

August 29, 1962

THE COUNCIL AND THE LOBBY

With President Kennedy a number of able men moved into the Administration. The views represented by them cover a wide spectrum; many of them are deeply concerned about our drifting into an all-out arms race and war, but so far they have not been able to reach a consensus on the policies that need to be pursued in order to avert this danger.

The Council will bring to Washington from time to time scientists, scholars and other public-spirited citizens who are knowledgeable as well as articulate and who, by discussing the relevant issues with members of the Administration, will help them to clarify their minds and to arrive at the right conclusions.

These citizens and scholars will also discuss these same issues with members of the Congress. There are a number of men in Congress, particularly the Senate, who are deeply concerned about our drifting into war and who are intelligent and knowledgeable enough to be able to gain insight into what needs to be done.

The Lobby could help such members of Congress to have the courage of their convictions by providing them with adequate campaign funds. It will be one of the first concerns of the Lobby that good men who are now in Congress be re-elected and the Lobby will have to see to it that they shall not lack adequate campaign funds.

This, however, is not enough, and the Lobby would have to do what it can to increase the number of those in Congress, and particularly in the Senate, who can be counted upon to support a constructive foreign policy and to press for the adoption of such a policy. To this end the Lobby would have to find, at the grass-roots level, men who have insight into the basic issues relevant to a constructive foreign policy, and who would have a fair chance of being elected if they were to receive the nomination of their party. It would be the task of the Lobby to persuade such men to seek the nomination of their party and to help them to get it, by assuring them in advance of adequate financial backing.

Guided by the recommendations of the Lobby, members of the Movement who make a campaign contribution, would make out their checks directly to the candidate of their choice, but would send their checks to the Lobby for tabulation and transmittal. This would enable the Lobby to keep tab on the flow of campaign contributions and guide the Lobby in making, from time to time, recommendations on where subsequent contributions ought to go.

In order to be able to make adequate campaign contributions, the Movement must grow rapidly until it has 20,000 members, at which point its campaign contributions might amount to four million dollars per year. The campaign expenses of a candidate running for the Senate is estimated at an average of about \$250,000 for the larger states, and about \$100,000 for the smaller states. A contest for the House, in the smaller districts, requires \$10,000 to \$20,000.

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The Lobby will not support so-called "peace candidates" who cannot get the nomination of their party, because the Lobby, in order to be politically effective, must establish and maintain a record of fair success in political action. From the point of view of public education, so-called peace candidates could, however, fulfill a very important function. A candidate who runs for election and wants to get elected, may not be able to wage an effective educational campaign. But a candidate who is reconciled to the fact that he is not going to be elected, has a unique opportunity

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to educate the public, because he need not pull his punches; if there is a fight going on people will sit up and listen. Therefore, if the funds at the disposal of the Movement begin to exceed the amounts urgently needed for campaign contributions, the Movement may support candidates whose main aim is political education of the public, rather than the winning of an election.

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The Council will encourage the formation of local groups in the major centers which may designate themselves as the "Friends of the Council for Abolishing War" and the members of the Movement who live in such a center would be invited to join such a local group if they wish to do so. The Council will make it its business to set up such a local group in each major center, but thereafter the local groups would be on their own and may decide for themselves with what other organizations in their community they wish to cooperate. As time goes on, such local groups might play an increasingly important political role. In cooperation with other local organizations they may give effective support to desirable Congressional candidates and they may help to clarify the relevant issues by discussing them with the editors and columnists of their local newspapers and other opinion makers in their community.

The issues with which the Council is mainly concerned present themselves only rarely in the form of bills before Congress and by the time they do it is frequently too late to influence the course of events. Of greater concern to the Lobby than the passage of bills is therefore the general attitude of Congress on the major issues of foreign policy and defense policy. Occasionally, however, such as for instance in the case of the United Nations bonds, there may be a bill before Congress which is of direct concern to the Movement. On such occasions the Lobby would communicate with the members of the Movement directly and also through the "Friends of the Council" in the various communities and suggest that they write to or otherwise contact their members of Congress.

The Council will assist the Friends of the Council which are located in the major centers to set up seminars for those members of the Movement who wish to clarify in their own minds on the relevant issues in order to be able to present their views more effectively in Washington.

The knowledgeable and articulate members of the Movement might take turns, each one staying one or two weeks in Washington, and when the Council is fully operating, there might be five to ten such members available in Washington at any one time.

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For the guidance of those who may speak in the name of the Council, the Council is drafting an action programme or platform which will indicate the objective which the Council believes to be currently attainable.

He who speaks in the name of the Council need not necessarily be in favor of or argue for all of its objectives; it is sufficient that he be wholeheartedly in favor of some of these objectives and capable of putting forward convincing arguments in their favor. When speaking in the name of the Council, members of the Movement would be restricted by the Council's action programme to currently attainable objectives.

This would leave the members of the Movement free, however, to press as individuals, or through other organizations to which they may belong, for objectives which are not currently attainable but which may be desirable, and in time might become attainable.

The action programme of the Council will be revised from time to time. When the platform is to be revised, the Council will hold hearings in Washington, D. C.,

and members of the Movement will be invited to express their views on what the desirable or attainable objectives may be that should be included.

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The Lobby could help such members of Congress to have the courage of their convictions by providing them with adequate campaign funds. It will be one of the first concerns of the Lobby that good men who are now in Congress be re-elected and the Lobby will have to see to it that they shall not lack adequate campaign funds.

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This, however, is not enough, and the Lobby would have to do what it can to increase the number of those in Congress, and particularly in the Senate, who can be counted upon to support a constructive foreign policy and to press for the adoption of such a policy. To this end the Lobby would have to find, at the grass-roots level, men who have insight into the basic issues relevant to a constructive foreign policy, and who would have a fair chance of being elected if they were to receive the nomination of their party. It would be the task of the Lobby to persuade such men to seek the nomination of their party and to help them to get it, by assuring them in advance of adequate financial backing.

Guided by the recommendations of the Lobby, members of the Movement who make a campaign contribution, would make out their checks directly to the candidate of their choice, but would send their checks to the Lobby for tabulation and transmittal. This would enable the Lobby to keep tab on the flow of campaign contributions and guide the Lobby in making, from time to time, recommendations on where subsequent contributions ought to go.

In order to be able to make adequate campaign contributions, the Movement must grow rapidly until it has 20,000 members, at which point its campaign contributions might amount to four million dollars per year. The campaign expenses of a candidate running for the Senate is estimated at ^{an average of} about \$250,000 for ^{the} a larger state, and ~~at~~ about \$100,000 for ^{the} a smaller state. A contest for the House, in ~~one of~~ the smaller districts, ^{requires} ~~might require~~ \$10,000 to \$20,000 ~~only~~.

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The Lobby ~~itself must~~ ^{will} not support so-called "peace candidates" who cannot get the nomination of their party, because the Lobby, in order to be politically effective, must establish and maintain a record of fair success in

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political action. From the point of view of public education, so-called peace candidates could, however, fulfill a very important function. A candidate who runs for election and wants to get elected, may not be able to wage an effective educational campaign. But a candidate who is reconciled to the fact that he is not going to be elected, has a unique opportunity to educate the public, because he need not pull his punches; if there is a fight going on people will sit up and listen. Therefore, if the funds at the disposal of the Movement begin to exceed the amounts urgently needed for campaign contributions, ~~either the Lobby, or another related organization set up for the purpose~~ ^{the Movement} may support candidates whose main aim is political education of the public, rather than the winning of an election.

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The Council will encourage the formation of local groups in the major centers which may designate themselves as the "Friends of the Council for Abolishing War" and the members of the Movement who live in such a center would be ~~free~~ ^{invited} to join such a local group if they wish to do so. The Council will make it its business ~~initially~~ to set up such a local group in each major center, but thereafter the local groups would be on their own and may decide for themselves with ~~which~~ ^{what} other organizations in their community they wish to cooperate. As time goes on, such local groups might play an increasingly important political role. In cooperation with other local organizations they may give effective support to desirable Congressional candidates and they may ~~clarify~~ ^{help to} the relevant issues by discussing them with the editors and columnists of their local newspapers and other opinion makers in their community.

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it is frequently too late to influence the course of events. Of greater concern to the Lobby than the passage of bills is therefore the general attitude of Congress on the major issues of foreign policy and defense policy. Occasionally, however, such as for instance in the case of the United Nations bonds, there may be a bill before Congress which is of direct concern to the Movement. On such occasions the Lobby would communicate with the "Friends of the Council" in the various communities and suggest that they write to or otherwise contact their members of Congress.

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The knowledgeable and articulate members of the Movement might take turns, each one staying one or two weeks in Washington, and when the Council is fully operating, there might be five to ten ^{such} members of the Movement available in Washington at any one time.

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For the guidance of those who may speak in the name of the Council, the Council is drafting an action program or platform which will indicate the objective which the Council believes to be currently attainable.

He who speaks in the name of the Council need not necessarily be in favor of or argue for all of its objectives; it is sufficient ^{that he} ~~is~~ wholeheartedly in favor of some of these objectives and capable of putting forward convincing arguments in their favor. When speaking in the name of the Council, members of the Movement would be restricted by the Council's ^{action programme} ~~platform~~ to currently attainable objectives.

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This would leave the members of the Movement free, however, to press as individuals, or through other organizations to which they may belong, for objectives which are not currently attainable but which ^{may be} ~~are~~ desirable, and in time might become attainable.

The action program ^{some} ~~or platform~~ of the Council will be revised from time to time. When the platform is to be revised, the Council will hold hearings in Washington, D. C., and members of the Movement will be invited to express their views on what the desirable or attainable objectives may be that should be included.

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September 12, 1962

THE COUNCIL AND THE LOBBY

With President Kennedy a number of able men moved into the Administration. The views they hold cover a wide spectrum; many of them are deeply concerned about our drifting into an all-out arms race and war, but so far they have not been able to reach a consensus on the policies which need to be pursued in order to avert this danger. In order to help them to clarify their minds and to arrive at the right conclusions on the relevant issues, the Council will bring to Washington from time to time individual scientists, scholars and other public-spirited citizens who are knowledgeable as well as articulate and who will discuss with them these issues.

These individuals will also discuss these same issues with members of the Congress. There are a number of men in Congress, particularly the Senate, who are also deeply concerned about our drifting into war and who are capable of gaining insight into what needs to be done.

The Lobby will help such members of Congress to have the courage of their convictions by providing them with substantial campaign funds. One of the first concerns of the Lobby will be that these men be re-elected and that they shall not lack adequate campaign funds.

This, however, is not enough, and the Lobby will have to do what it can to increase the number of those in Congress, and particularly in the Senate, who can be counted upon not only to support a constructive foreign policy but also to press for the adoption of such a policy. To this end the Lobby will have to find, at the grass-roots level, men who have insight into the relevant issues and who, if they were to receive the nomination of their party, would have a fair chance of being elected. It is the task of the Lobby to persuade such men to seek the nomination of their party and to help them to get it, largely by assuring them in advance of substantial financial backing.

Guided by the recommendations of the Lobby, members of the Movement who make a campaign contribution, would make out their checks directly to the candidate of their choice, but send them to the Lobby for tabulation and transmittal to the candidate. This procedure will enable the Lobby to keep tab on the flow of campaign contributions and guide the Lobby in making, from time to time, further recommendations on contributions.

In order to be able to make adequate campaign contributions, the Movement must grow rapidly until it has 20,000 members, at which point its campaign contributions might amount to four million dollars per year. The campaign expenses of a candidate running for the Senate is estimated at an average of about \$250,000 for the larger states, and about \$100,000 for the smaller states. A contest for the House, in the smaller districts, requires \$10,000 to \$20,000.

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The Council will assist those "Friends of the Council" groups, which are located in the major centers, to set up seminars for those members of the Movement who wish to clarify in their own minds the relevant issues in order to be able to present their views more effectively in Washington. Such knowledgeable and articulate members of the Movement can take turns, each one staying one or two weeks in Washington, and when the Council is fully operating, there might be as many as five to ten such members available in Washington at any one time.

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