

Case Study

Congressional Papers: Collection Development Policies

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Abstract: *The Documentation of Congress: Report of the Congressional Archivists Roundtable Task Force on Congressional Documentation* presents a viable, working documentation strategy for the U.S. Congress. As part of the documentation strategy, the task force recommends the writing of a model policy statement for archival institutions collecting congressional papers. This article presents a model congressional papers collection development policy that can be appended to a repository's full collection development policy. The model is based on Faye Phillips, "Developing Collecting Policies for Manuscript Collections." The article includes discussion regarding ancillary persons or organizations to be collected in conjunction with congressional papers.

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"LARGE NUMBER IN CONGRESS calling it quits," read a headline in the *Baltimore Sun* on 30 January 1994. Thirty-three members of the House of Representatives had at that time announced their intention not to seek reelection, a record number so early in the year. Sixty-five members had voluntarily retired in 1992, and 110 freshmen representatives took office when the 103rd Congress convened in 1993.¹ Each representative who leaves Congress and every new representative or senator who arrives will create office files. Such files and the congressional activities they document are a part of U.S. history.

What becomes of these office files when a representative or senator leaves Congress through election defeat, retirement, or death? The office closes and files are boxed, but where do the records go? Who is responsible for answering these questions and implementing the necessary actions?

The Center for Legislative Archives at the National Archives and Records Administration is responsible for the preservation of the official records of Congress, while representatives, senators, and their staffs are responsible for the management of the information created in their offices. By tradition, members' office files—papers—are considered to be personal papers. Who is responsible for their care? The office staff and the senator or representative must assume responsibility for establishing a records management plan for the office and for the preservation of historically valuable materials. They also are responsible for locating a proper repository for the housing and care of the papers. The repository is responsible for final appraisal, for arrangement and description, and for making the collection available for research use.

The Library of Congress holds nineteenth-century congressional papers and some from the twentieth century, but most are preserved in archival repositories across the country. Hundreds of libraries, historical societies, and nonprofit agencies throughout the country collect, appraise, arrange, and describe congressional papers and make them available for research. The *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators 1789–1982* lists 350 repositories that have collections of congressional papers representing men and women who have served in the United States Senate from 1789 to 1982. *A Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the United States House of Representatives 1789–1987* lists information from 592 repositories containing historical material on approximately 3,300 former members. Over 10,000 men and women, however, have served in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1789. Papers not currently in archival repositories must be cared for if and when they are found.²

The struggle for repositories and archivists to make the commitment to collect, preserve, and make congressional papers available for research is not a new one. The 1978 Conference on the Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers challenged archivists, historians, and congressional staff to study systematically the problems associated with the acquisition, research use, organization, processing, arrangement, description, and size of papers of U.S. sen-

¹Karen Hosler, "Large Number in Congress Calling It Quits," *Baton Rouge Sunday Advocate*, 30 January 1994, 1A, 9A.

²Kathryn Allamong Jacob, editor-in-chief, *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators, 1789–1982*, U.S. Senate Bicentennial Publication No. 1, S. Pub. 97-41 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Senate, 1983); Cynthia Pease Miller, editor-in-chief, *A Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the United States House of Representatives 1789–1987*, H. Doc. 100-171 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. House of Representatives, 1988), ix.

ators.³ In 1985, the Dirksen Congressional Center and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) sponsored a conference on congressional papers at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, with the intent of answering these questions. A report issued by the conference participants made recommendations for minimum standards for congressional collections and for repositories collecting them.⁴ The minimum recommended standards for repositories include the following:

1. Environmentally and security controlled storage areas
2. A commitment to bearing the cost of processing, housing, and making the papers available for use on a continued basis
3. Appropriate collecting policies
4. Adequate and professional staff
5. An ability to handle sensitive data and classified information
6. An ability to do timely processing
7. Technology to make machine-readable records usable
8. Complementary collections and research resources and the ability to service the materials
9. A commitment to participate in national data bases

These minimum standards can, of course, be prioritized in many different ways, but thorough planning necessitates that appropriate collecting policies be the first priority.

A Model Collection Policy

The Documentation of Congress: Report of the Congressional Archivists Roundtable

³J. Stanley Kimmitt and Richard A. Baker, *Conference on the Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers Proceedings* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Senate, 1978), 121.

⁴Frank Mackaman, *Congressional Papers Project Report* (Washington, D.C.: National Historical Publications and Records Commission, 1986), 17-27.

Task Force on Congressional Documentation, by project director Karen Dawley Paul, immensely aids the work of archivists of congressional papers and the repositories that collect such papers.⁵ The report presents a viable, working documentation strategy for the Congress. Included are definitions, sources and status of documentation, and recommended actions for congressional functions. As part of the documentation strategy, the task force recommends that a model policy statement be written for archival institutions that are interested in specializing in congressional/legislative/political research."⁶ In conjunction with the documentation strategy, archivists need to refine repository collection development policies to focus on subject areas such as congressional papers.

Effective policies reflect the objectives and plans of the organization. They are consistent but flexible, so that they can be changed as new needs arise. They can be distinguished from rules and procedures; policies allow for latitude, but rules and procedures remain firm. Finally, they are written. The model established for written collecting policies contains the elements outlined in Table 1.⁷

The detailed congressional papers collection development policy should be written into the overall policy under Section IV, Priorities and Limitations of the Collection, Subsection G, Subject Areas Collected. A manuscripts repository may be geographically oriented with many strong subject areas; however, to refine the collection development policy, these subject

⁵Karen Dawley Paul, *The Documentation of Congress: Report of the Congressional Archivists Roundtable Task Force on Congressional Documentation*, S. Pub. 102-20 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Senate, 1992).

⁶Paul, *The Documentation of Congress*, 15.

⁷For a more thorough discussion of elements, see Faye Phillips, "Developing Collecting Policies for Manuscript Collections," *American Archivist* 47 (Winter 1984): 30-42.

Table 1. Model Collection Policy

I. Statement of purpose of the institution and/or collection
II. Types of programs supported by the collection
A. Research
B. Exhibits
C. Community outreach
D. Publications
E. Others (specify)
III. Clientele served by the collection
A. Scholars and professionals
B. Graduate students
C. Undergraduates
D. General Public
E. Other (specify)
IV. Priorities and limitations of the collection
A. Present identified strengths
B. Present collecting level
C. Present identified weaknesses
D. Desired level of collection to meet program needs
E. Geographical areas collected
F. Chronological periods collected
G. Subject areas collected
H. Languages, other than English, collected
J. Exclusions
V. Cooperative agreements affecting the collecting policy
VI. Resource-sharing policy
VII. Deaccessioning policy
VIII. Procedures enforcing the collecting policy
IX. Procedures for reviewing the policy and its implementation

areas need further delineation. An example of such delineation appears in Tables 2 and 3. Model policies are intended to be used by individual repositories as guidelines for creating their own unique collection development policy. The model congressional papers policy contains elements suggested by the *Documentation of Congress*.

Appraising Congressional Recordkeeping

Congressional papers can be viewed in three chronological periods: sitting mem-

bers, past members whose papers bulk in the years after 1950, and past members whose papers bulk in the years before 1950. The nature and makeup of the way work is done in Congress has changed most dramatically since the 1950s, which leads to this appropriate division. Before World War II, Congress was essentially a part-time institution. Since World War II, Congress has become a full-time institution, and congressional staff have increased from about two thousand to twelve thousand. In *The Documentation of Congress*,

Table 2. Model Congressional Papers Collection Development Policy

To meet its mission more fully, the XXXX will collect the personal papers of this state's congressional delegation, except those discussed in the Collecting Policy, Section IV, Priorities and limitations of the collection, Subsection J, Exclusions.

Definition. Congressional papers are by tradition considered to be personal papers that may be acquired by universities, historical societies, and libraries. These papers are created in the offices of U.S. senators and members of the House of Representatives by the senator or representative and their staffs. This includes papers from members of all sessions of Congress since 1789.

Parameters. This repository will collect the papers of any elected or appointed senator or representative from the state of XXXX who has served in any Congress since 1789 up to and including the present. The only papers that will not be accepted are covered in Section J, Exclusions.

Criteria for Acceptance. All congressional papers (for current members, post-1950s members past, and pre-1950s members past) must meet the following criteria to be accepted by this repository:*

1. A deed of gift or deposit agreement has been signed.
2. Only limited and reasonable restrictions are requested.
3. The files are complete for the congressional period, and precongressional papers are included.
4. The member of Congress served a significant number of years or was involved in events of historical importance that give the papers extensive research value.**
5. When electronic records system documentation exists along with texts and indexes, those electronic records can be accessed through the repository's computers. Paper back-up systems exist where appropriate for electronic records.
6. Appropriate files have been microfilmed, and the microfilm is indexed and in good physical working condition.
7. Nonpaper media items are identified, dated, indexed, and in good physical condition.
8. The member of Congress and his or her staff and family are willing to assist in oral history projects and in collecting the papers of ancillary persons and organizations.
9. The components of the papers are well defined and in good order, as well as good physical condition.
10. The weedeable series (series which might be sampled) are easily distinguished.
11. For sitting members of Congress their office must have a current working records management plan.

* Much of this section is drawn from Frank Mackaman, *Congressional Papers Project Report*, 17-27.

** Cynthia Pease Miller, assistant historian, U.S. House of Representatives sees a need for archivists to rethink this appraisal guideline. In a letter to the author, dated 23 March 1994, she stated, "More members are coming to Congress at a younger age, and they are leaving at a younger age, especially from the House, to pursue other interests, run for other office, or accept appointment to other office. There are only 48 members of the present House with more than 20 years service (roughly 10 percent) and only 14 of those with 30 years service. If the present retirement/defeat rate continues, when the 104th Congress convenes in January 1995, more than half of the House will have been elected since 1990. This has serious implications for archivists and repositories interested in congressional papers. Foremost, it means there will be fewer personalities, members with long service who may have been identified with certain issues."

Table 3. Model Congressional Papers Collection Development Policy: Ancillary Persons and/or Organizations to be Collected in Conjunction with Congressional Papers

<p>Definition. Congress is not an isolated organization. Thousands of individuals who are not members of Congress affect who is elected, what bills are presented and passed by Congress, the public's view of Congress, judicial efforts, fund raising and almost every aspect of what Congress is and does.</p> <p>Examples. The following are examples of the types of individuals and organizations that are ancillary to Congress:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Unsuccessful candidates in significant elections2. State and local politicians and political parties including temporary political associations3. Educating, nonpartisan political organizations4. Media consultants5. Political consultants6. Special-interest groups7. Political action committees (PACs)8. Judicial personnel9. Media individuals and organizations10. Lobbyists and lobbying groups11. Public policy research organizations12. Congressional scholars13. Campaign volunteers <p>Parameters. This repository will collect the papers of ancillary individuals or organizations that had a significant impact on the constituent services performed by elected or appointed members of Congress from the state of XXXX from 1789 up to the present, or had significant impact on those members' elections, legislative and oversight activities, voting, campaigns, and media perceptions.</p> <p>Criteria for Acceptance. Papers and records of ancillary individuals or organizations must meet the criteria established for the papers of members of Congress. Organizations currently in operation must have a working records management plan.</p>
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Karen Dawley Paul gives a thorough explanation of how post-1950 Congresses differ from pre-1950s Congresses, citing the following major changes:⁸

- A drastic increase in the workload of Congress

- A subsequent increase in size of the legislative branch
- The evolution of committees and subcommittees, and the trend toward greater decision making and influence on the part of subcommittees
- An increase in congressional oversight activity
- A greater reliance on staff
- An increase in the number of informal groups within Congress, which diffuses power
- A proliferation of special-interest groups outside Congress

⁸Paul, *The Documentation of Congress*, 17–21. Such change is so significant that a recent National Heritage Lecture in Washington, D.C., “Changing Congress,” addressed the changes in Congress and its membership since World War II. See “Society to Host National Heritage Lecture,” *Capitol Dome* 29 (Winter 1994): 1.

- The opening of Congress to more thorough public scrutiny

Most repositories would collect any material found about the earliest senators or representatives from their states if such papers could be located. However, it is important to define this in the collection policy. The policy might include a statement that all materials created by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century members of Congress from the state will be collected regardless of completeness or other conditions.

Another important consideration in the division between pre- and post-1950 congressional papers is the creation and use of automated correspondence systems and computers, the development of local area networks, the use of e-mail systems, and the creation of biographical data bases. After the 1980s, e-mail and relational databases began to be used in most Senate offices. For example, Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana was elected in 1948 and retired in 1986. Not until the late 1960s did the office employ any type of automated correspondence system. The Senate Computer Center's Correspondence Management System was not used in Long's office until 1982. When he retired four years later, all staff members in Long's office had personal computers on their desks. Electronic recordkeeping systems and their management affect what records are created and how archivists deal with them.⁹

Collection development policies, documentation strategies, and appraisal are interdependent. Strategies and policies identify the materials to be collected and contain the conditions the materials must meet to be acquired. Many of these conditions are appraisal decisions, and these conditions should appear in appraisal checklists as well as in

criteria for acceptance and minimum standards for collections.

Although the appraisal of congressional papers is not the focus of this essay, one cannot overemphasize how closely appraisal and acquisition of appropriate materials are bound together. Appraisal is the subject of a substantial body of archival literature, but collection development policies are not. *The Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Archival Repositories* (1991) by Karen Paul; the House of Representatives "Guidelines for Disposition of Members' Papers" (1992) compiled by Cynthia Miller; and *The Documentation of Congress* are necessary aids in appraising congressional papers. Other helpful publications are *Guidelines for Standing and Select Committees in the Preparation, Filing, Archiving, and Disposal of Committee Records* (1990), a Committee on House Administration publication; *A Guide for the Creation, Organization and Maintenance of Records in Congressional Offices* (revised 1990) by the Library of Congress, Central Services Division; and the *Congressional Handbook*,¹⁰ a GPO publication issued for each Congress.

The Records Management Handbook also assists in the difficult appraisal decisions associated with electronic records. The first edition of the handbook (1985) helps explain some of the older computer systems used in the Senate. Electronic records (machine-readable records) have not eliminated paper files as once pre-

⁹See Faye Phillips and Merna W. Ford, *The Russell Billie Long Collection Guide* (Baton Rouge: Special Collections, Louisiana State University Libraries, 1994).

¹⁰For a repository point of view, see Division of Library & Archives, Minnesota Historical Society, "Report of the Congressional Papers Appraisal Committee," 1993. The author is working on appraisal guidelines for congressional papers for the Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections. Also very important to this discussion is Patricia Aronsson, "Appraisal of Twentieth-Century Congressional Collections," in *Archival Choices: Managing the Historical Record in an Age of Abundance*, edited by Nancy E. Peace (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1984), 81-104.

dicted. On the contrary, they have made the archivist's job more difficult, for all congressional offices now have electronic records. Electronic records may come to the repositories with a host of problems. The staff creating them may not have used conventional file naming procedures making it impossible for archivists or researchers to locate needed files; and staff may have deleted important drafts of documents without making backups, thus creating incomplete records. Because of the proliferation of computers and software, the repository archivist must understand the wide variety of systems used in congressional offices to make the electronic records accessible for researchers in the future. Finally, the best of archival repositories may not have the necessary hardware to read all electronic records.

Other Important Questions

Other criteria in the collection development policy may or may not be appraisal questions. However, appraisal cannot be completed unless these questions are answered.

Is there a signed deed of gift or deposit agreement? Most repositories are now fully aware of the critical need for legally accurate and current contracts with donors detailing the terms of the gift or of the deposit. The deed protects the rights of the repository, the donors, and the future researchers. The July 1993 issue of the Society of American Archivists newsletter *Archival Outlook* carried a draft joint statement by the American Library Association and the Society of American Archivists, "On Access to Original Materials in Libraries, Archives, and Manuscript Repositories." This statement should be used as a standard for deeds of gift. Sample deeds of gift and deposit agreements for congressional papers can be found in the *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators*. Cynthia Pease Miller, of the Of-

fice of the Historian for the House of Representatives, has written a brochure on deeds of gift for members of Congress. A deposit agreement is sometimes the only agreement the repository is able to gain from the donor, but caution is always required. As shown in Ronald L. Becker's recent case study, "On Deposit: A Handshake and A Lawsuit," the best of intentions can lead to ownership problems when no deed of gift is signed.¹¹

Are any required restrictions limited and reasonable? The question of restrictions may not exactly be an appraisal question, but restrictions or the lack of them will affect acceptance or nonacceptance of the collection. Many archivists will agree with the maxim that "no gift is ever free," and restrictions are one of the costs associated with manuscript collections. Members of Congress and their families may request that certain portions of personal materials be closed for a reasonable period of time to safeguard sensitive information, protect living persons, and prevent libel. Archivists may be faced not only with the requirements of the Federal Privacy Act and Freedom of Information Act but, in some cases, with national security classified files that are restricted by statute. Although the personal papers of members of Congress are not governed by these acts, most wish to adhere to the spirit of the laws. Finally, any photocopies of records of congressional committees are governed by House and Senate rules.¹² Original archival committee records are housed in the National Archives.

Is the member of Congress and his or her staff and family willing to assist in

¹¹Ronald L. Becker, "On Deposit: A Handshake and A Lawsuit," *American Archivist* 56 (Spring 1993): 320-28.

¹²It is recommended that House committee records have restricted access for 30 years and Senate committee records for 20 years. See Rules XI and XXXVI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, and Senate Rules XI and XXVI 10(a), and S. R. 474, 96th Congress.

oral history projects and in collecting the papers of ancillary persons and organizations? Twentieth-century papers most often have gaps that need to be supplemented by oral history. The verbal nature of Congress is well covered in the *Documentation of Congress*, which recommends that all repositories collecting congressional papers establish oral history projects to enhance the research value of such collections. The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center's *Oral History Project: Procedure Manual*, by Daniel J. Linke, is an excellent model for other congressional repositories' oral history programs.¹³ The member of Congress or his or her family can also influence the collection of the papers of ancillary persons or organizations.

Collecting the Papers of Ancillary Persons and Organizations

The inclusion of papers of ancillary persons or organizations in the collection development policy for congressional papers was first discussed in *The Documentation of Congress*, and this article therefore discusses in detail the collecting of materials ancillary to congressional papers. *The Documentation of Congress* recommends that the consideration of such papers and records be part of the overall documentation strategy and that collecting policies for congressional papers include them. Any ancillary persons and organizations can also be grouped under other subject areas collected by the repository, such as journalism, statewide organizations, minority groups, judiciary, or state politics. But to emphasize their relationships to congressional papers, they should be viewed as part of the congressional papers collection development policy. The various groups included in this

section represent the interrelationships and overlapping staffing that Congress and the political parties have with other organizations.

The papers of unsuccessful candidates that document a point of view differing from that of the winner in significant elections, should be collected. At the national level, Ross Perot and George Wallace are good examples of such individuals. At the state level, the papers of a defeated candidate for Congress who continues to play a role in state activities and who might run for future office should be collected.

The records of state and local political parties or organizations, including temporary political associations merit collection. These entities might include state and local Democratic, Republican, and third-party organizations such as Socialist or Libertarian groups. Many congressional membership organizations also have a regional or local focus, such as that of the Northeast-Midwest Legislative Service Organization. In some states, a temporary political association, such as the Louisiana "No Dukes" organization that opposed senatorial and gubernatorial candidate David Duke in the 1980s and 1990s, exist. Just as important are "unofficial" congressional membership organizations (those that do not receive appropriated funds, such as the Democratic Study Group or the House Wednesday Group) which have regional or local interests.¹⁴ State and local politicians also have influence with Congress, and their papers should be collected.¹⁵ Many states legally require that the records of state and local officials be transferred to the state archives. When that is not the case, local repositories may collect them.

¹³Daniel J. Linke, *Oral History Project: Procedure Manual* (Norman, Okla.: Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, 1990).

¹⁴See Gary Hoag, "Congressional Member Organizations," in Paul, *The Documentation of Congress*, 69-78.

¹⁵See Paul Chestnut, "Legislative Records," *American Archivist* 48 (Spring 1985): 167-78.

Noncongressional political organizations are excellent candidates for regional or statewide cooperative collecting policies.¹⁶ These may include organizations that have as their goal the education of all voters regardless of party or nonparty affiliation. The records of the League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan, political education group, should be collected in all fifty states. Other nonpartisan groups might be similar to the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, whose only purpose is to educate voters. Special-interest groups such as the right to life groups, pro-choice groups, World Wildlife Fund, and the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism, can affect congressional activities as well as influence voters at national, regional, or local levels. They affect voting through mailing campaigns, running their own candidates for office, supporting think tanks and PACs, and lobbying. Their officers may be volunteers who hold the organizations' records, which, if not collected quickly, may disappear since many of these groups are only temporary. Their records are difficult to locate, but their activities are critical to compiling a complete picture of lobbying that affects Congress and voters.

Although it often seems to the public that political action committees (PACs) are an official part of Congress, they are not. These committees are usually large campaign contributors, and they are required to report to the Federal Election Commission. They raise and make donations to campaigns and even pay for advertising for and against candidates. They are attached to business or other special-interest groups. The financial influence they have had since the early 1970s has changed the way campaigns are run and has lessened the candidate's personal influence over campaigns. They can be categorized as corporate, labor, trade, mem-

bership, health, "nonconnected" (related to neither the candidate nor his or her party), cooperative, and corporate without stock.¹⁷

The papers of many consultants also add to the documentation of Congress. Political consultants work for a specific candidate or political party and their job is to get their candidate elected. Media consultants and political consultants change roles frequently. Individuals may also serve as lobbyists or think-tank employees when not working with a candidate.

The papers of judges associated with particular politicians, parties, or philosophies should be collected,¹⁸ as should be the papers of judges who assisted or opposed Congress in the development of legislation relating to the courts. Federal and Supreme Court justices' papers should be acquired at the state or national level as well.

Many media individuals and organizations focus on the functions of Congress and produce ancillary papers and records that repositories should acquire.¹⁹ Individual legislative and political journalists in print, television, and radio can be included, as can political cartoonists. Many repositories already have substantial collections of journalists' papers. Because these collections include all types of journalists, it is helpful to list legislative and political journalists in the collection development policy for congressional papers. Organizations such as the National Press Club advise journalists on appropriate repositories for their papers. Most states have a state journalism association, and large cities may have local ones. These membership organizations' records give an overview of policy concerns of state and local journalists;

¹⁷Paul, *Documentation of Congress*, 48.

¹⁸See James Cross, "Congress and the Judicial Branch," in Paul, *The Documentation of Congress*, 91-98.

¹⁹See Faye Phillips, "Congress and the Media," in Paul, *The Documentation of Congress*, 99-104.

¹⁶See Aronsson, "Appraisal of Twentieth-Century Congressional Collections," 98-100.

they may also include information on lobbying by these organizations.

Film, videotapes, and audiotapes from broadcasting stations offering political coverage or political programs are also valuable to a study of Congress. A repository cannot afford to collect the entirety of records from local television and radio stations, but they could develop an agreement whereby one or two stations send appropriate political coverage to the repository. Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN) broadcasting is collected at the Purdue University Public Affairs Video Archives, and copies of tapes can be purchased. The Vanderbilt University Television News Archives records, abstracts, and indexes national evening news broadcasts of ABC, NBC, CBS, and CNN Prime News. Copies are available.

The role of media consultants has become increasingly important in political campaigns, and their papers will add to the historical record. Some congressional press secretaries become media consultants after leaving Congress. Media consultants still tend to stay behind the scenes in political activities, which makes their papers harder to collect. Public relations firms and advertising agencies also serve as media consultants.

In addition, the influence of lobbyists and lobbying groups has grown since World War II.²⁰ Numerous businesses, state officials, organizations, and individuals lobby Congress at one time or another on issues important to them. PACs may fall into this category as well. Lobbying information is contained in the records of many organizations, as for example, those of the National Rifle Association, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Library Association, and the American Association of

Retired Persons. Individual lobbyists who have long careers, or organizations that have lobbied for a number of years, will have the most complete files. Repositories should collect the papers of lobbyists and records of lobbying groups closely associated with issues that concern their state's congressional delegation. For example, Louisiana is economically dependent on the petroleum and chemical industries, and Louisiana repositories will therefore want to collect files from the significant petroleum and chemical industries lobbyists.

Often overlooked are the records of public policy research organizations (think tanks).²¹ These are nongovernmental, non-profit public policy organizations. Some have been around since the early 1900s, but most have been established only since the 1960s. They may not legally lobby if they are registered as tax-exempt. Think tanks can be partisan or nonpartisan, and individuals who have served as lobbyists, organization officers, politicians, consultants, and even congressional scholars move in and out of employment with these groups. Many legislative service organizations in Congress have affiliated private organizations that function as public policy organizations. For example, the Democratic Study Group supports the Democratic Study Center.²²

University archives or manuscripts departments usually collect the papers of their professors who are congressional scholars, but those who are not affiliated with universities should be collected as well. Historians, political scientists, legal scholars, social scientists, and faculty in mass communications may all study the history, activities, and functions of the U.S. Congress. Most repositories collect the papers of faculty and scholars, but those collecting con-

²⁰See Sheryl Vogt, "Congress and Lobbyists," in Paul, *The Documentation of Congress*, 105-12.

²¹See Karen Paul, "Congress and Think Tanks," in Paul, *The Documentation of Congress*, 109-12.

²²Paul, *The Documentation of Congress*, 71, 159.

gressional papers should also seek out the papers of scholars in their state who concentrate on the study of Congress.

Political campaigns have always been run with the help of volunteers. Volunteers work in campaigns and on committees; they serve as part of special-interest organizations; and they function in many other unpaid capacities related to members of Congress. These volunteers may or may not become designated officials in the organizations for which they work. In collecting ancillary papers to congressional collections, repositories should look for evidence of volunteer activity in the papers of business people, educators, artists, jour-

nalists, and members of civic and community organizations, including garden club members.

Conclusion

All repositories operate more effectively with written collection development policies. If such policies are the foundation on which the collection is built, then documentation strategies provide the structural framework. *The Documentation of Congress* serves as the framework for repositories' congressional collections. This model collection development policy for congressional collections is a preliminary road map.