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Russell, Richard (Sen.)

Washington Insight by Clayton Fritchey

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WHO BELONGS TO THE SENATE'S INNER CLUB?

The first list ever published of the men who really run the Upper House—how they are chosen, what they do, and how they hold on to their power.

Nearly all Washingtonians as well as many citizens elsewhere know about The Club (that sovereign Inner Club of the U. S. Senate), but nobody knows who belongs to it. This column is intended to correct that strange and long-enduring oversight.

There is a growing tendency to refer to the Club as the Establishment, for the latter perhaps describes more precisely the increasingly tenuous nature of the group. But by either name it remains a unique force, difficult to define, and even more difficult to identify in terms of individual Senators. It is not always seen; it often is not heard—but the Capital knows it is there; and, without much fuss, it functions when it counts.

Yet after all these years it remains as mysterious as ever. It is a Club without a clubhouse; there are no directors and no membership lists. There are no meetings and no minutes. It casts blackballs, but even Senators themselves can't explain how, when, or where. There is only one feature on which all agree: the "President" of the Club is Senator Richard Russell (Democrat, Georgia),* chairman of the powerful Armed Services Committee, which presides over the vast Defense De-

partment, also an establishment but of another kind.

Some Senators think the Club collectively can be described in a sentence. One said to me, "Get out the *Congressional Directory* and look up the chairmen of the standing committees. That's the Club." Another said, "Go look up the Appropriations Committee. They're all there." Still another said, "The simplest way to go about this is just to get up a list of those who support the oil-depletion allowance." There is much to be said for all these characterizations, but they still don't provide a satisfactory definition.

Who Is In?

Broadly, the Senate may be divided into four groups: (1) members of the Inner Club; (2) potential or would-be members; (3) non-members; and (4) anti-members. In trying to determine which Senators fit into each category, I sought the views of a cross section of Senators and their wives, as well as the opinions of Senate staff workers, lobbyists, newspaper correspondents who cover the Hill, and Administration people. It turned out to be possible to draw up a list on which there was general agreement, although, of course, with shadings and reservations.

First come the relatively small number of full-fledged members. In alphabetical order (with Republicans in italics) they are:

<i>Everett Dirksen</i>	Illinois
Allen Ellender	Louisiana
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	North Carolina
Carl Hayden	Arizona
<i>Bourke Hickenlooper</i>	Iowa
Lister Hill	Alabama
Spessard Holland	Florida
<i>Roman L. Hruska</i>	Nebraska
Henry M. Jackson	Washington
B. Everett Jordan	North Carolina
Russell Long	Louisiana
Warren Magnuson	Washington
Mike Mansfield	Montana
John L. McClellan	Arkansas
<i>Thruston Morton</i>	Kentucky
<i>Karl E. Mundt</i>	South Dakota
Edmund Muskie	Maine
John Pastore	Rhode Island
Richard B. Russell	Georgia
George Smathers	Florida
John Sparkman	Alabama
John Stennis	Mississippi
Stuart Symington	Missouri

This list includes the Minority Leader (Dirksen), the Majority Leader (Mansfield), the Assistant Majority Leader (Long), and—a new-comer—Robert Byrd, who has been promoted to the No. 3 slot in the Democratic hierarchy. Some of those polled had reservations on Symington and Sparkman because both once had outside ambitions: one was a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination and the other was Stevenson's running mate in 1952. Also they are often more independent than some of their colleagues, but the consensus was that they should be in-

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*See "Russell of Georgia: The Old Guard at Its Shrewdest," by Douglas Kiker (*Harper's*, September 1966).