpley	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Melvin Price	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Paul Simon	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

INDIANA

Sen. Birch Bayh	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Richard G. Lugar	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Adam Benjamin, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Floyd J. Fithian	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. John Brademas	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. J. Danforth Quayle	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Elwood Hillis	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. David W. Evans	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. John T. Myers	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. David L. Cornwell	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Lee H. Hamilton	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Philip R. Sharp	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Andrew Jacobs, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

GEORGIA

Sen. Herman E. Talmadge	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Sam Nunn	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

IOWA

Sen. Dick Clark	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. John C. Culver	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. James A.S. Leach	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Michael T. Blouin	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Charles E. Grassley	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Neal Smith	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Tom Harkin	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Berkley Bedell	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

KANSAS

Sen. James B. Pearson	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Robert Dole	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Keith G. Sebelius	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Martha Keys	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Larry Winn, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Dan Glickman	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Joe Skubitz	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

KENTUCKY

Sen. Walter Huddleston	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Wendell H. Ford	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Carroll Hubbard, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. William H. Natcher	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Romano L. Mazzoli	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Gene Snyder	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Tim Lee Carter	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. John Breckinridge	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Carl D. Perkins	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

LOUISIANA

Sen. Russell B. Long	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Richard A. Tonry	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. David C. Treen	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Joe D. Waggoner, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Jerry Huckaby	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. W. Henson Moore	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. John B. Breaux	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Gillis W. Long	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

MAINE

Sen. Edmund S. Muskie	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. William D. Hathaway	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. David F. Emery	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. William S. Cohen	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

MARYLAND

Sen. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Robert E. Bauman	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Clarence D. Long	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Barbara A. Mikulski	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Marjorie S. Holt	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Gladys Noon Spellman	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Goodloe E. Byron	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Parren J. Mitchell	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Newton I. Steers, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

MASSACHUSETTS

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Edward W. Brooke	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Silvio O. Conte	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Edward P. Boland	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Joseph D. Early	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Robert F. Drinan	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Paul E. Tsongas	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Michael Harrington	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Edward J. Markey	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Joe Moakley	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Margaret M. Heckler	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

IOWA

11. James A. Burke	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Gerry E. Studds	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

MICHIGAN

Sen. Robert P. Griffin	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Donald W. Riegle	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

1. John Conyers, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Carl D. Pursell	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Garry Brown	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Dave Stockman	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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8. Bob Traxler	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Guy Vander Jagt	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Elford A. Cederberg	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Philip E. Rupke	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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18. James J. Blanchard	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Wm. S. Broomfield	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

NEVADA

Sen. Howard W. Cannon	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Paul Laxalt	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

AL Jim Santini

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. John A. Durkin	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

1. Norman E. D'Amours	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. James C. Cleveland	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

NEW JERSEY

Sen. Clifford P. Case	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Harrison A. Williams, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

1. James J. Florio	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. William J. Hughes	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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13. Helen S. Meyner	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Joseph A. Le Fante	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Edward J. Patten	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

NEW MEXICO

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Sen. Harrison "Jack" Schmitt	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

1. Manuel Lujan, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Harold Runnels	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

NEW YORK

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Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

1. Otis G. Pike	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Thomas J. Downey	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Jerome A. Ambro	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Norman F. Lent	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. John W. Wydler	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Lester L. Wolff	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Joseph P. Addabbo	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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19. Charles B. Rangel	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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21. Herman Badillo	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Jonathan B. Bingham	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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24. Richard L. Ottinger	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. Hamilton Fish, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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32. James M. Hanley	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. William F. Walsh	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. Frank Horton	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. Barber B. Conable, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. John J. LaFalce	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. Henry J. Nowak	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. Jack F. Kemp	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. Stanley N. Lundine	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

NORTH CAROLINA

Sen. Jesse Helms	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Robert Morgan	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Walter B. Jones	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. L. H. Fountain	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Charles Whitley	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Ike F. Andrews	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Stephen L. Neal	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Richardson Preyer	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Charles Rose	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. W.G. (Bill) Hefner	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. James G. Martin	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. James T. Brophyhill	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Lamar Gudger	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

NORTH DAKOTA

Sen. Milton R. Young	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Quentin N. Burdick	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
AL Mark Andrews	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

OHIO

Sen. John Glenn	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Willis D. Gradison, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Thomas A. Luken	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Charles W. Whalen, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Tennyson Guyer	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Delbert L. Latta	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. William H. Harsha	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Clarence J. Brown	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Thomas N. Kindness	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Thomas L. Ashley	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Clarence E. Miller	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. J. William Stanton	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Samuel L. Devine	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Donald J. Pease	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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15. Chalmers P. Wylie	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Ralph S. Regula	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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19. Charles J. Carney	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Mary Rose Oakar	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Louis Stokes	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Charles A. Vanik	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Ronald M. Mottl	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

OKLAHOMA

Sen. Henry Bellmon	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Dewey F. Bartlett	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. James R. Jones	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Theodore M. (Ted) Risenhoover	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Wes Watkins	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Tom Steed	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Mickey Edwards	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Glenn English	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

OREGON

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Bob Packwood	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Les AuCoin	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Al Ullman	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Robert Duncan	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. James Weaver	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Sen. H. John Heinz III	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Michael O. Myers	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Robert N.C. Nix	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Raymond F. Lederer	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Joshua Eilberg	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Richard T. Schulze	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Gus Yatron	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Robert W. Edgar	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Peter Kostmayer	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Bud Shuster	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Joseph M. McDade	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Daniel J. Flood	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. John P. Murtha	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Lawrence Coughlin	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. William S. Moorhead	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Fred B. Rooney	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Robert S. Walker	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Allen E. Ertel	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Douglas Walgren	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. William F. Goodling	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Joseph M. Gaydos	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. John H. Dent	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Austin J. Murphy	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Joseph S. Ammerman	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Marc L. Marks	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. Gary A. Myers	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Sen. Claiborne Pell	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. John H. Chafee	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Fernand J. St. Germain	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Edward P. Beard	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Sen. Strom Thurmond	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1. Mendel J. Davis	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Floyd Spence	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Butler Derrick	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. James R. Mann	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Kenneth L. Holland	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. John W. Jenrette, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

SOUTH DAKOTA

Sen. George McGovern	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. James Abourezk	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Jerry Pressler	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. James Abdnor	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. James R. Sasser	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. James H. (Jimmy) Quillen	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. John J. Duncan	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Marilyn Lloyd	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Albert Gore, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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6. Robin L. Beard	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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8. Harold E. Ford	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

TEXAS

Sen. John Tower	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Lloyd Bentsen	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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3. James M. Collins	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Ray Roberts	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Jim Mattox	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Olin E. Teague	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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15. E. de la Garza	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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18. Barbara Jordan	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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21. Robert (Bob) Krueger	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Bob Gammie	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Abraham Kazen, Jr.	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Dale Milford	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

UTAH

Sen. Jake Garn	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Orrin G. Hatch	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Gunn McKay	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Dan Marriott	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

VERMONT

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Sen. Patrick J. Leahy	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
AL James M. Jeffords	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

VIRGINIA

Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr.	(I)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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2. G. William Whitehurst	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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5. Dan Daniel	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. M. Caldwell Butler	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. J. Kenneth Robinson	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Herbert E. Harris II	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. William C. Wampler	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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WASHINGTON

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Sen. Henry M. Jackson	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Joel Pritchard	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Lloyd Meeds	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Don Bonker	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Mike McCormack	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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6. Norman D. Dicks	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Brock Adams	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

WEST VIRGINIA

Sen. Jennings Randolph	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Robert C. Byrd	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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2. Harley O. Staggers	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. John M. Slack	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Nick Joe Rahall II	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

WISCONSIN

Sen. William Proxmire	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Gaylord Nelson	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
1. Les Aspin	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Robert W. Kastenmeier	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Alvin Baldus	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Clement J. Zablocki	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Henry S. Reuss	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. William A. Steiger	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. David R. Obey	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Robert J. Cornell	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Robert W. Kasten, Jr.	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>

WYOMING

Sen. Clifford P. Hansen	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sen. Malcolm Wallop	(R)	<input type="checkbox"/>
AL Teno Roncalio	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>

PUERTO RICO

Resident Commissioner: Baltasar Corrada	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Del. Walter E. Fauntroy	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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GUAM

Del. Antonio Borja Won Pat	(D)	<input type="checkbox"/>
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VIRGIN ISLANDS</h

The Right to Write . . .

Fundamental to the American system of government is the right of citizens to petition their government. An effective means of doing this (individually or in group action) is through direct communication with Members of Congress.

It has been said that laws have been passed or killed on the basis of a single well-written letter. Over the years, teachers have found that Senators and Representatives *do* respond to thoughtful letters on issues of concern to the profession.

Letters to Senators and Congressmen should be brief, not more than one page (usually), friendly, and *personal*. They should come to the point, solicit the Member's support, state reasons why that support is needed, and request a reply.

Timing is important; keep in mind that premature attempts to get a legislator to take a stand on a particular bill may be damaging. Give the Member a chance to get acquainted with it. He or she is then more likely to respond to the point of view you present.

Following are a few do's and don'ts in writing to Members of Congress. Observing them will pay off.

Please do . . .

Spell names correctly

Write on plain or personal stationery

Be informed, concise, factual, sincere

Identify the issue, relate it locally

Follow through, as needed, and be sure to write a thank-you note.

Please don't . . .

Misspell names, guess at facts, or base letters on rumor

Use school stationery

Scold, threaten, or flatter

Write in generalities

Use form letters or copy another person's letter.

Forms of Address

House: The Honorable

House Office Building

Washington, D.C. 20515

Senate: The Honorable

Senate Office Building

Washington, D.C. 20510

(Use: Dear Senator, or Dear Representative in the salutation.)

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The American Library Association: "This standard reference on federal, state and local officialdom will find almost daily use."



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Making an issue of it: The Campaign Handbook

Campaigning on an issue, like campaigning for public office, is a communications process with a political goal—winning votes. In a legislative campaign, however, the focus of your efforts is more on the legislators who must vote your legislation into law than on the voting public.

Like an election campaign, a legislative campaign is a group effort demanding good organization and a large and willing work force. There aren't many legislators who will propose or vote for a law that they believe will be bad for voters or that their constituents would not support. The job of a campaign, then, is to demonstrate that the legislation you back is good for citizens and that support from constituents exists.

Whatever your goal—cleaner air, an end to discrimination in employment, improved housing, school finance reform—the moment will come when you must decide whether a legislative campaign is the best way to reach that goal. Your organization needs to ask itself if it can marshall the commitment, the resources and the know-how to convince public officials that legislative action is necessary.

Since many good causes fail because their supporters are unable to deal with the machinery of state, local or federal government, this campaign handbook is designed to help you organize your campaign so that you can deal effectively with potential snags, whether they are caused by the complexity of government or people's reluctance to get involved, and to help you win your fight. It has been written to address the complexities of a statewide legislative campaign, but is applicable in principle to a smaller target, such as a city council, as well. Regardless of where you intend to focus your efforts, the handbook can help you zero in on problems and resolve them before they get out of hand.

Building a coalition— why and how

Political coalitions exist on the state and local level in virtually every state where legislative action is pending. The reason is simple—few laws get passed through the action of a single citizen group.

Necessary as a coalition may be, it's important to remember that a coalition is not a marriage for life. It is really an ad hoc, "sometime" thing. Its strength is the strength of the individuals and organizations that are affiliated; it does not, in reality, have an identity of its own. Its function is to serve as a focal point, a clearinghouse and a coordinator; to make sure that participating organizations and other groups are doing all they can and what they are best able to do, to achieve a desired result.

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Although a coalition may carry out agreed-upon activities—e.g. fundraising, public relations, oversight on local organization and lobbying efforts—it is not a substitute for commitment and action from member groups. In short, being represented in a coalition does not mean that an organization has done its bit and can sit back and "let the coalition do it."

A coalition's first task is to define why its goal is important—why legislation is necessary. The reason behind the goal will be important not only to convince legislators and the public but in soliciting campaign funds and volunteer efforts as well. The *why* should become a theme that permeates all campaign activities.

There are, of course, varying degrees of coalition participation, a fact that is readily apparent as the number of organizations lined up behind the legislative goal expands. Some organizations, for example, may not have a grassroots constituency that can be mobilized for local legislative district letterwriting or public relations efforts. That same group may, however, have a crackerjack lobbyist at the state capitol who can put some time and effort into the campaign.

All participating groups should be encouraged to speak out in their own names, as well as under the coalition umbrella, in support of the goal. Obviously, the president of a state or local League of Women Voters has a higher recognition factor and carries more clout than does the chairperson of a newly formed, amorphous body with a name unfamiliar to the public. The mushrooming of special "committees" or "coalitions" during any election or legislative campaign is, by now, a fairly familiar phenomenon to both citizens and legislators. Very rarely do they swing much weight or many votes on their own. What counts are the joint efforts of each of the parties that have lent their name and support to the common goal.

Following are some general guidelines for working within a coalition.

Who should belong?

Ask organizations and opinion leaders who have, or should have, an interest in the legislation to participate. Contact state and local counterparts of national endorsers, but don't ignore a local organization just because its national affiliate has not endorsed. Similarly, do not ignore organizations or individuals merely because you disagree on other issues: a coalition is formed for one purpose—to secure legislation. All other agreements or disagreements can and should take a back seat. Once the prime goal is achieved, the members of the coalition go their own ways (though you may have found interesting new allies on other fronts).

When the constituency of the state or district in which the legislation is pending is predominantly rural, seek membership among organizations and leaders whose constituency is

rural: home economics associations, visiting nurse associations, farm groups, church leadership.

Go after the organizations that have the greatest influence on your state or city legislative body. If they won't join, seek individual endorsements or behind-the-scenes backing. Sometimes powerful people are willing to help but unwilling to have it known publicly that they are doing so.

Some rules of the game

Make sure that everyone who joins the coalition—group or individual—understands and agrees to the rules of the game:

- The legislative goal should be clearly defined and stated; no one is empowered to speak for the coalition on any other issue.
- Each organization is free to act for itself, outside the coalition, but not in the name of the coalition except with appropriate authorization from other members. What is required for authorization should be delineated.
- The coalition will work best if its tasks are clearly defined and assigned. Decisions will be made by those empowered by the coalition members to do so. Probably a coordinating committee will be set up to coordinate the work of other committees, which are in turn responsible for specific functions within the coalition.
- Agree on the necessary and appropriate elements of a campaign. Assign responsibilities. If everyone can agree from the beginning that success is more important than individual or organizational prestige, later conflicts will be minimized (though seldom eliminated). In this kind of positive climate, tasks can be assigned to the individuals and organizations best able to perform them.
- Fundraising is necessary to both the largest and smallest campaigns. Who's paying for it—whether it is campaign literature, radio spots, or stamps and envelopes—is a question that even an all-volunteer campaign must face early in the campaign and be prepared to answer. Since money will be needed, determine a policy for fundraising and a tentative budget and try to stick to it. Money is the root of all evil only if you don't confront this issue right at the start.
- Decide how to maintain communication among member organizations—regular meetings? (schedule? place?) newsletters? telephone? etc.

It's one thing to list a number of parts that go into the makings of a successful coalition; it's quite another to achieve a well-coordinated, smooth-running coalition effort. Give-and-take is an integral part of coalition work. Every individual and every organization in a coalition has an identity (and probably an ego) of its own. It's important to keep in mind that organizations working in the coalition have different *raisons d'être* and assign different values to the fight. Groups may differ on priorities, strategies, and/or tactics, and these differences can and do produce internal conflicts. Some groups are more successful in getting to the media. Is theirs the image that best serves the coalition's purpose? There can also be differences of opinion on when and how to lobby legislators—one group will want to push hard and early; another will favor a more passive, behind-the-scenes approach. "Activist" groups may devote more of their energies to the goal than do other coalition members and consequently get a larger share of the spotlight. Reconciling these differences can get sticky. The task requires patience, tact, and the willingness to understand the reasons behind a group's advocacy of a particular approach.

There's no sure cure for settling internal organizational problems. However, solutions are more likely to be found if you have the pertinent facts at hand and are able to demonstrate conclusively the potential damage or advantage of a course of action. One of the main functions of a coalition is to gather and share intelligence and help all participants gain a clear understanding of political realities. The business of your coalition is the passage of particular legislation and, while it may not be the top priority for all member groups, coalition membership should be taken as a commitment to work for passage with maximum effort and efficiency.

If your coalition is effective, it should produce these results:

- Lobbyists know whom to talk to on what issues.
- Legislative attitudes are reported (particularly changes), and proper action results.
- Communications go to the right people in the right districts on the right issues at the right time.
- Visibility is promoted by a unified, cooperative campaign.
- Proponents act instead of reacting.
- The opposition is pinpointed and out-maneuvered.
- Everyone who wants to work has something useful to do.
- People and organizations with specific talents can use them most effectively.
- With constant interaction among committees (via task forces), no effort is wasted and action is directed effectively.

And "with a little bit of luck" it should also get that legislation passed.

Functions of a coordinating committee

To make daily decisions and determine common strategy and tactics, form a coordinating committee (by that or any other name). Occasionally, the coordinating committee for a coalition's legislative action campaign has a geographical base: officers plus a coordinator for each legislative district. More often, it is *task-oriented*: officers plus a chairman for each major kind of responsibility. The second structure is represented in the sample table of organization below.

However you organize them, certain jobs have to get done, and a chairman must be assigned to carry out each major function. Where possible and appropriate, these functions, which are outlined below in terms of a state coalition, should be replicated at the local level.

Also, regular two-way communication must go on among the coordinating committee, district and local coordinators, and members of the coalition.

Five major committees (task forces) and their functions

Field Service (Operations)

Find coordinators in every legislative district.

Provide substantive information to district coordinators along with give-away material.

Provide "how-to" information (how to organize at the local level; how to get endorsers; how to set up speakers' bureaus; how to conduct a petition, letterwriting, or letters-to-editor campaign, etc.).

Keep district coordinators informed about political picture and strategy, scheduling, headcounts, where and what kind of pressure is needed.

Provide field visits and/or speakers from state coalition as needed.

Finance

Develop a budget.

Plan fundraising activities: benefits (parties? speaking engagements?); direct mail, etc.

Plan personal solicitations of individuals and groups.

Resource or Research

Monitor opposition literature, speeches, etc.

Research answers to opposition *plus* positive arguments pertinent locally.

Research facts on the legislation and its impact. Provide fact sheets in simple, direct language to be used:

- by district workers;
- in news articles and releases, radio or TV programs;
- in flyers for public distribution;
- for briefing lobbyists and individuals who are answering or anticipating opposition publicly;
- in internal newsletters and bulletins for members of coalition organization;
- by legislators in committee or on the floor.

Know who supporters are.

Serve as clearinghouse for all information on the legislation.

Public Relations

Develop material (with Resource Committee) for public distribution, (e.g. flyers, one-page fact sheets, logo, slogan).

Develop newsletter for workers to keep enthusiasm up, exchange good campaign ideas.

Set up clipping service, by district, to monitor press, pro and con.

Analyze positions of all relevant newspapers, TV and radio stations and get names of sympathetic reporters, publishers, producers; use them for advice and help in getting the proponents' story across.

Work on those elements of the media that are unsympathetic.

Analyze the power structure (ethnic, political, geographic, etc.); determine which segments of the population listen to whom.

Disseminate public information on substance, hearings and votes through news releases and stories; prepare sample news releases and stories for use by local organizations.

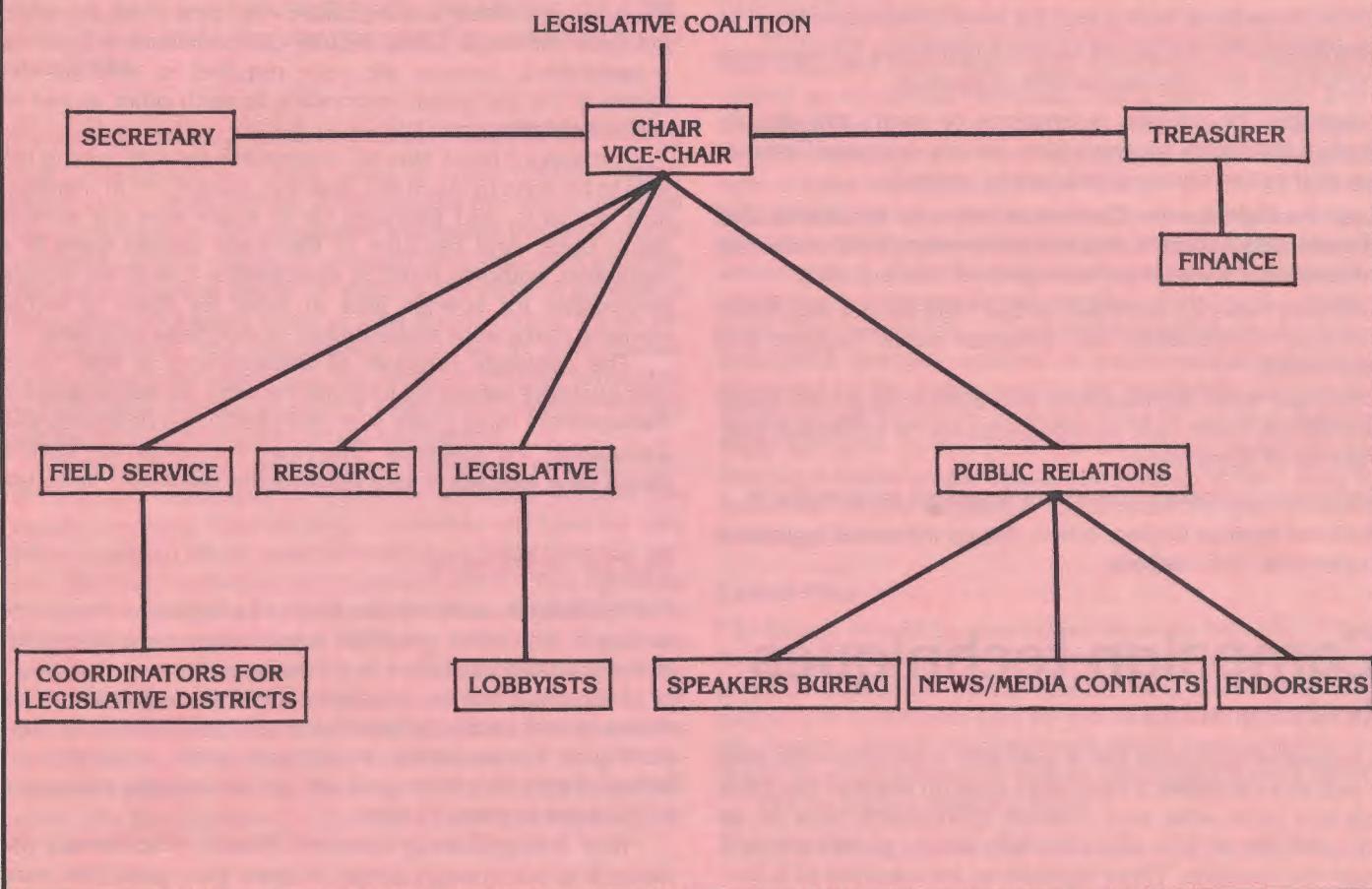
Set up TV and/or radio interviews or debates (in cooperation with Speakers' Bureau).

As budget permits, develop radio and TV spots and newspaper ads.

Endorsers—subcommittee to PR Committee.

- Line up statewide endorsements for release at appropriate times.

ONE WAY TO ORGANIZE YOUR COORDINATING COMMITTEE



- ate time, including prominent party leaders.
- Cooperate with district coordinators in lining up local endorsers, particularly in districts of crucial or swing votes.
 - Keep building participating membership in coalition.
 - Have someone specifically responsible for effort to recruit endorsements from a wide cross-section of key organizations and politically influential people.

Speakers' Bureau—subcommittee to PR Committee.

- Set up statewide bureau, get consent of all speakers, their availability schedules, how much reimbursement they'll need, etc.
- Train speakers as necessary. Provide sample speeches in simple, direct language (with help of Resource Committee). Include as part of training an interrogation session with the nasty questions raised by the opposition.
- Solicit speaking engagements at meetings, debates, radio, TV programs (with help of Public Relations Committee).
- Schedule speakers; coordinate with Field Service Committee for requests from local or district level.

Legislative

Set up and train a corps of lobbyists (easily accessible to the state capitol).

Maintain a regularly updated headcount (i.e., who is definitely for, who is opposed, who is uncommitted); double check the accuracy from as many sources as possible (without alienating your supporters).

Know who in the party *leadership* is with you: maintain regular contact so that you are fully informed and up to date about procedures, timing and the latest developments.

Coordinate who should call on which legislators for maximum impact and accurate assessment of position.

Determine the specific reservations or "anti" attitudes individual legislators are expressing. Inform Resource Committee, so they can come up with helpful answers.

Keep the Field Service Committee informed about what kind of grassroots activity is required (letterwriting blitz, contact by influential party member, attendance at hearing, etc.).

Anticipate hearings and votes so that Field Service and Public Relations Committees can generate public support and attendance.

Determine what organizations and individuals should testify at hearings; make sure all arguments will be presented without a lot of duplication.

Know your opposition: determine how best to neutralize it.

Work out strategy for *floor action*; line up influential legislators to carry the "pro" debate.

Campaign techniques

Ready for action

A legislative campaign has a goal with a deadline—the vote—just as a candidate's campaign ends on election day. Now that you know what your coalition committees must do, it's crucial to decide how and when they should go into action to meet the deadline. Three ingredients are essential to a suc-

cessful campaign: good management, defined committee tasks, and a countdown calendar.

Campaign management

The campaign must have a manager to make sure that the diverse elements in the campaign are functioning effectively and in unison. While it is possible to conduct a successful campaign without having a paid campaign manager (the League of Women Voters has been doing it for years), it is impossible to meet campaign deadlines without good management.

Management must be appointed to set practical working goals for the campaign: how many volunteers, how many dollars, etc., are necessary (in January? in February?) to meet the schedule. And, as in a business where a regular profit and loss statement is an essential tool for analyzing whether goals are being reached, management must also plan periodic checks on how the campaign is going. Management must be willing to reconsider a particular strategy that proves not to be working, revise a schedule that has fallen behind, or decide if an interim goal is unrealistically ambitious and needs changing or is essential and requires redoubled effort.

Management also has the responsibility of coordinating all elements of the campaign in a way that makes sense. If there is no manager, however, this kind of thinking falls to coordinating committee or task force chairman. For instance, it is important that the public relations chairman be aware of the positive impact that good PR will have on fundraising and on recruiting field workers.

Effective campaign management also includes good communications among all elements of the campaign. As the issue gets closer to a legislative vote, time pressures often preclude meetings. Good regular communications systems—newsletters, memos, etc.—are required to keep all elements of the campaign responding to each other as well as to the legislative goal.

A manager must also be responsible for anticipating the jobs to be done to reach the goal, assigning them in manageable amounts, and following up to make sure the work is being done. And because of the many diverse tasks in a campaign, authority must be delegated in turn to the people responsible for specific jobs in order for them to recruit workers, make work assignments, or purchase materials.

The oversight function of management is vital. Good management cannot try to do all the work, as well as direct it. Management must make sure responsibility is delegated well throughout the coalition. Otherwise members will have a tough time keeping a cool head as the campaign heats up.

Public relations

Public relations, while not the focus of a legislative campaign as it is in a political candidate's campaign, nonetheless remains a crucial ingredient in achieving success.

A legislator will be reluctant to vote for legislation, if he thinks he will catch political flak from constituents for supporting it. Consequently, a vigorous public campaign on behalf of your legislative goal can be of invaluable assistance in gaining a legislator's vote.

Your first and most essential PR task is to identify the issue. It is not enough simply to state your goal. You must

also tell the media and, through the media, the public *why* the goal is important.

The best indication that you know why the goal is important is that you can describe the goal briefly. When you can strip the issue down to bare facts, remove verbiage and confusing side issues, and succinctly explain why this legislation should be passed, you have added the ingredient basic to any successful campaign—the theme.

The theme is the tie that binds. It must be stated and restated throughout the campaign. It is your way of sticking to the issue and will help you avoid becoming sidetracked by issues raised by the opposition.

Having a working theme also enables controversy to work for you. Your comments on breaking news in a news release or a letter to the editor can effectively tie current issues to your legislative goal. Any hot issue that allows you once again to restate your theme can enhance your chances of success.

Tying your campaign in with other interests is also important, because different segments of the public will respond differently to your legislative goal. Parents of elementary school children may be for a school budget increase while senior citizens may oppose it. Commuting drivers may support a highway construction program that may be opposed by environmentalists. While opposition will exist on almost any piece of legislation, decreasing the opposition among the public is an essential function of PR.

As with the legislature, it is important that the resource or research committee identify opposing groups and that efforts to convince them be targeted at their particular interests. In this regard, it is not enough to tell the public why the legislation is important to you. It is also necessary to identify and communicate what's in it for them.

For practical information on how to reach the public through print and broadcast media, see *Getting Into Print*, LWVUS Pub. #484, and *Breaking Into Broadcasting*, LWVUS Pub. #586.

Headcounting and legislative coordination

The Legislative Committee keeps its finger on the political pulse at the state capitol. It carries out the direct lobbying with members of the legislature, anticipates the areas where concerted public relations, research, and field work must be carried out, and is aware of shifts in the political climate in time either to exploit them or turn them around. It's an all-encompassing and fascinating exercise in participatory democracy from which you will probably emerge exhausted but with an enormous amount of satisfaction. Lessons learned will be invaluable in other action campaigns.

Nothing is more important to a legislative campaign than an accurate headcount of legislators' attitudes. Without this headcount, your Coordinating Committee will have no idea where coalition efforts need to be focused in the field, nor can the lobbying be directed for maximum effect. The Legislative Committee should keep other committees constantly up to date on the status of the lobbying effort, the legislative schedule and the political picture, the districts where constituent pressure is essential (and what kinds of pressures will be most effective), and the kinds of substantive questions that must be researched. Information from the other committees must in turn be shared with the lobbyists and will enter into the Legislative Committee's determination of how to make lobbying assignments (see *Lobbying*).

Setting up and using the legislative files

The Legislative Committee should maintain a central file somewhere in the capital city, preferably within walking distance of the state capitol, where it is easily accessible to the lobbyists. There are a number of ways to set up legislative files; the one suggested below can be adapted to your needs.

The working card file

The names of all legislators can be entered on 3 x 5 cards with minimal information including office address and phone, party, any past votes on similar or related legislation, sponsor of resolution, when and how often contacted in this session; comments. The cards can be color-coded: one color for supporters, one color for opponents and one color for uncommitted.

The cards can be handed out to lobbyists (keeping a central tabulation as to which lobbyist has which cards) to be used while they are lobbying and returned to central headquarters with comments added or attached.

The lobbying chairman (or an assistant good at detail, accuracy and interpretation), by keeping the color coding up to date in response to lobbyists' reports, will have a quick general view of how the campaign is going. When special effort is to be directed to holding on to proponents, for instance, all those cards can be easily pulled and assigned.

Worksheets

Worksheets listing all legislators either by district, by party or otherwise (depending on how lobbying assignments have been made) should be prepared. Opposite the names of each legislator, blank spaces can be ruled off to check his or her current attitude on a scale of 1 to 5: 1 = supports; 2 = leans favorable; 3 = neutral or uncommitted; 4 = leans negative; 5 = opposes.

At regular meetings with the lobbying corps, you can update attitudes from their own lobbying plus information picked up elsewhere. Obviously, this system requires a new worksheet for each new "reading" after visiting a legislator. Regular meetings with the Coordinating Committee should note current legislative attitudes and get an overall accurate tally based on all possible contacts and analyses (e.g., a legislator might have told a League lobbyist he or she was uncommitted and told the secretary-treasurer of the local union that he/she would vote yes but couldn't say so publicly now). The current tally, in conjunction with information about opposition strength, analysis of questions that need to be answered for the public and for the legislature, and analysis of where and by whom pressure must be applied, form the basis for work by the Field Service, Public Relations and Resource Committees. These committees in turn relay information to the Legislative Committee for use in capitol lobbying.

Central Files

File folders should be maintained on every legislator. These files should not leave the office and should be accessible only to those authorized by the Coordinating Committee (e.g., off-the-cuff comments can be put in the central file for the information of lobbyists but should not be made public to the media or to unauthorized people who might exploit them).

The file folders should contain:

The legislator's name, district, party, home address and

phone, professional address and phone, legislative address and phone.

A picture if available (If a lobbyist doesn't know a legislator, it's nice to get an idea of what he or she looks like.).

How long legislator has been in the legislature and committees he/she is on; special legislative interests.

Education and professional background; marital status (Does a legislator have an influential spouse who is a member of an organization sympathetic to your goal and who should be contacted?).

Prior recorded votes on similar or related legislation.

Major media in legislator's own district: their position on your goal; who reads or listens to them.

Outside interests: organizations of which legislator is a member; organizations and individuals who can influence him or her.

Position in legislative power structure. There are obvious signs, such as being a member of a major committee or the committee which holds hearings on the legislation; less obvious are such facts as that he/she went to school with the Speaker, or informally but not officially represents the governor's views, or was deposed from a chairmanship by the current Speaker, etc.

Report sheets on which a schedule of contacts made (by whom, when, where and how) can be entered, as well as comments on legislator's attitude, his/her analysis of the political scene and any hints he/she has dropped regarding colleagues (which would also go in *their* files).

Some of this information will be available right away and should help in briefing the lobbyists. Some of it will accrue as more and better contacts are made with the legislator and his/her colleagues. The more you can put together, the better off you'll be when the vote is approaching and special resources must be used to line up those last few votes.

Coordinating the lobbying

The first job, of course, is to pick your lobbyists, brief them on the substance and politics of the issue and train them in lobbying techniques (see *Lobbying*).

Make every effort to keep your issue away from partisan politics. Votes are needed from both sides of the aisle. Nevertheless, it makes common sense to assign lobbyists to legislators where as much potential as possible exists for agreement; Democrats should lobby Democrats and Republicans should lobby Republicans. It should also be self-evident that legislators who, for instance, are known to be opposed to labor should not be assigned to union lobbyists and so on. The lobbyists should be sensitive to the personalities and biases of the legislators, not forgetting that a nonthreatening, quiet approach (both in appearance and attitude) is generally the most effective.

Whether or not an exact and felicitous match can be worked out at the start, a lobbyist should in every case have been working with a legislator constructively enough and long enough in advance of any vote to establish credibility, so that the lobbyist can feel reasonably sure of an accurate headcount. If you discover on the day the floor vote is taken that you have lost by ten votes when your lobbyists' reports led you to think you were going to win by one, it's too late to

recognize that the reports you were getting did not reflect the true picture.

The Legislative Committee is responsible for analyzing the lobbying reports, comparing them with reports received from the field and other sources, and determining how accurate the headcount is and how the political wind is blowing. The committee should know at all times who is seeing whom and should be prepared and authorized to make new lobbying assignments when any sign of inadequate or inaccurate reporting surfaces or when hostility has developed between a legislator and a lobbyist. If a vote took place in a prior session, the Legislative Committee should know how well the headcount agreed with the final vote. Any deficiencies in the headcount should be recognized and remedied early in the new session.

Lobbyists and others will be reporting on the individuals who should be enlisted to work on a particular legislator. They will also be reporting where constituent and/or organizational pressure should be applied. By keeping the Field Service and PR committees informed of these reports, committee resources can be used to reach the appropriate people. In addition, reports of which opposition arguments are penetrating the legislature should be referred to the Resource Committee and their answers made available to the lobbyists.

As a result of this constant oversight, reevaluation and communication, the Legislative Committee will be in a position to assure that the right people are talking to the right legislators at the right time with the right facts. These people will have established a relationship with the legislature so that an accurate headcount will be available before the vote. The committee should at the same time be able to anticipate political problems before they become potential disasters and rally all the coalition's resources into action.

Other legislative committee responsibilities

Establish rapport and keep in touch with the majority leadership and the committee chairman in order to:

- get an early warning about the hearing date (arrange a mutually convenient date, time and place if possible);
- assure cooperation in the scheduling of proponents at the hearing;
- get early information about the reporting date and the schedule for floor action;
- get advice on effective use of legislative procedures;
- line up leadership support.

Coordinate hearing testimony of the proponents to achieve greatest impact (see *Testifying*).

Find out who key committee members are; work with them.

A strong minority report is essential, if lobbying reports indicate an unfavorable report is forthcoming. Check committee members favorable to your goal to see if they want help in writing the minority report or additional factual material; have Resource Committee prepare.

Line up influential legislators to floor manage and/or participate in floor debate in favor of the legislation; find out who would welcome prepared remarks or additional factual material; have Resource Committee prepare.

Lobbying

The Legislative Committee formulates the overall strategy and tactics and assigns lobbyists to specific legislators. In these assignments the committee *must* take into account the organizational and party affiliation of the lobbyist. Though an occasional mismatch is inevitable, a lobbyist who encounters real legislative hostility should not pursue the matter but should report back to headquarters with as much information as possible about the reasons for the hostility and who should make the follow-up contact.

Lobbyists can be especially important in assessing the strength of support or opposition of legislators representing districts with little or no constituency from the coalition's member organizations. Particularly when legislative opposition is anticipated (or when supporters need shoring up), the lobbyist can help determine which district forces will be influential in swinging the vote. Then the Public Relations and Field Service Committees can work to line up these forces in favor of the legislation.

There is nothing more satisfying, nothing more fun, than direct person-to-person lobbying for an issue you really believe in. The frustrations can be great, but the knowledge gained about both overt and covert political actions and reactions, the relationships established with major and minor political decision makers, and the gratification of having personally participated in the political process far outweigh the frustrations. Win or lose, a stint as lobbyist will leave you better equipped to move effectively in the political arena when the opportunity arises again.

Lobbying is not a dirty word. Lobbyists perform an essential function in our democratic process. Lobbying a public official is no more or less than using persuasion to convince a person to vote your way. The person has been elected to represent the views of his or her constituents and expects to hear from them. Human nature being what it is, the individual will respond more favorably to those he or she knows and respects. Therefore a *first rule of lobbying* is not to threaten or antagonize those whom you are trying to influence. You do your cause more harm than good, possibly slamming the door on further discussion that might change the legislator's mind or even turning the person against you when he or she might have been favorably disposed to begin with. Furthermore, whatever the reasons for disagreement, threats or aggressively hostile behavior on your part can give political legitimacy to views that the legislator might not otherwise have seriously espoused.

The qualifications for a good lobbyist are:

- an intelligent command of the issue;
- a commitment to the cause, tempered by a tolerance for the human weaknesses of colleagues and elected public officials;
- enthusiasm and sincerity;
- a sense of humor, with a genuine liking of people and an ability to roll with the punches.

It is important to build rapport and understanding between the lobbyist and the legislator. Assuming a reasonably friendly relationship, legislators who are irrevocably committed either pro or con will usually tell you so quite candidly, *though you must listen carefully to what they say to be sure you're really hearing what they mean!* It is usually hardest to elicit an honest and accurate response from a legislator who claims to be neutral. Once mutual trust is established, how-

ever, the legislator will be more open in stating his position and the reasons for it, and the lobbyist will be able to make an accurate assessment of that position for headcount records.

Phone calls or organizational letters are less effective than personal visits, unless the legislator really knows who you are from prior contacts. The lobbyist who does not know the legislator should try to arrange to be introduced at the first visit by someone who does know him and has already established some credibility. After the first discussion, a lobbyist should make follow-up person-to-person visits periodically to present relevant factual material, discuss changes in the political picture or status of the legislation, or demonstrate support from influential endorsers (e.g., if the legislator usually votes with the Farm Bureau and its director has just come out in favor, the lobbyist should use this as a reason for a visit).

Some do's and don'ts for lobbyists

- DO:** recognize the legislator and the legislative staff as human beings; respect and *listen* to their views.
- DO:** get to know legislative staff and treat them courteously—their cooperation can make or break your chances to reach the legislators themselves.
- DO:** identify yourself immediately at each contact; public officials meet too many people to remember everyone.
- DO:** know the issue and the status of the legislation.
- DO:** know your legislator—past record on related legislation and/or votes; party and position in the legislative and political power structure; legislative and outside interests; how long he or she has been in the legislature; what kind of a personal interview will be most effective (sensitivity to legislative attitudes about appearance and approach is *essential*).
- DO:** be aware of any prior favorable commitment to your cause; enlist such a legislator to promote support among colleagues; ask his/her advice.
- DO:** commend legislators for actions you approve of, but don't feel as free to criticize.
- DO:** be brief with your appeal, then follow up periodically.
- DO:** give legislators succinct, easy-to-read literature with important facts and arguments highlighted.
- DO:** keep off-the-record comments confidential.
- DO:** keep the door open for further discussion even if legislator's attitude appears to be negative.
- DO:** report all contacts immediately to headcount headquarters so that appropriate district and capitol follow-up can be carried out.
- DON'T:** be arrogant, condescending or threatening.
- DON'T:** back recalcitrant legislators into a corner where they take a definite position against you.
- DON'T:** overwhelm legislators with too much written material, which they won't have time to read.
- DON'T:** make notes of a conversation while talking to a legislator.
- DON'T:** repeat off-the-record comments of one legislator to another.
- DON'T:** get into protracted arguments.

In addition to presenting arguments in favor of the legislation, the lobbyist is also on a fact-finding mission, intent on gleaning information for the central headcount files. Without

asking direct questions, a good lobbyist can pick up clues on points like these:

- What questions has the legislator raised that must be answered?
- Which fellow legislators' opinions does he or she most respect?
- Does he/she respond to party pressure?
- Which coalition organizations are most respected by the individual? Which ones generate the most hostility?
- What other organizations or individuals is the person likely to be responsive to? (e.g., church, service club, newspaper publisher, hometown mayor, etc.)
- What are his/her major legislative and nonlegislative interests? Are there individuals or organizations in these areas who might influence the person on the legislation in question?
- What does the legislator know about the political undercurrents affecting legislative positions of his/her constituents on your goal?
- If the person is friendly, does he/she have advice to offer hints about how to work with other legislators?
- Is he or she influenced by rational arguments? by emotional appeals to human need and decency? by appeals from particular individuals or groups regardless of the emotional issues or facts?

Testifying

The major goal in testifying at a public hearing is to demonstrate to the committee, the media, and through the media to the public, that the proponents of the legislation know their facts, represent a broadbased constituency and can wield political clout. Good testimony and influential witnesses receiving good news coverage can serve to stimulate interest in the subject and overcome one of the weaknesses in many campaigns—namely, public apathy.

In many instances, the testimony presented at a legislative hearing has more effect on the people who read or hear about it than it does on the legislators themselves. To put it another way, as far as the legislative committee members are concerned, the lobbying you do with them before and after the hearing is more important than the hearing itself; nevertheless, it is essential that you present a case in the hearing that will give the public facts, attract public support and steer a course that takes account of political realities. Opponents must not be allowed by default to give the impression that support doesn't exist or to attract all the headlines.

A number of factors should be taken into account in determining who should testify:

- Will witnesses be more effective if they are from the districts of hearing committee members?
- Are there particular organizations and/or individuals who antagonize the legislators and thus should remain in the background?
- Which and how many witnesses will be needed to represent the largest cross-section of the voting population?
- Which witnesses have the greatest publicity potential?
- Which witnesses can best overcome the arguments of the opposition and respond to committee questions?
- Which organizations and/or individuals *must* be included?
- Who should represent each party in order to demonstrate bipartisan support?

- What limitations on time has (or will) the committee set; how can the proponents' time be used best?

It is important that coalition members agree on who will testify. Give each witness a specific topic to cover according to his or her expertise, and make every effort to avoid repetition. Agree on the sequence in which witnesses should appear, in order to present the "pro" arguments most effectively. Where witnesses who are not members of the coalition are desirable, begin lining them up early, since refusals will necessitate further search for the kind of witnesses you want. Make every effort to find out which opponents are going to testify and to anticipate their arguments with refutations in the proponents' testimony.

In preparing testimony, legislative, public relations and resource or research people should all contribute their ideas: resource—facts to back the points to be covered; legislative—political knowledge of which approach will carry the most weight with the committee; public relations—the kind of language that has the greatest value in appealing to the media and persuading the public.

On the day of the hearing, report the arrival of witnesses to a coordinator to ensure that their presence is noted by the committee. Give the legislative committee chairman (whom you will already have convinced to cooperate on this matter) a list of witnesses in the order you want them to appear. Some member of the coalition should be responsible for collecting all statements of endorsement brought to the hearing and presenting them to the committee at an appropriate time.

The Public Relations Committee should prepare press kits, which might include: a factsheet on the legislation; status of similar legislation in other states; a flyer; copies of major testimony; the names of other prominent and influential endorsers; a press release summarizing the main points of the testimony.

Getting endorsers

In addition to broadening the base of membership in a working coalition, the Coordinating Committee will want to enlist endorsements of the legislation from individuals and groups who may not be willing or able to join the coalition.

Endorsers are important because prominent names make news and because there are many segments of the general public and the legislature whose opinions and attitudes can be shaped and influenced by community and state leaders.

An early step in any major campaign should be a political analysis to decide how the voting population breaks down. Endorsers should be sought from all interests, but particular emphasis should be put on finding leaders whose opinions matter to those whom the coalition membership is least likely to influence.

Obviously, different kinds of endorsers appeal to different people. One person's views may carry great weight with influential legislators because the individual has control of a lot of political patronage; the general public may not even know who the person is. An outspoken clergyman may influence a large number of church members and yet extract little favorable response from the legislature. How you choose your endorsers and how you use their names and statements should thus be determined by the different groups you want to reach.

The Field Service Committee analyzes reports from the district coordinators: who the opposition is, what they are saying, where they're saying it and who's listening to them. The Resource Committee does research and prepares the materials to counteract negative arguments and present positive favorable arguments. In order to present the positive, the committee must keep track of fast-breaking developments, such as recent court decisions which may be exploited by the opposition.

The Public Relations Committee monitors statewide media coverage of the opposition. District and local coalitions should have people monitoring district and local coverage. The Public Relations Committee should help the Resource Committee tailor promotional material to the interests of the people you're trying to reach (e.g., what convinces the rural housewife won't necessarily convince the city blue-collar worker).

Where the opposition is given coverage, the committee should be alert to demand equal time: with TV/radio and newspaper rebuttals; with proponent speakers where the opposition has appeared, etc. Plausible individuals must be chosen, persons who appeal to and influence the opinions of the people you are trying to reach (for instance, in promoting women's rights legislation, a militant female feminist, no matter how good her intentions, probably won't carry much weight at the state VFW convention; a nurse who's a veteran of the Second World War might).

Present the arguments for the desired legislation forcefully over a sufficient length of time so that the facts take hold in the minds of both the legislators and their constituents. The opposition's last-minute barrages of letters and descents on the state capitol in droves will then have minimal effect. Nevertheless, you should anticipate this final flurry of activity and be prepared to demonstrate constituent support with favorable letters and with the presence of a wide range of proponents at the statehouse. When gathering supporter constituents for this final push, be sure to remind them that, regardless of how much we may deplore the importance of appearance, it's a fact of life and must be taken into account when demonstrating in favor of legislation.

Suggested calendar for action

A gradual planned build-up through the various peaks ensures that you are organized ahead of time to anticipate crises and forestall the opposition; that publicity can be generated at the right times; that public interest can be stimulated; and that the enthusiasm and commitment of your workers can be sustained.

All this effort does not guarantee a favorable vote, but few legislators care to go against strong constituent pressure. You must generate that pressure from the constituency as a whole and from particularly influential segments of that constituency.

Following is an outline of the tasks required at various stages of the campaign and a calendar for planning their execution.

The start-up

Begin educational campaign, particularly with members.

Organize or join and strengthen a coalition; set up field organization.

Plan fundraising for campaign.

Determine your deadlines. It is often hard to determine exactly when peak points of a legislative campaign will occur, but certain deadlines are usually definite, and these dates should be known:

- When must the legislation be filed? Or is it an automatic carry-over from the prior session?
- What committee will it be assigned to? Must the committee hold public hearings? Is there a deadline for reporting the legislation to the floor?
- Does the legislature adjourn on a specific date?

The hearing

If the responsible committee in either house of the legislature is held a public hearing on the proposed legislation, the first peak of the campaign will occur then. If there is an option about holding a public hearing, proponents will want to consider whether or not the hearing would advance or retard their cause. If a hearing might be detrimental, consider asking the committee not to hold one. This is a strategy decision that must be made on the basis of the political realities in your own state.

Following are some tips on preparing for a public hearing (see *Anatomy of a Hearing*, LWVUS #108).

Consult with majority party and committee leadership to get a mutually advantageous hearing time and place.

Assign specific topics for testimony to members of coalition; seek additional testifiers with important constituencies and/or legislative influence.

Coordinate supporters' testimony and schedule witnesses to best advantage; find out who is scheduled in opposition and refute their anticipated arguments in proponents' testimony.

Organize massive attendance at hearing; publicize date, time, place along with "pro" arguments.

Prepare press kits for distribution at hearing; make personal contacts with statehouse reporters and wire services to get good hearing coverage.

Assign responsibilities for the day of the hearing, such as coordinating scheduling of supporters' testimony; line up media interviews for supporters; monitor opposition arguments; etc.

The committee vote and report

The next peak would be the crucial committee vote. Unless a deadline exists, timing will be hard to determine, but certainly intensive lobbying should go on at the state capitol and in each district, with hearing committee members in particular, up until that vote is taken. Ask supporters on the committee whether or not they want coalition help in writing their report. If you expect an unfavorable majority, make certain that a very strong minority report is presented.

The week before the committee vote is expected, update the committee headcount daily and maintain daily contact with field organizations in committee members' districts for peak lobbying effort.

The floor vote(s)

The final peak(s) will be the debate and action on the floor. The three-month campaign countdown shown below works back from the projected date of a floor vote.

Three months before vote

(This is written to apply to the pre-floor-vote stage; but it applies equally to the pre-hearing phase, with appropriate modifications.)

A. Have general briefing session for members of the coalition's member organizations and/or begin series of bulletin articles (substance + techniques + stimulation to act) for coalition members.

B. Solicit an invitation for a proponent of your cause to address joint session of legislature.

C. Anticipate sources and kinds of opposition. Prepare positive statements that answer typical "anti" arguments and publicize them before opposition surfaces publicly. Try to meet with potential opponents and move them into the neutral camp. The leaders of an organized opposition are not potential, they are real, but there are other influential citizens whose opposition can be reduced with a face-to-face discussion. The main objective is to identify them and convince them to stay out of the battle, even if they remain opposed.

With the help of your research committee, analyze your legislators and make a preliminary headcount; determine which techniques, organizations and individuals should be concentrated on whom; solicit help and advice of supporters on the legislative committee or committees responsible for writing the legislation and getting it to the floor for a vote.

D. Start lining up speaking engagements if you haven't done so earlier; organize and train speakers' bureau; prepare sample speeches.

E. Organize a plan for reaching each constituent in legislative districts. Decide which methods will be most effective, which ones you have the people power and/or finances to use.

- personal (house to house)
- postcard
- media
- distribution of material in public places.
- petition drive (if you decide to hold one, workers must be found and trained well in advance of drive).

F. Organize for a letterwriting blitz from your coalition and other supporters.

G. Assign a coalition member or committee to establish media contacts; analyze their attitudes, and keep the media informed.

H. Start lining up endorsers from all concerned segments of the community (religious, business and labor, political, ethnic, rural, housewives, professional groups, etc.).

I. Make personal contact with individuals who influence legislators to solicit their active support (campaign workers and/or contributors; party leaders; labor, business officials; members' spouses, golf partners, college classmates, etc.).

J. Develop material for public distribution—flyers, news releases, posters.

K. Plan a big, publicity-getting event, such as a rally or banquet with a notable figure, to take place just before committee or floor vote. If it is a statewide effort, involving state or national figures who will speak out for your goal will produce better news coverage.

Two months before vote

A. Launch campaign publicly. Could be by announcing a prominent figure as honorary chairman of coalition; launching petition drive; or having big kick-off rally for workers.

B. Use media contacts, radio spots, to intensify public education on the issue and to urge public support through writing legislators.

C. Conduct petition drive.

D. Set up speaking engagements, public meetings. A coalition member should be assigned to keep track of these and offer speaking services to groups you want to reach.

E. Maintain regular contact with legislative leadership.

F. Step up home district and state capitol lobbying. Now is the time to write and visit key legislators.

G. Solicit help of supporters in legislature (to testify, endorse publicly, work on colleagues, etc.).

One month before vote

A. Distribute promotional handouts in public places; door-to-door or postcard contact with voters.

B. Update pro/con headcount at least weekly for whole legislature.

C. Step up home district and state capitol lobbying.

D. Arrange to get supporters on interview programs; go after radio/TV news coverage.

E. Make regular announcements of prominent endorsers.

F. Stage one big event with a prominent name that can help the effort.

G. Present petitions to legislators with press release at press conference.

H. Set up letterwriting blitz to all legislators.

The week before floor vote

A. Make daily contact with field organization in districts for

peak lobbying effort.

B. Organize a last letterwriting blitz.

C. Conduct persistent person-to-person lobbying with legislators at capitol—daily update of headcount.

D. Intensify public information efforts through media publicity and distribution of material.

E. Coordinate work with influential legislators who will carry "pro" debate on the floor (prepare speech material for them; work to ensure the attendance of proponents during the debate and vote).

Additional statewide efforts before the floor vote might include one-minute or 30-second radio spots. You might also consider rallies, torchlight parades, or sound trucks, when these measures are appropriate.

A good legislative campaign includes coordination, cooperation, and a well-focused approach. While the demands are many, they can spell the difference between failure and success. So it's really up to you to make sure that before you shout "full speed ahead" on an issue, you know where you want to head, and you've put in enough supplies and support to be sure you reach your destination. □

After several days of intense lobbying, the Senate voted to pass the bill on March 16, 1971. The House, however, did not act until April 12, 1971, when it passed the bill by a vote of 215 to 19. The House bill contained a provision that would have required a two-thirds majority to overturn a presidential veto. This provision was rejected by the Senate, so the House had to pass the bill again. The House passed the bill on April 13, 1971, by a vote of 215 to 19. The Senate then passed the bill on April 14, 1971, by a vote of 51 to 49. The bill was then sent to President Nixon, who signed it into law on April 15, 1971.

Senate Bill 1000 action

Senate Bill 1000, introduced by Senator George McGovern, was passed by the Senate on April 12, 1971. The bill contained provisions to end the draft and to provide for the right to conscientious objectors. It also provided for the right to refuse to serve in the military. The bill was passed by the Senate on April 14, 1971, by a vote of 51 to 49. The bill was then sent to the House of Representatives, where it was introduced by Representative George Miller. The bill was passed by the House on April 15, 1971, by a vote of 215 to 19.

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The alert-up

Women involved in our cause, please join us in this effort.

Getting into Print

How do you get a "good press"? Public officials, government agencies, business and industry, and, certainly, citizen groups are always looking for the answer. No one has the magic formula which will guarantee a good reception from the media, but the public relations person who establishes a reputation for accuracy, fairness, and reliability can expect to be reasonably successful in getting a message across. Judgment--neither over nor under promoting--will also contribute heavily to credibility with the media.

The print media will probably continue to be the best means of getting maximum publicity on a regular basis. Not surprisingly, news is what newspapers are all about. What the PR person must keep in mind is that newspapers do not make the news but print the news other people make. To make news, something has to happen. If you are making news, you'll be in the newspaper, barring tornadoes and other disasters, natural and manmade.

RESEARCH

The person with responsibility for the print media will want to assess all opportunities available in the community. Daily newspapers are an obvious target, but check out neighborhood papers. "Shoppers," which are largely advertisements but sometimes include community announcement items, minority and ethnic group newspapers and the underground press should all be included. Community magazines also offer feature and event coverage in some areas. Don't forget columnists. The first step in getting into print is to build a file of print media that would be interested in your activities and then keep it up to date.

Studying the print media is one way to learn what kinds of stories are used in what sections of the newspaper. Observing the types of editorials and columns in a paper, however, is no substitute for talking with an editor. On small and medium newspapers, your chances of seeing the top person are good; at big urban papers, try to see the news section chiefs. Make an appointment at a convenient time. These are the minimal points you'll want to check out. (Even if the previous PR person left a file, you still want to make certain it is correct.)

- To whom should news stories be sent?
- How do they treat routine meeting announcements?
- What are the deadlines for various sections of the paper? for different editions? Sunday section deadlines?
- What is the policy on pictures?
- What are the possibilities for feature stories?
- What is the policy on letters-to-the-editor?
- Are editorial suggestions welcomed? Are signed editorials used?
- What style does the paper use with regard to names, address, titles and other particulars?

There will be other questions appropriate to local situations. No general PR publication can address itself to local conditions as precisely as the person on the spot, who knows the community and who has been studying the local print media. One word of advice is universal--don't guess what the policy is, ASK! In some areas local papers or groups offer publicity clinics or publish pamphlets on how to get your story across. Seek out these opportunities and follow the local advice which is given. If this service has not been offered in your community, request it--or provide it. By taking the initiative in approaching the media and other organizations, you can increase your visibility while learning PR techniques.

THE PRESS RELEASE

Styles and preferences vary, but the basic ingredients of a news release are generally agreed upon. Make certain that the story includes WHO, WHAT, WHEN, WHERE, WHY, and sometimes add HOW. The lead should be an attention getter. It should tell the story. News stories begin where most essays end--with the climax first. Make the verb active and the subject concrete. If the U.S. senator is speaking, start with "who"; if it's an anniversary celebration, start with "what"; if the meeting is to be held in the rotunda of the state capitol, start with "where."

Be brief. Rarely more than two pages. Short words, short sentences and short paragraphs are less likely to be cut by a copy editor than long and involved statements.

Be accurate. Check details and re-read copy to correct any typing errors. If a name has an unusual spelling, such as Alyce instead of Alice, make a note to let the editor know that the variant spelling is correct. If there are several William Browns in the community, use the middle initial and add that it is William F. Brown, president of the Chamber of Commerce, who will speak.

Be complete. Give exact details with special attention to dates (March 12 rather than next Tuesday) and places (Civic Center, 12 West Main Street, rather than at the community building).

A few rules to follow in preparing press releases:

1. Type and double space all copy, using one side of the paper and ample margins.
2. If you need multiple copies, duplicate (no carbons).
3. Include the organization name, name of contact with address and phone number, in the upper left-hand corner of the first page.
4. Leave space at the top of the first page for a

headline, but don't write your own headline.

5. At the bottom of page one write "more" and at the end of the story write "end" or use the symbol "###" or "30".

6. Staple pages together but label top left-hand corner of additional copy with name of organization and page number.

7. Submit copy well in advance of the newspaper's copy deadline (which you learned from your talk with the editor).

Sample Press Release

Contact

Sally Schildt
(202) 296-1770 FOR RELEASE MARCH 18, 197-

The League of Women Voters of the United States today launched a petition drive in support of comprehensive campaign financing reform in 1974. The goal of the drive, announced today, is a minimum of a million signatures.

"The people want reform--tough and far reaching legislation such as S. 3044 which is now before the Senate. But they may not get it unless there is a genuine outpouring of grassroots opinion to counter stalling tactics and strategies already underway in Congress. Citizens must speak now, and this petition drive gives them a way to do it," said Harriet Winslow, president of the League.

The petition calls for a comprehensive campaign financing law including provisions for:

- combined private and public financing of all federal elections;
- limits on contributions and expenditures;
- full disclosure and enforcement.

These provisions are included in S. 3044 which has strong support in both major parties.

The League is participating with more than 1300 local and state Leagues all over the country and with other national organizations seeking campaign financing reform. Signatures will be gathered between April 8 and 22. On May 6 the signatures from each state will be announced and totaled at the League's national convention in San Francisco. The petitions will be sent to each state's senior senator. Letters tallying the number of signatures gathered among their constituents will also go to junior senators and House members.

"We must break the link between big money and politics if we are to combat corruption, restore confidence in elected officials and have broad citizen participation in the electoral process," Ms. Winslow said.

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Writing a press release and following the rules for preparing copy is not complicated, but not every organization will have a PR person on tap.

A simple fact sheet can serve the same purpose and is prepared in the same manner. Referring to the WHO, WHAT, WHEN, WHERE, WHY and sometimes HOW, type these essentials on a single sheet of paper and include the name, address and phone number of the person to contact for further information. If an editor believes this is news, the preparation of copy can be assigned to someone on the staff.

TIMING

Timing is an important factor in getting into print, so give some thought to the options. Some releases, such as reactions to events, should be released immediately. Some releases must be tied to a specific date. For example, a release on a meeting to be held on Tuesday, March 17, should be "slugged" (dated) to appear in the paper on the same day; or a release on a letter to the governor should be released on the same date the letter is delivered. A feature story such as "What the League Does in the Community" could be released at anytime. But some thought may suggest an optimum time--such as the anniversary of the League's founding in your community. Bear in mind that once you attach a preferred date to a story, you probably have given up any chance of its being used at another time. In making a timing decision, take into account what's going on in your community (you may get a "news peg"), what the content of your story is, what audience you'd like to reach, and when you'd like to reach your audience.

GETTING BETTER COVERAGE

When you make news, it is usually because you have done something worth knowing about--action on your program, taking a public stand, launching a major campaign. Often this action can be announced through a press release you issued at the time of the action. However, a newspaper is likely to give you more space if its reporter covers the story, so follow through with a call to the city editor to see if a reporter has been assigned to cover the event.

PRESS CONFERENCE OR PRESS BRIEFING

The press conference is an increasingly popular technique for getting a message to the media, but it should be used selectively. When should you call a press conference?

- ✓ when the event includes someone prominent to whom the media should have access at the same time.
- ✓ when you have significant announcements to make such as opening a campaign, reporting a lobbying victory where the press will want to ask questions and/or where you want to expand beyond the facts in a press release.
- ✓ when a number of groups are participating in an action and the show of support will emphasize that this action is news.

You do not call a press conference to save work for the public relations chairman! More preparation goes into a press conference than into almost any event you could schedule, but the preparation

can result in extended coverage.

In setting the time and place for a press conference, follow these guidelines if at all possible:

- Schedule a time that allows reporters to meet news deadlines--remember that afternoon papers and television stations have earlier deadlines (usually in mid-afternoon) than morning papers so be sure to check with news and assignment editors.
- Choose a location convenient for news people and a room which can accommodate reporters and equipment.
- Announce it in advance through a press memo with a follow-up phone call the day before the conference to editors who make assignments.
- Include who will participate and the general reasons for calling the press conference but not the specific news to be announced.

Following is a sample press memo.

Contact

Ms. Joanne Bainbridge
Public Relations
296-2467

MAY 28, 197-

PRESS BRIEFING

Purpose: To announce results of statewide election monitoring project

Day: Wednesday, June 4

Time: 11:00 A.M.

Place: Board Room, League of Women Voters
12 Beal Street, 2nd floor

Presiding: Mrs. Louis Folsom, state president
League of Women Voters

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□ Have a prepared statement to hand to reporters and a list of participants (name, address, identification).

□ Start at the time stated, introduce participants.

□ Allow time for statements and questions. When questions begin to lag, it's time to call a halt. The PR person should conclude the press conference and thank the participants.

□ Keep a list of those who attend, after the press conference, deliver materials to any media not represented. If participation has been less than you expected, try tactfully to find out why.

A WORD ON THE WIRE SERVICES

The wire services, Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI), are news-gathering services to which most newspapers subscribe. Most radio and television stations also subscribe to at least one of these services.

The AP is an independent company with correspondents around the country while UPI is an association of newspapers. Each has bureaus in large cities, especially state capitols.

In smaller towns there is often a wire service "stringer," an individual who feeds material to the service.

When you believe your news will be of interest beyond your local area or if wire service reporters are located in your area, contact them and see that they get your materials. When a wire service selects a story to be sent out "on the wire" it will appear on wire service machines throughout a region, state or even nationally. To get an idea of the types of stories which are used by wire services, monitor daily papers, watching for the items which are headed "from AP or UPI." Like newspapers, wire services also use human interest and feature stories.

COORDINATING LOCAL AND STATE OR NATIONAL RELEASES

Sometimes it is useful to send out a series of releases or to issue local releases in conjunction with state and national ones. For example, if the state and local Leagues of Women Voters were undertaking an election monitoring project, the following samples show how local releases could be tied into statewide releases.

(state release)

Contact

Ruth Baxley
Public Relations
(213) 347-2207

FOR RELEASE OCTOBER 31, 197-

The League of Women Voters of Wisconsin will monitor the November 7 election to learn if free and fair elections are being carried out.

"The League has often participated in efforts to register voters and to inform them on issues and candidates," Helen Jones, state president, said.

"This project is undertaken to determine whether or not election officials are carrying out the state statutes which guarantee rights to all voters."

More than 200 women in Wisconsin will participate in this voting rights project.

"We are fortunate to have a number of experienced election procedures observers. Women participating for the first time can learn a great deal from them," Mrs. Jones said.

(local release--same day as statewide, emphasizes plans of local League including names of persons carrying out activity.)

Contact

Mabel Johnson
Public Relations
(204) 324-8631

FOR RELEASE OCTOBER 31, 1974

The League of Women Voters of Dane County is participating in a statewide effort November 7 to learn if free and fair elections are being carried out.

"We'll be checking to see if local election officials are following the laws guaranteeing rights to all voters," Christine Lucas, president of the Dane County League, said.

The League plans to have 20 election observers in selected precincts. The local coordinators of this effort are Ms. Rita Jensen and Mrs. Linda Straub, who are experienced election observers.

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(state follow-up release--summarizes results of election monitoring project which may have been announced at press conference.)

Contact

Ruth Baxley
Public Relations
(213) 347-2207

FOR RELEASE NOVEMBER 9, 197-

The League of Women Voters of Wisconsin today gave high marks to election officials for their work in the November 7 elections.

"On balance, election officials did an excellent job in seeing that election laws were carried out. It's a record all citizens of Wisconsin can be proud of," said Helen Jones, state League president.

"More than 200 precincts were monitored and only 25 probable statutory violations were found by the League observers.

"We think that the more than 200 volunteers who monitored selected polling places did a terrific job, and we are confident that local and state officials will tighten up on the administration of election laws where needed," Mrs. Jones said.

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(local follow-up release)

Contact

Mabel Johnson
Public Relations
(214) 324-8631

FOR RELEASE NOVEMBER 9, 197-

The League of Women Voters of Dane County reported two probable statutory violations of election laws in the Dane area for the November 7 election.

"This compares favorably with the generally high level of work done by election officials in other parts of the state," said Christine Lucas, president of the League which participated in a state-wide monitoring project last election day.

"We have brought these probable violations to the attention of Mr. Jerry Lubowicz, county election administrator and we are confident he will take appropriate action," Mrs. Lucas said.

Ms. Rita Jensen and Mrs. Linda Straub led the League's team of election observers, which moni-

tored selected polling places in the Dane County area.

NOT GETTING INTO PRINT?

What should you do if, after careful planning and attention to the requirements of the media, you are still not getting into print? Try taking a critical look at what your organization is doing in the community. Is it news? Is it news for the whole community or just for the members? Have you been trying to publicize activities or do you have events which are news? If you are not getting into print, which organizations are, and why? Try talking to those responsible for news decisions and ask for an explanation of why releases which you prepared were not used. Don't assume a conspiracy to keep you out of the paper. Do reporters know your organization? Have you taken the time to talk to them when you aren't looking for coverage? Do they know what your organization is and does? Remember, reporters are human beings too, and getting to know them may help.

OTHER WAYS OF GETTING INTO PRINT

✓ Feature stories are a good supplement to straight news coverage. As a rule, features are written by reporters. Your job is to know the paper and learn what kinds of feature material they like to print. Present them with the facts, the outline of a story, a feature angle--and your cooperation.

✓ If you can't get your name in print, get your issue. For instance, by feeding the newspaper your material on an issue, you may stimulate them to do an article or a series and, who knows, they might include your group's name in the copy.

If you've done a good enough job of building your credibility and getting to know the editorial writers, they may be receptive to your ideas about editorials and perhaps even to drafts you've prepared.

✓ A good letter to the editor signed by a well known name may be more effective than an editorial. A few tips. Take sides on issues but avoid personalities. Tie the letter to the news or editorial coverage that moved you to write. Be brief--you're less likely to be cut. Decide whether an official letter from your organization, or letters from individuals or both would be best. Letters, like feature stories, are a good device for maintaining interest in your group's issues and for communicating something not suited to a press release or feature story.

✓ Many Leagues of Women Voters prepare weekly columns which are published by local papers. To do this, you need a continuing commitment from one or more of your members. Columns, like news stories, must speak to the interests and needs of the community, not just your members.