

DD/S R 261228Z

Training

Executive Director-Comptroller
7E 12 Hqs.

Attached is an interesting resume of his experiences on Capitol Hill last year from one of our Congressional Fellows- [] of DCS--who served with Congressman Lipscomb (R., Cal.) and Senator Mundt. (Our other Congressional Fellow- [] of OSA--served with Senator Percy.)

You may not have time to scan all of [] report, but I think you may want to see the last part tabbed "Summary."

SIGNED R. L. Bannerman

R. L. Bannerman
27 Sep 1967

Very interesting
Thanks.
SKW

Deputy Director for Support 7D 18 Hqs. []

AEO DD/S:WV:ews (26 Sept 67)

Distribution:

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1 DD/S Subject w/T of att

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fr [] subj: Congressional Fellowship Program

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8 September 1967

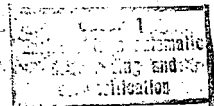
MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Training
THROUGH: Assistant for Plans
Domestic Contact Service
SUBJECT: Congressional Fellowship Program

I have prepared the attached evaluation of the Congressional Fellowship Program primarily as a guide to future participants. I have also included a summary statement in which attempt is made to assess CIA as it is viewed from Congress; this after all was part of the objective. Please note that this separate statement is classified SECRET since it alludes to National Intelligence Estimates. While the remainder is unclassified, it should be handled with discretion in view of the content.


Chief, Formet Staff, DCS

Attachments

SECRET



Congressional Fellowship Program 1966 - 1967

Introduction

To the political scientists nothing can quite equal Congress for fascination. It probably all began with Congressional Government, a monumental text authored by Woodrow Wilson. In 1954, the American Political Science Association secured a grant from the Ford Foundation to subsidize a small group of scholars for a year in Congress. From that beginning, the program was broadened to include journalists, executive branch officials and, more recently, foreign scholars and government leaders. While some may argue that Congress has acquiesced in yielding more and more power to the Executive Branch, it is still very much the center of gravity in shaping and remolding Federal programs. This is the impetus for the continuing examination of Congress through the Congressional Fellowship Program.

Initial Orientation

The program gets underway in mid-November of each year prior to the start of the Session. The APSA assumes full responsibility for all program participants and directs the Program independent of the Civil Service Commission.

To simplify matters, the APSA arbitrarily assigns Fellows to the House and the Senate, dividing the body into two groups. This also results in more convenient sized groups for the seminar sessions since groups of 20 are much better than 40 from the standpoint of optimum interchange with the guest speakers. The orientation period is devoted to perspectives on Congress; one week lobbyists are heard, the next week executive branch officials, then journalists, etc. These sessions are occasionally interspersed with "good of the order" meetings where you are counseled on office assignments, what to expect, whom to see in offices, etc. The Congressional Fellow is strictly on his own when it comes to finding his Congressman and Senator. His best asset is the confidential file contributed by predecessor Fellows -- these evaluations alert him to those offices which should be avoided and those which in the past have fully utilized the Congressional Fellow.

House Assignment: Glenard P. LipscombCriteria

In considering the House assignment, my interest concentrated on Appropriations and, more particularly, Defense matters. I accepted the advice heard during the Orientation that the Committee Staff experience would be too restrictive. Still as a starting point, I met first with Ken Sprankel, the Staff Director, thinking he would have good advice to narrow the choice. He counseled against majority members on ground that they pretty much looked to the Committee Staff, so much so that I would have little chance to participate in the hearings process. Minority members such as Mr. Bow and Mr. Lipscomb, on the other hand, had very little independent support and would probably spend my energies fully on committee matters.

Both Mr. Bow and Mr. Lipscomb were out of town until the first week of January. But in the meantime I had become acquainted with their Administrative Assistants and felt either office would be a good choice. When Mr. Bow returned, he seemed quite taken with the prospect though he intended to place me with Bob Gresham, his minority committeeman. This offered some disadvantages, since I would be working two buildings away from the Congressman. Also, both Mr. Bow and Mr. Gresham were sensitive to Mr. Lipscomb wanting me, and while making it clear that they could really use me, did not pressure me to take the job over Mr. Lipscomb's offer. On balance, it looked as if Mr. Lipscomb, the ranking minority member on the Defense Subcommittee, was the better selection. (Gil Lekander and all of Mr. Bow's staff radiated the same genial warmth as the Congressman - his office is a good prospect for any future Fellow).

Office Experience

The first two weeks were spent poring over volumes of previous Defense hearings, committee reports and minority views. This step was essential to any constructive perspective for what was to come later. When the Annual Posture Statement arrived I prepared a statement (short - 2000 words) for the Congressman. At the beginning of the year, the principal committee members engage in a colloquy to acquaint new members with the Budget process and to serve as an overture to the Hearings. The statement I had prepared was for this occasion; it also identified what I had recognized as issues in the Administration's Defense Budget. The Congressman, thinking perhaps that it tipped his hand too much, decided to hold it for the July floor debate on the Defense Bill, opting for committee prepared notes instead. Still, he insisted that it was on track, and I at least had learned which lines of questioning should be pursued for the hearings.

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The next and perhaps largest project was to prepare a speech which the Congressman had agreed to give in New York on March 8 to the American Management Association Briefing Session on East-West Trade. Mr. Lipscomb has long been a leading critic of expanded East-West Trade and for that matter all areas of relations with the Soviet Bloc which do not embrace an "elemental reciprocity". Bill Sullivan, with whom I worked side-by-side throughout the assignment, had prepared the floor speech (Jan 17) to support the Congressman's resolution for a Select Committee on East-West Trade. What was needed for the New York speech was a more comprehensive expose of the possible dangers, however. So it was decided that I would do the research and draft the speech, leaving Bill to concentrate on Defense. The subject was so large that I found myself fully engaged for three weeks in research and almost two more in preparing the speech. Later, I went to New York two days in advance of the Congressman and Mel Miller, the Administrative Assistant, to scout the opposition. The Bloc presentations (Shevchenko, Malov, and four commercial counselors from the satellite nations) were generally ill-prepared and their responses to questions poorer. So as the Congressman's turn came, it seemed we had a thunder-clapper, particularly since everyone else had been treating the subject purely in favorable terms. After the speech, things were pretty tense. Mr. Malov, the President of Amtorg, gave the ultimate tribute when he rose to exclaim: "Mr. Lipscomb, everything you say in your speech about the Soviet Union is a lie". More reassuring and complimentary was the strong support to the Congressman's views given by Harry Swartz (N.Y. Times expert on Soviet Affairs) in his follow-on address. The speech had impact beyond the Briefing Session, being quoted in the U.S. News World Report, many newspapers, and reprinted in "Vital Speeches of the Day."

Still, the hours spent on research and writing tended to disassociate me from the Congressman. I managed to keep-up with Defense justifications and contribute questions, but suffered from lack of interchange with Mr. Lipscomb on what was useful. (Only about 10% of the questions I prepared were asked, though admittedly some of the others were duplicated by other committee members' questions.) This phenomenon was not an exclusive experience; both Bill Sullivan and Mel Miller must also operate with a minimum of direction, placing premium value on the Administrative Assistant. There are disadvantages to working for a senior member whose responsibilities as leader of the second largest State delegation, and committee assignments (he is quite active in State and USIA particularly with the long absence of Mr. Bow due to illness) keep him taxed to the limit. He has only an hour early in the morning

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for the staff - his free Fridays and evening time are booked with appointments. Under these circumstances, no matter how many times you're encouraged to "butt-in", you tend to work far more with the Administrative Assistant than perhaps would be the case in other offices.

As to other activities there was a floor speech on the Star III Submarine, a Public Works project, a few Extension of Remarks, letters and some work on legislation, but my initial commitment to Defense appropriations was unimpaired. I had access to all transcripts, justifications, etc. If it did not add meaningfully to the Congressman's preparation, it nevertheless was very rewarding personally.

The Staff

From what has already been said, perhaps it is obvious that the Congressman has a very able and dedicated staff. Some might find it overly so, lacking the frivolity and general good-humored repartee usually prevalent - I did not. An amazing quantity of uniformly high caliber mail flows out every day - an average of 90 to 100 letters, I would say. The constituents are articulate, inquisitive, and demanding. This means that everyone heaves to - it's a 50 hour or longer week, from the Administrative Assistant on down, and no grumbling. Turnover has been high in the past but the Congressman's staff is mature - all but two 40 or older. Mel Miller, the Administrative Assistant has the stamina and, seemingly, an unbounded tolerance for heavy workload. The third draft of a speech or letter is scrutinized just as carefully as the first. Bill Sullivan is equally hard working, sticking to his desk many times after 8 PM, consistently in on Saturdays and frequently on Sundays.

The Congressman

Mr. Lipscomb could be categorized as a moderate conservative, posturing a Nixon-like stance, especially on foreign policy. On domestic issues, he favors private sector response to domestic problems first then government action all else failing. He is not, however, to be associated with extreme right positions, and works hard at the moderate image. For example, as an advocate of strong defense, he can be counted to press for larger appropriations when needed. He has a fanatical attachment to discharging responsibilities he accepts. This more than any other factor drives him to the limits

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of endurance and reduces the attention he can give to lesser priorities. He is scrupulous in observing the public trust - to the point of refusing honorariums when asked to speak. Setting high standards for himself, he is equally demanding in what he expects from others. Because he is always behind the clock, those who work for him must get the message the first time around. Sometimes it is difficult for him to understand your problems, particularly if it takes time to explain.

Senate Assignment: Karl E. Mundt

Criteria

In considering my Senate assignment, I was seeking an office which would expand on the substance acquired while serving with Congressman Glen Lipscomb.

Initially I contacted the office of Richard Russell. Bill Jordan (Executive Secretary) advised me to pursue other offices because the Senator was, in his opinion, totally self-informed on the subject of appropriations; and if assigned to that office, I would be concentrating on constituency problems exclusively.

Thereafter, visits were made to the offices of Stennis, McClellan, Symington, Thurmond, Dominick, Milton Young, Allott, Tower, Javits, and Mundt. Because of my previous association with Glenard P. Lipscomb and his notoriety with respect to East-West Trade, the offices of Senators Thurmond and Mundt seemed more interested than the others.

For various reasons I decided to affiliate with Senator Mundt. For one thing, he had been the leader in the Consular Treaty debate, and the Administrative Assistant seemed to feel that I would be useful in the continuing deliberation on the related issue of East-West Trade. The Senator also agreed to let me continue with Defense Appropriations.

Office Experience

My efforts were divided almost equally between the office of the Senator and the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee. A major address was prepared for the Senator on the subject of East-West Trade, dwelling on the strategic implications and the significance restraint of trade

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might have on the war in Vietnam. Thereafter, speeches were prepared to support the Senator during the Export-Import Bank debate, leading to the successful amendment of the bill to prohibit credits for the Fiat plant which had been proposed. Numerous other speeches were prepared, all of which were delivered, on the subject of the adequacy of our national defense.

Approximately halfway through the assignment, I was detailed to the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee for investigation of the F-111 advanced tactical fighter. Inasmuch as the manner and substance of this investigation is considered "committee confidential", I am not at liberty to comment on this investigation other than to say that concentrating on the F-111 program and other Defense contracts under review afforded a depth of knowledge on major weapon systems that simply could not be otherwise acquired.

The Subcommittee is an unique subculture comprising individuals whose talents and pursuit of objectivity are unparalleled in my experience. Much of the successful modification of the appropriation request stems from spadework done by this Subcommittee in support of Senators McClellan, Mundt and Jackson.

Office Organization

The Senator's utilization of his staff could best be explained by an individual assessment of the various elements that contribute to his effectiveness.

Administrative Assistant: The Senator's staff is specialized with overall supervision and scrutiny applied by Bob McCaughey who is really a Deputy Senator. Easy-going, but demanding, he applies discipline only when required. He is generally well-informed, keeping abreast with the activities of the IA and the Press Aide. He reviews and approves almost everything (appointments, correspondence, transcripts, legislation, policy papers, speeches, articles - everything for that matter I can think of). He sorts all the mail for assignment, and will dictate as many as fifty letters himself in any given day. At different intervals, he speaks an average of 40 minutes to an hour with the Senator each day. He earns his keep twice over. I'm told that the Administrative Assistants and Executive Secretaries Club ranked him among the Top Ten AA's in the Senate in a poll conducted a few years ago.

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Legislative Assistant: Bob Ruddy is a former Assistant Attorney General from South Dakota and has been with the Senator, in one capacity or another since 1960. He handles all mail on legislative matters and keeps the Senator up to date on pending matters (amendments, bills, and the undercurrents of the legislative mill). During the Consular Treaty debates, I gather he was the speech man, too. He has taken on the "esprit de corps" mission, organizing softball games, parties (the office is quite social) and takes advantage of any excuse to promote harmony and togetherness.

Press Aide: Walter Conahan has been with the Senator since the mid-1950's, having served on the staff of two Congressmen previously. A day doesn't pass without some new angle favorable to the Senator's activities being developed for the information media. Copy flows from his typewriter in steady streams of perfect prose, each item enriched with a newly turned phrase. As Bob Ruddy has said, his capacity to be on top of the newsworthy incidents in the day-to-day activities of the Senator is simply beyond belief.

Constituency: Agriculture is the number one industry in South Dakota, hard durum wheat and cattle being the chief products. (It is also the leading gold producer in the U.S.) Sioux Falls (65,000), Rapid City (42,399), and Aberdeen (23,073) are the largest cities with no others exceeding 20,000 in population. Nevertheless, state politics is a considerable preoccupation of the Senator and the Administrative Assistant. With the exception of three secretaries, the entire staff consists of native South Dakotans, almost all of whom have been through at least two Senatorial elections. If there is a lesson in the Senator's experience, it is that success comes only through constant vigil and tender ministrations to the electorate. The Senator visits the State as frequently as possible and is in touch with the State via TV and radio weekly; by phone daily. He is not above rejecting constituency interest for higher principle, even when pressured, as is attested by his East-West Trade record.

The Senator: Senator Mundt is one of the most senior Republicans now active in Congress. The Senator has served continuously in the Congress longer than any other Republican member now in the Senate. Formerly a college professor and businessman, he entered the race for Congress in 1938 at the urging of close friends who felt he was a natural for politics.

Over the years he has been active in conservation (most recently identified with the preservation of whooping cranes and other endangered species), internal security and East-West relations. The Senator is perhaps best remembered as the author of Public Law 402

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the Smith-Mundt Act which founded USIA. As Clark Mullenhoff has said, the most prominent and successful of politicians have been those identified with investigations. The Senator fits the characterization having served as Chairman of the Army-McCarthy hearings, a key interrogator on the TFX hearings, and during this session exposing AID failures in Vietnam.

In terms of qualifying his political style, he is distinctly an inside man, working within the structure of the Republican Policy Committee and drawing on personal allegiance developed over many years of leadership in the Republican Party.

He relies on his staff to surface the undercurrent and momentum of issues, occasionally striking out a new course for the Republican Party. He is prominent in national leadership and can be expected to play a leading role in the 1968 National Convention.

CIA and Congress

Congressional attitude toward the Agency polarizes between two points of view. To members of liberal persuasion, the Agency impairs accommodation with the Soviet Bloc when it counsels that communism remains dedicated to world domination in the face of evidence they accept that international communism is fragmenting into national socialist states. The conservatives, on the other hand, wonder why the Agency is not alerting policy makers to dangers in conciliatory tactics which only lead the communist world to greater miscalculation of western resolve, and encourage more venturesome disruption in the international arena.

During the fellowship, I observed several instances which are illustrative of favorable and unfavorable reaction to Agency interests. There can be no question that the OIR prepared report on the Soviet-Fiat plant was ultimately controlling in the Senate's decision to deny Export-Import Bank funding of proposed purchases of machine-tools needed to equip the plant. The report reasoned that the productive capacity of the proposed plant would not impair Soviet military programs and would in fact produce automobiles only in quantities sufficient to satisfy the demands of the managerial elite. The contention of the proponents for U.S. financing of the sale was that the Fiat plant would trigger a major diversion of Soviet economic resources to the automobile industry at the expense of the military sector.

In another instance, while I was working in Senate Investigations, CIA estimates were equally crucial in determining whether the Navy F-111 fighter should continue in research and development as opposed to production. The Navy Department was seeking authorization for series production in the 1968 Budget, a decision which could only have been justified in the face of an imminent threat. (CIA estimated the most likely threat to be only one fourth the level being quoted by Navy.) Had production been authorized, when vital performance features remain gravely impaired, the Navy would have been saddled with a deficient fighter for many years to come. This is the role Congress originally envisaged for CIA. That is, the objective witness, unimpaired by parochial departmental interests, who can be relied upon to testify to truth of the matter.

In my opinion, the CIA must be ever cautious to avoid preferential status in legislation. Here we are vulnerable to an unhealthy skepticism accrued over the years. To diminish this impression, we should abstain from lobbying for exceptional privileges which seemingly would place the Agency apart from an above the law.

To conclude, I heartily endorse Agency participation in the Congressional Fellowship Program. The rewards to the individual are unquestionably of a very high order. Even more important, however, is the by-product derived for the Agency. The House and Senate offices benefit from the additional manpower, particularly if the individual is well informed on matters of interest to the member. Not to be underestimated is the threshold factor. Many other exposures are afforded through your association with Congressional Fellows as a group and the inevitable contacts with peripheral elements concentrating on Congressional affairs.

TRANSMITTAL SLIP		DATE 26 September 1967
TO: Mr. Bannerman via Mr. Wanfield and <i>WB</i>		
ROOM NO. *	BUILDING	
REMARKS:		
<p>Attached is a note transmitting our Congressional Fellowship report up to Col. White.</p> <p>Recommend your signature.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>WB</i> WB</p>		
FROM:		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	EXTENSION

FORM NO. 241
1 FEB 55

REPLACES FORM 36-8
WHICH MAY BE USED.

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