

REGARDING THE REFORM OF CONGRESS

MEMORANDUM

by Prof. A. de Grazia

(not for public distribution)

October 10, 1966

Congruence of ideas contained in Republic in Crisis: Congress Against the Executive Force (1964) and Congress: First Branch of Government (distributed in pre-publication form October, 1965-February 1966, published Spring, 1966) with the ideas contained in the Final Report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress (July 28, 1966); Senate Bill 3848 "To improve the operation of the legislative branch of the Federal Government," (with accompanying report no. 1629); House Resolution 17963, idem, and House Resolution 17873, idem.

This memorandum, which compares the documents, does not go into historical and causal connections, as for example in testimony during hearings, informal meetings, telephone conversations, and other contacts. Such a history, covering many dozens of contacts, might be prepared on another occasion. Nevertheless, the amount of congruence found in the documents named above is striking. It is revealed by placing quotations from and notations about the independent research documents in one column and corresponding quotations and notations concerning the Congressional documents in a parallel column.

The following code of abbreviation is used to refer to documents cited:

Final Report, Joint Committee --- JC

Final Report, Joint Committee (supplemental views) --- JCM

Note: House Resolutions (HR 17963 and HR 17873) have been introduced by majority and minority party members corresponding to the views and recommendations of the Final Report. A Senate Resolution (S 3848) has been introduced with a report (S 16229) of the same order.

Republic in Crisis --- R in C

Congress: First Branch --- C: FB

The outside studies preceding the world of the Joint Committee are of course intended to endure beyond the work of

the Joint Committee. Many recommendations of those studies, therefore, may not be reflected in the first documents to come out of the federal government subsequent to their publication, but rather will continue to supply information and ideas to the continuing, long-lasting debate over the role of congress in the American way of government.

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1. A General Counsel of Congress is the preferred instrument for expounding congressional intent and prerogatives at the bar; executive attorneys cannot always be relied upon for full support of congressional rationale.

(A. de Grazia) (C: FB 459)

2. Congress should hire its own specialists to counter the specialists of the executive, but it should make sure that they are indoctrinated in a congressional check-and-balance viewpoint. To this end, Congress should in hiring its own experts (a) develop a suitable program of indoctrination, (b) ensure that the specialists are exposed to adequate contact with the public and where possible have the same kind of contact that the congressmen themselves experience. (C: FB 460)

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1. The Joint Committee on Congressional Operations shall be given continuing responsibility for identifying court proceedings and actions affecting the vital interests of the Congress as an institution and for determining, with the approval of the leadership of both Houses, whether the Congress should be appropriately represented in these actions. (JC 47)

2. Standing committees shall be authorized to provide for specialized training or education of professional staff whenever a majority of a committee determines that such training or education will aid it in the proper discharge of its responsibilities. (JC 23)

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3. A Joint Commission on Check and Balance Principles should be established to serve as a central voice for ideas about how Congress should more effectively carry out its work of checking and balancing, and to be a spokesman for congressmen in difficulties with the executive as a result of carrying out their tasks. From time to time the commission might undertake investigations and studies that do not fall appropriately within the sphere of any particular committee. It could also be assigned responsibility in those aspects of congressional management that bear on Congress' power to check and balance. In particular it might be made responsible for devising the general system for co-opting members for congressional committees, for establishing and supervising regulations on employment of ex-congressional employees in the executive departments, and for financing and locating experts for individual congressmen wishing to solicit a cogent brief on the case against a particular executive proposal. However, the commission should not be permitted to exercise general authority on other matters of congressional administration.

(C:FB 461-462)

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3. I invite special attention to the proposed Joint Committee on Congressional Operations. From the long-range point of view, this innovation may well prove to be the most fundamental recommendation in the report. It will assure continuous scrutiny of congressional organization and procedures and it will initiate the use of electronic data processing for use of the Congress. Even more basic, it creates, for the first time in history, a central agency in the Congress to identify vital issues affecting the Congress and strengthen it as an institution. (JCM 78)

Congress shall establish a Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, consisting of 10 members, 5 of whom shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and 5 by the President pro tempore of the Senate. No fewer than two of the five appointed by the Speaker shall be members of the House Committee on Government Operations and one shall be from the majority and one from the minority, and no fewer than two of whom shall be members of the Committee on House Administration and one shall be from the majority and one from the minority. No fewer than two of the five appointed by the President pro tempore shall be members of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and one shall be from

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4. Congress should present nonpartisan messages to the nation corresponding in time and scope to the President's State of the Union Message; Congress can employ special messages from time to time.
 (C: FB 463)

5. Congress has to engage in long-range planning of the government by means of a better organized leadership working through a central office of both houses of Congress. (The Plenary Council)
 (C: FB 464)

the majority and one from the minority, and no fewer than two of whom shall be members of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and one shall be from the majority and one from the minority.
 (JC 46)

4. The legislative committees should hold hearings on major reports required of the Executive. Many statutes require periodic reports to Congress from the agency or department. Some reports - such as the President's Economic Report - are the subject of important hearings. But many other important reports by the Executive go unnoticed because the committee with jurisdiction takes no action. Hearings should be held on major reports in order to direct attention to any specific problems raised in them. The result of such hearings would be a more regular dialog on major public policies.
 (JC 25)

5. In our judgment, it is essential that the Congress establish a centrally constituted agency under which certain existing functions can be consolidated, and which can be charged with new and important functions that significantly involve the Congress as an institution, as well as continuing scrutiny of its organization and operations, including implementation of the present recommendations.
 (JC 45)

The Joint Committee on Congressional Operations shall be designated as the supervising

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agency for such functions as lend themselves to central supervision rather than separate direction in each House.

(JC 47)

Joint Committee Republicans suggested giving several added functions to the proposed Joint Committee on Congressional Operations (JCm 90,91)

6. The political organizations within Congress are not to be changed to strengthen party discipline in voting; their present state is satisfactory.

(C: FB 464)

6. No support was given in the majority Final Report to the strengthening of the political parties control over Congress. (Rep. Ken Hechler urged that the Rules Committee be made an arm of the majority leadership.)

7. Congress should revive Senator Kefauver's recommendation for a question period.

(C: FB 468)

7. A question period was not provided. (Rep. Ken Hechler urged one in a supplemental view, JC 81.)

8. The practice of permitting questions to be asked on occasion from the floor of either house and requiring their answer by agency chiefs then and there has little effect on the ultimate place of Congress in the government.

(C:FB 468)

9. Congressional Tribunes designated from a panel of qualified persons serving under Congress should be assigned to each agency of government and, each year,

9. In addition to the permanent professional staff otherwise authorized, each standing committee shall be entitled to one additional permanent professional staff member

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should assume the role of devil's advocate, proposing to the appropriate congressional committees that the agencies' activities, personnel, jurisdiction, and budget be eliminated, devolved to local governments or non-governmental groups, or otherwise reorganized.

(C: FB 470)

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who shall be assigned exclusively to performance of review (oversight). He shall be selected by the chairman with the concurrence of the ranking minority member. The review specialist shall be directed to carry out review projects, or to supervise the same, contingent upon the approval of such projects by the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee.

(JC 23-24)

Each standing committee other than the Appropriations Committees shall file an annual report on the review activities of the committee during the year. The report shall include an evaluation of programs under the jurisdiction of the committee, an assessment of the quality of administration of agencies investigated during the year, and recommendations as to organizational and program changes and/or the elimination of unnecessary activities under the committee's jurisdiction. The reports shall be delivered to the majority and minority leadership of both Houses and by the leadership to the President, with a copy to the Bureau of the Budget.

(JC 24)

We strongly urge the creation of new committees in the House and Senate to be known in each body as the Committee on Procedures and Policies. Such committees would have the power to examine into and report back to the Congress on the

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expenditure of Federal funds by the executive branch to insure that they are spent efficiently and in accordance with law. The chairmen of these committees shall be members of the minority party. (JCM 85)

10. If properly developed, case and service work would provide Congress with important means and motives for oversight and with a mode for participation in the administration. (C: FB 470)

10. The joint committee, after careful consideration, decided against recommending creation of such an office ("ombudsman") at this time. We believe that casework is a proper function of the individual Member of Congress and should not be delegated to an administrative body. (JC 36)

11. Increased fiscal control by Congress may well reopen the way to greater legislative initiative. The appropriations process is a critical area of legislation for long range national planning. This requires (a) projections of prospective tax inputs over a given future time span, (b) projections of existing and proposed agency activities over future time spans, (c) some means of achieving accord on the main areas of national needs and on the methods required to satisfy them. (C: FB 472)

11. The executive budget concept permits the President and the Bureau of the Budget to weigh the economic and fiscal consequences of spending at given levels, to consider problems of debt management, and to establish priorities among competing programs. Congress needs the tools to do the same job. Such analysis can best be conducted by the full Appropriations Committee of each House. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers should be required to appear before the Appropriations Committees within 30 days after the submission of the budget to justify the considerations and assumptions upon which the budget is based.

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The appearance should be in open hearing and their testimony should be printed immediately thereafter. This would provide all Members with maximum information prior to their consideration of that session's legislative program and individual appropriations bills.

(JC 31)

The legislative committees shall strengthen their fiscal participation by adopting the following procedures:

(a) Committee reports on all new legislation shall include a projection of costs for the next 5 years or for the authorized duration of the program if it is less than 5 years. The estimates shall include a comparison of the committee's cost estimate with that of the executive branch. Final consideration of new legislation shall be subject to a point of order in the absence of this projection.

(JC 35)

12. Steps should be taken to (a) computerize the budgetary and appropriations processes, and (b) to depart, on a selective basis, from the one-year, fiscal July 1-June 30, appropriation for programs which are not suited to this cycle.

(C: FB 473)

12. Our budgetary process urgently requires the systematic employment of modern automatic data processing techniques. Extensive use of these techniques can provide the Government with essential fiscal and budgetary data, vastly improve the evaluation of these data, and make this information more accessible to individual Members.

Automatic data processing now makes it possible to sift millions of individual budget items and make selective inquiry in specific fields. Duplication of effort will be more easily discovered. Norms of performance can be established for comparable activities. It may someday be possible to achieve a quality of budget review which would today seem sheer fantasy.

(JC 27)

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13. Congress should require the executive to submit a two-year budget; this would enable it to take greater care in examining government estimates and appraising the relations between proposed expenditures and expected policy results.

(C: FB 473)

14. Congress should assume greater control over the budget.

(C: FB 473)

15. Congress should encourage and give the GAO increased funds to study the internal operations of federal agents within the broad terms of a "management audit" concerned with the overall adequacy and efficiency of operations.

(C: FB 473)

16. Liaison between the GAO and individual members and committees should be improved.

(C: FB 474)

13. The budget document shall include the following information: (a) multiple-year financial projections on proposed or existing legislation which are ongoing programs with commitments for future years and programs considered mandatory under existing law.

(JC 29)

14. The increase of total Federal spending, the use of the executive budget, and the development of more sophisticated techniques of budget analysis all make congressional control of fiscal policy more difficult. It must be conceded that Congress now shares this power with the executive branch. Congress must equip itself to insure effective and meaningful exercise of its constitutional field.

(JC 26)

15. Provide expert assistance to Congress in the analysis of cost-effectiveness studies prepared by agencies and departments under the planning-programing-budgeting concept. These experts shall be on call by the Appropriations Committees and the other committees of Congress to assist them in analyzing cost-effectiveness studies or to assist in making independent cost-effectiveness studies on programs under their jurisdictions.

(JC 28)

16. Provide information as to the location and nature of fiscal data available in the various agencies and departments. Such information shall be available on request to any committee or individual Member. Summary tables of the data shall also be prepared as requested.

(JC 28)

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17. The committee structure must remain sufficiently flexible to maximize political bargaining for which committees are the governmental instruments par excellence.

(C: FB 476)

18. The total committee process, including the special cases of committees of investigation, should be reviewed, not to limit committee activities but to derive principles of procedure more in accord with scientific research and the rules of legal discovery.

(C: FB 476-7)

19. In the case of controversial legislation, each committee should be required to issue a report, accepted by the protagonists of both sides of an issue (and not necessarily party sides), which would inform the houses of the compromises that had been made and of the reasons for these compromises.

(C: FB 477)

17. The jurisdictional changes we recommend deal only with present needs. Further jurisdictional realignments will unquestionably be required in the future to meet new developments in workload and program evolution. The Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, suggested elsewhere, should evaluate such developments, possibly by carrying out periodic surveys, and assist the Congress in maintaining a flexible approach to the problem.

(JC 15)

18. This was definitely accomplished. See pp. 8-25 of JC.

19. The conferees of each House should prepare an explanatory statement in connection with the conference report. Individual explanatory views may also be filed in an appendix to the statement.

The minority should have the right to half the allotted time in the floor debate on a conference report.

(JC 25)

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20. Committees should be encouraged to produce policy and program statements on subjects within their jurisdiction, and to elevate these messages to the level of public reporting which has been achieved by many White House conferences, task force reports by executive and foundation groups, and agency studies.
(C: FB 478)

21. Where minority-party staffing on committees is inadequate and the principle of check and balance is therefore threatened, provisions for giving over at least one-third of staff and facilities to the minority party as the convenient vehicle of honest opposition should be made.
(C: FB 478)

22. The minority party represented in committees should be provided with a staff almost equal to that of the majority. Thus if the majority party becomes increasingly aligned with the executive branch, the minority party will be in a position to check the majority and in so doing provide the necessary legislative counterbalance to executive power.
(C: FB 478)

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20. Each committee report shall be submitted to all members of the committee at least 2 days prior to filing exclusive of Saturdays, Sundays, and legal holidays. Members not in agreement with the report shall have the right to submit supplemental or minority views during this period, and such views shall be filed as part of the committee report in a single volume and so noted on the title or first page of the report.
(JC 12)

21. The language of section 202 with respect to appointment of professional staff without regard to political affiliations shall be retained and emphasized. However, at least two of the authorized professional staff positions and one clerical position shall be appointed by and assigned to the minority upon request. The minority positions shall be filled by persons with professional qualifications.
(JC 21)

22. The language of section 202 with respect to appointment of professional staff without regard to political affiliations shall be retained and emphasized. However, at least two of the authorized professional staff positions and one clerical position shall be appointed by and assigned to the minority upon request. The minority positions shall be filled by persons with professional qualifications.
(JC 21)

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23. As society produces new complexities in the congressional environment, it is necessary to ensure continuing representation of all interests through the standing committee system. A modest increase in the number of standing committees might therefore be contemplated; two immediate possibilities are committees on urban affairs and housing, and on education.

24. To assist legislators in their representative tasks, the congressional schedule should be formalized to provide for planned periodic recesses. This measure could be taken through an informal agreement between the party leaders at the beginning of each session. It would enable congressmen to spend substantial amounts of time in their home political base and to participate in the work of the congressional task forces proposed above.
(C: FB 482)

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23. The Committee on Education and Labor shall be divided into two committees: the Committee on Education and the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

A Committee on Education shall be established as a major standing committee. The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare shall have its jurisdiction redefined so as to exclude matters pertaining to education, and so as to consolidate in one committee all programs and activities concerned with labor and public welfare.
(JC 15)

The Banking and Currency Committee shall be redesignated the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs. (House Rec. 3)

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(JC 17)

24. Both Houses should schedule committee and floor sessions on a 5-day workweek, so that the business of a session may normally be completed by July 31, the time for congressional adjournment as provided by law. A session shall be extended beyond that date only by a resolution adopted by a majority rollcall vote in each House. In no event, however, shall any meetings of either House be held during the month of August, except in time of war as declared by Congress.
(JC 55)

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25. Congressmen should be reimbursed for up to 12 round trips to their districts annually plus 12 round trips for staff members whom they authorize to travel on official business.

(C: FB 484)

26. A Congressional Institute should be established to conduct a RAND-type of study activity on a Congress-wide or committee basis for the development and application of sophisticated analytic techniques to the performance of congressional functions.

(C: FB 486)

27. Congress should increase funds allotted to members and committees to commission external research on a consultative and contractual basis under the control of a special joint committee of Congress.

Congress should establish a consultants' fund to enable any member to call upon the expertise of non-governmental bodies at rates commensurate with private consultation fees in the same way as the executive departments do.

(C: FB 487)

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25. In addition to the annual session trip of one round trip at the rate of 20 cents per mile, each Senator shall be entitled to one additional round trip annually (making a total of seven) and each Member of the House of Representatives to three additional round trips annually (making a total of seven) between Washington, D.C., and their destinations in the State or district.

(JC 38)

26. The Joint Committee on Congressional Operations shall make a continuing study of the organization and operation of the Congress and shall recommend improvements in such organization and operation with a view toward strengthening Congress, simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with other branches of the U.S. Government, and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the Constitution.

(JC 46)

27. Each standing committee shall be entitled by majority vote to employ outside consultants, jointly selected by the chairman and ranking minority member, to prepare studies, or advise the committee on subjects within its jurisdiction.

(JC 22)

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28. Increase allowance for telecommunications to facilitate contact with knowledgeable persons in the member's home state.
 (C: FB 488)

29. The LRS should be expanded so as to enable it to perform valuable in-depth studies tailored to the needs of individual congressmen.
 (C: FB 489)

30. A panel of expert consultants on a full range of legislative subject matter could be established by the LRS, and congressmen could be authorized to call upon them for their services.
 (C: FB 489)

31. The Library should be made a center for research and development in the area of automated information, indexing, storage, and retrieval; that is, a center for research and development of policy documentation systems.
 (C: FB 490)

28. A Capitol-wide leased line telephone service should be established as soon as economically feasible to provide for the increasing telecommunications requirements of Members' offices.
 (JC 38)

29. The Legislative Reference Service shall be redesignated the Legislative Research Service, to reflect more accurately what should be the primary emphasis of its work.

The Service shall have the authority to create a new reference division to handle routine reference inquiries and thus relieve the professional staff of such duties.
 (JC 40)

30. The Service shall be authorized to employ on a temporary basis such experts, consultants, and research organizations as may be necessary to supplement its permanent staff.
 (JC 40)

31. A study should be made of modern techniques, including possible use of automatic data processing facilities, which would permit the preparation of a subject index to the Congressional Record more frequently than the present biweekly index.
 (JC 44-45)

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32. Congress' problem is primarily one of obtaining relevant information; it requires a procedure for acquiring the information it needs and a method for processing that information in order to learn what it needs to know. This conception of the problem suggests that far more is necessary than just increasing the information flow to Congress. It suggests the need for information processing systems that are integrated with congressional tasks, functions, and activities. Each congressman and each committee should be served by a remote input-output terminal connected on a time-sharing basis to some central computing facility.

(C: FB 490)

33. Processing systems could be used to:

(i) Locate bills in the legislative process, showing in each case the history of action including amendments, committee vote, floor vote, and scheduling for future action;

(ii) Provide information about the subject of the vote at the time the vote is announced, e.g., bill number, sponsorship, legislative history.

(C: FB 491)

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32. The Joint Committee on Congressional Operations shall be authorized and directed to explore and evaluate automatic data processing and information retrieval systems, with a view to determining the feasibility of their use in congressional operations and recommending such installations as may be found appropriate.

(JC 46)

33. There are a myriad of potential applications of data processing techniques, such as (1) establishment of a central committee meeting scheduling service, with a view to minimizing meeting conflicts; (2) application to various business-type operations of the Congress; (3) bill drafting service, as an aid to the legislative counsel in both Houses; and (4) daily bill status service. The feasibility of these and various other applications should be explored in regard to ultimate adaptation to congressional operations.

(JC 46)

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34. The information systems developed for the different committees could be used to improve control over the administration. E.g., by application of information processing techniques to make exhaustive and comprehensive analyses of past and projected budgetary expenditures for each agency, thus enabling the committees to pin-point and subject to closer scrutiny sources of increase (and decreased, if any) and patterns of supplementary appropriations.

(C: FB 491)

35. To improve the quality of personal staff assistance, an Office of Personnel could be set up under the management of Congress to provide members of both houses with highly qualified personnel -- professional, case-worker, secretarial -- on a full-time or short-term basis as required; it could also maintain a roster of expert consultants available to members. The office would be available to any member who wished to use it, but no member would be compelled to do so. An additional use of the office could be for members to employ its service to help them select the most qualified applicants for patronage appointments.

(C: FB 492)

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34. In cooperation with the executive branch, an effort shall be started toward the design of a Government-wide budgetary data system.

In order to facilitate the utilization by Congress of automatic data processing capabilities and modern program evaluation techniques, the General Accounting Office shall develop systems design and cost-benefit analysis capabilities necessary to meet adequately the needs of the Congress. To facilitate performance of this responsibility, the GAO shall arrange to provide the functions described below.

(JC 27)

35. An Office of Personnel and Office Management shall be established. This Office shall act as a central clearinghouse for job applications, to test applicants' qualifications, and to assist Members or committees in their efforts to obtain competent employees. The Office shall also provide assistance to Members, on request, in adopting better office management practices, in the efficient utilization of office equipment, and in improved handling of the Member's workload.

(JC 50)

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36. Qualifying tests to insure compatibility with congressional principles and suitable technical skills should be required of committee staff, but the direct responsibility of staff members to committee chairmen should not be disrupted.

(C: FB 492)

37. The size of congressional staffs should be increased to provide necessary casework, legislative liaison, and committee agents for each congressman.

(C: FB 493)

38. Certain staff problems cannot be solved without the addition of new personnel. In the Senate, provision should be made for at least one additional part-time committee staff assistant for each senator, responsible to him instead of to the committee. He could help on constituency problems falling within the committee's general area of jurisdiction, and his presence would release more of the senator's

36. The responsible officers of Congress shall be entitled to require all employees to complete successfully minimum training prior to employment.

(JC 49)

37. Each Member should have a competent legislative assistant whose primary responsibility is to assist the Member in performing his legislative functions. While the legislative assistant must necessarily work from the Member's office, this position should not be used to provide additional constituent assistance.

(JC 37)

Section 202 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 shall be amended to increase professional staff positions from four to six so that each standing committee will be entitled to at least six professional and six clerical positions.

(JC 21)

38. Section 202 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 shall be amended to increase professional staff positions from four to six so that each standing committee will be entitled to at least six professional and six clerical positions.

(JC 21)

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administrative assistant's time for constituency problems and supervising caseworkers. In the House, Congress should authorize each representative to hire an administrative assistant with salary, status, and responsibilities similar to his counterpart in the senator's office.

(C: FB 493)

39. A. de Grazia recommended in Hearings that congressional right to nominate cadets be maintained.

40. Tied-in elections would go far toward putting the Congress at the political mercy of the President. Together with other recommendations to create greater "party responsibility" in Congress, it would subject every congressman to the domination of the political party.

(C: FB 5-6)

41. Republic in Crisis gave a strong case for modifications of the seniority principle in the selection of committee chairmen, but suggested overriding any frontal attack on the principle because of the dangers inherent in the alternatives.

39. Despite the fact that such appointments do require some time on the part of the Member and his staff, we recommend that the appointments be retained as a congressional prerogative. The principle of civilian control over the military is too important a concept to be diluted in any way. Congressional appointments make each officer aware of the source of his position at the outset.

(JC 56-57)

40. The Committee did not assume jurisdiction of the problem of a 4-year term for the House coinciding with Presidential elections. A supplemental opinion by Rep. Durward Hall denounced said idea.

(JCm 96-97)

41. The Joint Committee heard extensive testimony on the selection of committee chairmen by the custom of seniority. Many believe that this system is a principal evil of congressional procedures. They contend that congressional machinery will remain hopelessly antiquated until a better means of selecting committee chairmen is found.

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Seniority is not a rule. It is a custom of both parties and can be disregarded when there is sufficient sentiment in either party to do so. The present rules of each House provide for the election of chairmen and members of committees by the parent bodies. As a practical matter such decisions are made in the caucuses or conferences of the respective parties, but the membership of each House is not bound by these decisions and may override them by a simple majority vote. Seniority is, therefore, a party matter.

The power of the chairman is a more fundamental issue in sound committee operations than is his method of selection. The chairman is charged with a heavy responsibility and should have authority commensurate with that responsibility. It is unrealistic to suppose that a committee could operate efficiently without allowing the chairman to propose the committee's agenda, to participate in the selection of staff, to assign members to subcommittees, and, in general, to manage committee business. Nevertheless, the chairman is the agent of the committee. The ultimate power does and should rest with a majority of the committee itself.

(JC 9)

The Joint Committee recommended no change in the seniority principle but definitely increased the chairman's subjection to "the rule of law". (The Republican members, Curtis, Hall, and Cleveland, recommended against the seniority principle, Hechler concurring.)

(JCm 90)

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42. Republic in Crisis warned against the threat to congressional power that sometimes lurks in the drive to regulate and investigate "ethics".

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42. The Committee acknowledged the concern over conflicts of interests, etc., but suggested some other agency do the job. Senator Case (Curtis and Cleveland concurring) stated his regret that the worsening ethical image of congressmen was not treated.
(JCM 82)