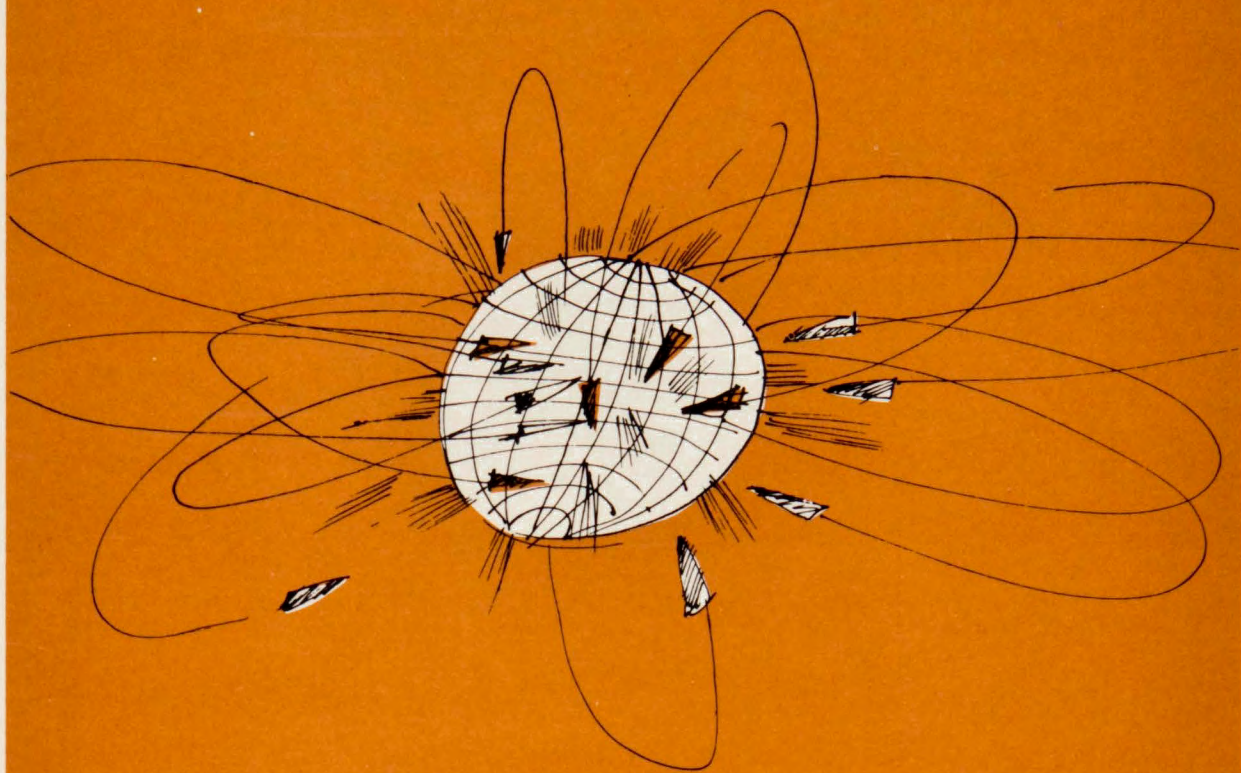


# Council for a Livable World



Over twenty-five years ago on August 6, 1945, the world entered the age of nuclear terror — the age of deterrence and nuclear overkill.

In 1962, in response to the inexorable drift toward nuclear war and the failure of the big powers to bring their weapons under control, Leo Szilard, nuclear physicist and molecular biologist, founded the Council for a Livable World. The first objective of the Council has always been to stop the nuclear arms race. To this end the Council concentrates its efforts on the United States Senate.

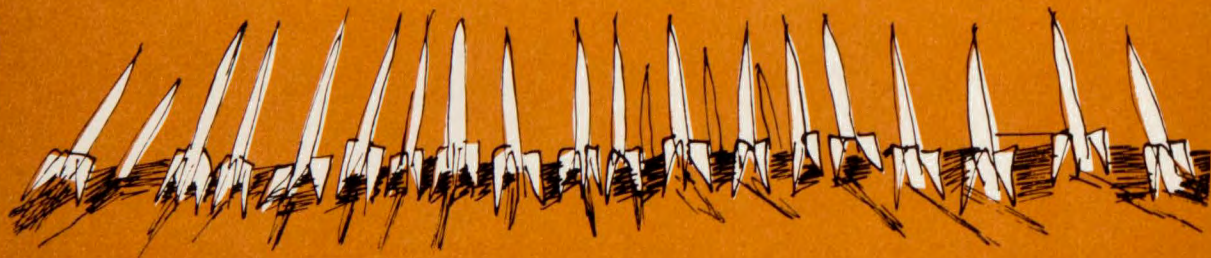
The Senate has primary legislative responsibility for foreign and defense policy. It is today the strongest political force in America for the restraint of military excesses and the re-ordering of national priorities. But the effectiveness of the Senate depends on the intellectual understanding, the political courage, and the breadth of outlook of its members. As each Senator is concerned with issues affecting the United States as a nation, so each citizen regardless of his place of residence has a profound stake in every Senate race.

Each election year the Council asks its supporters to make campaign contributions to a small

number of distinguished senatorial candidates who will provide leadership in the crucial areas concerning, survival, the war in Southeast Asia, the control of nuclear weapons, and the establishment of international peacekeeping mechanisms.

Candidates are selected without regard to party affiliation. The Council participates in close races between candidates of highly disparate qualifications where financial support can be important. The Council does not place any explicit or implicit conditions on the acceptance of campaign contributions, nor do its supporters expect any personal gain in return for their help. This type of national backing assists members of the Senate to maintain their political independence, integrity and effectiveness.

The Council and its supporters have participated in each senatorial election since 1962. The senators in the following list were given substantial campaign support. Significantly, eight of these twenty-one were challengers elected for the first time.





**Incumbent Senators Aided  
Through the Council 1962-70**

**1962 and 1968**

Frank Church (D) .....Idaho  
 J. William Fulbright (D) .....Arkansas  
 George McGovern (D) .....South Dakota

**1964**

\*Gale W. McGee (D) .....Wyoming  
 †Edmund S. Muskie (D) .....Maine

**1964 and 1970**

Philip A. Hart (D) .....Michigan  
 Joseph M. Montoya (D) .....New Mexico  
 Frank E. Moss (D) .....Utah

**1966**

Edward W. Brooke (R) .....Massachusetts

Clifford P. Case (R) .....New Jersey  
 Mark O. Hatfield (R) .....Oregon  
 Lee Metcalf (D) .....Montana  
 Walter F. Mondale (D) .....Minnesota

**1968**

Alan Cranston (D) .....California  
 Thomas F. Eagleton (D) .....Missouri  
 Harold E. Hughes (D) .....Iowa  
 Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R) .....Maryland  
 Gaylord Nelson (D) .....Wisconsin

**1970**

Vance Hartke (D) .....Indiana  
 Adlai E. Stevenson III (D) .....Illinois  
 John V. Tunney (D) .....California

\*Council support not offered in 1970.  
 †Council support not needed in 1970.

In addition to providing support for Senate candidates, the Council conducts an extensive Washington Program in which it strives to bring greater insight into problems of national security, to inject new ideas into appropriate political channels, to encourage national discussion of controversial proposals and to facilitate the involvement in vital national issues of the most knowledgeable and articulate persons outside the government.

Since 1963 the Council has conducted a regular series of seminars for senators. Key members of the Administration, leading figures from outside government and members of the press are sometimes invited. A typical seminar is attended by ten to twenty senators and discussion is informal. In early 1965 the Council called the first major non-governmental conference to deal with the rapidly expanding conflict in Vietnam.

Seminars have been held on a wide range of issues including the Non-Proliferation Treaty, ABM, MIRV and SALT, chemical and biological warfare and the Geneva Protocol, Vietnam and United States objectives in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, United States aid programs, Peace-Keeping, European Security, various facets of the China question and prospects for a total test ban treaty. Over sixty seminars and conferences have been held since the program began. Some seventy senators have attended, many of them appearing at nearly half the seminars.

The Council will continue to focus on these issues giving highest priority in our current program to ending the war in Indo-China.

The effectiveness of the Council's effort in Washington has been acknowledged by the press and a wide spectrum of political figures which includes spokesmen from both major parties and even the current Administration:

*"Some ABM opponents say they think their most effective ally is the Council for a Livable World, which was formed in 1962 to attempt to reduce the risk of nuclear war, and began lobbying against ABM as early as 1965."*

**Associated Press, June 14, 1969**

*"On such issues as arms control and ABM, the Council for a Livable World is one of the most effective organizations in Washington, with the possible exception of the Pentagon."*

**Senator Charles McC Mathias, Jr. (R) Maryland**

*"There is one particular lobby, which shelled out almost 400,000 greenbacks in the 1968 election . . . a lobby you don't read much about in those Eastern liberal papers . . . I am referring to the so-called Council for a Livable World. Every measure to slash America's military strength seems to have the enraptured backing of this lobby . . . they have been fighting the ABM since 1964. The great dollops of cash this outfit quietly drops, especially into Senate races, should be the subject of a major expose by the press."*

**Vice President Spiro T. Agnew  
Amarillo, Texas, October 12, 1970**



*Art Wood*



The Council was formed on the principle that a limited number of concerned Americans, prepared to pool their energy, talents and resources, could jointly exercise political power out of all proportion to their numerical strength. The Council today has more than 12,000 supporters, a relatively small number nationally, yet they are playing a vital role in the political life of the nation. In less

than ten years the Council has become a recognized factor in American politics; it has helped to win many victories — the Test Ban Treaty, the extension of the life of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the defeat of the Multilateral-Nuclear Force and the banning of biological weapons.

- I should like to make a contribution to the Council's program and enclose a check for \$ \_\_\_\_\_.
- I should like to pledge \_\_\_\_\_ % of my annual income to the Council's program and wish to make payments of \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 monthly,  bi-monthly,  quarterly
- Please send me more information about the candidates the Council is supporting this year.

Council supporters are asked to contribute generously — many contribute 1% or 2% of their annual income — to its programs in Washington and to crucial Senate contests. Campaign contributions are in the form of checks *made payable to the candidate*. They are sent to the Council for tabulation and transmitted directly to the candidate. In this manner your contribution is personally acknowledged by the candidate and the lobbying effectiveness of the Council is enhanced. The Council is the only organization through which you can make political contributions in the assurance that *every cent goes to the candidate*. When the Council asks you to support its own activities it does so explicitly.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

State ..... Zip.....

Mail this coupon with your contribution to:  
**COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD**  
 Business Office  
 12 Howard Street  
 Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139



## Council For a Livable World

Washington Office: 201 Massachusetts Ave., N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002, Phone: 202-543-4100  
Cambridge Office: 12 Howard Street  
Cambridge, Mass. 02139, Phone: 617-492-4060

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**Charles Pratt,** Photographer, American Field Service, Italy 1945; Illustrator, with Rachel Carson, *The Sense of Wonder*, 1965.

**Charles C. Price,** Benjamin Franklin Professor of Chemistry, University of Pennsylvania; Past President, American Chemical Society, United World Federalist, Federation of American Scientists.

**George W. Rathjens,** Professor of Political Science, MIT; Deputy Assistant Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency 1962-64; Director of the Weapons Systems Evaluation Division, Institute for Defense Analysis 1965-68; Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Member Council on Foreign Relations; Member of the Council, Federation of American Scientists.



# Council for a Livable World

## Washington Bulletin

Fall, 1973

Last February the Council sent out nationwide sample mailings to test a variety of appeals for new supporters. In late April we began mailing an appeal to the McGovern presidential list, and by mid-June the returns showed a 50% increase in the number of contributors to the Council. At this time Council supportership has more than doubled.

The drive for new supporters will continue. Many of you have responded to special appeals to help finance this effort and we are deeply thankful.

### The 1974 Senate Races

A large number of incumbent Senators who have established distinguished records on issues of immediate concern to Council supporters will be up for re-election next year.

George D. Aiken (R-Vermont)  
Birch Bayh (D-Indiana)  
Frank Church (D-Idaho)  
Alan Cranston (D-California)  
Thomas Eagleton (D-Missouri)  
William Fulbright (D-Arkansas)  
Mike Gravel (D-Alaska)  
Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii)  
Jacob Javits (R-New York)  
George S. McGovern (D-South Dakota)  
Warren G. Magnuson (D-Washington)  
Charles Mathias (R-Maryland)  
Gaylord Nelson (D-Wisconsin)  
Abraham Ribicoff (D-Connecticut)  
Richard S. Schweiker (R-Pennsylvania)  
Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Illinois)

Council supporters may not approve of every name on this list. Some may wish to add or drop a name. Of course, Council support for these men will ultimately depend upon the caliber of their opponents, the closeness of the races and the need for financial assistance.

The defeat of even a few of these Senators would constitute a victory for the Nixon administration and would eliminate the slight margin which progressives currently hold. In view of the revelations of Watergate it would be hard to imagine anything more damaging to the country than a Senate crippled by the loss of some of its best members.

Because of Watergate and the havoc of inflation the Senate races are off to a slow start. In any election year, a few races may not take shape until fairly late--on rare occasions barely a month before the filing deadline. This year a peculiarly unsettled political mood in the country has created abnormal uncertainties about next year's Senate elections.

Senators Bayh of Indiana, Cranston of California, Church of Idaho, Eagleton of Missouri, Fulbright of Arkansas, Gravel of Alaska, Ribicoff of Connecticut and Stevenson of Illinois do not yet know who will be running against them.

Because of this clouded picture, we have divided our preliminary analysis of next year's 34 Senate races into four general categories. This analysis is intended solely to indicate the current political prospects of thirty incumbents. Four Senators have already announced they will retire.

Secure or  
Relatively Safe

Aiken (R-Vt.)  
Allen (D-Ala.)  
Dominick (R-Colo.)  
Goldwater (R-Ariz.)  
Gurney (R-Fla.)  
Hollings (D-S.C.)  
Inouye (D-Hawaii)  
Javits (R-N.Y.)  
Long (D-La.)  
Magnuson (D-Wash.)  
Nelson (D-Wisc.)  
Packwood (R-Ore.)  
Schweiker (R-Penn.)  
Talmadge (D-Ga.)

Unclear

Bayh (D-Ind.)  
Bellmon (R-Okla.)  
Church (D-Idaho)  
Cook (R-Ky.)  
Cranston (D-Cal.)  
Eagleton (D-Mo.)  
Ervin (D-N.C.)  
Fulbright (D-Ark.)  
Mathias (R-Md.)  
Ribicoff (D-Conn.)  
Saxbe (R-Ohio)  
Stevenson (D-Ill.)

In trouble

Dole (R-Kansas)  
Gravel (D-Alaska)  
McGovern (D-S.D.)  
Young (R-N.D.)

Retiring

Bennett (R-Utah)  
Bible (R-Nev.)  
Cotton (R-N.H.)  
Hughes (D-Iowa)



In trouble:

In Kansas Republican Senator Robert Dole currently trails Governor Robert Docking in private polls. Docking, a conservative Democrat, serving his fourth term in the state house, is expected to oppose Dole. If Docking runs for governor again, Dole's likely opponent would be U.S. Representative William Roy, a popular two-term Congressman and the most progressive member of the Kansas congressional delegation.

From a low point early this year Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) has been making a gradual but steady comeback. His recent amendment to the Alaska Pipeline Bill, which rules out a future court challenge to the Interior Department's environmental impact statement on the pipeline, was adopted by the Senate, and a similar version was passed by the House. Gravel's position on the pipeline is overwhelmingly popular with Alaska voters. Indeed no statewide candidate in Alaska who opposed the pipeline could be elected. Among Gravel's possible opponents are former Governor and Interior Secretary Walter Hickel and former Congressman Howard Pollock. The possibility of a serious primary challenge to Gravel cannot be ruled out, although it appears less likely today than six months ago.

Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.), who failed to carry his home state in the Presidential race, has been gradually rebuilding his support in South Dakota. Within the state, Watergate has tended to neutralize some of the anti-McGovern sentiment engendered by the 1972 presidential campaign. Over \$400,000 has already been raised for McGovern's reelection campaign. A possible primary challenge to McGovern is unlikely.

Senator Milton Young (R-N.D.) who will be 77 years old next year, could face a formidable challenge from former four-term Democratic Governor William Guy, McGovern's chairman for Rural Americans in the 1972 Presidential election. Guy is not expected to announce his intentions until the end of the year.

Retiring Senators:

In three of the four states where incumbent Senators have already announced their intentions to retire--Nevada, New Hampshire and Utah--there is the possibility of progressives registering a gain. In the fourth state--Iowa--progressives may lose a seat.

In Utah, possible Democratic candidates are U.S. Representative Wayne Owens (who earlier in his career served on the staffs of Senators Robert Kennedy and Frank Moss), U.S. Representative Gunn McKay (a conservative), and Salt Lake City attorney Don Holbrook (a liberal). Republican hopefuls include former Michigan Governor and HUD Secretary George Romney and conservative Salt Lake City Mayor Jake Garn. In New Hampshire, Senator Cotton's retirement could lead to multi-candidate primaries in both parties. The political consequences of the retirement of Nevada's Senator Bible cannot as yet be assessed. In Iowa, where Senator Hughes is retiring, liberal Democratic Congressman John Culver has already announced his candidacy for the Senate. The prospects for Iowa Republicans will remain unsettled until Governor Robert Ray announces his decision.

There is still the possibility of other retirements -- among them Senators Aiken (R-Vt.), Cook (R-Ky.), Ervin (D-N.C.) and Saxbe (R-Ohio).

Watergate and its attendant scandals have muddied the political waters. Candidates currently in the "safe" column could find a strong challenge developing against them in the next few months, while candidates in the "unclear" column could face either a relatively easy re-election campaign or major opposition. If, however, inflation and the economy remain major issues next year, Democratic candidates stand to gain ground.

#### Congress and Reform of Campaign Financing

Campaign fundraising has been a major source of government corruption since the distant past. In recent years some advocates of reform have pointed to the high cost of campaigns as the primary problem, but inflation notwithstanding, the underlying problem today is not the total cost of campaigns but the source of campaign funds and the size of individual contributions.

In the 1972 congressional elections an estimated \$77 million was spent by all candidates (\$30.7 million in Senate campaigns and \$46.3 million in House races). The total represents a per capita expenditure of 38¢. The estimated annual advertising budget of Proctor and Gamble is, by comparison, \$275 million, more than triple the cost of electing 33 Senators and 435 Congressmen.

The overall expenditure on congressional campaigns may not be excessive, but the source of campaign funds constitutes a very real problem. Under present law candidates of even the highest integrity, unfortunately, cannot escape a major dependence on special-interest money which is profit motivated.

The cost of a senate campaign can run from \$150,000 to well over \$2 million depending upon the size of the state and the particular political situation. Most senate campaigns depend on special-interest money for the major portion of the budget. With extraordinary effort a campaign finance committee can raise a quarter of its funds in small, personal contributions. Organizations such as the Council, can match this amount of small donations (especially in small states), but even then the other half of the budget will come from special-interests. This fact alone makes reform of campaign financing imperative.

In late July the Senate passed a campaign reform bill which is now before the House. The bill includes both good and bad features some of which are briefly noted below.

#### Positive Features

- Establishes a Federal Electoral Campaign Commission which is independent of Congress and the executive branch and has full power to subpoena evidence and prosecute wrongdoers.
- Imposes a \$25,000 limit on contributions from any one individual to all candidates for federal office.
- Bars cash contributions in excess of \$50.
- Requires more extensive disclosure by candidates and committees.
- Increases penalties for violations.

#### Negative Features:

- Exempts from all committee limitations the Democratic and Republican National Committees and the Senate and House Campaign Committees of those two parties.
- Places no restraint on special-interest contributions to the exempted committees.
- Provides no enforceable barrier to proliferation of committees by special-interest groups seeking to evade the new committee limits in the law.
- Imposes severe limits on contributions to candidates by political committees not specifically exempted.

- Imposes severe limits on expenditures on behalf of candidates by political committees not specifically exempted.
- Leaves unclear whether expenditures on behalf of candidates by non-exempted committees will be charged against the candidate's overall limit on campaign spending.
- Makes no provision for public financing.

The positive features of the bill have been discussed at length in the press and are frequently cited by reform organizations which favor enactment. Less well known are the negative features of the bill.

Section 615 of the senate bill limits direct contributions to candidates from non-exempted committees to \$3,000 for the primary and \$3,000 for the general election (an additional \$3,000 is permitted for candidates with a primary run-off). This provision all but wipes out the present activities of such organizations as the National Committee for an Effective Congress, the 1974 Campaign Fund and the League of Conservation Voters which traditionally make their contributions to federal candidates directly from their own treasuries.

Organizations which employ the Council method of fundraising (checks made payable directly to the candidate's committee by the individual contributor) are endangered by a further provision that no committee "shall make any expenditure during a calendar year...on behalf of a particular candidate which is in excess of \$3,000." If the campaign reform bill passes, candidates themselves might be reluctant to accept the support of these organizations since the bill stipulates the "expenditures made on behalf of any candidate shall...be deemed to have been made by the candidate." In other words, the operating and mailing expenses of supporting organizations if the Federal Electoral Campaign Commission so rules, will be treated as part of the candidate's expenditures and will be charged against his overall limits as provided by the bill.

The \$3,000 limit on non-exempted committees will mean that issue-oriented citizens organizations, such as the Council, will, at best, play a relatively insignificant role in future congressional campaigns. Because of the loopholes that the bill provides for special interests there should be no shortage of campaign funds.

The dairy industry, corporate interests and organized labor can by-pass the \$3,000 limitation by proliferating committees at the local, state and regional level. Experience from past presidential campaigns demonstrates how effective multiple committees can be in circumventing\*the law.

Should special-interest groups encounter difficulties in achieving a proliferation of committees, the bill offers them an alternative. The Democratic and Republican National Committees and their House and Senate Campaign Committees are exempt from any limitation on their contributions to candidates and free thereby to serve as ports of call for special-interest money driven from its chartered course by the Senate bill.

A massive infusion of new funds into the Senate and House Campaign Committees would work a silent revolution in the legislative process. Incumbents, and perhaps challengers as well, could find themselves dependent on the Congressional leadership for a major portion of their campaign finances. A determined majority or minority leader, in control of campaign funds, would have a powerful tool with which to curb the exercise of independent legislative judgement by his colleagues.

In short the campaign financing bill recently passed by the Senate could have three major harmful effects. By failing to restrain special-interest contributions or to provide an alternate source of funds through public financing, the bill assures that special-interest money will continue to play the same major role that it has in past elections. By encouraging the direction of private contributions through the congressional campaign committees, the bill promotes an extraordinary concentration of power in the hands of the House and Senate leadership who determine the allocation of those campaign funds. Finally, by sharply curtailing the activities of broad-based, multi-candidate, non-party committees, the bill would narrow rather than expand the base of candidates' financial support.

The Council wholeheartedly endorses the principal of campaign spending reform, but we are concerned that new legislation allows for the broadest possible citizen participation in the electoral process. We are therefore exploring, with Members of the House of Representatives, possible amendments to remedy the shortcomings of this Senate bill.

CLW News Item:

Professor Bernard T. Feld has taken a two year leave from M.I.T. to devote the major part of his time to the Pugwash Conferences. This international forum for discussing and lessening East-West tensions is a most important component of the search for peace and accomodation. We wish for Professor Feld a most successful and fruitful two years. In the interim, Charles C. Price, Benjamin Franklin Professor of Chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania will serve as board chairman for the Council.

# Council for a Livable World

100 Maryland Ave., N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

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# Council for a Livable World

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1973

## Lists of White House 'Enemies'

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 27—  
Following is the original list  
of 20 names of White House  
"enemies" submitted with  
comments to John W. Dean  
3d, then counsel to the Presi-  
dent, by the office of Charles  
W. Colson, then special White  
House counselor, and released  
today by the Senate Water-  
gate committee.

er Spring, Md.: We  
should give him a try. Posi-  
tive results would stick a  
pin in Jackson's white hat.  
11. Feld, Bernard T., Pres-  
ident, Council for a Livable  
World: Heavy far left fund-  
ing. They will program an  
"all court press" against us  
in '72.  
12. Davidoff, Sidney, New  
York City, Lindsay's top per-  
sonal aide: a first  
S.O.B., wheeler

George  
yess, Rona.  
Diggs, Aug  
Ralph Metca  
Nix, Parren  
Rangel, Loui  
Miscellan/  
John V. Li  
York Ci\*  
form

### Dear Supporter,

The Council for a Livable World has been at the top of the Nixon Administration's "enemy list" since at least 1971. But, this disclosure comes as no great surprise. As our recent appeal to you pointed out, this Administration, through Vice President Agnew, has publicly singled us out for attack before.

The revelation in the Watergate hearings only confirms the effective and crucial role The Council is playing in national politics. We expect to remain on the "enemy list" in 1974. That's why we are writing to you again.

The U.S. Senate's effectiveness and importance has been reaffirmed by the Watergate hearings. Now it is up to us to help preserve that crucial balance of power. Clearly the Administration intends to "tough it out" and to wage all-out battles against its critics — particularly its critics in the Senate. The list of Senators up for re-election in 1974 reads like a liberal's Who's Who, and White House schemers are already drawing up plans for their defeat.

Even though it is still a year before election, a number of these Senators urgently need early assistance. At this time, the Board of The Council for a Livable World has decided to support three independent and crucial Senators who face difficult re-election races — Senator Frank Church (Idaho), Senator Abraham Ribicoff (Conn.), and Senator Adlai Stevenson

(Ill.). We are asking you now to give them your backing.

After reading the descriptions below, please make out your check or checks to the campaign committees of the candidates you would like to help — to the **Idaho for Church Committee**, **People for Ribicoff**, or **Citizens for Stevenson** — and send it to The Council in the enclosed envelope. These contributions go directly and entirely to the candidates you choose to support.

If you prefer, you can make out your checks directly to **The Council for a Livable World**. This money will be used by the Board in campaigns, where early money may be especially effective during the next few months. For example, it will be applied to help finance polls for potential challengers and pay the costs of the Council's own fact-finding assessments of particular races to determine which need help, and when.

The value of early money cannot be overstressed. One dollar now is worth ten during the last weeks of a campaign. Now it can be put into all-important advance planning, at a time when fundraising is much harder than in the heat of the campaign. What better way to counter the "enemy list" of the Nixon Administration?

Sincerely yours,

*Bernard T. Feld*

Bernard T. Feld  
Chairman of the Board



**Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho)** is without question one of the most capable and eloquent members of the U.S. Senate. First elected in 1956 at the age of 32, Church is now the third ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. If re-elected, he will some day serve as the committee's chairman, continuing the distinguished record of the committee under its present chairman, Senator William Fulbright.

Church took an early stand against the Vietnam war — despite the extreme unpopularity of that position in Idaho at the time. Church was largely responsible for congressional passage of the two Cooper-Church amendments, which prohibited American combat troops from entering Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand. After the cease-fire in January, he introduced the Case-Church bill, to halt the present bombing of Cambodia and to bar any future American military activity in Southeast Asia unless specifically authorized by Congress. It was approved by the Senate on June 14. This is the strongest antiwar measure yet passed.

As Chairman of the Multinational Corporations Subcommittee, Church conducted the recent hearings on attempts by ITT to subvert the 1970 election of Salvador Allende in Chile through CIA intervention. The Idaho Senator has also censured existing foreign aid programs which, in his words, have "propped up dictatorships, enriched the already rich and further impoverished the already poor."

Senator Church is well known in Idaho for his stands on national and international issues and for his careful attention to the needs of his state. From his position as a ranking member of the Senate Interior Committee, he has built an outstanding record in the field of environment. As Chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, he has authored extensive legislation to help the elderly.

Campaigns for conservatives in Idaho have little trouble obtaining funding, and the right wing can be expected to launch a major effort to unseat Senator Church. Your check should be made out to the **Idaho for Church Committee.**





**Senator Abraham Ribicoff** (D-Conn.) has never hesitated to risk his political career out of a deep sense of conscience and national needs. It was Ribicoff who nominated George McGovern for President in 1968 at the Democratic convention, urged him to run in '72, and campaigned for him extensively — even though it pitted Ribicoff against conservative Democrats in his own state. And it was also Ribicoff who took the speaker's stand at the 1968 Democratic convention to condemn the "Gestapo tactics" of the Chicago police.

If anything sums up Senator Ribicoff, it is outspokenness and independence. He has consistently voted for cuts in the military and space budgets, in spite of heavy concentration of space and defense industry in Connecticut. And he has argued that the legal requirements for housing, job, and school integration be equally enforced in the North and the South — a controversial proposition for heavily suburban Connecticut.

Ribicoff has been able to take these stands because — as a two term Congressman, as Governor for 6 years, as Kennedy's first Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and as Senator for two terms — he has served Connecticut well.

Ribicoff has been the legislative champion for two main groups: consumers and the poor. In March, 1966, at a hearing on auto safety before his Government Operations Subcommittee, Ribicoff rebuked the president of General Motors for having ordered espionage against a committee witness, Ralph Nader. This was the occasion that launched the career of the young crusader.

The Nixon landslide allowed Republicans to take control of state offices in Connecticut in 1972. This will add some headaches for Ribicoff, and early money will be needed to help the Senator organize his fundraising and state campaign operations.

Checks should be made to **People for Ribicoff**.



**Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III** (D-Ill.) after three years in the Senate has already assumed a position of leadership, very much in his family's tradition.

Since his election in 1970 to fill the unexpired term of the late Everett McKinley Dirksen — and, indeed, since his election to the Illinois Legislature in 1964 — Stevenson has taken the lead in pushing for reforms in campaign financing and legislative practices. He has advocated annual mandatory disclosure of every congressman's personal income, and has called for public subsidization of elections, strict overall expenditure ceilings in campaigns, and creation of an independent commission to police campaign dirty tricks.

Out of this same concern, Stevenson blew the whistle on indirect American aid to President Thieu's re-election campaign in South Vietnam, and pressed for an oversight commission to keep American personnel in Vietnam "neutral" during the election.

Stevenson is a hard worker, weighs his words carefully, and has illuminated such important policy matters as the mismanagement of federal housing programs, the spiralling U.S. sales of conventional arms, and the energy crisis and fuel shortages.

Historically, Illinois is a swing state. Stevenson has won three state-wide elections, leading the ticket each time. But potentially dangerous fissures within the Democratic party, combined with a renewed effort by the Nixon Administration to extinguish the Stevenson tradition, pose formidable obstacles to Adlai Stevenson's re-election in 1974. Please make your check payable to **Citizens for Stevenson.**



Dear Friend,

In an age of executive privilege and executive secrecy, a supercabinet answering only to the White House, journalists and newscasters threatened and arrested, vital domestic programs cut across the board and a defense budget that marches on and up, many citizens like yourself – deeply concerned with the trend of events – have come to feel that there is not much they can do any more. This simply isn't true.

We want you to understand the vital role which an effective and independent Senate can play in Washington. In the past, moderate and progressive forces in the United States Senate have scored important victories – the defeat of the SST, the tie vote on ABM from which the ABM itself never recovered, the rejection of Carswell and Haynsworth as Supreme Court nominees.

We have certainly not won every fight, but we have made a difference.

And we intend to make an even greater difference because the U.S. Senate stands today as the single, most effective barrier against unbridled presidential power.

As you well know, the most important Senate votes have been and will be decided by slim margins. We must preserve and improve that margin. And we need your help.

Next year, 1974, will test whether or not we can withstand pressure from the White House to alter this crucial alignment of Senate membership. Among the thirty-five senators standing for re-election, many are in the forefront of today's efforts to reassert the power of the Senate. And one need only consider the 1970 defeats of Senators Albert Gore (D-Tenn.), Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.) and Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.) to understand just how effective the White House can be if it decides to influence the result of an election.

**OFFICERS**

BERNARD T. FELD, *President*  
ALLAN FORBES, JR., *Vice-President*  
MAURICE S. FOX, *Treasurer*  
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**COUNCIL  
FOR A LIVABLE  
WORLD**

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The Council for a Livable World is an organization which can most effectively challenge this influence.

Over the last decade, in a quiet way, this unique organization has been making a crucial difference to the moderate and progressive forces of the Senate. It has provided important and timely financial support as well as key political advice to a select number of Senators.

The Council's record speaks for itself. Today, twenty-seven progressive U.S. Senators have received its support. In 1972 alone, ten out of eleven of the candidates backed by the Council were victorious on November 7th.

We ourselves have been grateful beneficiaries of Council support. Now we are asking you to become part of the Council for a Livable World's crucial effort.

The Council is faced with an awesome task next year. How can one organization effectively support as many as eighteen re-election campaigns — to say nothing of other important senatorial challenges?

The answer is early money. Early money permits the Council to make a thorough investigation into each of the up-coming thirty-five senate races. The Council is one of the few organizations which enters into the nuts and bolts of campaign decision-making. Early funds will be used to finance polls in key states, and to help incumbent Senators hire early campaign staff.

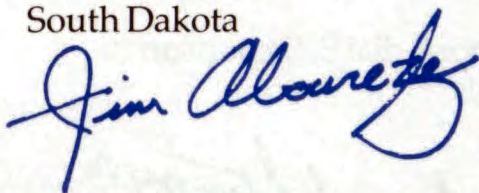
As candidates or former candidates, we know just how important this kind of assistance can be in either discouraging opposition or making a viable Senate challenge. We also know that we are not the only ones who realize this.

The next two years are of vital importance to the United States Senate and the country. The President has already shown his determination to challenge the constitutional prerogatives of Congress. Our determination to uphold and strengthen the authority of the Senate must be even greater.

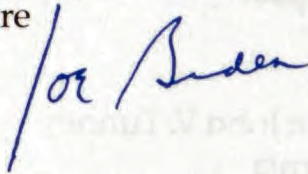
Clearly, a \$15 contribution to the Council today can be worth \$100 a year from now. The Senate needs your support now and we don't know of a more intelligent and effective way for you to offer it than through the Council for a Livable World.

Sincerely,

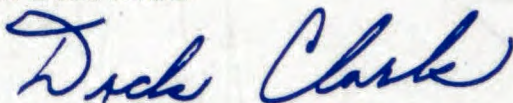
Senator James Abourezk  
South Dakota



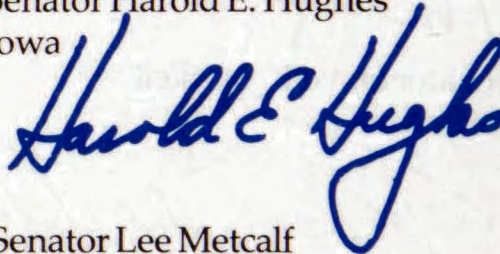
Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr.  
Delaware



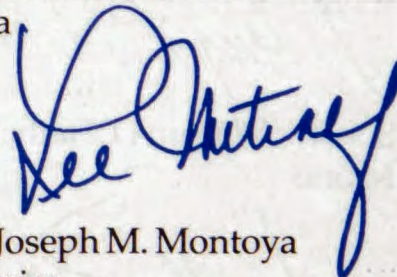
Senator Dick Clark  
Iowa



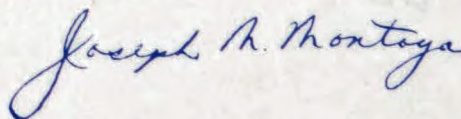
Senator Harold E. Hughes  
Iowa



Senator Lee Metcalf  
Montana



Senator Joseph M. Montoya  
New Mexico



Senator Thomas F. Eagleton  
Missouri

*Tom Eagleton*

Senator Frank E. Moss  
Utah

*Frank E. Moss*

Senator J.W. Fulbright  
Arkansas

*J.W. Fulbright*

Senator Gaylord Nelson  
Wisconsin

*Gaylord Nelson*

Senator Philip A. Hart  
Michigan

*Philip A. Hart*

Senator Claiborne Pell  
Rhode Island

*Claiborne Pell*

Senator Floyd K. Haskell  
Colorado

*Floyd K. Haskell*

Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III  
Illinois

*Adlai Stevenson*

Senator William D. Hathaway  
Maine

*William D. Hathaway*

Senator John V. Tunney  
California

*John V. Tunney*

P.S. Please return the enclosed envelope even if you cannot make a contribution to the Council at this time. We have asked the Council to inform us of any comments you may have.



# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

Founded in 1962 by Leo Szilard

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036, Phone: 265-3800, ac 202, Cable: DELPHINI WASHINGTON, D. C.

## OFFICERS

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ALLAN FORBES, JR.	<i>Vice-President</i>
MATTHEW MESELSON	<i>Treasurer</i>
THOMAS A. HALSTED	<i>National Director</i>
JOHN SILARD	<i>Counsel</i>

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Cambridge, Mass.

June 28, 1968

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Tucson, Ariz.  
CHARLES PRATT, JR.  
New York, N.Y.  
CHARLES C. PRICE  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Supporter of the Council,

The tragic assassination of Robert Kennedy has shocked and dismayed this nation and left it closer than ever to a choice between Humphrey and Nixon. It has obscured the most unexpected result of the June 4th California primary: the ominous increase in strength of the reactionary wing of the Republican party which led to the defeat of the much admired Senator, Thomas Kuchel, by Max Rafferty, so extreme a rightist that even Governor Reagan has refused to support him. In Washington, the rise of the extreme right-wing is now considered the most disruptive, disturbing force in the coming elections.

Wayne Morse's victory over Robert Duncan in the May 28th Oregon primary by a very narrow margin - only 9,000 votes of a total of over 350,000 - is further evidence of this trend. Council Supporters provided magnificent help to Senator Morse in the critical early stages of his campaign. He has expressed his gratitude in these words: "Without the help of the Council for a Livable World, I would have been unable to wage the campaign I did, and I want to thank you for the wonderful assistance I received from the many Supporters of the Council."

Now, quite suddenly, Senator J. William Fulbright is facing a grave challenge from the radical right in his campaign for re-election. Two days before the filing deadline for the July 30th primary election, James D. Johnson, the founder of the Arkansas White Citizens Council, announced his candidacy against Fulbright. Johnson is the leader of George Wallace's American Independent Party campaign in Arkansas and is an unregenerate Viet Nam hawk. In 1966 he proved himself a formidable vote-getter by winning the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in a vicious battle. Johnson is attacking Fulbright for being too often absent from Arkansas, for being "soft on civil rights," and, most of all, for advocating an honorable end to United States involvement in Viet Nam which Johnson condemns as Fulbright's "peace-at-any-price." His lavishly financed campaign

against Fulbright represents a clear and present danger to the independence and integrity of the U.S. Senate and to the course of U.S. foreign policy over the next six years.

Between 1964 and 1968 this nation experienced an unprecedented abuse of political power as the executive branch of government arrogated to itself the prerogatives of the legislative branch, manipulated the mass media for its own ends and distorted many of our traditional moral and social values.

This process, it now appears, has been reversed, largely through the courage and fortitude of a pathetically small handful of men, none of whom has played a more crucial role than William Fulbright. With no personal political benefits to be gained - indeed, with almost everything to lose - Senator Fulbright mobilized the resources at his disposal as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and, despite opposition from many members, set out to restore the constitutional role of the Senate in foreign policy.

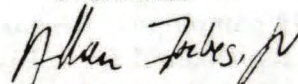
Every Council Supporter remembers the first Hearings on Vietnam and China which Fulbright conducted in the winter of 1966, the speech he delivered at Johns Hopkins University, the publication of his book, The Arrogance of Power, the investigation into the Tonkin Gulf incidents in the summer of 1967 and finally, his confrontation of Secretary of State Dean Rusk in the Hearings of this past winter.

Senator Fulbright needs your assistance immediately if he is to win his primary on July 30th. The Directors of the Council for a Livable World believe there will be no contest in the 1968 Congressional elections of greater national significance and urge you to contribute generously.

Yours sincerely,



William Doering  
Chairman



Allan Forbes, Jr.  
Vice-President





# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

Founded in 1962 by Leo Szilard

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 Cambridge, Mass.  
 JAMES G. PATTON  
 Tucson, Ariz.  
 CHARLES PRATT, JR.  
 New York, N.Y.  
 CHARLES C. PRICE  
 Philadelphia, Pa.

August 12, 1968

Dear Council Supporters:

On Sunday, August 4, an organization identified as "Professors for Humphrey" placed a full page advertisement in the New York Times stating that "A lot of people who think for a living . . . think the next President should be Hubert Humphrey." Among the several hundred signers listed was the name William von Eggers Doering, Yale University.

My purpose in writing you is to assure you that Council Board Chairman Doering's name appeared without his knowledge or his consent. We were aware that many Council supporters would undoubtedly see the advertisement and might infer from the inclusion of Dr. Doering's name that he – and by association, the Council for a Livable World – was endorsing the candidacy of Vice-President Humphrey.

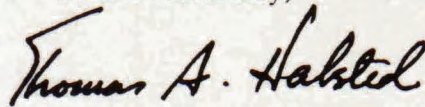
Such is not the case. As the enclosed letter to the Editor of the New York Times makes clear, Dr. Doering's name appeared in the advertisement despite his explicit request that it be withheld. Beyond his personal unwillingness to support Humphrey's candidacy, Dr. Doering felt that it would be wholly inappropriate for him as Chairman of the Council's Board of Directors to take a public position with respect to any Presidential candidate expressly because such an endorsement could be interpreted as an endorsement by the Council as well. Although other Council Directors have publicly supported Presidential candidates as individuals, they have never done so as representatives of the Council, and the Council as an organization has consistently avoided taking a position with respect to Presidential candidates of either party. We will continue to adhere to this policy, while concentrating all our energies on the election of all outstanding candidates to the Senate.

In this connection, Council supporters will be interested in recent developments in three Senate primary races. In Arkansas on July 30, Senator J. William Fulbright won renomination over three democratic opponents, narrowly avoiding a run-off contest. Supporters responded to the Council's appeal of June 28 in unprecedented numbers, contributing

to his campaign as they have to no other. In expressing his gratitude to Council supporters, Senator Fulbright said, "Your support and encouragement were invaluable and I am grateful for your efforts in my behalf."

Two other democratic Senate candidates, both newcomers whose campaigns the Council has been following with great interest, have won important victories in recent weeks. In Colorado's State Democratic Convention on July 13, State Representative Kenneth Monfort won first place on the September 10 primary ballot, defeating former Governor Stephen McNichols by an astonishingly wide margin of 1,074 votes to 774. First place on the ballot will give Monfort an important advantage over McNichols in the primary and a good chance to oppose Senator Peter Dominick in November. In the Missouri Democratic Senate primary on August 6, Lt. Governor Thomas Eagleton defeated incumbent Senator Edward Long and a third candidate, W. True Davis. Eagleton will now oppose Thomas B. Curtis, a conservative Republican Congressman, in November.

Yours sincerely,



Thomas A. Halsted  
National Director

Enclosures

10, (17) 12, June 5, 1976

## **Livable World'**

**Editor:**

War, racial conflict, political repression, and environmental pollution will worsen drastically unless effective action is taken to change national priorities. These dissimilar problems are related economically, and reversion to a civilian from a military economy should beneficially affect each of them.

The Council for a Livable World is a lobby founded by Leo Szilard in 1962 after consultation with students and faculties across the country. The Council for a Livable World has generated "a sustained effort to reduce the risk of a nuclear war and to bring about arms control, disarmament, and world order." The Council strives to elect to the Senate candidates who share these aims. Contributors provide campaign funds directly to candidates of their choice through the Council.

Senators who have benefitted by Council support include Church, Cranston, Gore, Hart, Hatfield, Hughes, Fulbright, McCarthy, and McGovern. Thirty out of 40 senatorial candidates backed by the Council have been elected, some by a margin attributed by them to Council support. The Council's efforts have made a great difference in the nature of Senate debate and voting on such issues as the Test Ban Treaty and the ABM. The Council also contributes scientist seminars to inform members of the Congress and the administration on peace keeping and disarmament issues. The Council has status as a non-governmental organization accredited to the United Nations.

If readers are interested in promoting and maintaining world peace and in improving national priorities, they will be interested in communicating directly with the Council for a Livable World, which needs their help.

**John Gruner  
Robert B. Livingston  
Mark Siegel  
Council for a Livable World**

AUG 6 1968

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# WESTERN UNION

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PRESIDENT

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby accepted by the sender to the receiver.

AUGUST 5, 1968

MR ROBERT P PARKER

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR PROFESSORS FOR HUMPHREY NATIONAL  
HEADQUARTERS CITIZENS FOR HUMPHREY 1025 CONN AVE NW  
WASHDC

IN RESPONSE TO A JUNE 28TH TELEGRAM I WROTE ROBERT SHORT, CHAIRMAN OF CITIZENS FOR HUMPHREY STATING THAT I WAS UNWILLING TO SUPPORT HUBERT HUMPHREY. ON JULY 29TH YOU WROTE ME ON CITIZENS FOR HUMPHREY LETTERHEAD STATING THAT UNLESS YOU HEARD FROM ME IMMEDIATELY YOU WOULD USE MY NAME AS A SUPPORTER OF HUMPHREY. AS I WAS OUT OF THE COUNTRY MY SECRETARY TELEPHONED YOU THE DAY THE LETTER WAS RECEIVED, AUGUST 2ND, ASKING YOU NOT TO USE MY NAME. YOU TOLD HER CONTRARY TO THE FACT THAT JULIUS CAHN, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF CITIZENS FOR HUMPHRY, HAD SPOKEN WITH ME AND OBTAINED MY PERMISSION AND THAT YOU WERE GOING TO USE MY NAME DESPITE HER REQUEST THAT YOU NOT DO SO. YESTERDAY MY NAME WAS USED IN A FULL-PAGE NEW YORK TIMES AD AS A SUPPORTER OF HUMPHREY.

THIS HIGH-HANDED CONDUCT IS INEXCUSABLE. I AM CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD WHICH HAS ALREADY RAISED OVER A QUARTER OF MILLION DOLLARS FOR POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS DURING THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN (MOST OF IT FROM PERSONS WHO ALSO DO NOT SUPPORT MR HUMPHREY) AND IS CURRENTLY SEEKING ADDITIONAL POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS. YOUR FALSE USE OF MY NAME WITHOUT REASON AND CONTRARY TO BOTH WRITTEN AND TELEPHONED INSTRUCTIONS HAS CAUSED INCALCULABLE DAMAGE. PLEASE ARRANGE IMMEDIATELY FOR AN EQUALLY PROMINENT RETRACTION IN THE NEW YORK TIMES. WE WILL ALSO EXPECT YOU TO MEET THE COST OF CIRCULATING SOME 8,000 REGULAR COUNCIL SUPPORTERS WITH COPIES OF THIS TELEGRAM. PLEASE WIRE ME THE NAME OF YOUR ATTORNEY WITH WHOM ROGER FISHER, MY ATTORNEY, SHOULD DISCUSS SETTLEMENT OF THE DAMAGE CLAIM AND THE APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE FOR YOUR RETRACTION AND APOLOGY.

WILLIAM VON EGGERS DOERING  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY  
12 OXFORD ST CAMBRIDGE MASS 02138

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

August 8, 1968

12 Oxford Street  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138  
U.S.A.

Editor, Letters to the Editor  
New York Times  
229 West 43rd Street  
New York, N. Y. 10036

Dear Sir:

On Monday, August 5th, having returned that day from two weeks abroad, I was distressed to learn that my name had been included in a full page ad in the August 4th New York Times as one of many Professors for Humphrey. This listing of my name – in spite of my efforts to prevent it – is unpardonable and offensive to me.

On June 29th, I had received a telegram from Robert E. Short, Co-Chairman of Citizens for Humphrey, inviting me to become a founding member of the Scientists and Engineers Committee for Humphrey, and on July 10th, I wrote him unequivocally refusing the invitation.

On August 2nd, during my absence, my secretary received a letter (dated and postmarked July 29th) from Robert P. Parker, Executive Director of Professors for Humphrey, written on Citizens for Humphrey stationery. He wrote: "A full page advertisement sponsored by Professors for Humphrey will appear on or shortly after August 2nd in the New York Times, Los Angeles Times and San Francisco Chronicle. We plan to include your name in the ad among the list of approximately 1,000 founding members of the committee unless we should hear from you by return collect wire indicating your wish to the contrary." Knowing I would not return in time and that I had already expressed my unwillingness to sign a public statement in support of Humphrey, my secretary telephoned Mr. Parker immediately to say that my name should not be used. He replied that Julius Cahn, Deputy Chairman of Citizens for Humphrey, had already obtained my personal approval – which is absolutely untrue. Mr. Parker proceeded to include my name in the ad.

As a citizen and as a scientist, I am dismayed that many of my friends and colleagues may have been led to believe that I support Humphrey's presidential aspirations.

As Chairman of the Board of the Council for a Livable World, I have always maintained, as a matter of principle, a public neutrality with respect to presidential races. The Council is a Washington-based political organization which, among its other functions, has for many years provided campaign assistance to candidates for the United States Senate and which has never become involved in a presidential contest. Furthermore, up to this time, Council supporters have contributed more than a quarter of a million dollars to the Senatorial campaigns of a number of courageous and forthright men, all of whom have been critical of the Administration's conduct of the war in Vietnam.

To present and potential supporters of the Council, I apologize for being forced to state my position publicly: I am not supporting Hubert Humphrey for the Presidency of the United States.

Sincerely,

*William von Eggers Doering*

William von Eggers Doering  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

WvED:ejr



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

## The War and its Effects — Senator Fulbright

December 8, 1967

### THE WAR AND ITS EFFECTS—I

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as the long congressional session draws to a close, it seems appropriate to review some of the major events of the last year and their effects on the American people. Whatever else we might differ on, I think we will all agree that it has not been a happy year for Congress or for our country. The divisions among us are deep and the problems that beset us seem intractable. The center of our troubles is the war in Vietnam—a war which has isolated the United States from its friends abroad, disrupted our domestic affairs and divided the American people as no other issue of the 20th century has divided them. My remarks today comprise the first part of a two-part statement on the war and its principal effects, particularly its effects within our own country.

#### 1. THE WAR

Recently, the St. Louis Cardinals demonstrated that they are a superior baseball team, but in the recent world series most Americans outside of the St. Louis area itself rooted for the Boston Red Sox. Why was that? Was it because the Red Sox were better sports, or better players, or better looking? Certainly not; the Cardinals matched their rivals on all these counts and in the end they showed themselves to be the stronger team. Why then could they not match the Red Sox in popular affection? Because they had committed one of the worst crimes in Christendom—the crime of being top dog. Top dogs are not very popular as a rule, just because there are so few of them. The underdogs are a vast majority in the world, and when, now and then, one of their multitude soars to the top in a sport or in politics or some other highly visible pursuit, millions of other underdogs take heart, catching as by electric impulse the magic message: that could be me up there, at bat or on the pitcher's mound or in the high councils of power.

Our heritage reinforces our instincts; most of us have been raised on David and Goliath and by the time we reach adulthood we have been thoroughly indoctrinated—one might even say brainwashed—in the belief that every time

a little guy knocks down a big guy it is reason for rejoicing. Few people stop to think about the merits of the case, about the possibility that the top dog may have reached the heights by diligent and honest labor, or that his cause may be virtuous and true, or—unthinkable thought—that the little guy might just possibly be venal, self-seeking, or otherwise unworthy.

That is what the Cardinals were up against. Like the Yankees before them they had committed the crime of succeeding too well. They were Goliath; the Red Sox were David. They were the wicked stepmother; the Red Sox were Cinderella. The Cardinals were King John, the wicked queen, and General Cornwallis; the Red Sox were Robin Hood, Snow White, and George Washington. Their success was won by skill and courage and luck against overwhelming odds. They won in the only way that millions of underdogs could ever imagine themselves winning; and when in the end they lost, as had been probable right from the start, it seemed nonetheless as though something impossible had happened. Goliath had beaten David; the Prince had eluded Cinderella; and a million hearts were broken.

The United States is not the St. Louis Cardinals; the Vietcong are not the Red Sox; and the war, God knows, is not a game. But there is something pertinent in the metaphor.

America is top dog in the world, and, although we may be convinced that we are good top dogs, most people around the world are convinced that there is no such thing. Because we are rich, we are perceived as voracious; because we are successful, we are perceived as arrogant; because we are strong, we are perceived as overbearing. These perceptions may be distorted and exaggerated, but they are not entirely false. Power does breed arrogance and it has bred enough in us to give some substance to the natural prejudices against us. Much to our puzzlement, people all over the world seem to discount our good intentions and to seize upon our hypocrisies, failures, and transgressions. They do this not because we are Americans, but because we are top dogs, and they fear our power. They are frightened by some of the ways in

which we have used our power; they are frightened by the ways in which we might use it; and most of all, I suspect, they are frightened by the knowledge of their own inability to withstand our power should it ever be turned upon them. They are, so to speak, tenants in the world at our sufferance, and no amount of good will on our part can ever wholly dispel the anxiety bred by the feeling of helplessness.

What do these feelings about American power have to do with the war in Vietnam? They go far, I think, to explain why our war policy commands so little support in the world. Anxiety about America's great power predisposes people, even against their better judgment, to take satisfaction in our frustrations. The French, for example, who well understand the importance to themselves of America's weight in the world balance of power, nevertheless seem to derive some satisfaction from seeing half a million Americans fought to a stalemate by a rag-tag army of Asian guerrillas. Seeing the Americans cut down to size like that is balm for the wounds of Dienbienphu, salve for the pride that was lost in the days of the Marshall plan when France survived on American generosity. If our military failures in Vietnam have this effect on the French, as I believe they do, think what they must mean to the real underdogs of the world, to the hundreds of millions of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans who can easily identify themselves with the Vietcong guerrillas but could never see themselves in the role of the lordly Americans. There may even be people in our own country who feel some sneaking respect

for a resourceful enemy, an enemy who, in a curious and purely emotional way, may even remind them of the rag-tag American revolutionaries who humbled the mighty British Empire almost 200 years ago.

Such attitudes, it will be argued, are irrational and unfair, and so, in large measure, they are. People, it will be said, should be rational and should act on their interests, not their emotion, and so indeed they should. But they do not. I might be able to think up some good reasons why elephants should fly, but it would not be rewarding; elephants can-



Senator J. W. Fulbright:

not fly, and there is nothing to be done about it. So it is with men; they ought to be cool and rational and detached but they are not. We are, to be sure, endowed with a certain capacity for reason, but it is not nearly great enough to dispel the human legacy of instinct and emotion. The most we can hope to do with our fragile tool of reason is to identify, restrain and make allowance for the feelings and instincts that shape so much of our lives.

That brings me to one of the most important of the many flaws in our war policy in Vietnam—its failure to take account of people's feelings and instincts, especially those pertaining to top dogs and underdogs. American policy asks people to believe things that they are deeply reluctant to believe. It asks them to believe that the world's most powerful nation is not only strong but is motivated by deeply benevolent and altruistic instincts, unrelated even to national interests. Even if that were true—and on occasion it probably has been true—nobody would believe it because nobody would want to believe it.

This is an extremely serious problem for the United States because the success of its stated policy in Vietnam ultimately depends less on winning for its own sake than persuading the world that American aims are indeed what American policymakers say they are. That is the case because the war, as often explained by the Secretary of State and by others in the administration, is said to be an exemplary war, one that will prove to the Communists, especially China, that wars of liberation cannot succeed, and prove to the rest of the world that America will not fail to honor its commitments, to whomever made and for whatever purpose. It is a war—so say our policymakers—to inspire confidence in the United States and prove certain points, and once these points are proven, it is said we will withdraw—within 6 months of a peace settlement, said President Johnson at Manila.

These being our stated aims, the success of our policy depends in great part upon whether people believe that our objectives are what we say they are. You cannot make an object lesson out of a war if people do not believe that is what you are trying to do; you cannot prove a point if people do not believe that you mean what you say.

Setting aside for a moment the question of whether American purposes are really what American policymakers say they are, it is apparent that much or most of the world believes that they are

not. I do not think that very many people, least of all the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese, believe that we plan to withdraw from Vietnam as soon as arrangements for self-determination are made, arrangements which could result in the establishment of a Communist government. I do not think that very many people, least of all the Asians, Africans and Latin Americans for whose benefit the example is supposedly being set, really believe that, with virtually no help from the presumed beneficiaries, America has sacrificed more than 13,000 lives and spent \$90 billion—thus far—simply to set their minds at rest about America's determination to come to their assistance should they ever be threatened with Communist attack or insurrection. Insofar as they do not believe us our war policy is a failure, neither setting the intended example nor proving the stated point.

Why do they not believe us? Largely, I believe, for the reasons already discussed. Resenting our power and feeling a natural affinity for a tenacious underdog, millions of people all over the world do not believe us because they do not want to believe us. Even people whose hard judgment may tell them that an American defeat would be damaging to their own interests may nonetheless take secret pleasure in seeing a Vietnamese David seeming to cut the American Goliath down to size.

Prejudice is not the only basis of worldwide skepticism about American intentions. The war after all is not going well and, even if our sincerity were granted, our success could not be. Far from proving that wars of national liberation cannot succeed, all that we have proven so far is that, even with an army of half a million men and expenditures now approaching \$30 billion a year, we are unable to suppress this particular war of national liberation. Far from demonstrating America's willingness and ability to save beleaguered governments from Communist insurgencies, all that we are demonstrating in Vietnam is America's willingness and ability to use its B-52's, its napalm and all the other ingenious weapons of "counterinsurgency" to turn a small country into a charnel house. Far from inspiring confidence and support for the United States, the war has so isolated us that, despite all our alliances and the tens of billions we have spent on foreign aid, we cannot, according to the administration, get nine out of 15 votes to put the Vietnam issue on the agenda of the United Nations Security Council. Far from demonstrating America's readiness to discharge all of its prodigal commitments around the world, the extravagance and cost of Vietnam are more likely to suggest to the world that the American people will be hesitant indeed before permitting their Government to plunge into another such costly adventure.

There are already signs of such a reaction. In the days before the June war in the Middle East, for example, strong and virtually unanimous sentiment was expressed in the Senate against any unilateral American military involvement in that part of the world. If America ever

does withdraw into the neoisolationism of which our policymakers are so fearful, it will not be because of the influence of those of us who advocate selectivity in foreign commitments, it will be in reaction to the heedless interventionism of Vietnam.

Still another reason why some of our stated purposes are disbelieved is the simple fact of their implausibility and inconsistency. It is implausible to contend that we are defending a valiant democracy when everyone knows that the Saigon generals can inspire neither the loyalty of their people nor the fighting spirit of their sizable army. It is implausible to contend that an act of international aggression has taken place when it is clear that the war began as a civil war within one half of a divided country abetted by the other half and did not become an international war until the United States intervened. It is implausible to argue, as the distinguished minority leader did some weeks ago, that, but for the war in Vietnam, the west coast of the United States would be exposed to attack, when the U.S. Navy and Air Force are virtually unchallenged over the entire Pacific Ocean.

Finally, it is implausible and inconsistent, on the one hand, to maintain that the United States seeks only to assure self-determination for the South Vietnamese people and will withdraw within 6 months of a peace settlement and, on the other hand, to assert that our real purpose is to protect a billion Asians from the power of a billion Chinese armed with nuclear weapons. If the latter is the American purpose, if the real enemy is not the Vietnamese guerrilla army but Asian communism with its headquarters in Peking, then we are likely to have to remain in Vietnam indefinitely, all the more so because most of the presumed beneficiaries of our intervention, including the three greatest nations among them—India, Japan, and Indonesia—show not the slightest inclination to take over even a small part of the military burden.

So implausible and so inconsistent are the statements about one principle or another that is supposed to be being vindicated in Vietnam that one comes to feel that what our policy makers are really trying to vindicate is their own judgment in having led us into this war in the first place. Even Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer, an Asian expert and a temperate man who supports the current policy because he sees little prospect of a negotiated peace, recently expressed fundamental disagreement with the administration's rationale for the war.

It seems highly probable—

Says Reischauer—

that Ho's Communist-dominated regime, if it had been allowed by us to take over all Vietnam at the end of the war, would have moved to a position with relation to China not unlike that of Tito's Yugoslavia toward the Soviet Union. Wars—

He writes—

sometimes seem justified by their end results, but this justification hardly applies to the Vietnam war. Even the most extravagantly optimistic outcome would still leave far greater losses than gains. It is doubtful—

He adds—

that even a favorable outcome to the war would do much to deter Communist subversion in other less developed countries. Instead of being discouraged by our ultimate victory in Vietnam, would-be revolutionaries might be encouraged by the obvious pain of the war to the United States and the clear reluctance of the American people to get involved in further wars of this type. I have no doubt—

He concludes—

that if those who determined American policy toward Vietnam had foreseen even dimly the costs and futilities of the war, they would have made different choices at several times in the past and thus avoided the present situation, with only trifling costs, if any, to American interests.<sup>1</sup>

In recent weeks, General Westmoreland and other administration spokesmen have been making optimistic statements about victory being in sight. This is not the first time that optimistic predictions have been made, but it is of course possible that this time they may be right, that Ho Chi Minh will surrender or die or the Vietcong will collapse or just fade into the jungle. Even in that event, it should not be supposed that the American commitment would be at an end; we would still be the sole military and economic support of a weak Saigon regime, at a cost of perhaps \$10 billion or \$15 billion a year. This of course would assume—as we cannot safely assume—that the Chinese and Russians would do nothing to prevent the collapse of the Vietcong or of North Vietnam. But even if these most optimistic prospects should be realized, grateful for peace though we would be, we would still have little to be proud of and a great deal to regret. We would still have fought an immoral and unnecessary war; we would still have passed up opportunities which, if taken when they arose, would have spared us and spared the Vietnamese the present ordeal, and done so, as Professor Reischauer says, "with only trifling costs, if any, to American interests."

For all these reasons, much of the world and an increasing number of our own people are deeply skeptical about the American purpose in Vietnam. Underlying the skepticism is deep disappointment, a feeling that America has betrayed its own past and its own promise—the promise of Roosevelt and the United Nations and of Wilson and the League but, most of all, the promise of the American Revolution, of free men building a society which would be an example for the world. Now the world sees that heritage being betrayed; it sees a nation which seemed to represent something new and hopeful reverting instead to the vanity of past empires, each of which struggled for supremacy, each of which won and held it for a while, each of which finally faded or fell into historical oblivion.

We are in this respect a disappointment to the world but, far more important than that, a disappointment to ourselves. It is here at home that the traditional values were formed, here at home

that the American promise was born, and it is here at home—in our schools and churches, in our cities and farms, in the hearts and minds of our people and their chosen leaders—that the American promise will finally be betrayed or resurrected.

#### THE DISSIDENTERS

Like delicate instruments which detect the sounds that escape the human ear or reveal the microscopic life that evades the human eye, the youth of a society have a special sensitivity to its health and morals. More acutely than their elders they demand authenticity in their country's values and integrity in its leadership. When they sense that these are lacking, they are disappointed and are likely to become cynical or apathetic; when they feel sure of the loss of authenticity and integrity, they are likely to become angry and alienated. There are many reasons for the current anger and alienation of so many of our young people, but the root cause is the war, which in the words of two Berkeley graduate students, "has soured the hopes of the early sixties and transformed a large segment of American student youth from idealistic supporters of the Government to bitter and disillusioned antagonists."—Simon R. Green and Judd L. Kahn, "The Effects of the War in Vietnam on American Students," pages 6-7.

It is a mistake to suppose that student disillusion and anger is confined to a handful of hippies and radicals of the new left. In December 1966, a group of student leaders from 100 colleges and universities wrote a letter to President Johnson expressing deep anxiety about the war and warning that, if the administration stayed on its present course, "the United States will find some of her most loyal and courageous young people choosing to go to jail rather than to bear their country's arms, while countless others condone or even utilize techniques for evading their legal obligations." In March 1967, 800 former Peace Corps volunteers wrote to President Johnson expressing their fear that the administration's Vietnam policy might result in a loss of enthusiasm for the Peace Corps—as indeed it seems to have, judging from the marked decline in the number of volunteer applicants. The letter went on to speak of the "erosion of trust in our Government which that policy is causing among Americans who, like us, want to believe in the high purpose and constructive world role of the United States."

I used to hope—and I have not yet entirely given up hope—that protest against this most divisive and unpopular war would be kept within institutional channels by making these channels available as forums of public discussion. It was in large part for this purpose that the Foreign Relations Committee began holding public hearings on the war in early 1966. It was my hope at the time that the dissent which was then taking the form of "teach-ins" and student rallies would be kept orderly and lawful by allowing it, along with all other pertinent viewpoints, to be expressed in a congressional committee.

That hope has not been realized and the reason why it has not now seems clear. Dissenters do not dissent for the mere pleasure of hearing themselves orate, or of being seen on television, or of enjoying the democratic right of free speech. They dissent because they wish to have an impact on events, because they wish to bring about changes in their Government's policies. Some of the more dogmatic, it is true, probably could not be satisfied with anything less than total compliance with their wishes, but most of us who regard this war as a tragic mistake would settle for a great deal less. We would settle for an honest and sustained effort to make a compromise peace through a new Geneva conference, or through direct discussions between the Saigon government and the Vietcong.

A year and a half ago, the dissenters seemed ready enough to have their views—as well as those of the administration—expressed before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and by other orderly means. Now they are no longer satisfied because these means have been shown to be ineffective. Instead of demonstrating that a degree of change could be accomplished through traditional democratic processes, the hearings held before the Foreign Relations Committee have demonstrated—thus far—that the administration is as unresponsive to the views of Senators, experienced diplomats, and eminent scholars as it is to the views of the young firebrands of the new left.

Because the recent hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have not resulted in changes of Government policy, the dissent is becoming disorderly and, however much we may call upon the young dissenters to be temperate, however much the administration may try to distinguish between responsible dissent and what the President in his recent press conference called "storm trooper bullying," our pleas are unlikely to be persuasive as long as it is apparent that, no matter what the dissenters say, or how they say it, their views will be ignored.

In making the distinction between orderly dissent, of which it professes to approve, and disorderly dissent, of which we all disapprove, the administration seems unable to understand that it is the futility of the one that has given rise to the other. Even in expressing its willingness to hear the advice of its critics, the administration makes it clear that it has ignored that advice and will continue to ignore it. As the President said in his press conference on November 18:

I can't say that these various proposals that range from a Senator to a county commissioner to a Mayor of a city have really changed General Westmoreland's plan much or Ambassador Bunker's proposals.

Nor has the administration done very much to foster or even permit the responsible dissent which it professes to "insist on" and "protect." The Secretary of State has not testified on the war in public session of the Foreign Relations Committee since January 28, 1966, and has repeatedly refused invitations to do so, despite the fact that it would give the administration as well as its critics the opportunity to explain their views to the American people. Closed meetings

<sup>1</sup> "What Choice Do We Have in Vietnam?" Look magazine, September 19, 1967, p. 27.



of the committee, which the Secretary says he prefers for reasons of security, are no substitute for public hearings. No one would expect the Secretary to reveal any military secrets in a public hearing, any more than he does in his press conferences and numerous public speeches. What we would expect is an accounting to the people of the administration's judgment and purposes under close questioning by the people's elected representatives. I can think of no more orderly and responsible way to conduct a democratic dialog. The unwillingness of the administration to participate in such a dialog is almost certainly a factor in the angry demonstrations which are taking place with increasing frequency.

A final point needs to be made about this matter of dissent. The administration seems to have the idea that we all ought to be grateful for its restraint in permitting us to express our views.

We don't stop the publication of any papers. We don't fine anyone for something they say—

The President reminded the reporters at his press conference on November 17. For my part, I should like to make it clear that I am not the slightest bit grateful to the administration for my freedom of speech. That freedom is an inalienable right which the American people reserved to themselves when they established a constitutional government. It is not the people's freedom which is a gift from their Government but the Government's authority which is a gift from the people, a retractable trust to be discharged at their pleasure.

When the Government abstains from suppressing dissent, it is doing nothing more than complying with one of the explicit conditions of its constitutional trust. That is not a thing for which gratitude is owed.

That, Mr. President, concludes the first half of my statement. Within the next week or so, I shall ask for the floor again in order to continue my review of the war's effects on American life. At that time I will comment on the growing military-industrial-academic complex, the mounting crisis of poverty, and the relationship of these problems to the central question involved in Vietnam, which is whether the United States is going to become a traditional world empire or will remain true to the traditional ideal of America as an example to the world.

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

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 2 minutes.

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

Mr. CHURCH. I want to commend the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee for the exceptionally fine address he has made this morning. Most of the words spoken on this floor are soon buried in the stillness of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and never reflected upon afterward, but I think that when the history of this period is writ-

ten, the words spoken by the distinguished Senator from Arkansas will be savored and remembered.

No one has stated the case against this war in Vietnam with greater logic or effectiveness. When most of the rest of us are long forgotten, the Senator from Arkansas will be remembered respectfully by the people of this country.



December 13, 1967

#### THE WAR AND ITS EFFECTS—II

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, today I resume my comments on the Vietnamese war and its far-ranging effects. In the first half of my statement I questioned the assumption on which the American war policy is based and suggested what seem to me to be the principal causes of the deep and widening division among the American people. Today I shall point to some of the destructive effects of the war upon our domestic life—to the growing militarization of the economy and the universities, to the deepening crisis of poverty and race, and to the underlying question of America's concept of herself, either as a traditional world empire as we seem to be becoming, or as an example of creative democracy, as we have traditionally regarded ourselves.

##### 1. THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL-ACADEMIC COMPLEX

While young dissenters plead for resurrection of the American promise, their elders continue to subvert it. As if it were something to be very proud of, it was announced not long ago that the war in Vietnam had created a million new jobs in the United States. Our country is becoming conditioned to permanent conflict. More and more our economy, our Government, and our universities are adapting themselves to the requirements of continuing war—total war, limited war, and cold war. The struggle against militarism into which we were drawn 26 years ago has become permanent, and for the sake of conducting it, we are making ourselves into a militarized society.

I do not think the military-industrial complex is the conspiratorial invention of a band of "merchants of death." One almost wishes that it were, because conspiracies can be exposed and dealt with. But the components of the new American militarism are too diverse, independent, and complex for it to be the product of a centrally directed conspiracy. It is rather the inevitable result of the creation of a huge, permanent military establishment, whose needs have given rise to a vast private defense

industry tied to the Armed Forces by a natural bond of common interest. As the largest producer of goods and services in the United States, the industries and businesses that fill military orders will in the coming fiscal year pour some \$45 billion into over 5,000 cities and towns where over 8 million Americans, counting members of the Armed Forces, comprising approximately 10 percent of the labor force, will earn their living from defense spending. Together all these industries and employees, drawing their income from the \$75 billion defense budget, form a giant concentration of socialism in our otherwise free enterprise economy.

Unplanned though it was, this complex has become a major political force. It is the result rather than the cause of American military involvements around the world; but, composed as it is of a vast number of citizens—not tycoons or "merchants of death" but ordinary, good American citizens—whose livelihood depends on defense production, the military industrial complex has become an indirect force for the perpetuation of our global military commitments. This is not—and I emphasize "not"—because anyone favors war but because every one of us has a natural and proper desire to preserve the sources of his livelihood. For the defense worker this means preserving or obtaining some local factory or installation and obtaining new defense orders; for the labor union leader it means jobs for his members at abnormally high wages; for the politician it means preserving the good will of his constituents by helping them to get what they want. Every time a new program, such as Mr. McNamara's \$5 billion "thin" antiballistic missile system, is introduced, a powerful new constituency is created—a constituency that will strive mightily to protect the new program and, in the case of the ABM, turn the "thin" system into a "thick" one, a movement already underway according to reports in the press. The constituency-building process is further advanced by the perspicacity of Defense officials and contractors in locating installations and plants in the districts of influential key Members of Congress.

In this natural way generals, industrialists, businessmen, labor leaders, workers, and politicians have joined together in a military-industrial complex—a complex which, for all the inadvertency of its creation and the innocent intentions of its participants, has nonetheless become a powerful new force for the perpetuation of foreign military commitments, for the introduction and expansion of expensive weapons systems, and, as a result, for the militarization of large segments of our national life. Most interest groups are counterbalanced by other interest groups, but the defense complex is so much larger than any other that there is no effective counterweight to it except concern as to its impact on the part of some of our citizens and a few of our leaders, none of whom have material incentive to offer.

The universities might have formed an effective counterweight to the military-industrial complex by strengthening their emphasis on the traditional

values of our democracy, but many of our leading universities have instead joined the monolith, adding greatly to its power and influence. Disappointing though it is, the adherence of the professors is not greatly surprising. No less than businessmen, workers, and politicians, professors like money and influence. Having traditionally been deprived of both, they have welcomed the contracts and consultantships offered by the Military Establishment.

The great majority of American professors are still teaching students and engaging in scholarly research, but some of the most famous of our academicians have set such activities aside in order to serve their government, especially those parts of the government which are primarily concerned with war.

The bonds between the Government and the universities are no more the results of a conspiracy than those between Government and business. They are an arrangement of convenience, providing the Government with politically usable knowledge and the universities with badly needed funds. Most of these funds go to large institutions which need them less than some smaller and less well-known ones, but they do on the whole make a contribution to higher learning, a contribution, however, which is purchased at a high price.

That price is the surrender of independence, the neglect of teaching, and the distortion of scholarship. A university which has become accustomed to the inflow of government contract funds is likely to emphasize activities which will attract those funds. These, unfortunately, do not include teaching undergraduates and the kind of scholarship which, though it may contribute to the sum of human knowledge and to man's understanding of himself, is not salable to the Defense Department or the CIA. As Clark Kerr, former president of the University of California, expressed it:

The real problem is not one of Federal control but of Federal influence. A Federal agency offers a project. The university need not accept, but as a practical matter, it usually does. . . . Out of this reality have followed many of the consequences of Federal aid for the universities; and they have been substantial. That they are subtle, slowly cumulative and gentlemanly makes them all the more potent.<sup>1</sup>

From what one hears the process of acquiring Government contracts is not always passive and gentlemanly.

One of the dismal sights in American higher education—

Writes Robert M. Rosenzweig, associate dean of the Stanford University graduate division—

is that of administrators scrambling for contracts for work which does not emerge from the research or teaching interests of their faculty. The result of this unseemly enterprise is bound to be a faculty coerced or seduced into secondary lines of interest, or a frantic effort to secure nonfaculty personnel to meet the contractual obligations. Among the most puzzling aspects of such arrangements is the fact that Government agencies have permitted and even encouraged

them. Not only are they harmful to the universities—which is not, of course, the Government's prime concern—but they insure that the Government will not get what it is presumably buying; namely, the intellectual and technical resources of the academic community. It is simply a bad bargain all the way around.<sup>2</sup>

Commenting on these tendencies, a special report on government, the universities and international affairs, prepared for the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, points out that—

The eagerness of university administrations to undertake stylized, Government-financed projects has caused a decline in self-generated commitments to scholarly pursuits, has produced baneful effects on the academic mission of our universities, and has, in addition, brought forward some bitter complaints from the disappointed clients.<sup>3</sup>

Among the baneful effects of the Government-university contract system the most damaging and corrupting are the neglect of the university's most important purpose, which is the education of its students, and the taking into the Government camp of scholars, especially those in the social sciences, who ought to be acting as responsible and independent critics of their Government's policies. The corrupting process is a subtle one: no one needs to censor, threaten, or give orders to contract scholars; without a word of warning or advice being uttered, it is simply understood that lucrative contracts are awarded not to those who question their Government's policies but to those who provide the Government with the tools and techniques it desires. The effect, in the words of the report to the Advisory Commission on International Education, is—

To suggest the possibility to a world—never adverse to prejudice—that academic honesty is no less marketable than a box of detergent on the grocery shelf.<sup>4</sup>

The formation of a military-industrial complex, for all its baneful consequences, is the result of great numbers of people engaging in more or less normal commercial activities. The adherence of the universities, though no more the result of a plan or conspiracy, nonetheless involves something else: the neglect and, if carried far enough the betrayal, of the university's fundamental reason for existence, which is the advancement of man's search for truth and happiness. It is for this purpose, and this purpose alone, that universities receive—and should receive—the community's support in the form of grants, loans and tax exemptions.

When the university turns away from its central purpose and makes itself an appendage to the Government, concerning itself with techniques rather than purposes, with expedients rather than

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in: Walter Adams and Adrian Jaffe, *Government, The Universities, and International Affairs: A Crisis in Identity*, Special Report Prepared for the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, 90th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 120 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

ideals, dispensing conventional orthodoxy rather than new ideas, it is not only failing to meet its responsibilities to its students; it is betraying a public trust.

This betrayal is most keenly felt by the students, partly because it is they who are being denied the services of those who ought to be their teachers, they to whom knowledge is being dispensed wholesale in cavernous lecture halls, they who must wait weeks for brief audiences with important professors whose time is taken up by travel and research connected with Government contracts. For all these reasons the students feel themselves betrayed, but it is doubtful that any of these is the basic cause of the angry rebellions which have broken out on so many campuses.

It seems more likely that the basic cause of the great trouble in our universities is the student's discovery of corruption in the one place, besides perhaps the churches, which might have been supposed to be immune from the corruptions of our age. Having seen their country's traditional values degraded in the effort to attribute moral purpose to an immoral war, having seen their country's leaders caught in inconsistencies which are politely referred to as a "credibility gap," they now see their universities—the last citadels of moral and intellectual integrity—lending themselves to ulterior and expedient ends, and betraying their own fundamental purpose, which, in James Bryce's words, is to "reflect the spirit of the times without yielding to it."

## 2. POVERTY IN AMERICA

Students are not the only angry people in America, nor the only people with cause for anger. There is also the anger of the American poor, black and white, rural and urban. These are the dispossessed and neglected children of the affluent society, the 32 million Americans whose hopes were briefly raised by the proclamation of a war on poverty, only to be sacrificed to the supervening requirements of the war on Asian communism, or, more exactly, to the executive preoccupation and congressional parsimony induced by that war.

In our preoccupation with foreign wars and crises we have scarcely noticed the revolution wrought by undirected change here at home. Since World War II our population has grown by 59 million; a mass migration from country to city has crowded over 70 percent of our population onto scarcely more than 1 percent of our land; vast numbers of rural Negroes from the South have filled the slums of northern cities while affluent white families have fled to shapeless new suburbs, leaving the cities physically deteriorating and financially destitute, and creating a new and socially destructive form of racial isolation combined with degrading poverty. Poverty, which is a tragedy in a poor country, blights our affluent society with something more than tragedy; being unnecessary, it is deeply immoral as well.

Distinct though it is in cause and character, the Negro rebellion is also part of the broader crisis of American poverty, and it is unlikely that social justice for Negroes can be won except as

<sup>1</sup> Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 57-58.

part of a broad program of education, housing and employment for all of our poor, for all of the great "underclass" of whom Negroes comprise no more than one-fourth or one-third. It is essential that the problem of poverty be dealt with as a whole, not only because the material needs of the white and colored poor are the same—better schools, better homes and better job opportunities—but because alleviating poverty in general is also the best way to alleviate racial hostility.

It is not the affluent and educated who account for the "backlash" but the poorer white people, who perceive in the Negro rights movement a threat to their jobs and homes and—probably more important—a threat to their own meager sense of social status.

There is nothing edifying about poverty. It is morally as well as physically degrading. It does not make men brothers. It sets them against each other in competition for jobs and homes and status. It leaves its mark on a man and its mark is not pretty. Poverty constricts and distorts, condemning its victims to an endless, anxious struggle for physical necessities. That struggle in turn robs a man of his distinctly human capacities—the capacity to think and create, the capacity to seek and savor the meaning of things, the capacity to feel sympathy and friendliness for his fellow man.

If we are to overcome poverty and its evil byproducts, we shall have to deal with them as human rather than as racial or regional problems. For practical as well as moral reasons, we shall have to have compassion for those who are a little above the bottom as well as for those who are at the bottom. We shall have to have some understanding of the white tenant farmer as well as the Negro farm laborer, of the urban white immigrant workingman as well as the Negro slum dweller. It would even benefit us to acquire some understanding—not approval, just understanding—of each other's group and regional prejudices.

If the racial crisis of recent years has proven anything, it is that none of us, Northerner or Southerner, has much to be proud of, that our failures have been national failures, that our problems are problems of a whole society, and so, as well, must be their solutions.

All these problems—of poverty and race, jobs and schools—have come to focus in the great cities, which, physically, mentally, and esthetically, are rapidly becoming unfit for human habitation. As now taking shape, the cities and suburbs are the product of technology run rampant, without effective political direction, without regard to social and long-term economic cost. They have been given their appearance by private developers, builders and entrepreneurs, seeking, as they will, their own short-term profit.

Rivers and bays are polluted and the air is filled with the fumes of the millions of cars which choke the roads. Recreation facilities and places of green and quiet are pitifully inadequate and there is no escape from crowds and noise, both of which are damaging to mental health.

At the heart of the problem is the absence of sufficient funds and political authority strong enough to control the anarchy of private interest and to act for the benefit of the community. Despite the efforts of some dedicated mayors and students of urban problems, the tide of deterioration is not being withstood and the cities are sliding deeper into disorganization and demoralization.

The larger cities have grown beyond human scale and organizing capacity. No matter what is done to rehabilitate New York and Chicago, they will never be places of green and quiet and serenity, nor is there much chance that these can even be made tolerably accessible to the millions who spend their lives enclosed in concrete and steel. Ugly and inhuman though they are, the great urban complexes remain nonetheless a magnet for Negroes from the South and whites from Appalachia. Crowding the fetid slums and taxing public services, they come in search of jobs and opportunity, only to find that the jobs which are available require skills which they lack and have little prospect of acquiring.

One wonders whether this urban migration is irreversible, whether it may not be possible to create economic opportunities in the small towns and cities where there are space and land and fresh air, where building costs are moderate and people can still live in some harmony with natural surroundings. The technology of modern agriculture may inevitably continue to reduce farm employment, but we have scarcely begun to consider the possibilities of industrial decentralization—of subsidies, tax incentives and other means—to make it possible for people to earn a living in the still human environments of small town America.

A decent life in a small town is not only very much better than slum life in a big city; it is probably cheaper too. The Secretary of Agriculture has suggested that it would be better to subsidize a rural family with \$1,000 a year for 20 years than to house them in a cramped urban "dwelling unit" at a cost of \$20,000. In New York or Chicago \$2,500 a year of welfare money will sustain a family in destitution; in the beautiful Ozark country of Arkansas it is enough for a decent life.

Aggravating the material ills is the impersonalization of life in a crowded, urban America. Increasingly we find wherever we go—in shops and banks and the places where we work—that our names and addresses no longer identify us; the IBM machines require numbers—ZIP codes, account numbers, and order numbers. Our relevant identity in a computerized economy is statistical rather than personal. Business machines provide standard information and standard services and there are no people to provide particular information or services for our particular needs.

The governing concept, invented I believe in the Pentagon, is "cost effectiveness," which refers not to the relationship of cost to human need or satisfaction but to the relationship of cost to the computerized system. Technology has ceased to be an instrument of human

ends; it has become an end in itself, unregulated by political or philosophical purpose. The toll which all this takes on the human mind can only be guessed at, but it must surely be enormous, because human needs are different from the needs of the system to which they are being subordinated. Someday the human requirements may be computerized too, but they have not, thank God, been computerized yet.

The cost of rehabilitating America will be enormous, beyond anything we have even been willing to think about. When Mayor Lindsay said that it would cost \$50 billion over 10 years to make New York a fit place to live in, his statement was dismissed as fanciful, although \$50 billion is less than we spend in 2 years in Vietnam. The Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal has ventured the guess that it will cost trillions of dollars to rehabilitate our slums and their inhabitants.

[T]he common idea that America is an immensely rich and affluent country—

He says—

is very much an exaggeration. American affluence is heavily mortgaged. America carries a tremendous burden of debt to its poor people. That this debt must be paid is not only a wish of the do-gooders. Not paying it implies the risk for the social order and for democracy as we have known it.<sup>5</sup>

Before we can even begin to think of what needs to be done and how to do it, we have got to reevaluate our national priorities. We have got to weigh the costs and benefits of going to the moon against the costs and benefits of rehabilitating our cities. We have got to weigh the costs and benefits of the supersonic transport, which will propel a few business executives and Government officials across the Atlantic in 2 or 3 hours, against the costs and benefits of slum clearance and school construction, which would create opportunity for millions of our deprived "underclass."

We have got to weigh the benefits and consider the awesome disparity of the \$904 billion we have spent on military power since World War II as against the \$96 billion we have spent, out of our regular national budget, on education, health, welfare, housing, and community development.

Defining our priorities is more a matter of moral accounting than of cost accounting. The latter may help us determine what we are able to pay for, but it cannot help us to decide what we want and what we need and what we are willing to pay for. It cannot help the five-sixths of us who are affluent to decide whether we are willing to pay for programs which will create opportunity for the one-sixth who are poor; that is a matter of moral accounting.

It cannot help us to decide whether beating the Russians to the moon is more important to us than purifying our poisoned air and lakes and rivers; that,

<sup>5</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, "The Necessity and Difficulty of Planning the Future Society," Address to the National Consultation on the Future Environment of a Democracy: The Next Fifty Years, 1967-2017, called by the American Institute of Planners, Washington, D.C., October 3, 1967, p. 15.

too, is a matter of moral accounting. Nor can it help us to decide whether we want to be the arbiter of the world's conflicts, the proud enforcer of a pax Americana, even though that must mean the abandonment of the Founding Fathers' idea of America as an exemplary society, and the betrayal of the idea of world peace under world law, which, as embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Charter of the United Nations, was also an American idea. These, too, are matters of moral accounting.

#### THE AMERICAN EXAMPLE

Rich and powerful though our country is, it is not rich or powerful enough to shape the course of world history in a constructive or desired direction solely by the impact of its power and policy. Inevitably and demonstrably, our major impact on the world is not in what we do but in what we are. For all their worldwide influence, our aid and our diplomacy are only the shadow of America; the real America—and the real American influence—are something else. They are the way our people live, our tastes and games, our products and preferences, the way we treat each other, the way we govern ourselves, the ideas about man and man's relations with other men that took root and flowered in the American soil.

History testifies to this. A hundred years ago England was dominant in the world, just as America is today. Now England is no longer dominant; her great fleets have vanished from the seas and only fragments remain of the mighty British Empire. What survives? The legacy of hatred survives—hatred of the West and its arrogant imperialism, hatred of the condescension and the exploitation, hatred of the betrayal abroad of the democracy that Englishmen practiced at home. And the ideas survive—the ideas of liberty and tolerance and fair play to which Englishmen were giving meaning and reality at home while acting on different principles in the Empire. In retrospect, it seems clear that England's lasting and constructive impact on modern India, for example, springs not from the way she ruled in India but, despite that, from the way she was ruling England at the same time.

Possessed as they are of a genuine philanthropic impulse, many Americans feel that it would be selfish and exclusive, elitist and isolationist, to deny the world the potential benefits of our great wealth and power, and to restrict ourselves to a largely exemplary role.

It is true that our wealth and power can be, and sometimes are, beneficial to foreign nations, but they can also be, and often are, immensely damaging and disruptive. Experience—ours and that of others—strongly suggests that the disruptive impact predominates, that, when big nations act upon small nations, they tend to do them more harm than good. This is not necessarily for lack of good intentions; it is rather for lack of knowledge. Most men simply do not know what is best for other men, and when they pretend to know or genuinely try to find out, they usually end up taking what they believe to be best for themselves as that which is best for others.

Conceding this regrettable trait of human nature, we practice democracy among ourselves, restricting the freedom of individuals to impose their wills upon other individuals, restricting the state as well, and channeling such coercion as is socially necessary through community institutions. We do not restrict the scope of Government because we wish to deny individuals the benefits of its wealth and power; we restrict our Government because we wish to protect individuals from its capacity for tyranny.

If it is wisdom to restrict the power of men over men within our society, is it not wisdom to do the same in our foreign relations? If we cannot count on the benevolence of an all-powerful Government toward its own people, whose needs and characteristics it knows something about and toward whom it is surely well disposed, how can we count on the benevolence of an all-powerful America toward peoples of whom we know very little? Clearly, we cannot, and, until such time as we are willing to offer our help through community institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank, I think that, in limiting our commitments to small nations, we are doing more to spare them disruption than we are to deny them benefits.

Mr. President, I might add that it has struck me as rather inconsistent that some of my friends who are most devoted to the rights of the States in domestic affairs are, at the same time, very determined to project our Nation's power into the affairs of peoples abroad.

Wisdom consists as much in knowing what you cannot do as in knowing what you can do. If we knew and were able to acknowledge the limits of our own capacity, we would be likely, more often than we do, to let nature take its course in one place and another, not because it is sure or even likely to take a good course but because, whatever nature's course may be, tampering with it in ignorance will almost surely make it worse.

We used, in the old days, to have this kind of wisdom and we also knew, almost instinctively, that what we made of ourselves and of our own society was far more likely to have a lasting and beneficial impact on the world than anything we might do in our foreign relations. We were content, as they say, to let conduct serve as an unspoken sermon. We knew that it was the freedom and seemingly unlimited opportunity, the energy and marvelous creativity of our diverse population, rather than the romantic nonsense of "manifest destiny," that made the name of America a symbol of hope to people all over the world.

We knew these things until events beyond our control carried us irrevocably into the world and its fearful problems. We recognized thereupon, as we had to, that some of our traditional ideas would no longer serve us, that we could no longer, for example, regard our power as something outside of the scales of the world balance of power, and that, therefore, we could no longer remain neutral from the major conflicts of the major nations.

But, as so often happens when ideas are being revised, we threw out some valid ideas with the obsolete ones. Rec-

ognizing that we could not help but be involved in many of the world's crises, we came to suppose that we had to be involved in every crisis that came along; and so we began to lose the understanding of our own limitations.

Recognizing that we could not help but maintain an active foreign policy, we came to suppose that whatever we hoped to accomplish in the world would be accomplished by acts of foreign policy, and, this—as we thought—being true, that foreign policy must without exception be given precedence over domestic needs; and so we began to lose our historical understanding of the power of the American example.

The loss is manifest in Vietnam. There at last we have embraced the ideas that are so alien to our experience—the idea that our wisdom is as great as our power, and the idea that our lasting impact on the world can be determined by the way we fight a war rather than by the way we run our country. These are the principal and most ominous effects of the war—the betrayal of ideas which have served America well, and the great moral crisis which that betrayal has set loose among our people and their leaders.

The crisis will not soon be resolved, nor can its outcome be predicted. It may culminate, as I hope it will, in a reassertion of the traditional values, in a renewed awareness of the creative power of the American example. Or it may culminate in our becoming an empire of the traditional kind, ordained to rule for a time over an empty system of power and then to fade or fall, leaving, like its predecessors, a legacy of dust.

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

## WASHINGTON BULLETIN

### 1972 ELECTION REPORT

December 1972

100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002, Phone: 202-543-4100

*Founded by Leo Szilard in 1962. Board of Directors: William Doering, Chairman; Daniel Aaron, Ruth Adams, Donald Eldridge, Bernard T. Feld, Roger Fisher, Allan Forbes, Jr., Maurice S. Fox, Jerome D. Frank, Matthew Meselson, James G. Patton, Charles Pratt, Jr., Charles C. Price, George W. Rathjens, Eli Sagan, National Director: Jane M. O. Sharp*

Dear Council Supporter:

Victory in the 1972 senate elections was decisive. Beyond expectations the liberal-moderate coalition in the United States Senate was strengthened with a net gain of two seats.

Over the past two years 6517 of you made one or more contributions to Council-recommended candidates and to the Council itself. These contributions were crucial in the recent elections. They helped significantly in shaping the direction of American politics.

In this bulletin we are sending you an accounting of our election activities and the role which your contributions played in achieving November's dramatic results.

Ten of the eleven senate candidates whom you supported in response to recommendations by the Council this year were elected on November 7th.

Each of the five recommended incumbent senators won re-election, the victories of the Republicans made easier and those of the Democrats made more difficult by the presidential landslide.

More surprising, particularly in view of the traditional invulnerability of an incumbent, were the victories scored by five of the six liberal Democrats who were running in their first senatorial campaigns.

Three of these newly elected senators — Jim Abourezk in South Dakota, Joe Biden in Delaware and Bill Hathaway in Maine — were early and major recipients of your support. The other two newcomers — Dick Clark in Iowa and Floyd Haskell in Colorado — received late and relatively modest support from the special

Council campaign fund to which you were asked to contribute in October. Our one setback was in Idaho where Bud Davis lost a hotly contested race to Congressman James McClure.

In the closing months of the campaign, from August through October we urged you to contribute with unaccustomed frequency, in an effort to offset the effect on the senate races of the trend in the presidential campaign. The generosity of those of you who contributed was most heartening to us and to the candidates. In many cases this generosity must have been sustained together with an equally heavy commitment to the presidential race.

On the basis of the Council record which you established this year, no other group of Americans has shown itself to be more conscious of the importance of the biennial senate elections.

Earlier in the year our assessment of the 1972 senate elections began with a score of minus three based on the retirements of Senator Clinton Anderson, Senator John Sherman Cooper and Senator Fred Harris. On that basis alone a major effort was required simply to maintain the existing strength of progressives in the Senate. Toward the end of the campaigns the possibility of actually gaining strength became plausible; finally on November 7th the tally showed a gain of two seats in the Senate's liberal-moderate coalition.

The chart below separates the distribution of election funds in 1971-72 in two distinct categories. A small portion is represented by contributions from Council funds to candidates. The major portion consists of your individual contributions directly to the candidates. The number of your contributions and their average size is also listed for each campaign.

DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTION FUNDS 1971-1972

Candidate	Number Individual Contributions	Average \$\$ Contribution	Contributions from CLW Funds	Total Contributions	Vote (%)	Margin
<u>Major Support</u>						
Abourezk (D) S.D.	1,439	\$ 21.53	—	\$ 30,984.85	57.0 - 43.0	win by 14.0%
Biden (D) Del.	893	45.20	\$ 8,000.00	48,362.99	50.5 - 49.2	win by 1.3%
Davis (D) Idaho	222	119.62	5,000.00	31,555.00	45.5 - 52.3	loss by 6.8%
Hathaway (D) Me.	1,135	23.45	1,000.00	27,612.24	53.3 - 46.7	win by 6.6%
Metcalf (D) Mt.	855	23.68	—	20,246.75	51.9 - 48.1	win by 3.8%
Pell (D) R.I.	831	31.05	—	25,799.69	54.1 - 45.9	win by 8.2%
<u>Moderate Support</u>						
Case (R) N.J.	319	32.84	—	10,476.25	63.0 - 35.9	win by 27.1%
Mondale (D) Minn.	369	21.68	—	8,001.25	56.7 - 42.9	win by 13.8%
<u>Modest Support</u>						
Clark (D) Iowa	1	2,000.00	1,000.00	3,000.00	54.6 - 44.7	win by 9.9%
Haskell (D) Col.	—	—	1,000.00	1,000.00	49.6 - 49.1	win by 0.5%
Pearson (R) Kan.	1	500.00	—	500.00	72.2 - 23.2	win by 49.0%
Miscellaneous	41	25.92	—	1,063.00	—	—
<u>Primary Elections</u>						
Morse (D) Ore.	14	387.14	—	5,420.00	44.0 - 33.0	win by 11.0%
Pryor (D) Ark.	392	46.70	—	18,306.50	48.0 - 52.0	loss by 4.0%
	<u>6,512</u>	<u>\$ 33.22</u>	<u>\$16,000.00</u>	<u>\$232,328.52</u>		

## Major Support



JAMES ABOUREZK

Of the candidates in the general election who received major support James Abourezk was the first. In November 1971, some of you contributed to cover the cost of a poll in South Dakota. This poll established that, of all contenders, Republicans and Democrats, Jim Abourezk was the strongest, and on the basis of his record in the House we were enthusiastic in recommending him as a candidate who deserved your support. Thereafter in response to a number of appeals on behalf of his candidacy, your contributions assisted him through the financially critical period of his campaign. We made no further recommendations for support after August 1972 when it became apparent that with hard work adequate funding would be available from other sources. Jim Abourezk won an impressive victory defeating his opponent 57.0 - 43.0%.

CLAIBORNE PELL



In January 1972 we asked you to contribute to the campaign of Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island. There was every indication early in the year that Senator Pell faced a severe uphill battle to retain his senate seat. Throughout the late winter and early spring public and private polls showed — with almost monotonous regularity — challenger Chafee holding what many thought was an insurmountable lead. Through great effort and persistence by Senator Pell's campaign staff and even more

through his own intensive personal campaigning, the situation in Rhode Island began to change in the late spring and continued to improve through the summer, although financing remained a critical problem in the campaign until shortly before the election. Our appeals on behalf of Senator Pell continued until mid-October. Senator Pell won re-election by a healthy margin, 54.1 - 45.9%.



LEE METCALF

In January you were also asked to contribute to the campaign of Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana. When Senator Metcalf won the June 6th primary with nearly 86% of the vote, some Council supporters questioned whether further support was necessary. Because Senator Metcalf's opposition in the primary had only been nominal, and he had won his two previous races by quite narrow margins, there was good indication this year that his senate race would once again be close. Consequently we continued to ask for your support until September when we were satisfied that the campaign would be adequately funded. Senator Metcalf's victory turned out to be narrow indeed, 51.9 - 48.1%.

BILL HATHAWAY



In February you received our first appeal on behalf of William Hathaway of Maine whom we continued to recommend for your support through August. Hathaway's defeat of incumbent Senator Margaret Chase Smith by a margin of 53.5 - 46.7% has been rated by the national press as one of the major upsets of the 1972 senate elections.



JOE BIDEN

Another major upset was the victory of Joseph Biden over incumbent Senator J. Caleb Boggs in Delaware. In May we sent our first recommendation for support which was repeated frequently thereafter since Delaware remained *terra incognita* for most national observers until its "discovery" in mid-October. Joe Biden was elected with 50.5% of the vote.

### Three Challengers

In every election year one or two senate races come to life only in the last months of campaigning. This year there were three — in Idaho where William Davis was defeated and in Colorado and in Iowa where two challengers, Floyd Haskell and Dick Clark, were elected.

The first campaign to emerge was Idaho where Davis won the senate primary on August 8th. The lateness of the primary had made it difficult for Davis to build an adequate campaign fund earlier in the year, while his opponent, Congressman James McClure, entered the Republican primary with \$37,000 from unidentified contributors who had made their donations before the April 7th deadline after which public disclosure was required by law. By election day the Davis campaign had been run on a budget of \$155,000 whereas McClure had spent more than \$400,000 — a figure unprecedented in Idaho elections. In view of the small Idaho vote for George McGovern — at 26% the lowest in any Northern state where there was a senate race — Davis ran a well organized and hard-hitting campaign but lost by a margin of 45.5 - 52.3%.

Most of the contributions you made to the Council in October were sent to Delaware, Idaho and Rhode Island. Lesser amounts went to Dick

Clark in Iowa and Floyd Haskell in Colorado. With five campaigns still in critical need of financial assistance so late in the election and with our available funds being limited, we were not in a position to provide the Iowa and Colorado races with the level of support which they required and deserved. Fortunately in these instances both Clark and Haskell were elected, but the problems of providing adequate funds late in an election year will be with us again in 1974.

### Early Support

In July 1971, you contributed the initial funds to the campaigns of two distinguished incumbents, Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey and Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota. Both men were favored to win re-election, but it was our judgment that an early and substantial contribution to each would assure them smooth passage. No further recommendations were sent for their support. Senator Case was re-elected by 63.0 - 35.9% and Senator Mondale by 56.7 - 42.9%.

Two primary candidates were endorsed by the Council, David Pryor in Arkansas and Wayne Morse in Oregon. David Pryor, who was a major recipient of your support forced the Arkansas primary into a run-off in which he lost to incumbent Senator John McClellan by 48.0 - 52.0%. Arkansas was the most promising senate prospect in the South in 1972, and the significance of David Pryor's loss became the more apparent on November 7th when a number of extremely conservative senators were elected in other Southern states.

In Oregon your support helped Wayne Morse win the Democratic nomination over Robert Duncan. It provided an early assurance that the Oregon senate seat would continue to be held by a progressive regardless of the outcome of the subsequent general election. Since both Mark Hatfield, the Republican incumbent, and Wayne Morse had been supported by the Council in the past, neither was recommended for support in the general election. On November 7th Senator Hatfield was re-elected by 54 - 46%.



## Political Research Effort

In 1971 the Council sought to improve the quality of information upon which our recommendations to you are based by supporting an independent effort designed to provide an accurate assessment of the prospects in the senate races. This effort included visits averaging a week in length by an experienced observer to twenty-five states. In some cases three or four visits were made to the same state at intervals in order to permit the changing prospects of the candidates to be gauged. In some instances the Council arranged for polls where reliable survey data was not available.

These activities cost \$41,110.00 and were paid for directly from Council funds. In our judgment this new effort resulted in a vastly more sophisticated understanding of political developments and significantly increased the effectiveness of your contributions. Ten successful candidates out of eleven supported far surpasses any previous year in the Council's history.

These results are so encouraging that we are already making plans to sustain a similar political research effort in the 1973-74 campaigns. This will be a big year, as a glance at even a partial list of incumbents whose terms expire in 1974 will show: Aiken, Bayh, Church, Cook, Cranston, Eagleton, Ervin, Fulbright, Gravel, Hughes, Inouye, Javits, Magnuson, Mathias, McGovern, Nelson, Ribicoff, Saxbe, Schweiker, Stevenson.

## 1973 Washington Program

For the present though, we are devoting our attention to the 93rd session of Congress which convenes on January 3rd, and to the Council's Washington activities. We anticipate sharp debate on the defense budget especially as it relates to the prospects for SALT II and to the United States defense commitment to Europe. The Council will be working toward a freeze on new strategic weapons and particularly for a halt to further development of the Trident submarine, the B1 Bomber and the Safeguard ABM system. We shall be exploring the possible use of SALT II to curb the present race to improve and augment such nuclear weapons systems as in anti-submarine warfare, ABM and

improved rocket guidance. We expect the Geneva Protocol outlawing chemical and biological warfare and the treaty to ban biological weapons to come before the Senate for ratification and we shall continue to generate pressures for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. These issues will be discussed in greater detail in future bulletins.

Meanwhile we hope you will be writing to us — commenting on both the Washington program and the senate elections. Some of you have asked for more extensive information on Council-endorsed candidates, others have written for more details on specific issues. We welcome this correspondence.

## Albert Gore resigns

Finally we announce with regret that Albert Gore, who became Washington Chairman of the Council in July 1971, resigned in September 1972 when he became Chairman and chief executive officer of the Island Creek Coal Company in Cleveland, Ohio. Senator Gore's term of office with the Council, though brief, was distinguished by the same dedication to public service as his many years in elective office. Both Albert and Pauline Gore devoted many hours of hard work to the Council, not only in Washington but traveling across the country in a major effort to broaden our constituency. The Council's record in the 1972 senate elections is due in no small measure to the Gores' efforts. We shall miss them both.

Our major thanks go to those of you who have given so generously in this election year, and particularly to those of you who have loyally supported the Council from its infancy ten years ago. You have made the Council a potent force in Washington and we approach our second decade with optimism and enthusiasm.

Yours sincerely,

*William Doering*

William Doering  
Chairman

*Bernard T. Feld*

Bernard T. Feld  
President

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

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# WASHINGTON BULLETIN

DECEMBER 1972

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\*Prouty (Vt.)  
\*Scott (Pa.)  
\*Stevens (Alaska)  
Thurmond (S.C.)  
Tower (Tex.)  
\*Williams (Del.)  
Young (N.D.)

\*Terms expire January, 1971

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD



## WASHINGTON BULLETIN

November 1966

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036

*Founded by Leo Szilard in 1962. OFFICERS: BERNARD T. FELD, President; ALLAN FORBES, JR., Vice-President. BOARD OF DIRECTORS: WILLIAM DOERING, Chairman; RUTH ADAMS; BERNARD T. FELD; ALLAN FORBES, JR.; MAURICE S. FOX; JEROME FRANK; MATTHEW MESELSON; JAMES G. PATTON; CHARLES PRATT, JR.; CHARLES C. PRICE*

### 1966 ELECTION RESULTS

In the 1966 elections, the Council for a Livable World supported 24 candidates. Council supporters transmitted contributions on a priority basis to six Senatorial candidates: Clifford Case, New Jersey; Mark Hatfield, Oregon; Ralph Harding, Idaho; Lee Metcalf, Montana; Roy Romer, Colorado; and Teno Roncalio, Wyoming. Of these, three were successful: Case, Hatfield, and Metcalf.

The Council assisted from unallocated political funds, in addition to Hatfield, Harding, Metcalf, and Romer, the Senatorial races of E. L. Bartlett, Alaska; Edward Brooke, Massachusetts; Walter Mondale, Minnesota; and John Sparkman, Alabama. All of these latter candidates won their races.

The Council also contributed from unallocated political funds to the Senatorial primary campaigns of Thomas Adams, Massachusetts; Armistead Boothe, Virginia; Robert Ellsworth, Kansas; and Howard Morgan, Oregon. All of these candidates lost their primary contests.

The following candidates for the House of Representatives were assisted from Council political funds provided by Supporters in the Spring and Fall: George Brown, California; Edward Cadenhead, Oklahoma; Jeffrey Cohelan, California; John Dow, New York; Donald Fraser, Minnesota; Henry Helstoski, New Jersey; George Leppert, California; Charles Porter, Oregon; Weston Vivian, Michigan; and Theodore Weiss, New York. The following five of these candidates were successful: Brown, Cohelan, Dow, Fraser, and Helstoski.

In sum, 12 of these 24 candidates supported through the Council won their races. Of these 12, 3 were candidates for whom direct support was urged.

By election day, Supporters of the Council had contributed in 1965-66 a total of \$93,895 directly to candidates with priority given to Metcalf, Hatfield, Romer, Roncalio, Harding, and Case in that order. In addition, from the unallocated political funds provided by Supporters, the Council gave a total of \$37,500 to Senatorial races in amounts ranging from \$1,000 to \$5,000. Of this sum, \$28,000 went to the Senate races of Bartlett, Brooke, Harding, Hatfield, Metcalf, Mondale, Romer, and Sparkman. In Senate primary races, \$9,500 went to Adams, Boothe, Ellsworth, and Morgan. All of the House candidates were supported from unallocated funds totaling \$6,500.

THE 1966 ELECTION RESULTS

OF RACES IN WHICH A CANDIDATE WAS RECOMMENDED BY THE COUNCIL  
(All figures based on unofficial published reports)

<u>Candidates - Senate</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Popular Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
* Sen. Clifford Case + Warren Wilentz	New Jersey	1,258,672 783,192	61.6 38.4
* Ralph Harding Sen. Len B. Jordan +	Idaho	112,175 140,046	44.5 55.5
* Gov. Mark Hatfield Rep. Robert Duncan	Oregon	341,553 317,588	51.8 48.2
* Sen. Lee Metcalf + Gov. Tim Babcock	Montana	109,151 95,351	53.4 46.6
* Roy Romer Sen. Gordon Allott +	Colorado	263,821 366,034	41.9 58.1
* Rep. Teno Roncalio Gov. Clifford Hansen	Wyoming	50,734 56,011	47.5 52.2
* Sen. E.L. Bartlett + Lee L. McKinley	Alaska	37,580 11,932	75.9 24.1
* Edward Brooke Endicott Peabody	Massachusetts	999,210 647,474	60.7 39.3
* Sen. Walter Mondale + Robert A. Forsythe	Minnesota	605,581 512,470	54.2 45.8
* Sen. John Sparkman + John Grenier	Alabama	426,273 264,348	61.7 38.3

Primaries

* Thomas B. Adams John F. Collins Endicott Peabody	Massachusetts	51,483 265,213 321,035	8.1 41.6 50.3
* Armistead Boothe Sen. H. F. Byrd, Jr. +	Virginia	212,885 221,213	49.0 51.0
* Robert Ellsworth Sen. James Pearson + (2 others)	Kansas	66,401 88,283 15,609	39.0 51.8 9.2

Council-Supported House Candidates

Rep. Jeffrey Cohelan +	California, 7th C.D.	82,846	64.4
George Leppert	California, 10th C.D.	69,679	30.9
Rep. George Brown +	California, 29th C.D.	53,923	52.1
Rep. Weston Vivian +	Michigan, 2nd C.D.	62,327	48.9
Rep. Donald M. Fraser +	Minnesota, 5th C.D.	84,279	60.0
Rep. Henry Helstoski +	New Jersey, 9th C.D.	73,967	50.8
Rep. John Dow +	New York, 27th C.D.	32,420	57.0
P-Theodore Weiss	New York, 19th C.D.	16,151	48.6
Charles Porter	Oregon, 4th C.D.	46,550	36.7
Edward Cadenhead	Oklahoma, 1st C.D.	45,441	30.2

\* Council supported + incumbent P- primary only

Of the three Congressional elections in which the Council and its Supporters have participated, these of 1966 have been the most crucial and the most sharply-contested. Few important foreign policy issues figured in the 1962 campaign, and those which were brought up were not clearly defined. The far right was ill-organized and looking ahead to 1964. In 1964, however, the Council's successes of 1962 made it and the candidates it supported prime targets of extremist attack. In the tidal wave of anti-Goldwater sentiment which swept the country, almost all Council-backed candidates were carried into office.

This year political observers were in general agreement that the elections, as is usual in mid-term years, would result in corrective action to 1964. This is exactly what has happened. While the Council's won-lost record may not at first glance appear as impressive as in 1964, under closer analysis the results are gratifying and encouraging.

The two most vital races from the Council's point of view were those of Governor Hatfield in Oregon and Senator Metcalf in Montana. Both these men were victorious. A third Senate race in which Vietnam played a central role was that between Attorney-General Brooke and former Governor Peabody in Massachusetts. From its unallocated reserve fund for Senatorial candidates, the Council made a direct contribution to Brooke. Although the national press tended to overlook the significance of the Vietnam issue in this race, it was probably the most clear-cut confrontation on Vietnam of any Senate race in the country. Peabody was an all-out supporter of President Johnson's conduct of the war and indicated he would go along with any action the President might take in the future. Brooke called for a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam as an important step to negotiation, opposed the use of napalm, and advocated including the NLF in a peace conference. Brooke held to these positions throughout the campaign; if anything, he intensified them in the closing days. His resounding victory was one of the most significant of the 1966 elections.

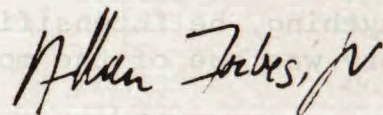
The liberal wing of the opposing party in the Senate, until now relatively small and ineffective, has been enormously strengthened by the election of Brooke, Hatfield, and Charles Percy in Illinois. This development will undoubtedly have a restraining effect on United States foreign policy even though these men are freshman Senators.

From the accompanying tabulation of election results, Council Supporters will note that for the first time the Council has participated in a number of primary races. Leo Szilard's original formulation of the Council's operations called for extensive involvement in primary campaigns as a means of identifying promising new political figures and assisting them to enter politics at the national level. The Council is not yet ready to undertake this sort of program on a

large scale, but this year it has given substantial aid to four primary candidates for the Senate, and one for the House. The Council was enabled to take this new step because of increases in both the number of its Supporters and the funds made available to it. The basic criterion for giving contributions in primaries was the candidate's position on Vietnam. The Directors considered it a matter of the greatest urgency that the conduct of the war figure prominently in as many Senate races as possible. In two of the four Senate primary races, Vietnam was the central issue because of the presence of Council-backed candidates.

The Council's consistent record of success in three election campaigns since its formation in 1962 can be accounted for by two factors. First, because Supporters almost invariably follow Council recommendations in making their contributions, it is possible to direct funds to candidates in accordance with their respective needs. Second, by channeling the great bulk of contributions into the most important campaigns only, the Council can provide assistance in amounts large enough to have a significant, often decisive, effect on the outcome of these races.

In the Congressional elections of 1962, 1964, and 1966 Council Supporters have provided substantial campaign assistance to 22 candidates who have won election to the United States Senate and who will take their seats next January in the 90th Congress. There is no other independent, non-partisan, political organization in the nation which can point to a record even remotely comparable to that achieved by the Council through the loyalty and perseverance of its Supporters.



Allan Forbes, Jr.  
Vice President





# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

Founded in 1962 by Leo Szilard

National Office: 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036, Phone: 265-3800, ac 202, Cable: DELPHINI WASHINGTON, D. C.

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ALLAN FORBES, JR.	<i>Vice-President</i>
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August 26, 1969

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Dear Council Supporter,

In these climactic days of the see-saw struggle over the deployment of ABM, the lines of a larger battle can be seen more clearly: the battle of an aroused, resurgent United States Senate against the increasingly dominant force of the military-industrial complex. This force is in reality a complicated interplay of portions of the industrial, labor, and political establishments with the military and the Department of Defense. The effectiveness of the complex depends completely on its political power. The closeness of the ABM fight offers the most heartening evidence of the vulnerability of the complex's political control. It suggests, furthermore, the real possibility of its being supplanted by a coalition of forces that can reflect the popular concern for cities, for health, for the natural environment, for education, and for a peaceful and constructive international policy.

Supporters of the Council can now see what a remarkable effect their collective sacrifices have had on the quality of the United States Senate. They can look back to the successful 1968 campaigns that elected Church, Cranston, Eagleton, Fulbright, Hughes, Mathias, McGovern and Nelson and take comfort in the thought that the opponents of these Council-backed Senators (a Max Rafferty, for example) are not the present incumbents. To be sure, the almost precise balance in the Senate painfully marks the absence of liberal stalwarts like Clark, Gruening and Morse, but the Council can take an unexpected satisfaction over the performances of such freshman Republican Senators as Cook, Saxbe and Schweiker.

A number of quotations from Senator Fulbright's remarks of July 25, 1969 on the floor of the Senate help to dramatize the change in the Senate effected in last year's elections:

"I have been in the Senate 25 years now and this is the first time in those 25 years that there has been a serious debate upon an important item in the defense budget.... I have not done my part, I know, in the last 25 years, because I always believed it was hopeless. I was sure if I made a motion to cut any of those programs, I would not get any votes, because nobody ever had.

"I think there are enough Senators who think that the Senate is sufficiently important that it should play a role in the balance of our government, that we should not be completely under the control of the military bureaucracy of our government.

"Really, that is what the ABM is a symbol of; namely, whether the Senate has got enough independence from the influence of the great manufacturers of this country, the great industrial enterprises, and the military bureaucracy.

"I have been extremely impressed by the outspoken position of the new Senators in this body, men...who are close...to the pulse of the electorate...because they were elected for the first time. It is remarkable how interested they are in being Senators and not stooges of the military."

This year and next Council supporters will bear the heaviest burden of their involvement with the Senate. Of the 57 Democratic seats in the present Senate, 25 or nearly half are at stake next year, while only 9 Republican seats will face an election contest. We are faced with the sobering prospect that with the defeat of only seven Democratic Senators the leadership of the Senate will pass from Mansfield's hands to Dirksen's, and the present number of enlightened Senators (36 Democrats and 14 Republicans voted against ABM deployment) will become smaller rather than larger. This will thus be a crucial non-presidential election year.

To give you an opportunity to see the picture in terms of specific, individual Senators, we enclose a tabulation of the vote on the ABM of August 6. The recent vote on the extension of the surtax reflects similar concern for the order of national priorities. But the vote of a Senator on the nearly successful amendments to limit the application of ABM funds to research and development and to prevent their use for deployment is the most reliable single indicator of his position on related issues of primary interest to the Council.

At this time we would like to urge supporters of the Council to begin their involvement in the 1970 elections by contributing most valuable early dollars to the reelection campaigns of two Senators.

We would also like some of you to contribute to the Council's Washington operation. Our activities in the ABM campaign have been intensive for the past two years and need not be reported in further detail. It may suffice to quote from the Baltimore Sun, 14 June 1969:

"Some ABM opponents say they think their most effective ally is the Council for a Livable World, which was formed in 1962 to attempt to reduce the risk of nuclear war, and began lobbying against the ABM as early as 1965.

"Its technique is to invite small groups of Senators -- and recently newsmen -- to informal off-the-record luncheons and dinners with scientists and other experts on disarmament."

And from another article on the politics of ABM in the Washington Post, 16 June 1969:

"The Council is capable of putting money behind its arguments. Last year it gave nearly \$400,000 to the Senate campaigns of its friends, drawing contributions from about 10,000 members, primarily in the academic and scientific communities."

The two Senators whom we believe you should support now face difficult campaigns and are among the prime targets for replacement by reactionary men. Both have been unflinching in their dedication to arms control and peace and deserve massive support at this time.

Supporters are reminded of the high value of early dollars. They allow a confident campaign office and the campaign itself to be organized before contributions from other sources have begun to come in.

Philip Hart, senior Democratic Senator of Michigan, will be running for reelection to his third term. With Kentucky Republican John Sherman Cooper, he led the fight in the Senate in 1968 against the ABM. Together they first showed the potential for a sizeable opposition to this unnecessary and wasteful program, mustering in four separate roll calls a total of some 46 votes against the deployment of the "Sentinel" ABM. This year Hart and Cooper have again been leading the now much stronger Senate opposition in its fight against the deployment of ABM. The consummate legislative skill and acuity of these two Senators is clearly revealed in the closeness of the vote on August 6.

Hart suggests that the ABM issue may become President Nixon's Vietnam. He has said, "we are near a national consensus now that we should never have gotten into Vietnam in the first place. But even many who concede this will also argue that we must remain in Vietnam in order to preserve our honor or to insure that our dead will not have died in vain... Vietnam is a perfect example of how military projects achieve a life of their own and become their own reason for being. The Anti-Ballistic Missile presents the same sort of danger...the ABM is insane."

Senator Hart has years of achievement in the Congressional wars over civil rights, where he spearheaded voting rights and fair housing legislation from his position on the Senate Judiciary Committee. He has been a vigorous spokesman for consumer interests, and as chairman of the important Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee has sought to place more effective curbs on big business. Senator Hart's vision clearly emerges in these words of three months ago: "I just hope that the nation's preoccupation with the ABM doesn't turn out to be tunnel vision. Because the focus ought to be broadened to include all military spending."

The Republican organization in Michigan looks hopefully to the defeat of Senator Hart and plans to raise a million and a half dollars this year for that purpose. Republican optimism is strengthened by their success four years ago in electing Griffin who ran against the liberal Democrat G. Mennen Williams.

Utah's Senator Frank E. Moss is also high on the target list of the reactionaries. A liberal on both domestic and foreign policy, and an early opponent of escalation of the Vietnam war, he has repeatedly taken stands on controversial issues which have provoked angry outbursts from an active radical right wing. He has been a constant critic of the ABM proposal; he has been deeply concerned about the Army's chemical and biological warfare program, which led in March 1968 to the death of 6,400 sheep at the Dugway, Utah proving ground. On domestic issues, Senator Moss is a champion of conservation measures, and, as chairman of the Commerce Committee's Consumer Subcommittee, he has taken a leading role in promoting measures for consumer protection, most recently by pressing for restrictions on cigarette advertising.

On July 18 Senator Moss said in the Senate:

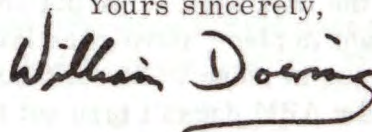
"It is clear that many in this body have mastered its [ the ABM's] complexities, and that ultimately what we are debating is not differences over technical capability or scientific estimates, but differences over the shape of our national destiny and the kind of nuclear security which we can have on the one hand by relentless and unending nuclear weapons races with the Soviet Union, and on the other hand by advancement of nuclear restraint and nuclear arms control on both sides."

A liberal running in an essentially conservative state, Moss is likely to face one of Utah's two ultra-conservative Republican Congressmen, Laurence Burton or Sherman Lloyd, next year in a difficult campaign for reelection to a third term.

Some Council Supporters are being asked to contribute to the Council for a Livable World to help support current Washington activities. These include continuing efforts to prevent deployment of the Safeguard ABM, to halt the testing of multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRVs), to encourage the definition of positive and valuable goals in the forthcoming strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) with the Soviet Union, and to gain Senate ratification, at long last, of the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting chemical and biological warfare.

In the usual manner you are asked to contribute according to the instructions on the enclosed form, unless you have a strong preference otherwise.

Yours sincerely,



William Doering  
Chairman

Senator John V. Tunney  
Riverside, California

Fall, 1973

Dear Friend,

By the time this letter reaches you, you will no doubt have received fresh news about Watergate.

As this Watergate tale continues to unfold, I am not hopeful that you and I will be able to find comfort in any of it. So I am writing you today to tell you what your best course of action is, in my judgement.

You are known as an active supporter of open and decent government. No doubt you have wished, as I have, that you might reply to the arrogance of this Administration by reaching your own hand into Washington and shutting off the stream of Nixonian abuses.

If this is so, I want to invite you to become a forceful opponent of the President and his advisers by joining me in an organization known as The Council for a Livable World.

Unless you are planning to run for Federal office yourself during the next two years, I believe your membership in our organization is the most effective means for you to personally stand in the way of such practices as political espionage...executive secrecy...arbitrary impoundment...extravagant war spending...and one-man rule.

Consider this--

Of the 100 United States Senators now serving in Washington, 27 of them were elected to office with the help of The Council for a Livable World.

(Please turn page)

These 27 Senators, aided by certain of their colleagues, make up a formidable Senate power lobby that may now be capable of challenging Presidential abuses.

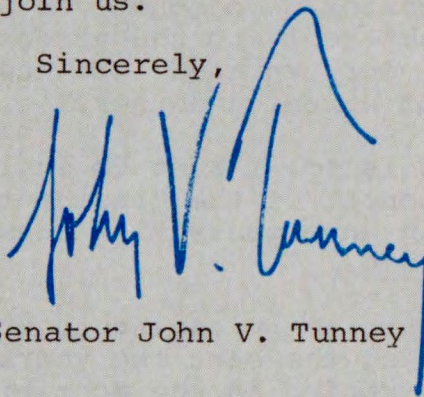
At the present time, however, I cannot give you a positive assurance that we will always succeed in our challenges. Our number may not be large enough.

Clearly, if we are to form a reliable barrier against unbridled Presidential power, we will have to enlarge our group of progressive Senators in the 1974 Senate races.

We need your help today. In 1974 The Council seeks to re-elect 17 Senators friendly to good government -- and defeat vulnerable conservative Senators in other states.

Your \$30 contribution to The Council today can do more to create a powerful Senate than a similar contribution a year from now. Please join us.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "John V. Tunney". The signature is stylized and somewhat cursive, with a prominent arch over the "T" in "Tunney".

Senator John V. Tunney

**“There is one  
particular lobby...  
you don’t read much  
about in those  
Eastern liberal papers.  
I am referring to the  
so-called Council  
for a Livable World.  
This outfit... should  
be the subject of a  
major expose!”**

**— Vice President Spiro T. Agnew**





**“On such issues as  
arms control and military spending,  
it is hard to think  
of any more effective  
and resourceful organization  
than The Council for a  
Livable World.”**

**— Senator Mark Hatfield**

To put it another way, The Council is a liberal pressure group. Maybe the most sophisticated public lobby currently dealing with American military and foreign policy.

This booklet is about that group: who's behind it, how it wields the power it has, what it does for progressive causes, why it's hated by every reactionary in public office, and why you might like to support it.

Founded in 1962, its 12,000 supporters exert power out of all proportion to their number.

They helped elect 27 liberal Senators now in Washington — Democrats and Republicans.

They were instrumental in stalemating ABM, banning biological weapons, and killing the Multilateral Nuclear Force.

Consequently, The Council is not well-loved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Or the defense lobbies. Or the Birch Society.

One can be known, it seems, by the enemies one keeps.

**“The most effective  
lobbying work of the Council  
is making sure the  
right people get elected  
in the first place.”**

**— Senator William Proxmire**

There is a method to The Council's sanity.

They feel by electing the right kind of Senators we'll end up with the right kind of priorities — on the sensible assumption that there are fewer fires to put out when you keep the government from playing with matches.

You can get an idea of how good CLW's method is just by looking at its 1972 record:

CLW supported five incumbent Senators: Clifford Case of New Jersey, Lee Metcalf of Montana, Walter Mondale of Minnesota, James Pearson of Kansas, and Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island.

All five won.

CLW backed six challengers: James Abourezk in South Dakota, Joseph Biden in Delaware, Dick Clark in Iowa, William Davis in Idaho, Floyd Haskell in Colorado, and William Hathaway in Maine.

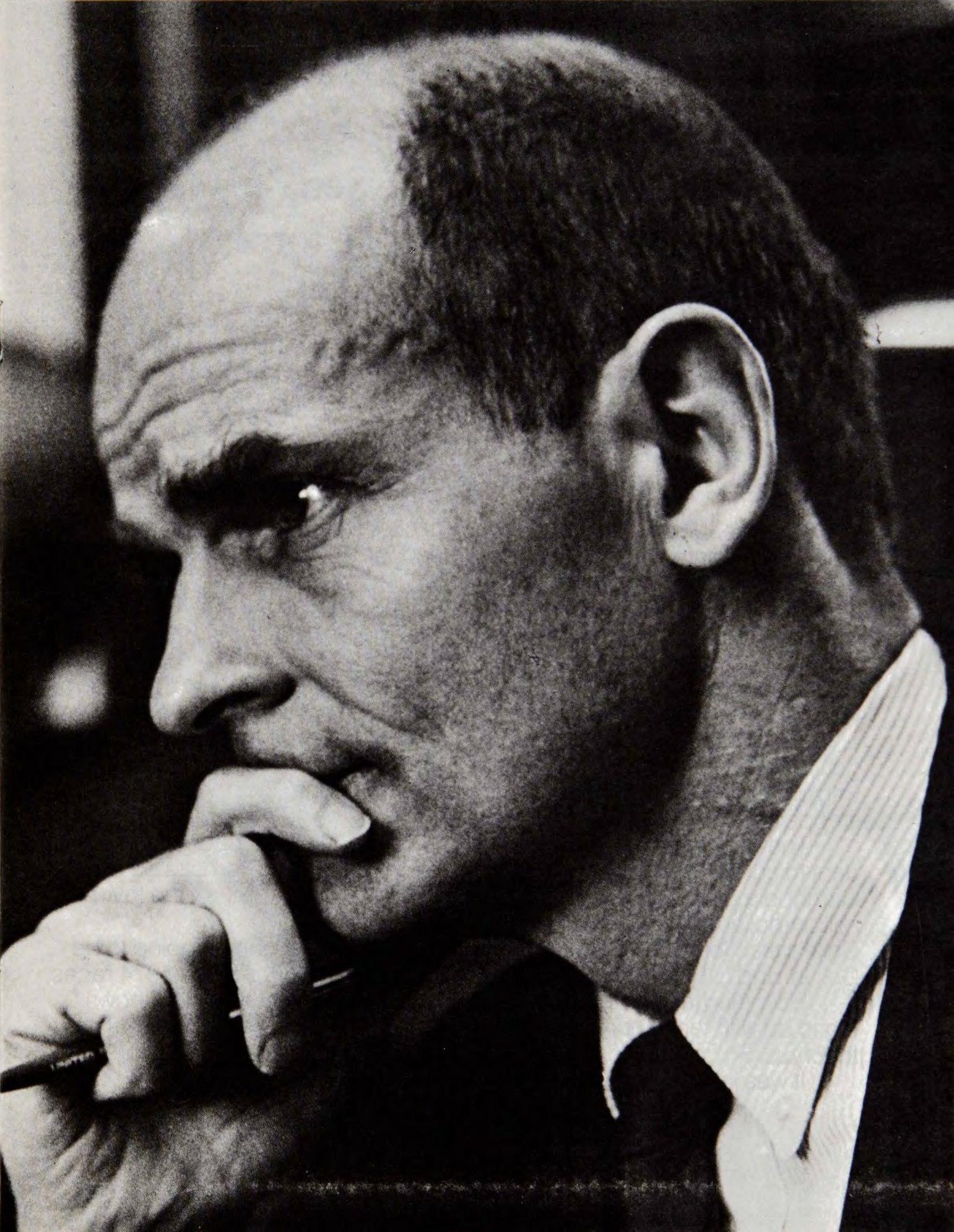
Only Davis lost.

Interestingly enough, all the 1972 CLW winners were from small states — where major campaigns can be waged on relatively minor campaign chests.

That didn't happen accidentally.

CLW believes you get more for your money in Iowa than you do in Texas.

After all, a Harold Hughes has just as many votes as a John Tower.



# “Right now, the Senate is the most positive force in Washington.”

– Senator Adlai Stevenson III

It hasn't always been that way. Until recently, just about every decision — good or bad — started and ended at the White House.

Our Presidents, not our Senators, decided whom to bomb, when to bomb, how much to bomb, whether to bomb.

Just when the President was getting used to playing solitaire with our government, the Senate stepped in.

The Senate forced the President to cut off the bombing of Cambodia... uncovered ITT's million-dollar offer to the CIA to rig Chile's elections... forced Archibald Cox in, and L. Patrick Gray out.

How this happened has nothing to do with fancy constitutional theory.

It was just good common sense

politics. The Senate finally got enough votes to take on the White House, votes from people The Council helped send to Washington.

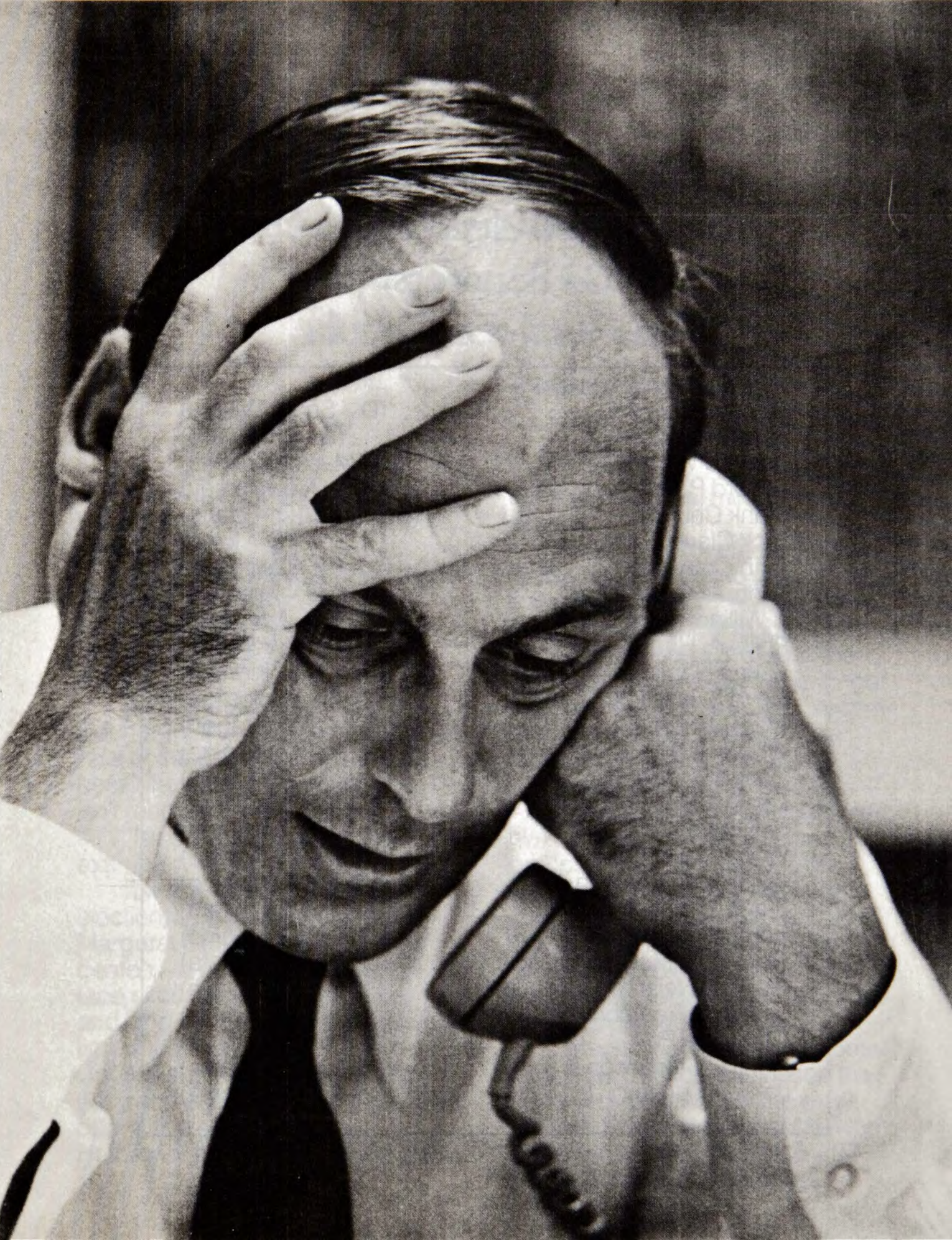
Don't misunderstand, Watergate helped. But don't forget it took a majority of Senators to make the Ervin Committee hearings a reality.

Where we go from here is up to the Senators themselves. It's up to the President. And, most important it's up to the 1974 elections.

The Senate's been putting the heat on this year. You can be sure the President will return the favor next year.

So The Council is going to be right in the thick of those 1974 races.

You see, The Council knows what the White House knows: The Senate is only as strong as the Senators who get elected.



# Early Council money helped elect these 27 Senators.

James Abourezk . . . . .	(D – South Dakota)
Joseph R. Biden . . . . .	(D – Delaware)
Edward W. Brooke . . . . .	(R – Massachusetts)
Clifford P. Case . . . . .	(R – New Jersey)
Frank Church . . . . .	(D – Idaho)
Dick Clark . . . . .	(D – Iowa)
Alan Cranston . . . . .	(D – California)
Thomas F. Eagleton . . . . .	(D – Missouri)
J. William Fulbright . . . . .	(D – Arkansas)
Philip A. Hart . . . . .	(D – Michigan)
Vance Hartke . . . . .	(D – Indiana)
Floyd K. Haskell . . . . .	(D – Colorado)
Mark O. Hatfield . . . . .	(R – Oregon)
William D. Hathaway . . . . .	(D – Maine)
Harold E. Hughes . . . . .	(D – Iowa)
Charles McC. Mathias . . . . .	(R – Maryland)
Lee Metcalf . . . . .	(D – Montana)
Walter F. Mondale . . . . .	(D – Minnesota)
Joseph M. Montoya . . . . .	(D – New Mexico)
Frank E. Moss . . . . .	(D – Utah)
Edmund S. Muskie . . . . .	(D – Maine)
George S. McGovern . . . . .	(D – South Dakota)
Gaylord Nelson . . . . .	(D – Wisconsin)
James B. Pearson . . . . .	(R – Kansas)
Claiborne Pell . . . . .	(D – Rhode Island)
Adlai E. Stevenson III . . . . .	(D – Illinois)
John V. Tunney . . . . .	(D – California)

**“If a Senate candidate  
doesn’t get some money early,  
he’s going to need  
a lot of luck later on.”**

**— Senator Harold Hughes**

Once The Council enters a Senate race, it works like a judo expert.

In politics, as in judo, timing is critical.

It’s not how much effort you exert, but precisely when you exert it.

Which is why you’ll see The Council exerting itself, not just in the heat of the battle, but as early as possible, when the opposition isn’t ready.

Take the 1972 elections for example:

Twenty months before the election, a poll showed Senator Margaret Chase Smith could be beaten — a notion that flew in the face of conventional wisdom, then and long after. On the recommendation of the CLW Board, 1135 Council supporters contributed early and often to Ms. Smith’s liberal opposition — Bill Hathaway. Hathaway pulled off what the press

called the political miracle of the season.

Jim Abourezk credits his candidacy in great part to an early CLW poll which showed he was the strongest contender in the field. After contributing \$31,000 in the early going, CLW saw he no longer needed help, and in August recommended shifting funds to closer races. Abourezk won in a walk.

Joe Biden had to run hard. And was glad CLW had been with him from the start. While other groups — and the incumbent — weren’t even aware of the race, Council supporters were putting \$48,000 into Biden’s campaign. It helped keep Biden’s chances alive, and helped put him into the Senate with 50.5 percent of the vote.

Which all goes to prove something: The Council may not be the wealthiest group in Senate elections. But it knows that people who care can make a difference — 27 Senators worth of difference.

**“If we lose  
just two seats next year,  
we’ll be in deep trouble.  
That’s what 1974  
is all about.”**

**– Senator Walter Mondale**

As you read this, liberals out-gun conservatives in the Senate by just two seats, 51 to 49.

Two seats.

Of the 34 Senators up for re-election next year, The Council feels 17 must be re-elected.

So if just one of those 17 loses and one more is added to the other side, the power of the Senate to check the President is all but surrendered.

And you can bet the White House has its targets already picked out.

So The Council is going to have to use its resources very

carefully. But that’s just how The Council works.

The CLW Board uses certain criteria to decide whether they’ll ask their supporters to contribute:

1. The race must be important, a clear-cut choice between ideologies.
2. The race must be close.
3. The race must be one where CLW funds could prove decisive.

Once CLW picks its races, it helps its supporters decide who really needs money and when.

With so much at stake next year, they know they can’t afford to waste a single dollar.



## What 1974 is about, specifically.

Of the 34 Senators facing re-election, CLW feels these 17 must be returned to office:

George D. Aiken . . . . .	(R – Vermont)
Birch Bayh . . . . .	(D – Indiana)
Frank Church . . . . .	(D – Idaho)
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**“The great dollops of cash  
this outfit quietly drops,  
especially into Senate races,  
should be the subject  
of a major expose...”**



# Give us some great dollops. We'll give you some great Senators.

We've told you, as honestly as possible, what The Council for a Livable World stands for and what we want to accomplish.

You know who we want to win and why. You know our track record. And you know our sense of urgency.

Now we want to tell you about our need for money. Early money.

With so many good Senators up for re-election next year, our resources will be strained as never before.

Our people are already out in the field, a full year before the elections, sizing up Senate races.

Nearly all the money you'll be asked to give will go directly to a candidate.

We'll tell you which candidates

need how much money from how many people. We'll tell you how the money will be used and when it will be needed.

A small part of the money will be used by The Council itself — either to put out a fire in a tight campaign, or to help out with our meager overhead.

As we approach the crucial 1974 elections, we're asking you to contribute \$30.00 to The Council's cause.

That cause — which earned The Council the Number 11 spot on the White House "enemies list" — is the strengthening of the Senate.

If we were a thorn in the side of the White House last year...

Next year, with your help, we could be a spear.

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cordially invite you to meet

The Honorable Albert Gore

in the Imperial Room of the Torrey Pines Inn, 11480 North Torrey Pines Road,  
La Jolla

on Wednesday, November 10, 1971 from 8-10 p.m.

Senator Gore is currently Washington Chairman of the Council for a Livable World and will speak about the role of the Council in Washinton, and in the 1972 elections.

This meeting is sponsored jointly by the Council for a Livable World, the La Jolla Democratic Club and the San Diego County Chapter of the World Federalists.

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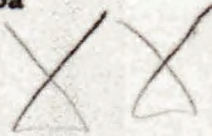
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# More women will be elected to office in '72

By MICHELE FUETSCH

It isn't fair—but it's true—that women will have to work harder than men to succeed in politics, says veteran campaigner Pauline LaFon Gore, wife of former U.S. Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee.

"I am a realist, so, I think if women recognize that fact they can work around it," Mrs. Gore said during an interview Monday at Stanford University.

"I don't think we are going

to see 50 per cent women in positions of authority overnight. We're certainly not going to achieve that in the next election."

However, women will have an influence on the 1972 political scene, according to Mrs. Gore. More women will be candidates for public office and there is "a better chance than ever" more of them will be elected, she predicts.

### LUNCHEON

Mrs. Gore, 58, was at Stanford to be guest of honor at a brown-bag luncheon sponsored by the new Stanford Women's Center, the Stanford YWCA, Stanford Women Law Students, Stanford Community Women for Peace and members of the Stanford Faculty Women's Club.

The Gores are on the West Coast to drum up support for the Council for a Livable

World. Gore is Washington chairman of the council, a peace group which focuses its attention on getting "progressive" candidates elected to the U.S. Senate.

Since Gore's 32-year Congressional career ended when he was defeated last year, both Sen. and Mrs. Gore have devoted their time to the council and their joint law practice in both Tennessee and Washington.

### NEED

Mrs. Gore believes there is a need for more women in politics. "I think women have a practical outlook and they're especially geared toward thinking about the issues of war and peace in a slightly different way than men.

"After all, we brought these boys into the world who have had to fight and be killed," she says.

Although Mrs. Gore's own political involvement has been on the national level, she believes women should become involved locally.

"I think if women concerned themselves with a study of local government and what it did or did not do and held office holders and candidates accountable, it would hasten the time when we have good government."

Mrs. Gore won't speculate on what effect the youth vote



PAULINE GORE

will have on the American political scene but she does express praise for young people. Youth, she says, has played a major role in "turning the country around."

### DISAPPOINTED

"My generation has done a fairly good job of bringing them up to face issues—maybe too good for some of us."

But, Mrs. Gore says, young people are disappointed with the older generation's performance on issues of social concern. "We talk about civil rights but we don't do anything about it," she says.

Young people, she says, are not satisfied with the progress their parents' generation has made toward solving problems such as fair housing and poverty. "I hope we are bet-

ter satisfied with the progress they (young people) make."

"I hope that youth recognizes the voting power they have. I hope they exercise it and do so responsibly. I think they are capable of it."

### CAREER

Mrs. Gore, who received her law degree from Vanderbilt University Law School, gave up a law career "by choice," she says, when she married. During her husband's years in the House and Senate she worked with him. The couple has a married son and married daughter.

Mrs. Gore was only 25 when she moved to Washington, after her husband was first elected to the House. She acknowledges that a political marriage is under a great deal of strain.

"Marriage and the family in Washington—particularly Congressional families—are being challenged more now than when we began because the congressman is expected to spend more time in his home state."

A congressman's wife cannot always travel home with him because of the expense and also because of children, Mrs. Gore notes. In some cases, she says, families aren't moving to Washington. Instead, the congressman commutes when he can.

Her marriage was a success, she says, because "It was strong to begin with and because I worked with my husband and the stronger your community of interest the greater chance there is of the marriage surviving."

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Local supporters of the Council for a Livable World, and members of the former 2% Club of Berkeley, and interested friends, are invited to a luncheon at the Berkeley Men's Faculty Club on Saturday, November 6, 1971, at 12 noon.

The Hon. Albert Gore, former U. S. Senator from Tennessee, and present Washington Chairman of the Council for a Livable World, will speak on "The Voice of Reason in the Senate".

No Host  
RSVP: 642-0807

# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

Founded in 1962 by Leo Szilard

Washington Office: 100 Maryland Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20002, Phone: 202-543-4100

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October 20, 1971

Dear Council Supporter:

The New York Times reports a recent speech by the Vice President in which he announced that the White House plans to rid the Congress of its radical liberals. Mr. Agnew named no names, nor did he have to. He was speaking of men who are well known to Council supporters, senators in both parties who have dissented from Administration proposals - men like Walter Mondale, Clifford Case and others who oppose President Nixon's policies in South and Southeast Asia and in the suicidal arms race.

Not long ago we asked Council supporters to contribute to the re-election campaigns of Mondale and Case. The response has been heartening, particularly in a year that has been difficult for most of us. According to our records, you were not one of those who responded, and we are writing to you now about a related and equally important Council activity.

Normally the Council does not seek contributions to a general political fund, but 1972 promises to be a most unusual year. Far fewer liberal incumbents are up for re-election than in the past. Of these few, Senator Harris of Oklahoma has entered the Presidential race while Senator Metcalf of Montana has not decided whether he will seek re-election. On the Republican side, Senator Hatfield of Oregon is still undecided. John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky - a courageous and dedicated Senator who early opposed the war and led the fight against ABM - will be retiring. This is an incalculable loss.

At the very least, four incumbents are unlikely to seek re-election - in Idaho, Kentucky, New Mexico and South Dakota. In addition, there will be a number of serious challenges of incumbents by excellent candidates, although these challengers will not announce until early next year. Thus, in most of the races of interest, the Council will be backing new candidates. At the present time, those with the greatest potential are in Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Maine, New Mexico and South Dakota.

To enable us to participate in the process of identification and selection in these and other senate races, we have set in motion a political research effort more thorough and better organized than anything the Council has undertaken in the past. A full time representative has now visited twenty-one states spending an average of one week in each. This effort will be sustained through the 1972 elections.

Although the Council has contributed to unannounced candidates out of its general funds in the past, the unusual circumstances of the Senate contests in 1972 justify a larger and more concerted effort than it has previously made. Never before has the need of early contributions been more imperative.

Customarily, the activities of candidates during the pre-announcement period are critical to the success of his campaign. Key workers must be selected and welded into the core of the campaign organization. Costly analyses of the demographic aspects of his state must be undertaken to disclose the pressing concerns of his future constituency and their registration and voting patterns. He must discover his own strengths and weaknesses as well as those of his opposition. Only by such painstaking preparation can the campaign be mounted with maximum chance of victory.

We are asking you at this time to make as large a contribution as you can directly to the Council. We shall allocate funds to challengers whose candidacies will be announced at a later date. Thereafter, Council supporters will have the opportunity of assisting individual candidates in the traditional manner.

Stronger senate leadership is essential for ending America's military operations in Southeast Asia, for reducing the swollen military budget and for curbing new development of de-stabilizing weapons. There are still too few senators committed to these objectives. Your generous contribution now will make it possible for us to give potential new allies the early help they need. Please mail your check to the Council's Cambridge office in the enclosed envelope.

Yours sincerely,



Albert Gore  
Washington Chairman



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Mrs. Leo Szilard, Dr. James R. Arnold and Mrs. Gita Braude

cordially invite you to meet

The Honorable Albert Gore

in the Imperial Room of the Torrey Pines Inn, 11480 Torrey Pines Road, N.  
La Jolla

on Wednesday, November 10, 1971 from 8-10 p.m.

Senator Gore is currently Washington Chairman of the Council for a Livable World and will speak about the role of the Council in Washington, and in the 1972 elections.

This meeting is sponsored jointly by the Council for a Livable World, the La Jolla Democratic Club and the San Diego County Chapter of the World Federalists.

World Peace  
Through  
World Law

WORLD FEDERALISTS, USA  
San Diego County Chapter

Two Important dates for November:

1. SENATOR ALBERT GORE will speak on November 10 at 3 p.m. at the Torrey Pines Inn, north of UCSD Campus, between La Jolla and Del Mar.

The Senator has been working hard on the Council for a Livable World, and we are co-sponsoring this special meeting.

2. CHAPTER MEETING on November 21 at 4 p.m. at the home of Mrs. Marguerite Schwarzman, 1355 Lyndon Road, San Diego. Our own Dr. James Arnold, famous Lunar scientist who did top governmental research on the series of Moon Rock projects, will speak on "Earth Problems as Seen from the Moon." To illustrate this subject a short, most informative movie which we promise you won't want to miss will be shown at 4 p.m., just before Dr. Arnold's talk.

COME TO BOTH MEETINGS - AND BRING A FRIEND.

REMINDER: It is again time to reaffirm your beliefs by renewing your membership.

DIRECTIONS TO MRS. SWARZMAN'S HOME: From Route 5 take Washington St. to San Diego Ave. Go up the California St. hill to Henry St. At the end of Henry St. turn right onto Alameda St. Turn right onto St. James St., and then go left to Lyndon Road.

In case of question, write WFUSA, San Diego County Chapter, P. O. BOX 16143, San Diego 92116. Phone: 284-6700.



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459-1972

LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA 92037  
November 1, 1971

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## NOVEMBER MEETING

HONORABLE ALBERT GORE

FORMER SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1971

7:30 PM

Imperial Room Torrey Pines Inn 11480 North Torrey Pines Road  
(Torrey Pines Golf Club)

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## NOVEMBER MEETING

We are pleased to confirm the news that Albert Gore, distinguished former senator from Tennessee, will be our guest speaker for the next meeting on Wednesday, November 10. As you can see from the enclosed invitation, the La Jolla Democratic Club is co-sponsoring with the Council for a Livable World and the San Diego Chapter of the World Federalists this special event. Senator Gore will speak on current issues. Because we expect a large attendance the meeting has been moved from the Saltmans' home to the Torrey Pines Inn at 11480 North Torrey Pines Road (Highway I north of La Jolla.) The meeting will be preceded by the usual social period from 7:30 to 8PM. We hope to have an opportunity to visit informally with the Senator after the meeting.

MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL Membership dues for 1972 were due on October 1. Please send your renewal in promptly so that you will not miss our activities.

## NEW OFFICERS

The Executive Board proposes that we expand the number of officers for 1972 because the club has grown and its activities will increase with the coming presidential election. We wish to nominate the following slate for 1972:

President---Irwin Jacobs

He is presently filling Ernst Habichts term as Vice-president and is a long time active club member. Irwin has recently left his position as Professor of Information and Science at UCSD to devote full time as President of Linkabit Corp., a new company working in communications.

Vice-president--Program Chairman

Herbert Lazerow

He is Professor of Law at the University of San Diego Law School. His expertise will be particularly helpful in this all important year.

Vice-president--Precinct Chairman

Connie Mullin

been  
A former treasurer of the club, she has outstanding in many club activities including precinct work.

Vice-president--Officer Manager

Penny Lawrence

She did a superb job of running the office last year and we are delighted to be able to nominate her for the job again. We plan to open an office in March or April.

Secretary--Pat Smith

She was Precinct Chairman for the club in the '70 general election, chairman of the Beach Party in August, and recently represented the club at the CDC Board meeting. Her hard work, ability and enthusiasm have made these all succeed.

Treasurer--Donald Atlas


He is a physician with many years of activity in liberal causes who joined the LJDC last year when he moved to La Jolla from Chicago.

We believe this slate presents an outstanding group of people who are interested in important issues and who are willing to give their time through the important presidential year. Any club member, however, may propose additional nominees for any or all of the above offices. Nominations should be sent in writing to Gita Braude, c/o La Jolla Democratic Club, P.O. Box 288, La Jolla, 92037, and must be postmarked no later than November 26. Officers will be elected at the December meeting.

DECEMBER MEETING As a result of the great success both socially and financially of our annual Gourmet Dinner we are instituting a Gourmet Cocktail Party as an end-of-the-year event. The party will be held on Saturday, December 4, at the home of Ed and Barbara Malone, 2695 Ardath Road, in La Jolla. Save the date and wait for further delicious details shortly'.

ISSUES CONFERENCE

Are you interested in having a voice in the platform that the Democratic National Convention adopts? You can have an opportunity to participate in its formation by attending the statewide ISSUES CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY THE CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL (CDC) and with the local sponsorship of the Los Angeles Democratic Central Committee, on November 20-21, 1971, at the International Hotel (near the airport) in Los Angeles. The purpose of this conference is to discuss positions for the Democratic National Platform. All club members are welcome to attend as delegates. Delegate fee is \$5. This conference will be the first step in developing the CDC issues platform which will be adopted at the CDC Convention in March 1972 in Oakland, California. The issues program at the CDC Convention will take on the job of writing a full proposal for submission to all delegates to the '72 Democratic National Convention in Miami, Florida. We will work to have our CDC positions adopted as official Democratic Party positions. Pat Smith will coordinate our delegation, so if you plan to attend the conference in L.A. call her, 453-5146 for additional information. Please fill out the tear-off below with your intentions for participation and send to Pat Smith, 9470 La Jolla Shores Drive.

Sincerely,  
  
Gita Braude, President

-----  
I plan to attend the CDC ISSUES CONFERENCE on November 20-21 at the International Hotel, Los Angeles

I would like to participate in the following workshops:

- Foreign Policy
- Urban Crisis
- A National Health Program
- Environment
- National Economic Policy
- Tax Reform
- Education
- The Government & Consumer Protection

I can offer transportation to others  
I need transportation

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

## LA JOLLA DEMOCRATIC CLUB

POST OFFICE BOX 288

LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA 92037  
October 12, 1971

### OCTOBER MEETING

STEVE CASEY

STAFF WRITER , EVENING TRIBUNE

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1971 7:30 PM

at the home of

Audrey and Marc Swartz

8552 NOTTINGHAM PLACE, LA JOLLA

In case you haven't noticed, something new and good is happening with the Evening Tribune. "In depth" reporting has been started. Recently an interesting series on Nursing Homes in San Diego revealed some grim facts and figures as well as some hopeful aspects about these necessary institutions in our community. Now we will have an opportunity to hear from the Tribune reporter who has been doing an in-depth series on prisons in California. He will speak to us about what he has seen and heard during his interviews with inmates and officials of the institutions he has been visiting. His most recent report in the Tribune dealt with his week at Soledad prison. Come to the Club meeting on THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21, so that you can hear all this first-hand and ask questions about the changes taking place at our San Diego newspapers. Forty prison reform bills are pending before the State Legislature. It is urgent that we support and lobby for the proper bills. The meeting will be at the home of Audrey and Marc Swartz, 8552 Nottingham Place, (see map below) in La Jolla. Mr. Casey's talk will begin at 8 PM after the usual 7:30 to 8 PM social period. At the business meeting after the program Pat Smith will tell us about the CDC Board meeting which she attended in Fresno, Oct.8-10. CDC is sponsoring an Issues Conference next month in Los Angeles. The La Jolla Demo Club should send delegates prepared to represent our position on issues of most concern to us. If you wish to attend this conference, please call Penny Lawrence, Legislative Chairman, 459-8876.

We are happy to announce that SENATOR ALBERT GORE will be our guest speaker at our November meeting. In conjunction with the Council for a Livable World we will welcome the ex-senator from Tennessee. The meeting is scheduled for Wednesday, November 10, 1971, at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Paul Saltman, 9704 Blackgold Road, La Jolla.

MEMBERSHIP DUES ARE PAYABLE NOW. Please send your check to Joye Mason, Treasurer, c/o LJDC Box 288, so that your name will be on the mailing list for all the important news.

We would like to receive suggestions from club members for nominations for officers for next year. 1972 will be an exciting election year and we hope our large membership can be translated into important activity and influence. Please send suggestions to above address.

U.C.S.D.

SHOOTING

L.J. Scenic Dr. (N.)

Nottingham Pl.

X8552

Sincerely,  
Gita Brande

Days Repro.

Printed Both sides of sheet

100 copies \$ 19.20

Printed one side of

Sheet 100 copies \$ 24.40

2-3 days delivery.

23.80 print

2.20 fold

4.80 stitch

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30.80

19.40 print  
2.40 staple  
2.20 fold  

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24.00

Hay

Oct 26 .

Tunde

CCW letter head  
as promised .

Jane





# COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD

*Founded in 1962 by Leo Szilard*

*Washington Office:* 100 Maryland Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20002, Phone: 202-543-4100

*Cambridge Office:* 12 Howard Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139, Phone: 617-492-4060

## OFFICERS

BERNARD T. FELD	<i>President</i>
ALLAN FORBES, JR.	<i>Vice-President</i>
ROGER D. FISHER	<i>Secretary</i>
MAURICE FOX	<i>Treasurer</i>
JANE M. O. SHARP	<i>Associate Director</i>
JOHN SILARD	<i>Counsel</i>

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

*Chairman:*  
WILLIAM DOERING  
Cambridge, Mass.  
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ALBERT GORE  
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CHARLES PRATT, JR.  
New York, N.Y.  
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*Guest in Residence  
Program -  
Father MORT*

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September 29, 1971

Dr. James R. Arnold  
9505 Poole Street  
La Jolla, Ca. 92037

Dear Dr. Arnold:

Thank you for your letter of September 10, and for your willingness to help arrange some exposure for the Council -through Albert Gore -in La Jolla on November 10 and 11.

Trudy Szilard tells me that she will ask (or has already asked?) Dr. and Mrs. Paul Saltman if a reception could be held in their home on the evening of Wednesday, November 10. On Thursday, November 11, I should like to arrange for Senator Gore to speak to the students during the day - perhaps also at a faculty luncheon - and hopefully he would be able to return East in the evening. There is a Council board meeting scheduled in Cambridge on Friday, November 12, and he has engagements in Philadelphia on Saturday, November 13; so I think we cannot make plans for an evening meeting on November 11.

Trudy is not very enthusiastic about a daytime meeting, on campus, on the 11th, but I am hopeful something can be arranged - possibly through a student forum or the Young Democrats? What do you think about the possibility of a faculty luncheon?

Enclosed is a list of names of persons in the La Jolla area who have been substantial supporters, some of whom, I think, will be known to you and, hopefully, willing to help with the Gores visit. Enclosed also is a set of 4-Carbon typed labels for supporters at all levels which can be used to address invitation envelopes. Invitations might read:

*L. Vivian Arnold*  
*and Mrs. Leo Sigler +*  
*Sponsored jointly by the CV Se. SDCO World*

A. Saltman Party


Dr. and Mrs. P. D. Saltman (and/or whomever)  
cordially invite you to meet  
The Honorable Albert Gore  
at their home?? La Jolla Farms Road on Wednesday,  
November 10th from 8pm to 10pm. Senator Gore is  
currently Washington Chairman of the Council for a  
Livable World and will speak about the role of the Council  
in Washington and in the 1972 election.  
Please reply to:  
~~Mrs. Saltman - phone~~  
~~Mrs. Arnold - phone~~ coffee and desert

*Federals*  
*and the*  
*Council for*  
*a Livable*

B. Faculty Luncheon

You are cordially invited to meet  
The Honorable Albert Gore  
at luncheon on Thursday, November 11th  
at the Faculty Club. Senator Gore is cur-  
rently Washington Chairman of the Council  
for a Livable World and will speak about:  
"The Changing Role of the United  
States in the 1970's"  
Please reply to:  
Name - phone

For both occasions written invitations should be followed up by telephone calls after, say a week to ascertain likely attendance. If necessary more written invitations can then be sent.

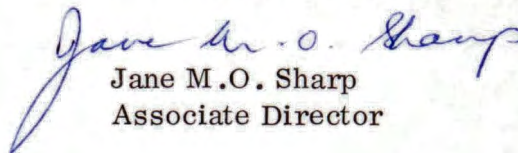


Trudy talked about hiring a secretary to type labels from whatever lists are available (she mentioned W.F.U.S.A., Democratic Club, U.C.S.D. faculty and friends). This sounds like an excellent idea and I would ask that sets of 4-carbon labels be used, the first set being used for the invitations and the other three sets shipped to our Cambridge office for follow-up mailings. In this way we shall reach many more potential supporters than those who can actually attend the meeting.

From this distance it is hard to know how many people will pitch in to help but I hope a group of, say, half a dozen non-working wives will be willing to spend the necessary time stuffing envelopes, etc. An early get-together of these more substantial supporters might be useful to divide up the labor.

I look forward to hearing from you shortly, and thank you again for your continued interest and support.

Yours sincerely,

  
Jane M.O. Sharp  
Associate Director

JS:lv encs.

## LA JOLLA DEMOCRATIC CLUB

POST OFFICE BOX 288

LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA 92037

Telephone 459-1972

September 7, 1971

### SEPTEMBER MEETING

#### CANDIDATES FOR SCHOOL BOARD DISTRICT A

Matthew Gleason  
Mary Christian Heising

Mimi Kiraly  
Richard Kreile

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 7:30 PM

Joan and Irwin Jacobs' Home      2710 Inverness Court  
La Jolla

When our regular meetings resume on September 15 we will hear from the four candidates running for the position on the School Board from District A. Two of these candidates will be chosen in the September 21 Primary election to run in the November General election. The meeting will be at the Jacobs' home, 2710 Inverness Court (off Inverness Road) in La Jolla. The usual social period will precede the speakers. The business meeting will follow.

On Thursday, September 16, the La Jolla Town Council is sponsoring an open forum with all the mayoralty candidates, at Sherwood Hall, La Jolla, at 7:30 PM.

Members of the La Jolla Club helped this summer by preparing lunches for the precinct workers in the successful Roberti campaign. That critical victory assured the continued Democratic control of the State Senate. Also, under the chairmanship of Pat Smith the club was a major sponsor of the Beach Party for Congressman Jerome Waldie on August 14.

Now that everyone is back in town we are eager to translate our large membership into action. One of the most important things we can do is to speak up on the issues before our legislature. To help us know what is happening and how we can help, CDC has given us its Legislature Action Newsletter. Penny Lawrence is our Legislative Chairman. If you wish to influence action on any bill before the Legislature READ the last paragraph of the enclosed newsletter for that information. CDC will hold an Issues Conference in November, in Los Angeles. Details will follow.

The California Federation of Young Democrats are working on voter registration for 18 year olds and need your help. If you can contribute to this important cause send your contribution to them in care of Terry Friedman, President, 6135 Wilshire Blvd. Los Angeles, 90048. They need Registrars too, so if you wish to help let Terry know.

An impressive schedule of Democratic presidential aspirants will be in our area this fall. The first visitor will be Senator Edmund Muskie. He will arrive on Wednesday, September 8, at 1:35 PM at Gate 17 at the San Diego International Airport. The Youth Coalition for Muskie has invited everyone to meet the plane. On October 14, almost all the candidates will be here for a major fund raising dinner at the Hotel Del Coronado. For further information call Democratic Headquarters, 296-6387.

TIME TO RE-NEW  
for  
'72

DON'T MISS  
A SINGLE EXCITING CHAPTER  
OF THE

LA JOLLA DEMOCRATIC CLUB

DUE OCT. 1, 1971

COUPLE \$150 - SINGLE \$50 - STUDENT \$250

HURRY!!

A Dues envelope is enclosed so that you can renew your membership now. Please check the envelope flap to indicate how you can help with our club activities.

Ruth O'Rowke 459-3018 Sincerely,

Penny Lawrence 459-8876 Gita Braude

Andy Swartz 453-6652 Gita Braude, President

Mrs. Leo Szilard

Mrs. Leo Szilard, Dr. James R. Arnold, and Mrs. Gita Braude

cordially invite you to meet

The Honorable Albert Gore

~~at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Paul Saltman, 9704 Blackgold  
Road, La Jolla Farms~~

*at the*

on Wednesday, November 10, 1971, from 8-10 pm.

Senator Gore is currently Washington Chairman of the Council for a Livable World and will speak about the role of the Council in Washington, and in the 1972 elections.

This meeting is sponsored jointly by the Council for a Livable World, the La Jolla Democratic Club and the San Diego County Chapter of the World Federalists.

~~As the space in a private home is limited it will be necessary to make reservations.~~

~~RSVP~~  
by Monday, November 8:

~~459-3018~~  
~~459-8876~~  
~~453-6652~~

*Refreshments available*

~~Coffee and Dessert~~

*in the Imperial Room of the  
at the Torrey Pines Inn 11480 North  
Torrey Pines Road, La Jolla*



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