business letter."

Others seeking to excite a new trational movement remed at tolerning the demonstrate precesses might be been associated that not John Cardner life is the attends some of each life them whose he apparent his new venture that he was sailing in uncertain, where one let go that he was a sailing in uncertain, where the let government survey to go that he let government survey to years age as HPW secretary, Gardner phrase had completed a career as aniversity professor, auditor, foundation president and had earned a reputation as a scholarly organiza-

a reputation as a scholarly organization man valued in the board rooms and centers of power.

His opportunities were many: About 30 university presidency offers, the chance to serve on about two dozen boards of directors, one or two corporate presidencies, and, after Robert Kennedy was assassinated, the choice proferred by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to take Mr. Kennedy's Senate seat. He turned them all down to become chairman of the National Urban Coalition and the guiding force of the Urban Condition Action Council, The Action Council Decrating 1 under la board made di Diff brayers, bunothy group members, business, labor and religious leaders, played a major role in a number of key legislative victories in Washington Common Cause is an outgrowth of it.

Then he added: "I'm fearful we may run into problems use the expectations of on Thembers may be too

because us to fulfill."

Figure, one obvious problonger notion is more subtle,
and postage more pervasive floods. Throughout the 1960s Washington and the nation saw the formation of a humber of organizations, public and private, bearing high sounding names and espousing noble purposes. They, too, would reform America. They did not.

It's fair to say that Gardner's Common Cause was greeted with a certain amount of cynicism in the Capital, partly because of doubt about its prospects, partly because of Gardner's personanty.

The Washington Posts Times Herold ... The Washington Daily New The Evening State Washing The Sulleav Step Washin Dailt CCC5 (New York) Sing Sewe (New York) New York Poet The New York Times \_\_\_ The Sun (Baltimore) \_ The Daily World The New Leader The Wall Street Journal The National Observer \_\_\_ People's World \_

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Examiner (Washington)

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illiedized, on even Golormodkey say en he sot out fast Messi to riss a general of a findion domains from private sources to get Common Crise courses to get Common Crise cours to get Common Crise cours to get Common Crise cours to get course and source course that approach is of the property of the course of the property of the course of the property of the course of the course

each Gardner's appeal spelled out more than a specific plan of attack. He dealt with a broader theme about Americans and their country. As he traveled the land. he says, he detected a sense of trouble, powerlessness and frustration over events in which citizens had no control, or voice. He sought to tap those feelings when he wrote:

"Many of you who will receive this letter share my anger at institutions and individuals that have behaved irresponsibly. But, if we're going to focus our anger, a good place to begin is with ourselves.

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vitalize our institutions.

The recent years we drave seen, integether too much compliquent, narrow self-interest meanness of mind only spirit, proteopal haused and teat. But as I travel around the country, I see something else. I see great remaining strength in this nation. I see deeper reserves of feverion and community engaged by present leadership. I see many, many Americans who would like to help tebuild this nation but don't know where to but don't know where to begin."

## Begin to Respond

- The people began to respone. Some 0.334 persons joined Common Cause from that first marking. Newsper ads in four cities brought another 6.300 members—and \$100,000 in subscriptions.

Minde a number of people

asked lefts same kind of quasticus as the man in Massachusetts—who is John Cardico? How, specifically, will Common Cause achieve its goals? What is the plan of action? How will the members be used?-it was clear the appeal had touched a nerve. Again and again, people expressed a feeling of national trouble and discontent. A letter from Arizona summed the feelings of many: -

"Unsolicited mail is not my cup of tea, but once in a while there is reason to thank God for the freedom of our mail service," the man wrote. "The letter you sent soliciting membership in Common Cause was a de-light to read in these terribly troubled times. If ever the pen described in general terms what this nation needs, this introductory letter of yours most certainly

include Shi Adris Control of the Con

Where it poes based that in terms of mindes and money is ablene's facts. But it already has comed enough muscle to cause apprehension in some political sectors. There is talk, fed by Gardner's thesis that Common Cause we decome a "third force" in merican life, that it is a poon at political vehicle for sandner and a third-party mayement. Gardner denies are such to cause, he says, will not support political candidates. It will confine itself to issues.

will confine itself to issues. Members will be upred to be active politically and to join the party of his epsice. But this kind of statement does this kind of statement does not entirely satisfy the suspicious publical prokers. Alsa was fing Common Casse with a wan ove are the new bloos on Capitol His tass there that Common Cass will other win or loss.

Already, Common Cause staff members are losbying on the lift, while robusteers are busily calling other members around the countermembers around the coun-

members around the country, asking them to take action behind a specific issue.

A visit to the Washington headquarters is instructive. The approach is decidely low key—a sharp contrast to the beginning of other ventures seeking to help the people improve the system.

When the war on poverty was taking shape nearly seven years ago, for instance, the air was full of bold talk about final solutions and unconditional victory. Poverty was going to be banished from the land. The date was even set. By the mid-1970s, the age-old scourge would be eliminated from American life.

many presentations.

Gardier minister speaks of other on zens, operations as often being amateurish, hit andrup affans, staffed by "people whe think they don't have to do their homework because their hearts are page."

One of Cardner's lobbyists, John Lagamarcine, speaks in much the same yein about his offents.

vein about his efforts.
"We're operating through a
combination of the old ingredients, and some new ones," he says, "First of all, you have to know your ease and your lagislation. You must present a well-stated case, reasonable, but expressed with conviction. And it's absolutely essential that you level with him that you let him know what problems he might once the ter if he supports you. In other words you have to let him know you've aware of

what he has to face and that you're ready to Belp him face it."

As for power, Lagomar. cine says Common Cause has no illusions that it can muster the kind of over-whelming pressure mounted by such organizations as the AFL-CIO or the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. But he has no doubt either that Common Cause can play a vital role. مند ويخ

Gardner puts it more specifically.

"A great many people," he says, "don't know the history of citizens' action in America.

motione hit afone as as nord a ficulty force as the oil lobby. People done always understand this.

"Reeple who go into our political institutions are imprisoned by them. Citizens' action is one way to get a little change for the good. I see it as a part of the political pracess. It's changed tical process. It's engaged in the political process, and that means there's en interplay between people inside and outside government.

The book on public interest lobbying basn't been

written yet but I can sure as hell tell you it's going to be written."

Gardner also recognizes that talk, however eloquent or wise, isn't going to make Common Cause a success It must domenstrate that it has influenced key issues, and participated in major

and participated in major victories.

At this siage, Common Cause is beginning to attempt to organize its members in action. The idea is not to form diapters in local communities as such but to bring together various citizen groups to apply pressure from the grass-roots level and on to Washington. A regional organizer has been hired, and is now at work in California, Others will follow for different secwill follow for different sec-

One of the clear hazards in any undertaking like Common Cause is the inclination to do too much, and thus dissipate the effort. Gardner says he doesn't intend to see that happen. "We're going to have to shoot with a rifle," he says, "pick out an issue and aim directly at it. You have to

New, Common Cause is gearing up for an excitoigger battle—the sacre congressional senior ev tem.

In January, for the first time ever, the semesity issue will be debated by the two parties in the House of Representatives (but not the Senate). Congressmen will meet shortly before the new Congress convenes next month and consider whether -and if so, how-to change the seniority system.

Common Cause is taking an aggressive role on the side of change. It is already distributing a fact sheet spelling out its position on

why change is needed.

"No other parliamentary body in the free world employs the seniority system," it argues, "no legislature in the 50 states employs it. The system places wier, whelming power in the whelming power in the hands of aging men, and makes it virtually impossible for younger men to play significant roles of leader-ship. In the early 1860s, Henry Clay served bril-liantly as Speaker of the House, beginning at the age of 33. Contrast that with the situation today in which the Speaker is retiring at the age of 79 and the median age of House chairmen is 69 compared with 53 for all nfembers of the House.

man had it in bold to be a Jefferson, he couldn't be one today begause the system doesn't permissi."

He is not reflectant to speak out critically about mother question—presidential leadership. Gardner, a Republican, gives this appraisal of Richard Nixon's presidency to date.

"I think he has written a

"I think he has written a prefty poor record in the first two years of his administration, and I think if he doesn't turn it around, history won't be kind to him."

tory won't be kind to him," he says.

"I think his apppreaches have produced a kind of flatness of mood, a kind of apathy, that ish't good for the country. People aren't even producing ideas any more, and I thank that's partly due to his approach. I think his handling of the last stage of the desirence campaign was these tooks.

dight succeeds in drucing the coefficty, but it was divi-sive in infent, and I flight it did, considerable damage of all the first of a factor of all the fleate."

Regund of talk andoubtedly will cause more speculation about John Gardner and his Common Cause. It sounds like a candidate speaking.

Gardner dismisses such a thesis.

"Sure," he says, "I could go around speaking out like that, but people don't need any more talk. They need action. And that's what we're trying to do."



JOHN GARDNER "not the nation it set out to be."

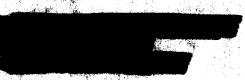
Mise to suspective.

Please - after you have O.K. ed it as a good organization in our country, for our country, let us know. Is it subversive?

We await your endorsement. Thank you.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Sincerely,



Enclosed please find stamped self addressed envelop for reply.

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Dear Branch

I would like to ask you to join me'in forming a new, independent, nonpartisan organization to help in rebuilding this nation. It will be known as Common Cause. It will not be a third party but a third force in American life, deriving its strength from a common desire to solve the nation's problems and revitalize its institutions of government.

There is so much that needs to be done. There are so few who are properly organized to do it. We must end the war. We must bring about a drastic change in national priorities. We must renew our attack on poverty and discrimination. And we must keep at it until we build a new America.

I know many of you share my concern and my deep sense of urgency. We must act now. We must demand more of ourselves and much, much more of our leaders. We must shake up and renew outworn institutions.

Common Cause offers you the opportunity.

Many people today recognize that national priorities must be changed; but they don't know how to go about it. They are shocked by the facts of powerty and pollution and inadequate housing, but the don't know what to do.

The first thing Common Cause will do is to assist you to speak and act in behalf of legislation designed to solve the nation's problems. We are going to build a true "citizens' lobby" -- concerned not with the advancement of special interests but with the well-being of the nation. We will keep you up-to-date on crucial issues before Congress. We will suggest when and where to bring pressure to bear.

One of our aims will be to revitalize politics and government. The need is great. State governments are mostly feeble. City government is archaic. The Congress of the United States is in grave need of overhaul. The parties are virtually useless as instruments of the popular will. We can no longer accept such obsolescence.

The solutions are not mysterious. Any capable city councilman, state legislator, party official, or Member of Congress can tell you highly practical steps that might be taken tomorrow to make the system more responsive. But there has been no active, powerful, hard-hitting constituency to fight for such steps. We can provide that kind of constituency.

Skeptics say "But you can't really change such things." The Congress of the United States has changed in dramatic ways since its founding. Why should we assume it has lost the capacity to change further?

The political parties have changed even more dramatically since the birth of the Republic. They can change again.

Common Gause is an outgrowth of the Urban Coalition Action Council.

Operating under a governing board of extraordinary diversity (mayors, minority group leaders, and leaders from business, labor and the major religious groups), the Action Council proved to be astonishingly effective. The Council has worked with a variety of allies in the civil rights organizations, the labor movement, the business community, and other groups. It has participated in major legislative victories, including extension of the Voting Rights Act, passage of the Welfare Reform Bill in the House, and defeat of a measure that would have virtually ended nonpartisan voter registration programs.

In short, we know from first hand experience that citizen action can be effective. We ask you to join us in making it even more so.

I shall not attempt to list here all the issues with which Common Cause will be concerned. We believe there is great urgency in ending the Vietnam War on a scheduled timetable. We believe there must be a major reordering of national priorities. We believe the problems of poverty and race must be among our first concerns. We will call for new solutions in housing, employment, education, health, consumer protection, environment, family planning, law enforcement and the administration of justice.

As our membership grows, we will ask members to help in identifying priority issues.

We do not expect every public to being different to the every question our formation of the every question our control of the every public to the every distribution of the every distribution

We take the phrase "Common Cause" seriously. The things that unite us as a people are more important than the things that divide us. No particular interest group can prosper for long if the nation is disintegrating. Every group must have an overriding interest in the well-being of the whole society. It follows that our agenda must be an agenda for all Americans -- for the poor, the comfortable and those in between, for old and young, for black and white, for city dweller and farmer, for men and women.

Many of you who will receive this letter share my anger at institutions and individuals that have behaved irresponsibly. But, if we're going to focus our anger, a good place to begin is with ourselves.

We have not behaved like a great people. We are not being the people we set out to be. We have not lived by the values we profess to honor.

America is not the nation it set out to be. And we will never get back on course until we take some tough, realistic steps to revitalize our institutions. That won't be easy or comfortable. Institutions don't enjoy the process of renewal. But we had better get on with it.

In recent years we have seen altogether too much complace of narrow self-interest, meanness of mind and spirit, irrational hatred and fear. But as I travel around the country, I see something else. I see great remaining strength in this nation. I see deeper reserves of devotion and community concern than are being tapped by present leadership. I see many, many Americans who would like to help rebuild this nation but don't know where to begin.

I invite you to be among the first to join us in Common Cause.

We cannot and should not depend on big contributors. The money to support our work must come from the members themselves.

We therefore ask you to enclose a check for \$15 with your membership application. Or, if you prefer, we will bill you later for that amount.

Sincerely yours, The Sach

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Dear JBJ.

This sounds good. Is it an the level? If it is, we moved like to support it. O. K. ed it as a gand organization in our caunting, for our mustry let us knaw Is it pubratione? We await your endancement. Thank you. Sincercly,

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HEREIN IS UNICLASSIFIED
DATE 9-9-8 6 BY 9-9-8-1-(CAL)

Your letter, with enclosure, was received on December 5th. In reply to your inquiry, this Bureau is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that we cannot be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover Director

or

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NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Her enclosures are an advertisement for the organization named Common Cause and a stamped, self-addressed envelope. John W. Gardner, the Chairman of the Common Cause, is the former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and the former Chairman of the Urban Coalition. This organization is set up as a citizens' lobbying group with the aim of revitalizing politics and government by the use of citizen action to influence Congress. Correspondent's self-addressed envelope is bein utilized for this reply.

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