

May 22, 1958

VICTORY FOR WHAT?

It is now generally accepted that the Democrats will pick up seats in both houses of the next Congress. The only point in question seems to be how many. Estimates range from two to ten in the Senate, and from 15 to as many as 60 in the House. A Democratic gain of six seats in the Senate, not at all unlikely, would increase that party's majority from the present 49 - 47 to a healthy 55 - 41.

Laymen take this prospect at face value -- one party loses, the other party wins. But politicians view the matter differently. They are interested not only in how the balance of power will shift between the parties, but in how it will shift within the parties.

For what is involved here is not merely a matter of labels, but of votes that will be cast on foreign, defense, trade, education and other issues during the years ahead. These will be determined by who is elected, where, how and with whose help. Party affiliation will not be nearly as important in determining performance as a man's own character and views, the composition of his district, the kind of campaign he makes and the obligations he assumes.

And right now oil Democrats, labor Democrats, farm Democrats, internationalist Democrats, racist Democrats, civil rights Democrats and every other variety of Democrats and Republicans are working for an outcome favorable to their particular issues and political futures.

The stakes should be of equal interest to those non-professionals whose personal sense of responsibility impels them to work in campaigns and contribute political money.

The most obvious, and perhaps the overriding, internal consequence of the Democratic victories will be to shift the balance of power within their party in Congress away from the South. There are no more Senate seats to be gained in the South, and very few House seats. The gain will be in the North and in the West.

On the surface this would appear to mean a liberalizing of the delegation and consequent headaches for the leadership. Democratic leaders in Congress may have to find new ways of maintaining discipline over the members, particularly in the Senate, where they now do so by arguing the importance of unity in view of the narrowness of the majority. (Many liberal Northern members are persuaded to soft-pedal their stands on issues in order to keep the party together, and so, presumably, are some of the more conservative Southerners.)

But the real meaning of the shift remains to be seen. The election to the Senate of an isolationist like Congressman Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia will not mean the same as the election of an internationalist like William Benton or Chester Bowles of Connecticut; the re-election of a natural gas bill proponent like Chavez of New Mexico will not mean the same as the re-election of an opponent like Proxmire of Wisconsin.

Each of the interest groups is working to insure the election of its favorites, and to seek favor with others:--

Oil politicians are providing financial support to some of the more hopeful Democratic challengers in order to assure a hearing as friendly as that offered by the Republicans they may replace.

Organized labor is preparing an all-out effort to defeat its enemies and obligate their successors to head off the drastic curbs now being proposed by the Knowland-Goldwater faction.

Protectionists, trucking interests, farm lobbies, and others also are jumping on and trying to steer various bandwagons.

In many instances these efforts are characterized by a disregard of other issues, once exemplified by the labor leader who, when approached for support of the effort to secure the censure of Senator McCarthy, replied: "Flanders has a lousy labor record, and I don't see why we should pull his chestnuts out of the fire."

Also, there is a heavy involvement of Presidential politics. John Kennedy is seeking an unprecedented majority in Massachusetts. Governor Meyner of New Jersey wants as much for his protegee Senate candidate "Pete" Williams, as does Lyndon Johnson for his friends, and "Soapy" Williams and others for theirs. The failure of some, and the victory of others, will make an important difference in the Democratic convention in 1960.

Thus the struggle for the soul of the next Congress goes on even while the fight to elect it is waged.

If it were possible now to assess the relative weight of these various factors and their post-November significance, one could in these limited terms answer the question "Victory for what?"

But an answer in terms of the overall national interest cannot be given without an evaluation also of the participation and effectiveness of the independent, public minded citizen. For it is this kind of participation that can free the candidate who wants to be independent.

#### FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 1958 ELECTIONS

Today the great majority of the non-professionals who take an active interest in public affairs do so out of a primary concern with foreign policy. They recognize that the issues of war and peace, and what kind of world we will live in, will ultimately determine the character of our individual and domestic lives. Further, they share a general attitude as to what our foreign policy should be and how it should be conducted.

But it is a paradox of American public life that the organized activities through which these concerns are most frequently expressed have little direct effect upon the making of foreign policy, and occasionally may even frustrate it.

Foreign policy is determined essentially in the political arena. The outcome of the 1958 elections, for instance, will have a greater effect on American foreign policy in the years ahead than all the Rockefeller, Gaither and other reports combined.

Yet, virtually every organization of American citizens specifically devoted to foreign policy is non-political. Their tax exemptions bar them from campaign activity, and their bi-partisan composition has encouraged the development of conventions under which political discussion has become almost ungentlemanly. On the other hand, those whose concern with foreign policy leads them directly into political organizations, and particularly into the political parties, often find that a responsible interest in foreign policy is considered a handicap.

There are foreign policy oriented people in virtually every community in the United States. As a rule they tend to be the most interested and articulate, and are well represented in every leadership echelon. The gap between their concern with the overall national interest and the political impact of that concern poses one of the gravest problems in our public life. And it may be that finding a way to bridge that gap and to give impact to this widespread concern is the most important prerequisite for American leadership in creating a free and peaceful world.

The first step must be to insure that their help, both in work and in money, to candidates of either party in the 1958 campaigns be concentrated where and provided in ways that will do the most good in freeing and encouraging candidates to grapple with the problems of world leadership now confronting us.

Obviously, only a small proportion of the campaigns will provide such an opportunity. But these are the ones that will make whatever difference can be made in this election year. (In the others, either the results are not in question or the candidates have roughly similar views.) In the Senate, especially, this difference could be critical. The candidates elected in November will serve not only during the remaining years of the Eisenhower Administration, but through the full term of the President who is elected in 1960.

The following table contains a profile of the 1958 Senate races as of this moment, and indicates which contests have the greatest significance for foreign policy.

Only candidates who have already been nominated or who are virtually assured of nomination have been listed. Readers may fill in the blank spaces as the campaigns proceed. Incumbents are indicated in capitals, challengers in cap and lower case. The status of campaigns listed as "probably safe" may change depending on developments as the campaigns proceed.

The foreign policy positions of the candidates are indicated as follows:

(Z) indicates generally isolationist record and/or attitude.

(ZZ) indicates strongly isolationist record and/or attitude.

(A) indicates generally internationalist record and/or attitude.

(AA) indicates internationalists in whom the NCEC has observed a consistently active interest and attempt to provide leadership in foreign policy.

(These characterizations do not necessarily indicate agreement on any specific issues between persons similarly characterized. They are general evaluations of interest, attitude and performance.)

State	Democratic Senate Candidate	Republican Senate Candidate	Incumbent Party Safe	Incumbent Party Probably Safe	Contest	Important Foreign Policy Significance In Contest	Remarks (See Next Page)
Ariz.	McFarland (A)	GOLDWATER (ZZ)			X	X	
Calif.	Engel (A)	Knight (A)			X		1
Conn.		PURTELL (A)			X	X	2
Del.	Carvel (A)	WILLIAMS (Z)	X				
Fla.	HOLLAND (A)		X				3
Ind.					X	X	4
Me.	Muskie (A)	PAYNE (A)			X		
Md.	D'Alesandro (A)	BEALL (A)			X		
Mass.	KENNEDY (AA)		X				
Mich.	Hart (A)	POTTER (A)			X		
Minn.		THYE (A)			X	X	5
Miss.	STENNIS (Z)		X				
Mo.	SYMINGTON (A)	Palmer (A)	X				
Mont.	MANSFIELD (AA)		X				
Neb.	Morrison (A)	HRUSKA (ZZ)		X			
Nev.	Anderson (A)	MALONE (ZZ)			X	X	
N. J.	Williams (A)	Kean (A)			X		6
N. M.	CHAVEZ (A)	Atchley (A)		X			
N. Y.					X		7
N. D.		LANGER (ZZ)	X				
Ohio	Young (A)	BRICKER (ZZ)		X			
Penna.	Leader (A)	Scott (AA)			X	X	8
R. I.	PASTORE (A)		X				
Tenn.	GORE (A)		X				
Tex.	YARBOROUGH (A)		X				9
Utah		WATKINS (A)		X			10
Vt.		Prouty (A)	X				11
Va.	BYRD (ZZ)		X				
Wash.	JACKSON (A)	Lewis (Z)	X				
W. Va.	Byrd (Z)	REVERCOMB (A)			X		12
W. Va.	MARLOWE (A)	HOLBITZELL (?)			X		13
Wis.	PROXMIRE (AA)				X	X	14
Wyo.	McGee (AA)	BARRETT (ZZ)			X	X	15

REMARKS

- 1) Calif.: Incumbent Republican Senator Knowland is retiring.
- 2) Conn.: The Democratic nomination is being sought by former Senator and Assistant Secretary of State William Benton (AA), former Governor and Ambassador to India Chester Bowles (AA), and former Congressman Thomas Dodd (A). Either Benton or Bowles would differ significantly from Purtell in quality and degree of foreign policy leadership.
- 3) Fla.: Holland probably will be challenged in the Democratic primary by former Senator Claude Pepper (A), who is not, however, expected to be successful.
- 4) Ind.: Incumbent Republican Senator Jenner is retiring. Both parties are split and it is too soon to tell who the candidates will be. It is likely that the Republican candidate will be strongly isolationist and the Democratic candidate at least moderately internationalist.
- 5) Minn.: The Democratic nomination is being sought by former Ambassador to Denmark Eugenie Anderson (AA) and Congressman Eugene McCarthy (AA). Either Anderson or McCarthy would be much more interested and forceful in foreign policy leadership than Thye.
- 6) N. J.: Incumbent Republican Senator Smith is retiring.
- 7) N. Y.: Incumbent Republican Senator Ives is retiring. Aspirants are jockeying for nomination in both parties. Democrats mentioned as possible candidates include former Secretary of Air Thomas Finletter (AA), Mayor Robert Wagner (A) and District Attorney Frank Hogan (?). Republicans mentioned as possible candidates include Congressman Kenneth Keating (A) and Nelson Rockefeller (AA), who is said to prefer the gubernatorial nomination.
- 8) Penna.: Incumbent Republican Senator Martin is retiring.
- 9) Tex.: Yarborough is being opposed by multimillionaire William Blakley (Z) in the Democratic primary. Yarborough is believed to have a comfortable edge.
- 10) Utah: Watkins may be challenged in the Republican primary by former Governor Bracken Lee (ZZ). Watkins is expected to win both the primary and the general election handily.
- 11) Vt.: Incumbent Republican Senator Flanders is retiring.
- 12) W. Va.: Strongly isolationist prior to his defeat in 1948, Revercomb has made moderately internationalist gestures since returning to the Senate in 1957.
- 13) W. Va.: Holbitzell has no foreign policy record. His attitudes are believed to correspond to Revercomb's.
- 14) Wis.: Proxmire's opponent will probably be from the isolationist wing of the Republican Party. Judge Steinle, the principal avowed aspirant for the Republican nomination, is a former supporter of Joe McCarthy.
- 15) Wyo.: McGee has primary opposition but is expected to win without difficulty.

# NATIONAL COMMITTEE for an EFFECTIVE CONGRESS

10 EAST 39th STREET

NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 3-2286

April 9, 1962

Chairman:

SIDNEY H. SCHEUER

Vice Chairman:

GEORGE R. DONAHUE

Secretary:

SUSAN M. LEE

Treasurer:

CHARLES ROSE

Board of Advisors:

HANNAH ARENDT

GEORGE BACKER

LAIRD BELL

GEORGE BIDDLE

GEORGE H. COMBS

TOM FIZDALE

ALAN GREEN

ALVIN H. HANSEN

MARK de WOLFE HOWE

GARDNER JACKSON

DONALD JENKS

ISIDORE LIPSCHUTZ

MARSHALL MacDUFFIE

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

ROBERT R. NATHAN

GEORGE E. OUTLAND

DUNCAN PHILLIPS

JAMES A. PIKE

ROBERT W. RUHL

THIBAUT DE SAINT PHALLE

FRANCIS B. SAYRE, JR.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER

DAVID E. SCOLL

HARRY LOUIS SELDEN

EDWARD S. SKILLIN

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

NATHAN STRAUS

TELFORD TAYLOR

GERHARD P. VAN ARKEL

SUMNER WELLES

Chairman, Board of Advisors:

MAURICE ROSENBLATT

Executive Director:

GEORGE E. AGREE

Washington Office:

316 A Street, N.E.

Washington 2, D. C.

Lincoln 7-7758

Dr. Leo Szilard  
DuPont Plaza Hotel  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Szilard:

Enclosed is a copy of the Organization Agreement of the National Committee for an Effective Congress and the By-Laws.

You will note that Section 4 of the Organization Agreement attempts to limit the liability of the persons involved. It is my belief, however, that in practice, this would not be upheld in court except that it would place prior liability upon any officer of the Committee who acted in violation of the section I have marked.

The other document I believe you should have is entitled, FEDERAL CORRUPT PRACTICES AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, which is a compilation of relevant regulations which is printed from time to time by the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections for the Senate Rules Committee. I think a phone call to the Rules Committee office would get you this document.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

  
George E. Agree

GEA:CC  
Enclosures

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS

ORGANIZATION AGREEMENT

We, the subscribers of this Organization Agreement, hereby organize a political committee under the laws of the State of New York to act under the name "NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS" on the following terms and conditions:

1. The name of the Committee shall be "National Committee for an Effective Congress".

2. The purposes for which the Committee is organized shall be, in any and all ways deemed appropriate by the Committee or its Executive Board and to the extent permitted by law:

(a) To influence, advance, further and advocate the nomination and election in two or more States of such candidates for the offices of Senator or Representative in the Congress of the United States as the Committee or its Executive Board may deem worthy of support, regardless of the political affiliation of such candidates, to oppose the nomination and election of such candidates for such offices as the Committee or its Executive Board shall deem the proper subject of opposition by the Committee, and to take action in connection with primary elections or political conventions or caucuses held to select candidates for such offices, all with the ultimate objective of maintaining an effective Congress;

(b) To educate the public in the rights, privileges and duties of citizenship, including the right, privilege and duty of exercising the voting franchise;

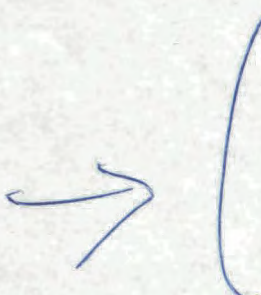
(c) To urge the adoption of such legislative procedural or other activities or changes as the Committee or its Executive Board shall deem advisable in order to improve the efficiency of the United States Senate, the House of Representatives and their respective committees and officers; and in every way to assist Senators and Representatives in carrying out the functions of their offices;

(d) To solicit and accept contributions of money, services and other property for the foregoing purposes, and to make contributions of money, services and other property and other expenditures therefor.

In furtherance but not in limitation of the foregoing, the Committee shall have power and authority:

(1) To acquire money, securities and other property of all kinds, or rights or services of any nature, by gift, legacy or otherwise, without limitation as to amount or value except such limitations, if any, as may now or hereafter be imposed by law; to hold, invest, use or license others to use, sell or otherwise dispose of any money, securities, property, rights or services so acquired; and

(2) To exercise any and all powers (including the making of conveyances, assignments and contracts, and the incurring of obligations) which might be exercised by a natural person and which may be necessary or appropriate to the purposes above mentioned.



Anything herein to the contrary notwithstanding, the Committee shall not make contributions or incur obligations unless in the judgment of the Committee or its Executive Board its funds are sufficient to provide adequately for the payment of all of its liabilities and obligations.

The Committee is not organized for pecuniary profit and shall not engage in any activities for pecuniary profit, and no member of the Committee or its Executive Board, officer, employee or agent of the Committee shall receive any pecuniary profit from the operations thereof except reasonable compensation for services rendered in effecting or carrying out one or more of its activities.

3. The activities of the Committee shall be conducted in accordance with the provisions of this Organization Agreement and of the By-Laws of the Committee (a copy of which is attached hereto and made a part hereof as Exhibit A)),

4. The Committee, its members, the members of its Executive Board, the members of its Advisory Board, and the officers, employees and agents of the Committee are not authorized to, and shall not, pledge the personal credit of any person and all liabilities and obligations of the Committee shall be payable solely out of the property of the Committee and shall not be the liabilities or obligations of any member of the Committee or of any other person.

5. The principal office of the Committee shall be located in the City, County and State of New York. Additional



offices may be opened at such other locations in the continental United States as may be selected by the Committee or its Executive Board.

6. The names and residences of the members of the Executive Board until the next annual meeting of the members of the Committee are (\*)†

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>RESIDENCES</u>
Sidney H. Scheuer	91 Central Park West, New York City
Evans Clark	37 Washington Square, West, N.Y. City
George Backer	375 Park Avenue, New York City
Susan Mary Lee	90 Macdougall St., New York City
Thibaut de Saint Phalle	17 East 89th St., New York City
Telford Taylor	14 East 90th St., New York City
Charles Rose	35 Pryer Place, New Rochelle, N.Y.
Harry L. Selden	77 15 115th Street, Forest Hills, L.I., N.Y.
Marshall K. Skadden	203 Earl Street, E. Williston, L.I., N.Y.
Maurice Rosenblatt	30 West 70th St., New York City

The names of the officers of the Committee until the next annual meeting of the members of the Committee are:

Acting Chairman:	Sidney H. Scheuer
Vice Chairman:	Frederick Lewis Allen
Treasurer:	Sidney H. Scheuer
Assistant Treasurer:	
Secretary:	Susan Mary Lee

7. The activities of the Committee shall be initiated promptly after the execution of this Organization Agreement and shall be carried on until the Committee is dissolved by the concurring vote of at least two-thirds of the members of the Committee at a meeting duly called and held in accordance with the By-Laws or by an action in writing duly executed by at least two-thirds of the members of the Committee and filed with the Committee's records at its principal office.

\* Elected at special meeting of the National Committee for an Effective Congress on January 28, 1954.

8. This Organization Agreement may be amended by the concurring vote of at least two-thirds of the members of the Committee at a meeting duly called and held in accordance with the By-Laws or by an action in writing duly executed by at least two-thirds of the members of the Committee and filed with the Committee's records at its principal office.

9. This Organization Agreement may be executed in any number of counterparts, all of which taken together shall constitute one and the same instrument.

EXHIBIT A

BY-LAWS

of

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS

ARTICLE I

Membership

The members of the Committee shall consist of the persons who shall subscribe the Organization Agreement of the Committee prior to October 9, 1948, and such persons as may from time to time be admitted to membership at any annual or special meeting of the members. Each member shall continue to be a member until his membership shall terminate by death or resignation or by the announcement of his candidacy for any elective office of the Federal Government, but the membership of any member may be terminated at any time, with or without cause and with or without notice, by a majority of all of the other members either at a meeting or by action in writing. The number of members shall not exceed 50.

ARTICLE II

Meetings of Members

Section I. Annual Meetings. The annual meeting of the members for the election of officers and the Executive Board, and for the transaction of such other business as shall properly come before the meeting, shall be held within eight weeks after the date on which the New York general election takes place. The time and place for each annual meeting shall be determined by the Executive Board and communicated in writing by the Secretary to all members no later than two weeks before the date so determined. Such annual meetings shall be general meetings and open for the transaction of any business within the powers of the Committee without special notice of such business, except in any case in which special notice is required by law, by the Organization Agreement or by these By-Laws.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings of the members may be called at any time by the Chairman, by any four members of the Executive Board, or by no less than 20% of the members of the Committee.

Section 3. Place of Meetings. All meetings of the members shall be held at such place within or without the State of New York as shall be specified in the notice of such meeting, or waivers thereof.

Section 4. Notice of Meetings. Notice of every annual meeting of members and of every special meeting of members shall be served personally or by mail upon each member residing within the United States entitled to vote at such meeting, not less than five or more than forty days before the meeting. Such notice shall state the purpose or purposes for which the meeting is called, and the time when and the place where it is to be held. If mailed, such notice shall be directed to each member entitled to notice at his address as it appears on the books or records of the Committee.

No notice of the time, place or purposes of any meeting need be given to any member who attends such meeting in person or by proxy, or to any member who, in writing executed and filed with the records of the Committee, either before or after the holding of such meeting, waives such notice.

Section 5. Voting. Every member shall be entitled to one vote at each meeting of the members of the Committee.

At all meetings of members, each member may vote either in person or by proxy. Every proxy must be executed in writing by the member or by his duly authorized attorney, but no proxy need be dated, sealed, witnessed or acknowledged.

Section 6. Quorum. At all meetings of the members of the Committee, the presence, in person or by proxy, of one-third (or, if one-third be nine or more, not less than nine) of the members shall be necessary and sufficient to constitute a quorum, and, except as otherwise provided by law or by the By-Laws, the act of a majority of the members present shall be the act of the members. In the absence of a quorum the members present in person or by proxy, by a majority vote and without notice other than by announcement at the meeting, may adjourn the meeting from time to time for a period of not more than thirty days at any one time, until a quorum shall attend.

### ARTICLE III

#### Executive Board

Section 1. General Powers. The activities and property of the Committee shall be managed and directed by the Executive Board.

Section 2. Number; Term of Office; Qualifications; Method of Election. The Executive Board of the Committee shall consist of not fewer than seven or more than fifteen persons, as determined from time to time by the members.

The members of the Executive Board shall be elected annually at the annual meetings of the members, and each member of the Executive Board (whether elected at an annual meeting or to fill a vacancy or otherwise) shall hold office until his successor shall have been elected, or until his death or resignation or until he shall have been removed in the manner hereinafter provided. Members of the Executive Board shall be elected from among the members of the Committee.

At each annual meeting of the members, the members of the Executive Board shall be chosen by a plurality of the votes cast.

Section 3. Meetings. An annual meeting of the Executive Board of the Committee shall be held as soon as practicable after the adjournment of the annual meeting of the members of the Committee. A regular meeting of the Executive Board shall be held during each month at a time and place to be determined by the Executive Board. Special meetings of the Executive Board may be called at any time by the Chairman or by any two members thereof. Each meeting of the Executive Board shall be held at such place within or without the State of New York as shall be specified in the notice of such meeting, or waivers thereof. Notice of every special meeting shall be given personally or sent by mail or telegraph to each member of the Executive Board, addressed to him at his address as it appears on the books or records of the Committee, at least two days before the day on which the meeting is to be held. No notice of the time, place or purposes of any meeting of the Executive Board need be given to any member thereof who attends such meeting, or to any member thereof who, in writing executed and filed with the records of the Committee, either before or after the holding of such meeting, waives such notice.

At all meetings of the Executive Board the presence in person of not less than one-third of the members thereof shall be necessary and sufficient to constitute a quorum, and, except as otherwise provided by law or by the By-Laws, the act of a majority of the members thereof present shall be the act of the Executive Board. In the absence of a quorum the members thereof present, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting, may adjourn the meeting from time to time, for a period of not more than thirty days at any one time, until a quorum shall attend.

Section 4. Vacancies. If any vacancy shall occur in the Executive Board, the vacancy may be filled by the remaining members thereof, though less than a quorum.

Section 5. Removal of Members of the Executive Board. Any member of the Executive Board may be removed at any time, with or without cause and with or without notice, by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the Committee at any annual or special meeting or by a vote of two-thirds of the Executive Board at any meeting thereof.

#### ARTICLE IV

##### Advisory Board

Section 1. Designation of Members: Term of Office.

The Executive Board, by resolution or resolutions, may designate an Advisory Board to advise the Executive Board with respect to the furtherance of the Committee's objectives and purposes. Thereafter members of the Advisory Board shall be designated annually, in like manner, at the annual meeting of the Executive Board. In any event, however, the Executive Board may from time to time designate additional persons as members of the Advisory Board. Each member of the Advisory Board shall hold office until his successor shall have been designated or until his death or resignation or until he shall have been removed in the manner hereinafter provided.

Section 2. Meetings. The Advisory Board may hold meetings at such place or places within or without the State of New York and at such time or times as shall be determined by the Executive Board. Notice of every meeting shall be given personally or sent by mail or telegraph to each member of the Advisory Board, addressed to him at his address as it appears on the books or

records of the Committee, at least two days before the day on which the meeting is to be held. No notice of the time, place or purposes of any meeting of the Advisory Board need be given to any member who attends such meeting, or to any member who, in writing executed and filed with the records of the Committee, either before or after the holding of such meeting, waives such notice. The Advisory Board shall keep a record of its proceedings.

At all meetings of the Advisory Board the presence in person of members thereof, constituting one-third of the membership of the whole Advisory Board, shall be necessary and sufficient to constitute a quorum, and, except as otherwise provided by law or by the By-Laws, the act of a majority of the members thereof present shall be the act of the Advisory Board.

Section 3. Removal. Any member of the Advisory Board may be removed at any time, with or without cause and with or without notice, by a vote of a majority of the members of the Committee at any annual or special meeting or by a vote of the majority of the Executive Board then in office passed at any meeting of the Executive Board.

#### ARTICLE IV-A

No person shall take any action or make any statement on behalf of the Committee except pursuant to authorization of the Executive Board.

#### ARTICLE V

##### Officers

Section 1. Officers elected by Members. There shall be a Chairman, one or more Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary and a Treasurer, all of whom shall be elected by the members of the Committee at the regular annual meeting for a term of one year or until their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified. The Committee may also, if it desires, elect from time to time one or



more (but not exceeding three ) Honorary Co-Chairmen, whose terms shall run concurrently with that of the Chairman. Any officer may be removed at any time, with or without cause and with or without notice, either at a meeting or by action in writing, by a majority of the members of the Committee or by a majority of the Executive Board of the Committee. A vacancy in any office by reason of death, resignation, removal, or any other cause may be filled by the members, or by the Executive Board, at any meeting. The Chairman shall be a member of the Executive Board, but no other officer need be a member of the Executive Board. Each officer named in this Article V shall become a member of the Committee. One person may hold any two of said offices except those of Chairman and Vice Chairman.

Section 2. Additional Officers. The Executive Board at any annual or special meeting may by resolution appoint such additional officers, and such agents and employees, as it may deem advisable. All such additional officers, agents and employees shall hold office at the pleasure of the Executive Board.

Section 3. Chairman. The Chairman shall exercise general supervision over the business of the Committee, subject, however, to the control of the Executive Board. He shall preside at all meetings of the members and of the Executive Board and in general shall perform all duties incident to the office of Chairman, and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Executive Board.

Section 4. Vice Chairmen. The Vice Chairmen shall perform such duties as are assigned to them from time to time by the Executive Board or the Chairman. At the request of the Chairman, or in his absence or disability, the First Vice

Chairman shall perform all the duties of the Chairman, and when so acting shall have all the powers of, and be subject to all the restrictions upon, the Chairman.

Section 5. Secretary. The Secretary shall keep the minute books of the Committee, record the minutes of the meetings of the members and of the Executive Board, and in general perform all duties incident to the office of Secretary, and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Executive Board or the Chairman.

Section 6. Treasurer. The Treasurer shall have custody of all property of the Committee, and from time to time, as requested by the Executive Board or the Chairman, shall render reports to the Executive Board or the Chairman, and in general shall perform all duties incident to the office of the Treasurer, and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Executive Board or the Chairman.

Section 7. Compensation. The Chairman, Vice Chairmen and Treasurer shall serve without compensation. The Secretary and any additional officers, agents or employees appointed by the Executive Board shall receive such compensation, if any, as may be fixed by the Executive Board.

## ARTICLE VI

### Execution of Instruments

All documents, instruments or writings of any nature shall be signed, executed, verified, acknowledged and delivered by such officers, agents, or employees of the Committee, and in such manner, as from time to time may be determined by the Executive Board.

ARTICLE VII

Fiscal Year

The fiscal year of the Committee shall coincide with the calendar year.

ARTICLE VIII

Amendments

All By-Laws of the Committee shall be subject to alteration or repeal, and new By-Laws may be made, by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Committee entitled to vote given at any annual or special meeting, provided that notice of the intended change shall have been included in the notice of the meeting.

*For Release: All Editions, Monday, September 23, 1968*

*From: THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS*

*435 New Jersey Avenue, S.E.  
Washington, D. C.  
Lincoln 7-1151*

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New York, New York  
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*Note:* Attached is an advance copy of an analysis of deep changes within the liberal ranks of the Democratic Party, based on an in depth survey of the House of Representatives. A summary of the NCEC survey and conclusions and a "Chicago Postscript" are attached.

This intelligence bulletin is being made available to all media, for Release on Monday, Sept. 23, 1968.

The NCEC is a non-partisan Committee which "operates on the principle that the quality and activities of the Congress are matters of national concern, transcending local and special interests -- as the Congress itself transcends them." It supports those congressional candidates, on a non-partisan basis, whom the Committee feels meet its standards of quality and ability in the field of public service.

The officers and members of the NCEC are: Sidney H. Scheuer, Chairman; George R. Donahue, Vice Chairman; S. Jay Levy, Secretary; Thibaut de Saint Phalle, Treasurer; Russell Hemenway, National Director; and Harry Ashmore; George Backer; George Biddle; Stimson Bullitt; George H. Combs; Henry Steele Commager; Fairleigh Dickinson, Jr.; Paul Foley; Alan Green; Alvin H. Hansen; Isidore Lipschutz; James Michener; Francis P. Miller; Hans J. Morgenthau; George E. Outland; Laughlin Phillips; George D. Pratt, Jr.; Charles Rose; Robert W. Ruhl; Francis B. Sayre, Jr.; David E. Scoll; Edward S. Skillin; Michael Straight; Telford Taylor; Gerhard P. Van Arkel.

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## UNDERLYING CAUSE OF DEMOCRATS' AGONY REVEALED BY NCEC SURVEY OF PROFOUND LIBERAL SPLIT IN HOUSE

The devastating explosion which rocked the Democrats' Chicago convention was deeply based, and had been brewing for a long time. Understanding of what happened, and why, according to the National Committee for An Effective Congress, is to be found not in a confrontation between reactionaries and progressives, but in a division among the party's liberals.

"The Chicago convention dramatically illustrates what we have seen occurring in the House of Representatives throughout the 90th Congress," says Russell D. Hemenway, National Director of the NCEC, "and the fragmentation of the party last month strongly confirms the results of an in-depth survey of the House which the NCEC conducted during July and August."

The survey is based on a series of interviews and conferences with members of both parties prior to and during both national conventions. A summary and excerpts of the survey follow, as well as the text of a "Chicago Postscript," assessing some of the immediate consequences of the convention for Congressional campaigns. "One should remember that the Democrats run their convention according to the House rules and man it with House officials," noted Hemenway, "and insight into the politics of the House Democrats provides some remarkable clues to what developed in Chicago."

In summary, the NCEC makes these points:

"The real drama of the Democratic Party is not the crumbling away of the classic power blocs -- labor, big city machines, Dixiecrats and racial minorities. The fact is that the central core, the liberal nucleus which created the magnetic field, is dividing."

The survey focused on the current liberal bloc in the House of Representatives, consisting of about 140 Northern and Western Democrats. "Historically this is the segment which produced the vast legislative accomplishments of the New Deal, the Fair Deal and the Great Society. But now they are suffering from a deep internal rift which is philosophical and psychological as well as political. This dichotomy is destroying the once potent unity which made the liberal group the most effective and productive element in Congress."

"The current political debate eludes familiar description," says the Committee, "because the old labels have lost relevance and a new terminology is required. One group of men operates in terms of specific tangible interests, while the other is

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passionately committed to abstract values. Their concerns have as much to do with each other as Railroad Retirement pensions and the Bill of Rights. Their personalities are as similar as Speaker McCormack and Julian Bond."

The survey sees the liberals torn apart in their search for the life force of American politics. "Two groups are crystallizing: the classic, orthodox labor liberals and the emerging political modernists. What separates them is personal style, choice of priorities, understanding or rejection of the contemporary revolutionary scene."

This survey finds the "tracks spreading" between:

--the "custodial liberal" (including approximately 100 Democrats and a dozen Republicans) -- a trade-union oriented joiner and fraternal type, "who holds grandfather rights to the legacy of the Industrial Revolution," with fealty to "the leadership," and a staunch defender of Johnson's policies at home and abroad. He believes in the litany of welfare projects, stressing the numerical, quantitative aspects of problems and politics. A self-styled "pragmatist," he is contemptuous of intellectuals and non-conformists, of those who challenge the familiar routine of party power and main street morality. He sees the modernists as "party splitters" who will ruin the organization and turn the country over to "the reactionaries." His followers regard agitation for the poor, for open housing, for expanded civil liberties as "anarchistic," and to a great extent he shares this feeling, drawing a distinction between "labor" and "the poor." A Samuel Gompers liberal who believes in "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," he deliberately withholds the official organization's dollars, manpower and patronage from those who tend toward the heresies of the new constituency.

--the "humanistic liberal" (about 50 or so Democrats and a dozen Republicans) -- calling himself a "First Amendment liberal," he is strongly concerned with civil liberties, opposed to punitive laws curbing dissent, and accepts protest as an inevitable social force rather than a breach of "law and order". He is interested in more than "how many" schools are built; he wants to know what will be taught. His focus is on quality -- in education, conservation, urban design, with prime emphasis on innovation and the role and rights of the individual, and less emphasis on bread and butter goals of the old New Deal. He has been restive under Johnson and the Leadership, which he regards as "out of touch with the temper of the times," and he strives for more participation, greater democracy in Congress and in the party.

NCEC found that the custodial Democrats almost automatically favored Hubert Humphrey, while the humanists expressed their private preference for the politics of Eugene McCarthy or Robert Kennedy, regretting that party and union

pressure made it imprudent to express their taste and political judgment. But it was not the convention voting or any other single event which signaled the break between the divergent members. Rather it was a gradual estrangement which developed between the two types who now "speak essentially different languages and who do not speak very much to each other."

#### WATERSHED VOTES

Since early spring, their clashing sentiments have been bared in a series of formal roll call votes. Vietnam was not the dividing issue, "though it very definitely set the climate," the NCEC stressed. This series of "watershed votes" brought the distinctions into sharp focus. Disagreement came over measures having to do with the rights of dissenters, invasions of privacy, curbs against rebellious students (the Wyman amendment to the Higher Education Act), continuation of the House Un-American Activities Committee, constitutional issues in the crime bill.

Also, in battles over the budget, the humanists tried to develop and advance programs for self-help among the poor, the minorities, the unorganized. The Establishment forces favored cutting these "soft" programs and continuing the appropriations for public works and engineering programs, especially those connected with the military. "They go for things, and we go for people," said one young Congressman from the Northwest. He noted that the House could wrangle for days over the "eligibility of unwed mothers for poverty funds, but acts on a \$22 billion military procurement authorization in one hour. Every member is aware of the miscalculation in these huge engineering projects. We turn our backs on mechanical error, yet insist that human error be punished."

#### NEW BEACHHEAD ON CAPITOL HILL

The NCEC survey found that prior to this spring, the dissenting voices

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were confined to a clique of about 15 "ideological protestors" on Vietnam. They have been absorbed into today's humanist contingent which includes 50 to 60 operative liberals, many of whom hold leadership roles in the Democratic Study Group, who are "legislators rather than propagandists", experienced and interested in the real use of power.

In the face of demands for "law and order", and the climate of hysteria which envelopes this issue, the survey attempted to discover what prompted these Congressmen to defy the angry cries for suppression. "Clearly," states the report, "these are practical men who must have confidence that there is popular support for a new position before they venture beyond the party's stockade."

"The meaning of the revolt on the college campus has reached the halls of Congress, and not all members flinch from the idea of a generally critical attitude toward the political system. The concept that loyalty to conscience may take precedence over loyalty to government has been given enormous impetus by the deep doubts flowing from the Vietnam war. The libertarian tide rising across the country -- whether reacting to or creating the contrasting rightward movement -- prompts many members of Congress seeking reelection to step out ahead of their party. The impulse comes from a constituency of conscience which has won a beachhead on Capitol Hill."

Whether they have made a "sound judgment or a rash mistake" will be determined in time. "The real argument is over who is in touch with reality and who is in touch with mythology -- the custodian who sees reality in terms of specific interests, or the modernists who hold that intangible moral questions are today's reality."

#### TRANSITION BETWEEN REALITIES

The leadership of the House rests securely in the hands of the



traditionalists who, in the opinion of their younger colleagues, remain immune and impervious to deep political changes in the country. "One is astonished to see how little the contemporary upheaval has ruffled the droning, business-as-usual complacency of the body. Dominated by agrarian Southerners and vestigial city-machine survivors, the archaic superstructure stands unmoved and the leadership untouched by the thrashing restlessness deep within." "But," the survey adds, "one can hear the scraping of chairs in the back rows."

"All you have to do is read your mail to realize the level of desperation in the country," comments a Democrat from the Midwest. "Some people can't understand they're sitting on a volcano until after it erupts."

No one who knows the House expects any bloodless internal change in either procedures or personalities. Speaker McCormack may not be able "to organize a two-car funeral," as a Southern moderate says derisively, but he is still skilled in the art of internal maneuver. When it comes to in-fighting, shrewd use of committee assignments, campaign support, patronage and other forms of manipulation, the Speaker and his team can still out-perform the young liberals. The leadership dominates, but the game seems to serve no greater public cause. A Republican take-over of the House, a real possibility this year, would change the men but not necessarily the practices.

"The present Democratic leadership has abdicated in the face of new demands and responsibilities confronting Congress by passing to the Executive," says one member. Where in earlier years, even party bosses attempted to keep legislative promises and to respond to voter interests with some initiative, the power of Democratic House leaders to perform has now withered away.

The widening gulf in the House is evident in two different assessments of the 90th Congress. "We've done a tremendous job in every field," proclaims

Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, Mayor Daly's Capitol Hill spokesman. In contrast, A Brooklyn Democrat and follower of Kennedy glumly states, "If the 90th Congress had never met it wouldn't have made much difference -- they kept the laws but took away the money."

Nor was there agreement regarding the coming election campaign. "The Democrats have always quarrelled and been restless before every convention ... That is the Democratic Party," said one of the top House functionaries, a man virtually raised by the Democratic leadership. He was speaking the day Congress recessed for the convention. "Once a presidential candidate is picked, we close ranks, present a united front and march on to win. This has always happened and it will happen in 1968." His relaxed confidence was shared by top party leaders on the House side.

These senior men can afford to be laconic since they face no election danger. On the other hand, serious worries were voiced by many in the secondary ranks of the establishment, who sense pending disaster at the polls but have no place to go. They spoke candidly about the arthritic condition of the leadership apparatus, with particular disgust over the way Congressional power has been ceded to the Executive. "The White House determines when the House will sit, what it will consider, what it will do," one says angrily.

These middle-ground men, who do not identify with the humanists philosophically, are greatly interested in the search for a new grand design. They feel themselves personally in transition, torn between "loyalty to the party" and what must be done to survive. They shift from foot to foot, realizing that the traditional way is threatened, but unable to reject that part of their lives for strange and unformed new doctrines of change. The movement for realignment in the House meets the natural barricades of habit, seniority, institutional authority. But the political realities loom plainly for those who choose to see them.

One observer summed up these realities in harsh terms: "The power of the National Democratic Party is a shell--- the Southerners have lost their voters

to George Wallace; the labor bosses go around with bags of money but can't deliver their membership; the organization Blacks have no influence since it's the militants who stir the Negro ghettos. The Democratic Party is without a great issue, without a hero, and without a live constituency."

"The custodians are still in charge," says the NCEC. "Lyndon Johnson and George Meany sit at the apex with their hands on the levers of power, but the motor energy does not flow through their circuits. Elections, like battles, are won primarily in the hearts of men, and the inability of the traditionalists to comprehend the weight of abstract and non-material forces explains the Vietnam failure and debacles at home. Only when the new political generation enlarges its strength in the Congress will there be fundamental change. Until then, the period of transition must be one of torment, and America's entire political house will be wracked by disorder."

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CHICAGO POSTSCRIPT

The debris from the Chicago explosion is still falling on Democratic heads across the land. None of the early accounts quite measured the depth and gravity of what had taken place. As one survivor says, "You may never be able to put the glass panes back, because the windows are gone."

Chicago was polarization. Two volatile forces, the traditional custodians and the issue-oriented innovators who had been deftly harnessed in tandem for a generation, were permitted to collide violently. The result was the crumbling of Franklin Roosevelt's artful coalition which had sustained the Democrats since 1932, and the party is now in fragments.

Chicago was reduced to a cold contest between those with the muscle of organizational machinery and those who had access to popular support. As in Prague,

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the machine won, but only inside the fortified amphitheater. In all likelihood, this convention may have witnessed the last hurrah of the Connallys, Daleys and Meanys, and the commencement of a transfer of power within the Democratic Party to a new breed sustained by a participating citizenry.

After Chicago, the problems facing the Congressional candidates made for "an entirely new ball game." Some of the impact can already be noted:

--- The gulf between the organization regulars and the new activists is wide and bitter. The Chicago overkill was so great that reconciliation is far off, if ever. The rancor cannot be assuaged with wordy generalities, nor does the Nixon spectre frighten bruised liberals back to the fold. Some McCarthy supporters do yearn for a basis for joining Humphrey. "But as long as he campaigns for the off-duty cop vote, the same people Wallace and Nixon are going for, and as long as he stays with Johnson's war, I can't see any difference," says one.

--- Organization candidates complain that anti-Vietnam precinct volunteers are unwilling to work. "We'll vote for you for Congress, but don't expect us to do anything," an upstate New York candidate was told. In districts where there is a strong McCarthy organization, a fourth party movement, or a militant peace group, anti-war candidates expect help. But hawkish Democrats, on the other hand, foresee this support transferring to their opponents, or a big stay-at-home vote on November 5. "Once you take away the young volunteers, the women, the professional people with money, all a Democrat has left to run on is a chunk of labor money and a couple of union stiffes sitting in your front office," one Congressman laments.

---While there is a serious vacuum at the regular party's working level, the phenomenon of the new "participation politics" is striving for permanence. "There is a real movement which is out to take over the party. It is strong, deep, wide-spread, and it would be a misreading of the times to think it is temporary," comments a political scientist who has talked to people from almost every state...."They want to build a new party." Many of the distinguished academic members of the recently formed "Caucus for a New Politics" are convinced that the national Democratic party must be defeated in order to rebuild from the ground up. "Ruin and rule" is the strategy for many who harbor genuine hatred for the present structure.

---In the first post-convention week there were a dozen spontaneous planning sessions of McCarthy supporters in various states. They immediately focused on the various House and Senate contests, where they want to help their friends and purge the others.

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---Disenchantment is not a Democratic monopoly. There are clear signals from moderate Republicans across the country, particularly in New York and California, that they would welcome a new party alignment. They have made quiet overtures to some of the McCarthy people, expressing their hopelessness over the strong strain of Goldwaterism that taints the GOP command and the policies expressed early in the Nixon campaign. Possibly the weight of the "constituency of conscience" will be sufficiently great to make an alliance of all those who seek social change via some common political vehicle.

---Those who identify themselves as "The Movement," the younger elements, talk about "doing their own thing." "They are the true believers," says one veteran liberal. "They take the attitude, 'I will participate; therefore I will win.'" There is a strain of cultism which could end up in withdrawal, reducing them to one of those self-contained minorities who publish little magazines, talk to themselves, but make no dent on national politics. At present they share the dream of electing their own independent candidates to Congress in 1970, and marching on to the White House in '72. The McCarthy operation is in some danger of being isolated by its zealots, who could dissipate its broad acceptance and reduce it to the kind of protest movement which went nowhere with Henry Wallace in 1948.

---At present there are some 40 Democratic Congressmen in close districts, with less than 5% margins in 1966 or subsequent redistricting problems. If the various peace groups manage to shift 2 to 3 percent of the vote, they could control the fate of such Congressmen. To many of these marginal candidates, the national ticket creates more problems than it does votes. "I've got to leave as much daylight as possible between myself and Humphrey," says a beleaguered Ohio candidate. In almost every district the Congressional candidates expect to run ahead of the national ticket, but they believe they require the maximum margin. Some talk of needing as much as a 50 thousand vote lead in districts they won handily in 1966. They plan to campaign independently, "aloof from the ticket, and against the record of the 90th Congress."

---For some 60 House Democrats who qualify as modernists and humanists, November will be an important if not decisive test. Many of them fall within the danger zone of marginal races, including such officers of the Democratic Study Group as Frank Thompson and John Brademas. Others such as Charles Vanik, Ed Roush and James Corman are in hotly contested races, with heavy GOP funds directed toward their defeat.

Democratic casualties in the House will be mainly among the younger men, who run from marginal, closely contested urban and suburban districts. The senior House leadership, such custodians as Speaker McCormack and Rep. Mike Kirwan, and the Southern chairmen of powerful committees such as George Mahon and Mendel Rivers, are from virtually defeat-proof districts. Consequently, attrition at the polls tends to work against change as a kind of "Gresham's Law" applies, retiring the modern men and leaving the old-timers ever more in possession. The trend of 1968 politics is not yet

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sufficiently strong to reverse this, so the November Congressional election cannot fully reflect the depth of change in the country.

It is too early to assess the direction of the Wallace voters once they cast their Presidential ballot and move down to Congressional choices. Informed opinion believes that most of George Wallace's support is coming from the trade union "blue collar" families who normally vote Democratic. It is predicted that these Wallace voters will return to the Democratic party's Congressional candidates to "cover their bet" and protect their economic gains after giving vent to their racial prejudices and social fears. Certainly, this unknown factor is of critical importance to the marginal Democrats.

---In the meantime, the modernists and humanists have maintained their peace position and their criticism of the "law and order" issues, resisting labor's heavy-handed pressure to bring them actively into the Humphrey camp. Some now feel that thanks to their independence, they are more secure than some of the Administration's regulars. They feel "legitimized," no longer lonely members of an eccentric minority. While their side lost the two vital convention votes -- the credentials challenge by 955 to 1568 and the peace plank by 1041 to 1567 -- they achieved a critical mass. Growing under the most adverse conditions, this group now represents the most dynamic and most exciting element on the political horizon.

It will be interesting to see if these innovators have really found a new constituency, if they provide the political channel for the nation's unrest. This year the party regulars, and even some of the new liberals as well, are agape over the dimensions of the grass roots strength generated by the moral position. They are astonished that the issues of war and racism touch people far beyond esoteric intellectual groups and campus discussions. The candidates who seek the new approach are electrified by the results of the 1968 primaries, termed "upsets" by those who score politics in the old arithmetic instead of the new math. No greater miscalculations were made this year than those of the self-styled "hard-nosed professionals," led by the arch-pragmatist Lyndon Johnson.

What gives the challengers heart in the face of enormous odds is the repeated lesson of the sixties -- that there are practical and prudent limits to the use of power. Everything that has happened in 1968 confirms this message, "that the conjunction of ideas and circumstances can be more powerful than armies."

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They are inspired by the vision of a man who, armed with nothing but an issue and a poet's insight, outwitted and outguessed the professionals who failed to see the obvious.

Certainly the August convention excluded Eugene McCarthy and his followers, but the big question is whether, in the long run, the old party custodians may not have excluded themselves from the main stream of American politics.

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