

Movie script by Alfred de Grazia, Film completed
but lost.

"Lobbies as an American Institution"
(16mm., sound, two parts, 27 min.)

Lobbies as an American Institution deals with the origins, nature, organization and activities of lobbies in America and evaluates their functions. The film is narrated and contains numerous live action shots and some animation. Part I may be used alone or in conjunction with Part II. The theme of the movie is that lobbies are the normal, expected, and often useful end-result of the group activities of Americans, and that their problems are no more serious than those found in other American institutions. How lobbies are formed and financed, and how they work are portrayed, together with the means of controlling them. (Intended audiences: junior college classes in American Government; high school classes in social studies; luncheon clubs; adult education groups; union and office discussion groups; TV in connection with lobby news-stories).

LOBBIES AS AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION

(comb-in-smiling)

Three men are seen leaving a room, /one turns and says, pointing his stick

"Well, don't say I didn't warn you!"

They leave and camera picks up smiling commentator. He takes audience into confidence.

" They didn't like the title of this film, "lobbies as an American Institut on," They wanted said "nobody likes lobbies. Call it something like "The Menace of Lobbies" or "The Inside Story of Lobbies." Maybe they are right.

But ~~##~~ I dont think so. I think that the American public has become matu re & intelligent enough to take up the matter of lobbies rationally. *Practically every expert on political science of the last generation had declared -- either, frankly or by tacit implication -- that the lobbies are an essential ingredient in our governmental system.*

The first thing to realize is that anybody who has any kind of active public interest, is a member of a lobbying group -- in spirit if not in person.

Are you a member of a church group? Probably it is connected with a lobby.

Are you a member of a profession -- a doctor, teacher, lawyer? You may well pay the costs of a lobby.

Are you a worker? - Unions lobby.

Are you a veteran? - Veterans lobby.

Are you a farmer? - Farmers lobby.

Suppose you absolutely hate groups of all kinds. You join nothing. No church, no union, no association, no Boy Scouts (Boy Scouts lobby), no neighborhood center (community centers lobby). Nothing. Very well. But maybe sometime in your life? No? Never? No affiliation, from the cradle to the grave.

Do you never sign a petition for a cause? No? Very well.

You are not a typical American in this respect then.

But millions of people are like you.

These millions of complete non-joiners are not, however, the cream of the civic crop. I am sorry to say that those Americans who are not somehow involved

in lobbying, indirectly or in person, are likely to be politically and civically inert, passive, non-participant citizens.

Break (changed set and tone)

Let me make these statements clearer.

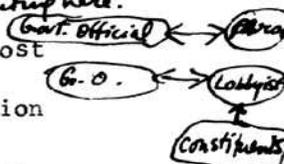
There are three ~~ways~~ ^{every person} to do so I ~~would~~ shall have to establish three fundamental facts ~~very~~ ^{firmly}. These are

one of our big and complicated ~~to take action on any~~ ^{matter} First: To get ~~the~~ government to act on a problem (or not to act on it) requires ~~mustering~~ ^{a considerable exercise of civic force,} some force, and that means ~~mustering~~ ^{getting} people together

If you were to read some of the thousands of government reports of Congressional Hearings, you would often ~~hear~~ ^{hear} a witness ~~ask~~ ^{ask} the question: Please state whom you are representing.

Third: Most of the American ~~public~~ ^{people} are organized in a host of interest groups, overlapping and criss-crossing each other in a million ways.

Second: The active and ~~leading~~ ^{also} people in American politics are ~~usually~~ ^{the ones who} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~usually~~ ^{are} ~~also~~ ^{politically} most involved in group activities. The more ~~apathetic~~ ^{apathetic} a person is, ~~politically,~~ ^{politically,} the less likely he is to belong to organizations that maintain lobbies.



Break 1/2 min.



Here is what the typical citizen might look like if we could make a cross-section of his social self.

The other person

- will have a dozen heart-minds (or social roles as we call them)
- one will be tied to his family
- another will be tied to his schools or college class
- another will be tied to his occupation, his business, or labor union, or professional association.
- his fourth heart-mind will be joined in a church.
- his fifth in a reform group, as for example, a league to obtain aid for blind children, or a league to seek to strengthen the United Nations.
- his sixth affiliation will be with a veterans group, or perhaps a racial or nationality association.
- his seventh must be with his neighborhood, or to witness the



make things horizontal not vertical

1/2 min. BREAK

side improvement association

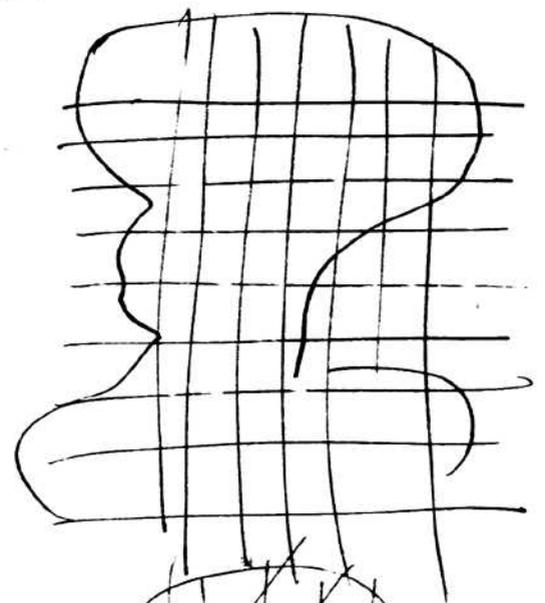
However, ~~you tell us~~ these roles do not rest in neat layers. They overlap and often conflict with one another. They lobby within us, so to speak. Sometimes the family feeling ~~we~~ ~~tells us~~ agrees with the religious feeling and both agree with the neighborhood feeling and the occupational group feeling.

Such would be the case if, for example, I ~~and you~~ share my family's belief in the Methodist Church and my ~~from~~ the church is joined with our neighborhood association ~~to~~ and the ~~East Side Improvement Society~~ support a Retail Merchant's Association to ~~improve~~ ~~our~~ city ordinance ~~regarding a street~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~neighborhood~~ providing new parking space in neighborhood. We can park our car then when we shop and go to church. ~~We are thus~~ I am at ease with myself. ~~So fast I am~~ "of one heart and mind" on my roles agree. I am ~~The matter.~~

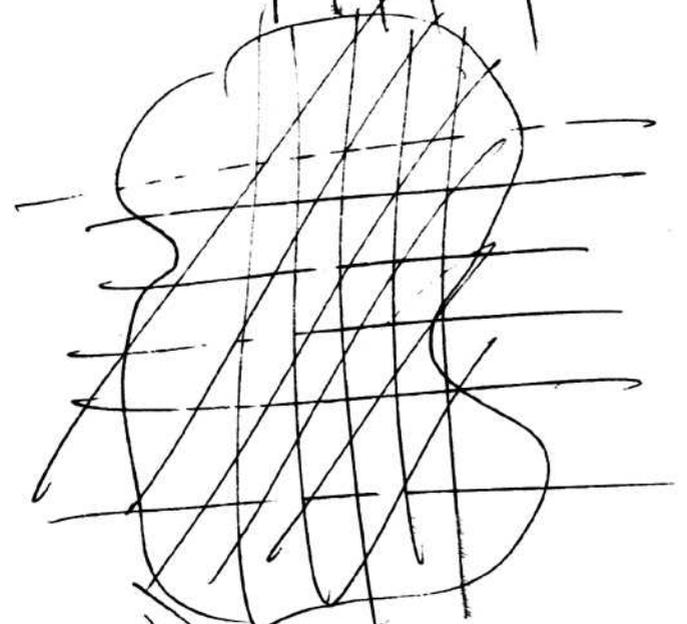
But suppose the same situation were changed and I feel a bit ~~strongly~~ about the beauty of the neighborhood ~~being~~ ~~my~~ ~~family's~~ ~~own~~ garage, ~~Does~~ ~~church~~ ~~not~~ ~~belong~~ ~~to~~ ~~another~~ ~~church~~ especially since the ~~empty~~ ~~parking~~ lot will be next to our house. Church decides it will take no position on such a secular, non-religious issue. We like the neighborhood association position which is ~~the same as our own,~~ ~~we~~ wishes to turn the empty space into a park. But ~~our~~ ~~the~~ ~~drug~~ ~~store~~ my father runs ~~to~~ ~~like~~ ~~our~~ ~~customers~~, and we cannot deny the case of the Retail Merchants' Association. Well, you see, I am in for some difficult ~~mental~~ mind-searching and soul-searching.

My internal legislative process is getting complicated. The various lobbies within me are going full blast.

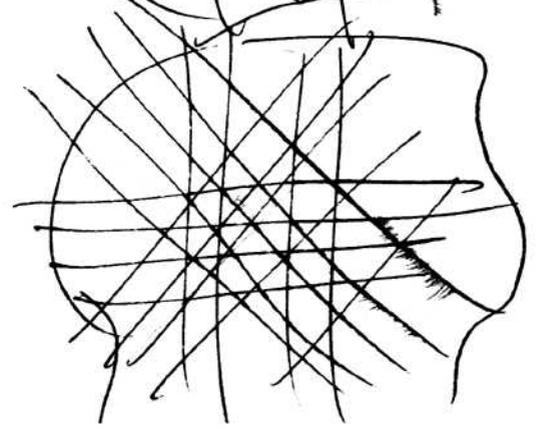
If we were to show ~~how~~ ^{more accurately} the roles within us by cross-sections, we should have to cross each lobby in us with each other lobby, like this



and even like this



and ~~or~~ like this



Complicated, isn't it?

Well, people are complicated. And life today is complicated.

Why is it that we are, but we try to oversimplify the social behavior of people?

require

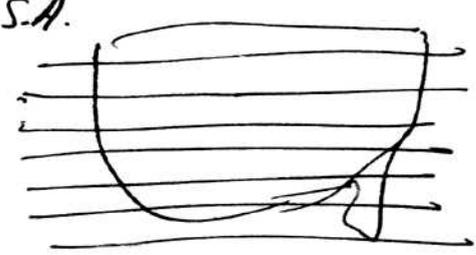
And of course individual people are much different. They have many different combinations of roles. They believe in each role with different intensities and loyalties. And some belong to many groups, such as the family, or a religious order, or their business enterprise.

But

Let's move from the individual person to the whole society. The switch can be made more easily than you may think.

Simply change our thinking from the individual person and his internal "lobbies" of the whole society, to the lobbies of the whole society.

(Here keep original list of types of lobbies and switch from the person's head & chest to the map of the U.S.A.)



- And here we have the general essential types of lobbies found in our society as a whole:
- The family lobbies
 - The educational lobbies
 - The occupational lobbies
 - .. religious ..
 - .. fraternal & union ..
 - .. neighborhood ..

We don't have to call them lobbies.
They can also be called interest groups
" " " " " pressure groups

Here is a simple way of arranging these three terms in your own mind.

The interest group is the ~~the~~ most general word and ~~for~~ means any organized group of people ~~interested~~ organized around some common interest. It may be ~~the~~ ^{the} singing society, the American Red Cross, the Italy-America Society, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Vassar Class of 1911, or the Marching and Chowder Society of Lower Basin Street.

The pressure group ~~is~~ means a little more specifically an interest group that as part or all of its interest strives to influence the ~~the~~ character of the laws.

The lobby ^{then} is the spearhead of the pressure groups, that is, that part of the group that is devoted to bringing the pressure to bear upon those who are making laws.

2 3/4 min.

There is no strict ~~count~~ ^{count} of the number of ~~the~~ ^{that is} groups in America ~~and~~ nor is there any way of saying how many of the groups are engaged in pressuring the government or even how many have ~~just~~ ^{just} lobbying ~~of~~ agents.

If you said there are ~~over 100,000~~ millions of informal, unorganized groups, you would be correct.

If you said that there are probably over 150,000 organized ^{interest} groups you would again be ^{right}

If you said that there are probably ^{working at} hundred thousand lobbies in America ~~for~~ ^{at} all levels of government -- ~~state~~ local, state, and national -- you would ~~be~~ not be far off the truth.

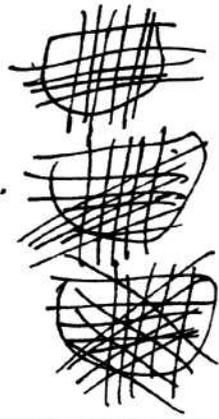
You can see ~~what an~~ ^{how} ~~intricate~~ complex the situation is with these many thousands of groups coming in and out of the political process.

Well, it's the same as with the individual person.

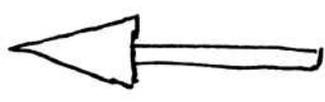
The groups also criss-cross

They make alliances with one another.

They fight with one another.



The lobbying interest groups ~~to not~~ are not by any means organized alike. If you think of the lobby as the spearhead, and ~~the~~ its parent interest group as the spear, you may have all spearhead and no spear, or head and spear both, or the small lobby spearheading a giant group.

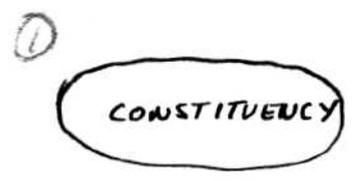


In the first case, you might have ~~to~~ a group of indignant citizens advancing on the city council to ~~the~~ demand that a certain tanning factory cease venting its perfumes upon the public air.

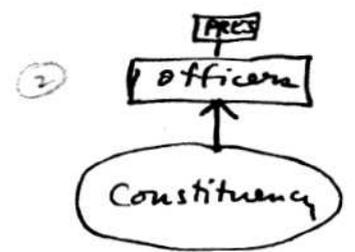
In the second case, you may have an association formed to bring about the banning of ~~the~~ the sale of alcoholic beverages in the United States & to ~~abolish~~ the ^{perils of} alcoholism. In the third case, you may have a great religious group, which, as a small part of its activities, is seeking or blocking certain kinds of moral laws.

The organization of ~~the~~ groups that support lobbies is therefore of many kinds. One common type of organization of a pressure group resembles ~~very~~ closely ^{the} organization of the government itself. It is a "little government". Examples would be the American Legion or ~~the National Union~~. The Farmers Union. Such an interest group ~~would have~~ will have

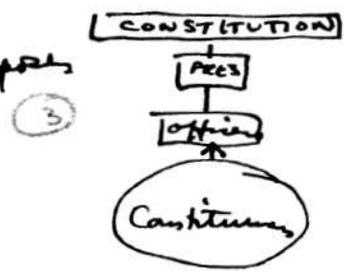
A constituency, its own public, those who identify with its general mission



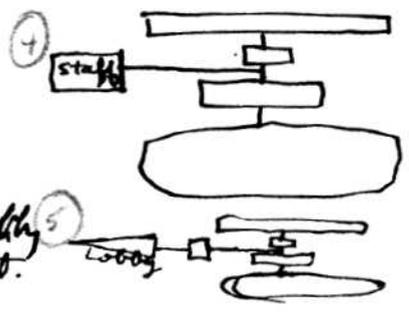
~~A constitution~~
A set of ~~the~~ officers elected by the constituency, usually headed by a President.



A Constitution, adopted by the Constituency, ~~and~~ declaring the ~~main~~ purpose and rules of the organization



A Staff, carrying out the orders of the Officers, usually headed by an Executive Secretary or Director. ^{frequently} often the staff and officers run the whole show, with the constituents playing merely a passive part of



And a Lobby proper, usually ~~called~~ The Staff and called legislative representatives of some other title (but never "lobbyists"), ^{usually} maintaining direct contact with the government.



Break

~~The thousands of~~

The way they are organized, and the purposes they have in mind determine to a certain extent how lobbyists operate.

For example, a big wealthy group such as the CIO-AFL labor unions will go directly to their millions of ~~unions~~ ^{union members} and try to enlist their support in winning favorable legislation. By contrast, a group of shipowners, seeking favorable laws ~~legislation~~, will depend principally upon ~~their~~ ^{their} ~~own~~ ^{their} professional legislative representatives.

But speaking in general, there are ~~four~~ ^{three} major arenas in which lobbyists operate. They operate in the legislative process, as laws are being made.

They work in the administrative offices of government as the laws are being carried out. And they labor in the ~~arena~~ ^{field} of public opinion, including the press and electronic.

4 mins.

The tactics of the lobbyist in the legislative process are ~~quite intricate~~ ^{numerous and delicate}. The job takes a professional and diplomatic skill of a high order. Often lobbyists are well-trained lawyers, ^{or former congressmen} or officials, or, yes, even ^{college} ~~former~~ professors.

First ~~that is~~ ^{he} he has to achieve access to the people who ~~handle~~ handle the problems.

which concern him. He has to know Congressmen in Congress or councilmen in a city. He ~~has~~ should know their staffs and secretaries. He should have friends who know them and can put him in touch.

- Then he must present his case at every opportunity -- in private conversations
- in committee hearings
- in ~~bulletin~~ letters and ~~memos~~ ^{memos}
- to everybody concerned

He tries to be helpful in every way possible. In some cases, he ~~may~~ ^{may} come dangerously close to bribery and, as everybody knows, a few lobbyists will ~~to~~ ^{sometimes} resort to ~~to~~ bribery in violation of the law. [This we are talking here about the real inside of politics. ~~and~~ ^{every} day of the year, some men are worrying about whether they are being so friendly with other men that they are verging upon unlawful sollicitation of favors.]

I should like to ~~state~~ ^{stress} an important point here. Anybody who thinks that this ~~is~~ ^{is} a simple matter -- that ~~it~~ ^{it} is an easy open-and-shut matter -- has never been in politics, and ~~never~~ ^{has} ~~known~~ ^{known} little of life in general or of himself.

~~It is a simple matter to see one another~~
 "Congressmen should not have friends who are interested in legislation." That's like receiving a man ~~shut~~ from being friendly with anyone who shares his most important interests. What, after all, is the basis of ~~friendship~~ ^{friendship}?
 Or an equally ignorant person may be prevented from having access to legislators. But that is taking all the politics out of politics. ~~Politics~~ ^{is} ~~the~~ ^{the} process of channelling special interests into the government.



Lobbying is a natural ~~function~~ ^{part} of the governmental process. ~~It may~~ It may be ~~seen~~ seem less important than the presidency ^{or} the courts, but we cannot do without it anymore than the head and limbs can do without the unglamorous liver. Once understood, lobbies can be controlled, ~~like~~ as other institutions of government are. They can be an instrument of good government to the legislator, ^{aiding} ~~helping~~ him to perceive human needs and adjust group differences. ~~social~~ ^{social} place is ~~no~~ ~~longer~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~place~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~lobbies~~, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~lobbies~~, ~~often~~ ~~without~~ ~~intending~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~so~~, ~~contribute~~ ~~to~~ ~~that~~ ~~end~~. help achieve ~~that~~ ~~goal~~. social peace.

15 min

Lobbying, as its name suggest, once ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~place~~ ^{place} ~~there~~ ^{there} conspicuous in the ~~legislative halls~~ ^{legislative halls} ~~vicinity~~ ^{vicinity} of legislative ~~halls~~ ^{halls} ~~Chamber~~ ^{Chamber} is what gave us the ~~word~~ ^{word} "lobby".
 In the nineteenth century, ~~the~~ ^{the} lobbies were ~~found~~ ^{found} largely in the legislative area.
 Today ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~great~~ ^{great} ~~importance~~ ^{importance}

As a result, governments ~~activities~~ ^{activities} ~~functions~~ ^{functions} have taken on many activities, from art museums to zoos, in welfare, defense, and what not! As important decisions ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~now~~ ^{now} ~~often~~ ^{often} left to non-elective officials. Those who therefore seek to influence such officials are administrative lobbyists. They are increasing in activity & numbers.

It still a ~~quid~~ ^{quid} ~~increasingly~~ ^{increasingly} ~~important~~ ^{important} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~forming~~ ^{forming} ~~public~~ ^{public} ~~opinion~~ ^{opinion} area where the lobby ~~also~~ ^{also} ~~functions~~ ^{functions} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~well~~ ^{well} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~pressure~~ ^{pressure} ~~groups~~ ^{groups} ~~came~~ ^{came} to ~~realize~~ ^{realize} that legislative and even administrative lobbying are ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~fully~~ ^{fully} ~~effective~~ ^{effective} unless they are backed ^{up} by ~~state~~ ^{state} ~~relations~~ ^{relations} ~~men~~ ^{men}, advertising firms, newspaper editors, public speakers and opinion organizers, have entered the picture as allies of the lobbyist. ~~The~~ ^{The} ~~ideal~~ ^{ideal} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~when~~ ^{when} ~~a~~ ^a ~~matter~~ ^{matter} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~being~~ ^{being} ~~legislated~~ ^{legislated} upon ~~before~~ ^{before} the officials of a government, if the sounds of favorable public opinion are heard outside the door. Some lobbies spend a great deal of time coordinating their personal influence with a drive to enlist mass opinion on their side.

Thyris

The life of a lobbyist can be arduous, and complex. Let me read you a true account ~~from~~ ^{as he reported to his boss} a letter ~~from~~ ^{of a man} the life of a lobbyist, in his own words ~~and~~

(Only the names have been changed.) His ~~organization~~ ^{the POA's} ~~was~~ ^{interests} concerned with influencing economic and social legislation.

Monday. Lunched with Congressman ^{Joe} ~~Jones~~ on the Hill. He is much interested in proposed unofficial advisory group from Congress for ~~our~~ activities of the POA in Washington. Mutually decided to go slow & pick most confidential, helpful and potential leaders of various groups in both parties. Will help in selection and formation from both parties. Discussed Federal aid to medical care. Interested in getting POA Bulletin as soon as possible. Thinks new bill analysis ^{good} improvement.

Office appointment with ^{Congressman} Keith Dix. Told me to disregard letter re ^{McDevitt's} recommendation, which I showed you, for reasons which I ~~stated~~ ^{respected} and explained to you...

(Director - can a hand and pen write this letter under the camera)

13
-77-

American Enterprise Association,
4 East Forty-~~7th~~ First Street,
New York,
January 26, 1949.

Mr. Sinclair Weeks,
1014 Statler Building, Boston, Mass.

Dear Senators: To inform you of happenings and opinions on certain matters occurring since Monday, 17th of January, I am setting down those things in which you may be interested, in chronological order.

Monday. Lunched with Clarence Brown on the Hill. He is much interested in proposed unofficial advisory group from Congress for activities of AEA in Washington. Mutually decided to go slow and pick most congenial, helpful, and potential leaders of various groups in both parties. Will help in selection and formation from both parties. Discussed Federal aid to medical care. Interested in getting AEA Reporter as soon as possible. Thinks new bill analysis good improvement.

Office appointment with Gene Cox. Told me to disregard letter re McCarthy recommendation, which I showed you, for reasons which I suspected and explained to you. Offered strong help for ~~AEA~~ operations in his group; stated our Washington activities, as now set up and proposed, can be very important. Much pleased with new bill analysis and feel ~~AEA~~ ~~Beckley~~ will be most valuable. Volunteered assistance in obtaining new finances; will take immediate steps with Guaranty Bank, ~~New York~~ group, who have asked how and where they can help. *Don Ballen*

Office appointment with ~~Don Reed~~. Very pleased with new bill analysis. Called ~~Gordon Grand~~, minority clerk, Ways and Means Committee, into conference and told him of valuable *AEA* assistance, including proposed ~~AEA~~ ~~Beckley~~. *Grand* offered help in getting new bills quickly to ~~AEA~~ for timely analysis. Got copy of foreign trade bill 1 hour off the press, which was sent at once to our lawyers--analysis ready Monday or Tuesday this week. *Ballen* for advisory group idea with good suggestion that groups be called in separate party groups; first, starting with majority party, then brought together when deemed necessary by recommendation of members--rather than ~~AEA~~. *Ballen* disturbed by let-down attitude of some Republican Members and feels need for strong leadership to inspire and guide minority. *Ballen*

Ballen commented on futility of some operations in which industry is active, so far as aid to Congress is concerned. Particularly mentioned NAM literature, which he stated, for the most part, went into waste baskets.

Office appointment with ~~Ray~~ ~~Spencer~~. Most appreciative of new ~~AEA~~ bill analysis and ~~Beckley~~, strongly in favor of unofficial advisory group; feels as does *Ballen*, that minority Members are low in spirit and need vigorous leadership.

Call from ~~AEA~~ office reporting request from Donald Jackson of California for 25 extra copies bill analysis of S. 246, *Edward*

Johnson

aid to education; is personally mimeographing 350 extra copies to go to constituents. Highly complimentary re analysis and new form. (This 2 hours after first delivery of bill.)

Called on ~~John~~ ^{Winton} ~~Martin~~ ^{Candler} and in his absence talked with ~~him~~ ^{Pete} ~~Simms~~ ^{Simms}. Particularly dejected atmosphere as to future. Impressed with new set-up of bill analysis and potentialities of ~~AEA Reporter~~, offered all help possible. "

Tuesday. Attended Truman-Barkley Club dinner, at table with Mr. and Mrs. Elias, editor Winston-Salem newspaper, Secretary of the Army and Mrs. Royall, and Mr. and Mrs. Joe Blythe, treasurer of the National Democratic Committee. Met many Democratic committee and congressional members through Judge Alan T. Goldsborough's daughter-in-law, who is secretary to treasurer of National Democratic Committee.

So Gola life as a lobbyist

Met with lawyers to discuss slight changes in bill analysis, also general program aiming to cover all important legislation but not pad with unimportant bills just to make a showing of volume.

Lunch and extended meeting with Les Arends at his request. Very pleased with new bill analysis and heartily agreeable to signing letter which he asked us to draft, to accompany bill analysis to new members and nonusers, explaining use and value of AEA assistance. Considerable favorable discussion of suggested AEA unofficial advisory committee of Members of Congress. Offered assistance with both Republicans and certain Democrats. Arends also perturbed by discouraging attitude of some Members. Expressed feeling that AEA has opportunity to do a big job in field of coalition on objective source material. Much interested in possibilities of AEA Reporter.

Appointment with Coordinator of Information Cecil Dixon and, Assistant Felix Sklagen. Offered our continuing assistance, which was gratefully received. New bill analyses favorably commented upon as was China section of AEA Reporter, other sections looked forward to with interest.

Long telephone conversations with Charlie Abbott and later with Dwight Eckerman (editing AEA Reporter). Abbott's requirements that writers sign articles and that Eckerman be listed as executive editor were readily agreed to, were in fact under serious consideration. Suggested changes in tax section to be further considered. Suggested amplifications to medical-care article not wholly concurred in by Eckerman and myself because of fear it would extend subject into realm of our economic study. Believe changes made will satisfy Abbott. Publication has been delayed a week; is going to printers Wednesday, January 26. Wrote letter to accompany first issue, stating care being taken to make this publication as objective, nonpartisan, and constructive help, as are other AEA materials.

Wednesday. Return appointment with Les Arends. Letter to all House Republicans approved and AEA office notified to proceed with typing. Arends will talk with Percy Priest, Tennessee, to request his similar action with House Democrats.

Luncheon with Jim Reinhold, assistant to president of Santa Fe Railroad, and Ed Carr, president, National Homebuilders

Sometimes lobbyists are ~~paid~~ volunteers and paid nothing at all. At other times they may receive as much as fifty thousand dollars a year. Their compensation depends mostly upon the ~~total~~ size of their organization's treasury. Direct spending by lobbies ~~that~~ in Congress and in some such big States may ~~amount~~ range from a dollar a year to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year.

Money is always helpful. But still there is little connection between the amount of money spent and the results achieved. Except in those cases, mostly found in State and local legislatures and agencies, where the money is spent ~~as~~ as ~~direct favors~~ ^{no doubt} ~~no doubt~~ ^{there are} thousands of bribes a year. ~~But~~ Then there are ~~the~~ millions of cases where lobbies are trying to exert influence on laws.

Break

~~If, as we say, the lobby is a natural then~~
 In fact, it is difficult to ~~measure~~ ^{calculate} the influence of lobbies -- either all lobbies taken together or any single lobby. ~~The lobbies~~
~~The basic reason why it is difficult to~~
~~that~~ one of many institutions of American government. ~~It is hard to say whether~~
 The President or the Congress is more important, it is ~~also~~ ^{equally} difficult to gauge the importance of the lobby in relation to the Presidency or Congress. ~~In the case of a single lobby, the~~
~~task~~ difficulty persists. Expert scholars

Still, There are ~~many~~ ^{minor} laws regulating lobbies. The federal government, ^{most} ~~many~~ States, and many localities ~~not~~ seek to control the pressures being exerted upon them.

- The ~~major~~ ^{trait} ~~of~~ laws forbids the bribery ~~of~~ officials.
- The law often ^{requires} some of the more obvious type of lobbies to register with ^{the government} and publish figures on their expenditures.
- Some laws limit lobbying expenditures.

A few of these laws are ^{work} ~~not~~ to everyone's satisfaction. It is ^{often} difficult to ~~not~~ distinguish bribery from ^{favours} ~~favours~~, and it is also difficult to ^{prove} ~~prove~~ bribery. The net may be too ^{coarse} ~~coarse~~, and only a few will register. Or it may be too fine & thousands of groups will be ^{compelled} ~~compelled~~ to register ~~who~~ ^{are} under protest. And as far as spending is concerned, expenditures are ~~hard to track~~ easy to hide and can masquerade under other costs of doing business. For instance, if the head of General Electric Company speaks voluntarily ~~of~~ a number of officials on legislation and other matters, should his salary or a part of it be reported as a lobbying expenditure? If a pastor ^{goes around Washington} ~~goes around Washington~~ to get ^{missionaries} ~~missionaries~~ and communist proselytizers, should his salary be entered as a lobbying expense by the church?

The regulating of lobbies, you can see, is not easy. Still there must be some regulation, just as the Congress, the President, and other institutions of government are regulated.

The best forms of regulation are, first, publicity of all organizational activity. Let all leaders put on paper what they say they've done. There will usually be someone to challenge any fraud, or perjury, or ~~significant omissions~~ ^{significant omissions}.

Second, let ~~again~~ the laws on bribery be more carefully enforced.

^{break} Someday, it may be wise to write a new National Charter of Functional Representation (a Magna Carta of lobbying). In it, there might be given specific public responsibilities to all groups who try to take a hand in determining public policy.

But meanwhile, it is well to remember the constructive functions of lobbies.

- 1) They bring legitimate grievances to the attention of the government.
- 2) They help to inform ~~to~~ and educate hard-pressed government officials.
- 3) They call attention to each other's fallacies and faults, thus creating helpful public debate and ~~informing~~ ^{informing} legislators of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~thus~~ ^{thus} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~state~~ ^{state} of affairs.
- 4) In general, they help to organize the vast multirarious American people in a way to develop public interest in public issues and means of making important opinions continuously felt at the seats of power.

(20) These reasons, it seems to me, are good reasons for regarding the lobbyist as an ~~essential~~ important + justified branch of government.

I have dwelt on some of their faults, but feel that ~~for these reasons~~ and because their faults are ~~no more~~ not basic or excessive ^{or excessive} than one expects from human behavior, ~~it is proper to regard the~~ ~~not~~ the lobbyist as an American Institution of government.

The place of lobbyist is not yet fixed. The public view The place of lobbyist is not yet adjusted. The public view The faults are not yet adjusted. The public view ~~regard~~ of lobbyist is still unsettled.

Therefore, rather than say that the answers are all here and you need go no further, I would say, you may want to do a lot more thinking about interest groups in America. A good deal of public study and discussion is certainly in order.

All that I would ~~say~~ assert by way of conclusion is that ~~we~~ we can properly regard the lobbyist as a legitimate ~~institution~~ institution of American government. (2)