

April 1978

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS

(Executive Summary)

The National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC) was organized as a political committee under the laws of the State of New York in September 1948. An avowedly liberal organization, NCEC has grown considerably in the intervening years in both financing and influence. According to the authoritative Congressional Quarterly, for example, "Of the seven liberal fund-raising groups...surveyed for 1972, the National Committee for an Effective Congress was the largest fund-raiser and contributor to candidates," while an article carried in the National Observer in November 1976 stated that NCEC is "perhaps the single most powerful political force in this country in the last few years...." NCEC has been endorsed by numerous prominent American liberals, especially those in political life, such as Andrew Young, Walter Mondale, and Frank Church, and its effectiveness has been recognized by such men as Robert Dole and Barry Goldwater.

NCEC exists specifically to bring about the election of what it regards as qualified liberals to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. To this end, it makes the usual monetary contributions and supplies a variety of in-kind services such as polling, computerized precinct targeting, and media expertise. In 1974, according to NCEC literature, these services resulted in "5 primary winners out of 5 candidates assisted -- 100%," "35 general election victories out of 49 candidates assisted -- 71%," "23 incumbents defeated -- the largest number of defeats since 1966." NCEC claims that these successes "made the difference in toppling the seniority system and reforming the House rules." Among those candidates who have been the beneficiaries of NCEC's money and political acumen is Representative Gladys Spellman of Maryland, who is quoted by NCEC as saying that "It would be folly

and absolutely ludicrous of me to think that your organization was not largely responsible for my victory."

That NCEC possesses a definable point of view against which it evaluates candidates and issues is indicated by a letter disseminated during the winter of 1968. This letter speaks of freeing the "independent candidate" from "the need to conform with stagnant party machines" and describes NCEC "as more than a channel for campaign support." Rather, it "has fostered the development of a group of Congressmen with growing unity of philosophy and action, able to move into the vacuum created by sterile party leadership."

NCEC literature emphasizes the so-called "radical right" as a prime concern. Candidates supported by the committee are "progressive," "forward-looking," and "constructive" and work to give the American people "responsive, humane" government, while those it opposes are "right-wing," "reactionary," and "obstructionist." Perusal of NCEC material indicates that the organization sees American political life as a conflict between "responsible," "courageous," and "able and principled legislators" on one side and their opponents, invariably characterized as "arch-conservative" and "lack-luster" "extremists." At the same time, NCEC has given its support to organizations and causes regarded by some as leftist in character, including the Ralph Nader Congress Project and a "lobby to cut off funds for the Vietnam war effort."

NCEC's leadership has fluctuated through the years, although the chairmanship of the committee has, since 1956, been in the hands of Sidney H. Scheuer, a New York-based international trade executive. Other NCEC members include several people with ties to major tax-exempt charitable foundations such as the Russell Sage Foundation and the Twentieth Century Fund, as well as prominent academic and other professional people, including several with distinguished records of government service. Recently, certain NCEC-affiliated people have moved into the administration of President Carter. Mark Gersh, formerly NCEC Washington Director, is an auditor with the Federal Election Commission; Barbara Blum, a member of NCEC's Finance/Advisory Committee, serves as Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; and former NCEC Washington Director Susan B. King has recently become a member of the Consumer Product Safety Commission, having earlier served as a special assistant to the chairman of the FEC.

Legislative matters have been prominent among NCEC's concerns, as shown by extensive documentation quoted in this study. The organization was actively involved in Congressional attempts to cut off funds for American military efforts in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam war, and the reduction of "disproportionate military influence" figures prominently in NCEC promotional material. The committee also claims a "central role" in creation of the liberal Democratic Study

Group in the House of Representatives, in addition to which a substantial number of NCEC-supported members of both the House and Senate belong to Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, a liberal apparatus which works to influence national defense-related policies. NCEC has also been deeply involved in passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1965, passage of the Federal Election Campaign Act, defeat of the oil depletion allowance, delay in funding of the B-1 Bomber, and defeat of efforts to deregulate the price of natural gas.

NCEC depends on contributions for its financing, and several of the larger contributions have been made over the years by the committee's own members. Among these member-contributors during 1977 were such people as Stewart R. Mott and Cynthia Harris, who gave \$5,000 apiece, and others who donated from \$500 to \$1,000 each. Other contributors have included corporation executives, clergymen, academics, and other professional people, along with housewives and entertainers (including the well-known comedian, Steve Allen). Documents filed by NCEC with the Federal Election Commission for the four quarterly reporting periods of 1977 reflect income totaling \$408,862.27, of which \$382,308.20 was from "Contributions and other Income." Expenditures for the same year amounted to a total of \$405,899.71, of which \$396,399.71 was for "Operating Expenditures." By contrast, it has been reported that the committee, during its first year of operation in 1948, raised some \$12,000 for its initial six Senate candidates.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS

INTRODUCTION

Of the many political action organizations currently functioning in the United States, one of the most influential, among those of the aggressively liberal category, is the National Committee for an Effective Congress, which, according to NCEC promotional literature circulated during the latter part of 1977, has been praised by Walter Mondale, Vice President of the United States, as having "an unmatched record of political skill and good judgment in aiding progressive candidates for the House and Senate." That this assessment of NCEC's effectiveness is not confined solely to liberals, who are the beneficiaries of NCEC's money and political acumen, is indicated by a statement attributed by the organization to Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona:

Whether we like to admit it or not, the Committee for an Effective Congress is a most effective tool...to elect a so-called liberal Congress. I do not dispute their right to do so. I only warn the conservative element.

In a similar vein, NCEC quotes Senator Robert Dole of Kansas as saying that "Some of the techniques the GOP must try are the sophisticated polling and concentrated personal campaigning of organizations such as the National Committee for an Effective Congress."

As a committee which, by design, exists to advance the political fortunes of liberal candidates for the Congress of the United States, NCEC has received high praise from such prominent liberal figures as Andrew Young, formerly a member of Congress and currently United States Ambassador to the United Nations, and Senator Frank Church of Idaho. Young, who was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Georgia in 1972, was quoted as follows in an NCEC leaflet attached to one of the organization's solicitation letters dated April 1974:

During my brief tenure, I have seen encouraging changes in such important areas as Congressional reform and the cut-off of funds for bombing in Cambodia and Laos. Without the NCEC's support, many of the outstanding freshman Members would not have been there to cast the decisive votes.

According to the same source, as well as more recent NCEC material, Senator Church has been even more effusive: "The work of NCEC constitutes one of the finest expressions of democratic principles in our public life today."

When one considers the predominantly liberal composition of Congress in recent times, as well as the significant impact that liberal Congressmen and Senators have had on the formation and implementation of public policy, including especially this nation's foreign policy, the following assessment from the November 27, 1976, edition of the National Observer assumes particular interest:

NCEC? That stands for the National Committee for an Effective Congress, perhaps the single most powerful political force in this country in the last few years...in 1974 it hit upon a new idea: Instead of giving cash to the candidates of its choice, it would supply them with in-kind services -- polls, computerized precinct targeting, television and radio commercials and other media materials, even campaign supervision.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that decision has changed the course of American political history.

Long-time observers of Congress say...the NCEC supported candidates are...the smartest, the toughest, hardest-working congressmen they have ever seen.

It is noted that the foregoing statements, including those by Goldwater and Dole, both of whom would view NCEC from an adversary standpoint, have one thing in common: a view of NCEC as an effective political force, whatever the speakers' disagreements with the organization on the issues might be. It is this shared recognition that NCEC, by virtue of its demonstrated record of success in supporting some of the key liberal activists in the House and Senate, is an organization possessed of the ability to influence the formation of national public policy which makes it desirable that there be serious examination of the committee's origin, leadership, finances, and activities.

ORIGIN

The National Committee for an Effective Congress was organized as a political committee in New York State on September 23, 1948. It was active during the 1948 election campaign, in a special election campaign in 1949, and during the campaign of 1950 and has maintained offices in New York City continuously since May 1952, according to a statement submitted by NCEC chairman Sidney H. Scheuer in 1956 to the Special Senate Committee To Investigate Political Activities, Lobbying, and Campaign Contributions. Scheuer's statement reflects that NCEC "went through various changes and established an advisory board in October of 1948" and that he became a member of the organization's executive board in January 1954, becoming acting chairman during the same month and rising to chairman of the organization on May 1, 1956. He has remained chairman ever since.

Further light on NCEC's origins is shed by an article which appeared in Congressional Quarterly in its issue for the "Week ending March 6, 1953." Characterizing NCEC as "an organization said to have been formed to elect and support 'men of caliber whose general outlook is liberal,'" the article related that

The Committee for an Effective Congress got its start in 1948 through the efforts of Sen. Harley M. Kilgore (D W.Va.), James Roosevelt and former Wisconsin newspaperman Maurice Rosenblatt. These men, according to Rosenblatt, were so impressed with the work of Henry J. Kaiser's League for Franchise Education in educating citizens to vote that they decided to attempt to provide a "channel of action for people already politically sophisticated."

During the 1948 election -- and again, in 1949, 1950 and 1952 -- the Committee raised campaign funds, pinpointing these funds on contests involving men who met the group's "three-point test:"

Is he a self-starting, independent liberal? Does he need money? Can he get elected?

After the 1948 election, six winning Senators who had received financial aid from the Committee, wrote an open letter, stating in part: "We are personally grateful for the splendid assistance (in) our campaign efforts...It is of the utmost importance that the Committee be continued...To win elections is but the beginning of the important job of developing and passing progressive legislation for our people."

This letter was signed by Democratic Senators Paul H. Douglas (Ill.), Guy M. Gillette (Iowa), Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.), Estes Kefauver (Tenn.), James E. Murray (Mont.), and Matthew M. Neely (W.Va.). /Emphasis in original./

PURPOSES

As indicated above, the National Committee for an Effective Congress was organized in 1948 as a political committee with an avowedly liberal orientation. NCEC exists for the explicit purpose of electing liberal candidates to the United States Senate and House of Representatives, as well as to influence thereby the formation and implementation of national public policy along liberal lines. In his prepared testimony before the Senate Special Committee in 1956, NCEC chairman Sidney Scheuer averred that NCEC "is non-partisan, and represents no special interests." He elaborated on this statement at a later point in his statement, as follows:

We believe our success to date has been based on the fact that the National Committee for an Effective Congress does not represent any section of the country, any interest or any special group; and that the criteria upon which we determine which candidates to support are shared by the great majority of Americans.

Our criteria cannot be encompassed with a simple formula. They will vary according to changing national and international

circumstances, and according to the attitudes of our members from campaign to campaign. In general, however, I can say that we have been particularly concerned with foreign policy and with protection of our rights and freedoms at home. We have supported only candidates of whose agreement with the broad lines of American foreign policy since World War II we have felt assured, and whom we believed to be genuinely concerned to preserve and advance the liberties and rights of all Americans. If you examine a list of the candidates who have been supported by /NCEC/, you will see that we have interpreted these criteria broadly. We do not feel expert enough or that it is our responsibility to make fine judgments between candidates who seem generally agreed in these matters.

That NCEC possesses a definable point of view against which it evaluates candidates and policies is evidenced by the language of a "Dear Friend" letter mailed during the 1976 election. The letter features of liberal historians. The letter "freed" the "independent candidate" from "the stagnant part" and proceeds to describe a channel for "development of a group" and "action, able to" "men with growing unity" "the vacuum created by" "historians Barbara W." "er states that response" "the" "and proceeds to describe" "port." Rather, it "has" "ssmen with growing unity" "e vacuum created by"

The winter of 1977 saw a promotional leaflet which quoted Mrs. Frank as having said that NCEC "combines an unusual degree of sincerity and practicality as a liberal vehicle for affecting national policy," a sentiment echoed in the same source by former Senator Ralph W. Yarborough of Texas, who was quoted as saying that "Tangible expressions of concern by independent citizens acting in concert through the NCEC often have made the difference between victory and defeat for liberal candidates in the South." Actually, however, NCEC rhetoric is generally couched in far more vivid terms than "liberal" and "conservative." The group prefers to characterize those it supports as "progressive," "forward-looking," and "constructive," as people whose efforts are geared toward giving the American people "responsive, humane" government, as opposed to those who are "right-wing," "reactionary," and "obstructionist." NCEC literature is replete with evocations of the purported conflict between "responsible," "courageous," and "able and principled legislators" on one side and their opponents, invariably depicted as "arch-conservative" and "lack-luster" "extremists." In NCEC's appeals for support, the spectres of what it calls the "radical right and special interests" loom large indeed.

The following extract from a "Fall, 1977" letter over the signature of Jane Hart, widow of the late liberal Senator Philip Hart of Michigan, and included in an NCEC mailing circulated in late 1977 is illustrative of the organization's rhetorical style and of its position in the ideological spectrum:

The Congress now stands at one of the most critical junctions in its history. The current Congress and its successor will determine how we readjust our priorities to solve our country's continuing domestic problems. They will make the decisions that will determine the long-term direction of our nation on the issues of welfare reform, national health care and nuclear arms limitation. They will have to steer us through a labyrinth of special interests to sound policies of energy development and conservative, consumer protection and tax reform.

Unfortunately at this critical period, the Congress has experienced an intense campaign from the extreme right wing. It is a campaign that is fueled by the massive war chest the right wing is building to defeat progressive Representatives and Senators in 1978 and its threat hangs over Congress every day of its deliberations.

Those of us who support progressive and effective legislation must provide the resources that will counter this reactionary effort.

The best way I know to do this is by contributing to the NCEC. NCEC must have our help to plan and help implement the the re-election campaigns of those important new Representatives who have provided the leadership in reforming Congress. It must have our help to defeat those obstructionist members of Congress who lead and orchestrate the right wing lobby.

As previously noted, NCEC claims that its aims are non-partisan and unencumbered by ties to any special interests. It is true that NCEC's support, as demonstrated by lists carried in the organization's own literature, has tended to go primarily to Democrats over the years; but it should also be observed that this does not necessarily mean NCEC favoring of Democrats merely as Democrats, since it is equally true that political liberals, especially liberals of what is often thought of as the New Deal variety, are far more prominently identified with the Democratic Party than with the Republican Party. It is certainly fair to state, for example, that a Jacob Javits is far more conspicuous in the ranks of the GOP than is a Frank Church among the Democrats. Thus, while it might appear from a superficial glance at the record that NCEC is a politically partisan apparatus, the evidence, examined more closely, actually indicates a much deeper philosophical partisanship.

LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERSHIP THROUGH 1976

NCEC's leadership and membership have fluctuated through the years since 1948, although the chairmanship has remained relatively constant. An article published in the July 1, 1967, issue of Human Events states that former Democratic Representative James Roosevelt of California "was the first national chairman of the NCEC." An undated leaflet circulated as part of an NCEC "Winter, 1968" mailing contained a reference to the organization's "Over 19 years under the Chairmanship of the late Robert E. Sherwood and his successor Sidney H. Scheuer...." As shown by the Congressional Quarterly item quoted earlier, it appears that Roosevelt played a key role in the founding of the organization.

NCEC's earlier membership included several liberal Americans of considerable prominence in their respective fields, in addition to Roosevelt. The following paragraphs taken from the March 6, 1953, Congressional Quarterly article constitute the earliest available partial roster used in the preparation of this study:

Chairman of the group is Robert E. Sherwood, the playwright. Among 35 prominent names on its board of trustees are Frederick Lewis Allen, former editor of Harper's; ex-attorney General /sic/ Thurman Arnold; Evans Clark, director of the 20th Century Fund; Sumner Welles, former Secretary of State; Gen. Telford Taylor, U.S. prosecutor at the Nuremburg Trials; Robert R. Nathan, economist; songwriter Oscar Hammerstein II; and Sidney H. Scheuer, New York businessman and head of the Ethical Culture Society, a "human relations group."

The legislative and operational staff consists of two campaign directors, Maurice Rosenblatt, former Wisconsin newspaperman, and George E. Agree, a former film script writer.

A "Dear Friend" letter on the organization's letterhead dated December 1, 1955, provides a complete list of NCEC's 35-member Board of Advisors as of that date and also carries the names of Rosenblatt and Agree as, respectively, Campaign Director and Executive Secretary. The members of the Board of Advisors are listed as follows:

Paul H. Appleby	Marshall MacDuffie
George Backer	Robert R. Nathan
Stringfellow Barr	George E. Outland
Laird Bell	Charles Rose
George Biddle	Robert W. Ruhl
Henry Seidel Canby	Thibaut de Saint Phalle
George Hamilton Combs	Sidney H. Scheuer
Morris L. Cooke	Arthur M. Schlesinger
Thomas H. Eliot	Harry Louis Selden
Tom Fizdale	Marshall K. Skadden
Alan Green	Edward S. Skillin
Oscar Hammerstein II	Michael Straight
Alvin H. Hansen	Nathan Straus
Mark deWolfe Howe	Telford Taylor

Gardner Jackson
 Donald Jenks
 Susan M. Lee
 Isidore Lipschutz

Gerhard P. Van Arkel
 Walter Walker
 Sumner Welles

A somewhat revised list was inserted into the January 17, 1966, edition of the Congressional Record by Eugene McCarthy, then Senator from Minnesota, in conjunction with NCEC's "annual report on domestic and international issues and problems," originally issued on December 28, 1965. The complete roster of "members of the NCEC" as inserted by Senator McCarthy was as follows:

Sidney H. Scheuer, Chairman, Executive Committee
 George R. Donahue, Vice Chairman
 Susan M. Lee, Secretary
 Charles Rose, Treasurer
 Maurice Rosenblatt, Chairman, Board of Advisers
 George E. Agree, Executive Director

Hannah Arendt
 George Backer
 George Biddle
 George Combs
 Stephen R. Currier
 Tom Fizdale
 Alan Green
 Alvin H. Hansen
 Mark deWolfe Howe
 S. Jay Levy
 Isidore Lipschutz
 Marshall MacDuffie
 Archibald MacLeish
 Hans J. Morgenthau

John Nuveen
 George E. Outland
 Duncan Phillips
 James A. Pike
 George D. Pratt, Jr.
 Robert W. Ruhl
 Thibaut de Saint Phalle
 Francis B. Sayre, Jr.
 David E. Scoll
 Edward S. Skillin
 Michael Straight
 Telford Taylor
 Gerhard P. Van Arkel

NCEC's "Winter, 1968" mailing included a leaflet which listed the organization's officers and members as of that time. This list reflected a number of changes, including the addition of John Nuveen as a second vice chairman, S. Jay Levy as secretary, and Thibaut de Saint Phalle as treasurer. George E. Agree was no longer carried as executive director, having been replaced by Russell D. Hemenway as national director. Hemenway has been extremely prominent in NCEC's operation ever since and still serves as NCEC National Director. The list of members included several carried in previous lists: Backer, Biddle, Combs, Green, Hansen, Lipschutz, Morgenthau, Outland, Pratt, Rose, Rosenblatt, Ruhl, Sayre, Scoll, Skillin, Straight, Taylor, and van Arkel, along with the following additions: Harry Ashmore, Stimson Bullitt, Henry Steele Commager, Fairleigh Dickinson, Jr., Paul Foley, Francis P. Miller, and Laughlin Phillips.

With reference to Agree's departure as Executive Director, an article published in the May 24, 1966, Washington Daily News referred to "Serious internal troubles in the National Committee for an Effective Congress" which had "raised a new re-election peril for harassed

Democratic liberals in Congress -- and a handful of GOP moderates -- who depend heavily on this group for campaign funds." It was further stated that the most adversely affected might be "75 or more House liberals, members of the so-called Democratic Study Group who got most of the \$500,000 in campaign funds raised by NCEC in 1964."

The "internal troubles" to which the article referred had reportedly "led to the departure" of both Agree and Rosenblatt as "the Committee's only two professional staff members." Agree, characterized as "NCEC's chief fund-raiser," had resigned as Executive Director over what he reportedly called "unresolved policy differences." He had also resigned his membership in NCEC. According to the article, Rosenblatt's "long service as NCEC's Washington representative" had ended some weeks previously with the abolition of his post as Chairman of NCEC's Advisory Committee, although he planned "to continue writing and performing research for the group." As noted above, he was still listed as a member of NCEC as of the Winter 1968 mailing.

The article stated that Rosenblatt "said his work as a Washington publicist and lobbyist forced him to devote less time" to the organization, in the light of which the concluding paragraphs of the piece are of particular interest:

Some of NCEC's troubles apparently stem from Mr. Rosenblatt's lobbying activities last year against a so-called "bread tax" bill pushed by the Johnson Administration. Mr. Rosenblatt represented a group of millers bakers /sic/ and others who opposed the measure.

Several members of the Democratic Study Group privately criticized Mr. Rosenblatt for lobbying against an Administration bill.

Mr. /Sidney H./ Scheuer conceded that this criticism of Mr. Rosenblatt was one factor in NCEC's troubles, but insisted he saw "no conflict of interest" in Mr. Rosenblatt's activities.

Mr. Agree refused to confirm or deny reports that one ground he cited in his letter of resignation was NCEC's failure to curb lobbying activities by one of its officials.

That the loss of Agree was caused by the same problem as was the loss of several other members of NCEC whose names were missing from the Winter 1968 roster is indicated by the following passage taken from a letter written by George Agree and published in the January/February 1978 issue of Working Papers, a publication of the Cambridge, Massachusetts, affiliate of the radical Institute for Policy Studies, in answer to an article in the Summer 1976 issue of the magazine which apparently cast him in an unflattering light:

* * * Indeed, it is well understood there /on Capitol Hill/ that I resigned from the NCEC in 1966 precisely because I did not

want to be implicated even indirectly in profit-making use of entree gained as a result of public contributions -- a fact that was reported in the national press. (Hannah Arendt, Stephen Currier, Mark de Wolfe Howe, Archibald MacLeish, and Bishop James Pike resigned at the same time for the same reason.)

NCEC letterheads dated June 1972, August 1973, and April 1974 continued to list Scheuer as Chairman, Commager and Donahue as Vice Chairmen, and Levy as Secretary, along with Hemenway as National Director. As of June 1972, de Saint Phalle was still carried as Treasurer, but as of August 1973 and April 1974, the treasurer was Eileen Kazmierski. On the 1973 and 1974 letterheads, Susan B. King was listed as Washington Director; however, a leaflet attached to the 1974 letter does not carry King's name, listing instead one V. Marie Bass as Washington Assistant. (It is noted that the March 1978 issue of The Washington Monthly lists Susan B. King as a recent appointment to membership on the Consumer Product Safety Commission in the Carter Administration. According to this source, King, prior to her appointment to the CPSC, "was the special assistant to the chairman of the Federal Election Commission" and had also served as "vice president of the Center for Public Financing of Elections and Washington director of" NCEC.)

NCEC's membership as of June 1972 included the following, in addition to the officers already cited:

Harry Ashmore	Isidore Lipschutz
George Backer	Joseph P. McMurray
George Biddle	James Michener
Stimson Bullitt	Francis P. Miller
Robert B. Choate	Hans J. Morgenthau
Joan K. Davidson	Stewart R. Mott
Fairleigh Dickinson, Jr.	George E. Outland
Paul W. Douglas	Laughlin Phillips
Joan Pyle Dufault	George D. Pratt, Jr.
Ruth P. Field	Francis B. Sayre, Jr.
Thomas K. Finletter	David E. Scoll
Paul Foley	Telford Taylor
Robert B. Gimbel	David B. Truman
Alan Green	Barbara Tuchman
Alvin H. Hansen	Gerhard P. Van Arkel
Orin Lehman	George Wald

Of those listed as members of NCEC as of June 1972, the following represented additions made since the Winter 1968 listing: Choate, Davidson, Douglas, Dufault, Field, Finletter, Gimbel, Lehman, McMurray, Michener, Mott, Truman, Tuchman, and Wald. The 1973 and 1974 letterheads reflect the same membership with only minor exceptions. With the addition of Kazmierski as Treasurer, de Saint Phalle was listed in the member category only; also, the names of Susan M. Lee (carried in 1973 as "Susan B. Lee") and Eugene Meyer III were added, while those of Dickinson and Biddle were dropped as of August 1973 and April 1974, respectively.

A "Winter, 1976" NCEC mailing signed jointly by Senator Walter F. Mondale and historian Barbara W. Tuchman reflected further changes in the organization's membership, along with basic continuity in its leadership. Scheuer, Commager, Donahue, Levy, and Hemenway were still listed, respectively, as Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, and National Director; and V. Marie Bass, previously listed as Washington Assistant, was now carried as Washington Director. Eileen Kazmierski was not listed as Treasurer; however, the individual so designated, Eileen K. Fischer, is the same person, a fact demonstrated in a letter dated May 17, 1977, on the NCEC letterhead, written to the Staff Director of the Federal Election Commission and signed by "Eileen M. Kazmierski (Fischer) Treasurer."

NCEC members listed in this mailing included many carried on the letterhead of April 1974: Ashmore, Bullitt, Choate, Davidson, de Saint Phalle, Dufault, Field, Finletter, Foley, Gimbel, Lee, Lehman, Meyer, Michener, Miller, Morgenthau, Mott, Outland, Phillips, Pratt, Sayre, Scoll, Taylor, Truman, Tuchman, Van Arkel, and Wald. Those whose names were no longer listed included Backer, Douglas, Green, Hansen, Lipschutz, and McMurray. There were but two additions: Dominick Etcheverry and Cynthia Harris.

LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERSHIP, 1977

The most recent NCEC mailing used in preparation of this study was disseminated by the organization during 1977. The document is undated except for a letter dated "Fall, 1977" and signed by Mrs. Jane Hart, wife of the late Senator Philip Hart of Michigan, described by Mrs. Hart as "an ardent supporter of the National Committee for an Effective Congress" during the 18 years he served in the U.S. Senate. Again, certain changes were evident. V. Marie Bass was no longer designated Washington Director, having been succeeded by Mark Gersh; and George D. Pratt, Jr., and David E. Scoll were no longer included in the list of members. Of the 35 people listed as members of NCEC, eight had not been listed previously. The complete roster of officers and members of NCEC as carried on this document follows:

Sidney H. Scheuer, Chairman
 Henry Steele Commager, Vice Chairman
 George R. Donahue, Vice Chairman
 S. Jay Levy, Secretary
 Eileen K. Fischer, Treasurer
 Russell D. Hemenway, National Director
 Mark Gersh, Washington Director

Harry Ashmore
 Erni S. Berkley
 Stimson Bullitt
 Robert B. Choate
 Joan K. Davidson
 Thibaut de Saint Phalle
 Joan Pyle Dufault

Eugene Meyer III
 James Michener
 Francis P. Miller
 Hans J. Morgenthau
 Stewart R. Mott
 George E. Outland
 Laughlin Phillips

Dominick Etcheverry
 Ruth P. Field
 Thomas K. Finletter
 Paul Foley
 Robert B. Gimbel
 Cynthia Harris
 Jane Hart
 Carol W. Haussamen
 Dennis Heffernan
 Susan M. Lee
 Orin Lehman

Jane Pratt
 Gary Ratner
 Francis B. Sayre, Jr.
 Thomas Scheuer
 John J. B. Shea
 Telford Taylor
 David B. Truman
 Barbara Tuchman
 Gerhard P. Van Arkel
 George Wald

Of those listed, Berkley, Hart, Haussamen, Heffernan, Jane Pratt, Ratner, Thomas Scheuer, and Shea had been added since the Winter 1976 listing cited earlier. Also, certain additional NCEC staff personnel have been listed in documents filed by the organization with the Federal Election Commission during the latter part of 1977 and early in 1978. For example, an October 31, 1977, NCEC letterhead addressed to Jon W. Plebani, Administrative Assistant to Representative Allen E. Ertel of Pennsylvania, a copy of which is in FEC files, lists Robert Beckel as NCEC National Program Director and Irvin Larner as Chairman of the organization's Finance/Advisory Committee, while NCEC's itemized expenditures statement for the fourth quarter of 1977 as filed with the FEC and dated January 27, 1978, includes sums of money paid to Mark Gersh as NCEC Comptroller and James E. Byron as Research Director.

FINANCE/ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS, 1977

NCEC's "Statement of Organization For a Political Committee," dated November 17, 1977, signed and dated by Eileen K. Fischer as NCEC Treasurer on December 7, 1977, and stamped "Received" by the Federal Election Commission on December 12, 1977, also lists additional staff personnel not named in documents already cited in this study. Along with Hemenway and Fischer, who are listed as National Director and Treasurer, respectively, Marvin Kislak and Michael A. Fernandez are designated Assistant Treasurers. The addresses given are those of offices maintained by NCEC in New York City and Washington, D.C. Attached to this form is a list, presumably complete, of NCEC's "FINANCE/ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS," as follows:

Irvin Larner
 Atlantis, Florida

Barbara Blum
 Atlanta, Georgia

John Chrystal
 Coons Rapids, Iowa

Mark B. Dayton
 Minneapolis, Minnesota

Peter Kontos
 Atlanta, Georgia

Stewart Mott
 New York, New York

Gary P. Ratner
 Couzens Distribution Systems
 Hodgkins, Illinois

Theodore Roosevelt IV
 Brooklyn Heights, New York

Christopher Dewey
Old Wick, New Jersey

Robert Dubinsky
Washington, D.C.

Sophie Engelhard
Boston, Massachusetts

George Fonyo
St. Louis, Missouri

Douglas Goldman
San Francisco, California

William P. Graham
Washington Professional Group
Washington, D.C.

Dennis B. Heffernan
Washington, D.C.

Burton Joseph
Executive Director
Playboy Foundation
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. & Mrs. Stanley Salett
Columbia, Maryland

John C. Sawhill
President, New York University
New York, New York

Herbert Simon
Indianapolis, Indiana

Ms. Babs Sirak
Columbus, Ohio

Ted Thomte
Thomte & Co., Inc.
Boston, Massachusetts

Earl P. Willens
Buchalter, Nemer, Fields &
Savitch
California

BACKGROUND OF SELECTED NCEC MEMBERS

As one might expect, the membership of the National Committee for an Effective Congress interlocks with that of other organizations of a similar bent. Also, NCEC-affiliated people have moved on to government positions, as in 1965 when NCEC member Harry Louis Selden resigned from the organization to assume a position with the United States Office of Education. The employment of former NCEC Washington Director Susan B. King by both the Federal Election Commission and, more recently, the Consumer Product Safety Commission has already been noted. NCEC Finance/Advisory Committee member Barbara Blum, reportedly a confidante of President Carter, currently serves as Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; and in November 1977, it was reported that Mark Gersh, NCEC's most recent Washington Director, was joining the Federal Election Commission as an auditor.

NCEC's members over the years have been drawn from a fairly wide spectrum of professional life. Several have had histories of responsible government service, a number have been prominent executives, and still others have been people of standing in the academic community. As is so often true of such liberal groups, NCEC has also enjoyed the support of a number of men and women with ties to several

of the nation's great tax-exempt charitable foundations. A brief glance at several of NCEC's current members and officials is perhaps illustrative at this point.

NCEC member Harry Ashmore, for example, has a long history of achievement as an editor and as a foundation executive. For many years the executive editor of the Little Rock, Arkansas, Gazette, Ashmore worked in the 1955-1956 Presidential campaign of Adlai Stevenson. From 1960 through 1963, he served as editor-in-chief of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Since 1959, he has been a Senior Fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, one of the nation's premier left-liberal intellectual centers; and since 1954, he has been on the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic. Both the Center and the Fund are creatures of the Ford Foundation. Ashmore, since 1970, has also been Vice Chairman of the Advisory Council of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Robert B. Choate, described in the 39th edition of Who's Who in America as "civic worker, publisher," is a professional civil engineer who has also been a publisher and an officer in a real estate investment firm. He has been a consultant to President Kennedy's National Service Corporation (1962); the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty (1967-1968); the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1969); and the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (1970). In 1969, he served on the administrative staff of the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health. He also served during 1963 as a member of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. In 1973, Choate was a lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania's prestigious Wharton School of Finance. Who's Who lists him as having been a "bd. mem." of NCEC since 1966, although NCEC's literature as disseminated in the Winter 1968 mailing failed to name Choate as either member or official of the organization.

Thomas K. Finletter, a member of NCEC since at least 1972, is an attorney and former ambassador, in addition to being the author of several books on such subjects as foreign policy and corporate reorganization. His government service included a position as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State (1941-1944); consultant to the United States delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco, California (May 1945); chairman of the President's Air Policy Commission (1947-1948); Minister in Charge, Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to the United Kingdom (1948-1949); Secretary of the Air Force (1950-1953); and U.S. Ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1961-1965). Like many other members of the nation's liberal foreign policy community, Finletter is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Francis P. Miller, like Thomas K. Finletter, has also been affiliated with both the National Committee for an Effective Congress and the Council on Foreign Relations. During 1934 and 1935, he served as a field secretary for the Foreign Policy Association, another organization that, like the CFR, has figured prominently in the foreign

policy establishment. Miller served as a consultant to the U.S. Department of State from 1950 through 1952 and as a Special Assistant for Educational and Cultural Affairs from 1961 through 1965. A member of the board of Freedom House since 1958, he has also been a member of the board of the Southern Regional Council since 1959. From 1938 through 1941, he served as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates; he also ran for elective office in 1949 and 1952. Presently listed in Who's Who as a retired government official, Miller has served also as President of the Virginia Council of Churches (1957-1959) and as a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches (1954-1961).

Telford Taylor, a member of NCEC at least since March 1953, is a writer and lawyer who, like other NCEC members cited, has seen considerable government service. During 1933 and 1934, for example, he worked as Assistant Solicitor in the U.S. Department of the Interior. He also served as a senior attorney with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (1934-1935); Associate Counsel, U.S. Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce (1935-1939); Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States (1939-1940); General Counsel, Federal Communications Commission (1940-1942); and as a prosecutor at the Nuremburg War Crimes Trials following World War II. He is the author of several books, including Grand Inquest, regarded as an attack on Congressional investigations of subversive activity.

NCEC member David B. Truman, president of Mount Holyoke College since 1969, served with the Federal Communications Commission and the U.S. Department of Agriculture from 1942 through 1944; in 1945 and 1946, he was on the staff of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey in the Pacific. The author of several volumes on the governmental process, he served from 1959 through 1971 as a member of the Board of Directors of the Social Science Research Council. Like fellow NCEC members Finletter, Miller, and Morgenthau, Truman is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; he is also a past president of the American Political Science Association and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Sidney H. Scheuer, one of the most influential of all NCEC members since the organization's inception (he is characterized in Who's Who as "founder Nat. Com. For Effective Congress, 1948"), is an international trade executive. A senior partner in Scheuer and Company in New York City since 1930, he is also involved in Textures International, Scheuer Associates, Scheuer Consultants, and other firms. He has been a speaker and discussion leader for seminars on international relations and East-West trade at such institutions as Johns Hopkins, New York University, and Columbia University. In 1963, he served as a delegate to the White House Conference on Export Expansion. Scheuer is prominently identified with both the Ethical Culture Society of New York, for which he has been both a trustee and past president, and the International Humanist and Ethical Union, of which he has been the treasurer.

NCEC MEMBERS AND FOUNDATIONS

Scheuer and Truman are also illustrative of another pattern which exists to a certain extent among NCEC's members: an interlocking relationship with several components of the nation's tax-exempt foundation complex. Scheuer, for example, is listed in the most recent edition of the authoritative Foundation Directory as President and Treasurer of the Scheuer Family Foundation, Inc., in New York City. This foundation, according to the Directory, had assets of \$5,552,986 for the year ended November 30, 1975. Truman, on the other hand, serves as a trustee for two foundations, the Russell Sage Foundation and the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., both in New York City. The Russell Sage Foundation reported assets of \$36,125,285 for the year ended September 30, 1975, while the Twentieth Century Fund reported, for the year ended June 30, 1976, assets of \$28,000,000.

Similarly, Stimson Bullitt serves as Secretary-Treasurer of the Bullitt Foundation in Seattle, Washington (assets amounting to \$1,038,974 for the year ended November 30, 1975), while Joan K. Davidson is Vice President of the J. M. Kaplan Fund, Inc., of New York (assets totaling \$23,043,956 for the year ended November 30, 1975). Ruth P. Field serves as Chairman and as a director of the Field Foundation, Inc., also located in New York City; this foundation reported assets of \$16,675,362 for the year ended September 30, 1975. Another NCEC member, Eugene Meyer III, is a director of the Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundation, which maintains offices in Washington, D.C., and which claimed assets for the year ended December 31, 1975, amounting to \$18,257,903.

SELECTED NCEC ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS

The primary focus of NCEC's activities since its inception in 1948 has been the election of what it regards as qualified liberal candidates for the U.S. Congress. This has involved the raising and allocation of money and a number of other, related services such as assistance with media publicity and research. The March 6, 1953, Congressional Quarterly article, for example, included the following summary of NCEC activities as of that time:

The Committee has supported "a bipartisan slate of candidates"; including such Republicans as George Marshall (when he ran against Democratic Sen. Pat McCarran in Nevada), Sens. Charles W. Tobey (N.H.), Ralph E. Flanders (Vt.), John Sherman Cooper (Ky.), and Frederick G. Payne (Maine). On the Democratic side, it has backed former Sens. William Benton (Conn.), Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Wyo.), Blair Moody (Mich.) and others.

Altogether, Committee officials say, it has helped elect 14 Democrats and eight Republicans.

The Committee has also been active along other lines. In 1949 it sponsored two broadcasts by Harold Ickes in New York, which reportedly were said by ex-President Truman to have been responsible for Sen. Herbert H. Lehman's (D) victory over John Foster Dulles in the Senatorial race.

In 1952 the group underwrote the Harvard Civil Liberties Appeal, signed by three Harvard professors (Mark De Howe /sic/, Archibald MacLeish and Arthur M. Schlesinger) on behalf of the candidacies of Benton, Gov. Henry F. Schricker (Ind.) and Thomas E. Fairchild (Wis.). /Emphasis in original./

The same article stated that "officials of the organization are working to 'encourage new realism in dealing with Congress on liberal issues'" and quoted an unnamed NCEC "official" as saying that "Where foreign lobbies have tried to manipulate Congress, the Committee has alerted certain Congressmen and given them specific material as ammunition." In addition, according to the CQ article,

The Committee says it has had a role in "instigating and following through on" such Congressional action as publication of the record of the Nuremburg trials, and that it stimulated the 1951 China Lobby debate. (CQ Almanac, Vol. VII, p. 251.)

While NCEC does not regard itself as a lobbying group, it did devote considerable energy during 1954 to the controversy surrounding the Senate vote to censure the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. Scheuer's statement to the Senate Special Committee in 1956 included the following passage on this facet of the organization's efforts:

We do not consider ourselves a lobby. The only item of legislation before either House in connection with which we have ever been active, was the resolution of censure of Senator McCarthy. At that time we received numerous requests from Members of Congress and the press to provide such background and information as we might have. We were also asked to compile material and organize research data in such a way that it could be readily understood. To this end we retained both volunteer and paid counsel and provided such material as was requested. At that time we also indicated in one issue of our newsletter, Congressional Report, that mail to Members of the Senate might be desirable, and we provided facilities in connection with a telegram to the Members of the Senate by 23 prominent Americans.

The telegram about which Scheuer spoke had been sent to every member of the Senate on July 23, 1954, and was characterized in the July 1, 1967; Human Events article as "asking for support of measures which would stifle congressional investigations of communism." The telegram, according to the July 30, 1954, issue of the Congressional Record, was signed by the following people:

Douglas M. Black
Cass Canfield
Will Clayton
John Cowles
L. W. Douglas

Fred Lazarus, Jr.
J. P. Marquand
Ralph McGill
Reinhold Niebuhr
J. R. Parten

Samuel Goldwyn
 Erwin N. Griswold
 Albert J. Hayes
 Paul Helms
 Paul Hoffman
 Palmer Hoyt
 Chester J. Laroche

Frederick D. Patterson
 Howard C. Paterson
 Walter Reuther
 Spyros P. Skouras
 Henry M. Wriston
 J. D. Zellerbach

It is noted that Hoffman, in addition to signing the above-cited telegram, reportedly contributed approximately \$1,000 to NCEC to help pay the legal fees in conjunction with the preparation of the specifications included in the resolution of censure introduced by Senator Ralph Flanders of Vermont. While Scheuer claimed during his 1956 testimony before the Senate Special Committee that NCEC had not originated the censure idea, NCEC obviously devoted a considerable amount of both time and money to the effort. The Human Events account stated that Chicago Tribune columnist Willard Edwards estimated "that NCEC spent more than \$57,000 in" this campaign, but, according to an article published in Our Sunday Visitor on December 16, 1958, and reportedly based on a report filed by NCEC under requirements of the Corrupt Practices Act, NCEC actually "contributed a total of \$73,372 to the censure of the late Senator McCarthy." At all events, NCEC clearly claims a major share of the credit for bringing the censure resolution to fruition, as shown by the following passage taken from the organization's Winter 1976 mailing:

The year is 1952: The radical right is in its heyday. Senator Joseph McCarthy and his anti-communist crusade is /sic/ in high gear. NCEC decides something must be done. Working behind the scenes with NCEC-backed Senators, the Committee for an Effective Congress helped engineer his censure. On December 2, 1954, the Senate votes 67-22 to censure McCarthy.

The mailing then goes on to quote a statement by the Senator himself that "The NCEC masterminded the censure of Joe McCarthy." The intensity with which the NCEC viewed the whole McCarthy controversy may perhaps best be gauged by reading the following quotation attributed to NCEC National Director Russell Hemenway in an article published in the March 24, 1971, editions of the Washington Post:

* * * We put the genie back in the bottle. We fought him and everything he stood for and we won. How we were cowed by this man who was obviously psychopathic, and almost destroyed by him.

NCEC has summarized its other accomplishments through the years in several of its mailings, as, for example, in this extract from a leaflet disseminated as part of the organization's Winter 1968 mailing:

NCEC's accomplishments are visible in its election record, the most successful of any organized campaign committee in American politics; in the long struggle against McCarthyism; in helping to found and develop the Democratic Study Group, the influential group of liberal Democrats who ended the bottleneck of vital legislation in the House Rules Committee; in its role as

liaison between members of both parties who authored the Civil Rights Act; and in the research facilities it has provided to Congress.

NCEC concerned itself actively with opposition to the war in Vietnam and supported candidates who shared this opposition. In the Winter 1968 letter, for example, Tuchman and Commager wrote of "the peril of the expanding military venture in Vietnam" and warned of what they called "the Right Wing and War Hawk elements of both parties." In the June 1972 letter, they wrote of "ill-conceived, wasteful, dangerous ventures" and stated that "Congress offers our only hope for cutting off funds for the war machine." A leaflet circulated with the same letter spoke again of "the Committee's central role" in, for example, "founding the liberal House Democratic Study Group" and "in the continuing fight to reduce disproportionate military influence."

NCEC's Winter 1976 mailing sheds further light on the specifics of the organization's involvement in opposition to the war in Vietnam and to those political leaders identified with it:

The year is 1968: The nation is torn asunder by the war in Vietnam. The NCEC says it must stop. NCEC leaders meet with Eugene McCarthy to urge him to challenge President /Lyndon B./ Johnson for the Democratic nomination. The NCEC withdraws its support sadly and reluctantly from liberals who still support the war, and throws its weight behind anti-war candidates. Then, it follows by joining a lobby to cut off funds for the war effort.

According to the leaflet circulated with the June 1972 letter, NCEC also "initiated legislation to reduce campaign broadcast spending" and, when it was vetoed by President Nixon in 1970, "became the prime mover for committed bipartisan reform action in 1971-72." The leaflet continued by saying that in "January we saw our goal realized with the passage of" the Federal Elections Campaign Act, described as "the first election reform bill in half a century."

NCEC's August 1973 and April 1974 mailings spoke urgently of the Watergate and Nixon impeachment issues. The 1974 letter spoke approvingly of how "more and more individual Congressmen are talking openly about grasping the nettle of impeachment." The 1973 letter also spoke of "White House obstruction" of Congress through the veto power and stated that "We must reelect the /Alan/ Cranstons, /Richard/ Schweikers, /Adlai/ Stevensons, /Charles/ Mathiases, and /Frank/ Churches" to create a "real progressive majority to defeat White House obstruction." NCEC was, according to the April 1974 letter, "encouraging individual representatives to resolve the impeachment impasse." In its Winter 1976 mailing, NCEC later spoke of 1974 as follows:

* * * Richard Nixon clings determinedly to power. The NCEC believes his impeachment is necessary for the health of the nation. The people must decide. The NCEC develops a new campaign technique, a consortium of political consultants to help any candidate who needs and wants such help. In six

special elections before Nixon's impeachment hearings, NCEC-backed candidates win. In 49 general election contests after the hearings, 35 NCEC-supported candidates are voted into Congress.

As a result of the 1974 elections, according to the Winter 1976 Mondale-Tuchman letter, more than "70 progressive new members of Congress" were elected, "resolved to act in the national interest." The national interest, in their view, meant that

Congress blocked reentry into Vietnam, halted American intervention in Angola, cancelled the oil depletion allowance, stopped the geometric expansion of the military budget, and brought about many long overdue reforms in the Congress. * * * *

NCEC's Winter 1976 mailing included a tabulation of votes taken by Congress from 1954 through 1977 which are viewed by the committee as indicia of progress. This tabulation is instructive, both from the standpoint of its indication of NCEC's ideological perspective and from the standpoint of the organization's impact on the formation of public policy by the nation's elected representatives. So that the reader may gain the fullest appreciation of these issues, the NCEC accounting, as it appears in the committee's own literature, is set forth at this point in its entirety:

<u>The Time</u>	<u>The Issue</u>	<u>The Key Vote</u>	<u>How NCEC-Supported Senators or Representatives Voted</u>
1954	McCarthy Censure--NCEC-supported Senators lead the effort to censure the conduct of Sen. Joe McCarthy.	67-22	22-0 against McCarthy
1961	Congressional reform--The House votes to expand the House Rules Committee, breaking up the conservative bottleneck of progressive legislation.	217-212	38-1 for reform
1963	Medicare--The Senate passes Medicare, insuring health protection for the aged and the needy.	49-44	37-4 for Medicare
1965	Voting Rights--Congress passes the Voting Rights Act of 1965 guaranteeing electoral access to minority groups. The key vote comes when the Senate ends the Southern filibuster. (2/3s needed for passage)	70-30	31-1 to end the filibuster
1970	End the Bombing of Cambodia--Following Nixon's decision to bomb in Cambodia, the Senate passes the Cooper-Church amendment to cut off funds for Cambodian air attacks.	58-37	43-2 against Cambodian bombing
1970	The Carswell Nomination--The Senate rejects Richard Nixon's nomination of Harold Carswell to the Supreme Court.	51-45	32-1 against Carswell
1973	Busting the Highway Trust--The Senate acts to open the use of highway trust funds for mass transit.	49-44	38-10 for mass transit
1973	War Powers Act--Both Houses of Congress override Nixon's veto of War Powers Act reaffirming Congressional authority over military ventures. (2/3s needed for passage)	284-135 (House) 75-18 (Senate)	89-0 (House) 44-1 (Senate)

The Time	The Issue	The Key Vote	How NCEC-Supported Senators or Repre- sentatives Voted
1975	Oil Depletion Allowance--The House of Representatives ends the oil depletion allowance.	248-163	101-10 to end the allowance
1975	Strip Mining--The House attempts to override the Presidential veto of strip-mining controls. (2/3s needed for passage)	278-143	109-3 to override the veto
1975	Congressional Budget Control--The House of Representatives passes the first major test of spending limitations and priorities.	200-196	91-14 for budget control
1976	Weapons Sales--The Senate votes to limit and control Defense Department and private industry sales of weapons sales /sic/ to foreign governments.	51-35	29-5 to limit weapons sales
1976	Tax Reform--The House approves a major step toward equitable tax distribution.	229-181	97-8 for tax reform
1976	B-1 Bomber--The Senate votes to delay funding for the B-1 until the new President takes office.	44-37	34-4 to stop B-1 funding
1977	Natural Gas Deregulation--The House defeats efforts to deregulate the price of natural gas.	227-199	110-24 against deregulation

The foregoing summaries of NCEC positions on certain key legislative questions are cited to illustrate what is clearly one of NCEC's principal activities: the influencing, through the election of liberal Congressional candidates, of the formation of national public policy. While NCEC does not describe itself as a lobbying organization as that term is generally construed, it is nevertheless true that its support for key candidates for the House and Senate, along with its other related activities, has resulted in a degree of success that would probably be the envy of many of those who do operate on a full-time basis as declared lobbyists.

NCEC AND THE "RADICAL RIGHT"

It has already been demonstrated that NCEC professes great concern over the activities of those it regards as "extremists" (or, as NCEC member Jane Hart expressed it in her Fall 1977 letter, "the right wing lobby"). NCEC's Winter 1976 mailing was devoted in large measure to an attack on the conservative Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, while its mailing in the Fall of 1977 stressed a presumed threat from a number of conservative political action organizations, most notably Governor Ronald Reagan's Citizens for the Republic. This emphasis has been a fairly consistent one throughout NCEC's existence.

To cite an earlier example, the Washington Post for December 26, 1955, carried an article summarizing a report published in the NCEC's newsletter, Congressional Report, warning of the danger posed by a resurgence of the so-called "radical right," both in Congress and among private groups. Of particular concern were such men as the late Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which at that time was known to be making a preliminary examination of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic, and Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, then planning a major investigation of possible Communist Party penetration of several prominent newspapers. Others singled out for attack included columnists George Sokolsky and David Lawrence, along with such publications as National Review and Human Events.

This NCEC effort received wide publicity in the columns of such papers as the New York Post, the New York Daily News, the Washington Daily News, and even the official newspaper of the Communist Party, the Daily Worker, which devoted space in its edition for December 29, 1955, to a denunciation of the Eastland Committee probe, coupled with extensive recitation of NCEC's own charges.

NCEC's opposition to political figures identified with anti-Communist investigations was by no means limited to the case of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. Following its denunciation of "radical right" individuals and groups in 1955, the organization moved during 1956 into a campaign of vigorous, systematic opposition to the reelection

to the Senate of Senators Herman Welker of Idaho and Everett Dirksen of Illinois. Welker was characterized in NCEC's Congressional Report for February 17, 1956, as "a hard-core specimen of the 'radical right'" who was "McCarthy's floor manager during the special censure session."

As of the issuance of NCEC's newsletter, it was thought that Senator Welker might be opposed for reelection by former Senator Glen Taylor, who was running in the Democratic primary in Idaho. Taylor was described by NCEC as having been "Henry Wallace's running mate on the ticket of the communist-infiltrated Progressive Party in 1948." As it developed, the Democratic candidate turned out to be Frank Church, now a major power in the U.S. Senate who has gained considerable prominence through his investigations attacking certain activities of the Central Intelligence Agency. NCEC even established a separate entity, the Clean Politics Appeal, which involved a special fund and the placing of advertisements in several national publications, including the New York Times, late in 1956 in support of Church and another candidate, Richard Stengel, running in Illinois to unseat incumbent Republican Senator Everett Dirksen. The Appeal characterized Dirksen as "one of the most dispensable members of the Senate."

NCEC's concern with supposed radicals of the right apparently has not carried over at all times to those of the left. The affiliations of certain NCEC-connected people with leftist causes have already been noted, but it appears that the organization has itself been tied to some groups and causes which many regard as distinctly leftist in character.

On June 17, 1972, for example, a copyrighted article in Congressional Quarterly discussed in detail the Congress Project then being conducted by Ralph Nader and his apparatus. The article stated that such groups as Common Cause and NCEC "have been 'most cooperative' about opening their files to the Nader project," citing a statement made by the project's staff director, Robert C. Fellmuth. The August 1973 NCEC Congressional Report also revealed that "NCEC has arranged with the Ralph Nader Congress Project to make the Project's profiles on individual members of Congress available" at a cost of \$1.00 per profile.

One final example is of special interest. According to the NCEC's report for the first quarter of 1977 as filed with the Federal Election Commission, there was still outstanding on NCEC's books a debt in the amount of \$1,500. This money had been loaned as an "advance for postage" on March 11, 1974, to the "Wounded Knee Offense/Defense Comm., Wounded Knee, South Dakota."

NCEC'S POLITICAL METHODOLOGY

NCEC's various legislative and other concerns over the course of its existence would, of course, be entirely meaningless were it not for the organization's success in electoral politics. As we have

seen, the Committee views 1974 as a particularly successful year politically; and the procedures adopted by the organization during that campaign form the core of NCEC's political campaign methodology. According to the NCEC's Winter 1976 material, the following were the results of the group's efforts in 1974: "5 primary winners out of 5 candidates assisted -- 100%;" "35 general election victories out of 49 candidates assisted -- 71%;" "23 incumbents defeated -- the largest number of defeats since 1966." These successes allegedly "made the difference in toppling the seniority system and reforming the House rules."

At the same time, this operation, which involved the use of political consultants who were sent out to help with such activities as polling, radio and television production, fundraising, and campaign management, cost a claimed "\$125,000 -- or barely \$2,500 per Congressional race."

As of late 1977, NCEC was claiming an even higher percentage of victories, based on the combined successes of 1974 and 1976. While the cost per Congressional race remained a claimed \$2,500, the organization was now writing that during 1974 and 1976, "NCEC-supported candidates won 110 of 149 general election victories -- a 74% average," and that "NCEC candidates defeated 37 reactionary incumbents -- including obstructionists like Joel Broyhill, Earl Landgrebe, Charles Sandman, Donald Clancy and Burt Talcott." All in all, by NCEC's own reckoning, "NCEC was outspent by right-wing and special interest political action committees by more than 35 to 1 -- but NCEC candidates beat the right-wing in better than 7 out of 10 races."

Among current members of the House of Representatives who are counted among NCEC's 1974 successes are Tom Harkin of Iowa, Bob Traxler of Michigan, and Gladys Spellman of Maryland. NCEC describes its methods in bringing about Harkin's upset victory in the following terms:

Conventional wisdom and a poll showing him 15 points behind said that Tom Harkin couldn't win against Bill Scherle, an ultraconservative Iowa Congressman. NCEC's Joe Rothstein designed a communications plan for Harkin to get massive early visibility with paid TV in mid-September and numerous free media methods of questioning whether Scherle's record represented the people. Bob Squier took over and produced TV spots built around "work days" where Tom would spend a full day as a foundry worker, farmer or one of the many other occupations in his district.

NCEC urged the campaign to build everything around the "work day" theme -- including a "housewife workday" in a family of 5 kids which dominated the media for the last several days of the campaign. NCEC time-buyer Jan Ziska used limited funds to strategically target the impact of paid air time.

The Harkin team did everything else right -- even a crossword puzzle as a handout -- and got 51% of the vote, one of the year's biggest upsets.

The group's description of its decisive role in the Spellman campaign is equally instructive. After describing Spellman as having "a twenty year record of outstanding public service," as opposed to her opponent, who was characterized only as having a "staunch conservative leaning," it is stated that

An early poll had shown Spellman with a substantial lead, but a Washington Post poll a few months before the election indicated that although Spellman was perceived as a viable candidate, her campaign organization was not reaching the uncommitted voters.

To meet this problem, NCEC sent consultants Bob Beckel and Mike McClister to manage and reorganize the campaign staff. A new poll taken and analyzed within 36 hours confirmed an increasing number of uncommitted voters. To reach these voters and to utilize the poll's finding that Spellman was perceived as an able and experienced public official, Beckel and McClister revised the campaign strategy to emphasize her record of public service. A detailed brochure was developed, and NCEC sent Bob Squier to produce radio spots with citizens who had been helped by Spellman in the past.

Finally, NCEC consultants organized a massive "get-out-the-vote" effort, and despite a vicious slander campaign against her in the closing weeks, Spellman won by 4,000 votes.

The impact which NCEC's techniques had on Mrs. Spellman's campaign is clearly indicated by her own statement, frequently quoted in NCEC literature: "It would be folly and absolutely ludicrous of me to think that your organization was not largely responsible for my victory."

NCEC-SUPPORTED CANDIDATES THROUGH 1964

Reference has already been made to certain candidates supported by NCEC in 1948 and at other points during the early and mid-1950's, including the "Clean Politics Appeal" created by the organization for the 1956 Senatorial campaigns of Frank Church in Idaho and Richard Stengel in Illinois. (The "Clean Politics Appeal" was carried in major publications, including the September 16, 1956, editions of the New York Times, where it bore the signatures of Archibald MacLeish and Elmer Davis. The Times advertisement stated "Administration costs are being paid by the National Committee for an Effective Congress.") According to an article in the Washington Daily News for November 2, 1956, NCEC had endorsed a total of 13 candidates for the House and Senate in the 1956 elections:

Senate

Frank Church (Democrat, Idaho)
 John Sherman Cooper (Republican, Kentucky)
 R. M. Evans (Democrat, Iowa)
 Wayne L. Morse (Democrat, Oregon)
 Richard Stengel (Democrat, Illinois)
 Claude Wickard (Democrat, Indiana)
 Alexander Wiley (Republican Wisconsin)

House of Representatives

William H. Ayres (Republican, Ohio)
 James G. Fulton (Republican, Pennsylvania)
 John W. Hesselton (Republican, Massachusetts)
 Eugene McCarthy (Democrat, Minnesota)
 Gracie Pfof (Democrat, Idaho)
 Hugh Scott (Republican, Pennsylvania)

An article published in the July 1, 1967, issue of Human Events referred to several candidates supported by NCEC in the 1960 elections:

In 1960 NCEC's chief beneficiaries were Senate candidates Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.), \$4,550; Robert L. Knous (D.-Colo.), \$9,200; George McGovern (D.-S.D.), \$15,150; Pat McNamara (D.-Mich.), \$5,500; Lee Metcalf (D.-Mont.), \$5,500; Maurine B. Neuberger (D.-Ore.), \$2,125; Quentin N. Burdick (D.-S.D.), \$5,000; and Frank Theis (D.-Kan.), \$9,300.

In the 1964 elections, according to the Human Events account, 62 of the 70 candidates for the House and Senate who were supported by NCEC were elected. NCEC "gave money to 46 Democrats and 24 Republicans -- the total of which was 'in excess of' \$500,000." Candidates supported by the organization in 1964 included the following:

Senate

Ross Bass (Democrat, Tennessee)
 Genevieve Blatt (Democrat, Pennsylvania)
 Roy Elson (Democrat, Arizona)
 Fred R. Harris (Democrat, Oklahoma)
 Philip A. Hart (Democrat, Michigan)
 Vance Hartke (Democrat, Indiana)
 Eugene J. McCarthy (Democrat, Minnesota)
 Gale W. McGee (Democrat, Wyoming)
 Joseph M. Montoya (Democrat, New Mexico)
 Frank E. Moss (Democrat, Utah)
 Edmund S. Muskie (Democrat, Maine)
 William Proxmire (Democrat, Wisconsin)
 Hugh Scott (Republican, Pennsylvania)
 Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (Democrat, New Jersey)
 Ralph W. Yarborough (Democrat, Texas)
 Stephen M. Young (Democrat, Ohio)

House of Representatives

John Brademas (Democrat, Indiana)
 Hugh L. Carey (Democrat, New York)
 James C. Corman (Democrat, California)
 John C. Culver (Democrat, Iowa)
 Robert N. Giaimo (Democrat, Connecticut)
 George W. Grider (Democrat, Tennessee)
 Lee H. Hamilton (Democrat, Indiana)
 Ralph R. Harding (Democrat, Idaho)
 Ken Hechler (Democrat, West Virginia)
 Augustus C. Johnson (Democrat, Virginia)
 David S. King (Democrat, Utah)
 Walter H. Moeller (Democrat, Ohio)
 Karl O'Lessker (Democrat, Indiana)
 Alec G. Olson (Democrat, Minnesota)
 Henry S. Reuss (Democrat, Wisconsin)
 George M. Rhodes (Democrat, Pennsylvania)
 Teno Roncalio (Democrat, Wyoming)
 J. Edward Roush (Democrat, Indiana)
 Jack C. Toole (Democrat, Montana)
 Lionel Van Deerlin (Democrat, California)
 R. Blaine Whipple (Democrat, Oregon)
 Jerome Ziegler (Democrat, Illinois)

NCEC-SUPPORTED CANDIDATES, 1966-1970

A leaflet circulated in NCEC's Winter 1968 mailing stated that "In the 1966 Senate races the following NCEC endorsed candidates were successful:" Clinton P. Anderson (D.-N.M.), E. L. Bartlett (D.-Alaska), Fred Harris (D.-Okla.), Thomas J. McIntyre (D.-N.H.), Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.), Claiborne Pell (D.-R.I.), John Sparkman (D.-Ala.), William B. Spong (D.-Va.), J. Caleb Boggs (R.-Del.), Edward Brooke (R.-Mass.), Clifford P. Case (R.-N.J.), John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.), and Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Maine). The same leaflet further stated that "In the 1966 House races 38 Democrats and 17 Republicans endorsed by the NCEC were successful."

Both the October 10, 1966, New Leader and the October 20, 1966, New York Review of Books carried an advertisement signed by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy and historian Henry Steele Commager in behalf of the NCEC-Special Fund; the "cost of this advertisement and administrative expenses" were paid by NCEC. The appeal was couched in terms of

support for men whose quality and courage will preserve the vital Center: Senate candidates like Lee Metcalf in Montana, Ralph Harding in Idaho, Frank Morrison in Nebraska.

House candidates like George Senner in Arizona, James Corman and John Tunney in California, Roy McVicker in Colorado, John Culver in Iowa, Gale Schisler in Illinois, Weston Vivian in Michigan, James Howard in New Jersey, Lester Wolff in New York, John Gilligan in Ohio, Neiman Craley in Pennsylvania and Lynn Stalbaum in Wisconsin.

Among candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives supported financially by NCEC in 1966 were the following:

Senate

Clinton P. Anderson (Democrat, New Mexico)
 Ross Bass (Democrat, Tennessee)
 J. Caleb Boggs (Republican, Delaware)
 Edward W. Brooke (Republican, Massachusetts)
 Clifford P. Case (Republican, New Jersey)
 John Sherman Cooper (Republican, Kentucky)
 Robert B. Duncan (Democrat, Oregon)
 Ralph R. Harding (Democrat, Idaho)
 Fred R. Harris (Democrat, Oklahoma)
 Thomas J. McIntyre (Democrat, New Hampshire)
 Lee Metcalf (Democrat, Montana)
 Walter F. Mondale (Democrat-Farmer-Labor, Minnesota)
 Claiborne Pell (Democrat, Rhode Island)
 Teno Roncalio (Democrat, Wyoming)
 John J. Sparkman (Democrat, Alabama)
 William B. Spong, Jr. (Democrat, Virginia)

House of Representatives

George C. Rawlings, Jr. (Democrat, Virginia)

The NCEC Winter 1968 letter signed by Barbara W. Tuchman and Henry Steele Commager stated that "the war in Vietnam and the growing disquiet over domestic problems" were the "two great issues" before the American people and that "most of those men who sounded the alarm are up for re-election in 1968." Specifically cited were Republican Senators George Aiken of Vermont and Thruston Morton of Kentucky, along with Democratic Senators Frank Church of Idaho, Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, Ernest Gruening of Alaska, George McGovern of South Dakota, Wayne Morse of Oregon, and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin.

On August 16, 1970, an NCEC advertisement appeared in the New York Times listing several candidates for the U.S. Senate then being supported by NCEC. The list included both challengers and incumbents. The text of the advertisement stated that the organization's "assistance is used in the most critical and marginal races in which there is a clear philosophic difference between the candidates" and that "This year, NCEC resources have been used in the campaigns of" incumbent Senators Burdick of North Dakota, Gore of Tennessee, Hart of Michigan, Hartke of Indiana, Moss of Utah, Montoya of New Mexico, Williams of New Jersey, and Yarborough of Texas. Among the challengers listed were Joe Duffey of Connecticut, Sam Grossman of Arizona, Phil Hoff of Vermont, Joe Josephson of Alaska, Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, and John Tunney of California.

Howard Lee (D N.C.), \$2,000
 Thomas Manton (D N.Y.), \$5,000
 Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. (R Calif.), \$2,000
 David R. Obey (D Wis.), \$2,000
 Wayne Owens (D Utah), \$6,200
 Paul S. Sarbanes (D Md.), \$5,000

The aid to Jenrette's campaign is of some interest when taken in conjunction with a column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak which appeared in the November 16, 1972, edition of the Washington Post. According to Evans and Novak, Jenrette's victory in the Democratic primary election of that year (he was later defeated by the Republican candidate in the November general election) was attributable to "a long-range campaign" which was "covertly planned and conducted" by NCEC "to purge the bipartisan conservative oligarchy that has controlled the House for more than a generation." The following paragraph from this column is of particular interest:

Hemenway's operation was at its best in purging right-wing Rep. John McMillan of South Carolina, impregnable barrier to home rule for the preponderantly black District of Columbia. NCEC helped recruit, advise and finance the Democratic primary campaign against him by state Rep. John Jenrettee /sic/ -- all covertly. Had Jenrette's alliance with a New York-based liberal action group been disclosed, he would have been doomed in his rural tobacco-growing district.

NCEC-SUPPORTED CANDIDATES, 1974-1976

NCEC's record of success, as claimed in general terms in the organization's Winter 1976 mailing, has already been cited in the immediately-preceding section of this study. Specifically, a leaflet attached to NCEC's April 1974 letter listed the following members of the U.S. Senate as being "some of the most independent voices: Birch Bayh (D-Ind), Frank Church (D-Idaho), Alan Cranston (D-Cal), Tom Eagleton (D-Mo), George McGovern (D-SD), Charles Mathias (R-Md), Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis), Richard Schweiker (R-Pa), Adlai Stevenson III (D-Ill)." Several other members of the Senate received NCEC's endorsement in 1974. As listed in Congress and the Nation, Volume IV, 1973-1976 (published and copyrighted by Congressional Quarterly in 1977), they included, in addition to Birch Bayh, Gary W. Hart (D-Colo.), Wendell H. Ford (D-Ky.), and Mike Gravel (D-Alaska).

The same source reflects NCEC's endorsement for the House candidacies of Andrew Maguire (D-N.J.) and Floyd Fithian (D-Ind.), while the June 15, 1974, edition of Congressional Quarterly reported that "in four of the special congressional elections" early in 1974, NCEC "gave \$1,000 each to Representatives John P. Murtha (D Pa.), Richard F. Vander Veen (D Mich.), Thomas A. Luken (D Ohio), and Bob Traxler

(D Mich.)." The organization's Winter 1976 mailing included, as part of the discussion of its 1974 campaign successes, a series of statements attesting to NCEC's effectiveness in their behalf that were attributed to Representatives Gladys Spellman of Maryland, James Florio of New Jersey, Jim Santini of Nevada, and Bob Carr of Michigan, all of whom are Democrats. Accounts taken from the same document and recounting the methods by which NCEC intervened in behalf of both Spellman and Tom Harkin of Iowa during the 1974 campaign have already been cited.

Included in the Winter 1976 mailing was a purported "actual reproduction of direct mail solicitation by the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress" containing the pictures of 35 members of the House of Representatives described by NCEC as "Their 35 'enemies'...Our 35 Friends" in the 1976 elections. The 35 Representatives listed were:

Thomas Ashley, Democrat, Ohio
 Alvin Baldus, Democrat, Wisconsin
 Max Baucus, Democrat, Montana
 Berkley Bedell, Democrat, Iowa
 Michael Blouin, Democrat, Iowa
 Robert Carr, Democrat, Michigan
 Norman D'Amours, Democrat, New Hampshire
 Thomas Downey, Democrat, New York
 Robert Drinan, Democrat, Massachusetts
 Robert Edgar, Democrat, Pennsylvania
 Glen English, Democrat, Oklahoma
 David Evans, Democrat, Indiana
 Joseph Fisher, Democrat, Virginia
 Harold Ford, Democrat, Tennessee
 Tom Harkin, Democrat, Iowa
 Herbert Harris, Democrat, Virginia
 Philip Hayes, Democrat, Indiana
 Allan Howe, Democrat, Utah
 Andrew Jacobs, Democrat, Indiana
 John Jenrette, Democrat, South Carolina
 Martha Keys, Democrat, Kansas
 John Krebs, Democrat, California
 Matthew McHugh, Democrat, New York
 K. Gunn McKay, Democrat, Utah
 Abner Mikva, Democrat, Illinois
 Richard Ottinger, Democrat, New York
 Edward Pattison, Democrat, New York
 J. Edward Roush, Democrat, Indiana
 Martin Russo, Democrat, Illinois
 Patricia Schroeder, Democrat, Colorado
 Philip Sharp, Democrat, Indiana
 Gladys Spellman, Democrat, Maryland
 Richard VanderVeen, Democrat, Michigan
 Timothy Wirth, Democrat, Colorado
 James Weaver, Democrat, Oregon

Three of the 35 -- Drinan, Schroeder, and Fisher -- were singled out for special attention in the mailing, which listed what NCEC saw as some of their principal accomplishments as members of the House. With reference to "Father Bob" Drinan, for example, the document stated:

- First Congressman to introduce a resolution of impeachment against Richard Nixon...in July of 1973.
- Leading opponent of electronic surveillance of private citizens.
- Central figure in the abolition of the House Internal Security Committee.
- Drafter of key provisions of the 1975 Voting Rights Act.
- Primary sponsor of amnesty legislation for Vietnam war resisters.
- Leader of the movement to abolish capital punishment.

As of May 1976, candidates for the House of Representatives supported by NCEC reportedly included the following incumbents and challengers:

Incumbents

Robert Carr, Democrat, Michigan
 Tom Downey, Democrat, New York
 Robert Edgar, Democrat, Pennsylvania
 David Evans, Democrat, Indiana
 Floyd Fithian, Democrat, Indiana
 Mark Hannaford, Democrat, California
 Tom Harkin, Democrat, Iowa
 Elliott Levitas, Democrat, Georgia
 Stanley Lundine, Democrat, New York
 Matt McHugh, Democrat, New York
 Anthony Moffett, Democrat, Connecticut
 Steve Neal, Democrat, North Carolina
 Phil Sharp, Democrat, Indiana
 Jim Weaver, Democrat, Oregon
 Tim Wirth, Democrat, Colorado

Challengers

Adam Benjamin, Democrat, Indiana
 David Bonior, Democrat, Michigan
 Anthony Celebrezze, Democrat, Ohio
 Marilyn Clancy, Democrat, Illinois
 Tom Corcoran, Republican, Illinois
 Pat Fullinwider, Democrat, Arizona
 George Grayson, Democrat, Virginia
 Jim Mattox, Democrat, Texas
 John McDonald, Democrat, Ohio
 Don Pease, Democrat, Ohio
 Steve Rapp, Democrat, Iowa
 Burt Rudisell, Democrat, North Carolina
 Jack Schramm, Democrat, Missouri

Bob Washington, Democrat, Virginia
Howard Wolpe, Democrat, Michigan

It is noted that of the challengers listed above, five are serving as members of the House during the 95th Congress: Benjamin, Bonior, Corcoran, Mattox, and Pease.

Further light on NCEC's efforts during the 1976 elections is shed by the following brief summary included in an article, "How the Interest Groups Did in Promoting Their Interests," published in the November 6, 1976, issue of the National Journal:

The National Committee for an Effective Congress, another liberal group, gave funds or organizational help to approximately 60 incumbents and 50 non-incumbents. Its winners included /Ohio Democratic Senator Howard/ Metzenbaum, /Maryland Democratic Senatorial candidate Paul/ Sarbanes and James R. Sasser, the Tennessee Democrat /presently serving as junior Senator from Tennessee/; among its losing recipients were Rep. William J. Green, D-Pa., who ran for the vacant Pennsylvania Senate seat; Rep. J. Edward Roush, D-Ind.; and Rep. Richard F. Vander Veen, D-Mich.

NCEC-SUPPORTED CANDIDATES, 1977-1978

A Federal Election Commission printout dated February 3, 1978, reflects that during 1977, NCEC supported the following candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives with contributions amounting to a total of \$15,247:

Senate

William D. Hathaway, Maine, \$249

House of Representatives

Berkley Bedell, Iowa, \$779
Michael T. Blouin, Iowa, \$593
Marilyn D. Clancy, Illinois, \$600
Thomas J. Downey, New York, \$388
Robert Eckhardt, Texas, \$37
Allen E. Ertel, Pennsylvania, \$1,462
David Walter Evans, Indiana, \$800
Gary Familian, California, \$114
Floyd J. Fithian, Indiana, \$100
James J. Florio, New Jersey, \$31
Charlie Friedman, Florida, \$786
Martin Frost, Texas, \$2,562
Mark W. Hannaford, California, \$1,277
Thomas A. Luken, Ohio, \$108
Stanley N. Lundine, New York, \$780
James Albon Mattox, Texas, \$399

Anthony Toby Moffett, Connecticut, \$338
 Stephen L. Neal, North Carolina, \$62
 Donald J. Pease, Ohio, \$347
 James David Santini, Nevada, \$250
 Philip R. Sharp, Indiana, \$779
 Gladys Noon Spellman, Maryland, \$1,138
 Richard Aldrich Spencer, Maine, \$44
 Douglas Walgren, Pennsylvania, \$599
 Timothy E. Wirth, Colorado, \$125
 Howard Wolpe, Michigan, \$500

The most recent listing of candidates supported by NCEC obtained during preparation of this study is found in the organization's "AMENDMENT TO STATEMENT OF ORGANIZATION FOR A POLITICAL COMMITTEE," received by the Federal Election Commission on January 12, 1978. This list contains the names of two candidates for the U.S. Senate and 14 candidates for the House of Representatives backed by NCEC as of the date of the amended form as submitted to the FEC:

Senate

William D. Hathaway, Maine
 Charles D. Ravenal, South Carolina

House of Representatives

Berkley Bedell, Iowa
 James J. Florio, New Jersey
 Floyd J. Fithian, Indiana
 Martin Frost, Texas
 Mark W. Hannaford, California
 Stanley N. Lundine, New York
 Jim Mattox, Texas
 Abner J. Mikva, Illinois
 Anthony Toby Moffett, Connecticut
 Richard Nolan, Minnesota
 Jim Santini, Nevada
 Philip R. Sharp, Indiana
 Richard Spencer, Maine
 Douglas Walgren, Pennsylvania

NCEC CANDIDATES AND DEMOCRATIC STUDY GROUP

Reference has already been made to the Democratic Study Group, an organization of liberal Democrats in the House of Representatives that was founded in 1959 with the aid of NCEC. The DSG is generally viewed as the "establishment" liberal Democratic instrumentality in the House. Though the identities of the organization's members are not publicized unless individual members choose to make the information available, the names of DSG's officers are usually well-known. To the extent that the names of DSG members and officers have been revealed over the years (as in a list of DSG "members or supporters"

compiled by Congressional Quarterly and published in CQ's issue for October 10, 1969), the available evidence indicates a considerable interlocking of DSG's membership with the political activities of NCEC.

For example, Abner Mikva of Illinois has been supported by NCEC and also is serving as Chairman of the DSG during the 95th Congress. During the 93rd Congress, Bob Eckhardt of Texas and John Culver of Iowa, both of them supported by NCEC, were serving as, respectively, Vice Chairman at-large and Chairman of the DSG. During the 91st Congress, DSG officers included several Representatives who have enjoyed NCEC endorsement or financial support: John Brademas of Indiana, Vice Chairman at-large; James C. Corman of California, Secretary and Chief Whip; Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin and Thomas L. Ashley of Ohio, Regional Vice Chairmen; and William D. Hathaway of Maine, Program Committee Chairman.

Of the "125 House Democrats who are or have been DSG members or supporters" according to the October 10, 1969, Congressional Quarterly, the following are among those who have also benefited from NCEC support:

William R. Anderson, Tennessee
 Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio
 John Brademas, Indiana
 George E. Brown, Jr., California
 Hugh L. Carey, New York
 James C. Corman, California
 John C. Culver, Iowa
 Bob Eckhardt, Texas
 Robert N. Giaimo, Connecticut
 William J. Green, Pennsylvania
 Lee H. Hamilton, Indiana
 William D. Hathaway, Maine
 Ken Hechler, West Virginia
 James J. Howard, New Jersey
 Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Indiana
 Allard K. Lowenstein, New York
 Richard D. McCarthy, New York
 Abner J. Mikva, Illinois
 David R. Obey, Wisconsin
 Richard L. Ottinger, New York
 Henry S. Reuss, Wisconsin
 John V. Tunney, California
 Lester L. Wolff, New York

NCEC CANDIDATES AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOR PEACE THROUGH LAW

Another organization comprised of members of Congress which interlocks with NCEC is Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (MCPL). This organization was discussed in detail in a previous Heritage Foundation study (Institution Analysis No. 1, April 1977) which included a complete listing of MCPL's membership as of that

time. As documented in the previous study, MCPL "is an aggressively liberal apparatus" that works to create and maintain "a growing liberal consensus on foreign policy and defense issues in both houses of Congress."

As of April 1977, MCPL had 164 members, of which 33 were members of the Senate and 131 were members of the House. Of the 33 members of the Senate who were listed as members of MCPL, no fewer than 24 have received support from NCEC at various times:

James Abourezk (D-S.D.)
 Birch Bayh (D-Ind.)
 Joseph Biden (D-Del.)
 Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.)
 Frank Church (D-Idaho)
 Dick Clark (D-Iowa)
 Alan Cranston (D-Calif.)
 John Culver (D-Iowa)
 Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.)
 Mike Gravel (D-Alaska)
 Gary Hart (D-Colo.)
 Floyd Haskell (D-Colo.)
 William D. Hathaway (D-Maine)
 Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.)
 George McGovern (D-S.D.)
 Charles Mathias (R-Md.)
 Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.)
 Gaylord Nelson (D-Wisc.)
 Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.)
 William Proxmire (D-Wisc.)
 Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.)
 Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.)
 Adlai Stevenson III (D-Ill.)
 Harrison Williams, Jr. (D-N.J.)

Of the 131 members of the House of Representatives who were also listed as members of MCPL in the April 1977 study, the following have been either endorsed or financially supported by NCEC:

Thomas Ashley (D-Ohio)
 Alvin Baldus (D-Wisc.)
 Max S. Baucus (D-Mont.)
 Berkley Bedell (D-Iowa)
 Michael Blouin (D-Iowa)
 John Brademas (D-Ind.)
 George E. Brown (D-Calif.)
 M. Robert Carr (D-Mich.)
 James Corman (D-Calif.)
 Thomas Downey (D-N.Y.)
 Robert F. Drinan (D-Mass.)
 Bob Eckhardt (D-Tex.)
 Robert W. Edgar (D-Pa.)
 Joseph Fisher (D-Va.)

Floyd J. Fithian (D-Ind.)
 Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.)
 Tom Harkin (D-Iowa)
 James J. Howard (D-N.J.)
 Andrew Jacobs, Jr. (D-Ind.)
 Martha Keys (D-Kan.)
 Paul N. McCloskey (R-Calif.)
 Andrew Maguire (D-N.J.)
 Abner J. Mikva (D-Ill.)
 John J. Moakley (D-Mass.)
 Toby Moffett (D-Conn.)
 Stephen L. Neal (D-N.C.)
 Richard Ottinger (D-N.Y.)
 Edward Pattison (D-N.Y.)
 Donald J. Pease (D-Ohio)
 Henry S. Reuss (D-Wisc.)
 Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.)
 Gerry Studds (D-Mass.)
 Robert Traxler (D-Mich.)
 Douglas Walgren (D-Pa.)
 James Weaver (D-Ore.)
 Timothy Wirth (D-Colo.)
 Lester Wolff (D-N.Y.)

FINANCES

NCEC depends on contributions for its financing. As a purely political committee, it does not enjoy tax-exempt status; therefore, contributions to the organization are not fully tax-deductible, although, as stated in recent NCEC mailings, "Contributors to the NCEC are eligible for a tax credit (\$25 per individual/\$50 per joint return) or a tax deduction (\$100 per individual/\$200 per joint return)."

According to NCEC's final quarterly report to the Federal Election Commission for 1977, signed by Eileen K. Fischer as Treasurer and dated January 27, 1978, the organization began 1977 with a cash-on-hand balance of \$36,177.45. During the year, NCEC received a total of \$408,862.27 in income, of which \$382,308.20 was from "Contributions and other Income," \$20,500 was from "Loans and Loan Repayments Received," and \$6,054.07 was from "Refunds, Rebates, Returns Received."

Expenditures for 1977 amounted to a total of \$405,899.71, of which \$396,399.71 was for "Operating Expenditures," \$7,000 was for "Loans, Loan Repayments, and Contribution Refunds Made," and \$2,500 was for "Transfers Out." This last amount was listed among the itemized expenditures as a "Transfer-Contribution" made on December 30, 1977, to the Martin Frost Campaign Committee in Dallas, Texas. The precise amounts contributed to Frost and other candidates backed by NCEC during 1977 (a total of \$15,247, it will be recalled) have already been cited.

a fund-raising appeal for NCEC as part of the committee's attempt to raise some \$200,000 to help elect liberal candidates in the November 1962 elections. Lewis stated that "assorted liberals" contributed a total of \$139,121.89, of which \$34,105 was actually distributed to various candidates. "For every \$4 taken in, \$3 went for overhead, expenses, travel and entertainment." Lewis alleged that "Biggest recipient of committee largesse" was "George Agree, the public relations man who runs the committee at \$15,000, plus 'expenses,' a year" and stated that

Contacted by my reporter, Bill Schulz, Agree had a hard time explaining the disbursement of much of the \$139,121 he collected. Asked about frequent withdrawals of cash for unidentified "expenses" listed in his report, Agree stammered, "Well, I did a lot of traveling, a lot of entertaining, a lot of dinners and luncheons."

During 1963, according to the 1964 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, NCEC's reports as filed with Clerk of the House of Representatives indicated receipts and expenditures of, respectively, \$64,232 and \$69,839 by NCEC itself and \$8,062 and \$5,346 by NCEC's "1964 Campaign Fund." The 1965 edition of the Almanac listed total receipts by NCEC during 1964 of \$99,402, with expenditures amounting to \$108,471; the 1964 totals for the "NCEC 1964 Campaign Fund" were listed as, respectively, \$245,377 and \$202,875. This information, as was that for 1963, was drawn from NCEC's reports to the Clerk of the House.

The 1966 edition of the CQ Almanac reported that NCEC's total receipts for 1965, as filed with the Clerk of the House, were \$96,097; expenditures for the same year amounted to \$78,632. The 1964 Campaign Fund, during the period January 1, 1965, through February 28, 1965, reported no receipts and a total expenditure of \$40,119. Similar reports cited in the 1967 CQ Almanac reflected NCEC receipts and expenditures during 1966 of, respectively, \$95,062 and \$88,074, while the NCEC "Special Fund" reported receipts and expenditures for May 1, 1966, to December 31, 1966, of \$87,338 and \$78,793.

It is noted that the combined expenditures reported by NCEC and its affiliated special funds for the years 1963 through 1966 amount to an aggregate total of \$672,149. Bearing in mind that two of the totals for NCEC's special funds as reported in the CQ Almanacs for 1966 and 1967 are only for very limited periods rather than for the entire years covered, one logically presupposes that the full totals are at least somewhat larger. In fact, an NCEC leaflet circulated as part of the organization's Winter 1968 mailing stated that "In the past two congressional campaigns -- 1964 and 1966 -- the total NCEC contributions to candidates' committees were over \$700,000."

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES, 1968-1970

References to expenditures and receipts for 1968 appear in at least two issues of Congressional Quarterly, and there is an additional reference in Congress and the Nation, Volume III, 1969-1972, copyrighted by CQ in 1973. The September 12, 1969, issue of CQ referred to NCEC as "a bipartisan liberal group that raised more than \$800,000 for Congressional candidates in 1968," although the issue for May 7, 1971, stated (as did Congress and the Nation in its reference) that the organization "raised \$236,231 for congressional campaigns in 1968." It may be that the difference was between total funds raised as against total funds actually contributed directly to the candidates by NCEC, but the point is unclear.

No matter what the precise totals for 1968 may have been, NCEC's disbursal of campaign funds was questioned in a detailed article by George Lardner, Jr., which was published in the October 27, 1968, editions of the Washington Post. Lardner began by alleging that NCEC "has let its zeal get the best of it" and proceeded to charge that "It also appears to have completely ignored the strictures of Title 18 of the United States Code." In order to assure that each datum cited in the article is viewed entirely in its proper context, the balance of Lardner's article is here quoted in full:

Campaign committees for at least eight United States Senators and Senate candidates, according to the NCEC's spending reports, have all been blessed with more money than the NCEC should have given them:

They include Sens. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.), Wayne Morse (D-Ore.), J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), Thomas Kuchel (R-Calif.), George McGovern (D-S.D.), Rep. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.), former Rep. John Gilligan (D-Ohio), and James Logan, unsuccessful Democratic candidate for a Senate seat from Kansas.

As a short section in Title 18 puts it: "Whoever, directly or indirectly, makes contributions...in excess of \$5000 during any calendar year...(to) any candidate for an elective Federal office...or (to) any committee engaged in furthering...the nomination or election of any (such) candidate...shall be fined not more than \$5000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both."

Most of the big contributors in an election year duck the law by simply donating \$5000 each to a number of different paper committees ostensibly organized for the candidate of their choice -- such as "Citizens for Jones," "Housewives for Jones," and "Fishwives for Jones."

Not the National Committee for an Effective Congress.

Its candid reports, on file for January through August, show:

* Contributions of \$10,000 and \$7500 to the "Gilligan for Senate Committee."

* Contributions of \$10,000 and \$6700 to the "1968 Re-elect Wayne Morse Committee."

* Contributions totaling \$14,000 to the "Nelson for Senate Committee."

* Contributions totaling \$10,000 to the "Friends of Tom Kuchel" in the Californian's unsuccessful bid for the Republican Senate nomination.

* A single contribution of \$10,000 to "Lee Williams, treasurer, Washington, D.C." Williams is Sen. Fulbright's administrative assistant.

* Two contributions totaling another \$10,000 to the "Logan for Senate Committee." Dean of the University of Kansas law school, Logan resigned to run for the seat from Kansas, but he was defeated in the Democratic primary in August.

* Contributions totaling \$9000 to the "McGovern for Senate Committee."

* A single contribution of \$10,000 to the "Mathias for Senate Committee."

"It's been our most successful year," NCEC Executive Director Russell D. Hemenway said of the organization's fund-raising efforts. "We've actually given Mathias \$30,000 so far."

More money, he indicated, has also been sent on its way since August to Morse in Oregon and Gilligan in Ohio. By election day, he estimated, the NCEC will have spent about \$350,000 on the Congressional wars itself and orchestrated the spending of another \$350,000 by contributors who rely on the NCEC to tell them where to send their checks.

The funds reported thus far to the clerk of the House, Hemenway added, were spent as reported.

The Mathias for Senate Committee, for example, got \$10,000 in a single check, he confirmed in a telephone interview. Similarly, he said, the Re-Elect Wayne Morse Committee got its \$16,700 in two checks -- one for \$10,000 and the other for \$6700.

Asked if all this wasn't in violation of the Federal elections law prescribing a \$5000 limit, Hemenway at first insisted:

"No, it's not. We talk to the candidates about this (the contributions). Whichever way they want it, we do it."

At length, he said: "I would hope you wouldn't mention it. We try to be as open as possible. This is the cleanest political money in the United States."

On October 27, 1970, the New York Times reported that "Congressional campaign contributions /sic/ to liberal candidates totaling \$751,400 were announced today /October 26/ by the National Committee for an Effective Congress." The article further reported that Russell Hemenway had stated "\$434,900 was raised by personal contact and direct-mail from some 80,000 to 90,000 supporters, and the balance from a series of parties and receptions to help finance specific races." According to an NCEC leaflet circulated as part of the committee's June 1972 mailing, "In 1970 we contributed over \$832,000 to 21 contenders for the Senate and 58 for the House. Over two-thirds won."

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES, 1972-1976

In the Presidential election year of 1972, NCEC enjoyed a high level of both income and expenditures. The June 15, 1974, issue of Congressional Quarterly reported that a study prepared by Common Cause and based on reports filed by NCEC subsequent to April 7, 1972, when the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 took effect revealed total expenditures by NCEC of \$669,926 for the period covered. Of this amount, \$393,888 was contributed to 88 candidates for Congress, 15 for the Senate and 73 for the House of Representatives. The partisan allocation was 80 Democrats, five Republicans, two independents, and one Liberal; and, according to Common Cause, more than \$232,000 went to candidates for the Senate, with some \$161,650 going to candidates for the House. It is worth noting that the CQ account also revealed that "Of the seven liberal fund-raising groups that Congressional Quarterly surveyed for 1972, the National Committee for an Effective Congress was the largest fund-raiser and contributor to candidates."

An article in the March 17, 1973, Congressional Quarterly, based again on reports for the April 7, 1972, through December 31, 1972, period, listed receipts and expenditures by NCEC of, respectively, \$700,058.90 and \$669,929.28, with a cash-on-hand balance of \$30,132.62 at the close of the year. The June 15, 1974, account, however, related that NCEC had issued a report at the end of 1972 that covered the entire year, including the period from January 1 through April 7, and that this report listed contributions of \$525,000 made directly to candidates, along with "another \$440,500 /funneled/ indirectly to candidates." These figures amount to a total of \$965,500.

These figures, both those for total expenditures and those for numbers of candidates supported as reported by Common Cause, should be viewed in conjunction with NCEC's own accounting as published in a promotional leaflet circulated in the organization's April 1974 mailing: "In 1972 NCEC contributed a total of \$965,700 to 17 candidates for the U.S. Senate and 66 candidates for the House of Representatives."

Certain expenditures made by NCEC during 1974 have already been cited, as have the group's income and expenditures for 1977. During the Presidential election year of 1976, according to a Federal Election Commission printout dated February 3, 1978, NCEC reported total receipts of \$1,795,645 in relation to primary campaigns and \$402,035 in relation to the general election. Total expenditures categorized as "primary" and "general" amounted to, respectively, \$851,057 and \$448,929, according to the same document.

CONTRIBUTORS

NCEC depends on its contributors for financing, as noted earlier, and the committee's own members have often been among its larger and more consistent benefactors. During 1976, for example, George D. Pratt, Jr., along with his wife, reportedly contributed a total of more than \$26,000 to NCEC, while Cynthia Harris was credited with giving the organization some \$17,500 as of April 12, 1976. Other committee members who have given over the years have included Paul Foley, Thomas K. Finletter, Sidney Scheuer, Laughlin Phillips, Harry L. Selden, and Maurice Rosenblatt.

Among non-members who have reportedly given contributions to the committee on a repeat basis have been Henry Niles of Baltimore, Maryland, a prominent anti-Vietnam war figure who headed the Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace; Laurance S. Rockefeller, the noted philanthropist who is prominently identified with environmental activism (see, for example, Heritage Foundation Institution Analysis No. 4, "The Environmental Complex," November 1977); and Corliss Lamont of New York City, a well-known leader in the humanist movement and supporter of a wide variety of radical causes for a period of many years.

The November 12, 1956, issue of I.F. Stone's Weekly published a list of those who had contributed \$500 or more to NCEC during that year. The list is an interesting one in that it included several members of NCEC, in addition to other prominent Americans. The names and amounts cited in this source are as follows:

Laird Bell, Chicago, \$500
 Marshall Field, \$1,000
 Charles Gutwirth, New York, \$500
 Susan M. Lee, New York, \$1,000
 Isadore Lipschutz, \$1,000

Yoland D. Markson, Los Angeles, \$1,000
 Mayer Family, New York, \$3,000
 George D. Pratt, Jr., Bridgewater, Conn., \$4,000
 Charles Rose, New York, \$500
 Herbert M. Rothschild, New York, \$500
 Richard Salomon, New York, \$500
 Sidney H. Scheuer, New York, \$1,500
 Joseph D. Shane, Beverly Hills, Cal., \$1,000
 John Stahl, Los Angeles, \$500
 Ben Zukor, Beverly Hills, \$500

The same source also indicated substantial contributions by some of the above to the liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and to unspecified "Democratic organizations." These included, in the latter category, Mr. and Mrs. George D. Pratt, Jr., for a total of \$12,000, while those contributing \$500 or more to ADA included Marshall Field (\$2,000) and, again, George D. Pratt, Jr. (\$1,000).

Among NCEC's more recent contributors, particular mention should perhaps be made of Stewart R. Mott, about whom certain background data have already been cited. Mott is heir to a substantial General Motors fortune and has contributed on an often lavish scale to assorted liberal and, at times, very leftist projects and causes. His support for NCEC has been considerable; on January 26, 1975, for example, the Washington Post reported that Mott had contributed \$20,000 toward the \$125,000 cost of an NCEC program to aid "40 Democratic challengers in last fall's campaign." In addition, according to the New York Times for September 22, 1976, Mott served as host for "a party in honor of the National Committee for an Effective Congress" on September 21, 1976, at his penthouse in New York City, at which time "About 260 guests paid \$100 each" for, among other things, a chance to view a film about NCEC.

According to an article which appeared in the Washington Post in August 1975, Mott contributed \$63,953 to NCEC during the years 1970 through 1974; during the same period, he also contributed heavily to such leftist projects as the Fund for Peace (\$283,747) and the anti-Vietnam war Businessmen's Educational Fund (\$89,164), a subsidiary of Henry Niles's Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace. The same article reflects that Mott also has contributed "around \$10,000 or under" to several other groups, including Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, the nature of which has previously been discussed in this study.

The most recent listings of NCEC contributors available during preparation of this study appear in the organization's four quarterly reports to the Federal Election Commission for 1977. These reports indicate, as in prior years, at times substantial contributions to NCEC by several of its members, among them Stimson Bullitt (\$1,500), Stewart R. Mott (\$5,000), Dominick Etcheverry (\$1,000), S. Jay Levy

(\$1,000), Cynthia Harris (\$5,000), and Orin Lehman (\$500). The reports also reflect contributions of \$2,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Dennis Heffernan and \$200 from Mr. and Mrs. Irvin Lerner (both Heffernan and Lerner are, as previously noted, members of NCEC's Finance/Advisory Committee), as well as \$500 from Dr. and Mrs. Lester Tuchman of Cos Cob, Connecticut, Mrs. Lester Tuchman being NCEC member Barbara Tuchman.

The reports include several contributions in excess of \$1,000 for 1977, among them \$3,200 from Mrs. Maitland Edey, New York; \$1,000 from Mr. Henry H. Forster, Mexico; \$2,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Sidney G. Haskins, Lake Forest, Illinois; \$3,000 from Mr. Mark Dayton, Washington, D.C.; \$1,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur H. Ferry, Scarsdale, New York; \$1,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Frederick R. McConnaughey, Kettering, Ohio; \$1,000 from Mr. Michael Lee Gradison, "Executive, Concrete Corp. of America," Indianapolis, Indiana; \$5,000 from Mr. Leo Oudejans Harris, Cleveland Heights, Ohio; \$1,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Robert Stover, Poughkeepsie, New York; \$1,000 from Mr. Thomas Scheuer, "Vice President and General Counsel, Louis Dreyfus Molding Co., Inc., Stamford, Ct."; \$1,000 from Mrs. Macky Bennett, Larchmont, New York; \$1,000 from Ruth Guffee, West Haven, Connecticut; \$2,500 from Mr. Don D. Montgomery, Jr., Dallas, Texas; \$5,000 from Mrs. Maryanne M. Meynet (sister of Stewart R. Mott), Santa Barbara, California; and \$1,000 from Mr. Charles E. Merrill, "Director, Commonwealth School," Boston, Massachusetts.

Other contributions to NCEC during 1977 came from people representing a wide variety of professions, including teachers, clergymen, and scientists, as well as several people who hold positions of some prominence in the American business community. In the latter category are such people as Mr. Anthony Imbesl, an executive with the 7-UP Bottling Company (\$500); Mr. Joseph H. Filner, "President, Noblemet International" (\$200); Mr. Irwin Miller, "Chairman of the Board, Cummins Engine Corp." (\$500); Mr. Henry N. Hoyt, Jr., "Chairman, Carter and Wallace" (\$500); Mr. Marvin L. Rosenberg, "executive, Seagrams Inc." (\$150); Mr. Norbert Hofman, Jr., "publishing executive, Newsweek" (\$175); and Mr. Thomas O. Stanley, "staff Vice President, RCA" (\$200).

Two other contributions of interest came from Don and Lorraine Goldman, "planner, Department of Interior," Washington, D.C. (\$200), and Mr. Steve Allen, "entertainer," Van Nuys, California (\$200).

CONCLUSION

At several points in this study, reference has been made to public-source material in which certain allegations were made with respect to NCEC and its activities, including the committee's handling of campaign funds. These are matters of considerable controversy, and it should be emphasized that this study has drawn no conclusions with regard to them. Rather, an attempt has been made to present a comprehensive review of the relevant documentary evi-

dence at hand, leaving the reader entirely free to draw his own conclusions therefrom.

In several other areas, however, based on the data available, certain conclusions do seem reasonable. The National Committee for an Effective Congress has demonstrably enjoyed a pattern of steady growth in the years since its creation in 1948. The committee has grown significantly in both revenues and expenditures, and it has grown markedly in its ability to provide professional assistance, including practical political campaign expertise, to key liberal candidates for Congress.

That NCEC is a liberal political action apparatus is obvious on its face; the organization emphasizes its orientation in its promotional literature. Its membership and leadership reflect certain patterns of other organizational affiliations which are also of some interest, representing as they do interlocking relationships with many well-known liberal groups, charitable foundations, and, in some cases, organizations and causes of an officially-recognized radical nature.

NCEC is manifestly not a lobbying organization in the generally accepted sense; but it is certainly fair to say that it has enjoyed a substantial degree of impact on the formation of national public policy, through its proven ability to influence the election of liberals to Congress, that might well be the envy of many a full-time professional lobbyist. Whether this influence has been beneficial or otherwise is not an issue for resolution or discussion in a study such as this. The position of NCEC and those candidates supported by it with respect to many legislative and other matters have been recounted in these pages, as nearly as possible in the organization's own language; the conclusion to be drawn must properly rest with the individual reader, based on his own predilections and philosophy.

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