



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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ADVICE TO NEW MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

By Max M. Kampelman
At 1965 Seminar for Freshman Congressmen

[I assume that the title given this morning's session was designed to familiarize you with the problem of facing another all-pervasive commodity that exists in the Nation's Capital -- free advice. Those of us who are lawyers know that this advice is worth exactly what you pay for it, but I suppose it is good training for you this morning to sit back and at least appear attentive.]

Coming to Washington for the first time is an abrupt experience.

Adlai Stevenson tells the story of the little girl who said in her prayers:

"God bless mother and father, and sisters and brothers and now this is good-bye, God. We're moving to Washington."

[It is not easy to leave your home communities where you are heroes, where you have been in the newspaper headlines, where you know and wave to your neighbors and friends as you walk down the main street -- and then come to Washington, to the Nation's Capital, where you find that even the elevator operator in the House Office Building doesn't recognize you and gives you the impression that you are intruding in these halls.

You are undoubtedly acquiring some protective devices. The most sinister is ~~to~~ this town's social life. You may, in fact, sometimes feel like that grand old man, former Senator Theodore Francis Green, of Rhode Island, who was seen some years ago at a cocktail party fumbling through a handful of invitations. A guest asked: "Are you trying to figure out where you are going, Senator?" "No," he replied, "I am trying to figure out where I am now."]

[But there are compensations. I recently heard of the old Kentucky farmer who entered his mule in the Kentucky Derby. There was consternation on the part of the committee and his neighbors. They approached him in an effort to persuade him to withdraw his entry. Finally they said: "Now, you don't really expect that mule to win." "No," he replied, "but I believe he will profit by the association." And you will profit by the association. This is one of the compensations.]

To a large extent I think it is somewhat presumptuous for somebody who has never been elected to public office to give advice to those of you who have gone through the crucible of campaign fire, which somebody called the Dance of Democracy. I say that, because, in my judgment, one of the most important set of values which must guide you in your behavior as Members of Congress should be the recognition that you must survive -- and by that I mean you must always keep your eye on the next election.

Some of you may be fortunate enough to come from geographical areas where you can afford to be more carefree and act like the candidate who, when a heckler said: "I wouldn't vote for you if you were the angel Gabriel," quickly replied: "If I were the angel Gabriel, you wouldn't be in my precinct." For most of you, however, you recognize that modern American politics is today increasingly heavy combat politics, whether it is in the primary or in the general election.

Political survival is, therefore, quite understandably a matter of constant concern to Members of Congress.

The point I desire to make in that connection is not merely to point out the obvious. It is rather to assert that this concern with survival -- which many might consider selfish -- is, in fact, an essential prerequisite of democratic government. It is a concern that must be recognized as a legitimate one in our society and not one to be lamented as a necessary evil. Our democratic society is not based on a search for philosopher-kings whose only concern is with achieving excellence in public service. Noble and essential as the pursuit of excellence may be, it must be tempered by a concern ^{POLITICAL} for survival [^] if we are to avoid the totalitarianism of a philosopher-king society and strengthen our democratic life.

It is this concern with survival which permits the Congress to serve as a decided link between those who are governed and our government in Washington. Certainly, the tremendous volume of mail and requests that will pour into your offices is a reflection of the vital role that a Member of Congress plays in translating the meaning of government to his constituency and in acting as the point of reference between the citizen and his government.

[The pupil's typographical error in a geography class to the effect that Washington, D.C. is hounded on all sides by the United States of America, will fast become a harsh reality to you. In all likelihood, you will not reply to the constituent that our government is one of separation of powers, that the problem he is raising with you refers to the executive branch of the government and not the legislative branch, and that, therefore, he ought to write to somebody else -- that is, you will not write such a letter if you are concerned with survival.]

Those who are concerned with democratic government are ^{TROUBLED} ~~concerned~~ about the growing disassociation that takes place between people and the government. The extent to which the institutions of the Congress, through its mail and errand boy functions, helps to provide some method of association -- to that extent is democratic government strengthened.

There is one other related point that I consider to be relevant here. [★] ~~It~~ refers to survival as it relates to the word "compromise". T.V. Smith once said that "Politics is the art of compromising an issue without compromising yourself." Senator Fulbright stated the same problem in yet another way when he said "To be prematurely right is to court what, to the politician, at least, is a premature retirement."

[The give and take of legislative debate is the essence of preserving Congress as an institution. I suppose one of the most profound lessons that I learned after arriving in Washington in 1949 to serve as a staff member of the Senate was the overpowering presence of the color gray within these halls. There are black and white issues, but they are not as evident as they once were to me. The variations of background, experience, and problems of geography among your colleagues is an impressive fact of life which cannot be ignored.]

There are forces on the outside -- and I am included among them -- who will be urging this or that solution to the many problems of the day that face our country and the Congress. I choose to think that I am probably right about

my solutions, but I am fully aware of the fact that it is ^{NOT} I who vote. Somebody once said that a reformer is a person who wants his conscience to be your guide. But you must always remember that there are no "maybe" votes in the Congress -- no "yes but" or "no and" votes that you will be permitted to cast. This sense of finality and responsibility, knowing that you in the end are held accountable for those votes, of necessity injects a distinguishing characteristic which can be experienced by nobody else not in your shoes.

Now, for one final word about the Congress as an institution:

I speak to you not only as a lawyer and an observer, but as a political scientist. I started my talk by referring to those of us who give you free advice. It took 62 double column pages last summer for the Congressional Quarterly to summarize the criticisms and proposed reforms of Congress. We can tell you what is wrong with the Congress as an institution, why its rules ought to be modernized, why it is failing as an institution.

I stand here in a dissenting role. I urge you not to feel inferior about this institution of which you are now a part. I know of no parliamentary institution in the history of man which has fulfilled its responsibilities as conscientiously and as seriously as the Congress of the United States. It is fair game to attack the Congress. The 89th Congress will soon be under heavy attack before it is very old, despite the remarkable performance of the 88th Congress.

In one sense this is so because you are politically a representative body. Unlike the President and members of the Supreme Court, you do not walk separated from your fellow man by the Secret Service or by black robes. You are a part of ordinary man -- people just like us with our strengths and our weaknesses. You are fair game for attack.

Congress is also attacked, however, because of some strange drive within our society toward easy solutions which takes the form of a drive for greater centralized power in the hands of the President -- a drive which unfortunately in recent years has been as much a characteristic of my fellow liberals as it has traditionally been considered an illiberal doctrine. Certainly the Congress debates, considers, and may even have the temerity to alter legislative proposals submitted by the President. This is as it should be. I remind you that the Congress, almost alone among the world's legislatures, has withstood the absolutism of the executive and has remained the coordinate branch which our democratic philosophy means it to be.

[It is my hope that the American Political Science Association, which has had the privilege of cosponsoring these sessions this week, can help reintroduce a perspective as to the vital role which the Congress plays. Perhaps Congressional leadership should be strengthened. Perhaps there should be more party discipline. But there have been no studies about the Congressional leadership in more than half a century and there has never been a book on the floor leadership of either House.

Perhaps the Committee system should be revised and seniority eliminated as a factor but there has never been a comprehensive or comparative study of all of the committees of Congress. Nor has there been any study made charting the patterns of Congressional committee relationships with the administrative agencies they are supposed to oversee.

The American Political Science Association has now begun, with the help of the Carnegie Foundation, a thorough study of the Congress which should provide the most comprehensive body of basic knowledge of Congressional operations that we have ever had. That study is under the direction of Professor Ralph Huitt, of the University of Wisconsin. I expect that the results of that study will provide an essential foundation for a growing national and international understanding of the vital and constructive role played by the Congress of the United States.]

Yours is a great privilege. Be proud of your role and your Congress. May you fulfill your trust with dignity and honor.

Thank you.

#

FINAL PROGRAM

1965 SEMINAR FOR FRESHMAN CONGRESSMEN

Sponsored by:

John F. Baldwin (R-Calif.)
Dante Fascell (D-Fla.)
Gerald R. Ford, Jr. (R-Mich.)
Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.)
John E. Moss (D-Calif.)
James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.)
Albert H. Quie (R-Minn.)
Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.)
and
The American Political Science
Association, represented by:
 Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Executive
 Director
 Max M. Kampelman, Treasurer

Meeting Schedule:

The opening session on Tuesday, January 5, will be in the House Chamber; all of the remaining will be in the House Judiciary Committee Room (Room 346, Cannon Office Building)

1st Session--Tuesday morning, Jan. 5
2nd Session--Wednesday afternoon, Jan. 6
3rd Session--Thursday afternoon, Jan. 7
4th Session--Friday morning, Jan. 8

This program has been planned to introduce you--the Members of the Class of 64--to the workings of the House of Representatives. Each session will be conducted by two of the sponsoring Members. Participants will include other Congressmen and various other legislative specialists. The emphasis throughout will be on the practical problems of the new Member. All sessions will be informal; there will be no speeches or long lectures. Here are further details:

- A mimeographed draft of An Introduction to Legislative Service, prepared by seminar co-sponsors, will be distributed to new Members for use as a "text".
- Congressional Quarterly published the transcript of the 1963 Seminar for Freshman Congressmen. This along with other printed material will be made available for supplementary reference purposes.
- Administrative assistants are welcome to attend.
- Sessions will not be open to the press.
- Questions will be in order after each speaker's presentation during the sessions on January 6, 7, and 8.
- Congressional staff personnel and other experts will be on hand to respond to questions of a highly detailed, technical nature.

Following is the daily schedule for the 1965 Seminar for Freshman Congressmen:

Tuesday, Jan. 5 10:00 a.m. House Chamber, The Capitol

"Introduction and Tour of the Capitol"

Sponsors to be introduced by Rep. Udall; Rep. Baldwin will act as moderator

1. Objectives of the Program, by Rep. Udall

- Description of daily sessions
- Request for comments and criticisms on "An Introduction to Legislative Service"
- Distribution of Seminar materials

2. Introduction of the Sponsors, by Rep. Udall

(Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Executive Director of the American Political Science Association, will represent the co-sponsor.)

Each sponsor will comment briefly on "What Constitutes Legislative Excellence: The Routes to Effective Legislative Service."

3. Welcome by the Speaker and Minority Leader, introduced by Rep. Baldwin

4. Traditions and Rules of the Chamber, by Rep. Baldwin

- When and how to raise questions
- When and how to yield
- Special Orders

5. Tour of the Capitol, 11:30a.m.

6. Library of Congress luncheon, 12:30 p.m. Caucus Room, Cannon H.O.B. 362

Wednesday, Jan. 6 2:30 p.m. House Judiciary Committee Room

"Becoming an Effective and Creative Member of the House"

(Panel to be introduced by Rep. Moss; Rep. Ford, moderator.)

1. Traditions of the House, by Rep. Baldwin

- Seniority system
- Relations with your colleagues

2. Effective Committee Service, by Reps. Al Ullman (D-Ore.) and Goodell

- How committee assignments are made
- Attendance, "homework" and specialization (Rep. Ullman)

- Committee procedures
- Subcommittee functions and organization (Rep. Goodell)

3. Conflict of Interest, by Rep. Udall

- A word of caution for lawyers and others

4. Drafting and Introduction of Bills, by Rep. Clark MacGregor (R-Minn.)

- Office of Legislative Counsel and other assistance
(Edward O. Craft, Legislative Counsel, House of Representatives, will be present to answer questions.)
- Sponsoring and introducing too many--or too few--bills

5. Sources of Information and Research Assistance, by Rep. Moss

- Library of Congress and Legislative Reference Service
(L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress; Hugh Elsbree, Legislative Reference Service Director; and George B. Galloway, Senior Specialist in American Government, Legislative Reference Service, will be present to answer questions.)
- Executive Agencies
- The Congressional Record
- Committee prints
- Personal office and committee staff members
- Professional associations
- Lobby Groups
- National party headquarters

Thursday, Jan. 7

2:30 p.m.

House Judiciary Committee Room

"House Office Organization and Operating Procedures"
(Panel to be introduced by Rep. Goodell; Rep. Fascell, moderator.)

1. Office Organization and Services Available to Members, by Rep. Fascell

(A panel of Congressional staff members will be present to answer questions. The group includes John Buckley, Roger Lewis, Richard Olson, William Gifford, Montgomery Winkler, and William Hackett.)

- Staff, equipment, stationery and telephone allowances
- Radio and television production facilities
- Majority and Minority rooms
- Folding and mailing rooms
- Coordinator of Information
- Dining room, parking and gymnasium

2. Keeping up with the mail, by Rep. Robert F. Ellsworth (R-Kan.)
(H.H. Morris, Postmaster, House of Representatives, will be present to answer questions.)

- Robotyping
- Form letters
- Use of the frank

3. Informing Your Constituents, by Rep. Robert Duncan (D-Ore.)

- Congressional newsletter
- Government and other publications
- Congressional Record reprints
- Copies of bills
- Committee prints

4. Casework for Constituents, by Rep. Ford

- Departmental Liaison Officers

5. Use of the Congressional Record, by Rep. Cuie

- Insertions in the body of the Record
- Insertions in the Appendix
- Reprints

6. Lobbyists - Their Care and Treatment, by Rep. Goodell

Friday, Jan. 8

10:00 a.m.

House Judiciary Committee Room

"The Rules of the Legislative Road"

(Panel to be introduced by Rep. Moss; Rep. O'Hara, moderator.)

(Lewis Deschler, Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives, will be present to answer questions.)

1. Moving a Bill from Committee to the Floor, by Rep. Jim Wright (D-Tex.)

- Calendar Wednesday
- The discharge petition
- Private and consent calendar
- Suspension of the rules

2. Adoption of the Rule

- Rules Committee
- Open rule
- Closed rule

3. Debate and Amendments, by Rep. William Moorhead (D-Pa.)

- Committee of the Whole
- "Committee rises"
- Amendments and the five-minute rule
- Separate votes on amendments
- "Third degree" rule
- Substitutes

4. The Effect of Various Motions, by Rep. Quie

- Motion to recommit, etc.
- Striking the last word
- Preferential motions
- The "official" objector

5. Voting Procedures, by Reps. O'Hara and Quie

- Voice vote
- Standing vote
- Teller vote
- Roll call vote
- Automatic roll call
- Qualifying
- Pairing
- Point of Order
- No quorum
- Leave of absence

6. Conclusion: Advice from Close Observers of Congress

- Max M. Kampelman, Washington attorney and Treasurer of the American Political Science Association
- Paul Duke, NBC-TV
- James Reston, New York Times

We ponder thy fate, O Ship of State
As the lights go out and the hour is late.
Our souls grow sick as we abide
Our fathers' dreams, now sorely tried,
As vagabonds thrive throughout thy realm
And avarice bungles at thy helm.

—A. B. CULBERTSON.

LAURENS, S.C.

Address of Dr. Max M. Kampelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 28, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, on January 8, at a Seminar for Freshmen Congressmen, Dr. Max M. Kampelman gave advice to the new Members of Congress. Dr. Kampelman, former legislative counsel to our Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY during his distinguished service as U.S. Senator from Minnesota, and a continuing close adviser of the Vice President's, is a brilliant attorney and political scientist. His profound and moving address was extremely helpful to our freshman group, and, I am convinced, will be of wide general interest.

I would like to take this opportunity to insert Dr. Kampelman's remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for everyone to read.

The remarks follow:

ADDRESS OF DR. MAX M. KAMPELMAN AS
DELIVERED JANUARY 8 TO THE SEMINAR FOR
FRESHMAN CONGRESSMEN

Coming to Washington for the first time is an abrupt experience. Adlai Stevenson tells the story of the little girl who said in her prayers: "God bless mother and father, and sisters and brothers and now this is goodbye, God. We're moving to Washington."

To a large extent I think it is somewhat presumptuous for somebody who has never been elected to public office to give advice to those of you who have gone through the crucible of campaign fire, which somebody called the Dance of Democracy. I say that because, in my judgment, one of the most important set of values which must guide you in your behavior as Members of Congress should be the recognition that you must survive—and by that I mean that you must always keep your eye on the next election.

Some of you may be fortunate enough to come from geographical areas where you can afford to be more carefree and act like the candidate who, when a heckler said: "I wouldn't vote for you if you were the angel Gabriel," quickly replied: "If I were the angel Gabriel, you wouldn't be in my precinct." For most of you, however, you recognize that modern American politics is today increasingly heavy combat politics, whether it is in the primary or in the general election.

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The point I desire to make in that connection is not merely to point out the obvious. It is rather to assert that this concern with survival—which many might consider selfish—is, in fact, an essential prerequisite of democratic government. It is a concern that must be recognized as a legitimate one in our society and not one to be lamented as a necessary evil. Our democratic society is not

based on a search for philosopher-kings whose only concern is with achieving excellence in public service. Noble and essential as the pursuit of excellence may be, it must be tempered by a concern for survival if we are to avoid the totalitarianism of a philosopher-king society and strengthen our democratic life.

It is this concern with survival which permits the Congress to serve as a decided link between those who are governed and our Government in Washington. Certainly, the tremendous volume of mail and requests that will pour into your offices is a reflection of the vital role that a Member of Congress plays in translating the meaning of government to his constituency and in acting as the point of reference between the citizen and his government.

The pupil's typographical error in a geography class to the effect that Washington, D.C., is hounded on all sides by the United States of America will fast become a harsh reality to you. In all likelihood, you will not reply to the constituent that our Government is one of separation of powers, that the problem he is raising with you refers to the executive branch of the Government and not the legislative branch, and that, therefore, he ought to write to somebody else—that is, you will not write such a letter if you are concerned with survival.

Those who are concerned with democratic government are concerned about the growing disassociation that takes place between people and the government. The extent to which the institutions of the Congress, through its mail and errand boy functions, helps to provide some method of association—to that extent is democratic government strengthened.

There is one other related point that I consider to be relevant here. It refers to survival as it relates to the word "compromise." T. V. Smith once said that "Politics is the art of compromising an issue without compromising yourself." Senator FULBRIGHT stated the same problem in yet another way when he said "To be prematurely right is to court what, to the politician, at least, is a premature retirement."

The give and take of legislative debate is the essence of preserving Congress as an institution. I suppose one of the most profound lessons that I learned after arriving in Washington in 1949 to serve as a staff member of the Senate was the overpowering presence of the color gray within these Halls. There are black and white issues, but they are not as evident as they once were to me. The variations of background, experience, and problems of geography among your colleagues is an impressive fact of life which cannot be ignored.

There are forces on the outside—and I am included among them—who will be urging this or that solution to the many problems of the day that face our country and the Congress. I choose to think that I am probably right about my solutions, but I am fully aware of the fact that it is I who vote. Somebody once said that a reformer is a person who wants his conscience to be your guide. But you must always remember that there are no "maybe" votes in the Congress—no "yes but" or "no and" votes that you will be permitted to cast. This sense of finality and responsibility knowing that you in the end are held accountable for those votes, of necessity injects a distinguishing characteristic which can be experienced by nobody else not in your shoes.

Now, for one final word about the Congress as an institution: I speak to you not only as a lawyer and an observer, but as a political scientist.

I started my talk by referring to those of us who give you free advice. It took 62 double-column pages last summer for the Congressional Quarterly to summarize the

criticisms and proposed reforms of Congress. We can tell what is wrong with Congress as an institution, why its rules ought to be modernized, why it is failing as an institution.

I stand here in a dissenting role. I urge you not to feel inferior about this institution of which you are now a part. I know of no parliamentary institution in the history of man which has fulfilled its responsibilities as conscientiously and as seriously as the Congress of the United States. It is fair game to attack the Congress. The 89th Congress will soon be under heavy attack before it is very old, despite the remarkable performance of the 88th Congress.

In one sense this is so because you are politically a representative body. Unlike the President and members of the Supreme Court, you do not walk separated from your fellow man by the Secret Service or by black robes. You are a part of ordinary man—people just like us with our strengths and our weaknesses. You are fair game for attack.

Congress is also attacked, however because of some strange drive within our society toward easy solutions which takes the form of a drive for greater centralized power in the hands of the President—a drive which unfortunately in recent years has been as much a characteristic of my fellow liberals as it has traditionally been considered an illiberal doctrine. Certainly the Congress debates, considers, and may even have the temerity to alter legislative proposals submitted by the President. This is as it should be. I remind you that the Congress, almost alone among the world's legislatures, has withstood the absolutism of the Executive and has remained the coordinate branch which our democratic philosophy means it to be.

Yours is a great privilege. Be proud of your role and your Congress. May you fulfill your trust with dignity and honor.

Thank you.

Sir Winston Churchill

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, Sir Winston Churchill is dead. And it is right and proper for all who love freedom and admire man to do him honor.

But it must be done in the correct way. It is not enough merely to recite lists of deeds done, or name battles won, or chant a string of adjectives with his name. Nor should it be maudlin or idolatrous.

He would not have liked it.

More important, it would have missed the point. For Churchill was a man, and a very human one. He made mistakes, sometimes enormous. He was hard to get along with, and sometimes pettish. He was always stubborn, and he could be tyrannical.

But it was precisely that humanity—set in a grand scale and raised to a high power—that made him what he was: One of the giants of our times. Churchill the man was bigger than life-size, and it was partly through this that he led men as he did. But he led men from a position

We ponder thy fate, O Ship of State
As the lights go out and the hour is late.
Our souls grow sick as we abide
Our fathers' dreams, now sorely tried,
As vagabonds thrive throughout thy realm
And avarice bungles at thy helm.

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Monday, January 25, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, Sir Winston Churchill is dead. And it is right and proper for all who love freedom and admire man to do him honor.

But it must be done in the correct way. It is not enough merely to recite lists of deeds done, or name battles won, or chant a string of adjectives with his name. Nor should it be maudlin or idolatrous.

He would not have liked it.

More important, it would have missed the point. For Churchill was a man, and a very human one. He made mistakes, sometimes enormous. He was hard to get along with, and sometimes pettish. He was always stubborn, and he could be tyrannical.

But it was precisely that humanity—set in a grand scale and raised to a high power—that made him what he was: One of the giants of our times. Churchill the man was bigger than lifesize, and it was partly through this that he led men as he did. But he led men from a position

in their midst, rather than trying to lead from above. He went out into the streets during the agony of London, to be with his people. As a man, then, we must see him and do praise to his measure.

Merely to have lived in the same century with Sir Winston was an honor and an inspiration and, unquestionably, fun. For Churchill had that lashing sense of humor and quick flash of wit which importantly complemented his iron will and fierce resolve. He was big enough and strong enough to direct it against himself, as well as others.

His wit, coupled with his impatience, helped him lead. "Pray submit to me, by 4 p.m. today, on one-half sheet of paper, the preparations undertaken by His Majesty's Navy to pursue the coming war," he supposedly wrote the First Sea Lord after becoming the First Lord of the Admiralty.

He led with words, written sometimes but more effectively spoken. To an extraordinary degree, his language had always expressed his unusual character. It came, in time, to express not only what Great Britain must be, but what the Western World must do. It was good, tough language and it had a majesty that made the important things seem vitally alive and immediate. He could never say, as had his predecessor, Neville Chamberlain, that England would not fight "for a small, faraway country, between people of whom we know nothing."

Instead, Churchill rallied his people and the world to the struggle at hand and to the problems to come. He did so by combining to a degree unmatched since President Lincoln, the qualities of a great man and a towering writer in a setting of dark peril. The result was the true criterion of leadership; he made people feel directly, personally, and passionately involved in the great events of their time. Not only people in Great Britain, but also in France, America, and around the world.

Winston Churchill did this himself, through the force of his personality and the power of his words. The setting did not make the man, though it called him forth. Once emerged, he changed it entirely. His life was one of the rarest of all historical events; in living, he did not make a difference. He made the difference.

His death was right and proper. It was expected and dignified, quiet and fitting, after such a life. His going leaves us all the poorer, as his living left us all the richer.

Winston Churchill will always be with us, for in large measure he molded our world. He will particularly be in our hearts during moments of crisis, and fear, his words and his example giving fiery thrust to our hopes:

In war, resolution.
In defeat, defiance.
In victory, magnanimity.
In peace, good will.

Testimony on H.R. 2362

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the very able superintendent of schools of my home city of Pittsburgh, Dr. S. P. Marland, Jr., testified on Thursday, January 27, before the General Education Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor in support of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, now under study by that subcommittee. I commend to Members of the House Dr. Marland's excellent summary of the educational and economic needs of education in a large city. His testimony follows:

TESTIMONY ON H.R. 2362 TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

My name is S. P. Marland, Jr., superintendent of schools, Pittsburgh. I have been asked to present testimony in support of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. My assignment is to comprehend briefly the several titles of the act, in general, and to give brief, specific attention to title II, libraries and instructional materials.

As a superintendent of schools in a large city I can report, with a fair knowledge of the facts, that a very grave problem exists in the financing of urban education. A phenomenon of social and economic shift has evolved over the past few years which critically threatens the education of children in the cities, especially the children of poverty.

The cities, historically, have been the centers of wealth, as wealth is normally measured in property value. Industry, commerce, and valuable residential properties have served as a strong and stable tax base for the support of good schools, and for the attraction of favored, high taxpaying families in fair share to urban schools. This condition is no longer true. The attractions of suburban locations for industry, shopping centers, homes, have measurably sapped the cities' economic strength. We must restore the balance of families and encourage the retention of those now present in the cities. As a measure of this condition, the Pittsburgh schools were, not long ago, favored by a solid tax base, a balanced distribution of families by socioeconomic character, and a reasonable budget for the support of good school services. These conditions no longer prevail. We will in 1966 be critically in arrears financially, in spite of local taxes that range from 10 to 25 percent higher than our surrounding areas. In other words, the effort of the city remains high, but the income is insufficient to meet the needs. Increased local tax action will inevitably compound the problem, as more enterprises and more homeowners relocate outside the city limits. This condition feeds unhappily upon itself as those who choose to remain are pressed to pay more to survive, and as they look about them at an ever-increasing proportion of the poor and deprived who have no choice but to stay. Whatever improved support for Pittsburgh may derive from this bill, it is clear that continued high effort and sacrifice in local taxation will be needed to meet the costs of education for those not eligible under the poverty implications of the program.

As an illustration of a big city scale of need, we in Pittsburgh must increase our income by 10 percent (\$4 million) in 1966, 20 percent by 1967, and 30 percent by 1968 merely to preserve present standards, and meet the demands of growth and plant. Realistic and justifiable improvements in our program would double those percentages.

Fresh and objective evidence has been published in the past month to give further urgency to these facts. The Fels Institute of local and State government of the University of Pennsylvania has produced a timely study of the crisis in urban education in Pennsylvania. The evidence compiled in this study is very likely pertinent to all large cities. In our case Philadelphia and Pittsburgh were the chief objects of inquiry. The study documents two facts:

(a) The children of impacted poverty in the cities are unable to learn as effectively as poor children in rural or suburban areas. Low academic achievement is a direct product of urban poverty, calling for larger investment in compensatory education.

(b) Cities are able to allocate only 30 percent of local revenues to education, while nonurban areas are able to allocate 50 to 70 percent of local revenues to education. This condition has been described as municipal overburden.

A brief abstract of the Fels study has been appended, and is offered to the Members of Congress for review as a document, not only descriptive of Pennsylvania, but probably pertinent to large cities throughout the Nation.

The total impact of H.R. 2362 is immediately and acutely applicable to urban education. The intent of title I would be translated in Pittsburgh into several critical needs:

Expansion of preprimary education for 3- and 4-year-old children beyond the start being made under the Economic Opportunity Act; the provision of massive reduction in ratio of pupils to teachers through ungraded and highly individualized instructional organization; the provision of critically needed counseling and guidance services in elementary and middle schools for the deprived neighborhoods; the provision of mental health services, including more social workers for the children and families of poverty. The provision of highly specialized centers for the correction of reading deficiencies, deployed in convenient areas throughout the city, but aimed specifically at the removal of the illiterate or the semi-illiterate from our society. Beyond the operating programs implied above, the resources of the bill would permit our board of education to replace long obsolete buildings in the heart of our poverty-ridden neighborhoods. By the nature of poverty, its people live in the oldest and most decayed parts of the city. The schools in these neighborhoods are no exceptions in the ugliness, bleakness, and barrenness of decay. Fifty percent of our buildings are over 50 years old, many 60 or 80 years old. The majority are located in our deprived neighborhoods. Our board of education deplores this bitter fact, but is absolutely unable to meet the costs of any new building construction under present arrangements of local and State revenue. Probably the most immediately productive and uplifting effect of the proposed Federal investment in poverty would be the creation of attractive and well-equipped buildings as places of beauty, optimism and aspiration for children who know little but ugliness and despair in their present lives. The opportunity for new and dramatic school buildings would include small structures deployed throughout the neigh-

THE JOB OF THE CONGRESSMAN

*An introduction to service in
the U. S. House of Representatives*

DONALD G. TACHERON *and* MORRIS K. UDALL, *Member of
Congress, Second District of Arizona*

SECOND EDITION

THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY, INC. *Indianapolis and New York*

Political survival in a democracy

Almighty and everlasting God, source of human rights and framer of eternal laws, we beg Your blessing upon this House.

O Supreme Legislator, make these gentlemen ever distinguished by fidelity to Your word. Make seniority in Your love ever germane to their conduct. Make them consistently vote yea in the cloakroom of conscience that at the expiration of life's term they may feel no need to revise and extend. Make them attentive to the gavel of honor and respectful to the mace of Your law that they may always yield personal and party considerations when the welfare of this Nation and its citizens is threatened.

When the congress of life is adjourned and they answer the final quorum call, may the eternal committee report out a clean bill on their lives.

Finally, by unanimous consent of the heavenly house, may the Infinite Speaker recognize them on both sides of the aisle with this reward: "Well done, good and faithful servants of my people." Amen.

Prayer offered in the House

by the Rev. Elmo L. Romagosa, March 2, 1966

A RECURRING THEME throughout the preceding chapters is the Congressman's concern for political survival. "First take care of your

district," says the senior member to his junior colleagues. "Become a statesman later." To some, such advice may seem cynical, if not damaging to the republic. But many students of government argue that the politician's concern for survival is a prerequisite—not a necessary evil—of democracy. Washington attorney Max M. Kampelman* expressed this view cogently in remarks concluding the 1965 Seminar for Freshman Congressmen:

Coming to Washington for the first time is an abrupt experience. Adlai Stevenson tells the story of the little girl who said in her prayers, "God bless mother and father, and sisters and brothers, and now this is good-by, God. We're moving to Washington."

To a large extent I think it is somewhat presumptuous for somebody who has never been elected to public office to give advice to those of you who have gone through the crucible of campaign fire, which somebody called the Dance of Democracy. I say that because, in my judgment, one of the most important sets of values which must guide you in your behavior as members of Congress should be the recognition that you must survive—and by that I mean that you must always keep your eye on the next election.

Some of you may be fortunate enough to come from geographical areas where you can afford to be more carefree and act like the candidate who, when a heckler said, "I wouldn't vote for you if you were the angel Gabriel," quickly replied, "If I were the angel Gabriel, you wouldn't be in my precinct." For most of you, however, you recognize that modern American politics is today increasingly heavy combat politics, whether it is in the primary or in the general election.

* A Washington lawyer, political scientist, and former congressional staff employee (legislative counsel to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, 1949–1955), Mr. Kampelman was Treasurer of the American Political Science Association from 1956 to 1968.

Political survival is, therefore, quite understandably a matter of constant concern to members of Congress.

The point I desire to make in that connection is not merely to point out the obvious. It is rather to assert that this concern with survival—which many might consider selfish—is, in fact, [a] prerequisite of democratic government. It is a concern that must be recognized as a legitimate one in our society and not one to be lamented as a necessary evil. Our democratic society is not based on a search for philosopher-kings whose only concern is with achieving excellence in public service. Noble and essential as the pursuit of excellence may be, it must be tempered by a concern for survival if we are to avoid the totalitarianism of a philosopher-king society and strengthen our democratic life.

It is this concern with survival which permits the Congress to serve as a decided link between those who are governed and our government in Washington. Certainly the tremendous volume of mail and requests that will pour into your offices is a reflection of the vital role that a member of Congress plays in translating the meaning of government to his constituency and in acting as the point of reference between the citizen and his government.

The pupil's typographical error in a geography class, to the effect that Washington, D.C., is hounded on all sides by the United States of America, will fast become a harsh reality to you. In all likelihood, you will not reply to the constituent that our government is one of separation of powers, that the problem he is raising with you refers to the Executive branch of the government and not the Legislative branch, and that, therefore, he ought to write to somebody else—that is, you will not write such a letter if you are concerned with survival.

Those who are concerned with democratic government are concerned about the growing disassociation that takes place between people and the government. The extent to which the institutions of the Congress, through its mail and errand boy functions,

help to provide some method of association—to that extent is democratic government strengthened.

There is one other related point that I consider to be relevant here. It refers to survival as it relates to the word "compromise." T. V. Smith once said that "Politics is the art of compromising an issue without compromising yourself." Senator Fulbright stated the same problem in yet another way when he said, "To be prematurely right is to court what, to the politician, at least, is a premature retirement."

The give and take of legislative debate is the essence of preserving Congress as an institution. I suppose one of the most profound lessons that I learned after arriving in Washington in 1949 to serve as a staff member of the Senate was the overpowering presence of the color gray within these halls. There are black and white issues, but they are not as evident as they once were to me. The variations of background, experience, and problems of geography among your colleagues is an impressive fact of life which cannot be ignored.

There are forces on the outside—and I am included among them—who will be urging this or that solution to the many problems of the day that face our country and the Congress. I choose to think that I am probably right about my solutions, but I am fully aware of the fact that it is not I who vote. Somebody once said that a reformer is a person who wants his conscience to be your guide. But you must always remember that there are no "maybe" votes in the Congress—no "yes but" or "no and" votes that you will be permitted to cast. This sense of finality and responsibility, knowing that you in the end are held accountable for those votes, of necessity injects a distinguishing characteristic which can be experienced by nobody else not in your shoes.

Now, for one final word about the Congress as an institution: I speak to you not only as a lawyer and an observer, but as a political scientist.

I started my talk by referring to those of us who give you free advice. . . . [Many feel they] can tell what is wrong with Congress as an institution, why its rules ought to be modernized, why it is failing as an institution.

I stand here in a dissenting role. I urge you not to feel inferior about this institution of which you are now a part. I know of no parliamentary institution in the history of man which has fulfilled its responsibilities as conscientiously and as seriously as the Congress of the United States.

It is fair game to attack the Congress. . . . In one sense this is so because you are politically a representative body. Unlike the President and members of the Supreme Court, you do not walk separated from your fellow man by the Secret Service or by black robes. You are a part of ordinary man—people just like us with our strengths and our weaknesses. You are fair game for attack.

Congress is also attacked, however, because of some strange drive within our society toward easy solutions, which takes the form of a drive for greater centralized power in the hands of the President—a drive which unfortunately in recent years has been as much a characteristic of my fellow liberals as it has traditionally been considered an illiberal doctrine. Certainly the Congress debates, considers, and may even have the temerity to alter legislative proposals submitted by the President. This is as it should be. I remind you that the Congress, almost alone among the world's legislatures, has withstood the absolutism of the Executive and has remained the coordinate branch which our democratic philosophy means to be.

Yours is a great privilege. Be proud of your role and your Congress. May you fulfill your trust with dignity and honor.

January 12, 1965

Honorable Morris K. Udall
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Moe:

I appreciated very much your most cordial comments at the conclusion of my talk last Friday. I particularly appreciate your inclusion in the Appendix of the Record of my remarks, properly cut, to reflect the deletions that I made when I saw that time was running out.

My best wishes to you and to Pat.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

Enclosure

MORRIS K. UDALL
2D DISTRICT OF ARIZONA
456 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

Fug

TEES:
INTERIOR & CONSULAR AFFAIRS
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear May—

Here is the excellent
address Jim Scheuer
had inserted.

Best regards,

Sm

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

File

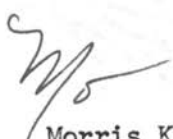
January 22, 1965

Max M. Kampelman, Esq.
1700 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

Jim Scheuer would like the honor of inserting your excellent comments in the Congressional Record on behalf of both him and me. We will send you along a copy when the job is done.

Best regards,



Morris K. Udall

lg

CLIFFORD P. CASE
NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
ARMED SERVICES
AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

SAM ZAGORIA
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

FRANCES HENDERSON
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

ALBERT E. ABRAHAMS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

IRA GRAYSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 1, 1965

Dr. Max M. Kampelman
1700 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

Congratulations on your fine advice to the Freshman
Congressmen. I hope that they all heed your wise counsel.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Sam Zagoria

SZ:ih

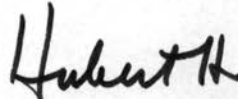
THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

February 1, 1965

Dear Max:

I see you are making headlines in the
nation's leading publication - the Congressional
Record. More power to you! Excellent!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Hubert H.", with a stylized, cursive script.

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. Max Kampelman
1700 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.



OFFICE
OF THE CHAIRMAN

FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION
OF THE UNITED STATES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20579

F-448

February 3, 1965

Max Kampelman, Esq.
1700 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

I read with the greatest pleasure Dr. Max M. Kampelman's address delivered at the Seminar for Freshman Congressmen. The importance of survival in a competitive world was very eloquently and forcefully made. I am grateful to you for the story about the pupil's typographical error in Geography class, to the effect that Washington is hounded on all sides by the United States of America. I might add that the description is most adequate immediately after the inauguration of the President.

Since one good speech deserves at least another, I take the liberty of enclosing part of a talk that I have entitled "The Responsibilities of Public Service."

All of the Res look forward to seeing the Kampelmans.

Cordially,

Edward D. Re
Chairman

Enclosure

*Many thanks
for your part in the
most gracious letter
that I received
from the Vice President.*

Ed

February 6, 1965

Honorable James H. Scheuer
House of Representatives
Room 222 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Jim:

You're a wonderful friend and I am deeply grateful to you for your fine comments as you placed my talk in the Appendix of the Congressional Record. This was a gesture of real friendship and I shall not forget it.

It is amazing to me how many people read the Congressional Record. This has happened to me on two or three other occasions. I have gotten loads of mail and phone calls from friends and others commenting on the talk after having seen it through your kindness.

I appreciate very much your suggestion that I arrange to have reprints made but I don't believe that would be appropriate. I am not running for public office and don't want people to misunderstand. Whatever copies of the Record itself you can obtain, however, would certainly be appreciated and if you could have those sent to me, I would be grateful.

I am looking forward to seeing you again soon and also meeting your secretary, Miss Ranello. If there is any way that I can be of any assistance to you, Jim, don't hesitate to call.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

JAMES H. SCHEUER
21ST DISTRICT, NEW YORK

ROOM 222
CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.

DISTRICT OFFICE:
159 EAST 165TH STREET
BRONX, NEW YORK 10452
TELEPHONE: LU 8-6790

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 4, 1965

Max Kampelman, Esq.
1700 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

The enclosed may be of interest to you. I am told that we can get approximately 25 copies of the Record for this day. However, if you would like re-prints to mail out to your host of friends and admirers I can arrange for this very simply and can have delivered to you any quantity which you might use inserted in franked envelopes, ready to be mailed, needing only addressee. Please let me know your wishes.

And how about lunch one day soon?

With best wishes,

Yours,



James H. Scheuer
JHS/er

Encl.

JAMES H. SCHEUER
21ST DISTRICT, NEW YORK

HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
TELEPHONE: (202) 224-3121

RICHARD A. BROWN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

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BRONX, NEW YORK 10452
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JOHN DELANEY
CONGRESSIONAL SECRETARY

COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND LABOR

SUBCOMMITTEES:
SELECT EDUCATION
SPECIAL LABOR
ANTIPOVERTY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

February 29, 1965

Max
Please call - say OK every
other set up lunch with

Max Kampelman, Esq.
1700 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

We have sent you, under separate cover, another dozen and a half Congressional Records and envelopes for same. Since we apparently have to get them in spurts we will have to do a re-run on this for you. When you think you have enough please have your secretary drop me a note.

Sincerely,

Ellie
Ellie