

New Model of Congress

Introduction: Underlying the present crisis in foreign affairs and the turbulent domestic problems of race conflict and metropolitan disorgan. ~~Challenges~~ a struggle that is less noted publicly but in the end is just as important to America's future. ~~Speaks of~~ the problem of Congress & its relation with the people, the courts, ~~and~~ the presidency, and the civil service or bureaucracy.

1) IN RE PEOPLE: Polls regularly show a skepticism, a highly critical, even a destructive attitude.

2) THE COURTS have gone recently into the business of apportionment & representation. This will keep them ~~involved with the wrestling w/ C.~~ for a long time to come.

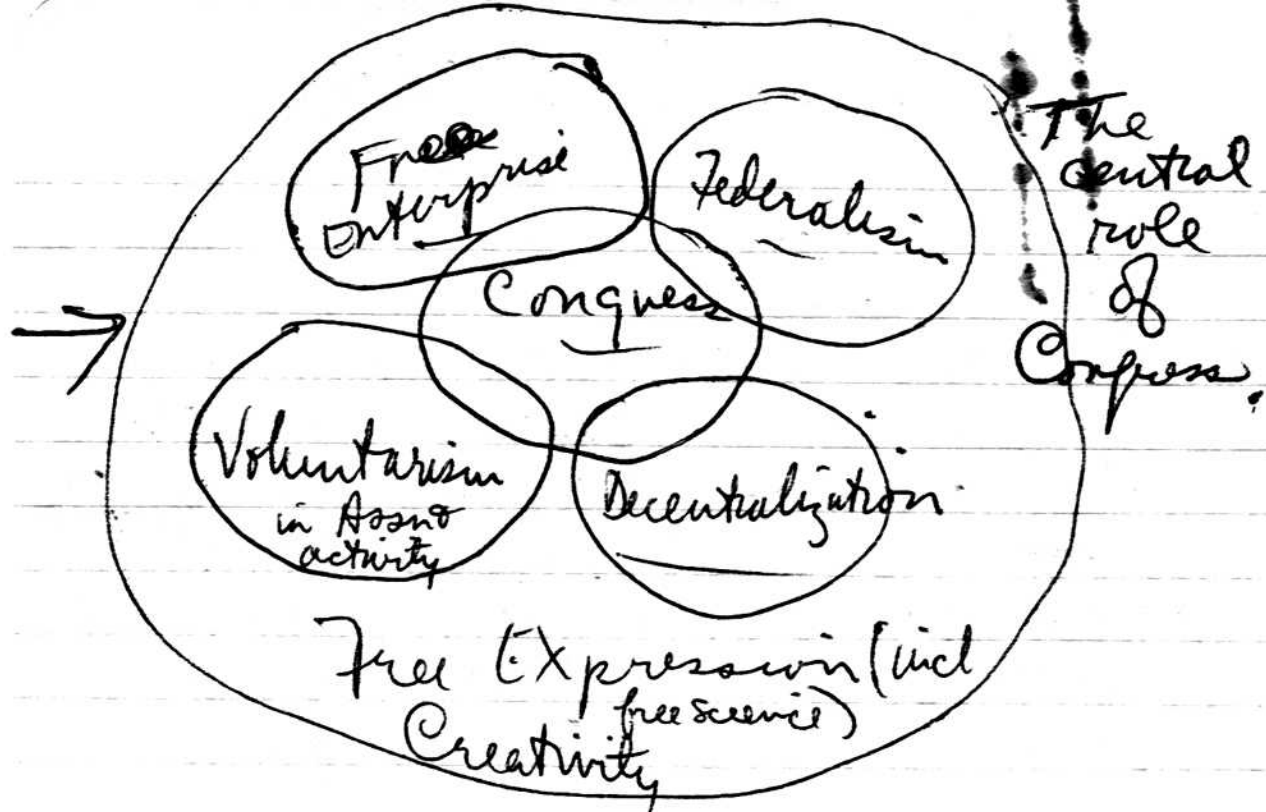
3) The presidency was going great guns in assuming the powers of supreme legislator and arbiter. ~~event~~ ~~the small matter of public policy~~ ~~into the Vietnam policy~~ ~~getting into trouble~~

I. Congress was initially concerned as the First Branch of Government. This could be called the CLASSICAL model of Congress.

This you all know. (We generally know something we have come away from better than something that we are presently confronting.)

The 18th Century model of the legislature -- all powers to the representatives of the people: The people were better organized to be represented, also, despite the poor physical communications of the times.

-- Government should be in the hands of laymen -- not nobility, not kings, not officials of the realm.



As a result, ~~a number of~~ interests are turning to Congress for relief from what they regard as the ~~unwarranted~~ arrogances of power — the ~~presidential~~ Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator Fulbright, has even regretted publicly (something most politicians hate to do) his vote of blanket support to the President in the war in Viet Nam. Chances are that if the Senator had been alert to the principles of the separation of powers regardless of the advantages of the moment, he would have nothing to regret at the present time.

4) As I know, however, as the problem of C. in relation to the presidency is, it is nowhere near as ~~far~~ massive a problem as the problem of the executive branch as a whole. That is, the problem of the civil service and the bureaucracy. I have discovered in talking with ~~the~~ ^{with} scholars ~~and~~ with journalists & w/ Congressmen that they are ~~often~~ ^{clear} on how to contain the presidency, but quite ~~sometimes~~ ^{often} baffled about the control of the executive branch.

Govt. was to have limited functions. ~~DA~~
large administrative & regulative machinery, except in
the case of armed forces, was not anticipated.

II. In The Nineteenth Century a
great transformation occurred. Society
became industrialized, ^{physical} communication
improved, cities grew up and the
people increased in numbers. In this
post-Civil War age, the conception of
Congress that ~~was~~ developed was
of a limited and traditional
institution whose years were numbered.
In the age of science, an executive
could manage the government by
rational means. The legislature was
useful for critical purposes. This
idea has persisted to the present time
and I have called it The Old Mode
of Congress

Examples:

- 1) In the late 1880's Young Woodrow Wilson was already, as a ^{college} student, writing papers against what he regarded as the excesses of Congress. He wished a much more powerful presidency and an administrative machinery modelled somewhat after the Prussian and French civil services.
- 2) The growth of ^{economic and other} functional interests that could not easily be embraced by the traditional geographical system of representation.
- 3) The ~~development~~ development of a mass consciousness of nationalism.

Especially in the industrial centers
of the North and in the new far
West, where the sheer individualism
and ~~conspicuous~~ ^{loneliness} of life led to a
longing for the support of the great
White Father in Washington.

4) The technocratic view of society &
man. The spread of regimentation
in armies, industries and finally
government. Ultimately, the
denial of politics as such and
the substitution of administration
for politics.

This is what can be called
the Old Model of Society and the Old
Model of Congress. By its conception
and imagery, Congress came to
be regarded as an anachronism.

" a machine that
needed to be made more efficient
& ∴ ~~there~~ a lot of tinkering
went on & was passed off as the
reform & reorganization of Congress.

" a mother's helper to the
President

" An auditor of accounts
(think of how unimportant a part of a
bookkeeping business is the auditor!)

THIS OLD MODEL is purveyed in
1) THE TEXTBOOKS 2) THE JOURNALS 3) THE BROWNLOW COMMISSION
& THE HOOVER COMMISSION

- a) THE OLD MODEL WANTS REFORMS THAT
 MAKE CONGRESS RESPONSIBLE TO THE PRESS.
 PARTLY via a nationalized party system.
- b) Would keep congress quite outside the agencies.
- III. There has occurred in the recent months the beginnings of a new total conception of Congress, expressing what can be called a New Model of Congress. The New Model is the conception of what Congress would be like if it were the modernized First Branch of Government.
1. Origins for Pragmatism:
 J. Dewey, BENTLEY, MARY P. FOLLETT
 T. V. SMITH

2. Changes in practices in education, business, voluntary organizations.
 The Human Relations Movement -- Bethel's, & Play, Group Dynamics (Cartwright), Plummer, Likier

3. Connections w/ The Classical Theory: -
 - The importance of a collective body to provide representation.
 - The control of the expert by the layman.
 - The manageability of govt by the devices of decentralization, delegation.

4. Connections w/ The Old model.

The Great Importance of Administrative Organization

But one of the DECEPTIVE features of the Old model of ~~structure~~ Congress is that it tries to appear as an objective, technical theory in which facts determine reform. Consequently THE FIRST PREMISE THAT WE MUST UNDERSTAND in order to shed the old theory and adopt the new is: EVERY CHANGE IS POLITICAL,

EVERY INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT IS POLITICAL.
With rare exceptions, everytime somebody is helped, somebody else is hurt,
if not absolutely, then relatively.
IV. Every theory of Congress must begin with a set of objectives.
You cannot create a practical institution without saying what you want to emerge from its workshops.
Examples: ① The Responsible Party System

② Uninterrupted Chain of Command
V. No Way in which Congress should work. What are our Objectives in the NEW MODEL.

1. Congress should express a total view of national goals
2. Congress should acquire a respect in the country that is no less than the respect accorded the President.
3. Congress should make policy in as rational a manner as possible.
4. Congress should control ^{and supervise} the bureaucracy more thoroughly & in more respects than it does at present.
5. Congress should ~~take~~ take a larger hand in the making of policy even when this requires limiting the powers of the President.

6. Congress should engage in a vigorous & continuous program of devolving national government activities ~~into~~ regional, local, ~~and~~ non-governmental, ~~and~~ and individual hands.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

VI, How can we get Congress
to work ~~in a way~~ towards
these ends?

~~IV~~ Reforms proposed These are only a
few of the possibilities. The tools for change
are available. Men must only want to
use them to the stated
ends.

1. Expression of National Goals.

a) Education: ~~national~~ Academies
in each State

b) Long Range Planning by
Leadership of Congress.

~~c) Halls of Congress~~

c) Regular & special expressions
of policy on important issues

2. Respect (Respect comes of course from power & performance too)

a. Halls of Congress

b. Reporting service from a Central Office of Congress.

c. ~~Congressional~~ Proprieties in the conduct of investigation & hearings

d. Staffing & information facilities

~~2~~

3. Rational Policy-making

a. "Radical Incrementalism" in Budget-making. The idea of a one-year ^{Bill of Procurement} ~~Bill of Procurement~~ ^{acts which} ~~every~~ ^{need} must be fitted needs revision

b. Inventory of Freedom & Restrictions

c. Further development of the hearing technique.

d. The Introduction of field research & other more statistical techniques into the work of the Legislative Reference Division, ^{possibly} ~~possibly~~ ^{under} ~~under~~ the creation of a new Institute of Applied Behavioral Science for Government.

1. Computer-assisted Operations.

4. Control & Supervision of the Bureaucracy

a. Sub-Legislative Corps

b. Sub-representative Government
(hundreds of functional representative
councils, even the poor)

c. Full participation in the Structuring
of Government

d. Establishment of the Congressional
Tribune System to recommend
annual changes.

e. Setting up Central Office to
challenge Audiences towards
secrecy of the agencies.

5. The Legislative Function

a. As part of its ~~stating~~^{expression} of policy of national needs, a State of the Union message with an agenda for the year.

b. Retire old emergency powers still in being.

c. Limit ~~to the term~~ Presidency to a single term of six years.

d. Elect ~~Congress~~ The House of Representatives once each four years ~~but not~~
~~at the same time as the President.~~

M.

6. The Devolution Process

a. The Tribune System

b. ~~The~~ Ideology of Devolution needs to be developed. The Political Science & other social sciences could be of great use here in highlighting & popularizing the range of alternatives available in human organ.

c. The distinction between public - private is usually a dist. betw govt & nongovt & not between good & bad or altruistic & selfish.

Many more. Many Variations.

VII. Can there any reliable estimate of the net effect of enacting most of these reforms of Congress?

1) Let us first conjure an image of what American society would be like if the recent trends towards the effective destruction of the First Branch were continued for another generation.

- a. Pres wd cause himself to be elected from within the presidency.
- b. all business & social ~~business~~ - regulated
- c. central civil service would be the biggest fact of the nation.
- d. highly centralized govt (State mere vestiges)
- e. Political parties controlled by one party.
- f. Decline of stimulus & creativity.

A dead society

2) Let us conjure up its opposite: the effects of a strengthened Congress on society.

Decentralization

Federalism

Voluntarism

Majoritarianism

Egalitarianism

A New Model of Congress

(Refud de Grazia ^{early} 1964 or 1965 ^{Amens to self})

Premises: Congress is one of the most important institutional complexes of American society. It affects many other institutions and is affected by them.

The major issues of American society today, whose solution will occupy the next generation are:

1. Poverty
2. Civil Rights
3. Housing and neighborhood betterment
4. Improvement of education on all levels
5. Southeast Asia
6. The European alliance
7. Health and safety.

three
and ~~the~~ resulting problems from attempts to solve the above:

8. Bureaucracy
9. Militarism
10. Presidential dictatorship

The last three issues occur largely from attempts to solve the problems of the first seven issues.

It is believed that the response to both sets of issues should be such as to enable the methods of avoiding the latter (8-10) to be at the same time the methods of attaining the solution of the former issues (1-7).

The operating principles for attacking the whole range of issues, then, are nine in number:

1. Juridical defense
2. Religiousness
3. Equal opportunity
4. Voluntarism
5. Develution
6. Rationalism
7. Politism
8. Disponsability
9. Altruism

The key instrument for utilizing these principles and in the solution of the ten issues is Congress.

Congress has various features, as it is and as it might be, ~~000~~ that meet the specifications of an institution that can use the principles and attack the issues.

The largest question then becomes: How can Congress be best organized to achieve these ends?

Generally speaking, Congress has ample powers to organize and execute the most far-reaching programs.

However, it is lagging behind (and therefore aggravating the above issues in many regards) because of its failures in controlling the use of power by other institutions

Congress therefore is to be studied and a set of reforms suggested