

COMMITTEE  
ON  
FOREIGN  
RELATIONS

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UNITED  
STATES  
SENATE

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MILLENNIUM  
EDITION  
1816-2000



COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

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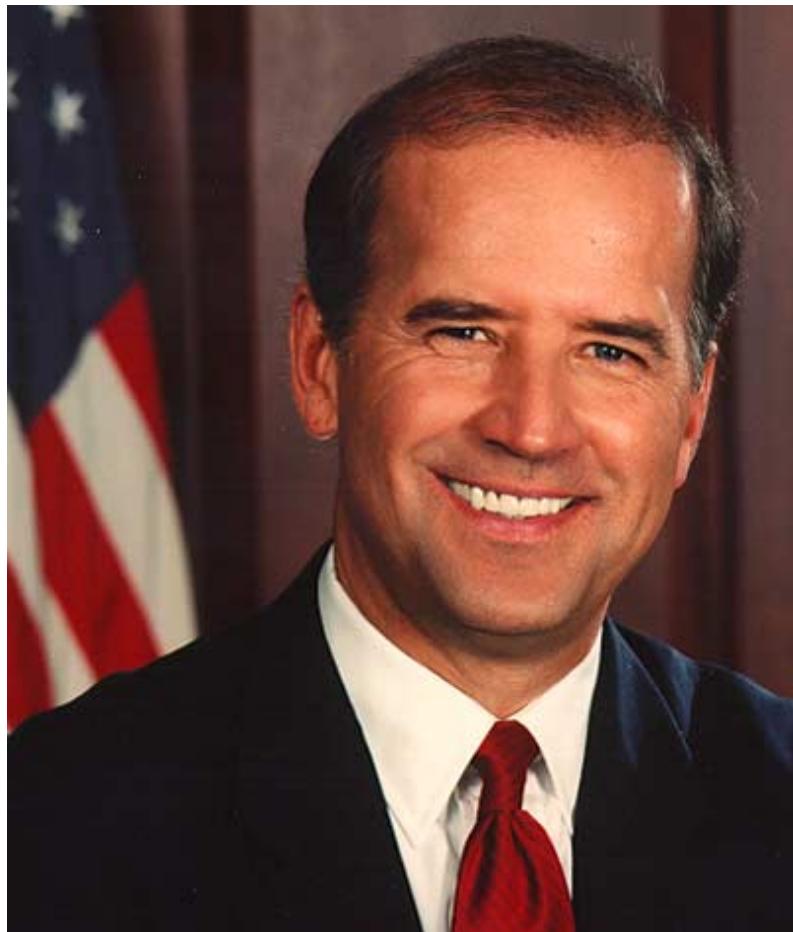
***Background Information  
on the  
Committee on Foreign Relations  
of the  
United States Senate***

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SENATOR JESSE HELMS OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN



SENATOR JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., OF DELAWARE,  
RANKING MINORITY MEMBER



UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, FIRST  
SESSION, 106TH CONGRESS



Dedicated to the memory of  
Admiral James W. "Bud" Nance  
(1921–1999)

STAFF DIRECTOR  
(1995–1999)  
MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR  
(1991–1995)

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*For titles do not reflect honor on men,  
but rather men on their titles.*



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## ***PREFACE***

***By Senator Jesse Helms, Chairman  
and  
Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Ranking Minority Member  
Committee on Foreign Relations***

From the beginning of the Republic, the process of foreign policy formulation in the United States has been unique. For most nations, the role of the legislative branch in foreign policy is limited to providing a rubber-stamp on the policies of the executive. The United States is different. The United States Constitution requires the President to seek the Senate's "advice and consent" in the ratification of treaties and the approval of ambassadorial nominees. It is an arrangement that gives the Senate, and the Committee on Foreign Relations in particular, an essential role in the formulation of foreign policy.

Since its founding on December 10, 1816, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has been at the center of foreign policy in America. Six Presidents of the United States have served on the Committee: Andrew Jackson, James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson, Benjamin Harrison, Warren Harding and John F. Kennedy. The Committee has also produced 19 Secretaries of State and the names of many of its Chairmen—Arthur Vandenberg, Henry Cabot Lodge, William Fulbright—are embossed in the great foreign policy debates of this Nation.

While nearly 200 years have passed since its founding, many of the debates within the Committee on Foreign Relations, surprisingly, remain the same. In responding to international opportunities and challenges, the Committee must deliberate between conflict or diplomacy, engagement or isolationism, assistance or sanctions, and weigh every option in between. The Committee also considers treaties, the authorization of appropriations for international affairs, and nominations.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, new issues vie for the Committee's attention. The proliferation of deadly weapons and technology, peacekeeping in regional and ethnic conflicts, the appropriate role of multilateral institutions, international terrorism, trafficking of illegal drugs, and the balance between international trade and U.S. moral and national security interests are critical issues in today's world. In an effort to make available to the public this discussion of foreign affairs by Members of the Senate, the Committee continues to publish transcripts of hearings held on these and other topics, and has produced a historical series based

on heretofore classified sessions since 1947. These documents highlight the contribution of Congress to American foreign policy.

A background document on the Committee was first published in 1966 in conjunction with the Committee's 150th anniversary. This document, now in its seventh edition, serves as a source of information on the Committee's procedures, membership, jurisdiction and other matters. It is our hope that this revised edition will serve as a useful introduction to the work of the Committee.

## ***The Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate***

The Constitution of the United States divides responsibility for the conduct of American foreign policy between the President and Congress, and assigns to the Senate specific approval over treaties and nominations. The powers of Congress concerning foreign relations are derived from the following articles:

### ***The Constitution of the United States of America (Excerpts)***

#### **ARTICLE I**

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives. \*\*\*

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have Power \*\*\* To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations \*\*\* To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations; To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water. \*\*\* To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof. \*\*\*

SECTION 9. \*\*\* No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time. No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of Congress, accept any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; \*\*\*

#### **ARTICLE II**

SECTION 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. \*\*\*

SECTION 2. \*\*\* He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he

shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, \*\*\*.

### *Origins of the Committee*

During its early years the Senate was a small body that met often as a committee of the whole. It lacked standing committees, except for three which handled routine housekeeping duties. When specific issues arose, the Senate appointed *ad hoc* committees to examine them. One source estimates that there were "over 200 separate committees dealing with foreign affairs between 1789 and 1816."<sup>1</sup> The titles of these *ad hoc* committees varied, and not until 1812 did the term "foreign relations" appear in the legislative journals.

In the first session of the First Congress, President George Washington appeared in person before the Senate to seek its advice and consent on the terms of a treaty being negotiated with the Southern Indians. Unwilling to debate the issue or cast a vote in the presence of the President, Senator Robert Morris of Pennsylvania moved that the question be referred to an *ad hoc* committee. According to Senator William Maclay, after he had seconded the motion, "the President of the United States started up with a violent fret. This defeats every purpose of my coming here' were the first words that he said." Consideration was postponed for two days when the Senate resumed discussion and voted on the questions at hand, again with Washington present. This was the President's last attempt to participate in Senate deliberations, and thereafter presidential communications were generally delivered by written message.

Although the Senate continued to name numerous committees each session, certain Senators gained reputations in particular fields and were repeatedly named to committees dealing with their areas of interest. From 1789 to 1797, nineteen committees with a total of sixty-eight members dealt with treaties. Yet only twenty-four senators filled those sixty-eight positions. Members of the majority Federalist party predominated in the early committees dealing with foreign relations.

By 1816, the increased business of the Senate, especially in the handling of nominations, and the pressing needs of national defense that had arisen during the War of 1812, moved the Senate toward creation of standing committees. On December 10, 1816, the Senate adopted a resolution introduced by Senator James Barbour of Virginia, establishing eleven standing committees:

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<sup>1</sup>James W. Gould, "The Origins of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," *Western Political Quarterly*, XII (September, 1959).

*Resolved*, That it shall be one of the rules of the Senate that the following standing committees shall be appointed at each session: a Committee on Foreign Relations, a Committee on Finance, a Committee on Commerce and Manufacturers, a Committee on Military Affairs, a Committee on Militia, a Committee on Naval Affairs, a Committee on Public Lands, a Committee on Claims, a Committee on the Judiciary, a Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, a Committee on Pensions.

Three days later, Senator Barbour became the first chairman of the new five-member standing Committee on Foreign Relations.

Since the Foreign Relations Committee was named first in the resolution, it has sometimes been referred to as the “ranking” Senate Committee. However, the Senate does not rank committees. The only reflection of the relative importance attached by the Senate in the recent past to its various committees was contained in a Standing Rule of the Senate from 1969 to the present, that “no Senator may serve at any time on more than one of the following committees: Appropriations, Armed Services, Finance, or Foreign Relations.”

### ***Historical Overview***

From its beginning, the Foreign Relations Committee attracted prominent leaders of the Senate and the nation. Six Presidents of the United States have served on the committee: Andrew Jackson, James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson, Benjamin Harrison, Warren Harding and John Kennedy. So too have nineteen Secretaries of State, from Henry Clay to Edmund Muskie.

Although representing a separate branch of the government, the Committee has worked closely with the Department of State. During its early years, these relations were enhanced by the many Senators who served as Secretary of State. From 1816 to 1877, all but two of the eighteen Secretaries of State had previously served in the Senate and nine had been members of the Foreign Relations Committee.

But that close relationship has not prevented conflict between the Executive Branch and the Committee. Early on, the Committee’s chairmen established that it would not be a rubber stamp for administration policies, and often said “no” to Presidential initiatives. Senator Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, who served as chairman from 1825 to 1829, was a fierce opponent of any and all measures to expand the power of the new federal government. Indeed, it was said that during his entire tenure in Congress, Macon cast more “no” votes than did any ten other members combined.

Another influential chairman of that era was Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, who served as chairman from 1861 to 1871. With administration attention focused on issues of civil war and reconstruction, Sumner exerted considerable influence over the nation's foreign affairs. During the presidency of Ulysses S. Grant, Sumner led the opposition which blocked Grant's efforts to annex Santo Domingo. As a result of his break with the administration, the Republican Caucus voted to remove Sumner as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, only the second time in the Senate's history when a committee chairman was removed against his will.<sup>2</sup>

In the late nineteenth century the Senate repeatedly demonstrated its authority over foreign policy through its ratification power. Between 1860 and 1897, the Senate rejected ten treaties, four of them with Great Britain. As Secretary of State John Hay observed, "a treaty entering the Senate is like a bull going into the arena; no man can say just how or when the final blow will fall, but one thing is certain it will never leave the arena alive." Despite its reputation as a "graveyard of treaties," however, the Senate ratified the overwhelming number of treaties it received.<sup>3</sup>

Many a president has learned the difficult lesson that the Executive Branch rarely succeeds when it refuses to compromise with the Foreign Relations Committee. By far the most monumental struggle between the Committee and the presidency occurred when Woodrow Wilson submitted the Treaty of Versailles for ratification in 1919. Under the chairmanship of Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, the Foreign Relations Committee agreed to report the treaty, but with fourteen reservations drafted by Lodge to protect American sovereignty. These included language to ensure that the United States remain the judge of its own internal affairs; that the United States retain the right to withdraw from the League; that the League not restrict any individual rights of U.S. citizens; that the United States assume no obligation to go to war or deploy military forces through the League without consent of Congress; that Congress approve all U.S. officials appointed to the League; and that Congress control all appropriations of U.S. funds for the League.

But President Wilson refused any compromise with Lodge, declaring: "Never, never! I'll never consent to adopt any policy with which that impossible man is so prominently identified."<sup>4</sup> Wilson then took his case directly to the people in a national speaking

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<sup>2</sup>In 1858 the Democratic Caucus had removed Senator Stephen A. Douglas as chairman of the Committee on Territories.

<sup>3</sup>George H. Haynes, *The Senate of the United States: Its History and Practice* (Boston, 1938), 11:570.

<sup>4</sup>Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (Houghton Mifflin, 1997), p. 144.

tour, during which he suffered a stroke. His efforts failed to sway the Senate, which in both 1919 and 1920 rejected the treaty, and with it its provision for American participation in the League of Nations. Wilson could have easily won the Senate's consent to join the League if he had agreed to compromise with the Committee and accept Lodge's reservations.

During the two decades following World War I, the Foreign Relations Committee often reflected national sentiments for isolationism. In the 1920's its chairman, William B. Borah of Idaho, led the fight against United States membership in the World Court and other internationalist ventures. In the 1930's, chairman Key Pittman of Nevada sponsored neutrality legislation designed to keep the United States out of European conflicts. By 1940, however, such internationalists on the Committee as Walter George of Georgia and Tom Connally of Texas were successful in efforts to repeal neutrality legislation and to enact Lend-Lease and other measures designed to help in the struggle against the Axis powers. America's entry into World War II, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, converted the Committee's leading isolationists to internationalism. On January 10, 1945, Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, a leader of Senate isolationists, delivered a "speech heard round the world," in which he declared: "I do not believe that any nation hereafter can immunize itself by its own executive action."

In 1947, Senator Vandenberg became chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and a leading exponent of a bipartisan foreign policy. During the 80th Congress, with Republican majorities in the Senate and House and a Democratic President in the White House, the Senate approved the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, and other major cornerstones of America's postwar foreign policy.

Coincident with Senator Vandenberg's chairmanship, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 provided for the first professional committee staffs. The Foreign Relations Committee selected as its first chief of staff, Dr. Francis O. Wilcox, foreign policy specialist for the Legislative Reference Service. Prior to appointment of a professional staff, the Committee had relied heavily upon the Department of State. As Dr. Wilcox observed: "Speeches had to be written there, committee reports to the Senate were prepared by the executive branch; there was no mechanism really by which the Senate could act independently, or could bring to bear the kind of helpful advice and counsel that a professional staff could bring."

The bipartisan approach to foreign policy had assumed strong presidential leadership in foreign affairs. But events during the 1960's, most significantly the growing disillusionment over the Vietnam War, led members of the Committee to call for increased Senate involvement in the making of foreign policy. In June 1969

the Senate adopted a “national commitments” resolution proposed by committee chairman J. William Fulbright of Arkansas. This resolution defined American national commitments as resulting “only from affirmative action taken by the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government by means of a treaty, statute, or concurrent resolution of both Houses of Congress, specifically providing for such commitment.” In 1970 Congress repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which Presidents had used as a justification for military intervention in Vietnam. And in 1973, over a presidential veto, Congress enacted the War Powers Resolution, requiring the President to terminate any troop commitment within sixty days unless Congress approved its continuation. These actions were designed to restore the shared responsibility between the legislative and executive branches which the Constitution provides for the conduct of American foreign relations.

In 1986, the Committee took a direct role in U.S. diplomacy when Chairman Richard Lugar of Indiana and Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada helped negotiate the departure of Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos, following the “People Power” Revolution. And in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s, Chairman Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island forged a bipartisan coalition to enact some of the nation’s most important and effective non-proliferation laws, which to this day form the cornerstone of U.S. nonproliferation policy.

In the late 1990’s, Chairman Jesse Helms of North Carolina, and the Committee’s Ranking Member, Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr. of Delaware, together secured enactment of landmark legislation to fundamentally reform the U.S. foreign policy institutions for the post-Cold War world—shutting down two obsolete federal agencies (United States Information Agency (USIA) and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency ACDA) and merging their functions into the Department of State and bringing a third (United States Agency for International Development (USAID)) under the direct control of the Secretary of State.

Chairman Helms, a long-time critic of the United Nations, also collaborated with Senator Biden on legislation to pay the United States arrears to the United Nations in exchange for the U.N.’s agreement to implementation of a series of reform benchmarks. On January 21, 2000, Chairman Helms and Senator Biden led the Foreign Relations Committee to New York for a field hearing on U.N. reform—the first time the Committee had ever ventured as a group to visit an international institution. The previous day, Chairman Helms became the first sitting legislator to make a scheduled address before the United Nations Security Council, delivering an address on the United States’ sovereign prerogatives and the American people’s expectations for the United Nations reform.

Accepting an invitation issued by Chairman Helms in that address, on March 30, 2000, the entire U.N. Security Council came to Capitol Hill for a day of meetings hosted by the Foreign Relations Committee. The Ambassadors of the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, China, Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, Netherlands, Tunisia, and Ukraine assembled in the Old Senate Chamber for a lecture from the Senate Historian on the Senate's unique role in U.S. foreign policymaking, and participated in a roundtable discussion of U.N. reform and peacekeeping with Committee members in the Committee's hearing room.

In 1998, the Committee also took up one of the most important foreign policy matters to come before the Senate since the end of the Cold War—the expansion of NATO to include three new members from the former Warsaw Pact: Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. In stark contrast to President Wilson's clash with the Committee over the Treaty of Versailles, the approval of NATO expansion was a textbook example of bi-partisan cooperation between a Democratic Administration and a Republican Senate.

Unlike Wilson, who refused to accept any of the Committee's reservations to the Versailles Treaty, the Clinton Administration agreed to a series of conditions drafted by Senators Helms and Biden addressing a number of Senate concerns about the administration's approach to NATO expansion, including language requiring that “the core purpose of NATO must continue to be the collective defense of the territory of all NATO members” (rather than peacekeeping and other “nonmilitary” goals); that a “fire wall” be built in the NATO-Russia relationship to ensure that Russia be given neither a voice nor a veto in NATO decisionmaking; and affirming that NATO does not require the consent of the United Nations, or any other international organization, to take action to defend its members’ security. These conditions, negotiated following a series of eight committee hearings, ensured that by the time the expansion protocols reached the full Senate, all the major issues of contention had been resolved and the Senate overwhelmingly approved NATO expansion.

However, the Senate said “no” to a number of Clinton Administration initiatives. Most notably in the 106th Congress, the Senate overwhelmingly rejected the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty—making it the first arms control treaty ever to be voted down in the U.S. Senate.

The lesson is this: Presidents rarely win when they refuse to work with the Foreign Relations Committee, expecting it to rubberstamp their initiatives. By contrast, when they have dealt with the Committee in partnership, rather than confrontation, they have

seen many successes. As Senator Helms put it: "The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has always been a source of frustration for utopian idealists in a rush to remake the world. And this, I believe is exactly what our Founding Fathers intended. The Senate is slow to action by design, a brake on impulsive instincts. And the Foreign Relations Committee was, I believe, intended to be the Senate's brake on foreign policy."

### ***Membership***

#### **Size**

The size of the Committee has varied considerably over the years. From five members in 1816 it grew, with occasional cutbacks, to 23 in 1946 when the Legislative Reorganization Act set it at 13. Since then it has been raised to 15 in 1953, to 17 in 1959, to 19 in 1965, and to 20 in 1987. These increases, which were made in most other major standing committees at the same time, reflect partly the growing workload of the Committee and partly readjustments to the political complexion of the Senate—that is to say the numerical ratio of members of the majority party to those of the minority. Anticipating the eventual enactment of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 which established the size of the Committee at 15 members, the Committee was reduced to that number on January 14, 1969. Committee size and ratios are worked out by the party leaders with approval by the Senate. Beginning with 1971 the membership was as follows:

- 16 (92nd Congress, January 28, 1971)
- 17 (93rd Congress, January 4, 1973)
- 17 (94th Congress, January 19, 1975)
- 16 (94th Congress, September 19, 1975)
- 15 (96th Congress, January 23, 1979)
- 17 (97th Congress, January 5, 1981)
- 17 (98th Congress, January 3, 1983)
- 18 (98th Congress, February 9, 1984)
- 17 (99th Congress, February 21, 1985)
- 20 (100th Congress, January 6, 1987)
- 19 (100th Congress, March 6, 1987)<sup>5</sup>
- 19 (101st Congress, January 3, 1989)
- 19 (102nd Congress, January 3, 1991)
- 20 (103rd Congress, January 5, 1993)
- 18 (104th Congress, January 4, 1995)
- 18 (105th Congress, January 7, 1997)
- 18 (106th Congress, January 6, 1999)

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<sup>5</sup>A Senator was not appointed to fill the vacancy created by the death of Senator Zorinsky.

### **Election**

The Senate rules provide that the membership on the 16 standing committees shall be appointed, unless otherwise ordered, by ballot at the commencement of each Congress.

The exact rule follows:

#### **RULE XXIV**

##### **APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES**

1. In the appointment of the standing committees, or to fill vacancies thereon, the Senate, unless otherwise ordered, shall by resolution appoint the chairman of each such committee and the other members thereof. On demand of any Senator, a separate vote shall be had on the appointment of the chairman of any such committee and on the appointment of the other members thereof. Each such resolution shall be subject to amendment and to division of the question. [*Rule XXIV of the Standing Rules of the Senate.*]

However, by unanimous consent the usual practice has been for the two major parties to submit slates of committee assignments for their party members in the form of Senate resolutions. The two party slates are normally submitted and voted on at the same time. Assignment to committees must take into account Rule XXV.4 of the Standing Rules of the Senate concerning service on committees.

The ratio of majority to minority members of committees is arrived at prior to the submission of slates by agreement between the leaders of the two parties and generally reflects the political complexion of the Senate. For example, during the 80th Congress the Senate was composed of 51 Republicans and 45 Democrats and the composition of the committee was set at seven to six. Following the election in 1980, the Republicans became the majority party in the Senate for the first time since 1954 (53 Republicans, 46 Democrats and one Independent). Therefore, the breakdown of the Committee became nine Republicans and eight Democrats. At the beginning of 1985, the Senate composition was 53 Republicans and 47 Democrats, leaving the membership of the Committee unchanged. During the 105th Congress, the Senate had 55 Republicans and 45 Democrats and the Committee alignment of 10 Republicans and 8 Democrats reflected this composition.

The parties have differing procedures for arriving at their slates of nominees for committee membership. On the Republican side, the chairman of the Republican Conference appoints a committee on committees which in turn recommends assignments based on members' preferences and seniority. The Democratic caucus, com-

posed of all Senate Democrats, appoints a steering committee, on the recommendation of the Democratic leader, which decides on the Democratic slate, taking into account the preferences of the members, seniority, and the custom of assigning two major committee seats to each Democratic Senator. Moreover, beginning with the 95th Congress, the Democratic caucus had agreed to choose chairmen of the standing committees by secret ballot unless waived. Although committees are appointed anew each Congress, it is traditional that Senators are reappointed to the committee to which they were assigned the previous Congress unless they specifically desire otherwise, or they have vacated their Senate seat, or party ratio changes enough to bump junior members. For example, in the 90th Congress, in order to reflect the change in the Senate ratio, a Democratic seat occupied by Senator Gale W. McGee was reassigned to the Republicans and filled by Senator John Sherman Cooper, and in September 1975 Senator Baker lost his seat on the Committee as a result of a Democratic victory in the New Hampshire election. Following the death of a Democratic Senator in late 1983 and the election of a Republican to succeed him, the Senate ratio changed and the size of the Committee was increased by one Republican in early 1984. Finally, after the Republicans obtained a majority following the 1994 elections, seats on the Committee were reapportioned in accordance with the new ratio allowing Republicans to increase their number to ten. Democrats, on the other hand, were forced to give up three seats leaving them with eight of the Committee's eighteen slots.

### **Chairman**

The chairman of the Committee is elected on the same slate as the Committee members of the majority party and is generally the most senior member in terms of Committee service of that party's committee slate. Inasmuch as Senate traditions prior to 1970 prohibited a Senator from occupying more than one chairmanship, there have been instances where a lower ranking majority member (in terms of committee service) has been chairman such as 1941–46, when Senator Connally was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee while two of his seniors on the Committee, Senator Walter F. George and Senator Robert F. Wagner, presided over the Finance and the Banking and Currency Committees, respectively; in 1947–48 when the senior Republican member, Senator Capper, was chairman of the Agriculture Committee and Senator Vandenberg presided over the Foreign Relations Committee; and again in 1985 when Senator Helms, the senior Republican, remained as Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, and Senator Lugar assumed the chairmanship of Foreign Re-

lations. As a result of the 1986 elections, the Senate leadership changed. At that time, Senator Helms exercised his right to the Ranking Minority Member position. This tradition was enacted into law by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, subject to a "grandfather" clause.

Standing committees, such as the Committee on Foreign Relations, continue and have the power to act until their successors are appointed. For instance, although committees were not appointed by the Senate in the 88th Congress until February 25, 1963, the Foreign Relations Committee began meeting and transacting business on January 9, 1963, when Congress convened. This also occurred at the beginning of the 99th Congress, when the Committee held hearings on American Foreign Policy, as well as a business meeting, before the vote on February 21, 1985 by the Senate to appoint committees. In 1977 the new Members of the Senate were assigned to committees on a temporary basis. Therefore, Senators Zorinsky, Matsunaga and Danforth served on Foreign Relations from January 10 until February 11, 1977 when permanent Members were appointed.

A complete listing of Committee members, composition, and chairmen is contained in Appendices I, II, and III. The list shows interesting party identifications as well, such as Anti-Democrat, Jeffersonian Democrat, Native American, Oldline Whig, Union Republican, Farm-Labor, and Progressive. There are also six Presidents, ranging from Andrew Jackson to John F. Kennedy, and nine Vice Presidents from John C. Calhoun to Hubert H. Humphrey, who have served on the committee. From its membership also came 19 Secretaries of State, beginning with Henry Clay and the most recent being Edmund S. Muskie. In addition, a great many ambassadorships and positions in international organizations have been filled by former members of the Committee. It should also be pointed out that on April 24, 1970, Senator J.W. Fulbright exceeded the length of service of Senator Shelby Cullom, who served from December 18, 1901 to March 4, 1913—the previous record for a Foreign Relations Committee chairman.

### ***Jurisdiction***

The Constitutional provisions already cited form the basis for the Committee's jurisdiction. They are further elaborated in Rule XXV.1(j)(1) of the Standing Rules of the Senate as follows:

(j)(1) Committee on Foreign Relations, to which committee shall be referred all proposed legislation, messages, petitions, memorials, and other matters relating to the following subjects;

1. Acquisition of land and buildings for embassies and legations in foreign countries.

2. Boundaries of the United States.
3. Diplomatic service.
4. Foreign economic, military, technical, and humanitarian assistance.
5. Foreign loans.
6. International activities of the American National Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross.
7. International aspects of nuclear energy, including nuclear transfer policy.
8. International conferences and congresses.
9. International law as it relates to foreign policy.
10. International Monetary Fund and other international organizations established primarily for international monetary purposes (except that, at the request of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, any proposed legislation relating to such subjects reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations shall be referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs).
11. Intervention abroad and declarations of war.
12. Measures to foster commercial intercourse with foreign nations and to safeguard American business interests abroad.
13. National security and international aspects of trusteeships of the United States.
14. Oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs as they relate to foreign policy.
15. Protection of United States citizens abroad and expatriation.
16. Relations of the United States with foreign nations generally.
17. Treaties and executive agreements, except reciprocal trade agreements.
18. United Nations and its affiliated organizations.
19. World Bank group, the regional development banks, and other international organizations established primarily for development assistance purposes.

(2) Such committee shall also study and review, on a comprehensive basis, matters relating to the national security policy, foreign policy, and international economic policy as it relates to foreign policy of the United States, and matters relating to food, hunger, and nutrition in foreign countries, and report thereon from time to time.

Every bill, resolution, executive communication, nomination, or report falling within these jurisdictional limits is referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. So are treaties, *ipso facto*, regardless of subject matter.

In cases of conflicting or overlapping jurisdiction, Rule XVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, provides that—

\* \* \* in any case in which a controversy arises as to the jurisdiction of any committee with respect to any proposed legislation, the question of jurisdiction shall be decided by the Presiding Officer, without debate, in favor of the committee which has jurisdiction over the subject matter which predominates in such proposed legislation; but such decision shall be subject to an appeal.

As a matter of fact, however, frequently these jurisdictional questions have been resolved, under unanimous-consent agreements, by joint or sequential or simultaneous referrals. In other instances more informal methods have been used.

With the exception of the Appropriations Committee, there is no standing committee with which the Foreign Relations Committee has not shared jurisdiction at one time or another.

### **Sequential Referrals**

A frequently used procedure is an agreement for the sequential referral of bills falling within several jurisdictions. Generally speaking, jurisdiction over fisheries and maritime issues is shared with the Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee; national security matters with the Armed Services Committee; certain legal matters with the Judiciary Committee; foreign agricultural policy with the Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee; and volunteer service programs with the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee. Examples of such sequential referrals during the 96th Congress were: a bill to establish an Institute for Technology and Cooperation (which was referred to Governmental Affairs after being reported by Foreign Relations); and a bill increasing the U.S. quota in the IMF (which was ordered referred to Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs after being reported by Foreign Relations). In the 98th Congress sequential referrals included a crime control bill and one concerning terrorist acts (both with the Judiciary Committee).

Sequential referrals are often coupled with a limitation on the time during which the secondary committee(s) must act or request the Senate for an extension of time.

### **Joint Referrals**

The most frequent joint referrals in the past had been with the Armed Services Committee and included the early military assistance acts, the 1951 Far Eastern investigation prompted by the dismissal of General MacArthur, the so-called "area" resolutions (Formosa, 1955; Middle East, 1957; Cuba, 1962; and Tonkin Gulf, 1964

which, to varying degrees, declared the vital interests of the United States in the particular area and authorized the President to take any steps deemed necessary to maintain peace there), and resolutions relating to troop deployments in Europe. Joint referrals involving other committees dealt with the following subjects: defining the act of state doctrine (Judiciary); implementing legislation for the International Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Pollution Damage (Commerce); add-on retirement benefits (Post Office and Civil Service and Armed Services); an amendment to the Trading with the Enemy Act concerning trade with North Vietnam (Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs); establishing an Office of Foreign Policy and National Security Analysis (Armed Services); pertaining to nuclear proliferation (Joint Committee on Atomic Energy). In the 96th Congress, an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act and the Public Service Act concerning international cooperation in health was jointly referred to Labor and Human Resources, Governmental Affairs and Foreign Relations; legislation to terminate the Interim Convention of North Pacific Fur Seals went jointly to Commerce, Science and Transportation and Foreign Relations; and a bill to establish an observer program on all fishing vessels was referred jointly to Commerce, Science and Transportation, Environment and Energy, and Foreign Relations. A new peak in joint referrals was reached in 1976 when S. 3637, the proposed "National Materials Policy, Research, and Organization Act," was jointly referred to 11 standing committees, including Foreign Relations.

One example of legislation referred jointly was S. 1627, which dealt with the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Introduced in 1993, this particular bill was referred to the committees on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, on Foreign Relations, on Governmental Affairs, and on the Judiciary.

On occasion both sequential and joint referrals have been used for the same measure, such as the bill for combating international terrorism, which, after being reported from the Governmental Affairs Committee, was referred jointly to Foreign Relations, Commerce, Science and Transportation, Intelligence and Judiciary Committees; and the Deep Sea Bed Hard Mineral Resources Act, reported from Energy and Natural Resources, Commerce, Science and Transportation, and Foreign Relations, and then jointly referred to Finance, and Environment and Public Works Committees, subject to a time limitation. In 1984, authorizing legislation for the intelligence community was jointly referred to Foreign Relations and Armed Services for a period of 30 days, after it had been reported by the Intelligence Committee.

In the case of joint referrals, committees need not necessarily meet together during hearings and markup sessions but they must file a joint report setting forth their recommendations.

### **Simultaneous Referrals**

During the 94th Congress for the first time bills were referred simultaneously to Foreign Relations and other committees, establishing yet another method of dealing with jurisdictional problems in the Senate. One bill (S. 3151) would establish a program for gathering and analyzing information with respect to multinational enterprises and would require publication of such material on a regular basis. The unanimous consent agreement by which this bill was referred "simultaneously" to the Foreign Relations and Commerce committees also specified that "should either committee report the bill, the remaining committee will have 45 calendar days within which to file its report."

With respect to another item, S. Res. 434, the "Treaty Powers Resolution," an order to refer it jointly to the committees on Foreign Relations, Rules and Administration, Appropriations, Judiciary and Budget was subsequently rescinded and the measure was then simultaneously referred to the same committees with the exception of Rules and Administration. The following colloquy in the Senate of May 6, 1976, clarifies that latter order:

Mr. GRIFFIN. What is the effect of this request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The effect will be that each committee to which the bill is referred would be entitled to file a separate report without regard to any other committee or without requiring a joint report of the several committees.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Whereas under the agreement previously, the several committees had to file a joint report; as I understood it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. GRIFFIN. If one of the named committees, under the request now pending were to report the resolution, would it then go on the calendar, or would it still be pending in the other committee?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the practices of the Senate, that report would be held in abeyance until the other committee report and it would not go on the calendar.

Mr. GRIFFIN. It would not go on the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I wish to be certain of that because, if it does go on the calendar, this arrangement would, in effect, set up a kind of race among the committees to anyone re-

porting it. It would then go on the calendar and the referral to the other committee would be academic.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That has been the practice of the Senate in the past.

Mr. GRIFFIN. So it would not go on the calendar until the other committees also reported?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

### **Informal Methods**

Informal methods include invitations to interested Senators (Senators not on the Committee who, by virtue of legislative or personal interest, have attended hearings on specific topics) to participate in the Committee's hearings and ask questions without, however, the right to vote in the Committee; correspondence with interested committees seeking their views on provisions falling within their expertise, as for instance with the Joint Committee on Taxation on double taxation conventions; or establishment of joint subcommittees as was done in 1974 by the Judiciary and Foreign Relations Committees to study wiretapping issues arising out of the confirmation hearings with Secretary Kissinger. In 1980 two Senators from the Foreign Relations Committee were appointed to serve as members of the Special Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee to Investigate Activities of Individuals Representing the Interests of Foreign Governments, which was created to investigate charges involving President Carter's brother.

### **Intelligence Activities**

Until the creation in 1976 of a Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, oversight of intelligence operations was a divided responsibility, exercised principally by a joint subcommittee of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees. For a time in the late 1960's, members of the Foreign Relations Committee were invited to participate in such oversight meetings. In 1974, through an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act commonly known as the Hughes-Ryan amendment, the Committee was given joint jurisdiction with several other committees over certain activities of the Central Intelligence Agency relating to covert operations. That arrangement, in turn, was superseded by the oversight provisions of the Intelligence Authorization Act of 1980, which placed the principal responsibility for oversight of intelligence activities, including covert operations, under the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The Senate Intelligence Committee was established in 1976 in the wake of a series of public disclosures regarding activities of the CIA. Its creation had been a principal recommendation of the tem-

porary Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to intelligence activities, chaired by Senator Church. S. Res. 400 mandates that at least two members of the Foreign Relations Committee are to serve as members of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The Committee also is guaranteed referral of the Intelligence Authorization bill, if requested. Currently, Senator Lugar and Senator Kerry serve as the Committee's "cross-over" members. Under the oversight provision of the Intelligence Authorization Act of 1980, Senate and House Intelligence Committees are charged to "promptly call to the attention of its respective House, or to any appropriate committee or committees of its respective House, any matter relating to intelligence activities requiring the attention of such House or such committee or committees."

### **Transfers of Jurisdiction**

With the informal acquiescence of the Senate, there have been instances in which transfers of jurisdiction have taken place. For instance, the language of the Reorganization Act of 1946 assigned to Foreign Relations jurisdiction over "international financial and monetary organizations." Yet in 1947 the respective chairmen of the Senate Banking and Currency and Foreign Relations committees agreed that since the Banking and Currency Committee originally handled the Bretton Woods Agreements Act, it would continue to consider legislation pertaining to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. In 1959, however, the Committee on Foreign Relations asserted its jurisdiction over these and subsequently established organizations such as the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Finance Corporation and the Asian Development Bank. Conversely, the St. Lawrence Seaway legislation, initially referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations since agreement with a foreign nation was involved, in time became essentially domestic in nature. Thus, jurisdiction over seaway legislation has passed to the Environment and Public Works Committee, with the Foreign Relations Committee reserving its jurisdiction over international aspects.

### **Committee Powers and Responsibilities**

The principal areas of committee responsibilities can be broadly broken down as follows: (1) executive—recommending the advice and consent to treaties and nominations; (2) legislative—consideration of bills and resolutions; and (3) legislative oversight. There is, however, no hard and fast distinction between these activities since treaties, bills, and resolutions cannot be considered without exercising a degree of legislative oversight in the process.

### War Powers

The War Powers Resolution was passed in 1973 over the veto of President Nixon. The initiative came from Senator Jacob K. Javits within the Foreign Relations Committee, where extensive hearings were held. The resolution arose out of a concern that the power to declare war, as exclusively reserved to the Congress by the Constitution in article I, section 8, had eroded in modern times with Presidents assuming virtual independence from congressional constraints.

The thrust of the resolution (Public Law 93-148) was to insure that the collective judgment of the Congress would be brought to bear on decisions involving the activities of United States Armed Forces which could lead to ongoing hostilities. It established a time limit for any military involvement in hostilities which were not affirmatively authorized by Congress, as well as a procedure through which the authority of Congress could be exercised to terminate U.S. involvement in hostilities at any stage. Attention and some disagreement have focused on the resolution's provisions concerning Presidential consultation with Congress in advance of military initiatives and Presidential reporting on the circumstances and justification for military actions within 48 hours after their occurrence. The Foreign Relations Committee has the principal responsibility for oversight of these matters within the Senate.

### Treaties and Other International Agreements

Treaties have traditionally constituted a large part of the Committee's work.<sup>6</sup> Recently the number of treaties submitted for approval has averaged over 50 per Congress.

During the postwar period, however, the number and importance of executive agreements increased noticeably, leading to congressional action in this field to increase timely oversight of such agreements.

#### (1) Treaties

Senate responsibility for treaties stems directly from article II, section 2, clause 2 of the Constitution, which states that the President "shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

The making of treaties involves a series of steps which generally include negotiation, signing, approval by the Senate, ratification by the President, deposit or exchange of ratifications with the other party(ies) to the treaty, and proclamation. Only upon the latter

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<sup>6</sup> *Treaties and Other International Agreements: The Role of the United States Senate*, (See Appendix VI, Bibliography, page 119).

step does a treaty become legally binding upon the United States. The Senate is associated in this process principally at the "advice and consent" to ratification stage. Contrary to popular impression, the Senate does not ratify treaties; the President ratifies treaties upon receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification.

While the emphasis historically has been on the "consent" part of this clause, beginning in the immediate postwar period the Committee has repeatedly stressed the "advice" part and claimed a right to advise the President in the negotiation of treaties and the conduct of diplomacy. This interest has at times led to the formal adoption of Senate resolutions of advice, which are briefly discussed elsewhere.

In performing its consent function to treaties the Senate has several options. Normally, the procedure for unconditional approval of a treaty is by adoption of a resolution of ratification which in the case of the limited nuclear test ban treaty reads as follows:

*Be it resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, which was signed at Moscow on August 5, 1963, on behalf of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

*Conditions and stipulations.*—The Senate may also qualify its approval of a treaty by requiring amendments to the text of the treaty itself, or more frequently, by imposing conditions known as reservations, understandings, declarations or provisos. The vehicle for this Senate action is the resolution of ratification, accession or acceptance which accompanies the treaty to the Senate floor from the Committee on Foreign Relations. According to generally accepted definitions, "amendments" and "reservations" are proposed revisions in the obligations undertaken by the United States. "Amendments" are proposed changes in the actual text of the treaty. "Reservations" are specific qualifications or stipulations which change U.S. obligations without necessarily changing treaty text. "Amendments" and "reservations" imposed by the Senate must be included in the U.S. instrument of treaty ratification in order to provide notice to our treaty partners of the Senate action. If the President or a treaty partner disagrees with the Senate's conditions, renegotiation of the treaty, consultations among the parties, or other action may be taken to resolve differences.

In contrast, "understandings" are interpretative statements intended to clarify or elaborate, rather than amend, treaty text or un-

dertakings. “Understandings” provide importance guidance to treaty partners, U.S. judges or other parties who may find it necessary to construe the Senate’s intent concerning the relevant treaty. Generally, “understandings” must also be included in the relevant U.S. instrument of ratification to ensure that our treaty partner understands the Senate’s positions.

“Declarations,” “provisos,” or other statements also reveal the Senate’s position, opinion or intentions about matters related to the treaty in question, but generally not about its specific provisions. “Declarations,” “provisos,” and like statements are generally omitted from the instruments of treaty ratification which the U.S. government deposits with treaty partners in order to bring treaties into force, because they do not affect the treaty relationship to the same extent as “amendments” or “understandings.”

In recent years, the Senate made extensive use of conditions in approving treaties. For example, in approving the Chemical Weapons Convention, it included 28 conditions in the resolution of ratification. Resolutions for several other treaties, including the Convention on Nuclear Safety, the Amended Mines Protocol, and the Flank Document Agreement to the CFE Treaty, also contained significant conditions relating to a variety of issues. The Senate also made extensive use of such conditions with the Panama Canal treaties in 1978 and the SALT II Treaty in 1979. The final resolution of ratification on the first Panama Canal Treaty, the so-called “Neutrality Treaty,” included two amendments, six reservations, and five understandings, while the second treaty was approved with six reservations and six understandings. In the Committee’s consideration of the SALT II Treaty, a somewhat different format was used for the resolution of ratification, but the total number of conditions and stipulations reported by the Committee was more than twenty.

In addition, during the chairmanship of Senator Jesse Helms, the Committee on Foreign Relations routinely included a variety of additional conditions corresponding to several different kinds of treaties. For example, with extradition or mutual legal assistance treaties, conditions were included to forbid United States cooperation with the eventual International Criminal Court contemplated in the July 17, 1998 Rome Statute, or release of information to foreign officials suspected of involvement in narcotics trafficking. Treaties reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations during Senator Helms’ chairmanship also include routinely a proviso reiterating the supremacy of the United States Constitution.

To emphasize the Senate’s strong views about the principles of treaty interpretation, by the end of the 106th Congress, the Committee also routinely included in all resolutions of ratification a

declaration incorporating by reference the principles of treaty interpretation set forth in Condition (1) of the resolution of ratification of the INF Treaty, approved by the Senate on May 27, 1988, and Condition (8) of the resolution of ratification of the Document Agreed Among the States Parties to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, approved by the Senate on May 14, 1997. This condition, known as the “Biden-Byrd Condition,” sets forth the constitutional principle that treaty interpretation will be governed by the “shared understandings” of the Executive and the Senate, as reflected in the Executive’s formal representations to the Senate at the time the Senate gives its advice and consent.

The Senate may also reject a treaty completely by failing to approve it with the necessary two-thirds vote. Few treaties have been rejected over the years. In the 106th Congress, on October 13, 1999, the Senate rejected the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty. On March 8, 1983, the Senate rejected the Montreal Protocols to the Warsaw Convention on passenger carriage by air. The only other treaties rejected by the Senate during the last century were the protocol to the 1958 Geneva Law of the Sea Convention concerning the compulsory settlement of disputes which was rejected on May 26, 1960 by a vote of 49 to 30; U.S. adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was rejected on January 29, 1935, by a vote of 52 to 36; and the St. Lawrence Seaway, which was rejected on March 14, 1934, by a vote of 46 to 42. (The Seaway was subsequently authorized by Public Law 83-358, approved May 13, 1954.)

*Procedure.*—Before formal Senate consideration of a treaty may begin, the treaty must be transmitted to the Senate by the President for advice and consent. All treaties transmitted by the President to the Senate for advice and consent are referred to the Committee. Treaties conceivably could remain on the Committee calendar indefinitely absent action to approve them, reject them, or to return them to the President. Treaties reported by the Committee remain on the Senate’s Executive Calendar for the duration of a Congress, or until otherwise disposed of. At the end of a Congress, treaties which remain on the Senate’s Executive Calendar are automatically re-referred to the Committee in accordance with Senate Rule XXX.2.

From time to time, Presidents may request the return of treaties pending before the Committee or the Senate, or the Committee itself may take the initiative to return certain treaties to the President. In either case, the usual procedure is for the Committee to report an executive resolution to the full Senate authorizing the return of the treaty or treaties to the President. That procedure is unusual, and was followed most recently in the 106th Congress,

when the Committee reported Senate Resolution 267, directing the return of eighteen treaties to the President. Senate action on reservations, understandings, interpretations, statements, or amendments requires a majority of those present and voting. Final adoption of the resolution of ratification, however, requires the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting.

While there is no Senate rule requiring a roll call vote on treaties, the practice of taking record votes was begun in 1953 after press attention during the previous year to the fact that three non-controversial consular conventions were approved by the Senate at a time when only two Senators were present.<sup>7</sup> The requirement for a record vote was also a part of the Bricker amendment maneuvers and was adopted as a *de facto* practice to weaken support for the Bricker amendment. However, in recent years, the Senate has resumed the practice of approving non-controversial resolutions of ratification for treaties by voice vote.

Although generally there is a separate vote on each treaty, when a large number of similar treaties (fisheries, double taxation conventions, customs treaties, etc.) is on the executive calendar it has become a practice to consider them either "en bloc"—that is, one vote on several resolutions of ratification—or to have a single vote, which, by unanimous consent, is shown separately in the Record for each treaty. This latter technique has been used at times even in the case of dissimilar treaties, over which no controversy existed, in order to expedite the business of the Senate.

The Committee's treaty calendar is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the pending business before the Committee, because some treaties may have little prospect of Senate action. For instance, in 1947, at the beginning of the 80th Congress, the Committee had 24 treaties pending before it, dating as far back as 1923. At the request of the chairman, Senator Vandenberg, the administration reviewed the treaty calendar and requested the return of 19 of these treaties, which was granted. These reviews have continued to take place from time to time as the occasion demands. At the close of the 106th Congress, the oldest treaty pending on the Committee's calendar dated to August 27, 1949 (Treaty Doc. 81-19).

Although treaties sometimes pend before the Committee for considerable periods, the great majority of treaties are promptly and favorably disposed of. In this connection, it has become the Committee's practice to leave a treaty pending for a sufficient period to allow the public time to study the treaty and to inform the Com-

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<sup>7</sup>A discussion of this incident appears in "A Note on Treaty Ratification," by Carl Marcy in *The American Political Science Review*, vol. XLVII, No. 4, December 1953, p. 1130.

mittee of its views and interest in testifying on the treaty in question.

## **(2) Other International Agreements**

International agreements other than treaties—so-called executive agreements—have been used by Presidents since the earliest days of the Republic. Beginning with World War II the number and importance of such agreements burgeoned, leading to an increasing concern on the part of Congress about the constitutionality of commitments made in this manner. The loose use of the word “commitment” to justify overseas interventions finally led the Senate, on June 25, 1969, to adopt a statement of what it considered to be a “national commitment.” The problem was explored in hearings and executive session consideration over a period beginning in 1967. These touched on such subjects as the 1940 destroyer-for-bases deal, the British-French-United States tripartite declaration of 1950 on the Middle East, the so-called contingency plan for Thailand, and base agreements. In 1969, the Senate concurred in the Committee’s recommendation of the “National Commitments Resolution,” which resolved:

That (1) a national commitment for the purpose of this resolution means the use of the Armed Forces of the United States on foreign territory, or a promise to assist a foreign country, government, or people by the use of the Armed Forces or financial resources of the United States, either immediately or upon the happening of certain events, and (2) it is the sense of the Senate that a national commitment by the United States results only from affirmative action taken by the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government by means of a treaty, statute, or concurrent resolution of both Houses of Congress specifically providing for such commitment. (S. Res. 85, 91st Cong.)

One of the first concrete instances to engage the Committee’s attention after adoption of the National Commitment Resolution was the extension of the so-called Spanish base agreement on August 6, 1970. As the Committee viewed it, this agreement contained an implicit commitment to defend Spain in the event of an attack, as well as substantial financial support for the Spanish Government. The Committee felt strongly that the agreement partook of the nature of a treaty and should be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent, and so advised the State Department. The executive branch proceeded otherwise, however, and after a series of executive and public hearings in which the Committee was assured that the agreement entailed no U.S. commitment to defend Spain, the

Senate, on the Committee's recommendation, adopted a resolution (S. Res. 469, 91st Cong., agreed to December 11, 1970) stating its sense that "nothing in the said agreement \* \* \* shall be deemed to be a national commitment by the United States." In time, however, the Senate's expressions were taken into account and the renewal of the Spanish base agreement was submitted as a treaty in 1976.

The Case Act of 1972 (P.L. 92-403) addressed itself directly to executive agreements and provides in part—

The Secretary of State shall transmit to the Congress the text of any international agreement (including the text of any oral international agreement, which agreement shall be reduced to writing), other than a treaty, to which the United States is a party as soon as practicable after such agreement has entered into force with respect to the United States but in no event later than sixty days thereafter.

In the event such agreements are classified, they are to be transmitted instead to the Committees on Foreign Relations of the Senate and International Relations of the House under an appropriate injunction of secrecy.

The Committee viewed the Act as "a significant step toward redressing the imbalance between Congress and the executive in the making of foreign policy \* \* \*" and "an effective means of dealing with the prior question of secrecy and of asserting the obligation of the executive to report its foreign commitments to Congress."

In 1978, the Case Act was further amended to make clear the inclusion of oral agreements, to designate the Secretary of State as the official within the executive branch who decides what constitutes an international agreement, and to require a formal explanation from the President when agreements are not properly transmitted before the sixty-day deadline. Contrary to a widespread public perception, however, the Case Act does not provide for congressional veto of international agreements and does not require affirmative action by the Congress to approve international agreements before they enter into force.

### **Nominations**

The Committee's responsibility with respect to nominations, like that with respect to treaties, arises from article II, section 2, paragraph 2, of the Constitution (previously cited, page 3, above).

Pursuant to this provision, the Senate refers to the Committee nominations of officials to positions in the Department of State, ambassadors and ministers, representatives to international organizations, and officials to other positions established by laws which

are within the jurisdiction of the Committee. These include positions in the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, U.S. representatives in the various international banking institutions, and advisory bodies to these agencies. Appointments, promotions, and designations of Foreign Service Officers, as well, are referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and constitute the bulk, numerically, of the nominations handled. For instance, in the 106th Congress, approximately 2000 nominations were referred to the Committee of which nearly 1800 were career officer promotions.

A detailed description of the confirmation requirements and processes, together with relevant case histories, is set forth in the committee print, "The Senate Role in Foreign Affairs Appointments."<sup>8</sup>

Available Committee records do not show the last time the Senate rejected a nomination within the jurisdiction of the Foreign Relations Committee. It may have been in 1889 when "the Senate refused to confirm Benjamin Harrison's nomination of Murat Halstead, an Ohio journalist, as Minister to Germany, because of a series of articles he had written denouncing the purchase of Senate seats."<sup>9</sup> However, one nominee, Ernest W. Lefever, withdrew his own name from consideration as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs after an adverse vote in Committee in June 1981. In March 1983, the nomination of Kenneth Adelman to be U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) Director was reported unfavorably by the Committee, but was approved by the Senate by a vote of 57-42. Other nominations have been withdrawn by the President as a result of controversies surrounding them, while still others have simply not been acted on by the Committee or the Senate, as, for instance, the withdrawal in 1973 of the nomination of G. McMurtrie Godley to be Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and the non-action in 1974 on the nomination of Graham Martin to be Ambassador at Large for Micronesian negotiations and five others to be members of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's General Advisory Committee. More recently, in 1997 the nomination of William Weld to be Ambassador to Mexico was withdrawn after the chairman prevailed in his decision not to schedule a hearing on the nomination.

All nominations not confirmed or rejected by the end of a session lapse with the adjournment or recess of the Senate for more than 30 days, unless otherwise ordered by the Senate. The President has the power to issue recess appointments when he deems it desirable.

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<sup>8</sup>*The Senate Role in Foreign Affairs Appointments*, (See Appendix VI, bibliography, page 119).

<sup>9</sup>Harris, *The Advice and Consent of the Senate*, p. 291 (See Appendix VI, bibliography, page 119).

Such recess appointments, however, have to be submitted to the Senate not later than 40 days after the commencement of the next session in order for the incumbent to continue to receive a salary (5 U.S.C. 5503).

The Committee on Foreign Relations has been continually interested in the caliber and qualifications of nominees. The rules adopted by the Committee to govern its consideration of nominations appear on page 30.

On January 14, 1953, the Committee adopted a rule requiring an FBI investigation of nominees prior to the submission of names to the Senate. Only twice has the question of Committee access to the FBI files themselves come up. In the first case, that of Charles E. Bohlen in 1953, a subcommittee of two Senators reviewed a summary of the FBI file. In the second, that of Helmut Sonnenfeldt in 1973, a staff member was authorized to review his security files. In 1981, however, the Committee adopted a policy of requesting access for any member of the Committee who wished to review summaries of such files.

On February 17, 1953, the Committee adopted a six-day rule, which calls for the passage of six calendar days after the receipt of a nomination by the Senate before the Committee will consider the nomination. This rule has been waived occasionally, mainly in the case of career appointments when the nominee was already abroad, in situations of urgent need to get the nominee to his post, or in the case of nominations received just before congressional adjournment.

At about the same time, in 1953 the Committee commenced the practice of examining the appointees to all important positions in Washington and abroad whenever possible. Prior to this time hearings, executive or open, were held on a nomination only when someone requested to be heard on the nomination, and not as a matter of regular procedure. The practice initiated in 1953 was acknowledged and further refined on July 30, 1957, when the Committee adopted a motion "that from now on all nominees for ambassadorial and ministerial posts be heard in open session unless a majority of the Committee decrees otherwise." By custom, the Committee has allowed any committee members to request that any nominee be held off the agenda of a business meeting with the understanding that the nominee would be considered at the next meeting.

In 1972 the Committee increased the number of nominations to be submitted to it by providing that the names of all persons granted the rank of ambassador be submitted for confirmation "except that the personal rank of ambassador or minister may be conferred by the President in connection with special missions for the Presi-

dent of an essentially limited and temporary nature of not exceeding six months." That provision was further modified by the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to require advance notice of Presidential intent to nominate such ambassadors with personal rank and to provide justifications for these appointments.

The age-old question of political contributions by ambassadorial nominees was dealt with in the Department of State Authorization Act of 1973 (Public Law 93-126, signed October 18, 1973). Sec. 6 of that act required that each person appointed by the President as ambassador or minister should file a report of contributions made by such persons and by members of his immediate family. The Act of 1974 added the further requirement that "The Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate shall have printed in the Congressional Record each such report."

However, these provisions were revised by the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-465, signed October 17, 1980). Sec. 304(b)(2) of that act provides that:

Each individual nominated by the President to be a chief of mission, ambassador at large, or minister shall, at the time of nomination, file with the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives a report of contributions made by such individual and by members of his or her immediate family during the period beginning on the first day of the fourth calendar year preceding the calendar year of the nomination and ending on the date of the nomination. The report shall be verified by the oath of the nominee, taken before any individual authorized to administer oaths. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate shall have each such report printed in the Congressional Record. As used in this paragraph, the term "contribution" has the same meaning given such term by section 301(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)) and the term "immediate family" means the spouse of the nominee, and any child, parent, grandparent, brother, or sister of the nominee and the spouses of any of them.

Section 304(4) of the 1980 Act also established the new requirement that:

(4) The President shall provide the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate with each nomination for an appointment as a chief of mission, a report on the demonstrated competence of that nominee to perform the duties of the position in which he or she is to serve.

The report of demonstrated competence, which sets forth the rationale for the selection and assignment of the chief of mission, is now provided to the Committee as a matter of regular course by the State Department prior to the scheduling of the prospective nominee's confirmation hearing.

Subsequent amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 also provided for reporting campaign contributions and overlap to a certain degree those of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act.

At present, the Committee requires each nominee to file a signed statement prior to his confirmation hearing, covering the following areas: (A) Biographical Information, (B) Financial Information (including a confidential statement), (C) Future Employment Plans, (D) Conflict of Interest, and (E) Ethical Matters.

### **Bills and Resolutions**

Since the document, "How a Bill Becomes a Law," issued periodically by Congress, describes the legislative process in detail, only a few aspects of it will be noted here.

Legislative matters are comprised of bills, joint resolutions, concurrent resolutions and resolutions. Bills and joint resolutions both become law upon signature by the President and therefore carry equal weight. The basic distinction between them is a matter of intent. Bills are the most widely used legislative vehicles; joint resolutions are used mainly for the approval of international agreements, membership in international organizations, and expressing views of both Houses of Congress that are meant to have the force of law. Concurrent and simple resolutions express the sense of the Congress in the former case and the sense of the Senate or the House in the latter case. They do not require signature by the President and therefore do not have the force of law.

Simple resolutions, while in a sense the lowest form of congressional action, can at times carry considerable weight, such as the Connally and Fulbright resolutions of 1943 pledging U.S. participation in a post World War II international organization; the Vandenberg resolution of 1948 which presaged the formation of NATO; and the National Commitments Resolution of 1969 which defined what the Senate will consider to be a commitment binding on the United States. In fact one Senate resolution was deemed to be so important as to have the nature of a treaty requiring a two-thirds vote for adoption—the 1946 resolution by which the Senate advised the President to accept on behalf of the United States the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in certain matters. The use of Senate resolutions to advise the President, under the advice and consent clause of the Constitution, has be-

come relatively widespread in the postwar period, as previously noted.

To give such advice the maximum weight possible, the Committee has made it a practice to append a provision directing the Secretary of the Senate to transmit the resolution to the President for appropriate action and for a report on such action to the Senate within a specified time period.

The most important recurring legislative responsibilities of the Committee are the bi-annual authorization bills for agencies and programs under the Committee's jurisdiction—principally the State Department, Agency for International Development, Peace Corps, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. With the enactment of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, all standing committees are required to submit to the Committee on the Budget, by March 15 each year, their estimates of the total amounts of new budget authority to be provided in such authorizing legislation, in order to enable the Senate, by May 15, to pass the first concurrent resolution on the Budget, setting levels of government spending and revenue for the fiscal year ahead. All authorizing legislation must also be reported to the Senate by the same date. Any money-carrying bills reported after May 15 are subject to a point of order unless a waiver is obtained by the adoption of a resolution by the Senate. These new procedures, which went fully into effect in 1976, are designed to give the Congress a better overview of the expected outlays and also revenues for the upcoming year. They have also affected the Committee's scheduling of legislation and other matters to give early priority to the so called money bills.

Committee procedures with respect to bills, joint, concurrent and simple resolutions are the same.

The Committee files written reports on major matters it sends to the Senate. Pursuant to the Foreign Relations Committee (and Senate procedures), Committee reports are technically prepared and submitted by the Chairman of the Committee. Therefore the Chairman maintains the "power of the pen" in drafting reports of the Foreign Relations Committee and there technically is no requirement for the Chairman to consult with the ranking member, or with any other Senator, in the preparation of such documents. Senators who do not concur with the views expressed by the Chairman in the Committee report, or who wish to add additional views of their own, are afforded the opportunity to append their views as separate and distinct annexes to the actual report.

However, as a practical matter, most committee reports are negotiated with the ranking member and reflect his views, in addition to those of the Chairman. It has been the practice in recent years to allow clear differentiation of views on contentious issues within

the main text of the report, rather than shunting alternate views into appendices to the Chairman's report. Examples of this include Exec. Rept. 104-10, the Committee's report on the resolution of ratification for START II that reflects differing views on the merits of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and on the importance of missile defense.

In the case of the Committee report that was submitted in connection with the resolution of ratification for the Chemical Weapons Convention (Exec. Rept. 104-33), the Chairman allowed proponents of the treaty to prepare their own section of the report and to title it "Majority Views." The Chairman, who opposed the treaty, prepared an alternate section of the report and titled it "Minority Views." This unusual formulation was proposed by Senator Helms since he had agreed to schedule Committee consideration of the CWC despite his personal objections to this treaty. The Chairman nevertheless maintains final decisionmaking authority over the contents of all aspects of any Committee report (other than Minority or Additional Views). However, the Committee in recent years has sought to reflect the general practice of comity among Senators, even on issues as contentious as the Chemical Weapons Convention.

Occasionally the Committee has filed adverse reports, recommending that a measure not be adopted. Senate Resolution 116, by Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin, would have expressed the sense of the Senate that prior to any conference between heads of state (referring to the proposed Geneva Summit Conference in 1955), the Secretary of State should secure the agreement of other parties at the Conference that one of the subjects for discussion should be the present and future status of the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia then under Communist control. The Committee's adverse finding was sustained by the Senate on June 22, 1955, by a vote of 4 to 77. Instances of adverse Committee reports were on a concurrent resolution disapproving of the proposed sale of F-16 aircraft to Pakistan in 1981, a joint resolution dealing with nuclear arms reductions in 1983, and a joint resolution concerning sales of avionics system kits to China in 1986. It should be noted that the Senate does not always sustain the Committee's adverse finding.

As a general rule, measures of which the Committee does not approve are either tabled, held over, or postponed without any written explanation. However, in October 1983, the Committee reported unfavorably two joint resolutions concerning nuclear arms control. While portions of the resolutions were considered by the Senate, action on the resolutions was not taken.

The Committee has occasionally reported a measure without recommendation, such as: the first International Wheat Agreement in

1948; a St. Lawrence Seaway bill in 1952; in 1965 H.R. 30, a bill authorizing U.S. participation in a cultural and trade center in Florida; in 1968, an amendment to the Agriculture Act of 1956 relating to long-staple cotton, which was subsequently pocket-vetoed; S. Con. Res. 86 relating to sales of armaments to Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia in 1978; in 1979 a concurrent resolution opposing sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia; in 1981 a bill seeking a particular form of legislative settlement for outstanding property claims against the Government of Czechoslovakia. In 1999, legislation was introduced by Senator John McCain that was determined by the Senate Parliamentarian to have met the standard of the War Powers Resolution. Rather than allow the legislation to be automatically discharged from the Foreign Relations Committee, the committee met to consider the legislation, and reported it without recommendation.

### **Legislative Oversight Activities**

The Committee on Foreign Relations, along with other standing committees, is specifically charged with exercising legislative oversight by Rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, which reads as follows:

8. (a) In order to assist the Congress in—

(1) its analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of the application, administration, and execution of the laws enacted by the Congress, and

(2) its formulation, consideration, and enactment of such modifications of or changes in those laws, and of such additional legislation, as may be necessary or appropriate,

each standing committee (except the committees on Appropriations and the Budget), shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the legislative jurisdiction of that committee. Such committees may carry out the required analysis, appraisal, and evaluation themselves, or by contract, or may require a Government agency to do so and furnish a report thereon to the Senate. Such committees may rely on such techniques as pilot testing, analysis of costs in comparison with benefits or provision for evaluation after a defined period of time.

(b) In each odd-numbered year each such committee shall submit, not later than March 31, to the Senate, a report on the activities of that committee under this paragraph during the Congress ending at noon on January 3 of such year.

It has already been noted that in recent years the Committee's legislative oversight activities have burgeoned. This has resulted from a variety of factors—the increasing number of programs within the Committee's jurisdiction, the numerous provisions in laws requiring the submission of determinations and reports, the transmittal of executive agreements as of 1973 and of budget rescissions and deferrals as of 1975, the notifications of proposed arms sales and arms transfers, reporting under the War Powers Resolution, submission of arms control impact statements, and other factors.

A few statistics will serve to illustrate this growth. During the 92d Congress, 83 communications from the executive branch in the foreign affairs area were received by the Senate and referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. This number increased to 184 in the 93d Congress and reached over 500 at the end of the 106th Congress. During the 93rd Congress, 396 executive agreements (not including classified agreements) were referred to the Committee; in the 98th Congress this number jumped to 461 and stood at approximately 300 by the end of the 106th Congress. Thirty-one messages advising of budget rescissions and deferrals had been received during the 94th Congress as against none the previous Congresses. During the 106th Congress, approximately 11 messages advising of budget rescissions and deferrals were received. Finally, in the 94th Congress, the Committee had received over 250 reports required by provisions of various laws whereas in the 106th Congress well over 2100 reports were received.

The Committee is responsible for having this mass of material analyzed and for proposing remedial action where deemed necessary. Such action can take the form of amendments to existing laws or by means of a resolution of disapproval, as is provided for in such laws as the Arms Export Control Act. This area of Committee operations is largely invisible since only when some question is raised about an executive branch proposal does public action result, as for instance over the projected sale of Hawk missiles to Jordan and of Airborne Warning Aircraft to NATO in 1976 or armaments to Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia in 1978, and again to Saudi Arabia in 1981.

The Committee has developed varying techniques in exercising legislative oversight: scrutiny of foreign aid allocations and arms sales through the congressionally mandated notification process; day-to-day personal contacts with administration officials; correspondence with officials growing out of difficulties brought to the Committee's attention by the public or Government employees (a collection of such correspondence relating to the State Department was published in 1960 under the title "Administration of the Department of State" and supplemented in 1962); on-the-spot inspec-

tions abroad by Committee members or staff (generally followed by reports, either printed or confidential, to the Committee); special short-term studies of foreign policy problems (such as the investigation of events relating to the Dominican Republic intervention in 1965, U.S. security interests and policies in Southwest Asia in 1980, military presence in Panama in 1997, and the multiple afflictions facing Sudan in 1998); public hearings on proposals such as nuclear reactor sales to South Africa in 1976; and the establishment of special subcommittees to study in depth a particular area, problem, or program. Activities of legislative oversight subcommittees are described elsewhere.

Contacts with administration officials can be formal or informal and normally take place at all levels throughout the year. It is customary for the Secretary of State to launch this process at the beginning of a year by giving the Committee a world review soon after the Congress convenes. It is also customary for the Secretary to appear before the Committee before the United States exercises military force and during times of international crisis. Heads of other departments, officers of the Armed Forces, under secretaries, assistant secretaries, and American ambassadors on Washington visits appear likewise on problems within their areas of responsibilities either before the full Committee or the appropriate subcommittee.

Travel by Committee members and staff also serves the oversight function. Indeed Committee members are encouraged to visit other countries and to meet with government officials and other leaders in those countries in order to evaluate the effectiveness of United States overseas programs and meet their legislative oversight responsibilities. Members and staff of the Committee on Foreign Relations are required to report their findings to the Committee, and these reports are frequently printed as committee documents.

The official travel expenses of members of the Committee and staff are paid either from the contingent fund of the Senate or by the use of U.S.-owned foreign currencies which are available to appropriate committees of the Congress engaged in carrying out their duties under the Standing Rules of the Senate. In accordance with Sec. 502 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and 22 U.S.C. 1754(b), as amended, each Senator and committee staff member who uses funds is required to submit an itemized report showing the amounts expended and the purposes for which expended. Such reports are open to public inspection.

Also in the line of legislative oversight, as well as advising the executive, Senators and Representatives have been appointed to delegations, or as congressional advisers, to international conferences. This practice began as early as 1814, when President

Madison appointed Senator Thomas F. Bayard and Representative Henry Clay as two of the five members of the Peace Commission which negotiated the Treaty of Ghent. It was more marked throughout the 1900's, beginning with the appointments of Senators Connally and Vandenberg and Representatives Bloom and Eaton to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945.

It was customary for the State Department to ask the Presiding Officer of the Senate to designate Senators to attend meetings of the governing bodies of U.N. specialized agencies; important conferences, such as the sessions of the Law of the Sea Conference; and special sessions of the U.N. General Assembly such as those sessions on disarmament and the environment. In this capacity, Senators serve as congressional advisers and gain some insight into the work of the organizations, including budget and financing questions. At the same time, they have an opportunity to share the concerns of the U.S. Congress on these issues. This practice diminished in the 1990's as congressional participation on U.S. delegations to international meetings has been directed more to those with significant domestic implications. For example, some of the 12 Senators appointed to the Global Climate Change Observer Group attended the December 1997 meeting at Kyoto, Japan, on the Protocol on the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Control.

Most international organizations also have annual or biennial meetings of their membership, and it has become customary also to include Members of Congress in the U.S. delegations to those sessions as observers or advisers, when deemed desirable. For instance, a few years after the United Nations came into being an informal arrangement was made between the House, Senate, and the Department of State whereby in non-election years, two members of the House International Relations Committee would be on the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, and in election years, two Senators, generally members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee would be U.S. delegates. The Senators serving on the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly have been as follows:

1946—Senators CONNALLY and VANDENBERG.

1947—Senators VANDENBERG and CONNALLY.

1950—Senators SPARKMAN (not a committee member) and LODGE.

1952—Senators GREEN and WILEY.

1954—Senators (H. Alexander) SMITH and FULBRIGHT

1956—Senators HUMPHREY and KNOWLAND.

1958—Senators MANSFIELD and HICKENLOOPER.

1960—Senators MORSE and AIKEN.

1962—Senators GORE and ALLOTT (not a committee member).

1964—Senators (Russell B.) LONG and CARLSON.

1966—Senators CHURCH and (Clifford P.) CASE.

1968—Senators SYMINGTON and COOPER.

1970—Senators PELL and JAVITS.

1972—Senators McGEE and PEARSON.

1974—Senators SYMINGTON and PERCY.

1976—Senators MCGOVERN and BAKER.

1978—Senators RIBICOFF (not a committee member) and PEARSON.

1980—Senators TSONGAS and JAVITS.

1982—Senators KASTEN and JOHNSTON (not committee members).

1984—Senators MATHIAS and GLENN.

1986—Senators PRESSLER and EAGLETON

1988—Senators BOSCHWITZ and DODD

1990—Senators MACK and BIDEN

1992—Senators PRESSLER and SARBANES

1994—Senators MURKOWSKI and LEAHY

1996—Senators GRAMS and PELL

1998—Senators GRAMS and BIDEN

2000—Senators GRAMS and BIDEN

### **Interparliamentary Activities**

Interparliamentary activities concern and involve the entire Congress. For instance, every Member of Congress is *ipso facto* a member of the Interparliamentary Union. Legislation authorizing the participation in such activities, however, has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and it is, therefore, more directly responsible and involved than other committees. Moreover, as the principal committee dealing with international relations, the Committee has taken an active interest in assuring adequate preparation and representation at the various interparliamentary meetings.

In addition, Public Law 86-42 and Public Law 86-420, which authorize participation in the Canada-United States and the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Groups, respectively, include the provision that not less than four of the 12 Senators appointed by the President of the Senate to participate in such meetings be from the Foreign Relations Committee. And in 1975, an amendment to the Act authorizing U.S. participation in the Interparliamentary Union specified that no less than two of the delegates shall be members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The oldest formally organized interparliamentary body is the Interparliamentary Union, to which all nations with national par-

liamentary bodies may apply for membership. The Congress has participated in the Union since its establishment in 1889. Current legislative authority for such participation dates from 1935.

The next oldest group with which the U.S. Congress has been associated is the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, formed as the Empire Parliamentary Association in 1911. Although the Congress is, of course, not a member of this organization, the association has made it a practice to invite Congress to participate in that portion of its annual meetings devoted to a discussion of international issues. These invitations have been accepted by the Senate upon occasion. Senate resolutions have been passed to authorize participation.

U.S. participation in the North Atlantic Assembly, formerly the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, was authorized in 1956 on a permanent basis. The law provides for the appointment of not to exceed 24 Members of the Congress (12 from each House) to each conference (Public Law 84-689).

The Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group is an outgrowth of discussions in 1959 between United States and Canadian legislators authorized by Senate Resolution 359 in 1958. Following these initial discussions, participation by the United States in parliamentary conferences with Canada was authorized on a permanent basis by Public Law 86-42, enacted in 1959. The appointment each year of not to exceed 12 Senators and 12 Representatives is authorized for this purpose. The participating countries alternate in acting as host to the conferences.

To balance the arrangement with its northern neighbor, the U.S. Congress in 1960 approved similar participation in a Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Group by Public Law 86-420.

In addition to the formal or regular meetings of the above-described organizations, there are other contacts on informal or irregular basis. For instance, the Council of Europe has occasionally invited Members of Congress to meet with it. Likewise, it has become customary for a small congressional group to meet some years with a similar group from the British Parliament. In 1974, 1978 and 1985, the Congress entertained a parliamentary delegation from the Soviet Union. Additional bilateral exchanges have been suggested by certain countries and invitations for congressional visits have been received from others. In 1965, for the first time, the Senate, at the recommendation of the Committee, adopted a resolution authorizing the President of the Senate to respond, for the duration of the 89th Congress, to invitations officially received from foreign governmental or parliamentary bodies by naming official Senate delegates to accept such invitations and providing for the payment of expenses of such delegations, not to exceed \$25,000 per delega-

tion. Similar resolutions covering the 90th Congress (S. Res. 115) and the 91st Congress (S. Res. 65) were passed by the Senate on May 19, 1967, and February 17, 1969, respectively. After a lapse of five years, this authority was renewed in 1975 (S. Res. 86, agreed to February 24, 1975) and the financial ceiling raised to \$35,000 per delegation. Delegation expenses are now paid out of the Senate's contingency fund (S. Res. 179, approved May 25, 1977).

To deal with the reverse flow of official visitors to the United States, the Senate on March 6, 1958 agreed to S. Res. 259, which provided \$5,000 "to provide assistance to Members of the Senate in the discharge of their responsibilities in connection with visiting foreign dignitaries, and for other purposes."

In March 1975, the amount was raised to \$10,000 to cover the cost of inflation, the increase in the number of visitors, and to include officials of Intergovernmental Organizations in addition to foreign government officials. In June 1976 this sum was further raised to \$15,000 in view of the large bicentennial influx of foreign dignitaries, and in 1977 to \$25,000. In 2000, the Senate agreed to S. Res. 370 which increased the amount to \$30,000.

### ***Committee Procedure***

Up to the time of enactment of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, the Committee on Foreign Relations had no formal rules of procedure additional to those contained in the earlier Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The new act, however, provided that all committees, standing, select, or special, adopt rules and publish them in the Congressional Record no later than March 1 of each year (now Rule XXVI.2 of the Standing Rules of the Senate). The most recent rules are as follows:

### **Rules of the Committee on Foreign Relations**

(ADOPTED FEBRUARY 12, 1999)

#### **RULE 1—JURISDICTION**

(a) *Substantive*.—In accordance with Senate Rule XXV.1(j), the jurisdiction of the Committee shall extend to all proposed legislation, messages, petitions, memorials, and other matters relating to the following subjects:

1. Acquisition of land and buildings for embassies and legations in foreign countries.
2. Boundaries of the United States.
3. Diplomatic service.
4. Foreign economic, military, technical, and humanitarian assistance.

5. Foreign loans.
6. International activities of the American National Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross.
7. International aspects of nuclear energy, including nuclear transfer policy.
8. International conferences and congresses.
9. International law as it relates to foreign policy.
10. International Monetary Fund and other international organizations established primarily for international monetary purposes (except that, at the request of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, any proposed legislation relating to such subjects reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations shall be referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs).
11. Intervention abroad and declarations of war.
12. Measures to foster commercial intercourse with foreign nations and to safeguard American business interests abroad.
13. National security and international aspects of trusteeships of the United States.
14. Ocean and international environmental and scientific affairs as they relate to foreign policy.
15. Protection of United States citizens abroad and expatriation.
16. Relations of the United States with foreign nations generally.
17. Treaties and executive agreements, except reciprocal trade agreements.
18. United Nations and its affiliated organizations.
19. World Bank group, the regional development banks, and other international organizations established primarily for development assistance purposes.

The Committee is also mandated by Senate Rule XXV.1(j) to study and review, on a comprehensive basis, matters relating to the national security policy, foreign policy, and international economic policy as it relates to foreign policy of the United States, and matters relating to food, hunger, and nutrition in foreign countries, and report thereon from time to time.

(b) *Oversight*.—The Committee also has a responsibility under Senate Rule XXVI.8, which provides that “\* \* \* each standing Committee \* \* \* shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, administration, and execution of those laws or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the Committee.”

(c) *“Advice and Consent” Clauses*.—The Committee has a special responsibility to assist the Senate in its constitutional function of

providing “advice and consent” to all treaties entered into by the United States and all nominations to the principal executive branch positions in the field of foreign policy and diplomacy.

## RULE 2—SUBCOMMITTEES

(a) *Creation.*—Unless otherwise authorized by law or Senate resolution, subcommittees shall be created by majority vote of the Committee and shall deal with such legislation and oversight of programs and policies as the Committee directs. Legislative measures or other matters may be referred to a subcommittee for consideration in the discretion of the Chairman or by vote of a majority of the Committee. If the principal subject matter of a measure or matter to be referred falls within the jurisdiction of more than one subcommittee, the Chairman or the Committee may refer the matter to two or more subcommittees for joint consideration.

(b) *Assignments.*—Assignments of members to subcommittees shall be made in an equitable fashion. No member of the Committee may receive assignment to a second subcommittee until, in order of seniority, all members of the Committee have chosen assignments to one subcommittee, and no member shall receive assignments to a third subcommittee until, in order of seniority, all members have chosen assignments to two subcommittees.

No member of the Committee may serve on more than four subcommittees at any one time.

The Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the Committee shall be *ex officio* members, without vote, of each subcommittee.

(c) *Meetings.*—Except when funds have been specifically made available by the Senate for a subcommittee purpose, no subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations shall hold hearings involving expenses without prior approval of the Chairman of the full Committee or by decision of the full Committee. Meetings of subcommittees shall be scheduled after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee with a view toward avoiding conflicts with meetings of other subcommittees insofar as possible. Meetings of subcommittees shall not be scheduled to conflict with meetings of the full Committee.

The proceedings of each subcommittee shall be governed by the rules of the full Committee, subject to such authorizations or limitations as the Committee may from time to time prescribe.

## RULE 3—MEETINGS

(a) *Regular Meeting Day.*—The regular meeting day of the Committee on Foreign Relations for the transaction of Committee business shall be on Tuesday of each week, unless otherwise directed by the Chairman.

(b) *Additional Meetings.*—Additional meetings and hearings of the Committee may be called by the Chairman as he may deem necessary. If at least three members of the Committee desire that a special meeting of the Committee be called by the Chairman, those members may file in the offices of the Committee their written request to the Chairman for that special meeting. Immediately upon filing of the request, the Chief Clerk of the Committee shall notify the Chairman of the filing of the request. If, within three calendar days after the filing of the request, the Chairman does not call the requested special meeting, to be held within seven calendar days after the filing of the request, a majority of the members of the Committee may file in the offices of the Committee their written notice that a special meeting of the Committee will be held, specifying the date and hour of that special meeting. The Committee shall meet on that date and hour. Immediately upon the filing of the notice, the Clerk shall notify all members of the Committee that such special meeting will be held and inform them of its date and hour.

(c) *Minority Request.*—Whenever any hearing is conducted by the Committee or a subcommittee upon any measure or matter, the minority on the Committee shall be entitled, upon request made by a majority of the minority members to the Chairman before the completion of such hearing, to call witnesses selected by the minority to testify with respect to the measure or matter during at least one day of hearing thereon.

(d) *Public Announcement.*—The Committee, or any subcommittee thereof, shall make public announcement of the date, place, time, and subject matter of any hearing to be conducted on any measure or matter at least one week in advance of such hearings, unless the Chairman of the Committee, or subcommittee, determines that there is good cause to begin such hearing at an earlier date.

(e) *Procedure.*—Insofar as possible, proceedings of the Committee will be conducted without resort to the formalities of parliamentary procedure and with due regard for the views of all members. Issues of procedure which may arise from time to time shall be resolved by decision of the Chairman, in consultation with the Ranking Minority Member. The Chairman, in consultation with the Ranking Minority Member, may also propose special procedures to govern the consideration of particular matters by the Committee.

(f) *Closed Sessions.*—Each meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any subcommittee thereof, including meetings to conduct hearings, shall be open to the public, except that a meeting or series of meetings by the Committee or a subcommittee on the same subject for a period of no more than fourteen calendar days may be closed to the public on a motion made and seconded to go

into closed session to discuss only whether the matters enumerated in paragraphs (1) through (6) would require the meeting to be closed followed immediately by a record vote in open session by a majority of the members of the Committee or subcommittee when it is determined that the matters to be discussed or the testimony to be taken at such meeting or meetings—

- (1) will disclose matters necessary to be kept secret in the interests of national defense or the confidential conduct of the foreign relations of the United States;
- (2) will relate solely to matters of Committee staff personnel or internal staff management or procedure;
- (3) will tend to charge an individual with crime or misconduct; to disgrace or injure the professional standing of an individual, or otherwise to expose an individual to public contempt or obloquy, or will represent a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of an individual;
- (4) will disclose the identity of any informer or law enforcement agent or will disclose any information relating to the investigation or prosecution of a criminal offense that is required to be kept secret in the interests of effective law enforcement;
- (5) will disclose information relating to the trade secrets or financial or commercial information pertaining specifically to a given person if—
  - (A) an Act of Congress requires the information to be kept confidential by Government officers and employees; or
  - (B) the information has been obtained by the Government on a confidential basis, other than through an application by such person for a specific Government financial or other benefit, and is required to be kept secret in order to prevent undue injury to the competitive position of such person, or
- (6) may divulge matters required to be kept confidential under other provisions of law or Government regulations.

A closed meeting may be opened by a majority vote of the Committee.

(g) *Staff Attendance.*—A member of the Committee may have one member of his or her personal staff, for whom that member assumes personal responsibility, accompany and be seated nearby at Committee meetings.

Each member of the Committee may designate members of his or her personal staff, who hold a Top Secret security clearance, for the purpose of their eligibility to attend closed sessions of the Committee, subject to the same conditions set forth for Committee staff under Rules 12, 13, and 14.

In addition, the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader of the Senate, if they are not otherwise members of the Committee, may designate one member of their staff with a Top Secret security clearance to attend closed sessions of the Committee, subject to the same conditions set forth for Committee staff under Rules 12, 13, and 14. Staff of other Senators who are not members of the Committee may not attend closed sessions of the Committee.

Attendance of Committee staff at meetings shall be limited to those designated by the Staff Director or the Minority Staff Director.

The Committee, by majority vote, or the Chairman, with the concurrence of the Ranking Minority Member, may limit staff attendance at specified meetings.

#### RULE 4—QUORUMS

(a) *Testimony*.—For the purpose of taking sworn or unsworn testimony at any duly scheduled meeting a quorum of the Committee and each subcommittee thereof shall consist of one member.

(b) *Business*.—A quorum for the transaction of Committee or subcommittee business, other than for reporting a measure or recommendation to the Senate or the taking of testimony, shall consist of one-third of the members of the Committee or subcommittee, including at least one member from each party.

(c) *Reporting*.—A majority of the membership of the Committee shall constitute a quorum for reporting any measure or recommendation to the Senate. No measure or recommendation shall be ordered reported from the Committee unless a majority of the Committee members are physically present. The vote of the Committee to report a measure or matter shall require the concurrence of a majority of those members who are physically present at the time the vote is taken.

#### RULE 5—PROXIES

Proxies must be in writing with the signature of the absent member. Subject to the requirements of Rule 4 for the physical presence of a quorum to report a matter, proxy voting shall be allowed on all measures and matters before the Committee. However, proxies shall not be voted on a measure or matter except when the absent member has been informed of the matter on which he is being recorded and has affirmatively requested that he or she be so recorded.

## RULE 6—WITNESSES

(a) *General.*—The Committee on Foreign Relations will consider requests to testify on any matter or measure pending before the Committee.

(b) *Presentation.*—If the Chairman so determines, the oral presentation of witnesses shall be limited to 10 minutes. However, written statements of reasonable length may be submitted by witnesses and other interested persons who are unable to testify in person.

(c) *Filing of Statements.*—A witness appearing before the Committee, or any subcommittee thereof, shall file a written statement of his proposed testimony at least 48 hours prior to his appearance, unless this requirement is waived by the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member following their determination that there is good cause for failure to file such a statement.

(d) *Expenses.*—Only the Chairman may authorize expenditures of funds for the expenses of witnesses appearing before the Committee or its subcommittees.

(e) *Requests.*—Any witness called for a hearing may submit a written request to the Chairman no later than 24 hours in advance for his testimony to be in closed or open session, or for any other unusual procedure. The Chairman shall determine whether to grant any such request and shall notify the Committee members of the request and of his decision.

## RULE 7—SUBPOENAS

(a) *Authorization.*—The Chairman or any other member of the Committee, when authorized by a majority vote of the Committee at a meeting or by proxies, shall have authority to subpoena the attendance of witnesses or the production of memoranda, documents, records, or any other materials. When the Committee authorizes a subpoena, it may be issued upon the signature of the Chairman or any other member designated by the Committee.

(b) *Return.*—A subpoena, or a request to an agency, for documents may be issued whose return shall occur at a time and place other than that of a scheduled Committee meeting. A return on such a subpoena or request which is incomplete or accompanied by an objection constitutes good cause for a hearing on shortened notice. Upon such a return, the Chairman or any other member designated by him may convene a hearing by giving 2 hours notice by telephone to all other members. One member shall constitute a quorum for such a hearing. The sole purpose of such a hearing shall be to elucidate further information about the return and to rule on the objection.

(c) *Depositions*.—At the direction of the Committee, staff is authorized to take depositions from witnesses.

#### RULE 8—REPORTS

(a) *Filing*.—When the Committee has ordered a measure or recommendation reported, the report thereon shall be filed in the Senate at the earliest practicable time.

(b) *Supplemental, Minority and Additional Views*.—A member of the Committee who gives notice of his intentions to file supplemental, minority, or additional views at the time of final Committee approval of a measure or matter, shall be entitled to not less than 3 calendar days in which to file such views, in writing, with the Chief Clerk of the Committee, with the 3 days to begin at 11:00 p.m. on the same day that the Committee has ordered a measure or matter reported. Such views shall then be included in the Committee report and printed in the same volume, as a part thereof, and their inclusion shall be noted on the cover of the report. In the absence of timely notice, the Committee report may be filed and printed immediately without such views.

(c) *Rollcall Votes*.—The results of all rollcall votes taken in any meeting of the Committee on any measure, or amendment thereto, shall be announced in the Committee report. The announcement shall include a tabulation of the votes cast in favor and votes cast in opposition to each such measure and amendment by each member of the Committee.

#### RULE 9—TREATIES

(a) The Committee is the only Committee of the Senate with jurisdiction to review and report to the Senate on treaties submitted by the President for Senate advice and consent. Because the House of Representatives has no role in the approval of treaties, the Committee is therefore the only congressional committee with responsibility for treaties.

(b) Once submitted by the President for advice and consent, each treaty is referred to the Committee and remains on its calendar from Congress to Congress until the Committee takes action to report it to the Senate or recommend its return to the President, or until the Committee is discharged of the treaty by the Senate.

(c) In accordance with Senate Rule XXX.2, treaties which have been reported to the Senate but not acted on before the end of a Congress “shall be resumed at the commencement of the next Congress as if no proceedings had previously been had thereon.”

(d) Insofar as possible, the Committee should conduct a public hearing on each treaty as soon as possible after its submission by

the President. Except in extraordinary circumstances, treaties reported to the Senate shall be accompanied by a written report.

#### RULE 10—NOMINATIONS

(a) *Waiting Requirement*.—Unless otherwise directed by the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member, the Committee on Foreign Relations shall not consider any nomination until 6 calendar days after it has been formally submitted to the Senate.

(b) *Public Consideration*.—Nominees for any post who are invited to appear before the Committee shall be heard in public session, unless a majority of the Committee decrees otherwise.

(c) *Required Data*.—No nomination shall be reported to the Senate unless (1) the nominee has been accorded a security clearance on the basis of a thorough investigation by executive branch agencies; (2) in appropriate cases, the nominee has filed a financial disclosure report and a confidential statement with the Committee; (3) the Committee has been assured that the nominee does not have any interests which could conflict with the interests of the government in the exercise of the nominee's proposed responsibilities; (4) for persons nominated to be chief of mission, ambassador-at-large, or minister, the Committee has received a complete list of any contributions made by the nominee or members of his immediate family to any Federal election campaign during the year of his or her nomination and for the 4 preceding years; and (5) for persons nominated to be chiefs of mission, a report on the demonstrated competence of that nominee to perform the duties of the position to which he or she has been nominated.

#### RULE 11—TRAVEL

(a) *Foreign Travel*.—No member of the Committee on Foreign Relations or its staff shall travel abroad on Committee business unless specifically authorized by the Chairman, who is required by law to approve vouchers and report expenditures of foreign currencies, and the Ranking Minority Member. Requests for authorization of such travel shall state the purpose and, when completed, a full substantive and financial report shall be filed with the Committee within 30 days. This report shall be furnished to all members of the Committee and shall not be otherwise disseminated without the express authorization of the Committee. Except in extraordinary circumstances, staff travel shall not be approved unless the reporting requirements have been fulfilled for all prior trips. Except for travel that is strictly personal, travel funded by non-U.S. Government sources is subject to the same approval and substantive reporting requirements as U.S. Government-funded travel. In addition, members and staff are reminded of Senate Rule

XXXV.4 requiring a determination by the Senate Ethics Committee in the case of foreign-sponsored travel.

Any proposed travel by Committee staff for a subcommittee purpose must be approved by the subcommittee chairman and ranking minority member prior to submission of the request to the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the full Committee.

When the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member approve the foreign travel of a member of the staff of the committee not accompanying a member of the Committee, all members of the Committee shall be advised, prior to the commencement of such travel of its extent, nature, and purpose.

(b) *Domestic Travel.*—All official travel in the United States by the Committee staff shall be approved in advance by the Staff Director, or in the case of minority staff, by the Minority Staff Director.

(c) *Personal Staff.*—As a general rule, no more than one member of the personal staff of a member of the Committee may travel with that member with the approval of the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member of the Committee. During such travel, the personal staff member shall be considered to be an employee of the Committee.

(d) *Personal Representatives of the Member (PRM).*—For the purposes of Rule 11 as regards staff foreign travel, the officially-designated personal representative of the member (PRM) shall be deemed to have the same rights, duties, and responsibilities as members of the staff of the Committee on Foreign Relations. Furthermore, for the purposes of this section, each Member of the Committee may designate one personal staff member as the “Personal Representative of the Member.”

## RULE 12—TRANSCRIPTS

(a) *General.*—The Committee on Foreign Relations shall keep verbatim transcripts of all Committee and subcommittee meetings and such transcripts shall remain in the custody of the Committee, unless a majority of the Committee decides otherwise. Transcripts of public hearings by the Committee shall be published unless the Chairman, with the concurrence of the Ranking Minority Member, determines otherwise.

(b) *Classified or Restricted Transcripts.*—

(1) The Chief Clerk of the Committee shall have responsibility for the maintenance and security of classified or restricted transcripts.

(2) A record shall be maintained of each use of classified or restricted transcripts.

(3) Classified or restricted transcripts shall be kept in locked combination safes in the Committee offices except when in active use by authorized persons for a period not to exceed 2 weeks. Extensions of this period may be granted as necessary by the Chief Clerk. They must never be left unattended and shall be returned to the Chief Clerk promptly when no longer needed.

(4) Except as provided in paragraph 7 below, transcripts classified secret or higher may not leave the Committee offices except for the purpose of declassification.

(5) Classified transcripts other than those classified secret or higher may leave the Committee offices in the possession of authorized persons with the approval of the Chairman. Delivery and return shall be made only by authorized persons. Such transcripts may not leave Washington, DC, unless adequate assurances for their security are made to the Chairman.

(6) Extreme care shall be exercised to avoid taking notes or quotes from classified transcripts. Their contents may not be divulged to any unauthorized person.

(7) Subject to any additional restrictions imposed by the Chairman with the concurrence of the Ranking Minority Member, only the following persons are authorized to have access to classified or restricted transcripts.

(i) Members and staff of the Committee in the Committee rooms;

(ii) Designated personal representatives of members of the Committee, and of the Majority and Minority Leaders, with appropriate security clearances, in the Committee's Capitol office;

(iii) Senators not members of the Committee, by permission of the Chairman in the Committee rooms; and

(iv) Members of the executive departments involved in the meeting, in the Committee's Capitol office, or, with the permission of the Chairman, in the offices of the officials who took part in the meeting, but in either case, only for a specified and limited period of time, and only after reliable assurances against further reproduction or dissemination have been given.

(8) Any restrictions imposed upon access to a meeting of the Committee shall also apply to the transcript of such meeting, except by special permission of the Chairman and notice to the other members of the Committee. Each transcript of a closed session of the Committee shall include on its cover a description of the restrictions imposed upon access, as well as any ap-

plicable restrictions upon photocopying, note-taking or other dissemination.

(9) In addition to restrictions resulting from the inclusion of any classified information in the transcript of a Committee meeting, members and staff shall not discuss with anyone the proceedings of the Committee in closed session or reveal information conveyed or discussed in such a session unless that person would have been permitted to attend the session itself, or unless such communication is specifically authorized by the Chairman, the Ranking Minority Member, or in the case of staff, by the Staff Director or Minority Staff Director. A record shall be kept of all such authorizations.

(c) *Declassification.*—

(1) All restricted transcripts and classified Committee reports shall be declassified on a date twelve years after their origination unless the Committee by majority vote decides against such declassification, and provided that the executive departments involved and all former Committee members who participated directly in the sessions or reports concerned have been consulted in advance and given a reasonable opportunity to raise objections to such declassification.

(2) Any transcript or classified Committee report, or any portion thereof, may be declassified fewer than twelve years after their origination if:

(i) the Chairman originates such action or receives a written request for such action, and notifies the other members of the Committee;

(ii) the Chairman, Ranking Minority Member, and each member or former member who participated directly in such meeting or report give their approval, except that the Committee by majority vote may overrule any objections thereby raised to early declassification; and

(iii) the executive departments and all former Committee members are consulted in advance and have a reasonable opportunity to object to early declassification.

#### RULE 13—CLASSIFIED MATERIAL

(a) All classified material received or originated by the Committee shall be logged in at the Committee's offices in the Dirksen Senate Office Building, and except for material classified as "Top Secret" shall be filed in the Dirksen Senate Building offices for Committee use and safekeeping.

(b) Each such piece of classified material received or originated shall be card indexed and serially numbered, and where requiring onward distribution shall be distributed by means of an attached

indexed form approved by the Chairman. If such material is to be distributed outside the Committee offices, it shall, in addition to the attached form, be accompanied also by an approved signature sheet to show onward receipt.

(c) Distribution of classified material among offices shall be by Committee members or authorized staff only. All classified material sent to members' offices, and that distributed within the working offices of the Committee, shall be returned to the offices designated by the Chief Clerk. No classified material is to be removed from the offices of the members or of the Committee without permission of the Chairman. Such classified material will be afforded safe handling and safe storage at all times.

(d) Material classified "Top Secret," after being indexed and numbered shall be sent to the Committee's Capitol office for use by the members and authorized staff in that office only or in such other secure Committee offices as may be authorized by the Chairman or Staff Director.

(e) In general, members and staff undertake to confine their access to classified information on the basis of a "need to know" such information related to their Committee responsibilities.

(f) The Staff Director is authorized to make such administrative regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of these regulations.

#### RULE 14—STAFF

(a) *Responsibilities.*—

(1) The staff works for the Committee as a whole, under the general supervision of the Chairman of the Committee, and the immediate direction of the Staff Director; provided, however, that such part of the staff as is designated Minority Staff, shall be under the general supervision of the Ranking Minority Member and under the immediate direction of the Minority Staff Director.

(2) Any member of the Committee should feel free to call upon the staff at any time for assistance in connection with Committee business. Members of the Senate not members of the Committee who call upon the staff for assistance from time to time should be given assistance subject to the overriding responsibility of the staff to the Committee.

(3) The staff's primary responsibility is with respect to bills, resolutions, treaties, and nominations.

In addition to carrying out assignments from the Committee and its individual members, the staff has a responsibility to originate suggestions for Committee or subcommittee consideration. The staff also has a responsibility to make suggestions

to individual members regarding matters of special interest to such members.

(4) It is part of the staff's duty to keep itself as well informed as possible in regard to developments affecting foreign relations and in regard to the administration of foreign programs of the United States. Significant trends or developments which might otherwise escape notice should be called to the attention of the Committee, or of individual Senators with particular interests.

(5) The staff shall pay due regard to the constitutional separation of powers between the Senate and the executive branch. It therefore has a responsibility to help the Committee bring to bear an independent, objective judgment of proposals by the executive branch and when appropriate to originate sound proposals of its own. At the same time, the staff shall avoid impinging upon the day-to-day conduct of foreign affairs.

(6) In those instances when Committee action requires the expression of minority views, the staff shall assist the minority as fully as the majority to the end that all points of view may be fully considered by members of the Committee and of the Senate. The staff shall bear in mind that under our constitutional system it is the responsibility of the elected Members of the Senate to determine legislative issues in the light of as full and fair a presentation of the facts as the staff may be able to obtain.

(b) *Restrictions.*—

(1) The staff shall regard its relationship to the Committee as a privileged one, in the nature of the relationship of a lawyer to a client. In order to protect this relationship and the mutual confidence which must prevail if the Committee-staff relationship is to be a satisfactory and fruitful one, the following criteria shall apply:

(i) members of the staff shall not be identified with any special interest group in the field of foreign relations or allow their names to be used by any such group;

(ii) members of the staff shall not accept public speaking engagements or write for publication in the field of foreign relations without specific advance permission from the Staff Director, or, in the case of minority staff, from the Minority Staff Director. In the case of the Staff Director and the Minority Staff Director, such advance permission shall be obtained from the Chairman or the Ranking Minority Member, as appropriate. In any event, such public statements should avoid the expression of personal views

and should not contain predictions of future, or interpretations of past, Committee action; and

(iii) staff shall not discuss their private conversations with members of the Committee without specific advance permission from the Senator or Senators concerned.

(2) The staff shall not discuss with anyone the proceedings of the Committee in closed session or reveal information conveyed or discussed in such a session unless that person would have been permitted to attend the session itself, or unless such communication is specifically authorized by the Staff Director or Minority Staff Director. Unauthorized disclosure of information from a closed session or of classified information shall be cause for immediate dismissal and may, in the case of some kinds of information, be grounds for criminal prosecution.

#### RULE 15—STATUS AND AMENDMENT OF RULES

(a) *Status.*—In addition to the foregoing, the Committee on Foreign Relations is governed by the Standing Rules of the Senate which shall take precedence in the event of a clear inconsistency. In addition, the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the Committee with respect to certain matters, as well as the timing and procedure for their consideration in Committee, may be governed by statute.

(b) *Amendment.*—These Rules may be modified, amended, or repealed by a majority of the Committee, provided that a notice in writing of the proposed change has been given to each member at least 48 hours prior to the meeting at which action thereon is to be taken. However, Rules of the Committee which are based upon Senate Rules may not be superseded by Committee vote alone.

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These rules speak for themselves. It should be noted that attendance of members at Committee meetings is voluntary and not compulsory.

#### **Meetings and Hearings**

Committee meetings are held at the call of the chairman. During consideration of important and complex measures, it is not unusual for the Committee to meet daily, both mornings and afternoons, the Senate permitting. Under normal circumstances, it is a routine courtesy to give standing committees permission to meet while the Senate is in session. Thus, for example, the Committee and its subcommittees met some 330 times during the 93rd Congress, 311 times in the 98th Congress, and over 200 times in the 106th Congress.

Meetings and agenda are initiated by the chairman and ranking minority member with the advice of members. Members have the right to suggest meetings on particular subjects and that certain bills and resolutions be placed on the agenda or scheduled for hearings.

In accordance with Senate rules (S. Res. 9, adopted November 7, 1975), all meetings are open to the public, except when the Committee, by majority vote, decides otherwise. Because of the sensitive nature of certain of the information required by the Committee, some hearings are voted to be closed to the public. Briefings by Department of State officials on negotiations in process or of current U.S. policy on various issues, for example, often fall into that category.

The Committee holds hearings on legislation, nominations, treaties, general oversight, and current international situations which are of interest to the Chairman or Subcommittee Chairmen. By custom, but not by rule, the Committee has permitted administration representatives to appear on the first witness panel, to be followed by one or more panels of private witnesses. Every effort is made to maintain a two to one witness ratio, with two witnesses on the private panel appearing at the request of the majority for each witness appearing at the request of the minority to ensure that a diversity of views is heard on matters before the Committee.

If there are numerous witnesses to be heard on a particular bill or treaty, the Committee may limit the oral presentation of witnesses to 10 minutes. The Committee has adopted a time limit for questioning witnesses by its own members so as to give every Senator an equal chance at examining a witness. On certain occasions, the Committee has also set a time limit on the period during which requests to be heard will be accepted by the Committee. Written statements, submitted by witnesses limited in their oral presentation, are printed in the hearing records, if of reasonable length and if received within a reasonable period after the hearings. Other information directly pertaining to a hearing has also been printed in hearing records. For example, during the 105th Congress, additional material was included in the printed record relating to NATO enlargement, and during the 106th Congress on the future of ABM. Major hearings and many others are printed by the Committee. However, it has become the practice of the Committee, for reasons of economy, not to print all hearings, especially on nominations. In many cases, brief hearings or principal witness statements are printed in the appendix to the Committee's report on the measure under consideration; in all cases, the typed transcript of public proceedings is available to the public to read in the Committee offices.

Beginning in the fall of 1973, the Committee started a pioneering project of publishing its hitherto classified executive sessions dating from the 80th Congress in 1947, when pursuant to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, verbatim records of committee meetings were ordered to be kept. This so-called historical series has become a continuing activity, complementing the Department of State's collection of diplomatic papers in the Foreign Relations of the United States series with a record of congressional action and views.

### ***Subcommittees***

It is the tradition of the Committee on Foreign Relations to consider legislation, resolutions, treaties, and nominations in the full committee on the theory that most questions of foreign relations are not divisible by geographic or substantive matter. A major exception was made in 1975 with the creation of the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance, which was given jurisdiction over all legislation on foreign aid and international financial institutions. In recent years, the Committee has returned to the practice of approving all legislation, treaties, and nominations on the full committee level.

Standing, temporary, or *ad hoc*, and oversight subcommittees have been utilized by the Committee at various times. Subcommittees are appointed by majority vote of the Committee, unless otherwise authorized by law or Senate resolution.

### **Standing Subcommittees**

From 1950 to 1975, the Committee on Foreign Relations maintained a series of consultative subcommittees, corresponding to the organization of the Department of State to a greater or lesser degree at various times.

The consultative subcommittee system was designed to foster more extensive consultations between the members of the Foreign Relations Committee and officers of the Department of State and to undertake independent studies in areas of special Committee interest. Since World War II the U.S. role in the world thrust new and important responsibilities upon the Congress. Moreover, the problems which confront the United States in various parts of the world increased tremendously in number and complexity. This meant that a degree of specialization in the work of the Committee on Foreign Relations became desirable. By organizing along subcommittee lines it was possible for the members to keep abreast of the more important developments within each of the geographic and substantive areas of concern in the conduct of foreign policy.

While the word "consultative" has been dropped from the subcommittee system, the role of the subcommittees in developing specialized information has continued much the same.

During the 106th Congress, the subcommittee structure was as follows:

(Subcommittees are listed in the order of chairmen's seniority within the full committee.)

(The Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the full committee are *ex officio* members of each subcommittee on which they do not serve as members.)

**Subcommittee on International Economic Policy, Export and Trade Promotion**

CHUCK HAGEL, *Chair*  
 CRAIG THOMAS  
 BILL FRIST  
 RICHARD G. LUGAR

PAUL S. SARBAKES, *Ranking*  
 JOHN F. KERRY  
 BARBARA BOXER

*Jurisdiction:*

The subcommittee's responsibilities encompass U.S. foreign economic policy, including export enhancement and trade promotion, and international economic growth and development. The subcommittee's jurisdiction includes measures that address:

- (1) the enhancement of American exports and promotion of U.S. trade opportunities and commercial interests abroad;
- (2) the promotion of and protection of economic interests of U.S. citizens abroad;
- (3) international investment, management, intellectual property, technological transfer and general commercial policies;
- (4) international monetary policy, including U.S. participation in international financial institutions; and
- (5) U.S. bilateral humanitarian, development, economic, trade and security assistance programs and policies carried out by the Agency for International Development and other U.S. agencies and U.S. voluntary contributions to international organizations providing assistance to foreign nations.

The subcommittee is also responsible for matters and policies involving the use, development and protection of the environment, including the oceans and space.

### **Subcommittee on European Affairs**

GORDON H. SMITH, <i>Chair</i>	JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., <i>Ranking</i>
RICHARD G. LUGAR	PAUL S. SARBAKES
JOHN ASHCROFT	CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
CHUCK HAGEL	PAUL D. WELLSTONE
LINCOLN D. CHAFEE	

*Jurisdiction:*

The subcommittee deals with matters concerning the continent of Europe, including the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union and member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Matters relating to Greenland, Iceland, and the north polar region are also the responsibilities of this subcommittee.

This subcommittee's responsibilities include all matters, problems and policies involving promotion of U.S. trade and export; terrorism, crime and the flow of illegal drugs; and oversight over U.S. foreign assistance programs that fall within this subcommittee's regional jurisdiction.

### **Subcommittee on International Operations**

ROD GRAMS, <i>Chair</i>	BARBARA BOXER, <i>Ranking</i>
JESSE HELMS	JOHN F. KERRY
SAM BROWNEBACK	RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD
BILL FRIST	

*Jurisdiction:*

The subcommittee's responsibilities include all matters, problems and policies involving international operations. This jurisdiction includes the general oversight responsibility for the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Foreign Service, international educational and cultural affairs, foreign broadcasting activities, foreign buildings, United States participation in the United Nations, its affiliated organizations, and other international organizations not under the jurisdiction of other subcommittees. The subcommittee also has jurisdiction over general matters of international law, law enforcement, and illegal activities.

### **Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs**

SAM BROWNEBACK, <i>Chair</i>	PAUL D. WELLSTONE, <i>Ranking</i>
JOHN ASHCROFT	ROBERT G. TORRICELLI
GORDON H. SMITH	PAUL S. SARBAKES
ROD GRAMS	CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
CRAIG THOMAS	

*Jurisdiction:*

This subcommittee deals with all matters and problems relating to the Middle East and Arab North Africa, including Arab-Israeli and inter-Arab issues, economic relations, and general security in the Persian Gulf, Mediterranean, the Middle East and North Africa. This subcommittee also deals with matters and problems relating to Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

This subcommittee's responsibilities include all matters, problems and policies involving promotion of U.S. trade and export; terrorism, crime and the flow of illegal drugs; and oversight over U.S. foreign assistance programs that fall within this subcommittee's regional jurisdiction.

**Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs**

CRAIG THOMAS, *Chair*  
 JESSE HELMS  
 CHUCK HAGEL  
 GORDON H. SMITH  
 LINCOLN D. CHAFEE

JOHN KERRY, *Ranking*  
 RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD  
 PAUL D. WELLSTONE  
 ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

*Jurisdiction:*

The geographic scope of the subcommittee extends from China and Mongolia to Burma, inclusive of the mainland of Asia, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand, Oceania, and the South Pacific Islands.

This subcommittee's responsibilities include all matters, problems and policies involving promotion of U.S. trade and export; terrorism, crime and the flow of illegal drugs; and oversight over U.S. foreign assistance programs that fall within this subcommittee's regional jurisdiction.

**Subcommittee on African Affairs**

BILL FRIST, *Chair*  
 ROD GRAMS  
 SAM BROWNBACK

RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD, *Ranking*  
 PAUL S. SARBANES

*Jurisdiction:*

The subcommittee has geographic responsibilities corresponding to those of the Bureau of African Affairs in the Department of State. The subcommittee considers all matters and problems relating to Africa, with the exception of countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea from Egypt to Morocco, which are under the purview of the Subcommittee on Near Eastern Affairs.

This subcommittee's responsibilities include all matters, problems and policies involving promotion of U.S. trade and export; terrorism, crime and the flow of illegal drugs; and oversight over U.S. foreign assistance programs that fall within this subcommittee's regional jurisdiction.

**Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps,  
Narcotics and Terrorism**

LINCOLN D. CHAFEE, *Chair*  
JESSE HELMS  
RICHARD G. LUGAR  
JOHN ASHCROFT

CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, *Ranking*  
BARBARA BOXER  
ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

*Jurisdiction:*

The geographic scope of this subcommittee extends from the Arctic Ocean to Tierra del Fuego, including the Caribbean. Problems which are of concern to the subcommittee include relations between the American nations, U.S.-Canadian affairs, boundary matters, the implementation of various treaties and conventions, economic relations and security matters affecting the Western Hemisphere, and the Organization of American States.

This subcommittee's responsibilities include all matters, problems and policies involving promotion of U.S. trade and export; crime; and oversight over U.S. foreign assistance programs that fall within this subcommittee's regional jurisdiction.

This subcommittee also exercises general oversight over:

- (1) all of the activities and programs of the Peace Corps;
- (2) all U.S. foreign policy, programs and international cooperative efforts to combat the flow of illegal drugs or substances; and
- (3) all U.S. foreign policy, programs and cooperative efforts to combat international terrorism.

In the recent past the practice was to follow preferences of Committee members with respect to subcommittee assignments which resulted in varied sizes and differing ratios between majority and minority members. However, beginning in the 95th Congress, ratios were set and minority members assumed different "ranking" positions on each subcommittee.

Except for the practice noted above, that legislation is considered by full committee, there is no rule as to whether a matter is considered by the full committee or a subcommittee.

**Study or Oversight Subcommittees**

In the past, when the Committee on Foreign Relations decided on a major oversight undertaking, requiring more staff and funds

than available under its ordinary budget, the Committee has sought special authority and funds for the conduct of such studies. The first such study authorized by the Senate after passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 was a study of overseas information programs of the United States in 1952 (S. Res. 74, 82d Cong.) which ended in 1954. This study set the pattern for most of the subsequent studies during the 1950's, namely, studies of the United Nations Charter (S. Res. 126, 1953), of the technical assistance program (S. Res. 214, 1954), of disarmament issues (S. Res. 93, 1955), of foreign assistance programs (S. Res. 285, 1956), and U.S. foreign policy (S. Res. 336, 1958). A subcommittee was appointed to conduct the study or oversight and included non Committee members as well as Committee members. The procedure generally was to collect and publish relevant documents; problem areas were explored in staff studies; questionnaires were sent to groups having special knowledge of the subject matter (American businessmen and reporters overseas, ambassadors, or retired Foreign Service Officers); on the spot surveys were made overseas, hearings were held on the accumulated data; and a final report was submitted to the Senate, giving the subcommittee's recommendations and conclusions.

#### **Ad Hoc Subcommittees**

For many years *Ad hoc* subcommittees were the only kind of subcommittees appointed by the Committee on Foreign Relations. They were normally authorized to consider only one item or a related group of items, such as a series of double taxation conventions or broadcasting agreements. As the Committee began more and more to consider treaties and legislation as a whole, the appointment of *ad hoc* subcommittees decreased. No such subcommittees were appointed between 1959, when one was set up to consider certain broadcasting agreements, and 1965, when three *ad hoc* subcommittees were appointed to handle certain international organization matters, claims legislation, and double tax conventions. In 1967 four additional *ad hoc* subcommittees were set up to consider customs and maritime matters, human rights conventions, deployment of U.S. troops in Europe, and a Foreign Service Information corps. Since then, similar subcommittees have gone into passport matters, the International Grain Arrangement, the Genocide Convention, the International Wheat Agreement of 1971, and the operation of the War Powers Resolution.

*Ad hoc* subcommittees cease to exist the moment the matters referred to them are disposed of or upon adjournment of Congress.

## Staff

The following provisions of the amended Standing Rules of the Senate are applicable to the Committee staff.

### RULE XXVII

#### COMMITTEE STAFF

1. Staff members appointed to assist minority members of committees pursuant to authority of a resolution described in paragraph 9 of rule XXVI or other Senate resolution shall be accorded equitable treatment with respect to the fixing of salary rates, the assignment of facilities, and the accessibility of committee records.<sup>10</sup>
2. The minority shall receive fair consideration in the appointment of staff personnel pursuant to authority of a resolution described in paragraph 9 of rule XXVI.
3. The staffs of committees (including personnel appointed pursuant to authority of a resolution described in paragraph 9 of rule XXVI or other Senate resolution) should reflect the relative number of majority and minority members of committees. A majority of the minority members of any committee may, by resolution, request that at least one-third of all funds of the committee for personnel (other than those funds determined by the chairman and ranking minority members to be allocated for the administrative and clerical functions of the committee as a whole) to be allocated to the minority members of such committee for compensation of minority staff as the minority members may decide. The committee shall thereafter adjust its budget to comply with such resolution. Such adjustment shall be equitably made over a four-year period, commencing July 1, 1977, with not less than one-half being made in two years. Upon request by a majority of the minority members of any committee by resolution, proportionate space, equipment, and facilities shall be provided for such minority staff.
4. No committee shall appoint to its staff any experts or other personnel detailed or assigned from any department or agency of the Government, except with the written permission of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

As of September 29, 1999, the Committee's annual budget which provides funding for the exercise of its legislative oversight and for all staffing is included in S. Res. 189, the omnibus committee fund-

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<sup>10</sup>See page 65, below, for paragraph 9 of rule XXVI.

ing resolution. From March 1 until September 30, 1999 temporary funding was authorized by S. Res. 49. Portions of S. Res. 49 and S. Res. 189 are set forth on pages 66 and 68.

Prior to 1981, staff funding was included in the budget and also in separate resolutions. For example, in 1958 the position of an interparliamentary assistant was authorized as visits of foreign dignitaries to Washington increased and as the Congress became more involved in interparliamentary activities. This position was made permanent in 1962.

The size of the staff has increased over the years. At the beginning of the 80th Congress, when the Committee began to organize its independent professional staff, it employed four persons; as of October 2000, 48 persons, professional and clerical, were employed on a permanent basis.

As a rule, the staff is assigned to the full committee, and subcommittees are not separately staffed. Members of the full committee staff have the responsibility for taking care of the needs of subcommittees.

In accordance with the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, members of the full committee staff were occasionally assigned to work primarily for the minority, but were also available for general committee assignments. However, in January 1979 the minority members of the Committee elected to establish a minority staff as stipulated in Rule XXVII.2. Since then, formal coordination of relations between the majority and minority staffs has been accomplished through the two staff directors, and various members of the staff performing administrative and clerical functions for the Committee have been considered as "nondesignated." It should be noted that prior to the hiring of a minority staff in 1979, the Committee had appointed a personnel subcommittee in early 1958 which made recommendations to the full committee, and filled professional staff vacancies at the discretion of the Chairman as they developed. This subcommittee consisted of the two ranking majority and minority members.

In the case of long-term special oversight studies, however, it has been occasionally necessary to augment the regular Committee staff with specialists for a limited period of time. For shorter periods, consultants have been hired by the Committee, as in 1979 for consideration of the SALT II treaty, in 1981 for the nomination of Alexander M. Haig, Jr., to be Secretary of State, and in 1988 for consideration of the INF Treaty.

S. Res. 60 of the 94th Congress (June 12, 1975) authorized the hiring of additional persons by Committee members on their personal staff to assist them on Committee matters. This resolution was superseded by the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act,

1978, which contains provisions for the hiring of Personal Representatives of Members as follows:

**Public Law 95-94 [Excerpt]**

*AN ACT Making appropriations for the Legislative Branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1978, and for other purposes*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the Legislative Branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1978, and for other purposes, namely:

\* \* \* \* \*

SEC. 111. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), the aggregate of the gross compensation which may be paid to employees in the office of a Senator during each fiscal year under section 105(d) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1968, as amended and modified (2 U.S.C. 611(d)), is increased by an amount equal to three times the amount referred to in section 105(e)(1) of such Act, as amended and modified.

(b)(1) In the case of a Senator who is the chairman or ranking minority member of any committee, or of any subcommittee that receives funding to employ staff assistance separately from the funding authority for staff of the full committee, the amount referred to in subsection (a) shall be reduced by the amount referred to in section 105(e)(1) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1968, as amended and modified, for each such committee or subcommittee.

(2) In the case of a Senator who is authorized by a committee, a subcommittee thereof, or the chairman of a committee or subcommittee, as appropriate, to recommend or approve the appointment to the staff of such committee or subcommittee of one or more individuals for the purpose of assisting such Senator solely and directly in his duties as a member of such committee or subcommittee, the amount referred to in subsection (a) shall be reduced, for each such committee or subcommittee, by the amount equal to (A) the aggregate annual gross rates of compensation of all staff employees of that committee or subcommittee (i) whose appointment is made approved, or recommended and (ii) whose continued employment is not disapproved by such Senator, if such employees are employed for the purpose of assisting such Senator solely and directly in his duties as a member of such committee or subcommittee thereof as the case may be, or (B) the amount re-

ferred to in section 105(e)(1) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1968, as amended and modified, whichever is less.

(3) In the case of a Senator who is serving on more than three committees, one of the committees on which he is serving, as selected by him, shall not be taken into account for purposes of paragraphs (1) and (2). Any such Senator shall notify the Secretary of the Senate of the committee selected by him under this paragraph.

(c)(1) A Senator may designate employees in his office to assist him in connection with his membership on committees of the Senate. An employee may be designated with respect to only one committee.

(2) An employee designated by a Senator under this subsection shall be certified by him to the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee with respect to which such designation is made. Such employee shall be accorded all privileges of a professional staff member (whether permanent or investigatory) of such committee including access to all committee sessions and files, except that any such committee may restrict access to its sessions to one staff member per Senator at a time and require, if classified material is being handled or discussed, that any staff member possess the appropriate security clearance before being allowed access to such material or to discussion of it. Nothing contained in this paragraph shall be construed to prohibit a committee from adopting policies and practices with respect to the application of this subsection which are similar to the policies and practices adopted with respect to the application of section 705(c)(1) of Senate Resolution 4, 95th Congress, and section 106(c)(1) of the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1977.

(3) A Senator shall notify the chairman and ranking minority member of a committee whenever a designation of an employee under this subsection with respect to such committee is terminated.

(d) The second sentence of section 105(d)(2) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1968, as amended and modified, is amended—

(1) by inserting after “(i)” the following: “the salaries of three employees may be fixed at rates of not more than the rate referred to in subsection (e)(1), (ii)”; and

(2) by striking out “(ii)” and inserting in lieu thereof “(iii)”.

The amendments made by this subsection shall have no effect on section 6(c) of the Order of the President pro tempore issued on October 8, 1976, under section 4 of the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970.

(e)(1) Section 106 of the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1977 (other than subsection (f) thereof) is repealed.

(2) As an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate, section 705 of Senate Resolution 4, 95th Congress (other than subsection (h) thereof) is repealed.

(f) This section, and the amendments made by subsection (d) and the repeals made by subsection (e), shall take effect on October 1, 1977.

In accordance with a provision of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1965, the name, title, and total salary of each staff member is reported semiannually in the report of the Secretary of the Senate which is printed as a Senate document.

### **Finances**

In accordance with Rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate:

1. Each standing committee, including any subcommittee of any such committee is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to take such testimony and to make such expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate as may be authorized by resolutions of the Senate. Each such committee may make investigations into any matter within its jurisdiction, may report such hearings as may be had by it, and may employ stenographic assistance at a cost not exceeding the amount prescribed by the Committee on Rules and Administration. The expenses of the committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

Rule XXVI.9 requires that each committee report a resolution authorizing the committee to make expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate to defray its expenses, including the compensation of members of its staff and agency contribution (i.e., retirement, life and health insurances) related to such compensation during a budget period beginning on March 1 of each year and ending on the last day of February of the following year:

Rule XXVI.9 reads as follows:

9. (a) Except as provided in subparagraph (b), each committee shall report one authorization resolution each year authorizing the committee to make expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate to defray its expenses, including the compensation of members of its staff and agency contributions related to such compensation, during the period beginning on March 1 of such year and ending on the last day of February of the following year. Such annual authorization resolution shall be reported not later than January

31 of each year, except that, whenever the designation of members of standing committees of the Senate occurs during the first session of a Congress at a date later than January 20, such resolution may be reported at any time within thirty days after the date on which the designation of such members is completed. After the annual authorization resolution of a committee for a year has been agreed to, such committee may procure authorization to make additional expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate during that year only by reporting a supplemental authorization resolution. Each supplemental authorization resolution reported by a committee shall amend the annual authorization resolution of such committee for that year and shall be accompanied by a report specifying with particularity the purpose for which such authorization is sought and the reason why such authorization could not have been sought at the time of the submission by such committee of its annual authorization resolution for that year.

(b) In lieu of the procedure provided in subparagraph (a), the Committee on Rules and Administration may—

- (1) direct each committee to report an authorization resolution for a two-year budget period beginning on March 1 of the first session of a Congress; and
- (2) report one authorization resolution containing more than one committee authorization resolution for a one-year or two-year budget period.

The following are excerpts from S. Res. 49 and S. Res. 189 which provide funds to be spent by the Foreign Relations and other Senate committees in budget year 1999–2001.

**[S. Res. 49, 106th Congress, 1st Session]**

Approved February 24, 1999

*RESOLUTION*

To authorize expenditures for the committees of the Senate for the period March 1, 1999, through September 30, 1999.

*Resolved,*

**SECTION 1. AGGREGATE AUTHORIZATION.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of carrying out the powers, duties, and functions of the Senate under the Standing Rules of the Senate, and under the appropriate authorizing resolutions of the Senate, there is authorized for the period March 1, 1999, through September 30, 1999, in the aggregate of \$28,632,851, in accordance with the provisions of this resolution, for all Standing Committees

of the Senate, for the Committee on Indian Affairs, the Special Committee on Aging, and the Select Committee on Intelligence.

(b) REPORTING LEGISLATION.—Each committee referred to in subsection (a) shall report its findings, together with such recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than September 30, 1999.

(c) EXPENSES OF COMMITTEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), any expenses of a committee under this resolution shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

(2) VOUCHERS NOT REQUIRED.—Vouchers shall not be required—

(A) for the disbursement of salaries of employees of the committee who are paid at an annual rate;

(B) for the payment of telecommunications expenses provided by the Office of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper, United States Senate, Department of Telecommunications;

(C) for the payment of stationery supplies purchased through the Keeper of Stationery, United States Senate;

(D) for payments to the Postmaster, United States Senate;

(E) for the payment of metered charges on copying equipment provided by the Office of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper, United States Senate; or

(F) for the payment of Senate Recording and Photographic Services.

(d) AGENCY CONTRIBUTIONS.—There are authorized such sums as may be necessary for agency contributions related to the compensation of employees of the committees from March 1, 1999, through September 30, 1999, to be paid from the appropriations account for “Expenses of Inquiries and Investigations” of the Senate.

\* \* \* \* \*

**SEC. 10. COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

(a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—In carrying out its powers, duties, and functions under the Standing Rules of the Senate, in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, including holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by paragraphs 1 and 8 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized from March 1, 1999, through September 30, 1999, in its discretion—

- (1) to make expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate;
- (2) to employ personnel; and
- (3) with the prior consent of the Government department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration to use, on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis, the services of personnel of any such department or agency.

(b) EXPENSES.—The expenses of the committee for the period March 1, 1999, through September 30, 1999, under this section shall not exceed \$1,697,074, of which amount—

- (1) not to exceed \$45,000, may be expended for the procurement of the services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946); and
- (2) not to exceed \$1,000, may be expended for the training of the professional staff of such committee (under procedures specified by section 202(j) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946).

\* \* \* \* \*

**[S. Res. 189, 106th Congress, 1st Session]**

Approved September 29, 1999

*RESOLUTION*

Authorizing Expenditures by Committees of the Senate for the periods October 1, 1999, through September 30, 2000, and October 1, 2000, through February 28, 2001

*Resolved,*

**SECTION 1. AGGREGATE AUTHORIZATION**

(a) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of carrying out the powers, duties, and functions under the Standing Rules of the Senate, and under the appropriate authorizing resolutions of the Senate there is authorized for the period October 1, 1999, through September 30, 2000, in the aggregate of \$52,933,922, and for the period October 1, 2000, through February 28, 2001, in the aggregate of \$22,534,293, in accordance with the provisions of this resolution, for standing committees of the Senate, the Special Committee on Aging, the Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

(b) EXPENSES OF COMMITTEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), any expenses of a committee under this resolution shall be paid

from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

(2) VOUCHERS NOT REQUIRED.—Vouchers shall not be required—

- (A) for the disbursement of salaries of employees of the committee who are paid at an annual rate;
- (B) for the payment of telecommunications expenses provided by the Office of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper and the Department of Telecommunications;
- (C) for the payment of stationery supplies purchased through the Keeper of Stationery;
- (D) for payments to the Postmaster;
- (E) for the payment of metered charges on copying equipment provided by the Office of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper; or
- (F) for the payment of Senate Recording and Photographic Services.

(c) AGENCY CONTRIBUTIONS.—There are authorized such sums as may be necessary for agency contributions related to the compensation of employees on the committees for the period October 1, 1999, through September 30, 2000, and for the period October 1, 2000, through February 28, 2001, to be paid from the appropriations account for “Expenses of Inquiries and Investigations” of the Senate.

\* \* \* \* \*

**SEC. 10. COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.**

(a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—In carrying out its powers, duties, and functions under the Standing Rules of the Senate, in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of such rules, including holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by paragraphs 1 and 8 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized from October 1, 1999, through February 28, 2001, in its discretion—

- (1) to make expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate;
- (2) to employ personnel; and
- (3) with the prior consent of the Government department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to use on a reimbursable, or nonreimbursable, basis the services of personnel of any such department or agency.

(b) EXPENSES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000 PERIOD.—The expenses of the committee for the period October 1, 1999, through September 30, 2000, under this section shall not exceed \$3,158,449, of which amount—

(1) not to exceed \$45,000, may be expended for the procurement of the services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946); and

(2) not to exceed \$1,000, may be expended for the training of the professional staff of such committee (under procedures specified by section 202(j) of such Act).

(c) EXPENSES FOR PERIOD ENDING FEBRUARY 20, 2001.—For the period October 1, 2000, through February 28, 2001, expenses of the committee under this section shall not exceed \$1,347,981, of which amount—

(1) not to exceed \$45,000, may be expended for the procurement of the services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946); and

(2) not to exceed \$1,000, may be expended for the training of the professional staff of such committee (under procedures specified by section 202(j) of such Act).

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## APPENDICES

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### Appendix I

#### *Alphabetical List of Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations*

Name	State	Term of Service
Adams, Brock .....	Washington .....	1987-1989
Aiken, George .....	Vermont .....	1954-1975
Aldrich, Nelson W. ....	Rhode Island .....	1881
Allen, William .....	Ohio .....	1839-1841, 1845-1846
Archer, William S. ....	Virginia .....	1842-1847
Ashcroft, John .....	Missouri .....	1995-2000
Atchison, David R. ....	Virginia .....	1850
Atherton, Charles G. ....	New Hampshire .....	1845-1847
Austin, Warren R. ....	Vermont .....	1943-1946
Bachman, Nathan L. ....	Tennessee .....	1933-1937
Bacon, Augustus O. ....	Georgia .....	1899-1914
Bailey, Joseph W. ....	Texas .....	1901-1903
Baker, Howard H., Jr .....	Tennessee .....	1975, 1977-1985
Barbour, James .....	Virginia .....	1816-1825
Barkley, Alben W. ....	Kentucky .....	1938-1949, 1955-1956
Bell, Samuel .....	New Hampshire .....	1826-1833
Benton, Thomas H. ....	Missouri .....	1847-1850
Berrien, John McPherson .....	Georgia .....	1828-1829, 1841-1845
Beveridge, Albert J. ....	Indiana .....	1905-1911
Bibb, George M. ....	Kentucky .....	1832-1833
Biden, Joseph R., Jr. ....	Delaware .....	1975-
Black, Hugo L. ....	Alabama .....	1929-1937
Bogy, Lewis V. ....	Missouri .....	1875-1979
Borah, William E. ....	Idaho .....	1911-1940
Boschwitz, Rudy .....	Minnesota .....	1981-1991
Boxer, Barbara .....	California .....	1999-
Brandegee, Frank B. ....	Connecticut .....	1915-1924
Breckinridge, John C. ....	Kentucky .....	1861-1863
Brewster, Owen .....	Maine .....	1951-1953
Bridges, Styles .....	New Hampshire .....	1945-1947
Brown, Bedford .....	North Carolina .....	1839-1841
Brown, Hank .....	Colorado .....	1991-1997
Brown, James .....	Louisiana .....	1819-1823
Brown, Joseph E. ....	Georgia .....	1883-1891
Brownback, Sam .....	Kansas .....	1997-
Browning Orville H. ....	Illinois .....	1861-1863
Buchanan, James .....	Pennsylvania .....	1836-1845
Buchalew, Charles R. ....	Pennsylvania .....	1865-1867
Bulkley, Robert J. ....	Ohio .....	1933-1936
Burnside, Ambrose .....	Rhode Island .....	1881-1883
Burton, Theodore E. ....	Ohio .....	1911-1915
Butler, Matthew C. ....	South Carolina .....	1891-1895
Butler, William M. ....	Massachusetts .....	1925
Byrnes, James F. ....	South Carolina .....	1941
Calhoun John C. ....	South Carolina .....	1840-1841
Call, Wilkinson .....	Florida .....	1881
Cameron, J. Donald .....	Pennsylvania .....	1895-1897

***Alphabetical List of Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations—Continued***

Name	State	Term of Service
Cameron, Simon .....	Pennsylvania .....	1867–1879
Capehart, Homer E. ....	Indiana .....	1954–1963
Capper, Arthur .....	Kansas .....	1925–1949
Carlson, Frank .....	Kansas .....	1959–1969
Carpenter, Matthew .....	Wisconsin .....	1879–1881
Carter, Thomas H. ....	Montana .....	1907–1911
Case, Clifford P. ....	New Jersey .....	1965–1979
Cass, Lewis .....	Michigan .....	1845–1851
Cassery, Eugene .....	California .....	1869–1873
Chafee, Lincoln D. ....	Rhode Island .....	1999–
Chambers, Ezekiel F. ....	Maryland .....	1826–1827
Chavez, Dennis .....	New Mexico .....	1935–1938
Choate, Rufus .....	Massachusetts .....	1841–1845
Church, Frank .....	Idaho .....	1959–1981
Clark, Bennett Champ .....	Missouri .....	1939–1949
Clark, Clarence .....	Wyoming .....	1897–1917
Clark, Dick .....	Iowa .....	1975–1978
Clark, Joseph S. ....	Pennsylvania .....	1965–1969
Clark, William A. ....	Montana .....	1901–1907
Clarke, James P. ....	Arkansas .....	1911–1916
Clarke, John H. ....	Rhode Island .....	1851–1858
Clay, Henry .....	Kentucky .....	1834–1841
Clayton, John M. ....	Delaware .....	1853–1857
Collamer, Jacob .....	Vermont .....	1861–1863
Conkling, Roscoe .....	New York .....	1873–1881
Connally, Tom .....	Texas .....	1931–1953
Cooper, John Sherman .....	Kentucky .....	1967–1973
Coverdell, Paul .....	Georgia .....	1993–2000
Cranston, Alan .....	California .....	1981–1993
Crittenden, John J. ....	Kentucky .....	1857–1859
Cullom, Shelby M. ....	Illinois .....	1895–1913
Cutting, Bronson .....	New Mexico .....	1931–1935
Dagget, David .....	Connecticut .....	1818–1819
Dana, Samuel W. ....	Connecticut .....	1816–1817
Daniel, John W. ....	Virginia .....	1893–1903
Davis, Cushman K. ....	Minnesota .....	1891–1901
Davis, Garrett .....	Kentucky .....	1862–1867
Davis, James J. ....	Pennsylvania .....	1943–1945
Dillingham, William P. ....	Vermont .....	1912–1913
Dodd, Christopher J. ....	Connecticut .....	1981–
Dodd, Thomas J. ....	Connecticut .....	1961–1971
Dodge, Henry .....	Wisconsin .....	1850–1853
Dolph, Joseph N. ....	Oregon .....	1887–1895
Doolittle, James R. ....	Wisconsin .....	1861–1869
Douglas, Stephen A. ....	Illinois .....	1850–1863
Duffy, F. Ryan .....	Wisconsin .....	1933–1938
Eagleton, Thomas F. ....	Missouri .....	1985–1987
Eaton, William W. ....	Connecticut .....	1875–1881
Edge, Walter F. ....	New Jersey .....	1924–1929
Edmunds, George F. ....	Vermont .....	1881–1891
Elliot, John .....	Georgia .....	1821–1825
Eustice, James B. ....	Louisiana .....	1889–1891
Evans, Daniel J. ....	Washington .....	1985–1989
Evarts, William M. ....	New York .....	1885–1891
Everett, Edward .....	Massachusetts .....	1853–1855
Fairbanks, Charles W. ....	Indiana .....	1901–1905

***Alphabetical List of Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations—Continued***

Name	State	Term of Service
Fall, Albert B. ....	New Mexico .....	1917–1923
Feingold, Russell ....	Wisconsin .....	1993–
Feinstein, Dianne ....	California .....	1995–1998
Ferguson, Homer ....	Michigan .....	1953–1955
Ferris, Woodbridge N. ....	Michigan .....	1927–1928
Ferry, Thomas W. ....	Michigan .....	1881–1883
Fess, Simeon D. ....	Ohio .....	1928–1934
Fessenden, William P. ....	Maine .....	1867–1869
Fish, Hamilton ....	New York .....	1855–1857
Fogg, George G. ....	New Hampshire .....	1866–1867
Foot, Solomon ....	Vermont .....	1857–1861, 1865–1867
Foote, Henry S. ....	Mississippi .....	1849–1853
Foraker, Joseph B. ....	Ohio .....	1897–1909
Forsyth, John ....	Georgia .....	1832–1835
Foster, Lafayette S. ....	Connecticut .....	1862–1865
Fowler, Joseph S. ....	Tennessee .....	1966
Frazier, James B. ....	Tennessee .....	1907–1911
Frelinghuysen, F. T. ....	New Jersey .....	1873–1877
Frist, Bill ....	Tennessee .....	1997–
Frye, William P. ....	Maine .....	1885–1911
Fulbright, J. W. ....	Arkansas .....	1949–1975
Gaillard, John ....	South Carolina .....	1825–1826
George, Walter F. ....	Georgia .....	1928–1957
Gillett, Fred H. ....	Massachusetts .....	1926–1931
Gillette, Guy M. ....	Iowa .....	1939–1945, 1951–1953
Glass, Carter ....	Virginia .....	1941–1946
Glenn, John ....	Ohio .....	1977–1985
Glenn, Otis ....	Illinois .....	1931–1933
Goff, Guy D. ....	West Virginia .....	1929–1931
Gore, Albert ....	Tennessee .....	1959–1971
Grams, Rod ....	Minnesota .....	1995–2000
Gray, George ....	Delaware .....	1891–1899
Green, Theodore F. ....	Rhode Island .....	1937–1947, 1949–1959
Gregg, Judd ....	New Hampshire .....	1993–1995
Griflin, Robert P. ....	Michigan .....	1973–1979
Griffey, Joseph F. ....	Pennsylvania .....	1939–1947
Gurney, Chan ....	South Dakota .....	1945–1947
Hagel, Chuck ....	Nebraska .....	1997–
Hamlin, Hannibal ....	Maine .....	1871–1881
Hannegan, Edward A. ....	Indiana .....	1847–1849
Harding, Warren G. ....	Ohio .....	1919
Harlan, James ....	Iowa .....	1867–1873
Harris, Ira ....	New York .....	1861–1867
Harrison, Benjamin ....	Indiana .....	1886–1887
Harrison, Pat ....	Mississippi .....	1925–1941
Hatch, Carl A. ....	New Mexico .....	1945–1949
Hawkins, Paula ....	Florida .....	1984–1985
Hayakawa, S. I. ....	California .....	1979–1983
Helms, Jesse ....	North Carolina .....	1979–
Henderson, John B. ....	Missouri .....	1865–1867
Hickenlooper, Bourke B. ....	Iowa .....	1947–1969
Hicks, Thomas H. ....	Maryland .....	1863–1867
Hill, Benjamin ....	Georgia .....	1879–1883
Hill, Lister ....	Alabama .....	1945–1947
Hiscock, Frank ....	New York .....	1891–1893
Hitchcock, Gilbert M. ....	Nebraska .....	1911–1923

***Alphabetical List of Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations—Continued***

Name	State	Term of Service
Howe, Timothy O. ....	Wisconsin .....	1872–1879
Huger, Daniel ....	South Carolina .....	1845–1847
Humphrey, Gordon J. ....	New Hampshire .....	1989–1991
Humphrey, Herbert H. ....	Minnesota .....	1953–1965, 1973–1978
Humphrey, Muriel ....	Minnesota .....	1978
Hunter, Robert M. T. ....	Virginia .....	1850–1851
Hunter, William ....	Rhode Island .....	1819–1821
Jackson, Andrew ....	Tennessee .....	1823–1825
Javits, Jacob K. ....	New York .....	1969–1981
Jeffords, James M. ....	Vermont .....	1991–1995
Johnson, Andrew ....	Tennessee .....	1875–1877
Johnson, Hiram ....	California .....	1919–1945
Johnson, Reverdy ....	Maryland .....	1863–1869
Johnston, John W. ....	Virginia .....	1877–1883
Kassebaum, Nancy L. ....	Kansas .....	1981–1996
Kean, John ....	New Jersey .....	1901–1911
Kellogg, Frank B. ....	Minnesota .....	1921–1923
Kenna, John E. ....	West Virginia .....	1891–1893
Kennedy, John F. ....	Massachusetts .....	1957–1960
Kerry, John F. ....	Massachusetts .....	1985–
King, John P. ....	Georgia .....	1834–1839
King, Rufus ....	New York .....	1816–1823
King, William R. ....	Alabama .....	1829–1833, 1847–1850
Kirkwood, Samuel J. ....	Iowa .....	1877–1881
Knowland, William F. ....	California .....	1953–1959
Knox, Philander C. ....	Pennsylvania .....	1917–1921
Lacock, Abner ....	Pennsylvania .....	1816–1819
LaFollette, Robert, Jr. ....	Wisconsin .....	1929–1947
Langer, William ....	North Dakota .....	1953–1959
Lapham, Elbridge G. ....	New York .....	1881–1885
Lausche, Frank J. ....	Ohio .....	1959–1969
Lee, Josh ....	Oklahoma .....	1941–1943
Lenroot, Irvine L. ....	Wisconsin .....	1923–1927
Lewis, J. Hamilton ....	Illinois .....	1931–1939
Lodge, Henry Cabot ....	Massachusetts .....	1895–1924
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr. ....	Massachusetts .....	1947–1953
Long, Russell B. ....	Louisiana .....	1956–1966
Lucas, Scott W. ....	Illinois .....	1945–1947
Lugar, Richard G. ....	Indiana .....	1979–
Mack, Connie ....	Florida .....	1989–1991
Macon, Nathaniel ....	North Carolina .....	1816–1829
Mangum, Willie P. ....	North Carolina .....	1832–1837, 1847–1853
Mansfield, Mike ....	Montana .....	1953–1977
Mason, James M. ....	Virginia .....	1848–1861
Mathews, Harlan ....	Tennessee .....	1993–1995
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr. ....	Maryland .....	1981–1987
Matthews, Stanley ....	Ohio .....	1877–1879
McCarthy, Eugene J. ....	Minnesota .....	1965–1969
McConnell, Mitch ....	Kentucky .....	1987–1993
McCormick, Medill ....	Illinois .....	1921–1925
McCreary, James B. ....	Kentucky .....	1903–1909
McCreery, Thomas C. ....	Kentucky .....	1873–1879
McCumber, Porter J. ....	North Dakota .....	1911–1923
McDougall, James A. ....	California .....	1863–1865
McDuffie, George ....	South Carolina .....	1846–1847
McGee, Gale W. ....	Wyoming .....	1966–1967, 1969–1977

***Alphabetical List of Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations—Continued***

Name	State	Term of Service
McGovern, George .....	South Dakota .....	1973–1981
McLean, George P. .....	Connecticut .....	1924–1929
McMahon, Brien .....	Connecticut .....	1949–1952
Miller, John F. .....	California .....	1881–1886
Mills, Elijah .....	Massachusetts .....	1823–1827
Mills, Roger Q. .....	Texas .....	1895–1899
Money, Hernando .....	Mississippi .....	1899–1911
Morehead, James T. .....	Kentucky .....	1843–1845, 1899
Morgan, John T. .....	Alabama .....	1879–1907
Morse, Wayne .....	Oregon .....	1955–1969
Morton, Oliver P. .....	Indiana .....	1867–1879
Moses, George H. .....	New Hampshire .....	1919–1933
Moynihan, Daniel P. .....	New York .....	1987–1995
Mundt, Karl E. .....	South Dakota .....	1963–1972
Murkowski, Frank H. .....	Alaska .....	1983–1995
Murray, James E. .....	Montana .....	1936–1947
Muskie, Edmund S. .....	Maine .....	1971–1975, 1979–1980
New, Harry S. .....	Indiana .....	1919–1923
Niles, John M. .....	Connecticut .....	1838–1839
Norris, Moses .....	New Hampshire .....	1851–1855
Nye, Gerald P. .....	North Dakota .....	1940–1945
O’Gorman, James A. .....	New York .....	1913–1917
Oliver, George T. .....	Pennsylvania .....	1915–1917
Owen, Robert L. .....	Oklahoma .....	1923–1925
Patterson, James W. .....	New Hampshire .....	1867–1873
Payne, Henry B. .....	Ohio .....	1885–1891
Pearson, James B. .....	Kansas .....	1971–1979
Pell, Claiborne .....	Rhode Island .....	1965–1997
Pendleton, George H. .....	Ohio .....	1879–1885
Pepper, Claude .....	Florida .....	1937–1947, 1949–1951
Pepper, George Wharton .....	Pennsylvania .....	1923–1927
Percy, Charles H. .....	Illinois .....	1972–1985
Phelps, Samuel S. .....	Vermont .....	1850–1851
Pittman, Key .....	Nevada .....	1916–1940
Polk, Trusten .....	Missouri .....	1857–1862
Pomerene, Atlee .....	Ohio .....	1913–1923
Pope, James P. .....	Idaho .....	1933–1938
Porter, Alexander .....	Louisiana .....	1835–1837
Pratt, Thomas G. .....	Maryland .....	1856–1857
Pressler, Larry .....	South Dakota .....	1981–1995
Preston, William C. .....	South Carolina .....	1841–1843
Rawlias, Joseph L. .....	Utah .....	1901–1905
Rayner, Isidor .....	Maryland .....	1911–1912
Reed, David A. .....	Pennsylvania .....	1927–1934
Reed, James A. .....	Missouri .....	1925–1929
Reynolds, Robert R. .....	North Carolina .....	1939–1945
Rives, William C. .....	Virginia .....	1833–1839, 1841–1843
Roane, William H. .....	Virginia .....	1839–1841
Robb, Charles S. .....	Virginia .....	1989–1998
Robinson, Arthur R. .....	Indiana .....	1930–1934
Robinson, Joseph T. .....	Arkansas .....	1918–1919, 1923–1937
Root, Elihu .....	New York .....	1909–1915
Sanford, Nathan .....	New York .....	1826–1831
Sanford, Terry .....	North Carolina .....	1987–1993
Sarbanes, Paul S. .....	Maryland .....	1977–
Saulsbury, Eli .....	Delaware .....	1885–1889

***Alphabetical List of Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations—Continued***

Name	State	Term of Service
Saulsbury, Willard .....	Delaware .....	1914–1919
Schurz, Carl .....	Missouri .....	1869–1875
Schwellenbach, Lewis B. .....	Washington .....	1937–1941
Scott, Hugh .....	Pennsylvania .....	1971–1977
Sevier, Ambrose H. .....	Arkansas .....	1845–1848
Seward, William H. .....	New York .....	1857–1861
Sherman, John .....	Ohio .....	1883–1897
Shields, John K. .....	Tennessee .....	1916–1925
Shipstead, Henrik .....	Minnesota .....	1923–1947
Shively, Benjamin F. .....	Indiana .....	1909–1916
Simon, Paul .....	Illinois .....	1987–1995
Slidell, John .....	Louisiana .....	1853–1861
Smathers, George A. .....	Florida .....	1963–1965
Smith, Gordon .....	Oregon .....	1997–
Smith, H. Alexander .....	New Jersey .....	1947–1959
Smith, Marcus A. .....	Arizona .....	1913–1921
Smith, William A. .....	Michigan .....	1909–1919
Snowe, Olympia J. .....	Maine .....	1995–1997
Sparkman, John .....	Alabama .....	1951–1979
Spong, William B., Jr. .....	Virginia .....	1971–1973
Spooner, John C. .....	Wisconsin .....	1901–1907
Sprague, Peleg .....	Maine .....	1833–1835
Stockton, John P. .....	New Jersey .....	1873–1875
Stone, Richard (Dick) .....	Florida .....	1977–1980
Stone, William J. .....	Missouri .....	1908–1918
Sumner, Charles .....	Massachusetts .....	1859–1871
Sutherland, George .....	Utah .....	1911–1917
Swanson, Claude A. .....	Virginia .....	1913–1931
Symington, Stuart .....	Missouri .....	1961–1976
Taft, Robert A. .....	Ohio .....	1953
Tallmadge, Nathaniel P. .....	New York .....	1834–1839, 1841–1845
Tazewell, Littleton W. .....	Virginia .....	1825–1833
Thomas, Charles S. .....	Colorado .....	1917–1919
Thomas, Craig .....	Wyoming .....	1995–
Thomas, Elbert D. .....	Utah .....	1933–1951
Thompson, Fred .....	Tennessee .....	1995–1997
Tobey, Charles W. .....	New Hampshire .....	1951–1953
Tomlinson, Gideon .....	Connecticut .....	1832–1833
Torricelli, Robert G. .....	New Jersey .....	1999–
Trible, Paul S., Jr. .....	Virginia .....	1985–1989
Troup, George M. .....	Georgia .....	1817–1819
Tsongas, Paul E. .....	Massachusetts .....	1980–1985
Tunnell, James M. .....	Delaware .....	1941–1947
Turpie, David .....	Indiana .....	1893–1899
Tydings, Millard E. .....	Maryland .....	1949–1951
Underwood, Joseph R. .....	Kentucky .....	1851–1853
Underwood, Oscar W. .....	Alabama .....	1923–1927
Van Nuys, Frederick .....	Indiana .....	1933–1943
Vance, Zebulon B. .....	North Carolina .....	1883–1885
Vandenberg, Arthur H. .....	Michigan .....	1929–1951
Wade, Benjamin F. .....	Ohio .....	1865–1867
Wadsworth, James W., Jr. .....	New York .....	1921–1925
Wagner, Robert F. .....	New York .....	1929–1949
Walker, Freeman .....	Georgia .....	1819–1821
Wallace, William A. .....	Pennsylvania .....	1877–1879
Walsh, Thomas J. .....	Montana .....	1923–1933

***Alphabetical List of Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations—Continued***

Name	State	Term of Service
Webster, Daniel .....	Massachusetts .....	1846–1850
Weller, John B. .....	California .....	1853–1857
Wellstone, Paul .....	Minnesota .....	1997–
White, Hugh Lawson .....	Tennessee .....	1825–1833
White, Wallace H. .....	Maine .....	1935–1949
Whyte, William Pinkney .....	Maryland .....	1907–1908
Wiley, Alexander .....	Wisconsin .....	1945–1963
Wilkins, William .....	Pennsylvania .....	1833–1835
Williams, John J. .....	Delaware .....	1960–1971
Williams, John Sharp .....	Mississippi .....	1913–1923
Willis, Frank B. .....	Ohio .....	1923–1932
Wilmot, David .....	Pennsylvania .....	1861–1863
Wilson, James F. .....	Iowa .....	1883–1885
Windon, William .....	Minnesota .....	1881–1883
Wofford, Harris .....	Pennsylvania .....	1991–1995
Wolcott, Edward O. .....	Colorado .....	1899–1901
Wright, Joseph A. .....	Indiana .....	1862–1863
Zorinsky, Edward .....	Nebraska .....	1977, 1979–1987

## **Appendix II**

### **Composition of the Committee on Foreign Relations by Congress**

The data for the 14th through the 77th Congress is taken from Eleanor Dennison (see bibliography) whose introductory statement is as follows:

The party designations given are unavoidably subject to error in the early period, owing to the vagueness of party lines and the shifting of men from one party to another on critical issues at that time. The information as to party affiliation here included is from the *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, and the various *Congressional Directories*. For the 28th to the 33d and the 35th and 36th Congresses the designations are those given in the *Congressional Globe*. Where a designation in the latter has differed from that in the *Biographical Dictionary*, preference has been given to the *Congressional Globe*. Other authorities employed are the *Dictionary of American Biography, 1928-36*, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1888-1918*, and the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1893-1939*.

#### **14th Congress, 1816-1817**

COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*2d Session*

James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem. and States Rights)	Rufus King, New York (Fed.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)	Samuel W. Dana, Connecticut (Fed.)
	Abner Lacock, Pennsylvania (Dem.)

#### **15th Congress, 1817-1819**

COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*1st Session*

James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem. and States Rights)	George M. Troup, Georgia (Dem.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)	Rufus King, New York (Fed.)
	Abner Lacock, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
<i>2d Session</i>	
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina, Chairman (Dem.)	Rufus King, New York (Fed.)
James Barbour, Virginia (Anti-Dem.)	Abner Lacock, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
	David Daggett, Connecticut (Fed.)

#### **16th Congress, 1819-1821**

COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*1st Session*

James Brown, Louisiana, Chairman	James Barbour, Virginia (Anti-Dem.)
William Hunter, Rhode Island (Fed.)	Freeman Walker, Georgia (Dem.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)	
<i>2d Session</i>	
James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem.)	James Brown, Louisiana
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)	William Hunter, Rhode Island (Fed.)
	Rufus King, New York (Fed.)

**17th Congress, 1821-1823**

COMMITTEE (5 members)

*1st Session*

Rufus King, New York, Chairman (Fed.)	James Brown, Louisiana
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)	James Barbour, Virginia (Anti-Dem.)
	John Elliott, Georgia
	<i>2d Session</i>
James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem.)	Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
James Brown, Louisiana	Rufus King, New York (Fed.)
	John Elliott, Georgia

**18th Congress, 1823-1825**

COMMITTEE (5 members)

*1st Session*

James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem.)	Andrew Jackson, Tennessee (Dem.)
Rufus King, New York (Fed.)	John Elliott, Georgia
Excused December 16, 1823	Elijah Mills, Massachusetts (Fed.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)	Appointed December 16, 1823
	<i>2d Session</i>
James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem.)	Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
Andrew Jackson, Tennessee (Dem.)	John Elliott, Georgia
	Elijah Mills, Massachusetts (Fed.)

**19th Congress, 1825-1827**

COMMITTEE (5 members)

*Special Session*

No committee appointed

*1st Session*

Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina, Chairman (Dem.)	Elijah Mills, Massachusetts (Fed.)
Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia (Dem.)	Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)
John Gaillard, South Carolina (Dem.)	Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)
Died February 26, 1826	Appointed March 1, 1826
	<i>2d Session</i>
Nathan Sanford, New York, Chairman (Dem.)	Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian)
Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia (Dem.)	Rep.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)	Ezekiel F. Chambers, Maryland (Whig)

**20th Congress, 1827-1829**

COMMITTEE (5 members)

*1st Session*

Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina, Chairman (Dem.)	Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)
Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)	Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)
Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia (Dem.)	
	<i>2d Session</i>
Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	John McPherson Berrien, Georgia (Dem.)
Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)	Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)
Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)	

**21st Congress, 1829–1831**COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*1st Session*

Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)
Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)	William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)
Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)	

*2d Session*

Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)
Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)	William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)
Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)	

**22d Congress, 1831–1833**COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*1st Session*

Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)
Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)	John Forsyth, Georgia (Dem.)
	Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)

*2d Session*

John Forsyth, Georgia, Chairman (Dem.)	Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Dem.)
Rufus King, New York (Fed.)	Gideon Tomlinson, Connecticut (Dem.)
George M. Bibb, Kentucky	

**23d Congress, 1833–1835**COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*1st Session*

William Wilkins, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Dem.)	John Forsyth, Georgia (Dem.)
William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)	Peleg Sprague, Maine (National Rep.)
Resigned February 22, 1834	Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)	
Appointed May 12, 1834	

*2d Session*

Henry Clay, Kentucky, Chairman (Whig)	Peleg Sprague, Maine (National Rep.)
John P. King, Georgia (Dem.)	Resigned January 1, 1835
Willie P. Mangum, <sup>1</sup> North Carolina, (Whig)	N.P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)
	Alexander Porter, Louisiana (Whig)
	Appointed January 7, 1835

**24th Congress, 1835–1837**COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*1st Session*

Henry Clay, Kentucky, Chairman (Whig)	Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
N.P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)	John P. King, Georgia (Dem.)
	Alexander Porter, Louisiana (Whig)

*2d Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Dem.)	John P. King, Georgia (Dem.)
N.P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)	Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)
	William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)

<sup>1</sup>Although Mangum supported Jackson at first, he subsequently broke with the administration. He refused to follow instructions from the North Carolina Legislature, and later resigned. Because of his opposition to Jackson in 1834 he is listed in the 23rd and 24th Congresses as a Whig.

**25th Congress, 1837-1839**

COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*Special Session*  
 No committee appointed

*1st Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania,  
 Chairman (Dem.)  
 N.P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)

John P. King, Georgia (Dem.)  
 Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)  
 William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)

*2d Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania,  
 Chairman (Dem.)  
 N.P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)

Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)  
 William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)  
 William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)

*3d Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania,  
 Chairman (Dem.)  
 N.P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)

Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)  
 William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)  
 John M. Niles, Connecticut (Dem.)

**26th Congress, 1839-1841**

COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*1st Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania,  
 Chairman (Dem.)  
 Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)

Bedford Brown, North Carolina (Dem.)  
 William H. Roane, Virginia (Dem.)  
 William Allen, Ohio (Dem.)

*2d Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania,  
 Chairman (Dem.)  
 Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)

John C. Calhoun, South Carolina (Dem.)  
 William H. Roane, Virginia (Dem.)  
 William Allen, Ohio (Dem.)

**27th Congress, 1841-1843**

COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*Special Session*  
 No committee appointed

*1st Session*

William C. Rives,<sup>2</sup> Virginia, Chairman (Dem.) James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.)  
 William C. Preston, South Carolina (Calhoun) N.P. Tallmadge,<sup>3</sup> New York (Whig)  
 nullifier) Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)

*2d Session*

William C. Rives, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.) James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.)  
 William C. Preston, South Carolina (Calhoun) N.P. Tallmadge, New York (Whig)  
 nullifier) Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)

*3d Session*

William S. Archer, Virginia,  
 Chairman (Whig)  
 John McPherson Berrien, Georgia (Whig)

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.)  
 N.P. Tallmadge, New York (Whig)  
 Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)

<sup>2</sup>Rives had supported Harrison for the Presidency, and the *Congressional Biographical Directory* states that he was elected as a Whig in 1841; but the *Congressional Globe*, 27th Cong., 1st sess., p. 1, lists him as a Democrat.

<sup>3</sup>Listed as a Whig in the *Congressional Globe*, *loc. cit.* This change is not mentioned in the *Congressional Biographical Directory*.

**28th Congress, 1843-1845**COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*1st Session*

William S. Archer, Virginia, Chairman (Whig)	James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.) N.P. Tallmadge, New York (Whig)
John McPherson Berrien, Georgia (Whig)	Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)
<i>2d Session</i>	
William S. Archer, Virginia, Chairman (Whig)	James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.) James T. Morehead, Kentucky (Whig)
John McPherson Berrien, Georgia (Whig)	Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)

**29th Congress, 1845-1847**COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*Special Session*

William Allen, Ohio, Chairman (Dem.)	Charles G. Atherton, New Hampshire (Dem.)
Lewis Cass, Michigan (Dem.)	Daniel E. Huger, <sup>4</sup> South Carolina (State Rights Dem.)
William S. Archer, Virginia (Whig)	
<i>1st Session</i>	
William Allen, Ohio, Chairman (Dem.) Excused June 15, 1846	Charles G. Atherton, New Hampshire (Dem.) George McDuffie, South Carolina, Chairman Elected June 18, 1846
Lewis Cass, Michigan (Dem.) (Dem.)	
William S. Archer, Virginia (Whig)	
Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas (Dem.)	
<i>2d Session</i>	
Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)	Charles G. Atherton, New Hampshire (Dem.) Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)
Lewis Cass, Michigan (Dem.)	
William S. Archer, Virginia (Whig)	

**30th Congress, 1847-1849**

COMMITTEE (5 Members)

Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.) Resigned March 14, 1848	Edward A. Hannegan, Indiana (Dem.) Elected Chairman, March 14, 1848, to succeed Sevier
Thomas H. Benton, Missouri (Dem.)	Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)	James M. Mason, Virginia (Dem.) Appointed March 14, 1848
<i>2d Session</i>	
Edward A. Hannegan, Indiana (Dem.)	Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Thomas H. Benton, Missouri (Dem.)	William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)
Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)	

<sup>4</sup>*The Biographical Dictionary* of the American Congress (H. Doc. 783, 69th Cong., 2d sess., p. 1126) states that Huger resigned March 3, 1845; but the Senate Journal for the 28th Cong., 2d sess., credits him with the Special Session.

**31st Congress, 1849–1851**

COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*Special Session*

Thomas H. Benton, Missouri, Chairman (Dem.)	Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)
Lewis Cass, Michigan (Dem.)	Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Henry S. Foote, Mississippi (Dem.)	

*1st Session*

William R. King, Alabama, Chairman (Dem.)	Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Excused July 26, 1850	Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)
Henry S. Foote, Mississippi (Dem.)	Resigned July 22, 1850
Succeeded King as Chairman, July 26, 1850	Robert M.T. Hunter, Virginia (Dem.)
Thomas H. Benton, Missouri (Dem.)	Samuel S. Phelps, Vermont (Whig)
Excused April 2, 1850	Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
David R. Atchison, Missouri (Dem.)	Hunter, Phelps, and Douglas were all Appointed July 26, 1850
Appointed April 4, 1850; resigned July 26, 1850	

*2d Session*

Henry S. Foote, Mississippi, Chairman (Dem.)	Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)	Excused December 19, 1850
Samuel S. Phelps, Vermont (Whig)	James M. Mason, Virginia (Dem.)
	Henry Dodge, Wisconsin (Dem.)
	Appointed December 19, 1850

**32d Congress, 1851–1853**

COMMITTEE (5 members)  
*Special Session*

Henry S. Foote, Mississippi, Chairman (Dem.)	Henry Dodge, Wisconsin (Dem.)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina	James M. Mason, Virginia (Dem.)
	John H. Clarke, Rhode Island (Whig)

*1st Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)	Joseph R. Underwood, Kentucky (Whig)
Moses Norris, New Hampshire (Dem.)	

*2d Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)	Joseph R. Underwood, Kentucky (Whig)
Moses Norris, New Hampshire (Dem.)	

**33d Congress, 1853–1855**

COMMITTEE (5–6–5 members)  
*Special Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	John M. Clayton, Delaware (Whig)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)	Moses Norris, New Hampshire (Dem.)
	Edward Everett, Massachusetts (Whig)

*1st Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	John M. Clayton, Delaware (Whig)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)	John B. Weller, California (Union Dem.)
John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)	Edward Everett, Massachusetts (Whig)

*2d Session*

Same committee reappointed<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Committee reduced to 5 after motion to continue same committee as first session. There is no record of who was dropped; but presumably it was Everett, as he is at the bottom of the list.

**34th Congress, 1855-1857**COMMITTEE (6 members)  
*1st Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)	John M. Clayton, Delaware (Whig)
Expelled February 20 and	John B. Weller, California (Union Dem.)
restored February 26, 1856	Hamilton Fish, New York (Whig)

*2d Session*  
Same committee reappointed*3d Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	John B. Weller, California (Union Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)	Hamilton Fish, New York (Whig)
John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)	Thomas G. Pratt, Maryland (Whig)

**35th Congress, 1857-1859**COMMITTEE (7 members)  
*Special Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)	John J. Crittenden, <sup>6</sup> Kentucky (Whig)
John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)	William H. Seward, New York (Rep.)
	Solomon Foot, Vermont (Rep.)

*1st Session*  
Same committee reappointed  
*2d Special Session*  
Same committee reappointed  
*2d Session*  
Same committee reappointed**36th Congress, 1859-1861**COMMITTEE (7 members)  
*Special Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)	Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)	John J. Crittenden, Kentucky (Whig)
John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)	William H. Seward, New York (Rep.)
	Solomon Foot, Vermont (Rep.)

*1st Session*  
Same committee reappointed, except that Charles Sumner, Massachusetts (Rep.),  
replaced Solomon Foot  
*2d Special Session*  
Same committee reappointed  
*2d Session*  
Same committee reappointed**37th Congress, 1861-1863**COMMITTEE (7 members)  
*Special Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)
Jacob Collamer, Vermont (Rep.)	Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.)
	John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky (Dem.)

*1st Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	David Wilmot, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Jacob Collamer, Vermont (Rep.)	Orville H. Browning, Illinois (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.)
	John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky (Dem.)

<sup>6</sup> Listed as "Native American" in *Congressional Globe*, 35th Cong., 1st sess., p. 1.

**37th Congress, 1861–1863 (continued)**

COMMITTEE (7 members)

*2d Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.) Expelled January 10, 1862
Jacob Collamer, Vermont (Rep.)	Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Old-line Whig)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Appointed January 10, 1862
David Wilmot, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)
Orville H. Browning, Illinois (Rep.)	

*3d Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	John B. Henderson, Missouri (Dem.) Appointed February 2, 1863
Lafayette S. Foster, Connecticut (Rep.)	Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Old-line Whig)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Joseph A. Wright, Indiana (Dem.)
David Wilmot, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Withdrew January 23, 1863
Orville H. Browning, Illinois (Rep.)	Thomas H. Hicks, Maryland (Dem.)
Retired February 2, 1863	Appointed January 23, 1863

**38th Congress, 1863–1865**

COMMITTEE (7 members)

*Special Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
Lafayette S. Foster, Connecticut (Rep.)	James A. Bayard, Delaware (Dem.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)
Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Whig)	

*1st Session*

Same committee appointed, except that James A. McDougall,  
California (Dem.), replaced Bayard

*2d Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)
Lafayette S. Foster, Connecticut (Rep.)	Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Whig)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
	James A. McDougall, California (Dem.)

**39th Congress, 1865–1867**

COMMITTEE (7 members)

*Special Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Solomon T. Foot, Vermont (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio (Rep.)
Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)	Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Whig)
	Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)

*1st Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)	Charles R. Buckalew, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
John B. Henderson, Missouri (Dem.)	

*2d Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Joseph S. Fowler, Tennessee (Union Rep.)
Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)	George G. Fogg, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio (Rep.)	Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
	James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)

**40th Congress, 1867-1869**

COMMITTEE (7 members)

1st Session

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)
William Pitt Fessenden, Maine (Rep.)	James W. Patterson, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
James Harlan, Iowa (Rep.)	

*Special Session*  
Same committee reappointed

2d Session

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	James W. Patterson, New Hampshire (Rep.)
William Pitt Fessenden, Maine (Rep.)	Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Resigned July 10, 1868
James Harlan, Iowa (Rep.)	James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)	Appointed July 15, 1868

3d Session

Same committee reappointed except that James A. Bayard, Delaware (Dem.),  
replaced Doolittle

**41st Congress, 1869-1871**

COMMITTEE (7 members)

1st Session

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)
William Pitt Fessenden, Maine (Rep.)	James W. Patterson, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Eugene Casserly, California (Dem.)
James Harlan, Iowa (Rep.)	

*Special Session*  
Same committee reappointed

2d Session

Same committee reappointed, except that Carl Schurz, Missouri (Rep.),  
replaced Fessenden

3d Session

Same committee reappointed as in 2d Session

**42d Congress, 1871-1873**

COMMITTEE (7 members)

1st Session

Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Rep.)	James W. Patterson, New Hampshire (Rep.)
James Harlan, Iowa (Rep.)	Carl Schurz, Missouri (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)	Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Rep.)
	Eugene Casserly, California (Dem.)

*Special Session*  
Same committee reappointed

2d Session

Same committee reappointed

3d Session

Same committee reappointed, except that Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin  
(Union Rep.), replaced Casserly

**43d Congress, 1873-1875**COMMITTEE (7-9 members)  
*Special Session*

Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Union Rep.)	Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Rep.)	Roscoe Conklin, New York (Union Rep.)
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Rep.)	Carl Schurz, Missouri (Rep.)
Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin (Union Rep.)	

*1st Session*

Committee enlarged to 9. Same committee reappointed and the following added:  
John P. Stockton, New Jersey (Dem.) Thomas Clay McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)

*2d Session*

Same committee reappointed

**44th Congress, 1875-1877**COMMITTEE (9 members)  
*Special Session*

Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Rep.)	Roscoe Conkling, New York (Union Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)	Thomas C. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Rep.)	Lewis V. Bogy, Missouri (Dem.)
Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin (Union Rep.)	Andrew Johnson, Tennessee (Dem.)
F.T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey (Rep.)	

*1st Session*

Same committee reappointed, except that William W. Eaton,  
Connecticut (Dem.), replaced Johnson

*2d Session*

Same committee reappointed as 1st Session

**45th Congress, 1877-1879**COMMITTEE (9 members)  
*Special Session*

Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Rep.)	Roscoe Conkling, New York (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)	Thomas C. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Union Rep.)	Lewis V. Bogy, Missouri (Dem.)
Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin (Union Rep.)	William W. Eaton, Connecticut (Dem.)
	John W. Johnston, Virginia (Dem.)

*1st Session*

Hannibal Hamlin, Maine, Chairman (Union Rep.)	Stanley Matthews, Ohio (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)	Thomas C. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)
Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin (Union Rep.)	William W. Eaton, Connecticut (Dem.)
Roscoe Conkling, New York (Rep.)	John W. Johnston, Virginia (Dem.)
	William A. Wallace, Pennsylvania (Dem.)

*2d Session*

Same committee reappointed, except that Samuel J. Kirkwood,  
Iowa (Rep.), replaced Morton

*3d Session*

Same committee reappointed as 2d Session

**46th Congress, 1879-1881**COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Dem., 4 Rep.)  
*1st Session*

William W. Eaton, Connecticut, Chairman (Dem.)	Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Rep.)
John W. Johnston, Virginia (Dem.)	Roscoe Conkling, New York (Rep.)
John Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)	Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa (Rep.)
Benjamin H. Hill, Georgia (Dem.)	Matthew H. Carpenter, Wisconsin (Rep.)
George H. Pendleton, Ohio (Dem.)	

*2d Session*

Same committee reappointed

*3d Session*

Same committee reappointed

**47th Congress, 1881-1883**COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)  
*1st Special Session*

Ambrose E. Burnside, Rhode Island, Chairman (Rep.)	Thomas W. Ferry, Michigan (Rep.)
Roscoe Conkling, New York (Rep.)	John W. Johnston, Virginia (Dem.)
Resigned May 17, 1881	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)	Benjamin H. Hill, Georgia (Dem.)
John F. Miller, California (Rep.)	George W. Pendleton, Ohio (Dem.)

*2d Special Session*

Same committee with the following exceptions:

George F. Edmunds, Vermont, became Chairman	Elbridge G. Lapham, New York (Rep.)
Nelson W. Aldrich, Rhode Island (Rep.)	Appointed for Conkling, October 17, 1881
Appointed for Burnside, October 17, 1881	

*1st Session*

Same committee reappointed except that William Windon, Minnesota (Rep.), replaced Aldrich on December 16, 1881, and was made Chairman in place of Edmunds on day of appointment

*2d Session*Same committee reappointed, except that Wilkinson Call,  
Florida (Dem.), replaced Hill**48th Congress, 1883-1885**COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)  
*1st Session*

John F. Miller, California, Chairman (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
John Sherman, Ohio (Rep.)	George W. Pendleton, Ohio (Dem.)
Elbridge G. Lapham, New York (Rep.)	Zebulon B. Vance, North Carolina (Dem.)
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)	Joseph E. Brown, Georgia (Dem.)
James F. Wilson, Iowa (Rep.)	

*2d Session*

Same committee reappointed

**49th Congress, 1885-1887**COMMITTEE<sup>7</sup> (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

John F. Miller, California, Chairman (Rep.) Died March 8, 1886	William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Benjamin Harrison, Indiana (Rep.) Appointed April 5, 1886	William M. Evarts, New York (Rep.)
John Sherman, Ohio (Rep.) Made Chairman, April 5, 1886	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)	Joseph E. Brown, Georgia (Dem.)
	Eli Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)
	Henry B. Payne, Ohio (Dem.)

<sup>7</sup>Beginning with the 49th Congress, committee appointments were made for the duration of the Congress instead of by sessions.

**50th Congress, 1887-1889**

COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

John Sherman, Ohio, Chairman (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)	Joseph E. Brown, Georgia (Dem.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	Eli Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)
William M. Evarts, New York (Rep.)	Henry B. Payne, Ohio (Dem.)
Joseph N. Dolph, Oregon (Rep.)	

**51st Congress, 1889-1891**

COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

John Sherman, Ohio, Chairman (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)	Joseph E. Brown, Georgia (Dem.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	Henry B. Payne, Ohio (Dem.)
William M. Evarts, New York (Rep.)	James B. Eustis, Louisiana (Dem.)
Joseph N. Dolph, Oregon (Rep.)	

**52d Congress, 1891-1893**

COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

John Sherman, Ohio, Chairman (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	Matthew C. Butler, South Carolina (Dem.)
Joseph N. Dolph, Oregon (Rep.)	John E. Kenna, West Virginia (Dem.)
Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota (Rep.)	George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)
Frank Hiscock, New York (Rep.)	

**53d Congress, 1893-1895**

COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Dem., 4 Rep.)

John T. Morgan, Alabama, Chairman (Dem.)	John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
Matthew C. Butler, South Carolina (Dem.)	John Sherman, Ohio (Rep.)
George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)	William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
David Turpie, Indiana (Dem.)	Joseph N. Dolph, Oregon (Rep.)
	Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota (Rep.)

**54th Congress, 1895-1897**

COMMITTEE (11 members—6 Rep., 5 Dem.)

John Sherman, Ohio, Chairman (Rep.)	Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota (Rep.)	George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)
J. Donald Cameron, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	David Turpie, Indiana (Dem.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)	John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
	Roger Q. Mills, Texas (Dem.)

**55th Congress, 1897-1899**

COMMITTEE (9 members—4 Reps., 5 Dem.)  
*Special Session (and half of 1st)<sup>8</sup>*

William P. Frye, Maine, Acting Chairman (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota (Rep.)	George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)	David Turpie, Indiana (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
COMMITTEE (11 members—6 Rep., 5 Dem.—appointed May 10, 1897)	Roger Q. Mills, Texas (Dem.)
Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota, Chairman (Rep.)	David Turpie, Indiana (Dem.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	Excused last day of the Congress
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	Appointed last day of the Congress
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)	Roger Q. Mills, Texas (Dem.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)	Excused last day of the Congress
George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
	Appointed last day of the Congress

**56th Congress, 1899-1901**

COMMITTEE (11 members—7 Rep., 4 Dem.)

Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota, Chairman (Rep.)	Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	Edward O. Wolcott, Colorado (Rep.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)

**57th Congress, 1901-1903**

COMMITTEE<sup>9</sup> (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)  
*Special Session*

William P. Frye, Maine, Acting Chairman (Rep.)	Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
COMMITTEE (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	Joseph L. Rawlins, Utah (Dem.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)	Joseph W. Bailey, Texas (Dem.)
John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Resigned March 3, 1903
Charles W. Fairbanks, Indiana (Rep.)	William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)	Appointed March 3, 1903

<sup>8</sup> By resolution of March 3, 1897, the committees of the 54th Congress were continued until the first Monday in December or until new committees should be appointed. The number did not remain the same because the Senate terms of some had expired. Committees of the 55th Congress were appointed May 10, 1897.

<sup>9</sup> Committees of the 56th Congress were continued by resolution of March 2, 1901. Committees of the 57th Congress were appointed December 18, 1901.

**58th Congress, 1903-1905**

COMMITTEE<sup>10</sup> (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)  
*Special Session (and half of 1st)*

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)	Charles W. Fairbanks, Indiana (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Joseph L. Rawlins, Utah (Dem.)
	William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)

COMMITTEE (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)	Charles W. Fairbanks, Indiana (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)	William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)
	James B. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)

**59th Congress, 1905-1907**

COMMITTEE<sup>11</sup> (12 members—7 Rep., 5 Dem.)  
*Special Session*

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman, (Rep.)	John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
	William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)
	James B. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)

COMMITTEE (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman, (Rep.)	John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)	William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)
	James B. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)

**60th Congress, 1907-1909**

COMMITTEE (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman, (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	James B. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	James B. Frazier, Tennessee (Dem.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)	William Pinckney Whyte, Maryland (Dem.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)	Died March 17, 1908
Albert J. Beveridge, Indiana (Rep.)	William J. Stone, Missouri (Dem.)
Thomas H. Carter, Montana (Rep.)	Appointed April 23, 1908

<sup>10</sup> Committees of the 57th Congress were continued by resolution of March 3, 1903. Committees of the 58th Congress were appointed November 25, 1903.

<sup>11</sup> Committees of the 58th Congress continued by resolution, February 27, 1905. Committees of the 59th Congress appointed December 18, 1905.

**61st Congress, 1909-1911**

COMMITTEE (14 members—9 Rep., 5 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)	Thomas H. Carter, Montana (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	Elihu Root, New York (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)	Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
Albert J. Beveridge, Indiana (Rep.)	James B. Frazier, Tennessee (Dem.)
	William J. Stone, Missouri (Dem.)
	Benjamin F. Shively, Indiana (Dem.)

**62d Congress, 1911-1913**

COMMITTEE (15 members—9 Rep., 6 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)	Theodore E. Burton, Ohio (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Died August 8, 1911	William J. Stone, Missouri (Dem.)
William P. Dillingham, Vermont (Rep.)	Benjamin F. Shively, Indiana (Dem.)
Appointed January 9, 1912	James P. Clarke, Arkansas (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)	Isidor Rayner, Maryland (Dem.)
William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)	Died November 25, 1912
Elihu Root, New York (Rep.)	Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)	James A. O'Gorman, New York (Dem.)
George Sutherland, Utah (Rep.)	Appointed January 4, 1913
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)	

**63d Congress, 1913-1915**

COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Dem., 7 Rep.)

Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia, Chairman (Dem.)	Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Died February 14, 1914	Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
Willard Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)	Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)
Appointed March 10, 1914	Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
William J. Stone, Missouri (Dem.)	William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Made Chairman March 2, 1914	Elihu Root, New York (Rep.)
Benjamin F. Shively, Indiana (Dem.)	Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
James P. Clarke, Arkansas (Dem.)	George Sutherland, Utah (Rep.)
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)	William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
James A. O'Gorman, New York (Dem.)	Theodore E. Burton, Ohio (Rep.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)	

**64th Congress, 1915-1917**

COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Dem., 7 Rep.)

William J. Stone, Missouri, Chairman (Dem.)	Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Benjamin F. Shively, Indiana (Dem.)	William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Died March 14, 1916	Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
James P. Clarke, Arkansas (Dem.)	George Sutherland, Utah (Rep.)
Died October 1, 1916	William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)	Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)
James A. O'Gorman, New York (Dem.)	George T. Oliver, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)	Appointed March 28, 1916
Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)	John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)
Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)	Appointed December 12, 1916
Willard Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)	

**65th Congress, 1917-1919**

COMMITTEE (14 members—9 Dem., 5 Rep.)

*Special Session, first half<sup>12</sup>*

William J. Stone, Missouri, Chairman (Dem.)	John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)	Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)	William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)	Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)	William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)	Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)
Willard Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)	
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)	

COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Dem., 7 Rep.)

William J. Stone, Missouri, Chairman (Dem.)	John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)
Died April 12, 1918	Charles D. Thomas, Colorado (Dem.)
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)	Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Made Chairman May 10, 1918	William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)	Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
Appointed May 10, 1918	William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)	Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)	Albert B. Fall, New Mexico (Rep.)
Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)	Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)	
Willard Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)	
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)	

**66th Congress, 1919-1921**

COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Rep., 7 Dem.)

Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)	Harry S. New, Indiana (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)	George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)	Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
Albert B. Fall, New Mexico (Rep.)	John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Warren G. Harding, Ohio (Rep.)	Atlee Pomerene, Ohio, (Dem.)
Resigned January 11, 1921; not replaced	Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)
	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
	John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)

**67th Congress, 1921-1923**Committee<sup>13</sup> (15 members—9 Rep., 6 Dem.)*Special Session*

Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Harry S. New, Indiana (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)	George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)	Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)	John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Albert B. Fall, New Mexico (Rep.)	Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
	John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)

<sup>12</sup> Committees of the 64th Congress continued by resolution, March 1, 1917. Committees of the 65th Congress appointed March 12, 1917.

<sup>13</sup> Committees of the 66th Congress continued by resolution, Jan. 18, 1921. Committees of the 67th Congress appointed April 18, 1921. On April 18, 1921, a clause was added to Rule XXV of the Senate Rules providing that all standing committees were to continue until their successors were appointed.

**67th Congress, 1921-1923 (continued)**

COMMITTEE (16 members—10 Rep., 6 Dem.)

Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)	Harry S. New, Indiana (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota, (Rep.)	George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)	Frank B. Kellogg, Minnesota (Rep.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)	Medill McCormick, Illinois (Rep.)
Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania (Rep.) Died October 12, 1921	Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
James W. Wadsworth, Jr., New York (Rep.) Appointed October 21, 1921	John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)	Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
	Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
	John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)

**68th Congress, 1923-1925**

COMMITTEE (18 members—10 Rep., 7 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)

Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.), Died November 9, 1924	James W. Wadsworth, Jr., New York (Rep.)
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.) Appointed December 3, 1924	Irvine L. Lenroot, Wisconsin (Rep.)
George P. McLean, Connecticut (Rep.) Appointed December 3, 1924	Frank B. Willis, Ohio (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.) Made Chairman, December 3, 1924	George Wharton Pepper, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.) Died October 14, 1924	Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)	John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)
Medill McCormick, Illinois (Rep.)	J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
	Oscar W. Underwood, Alabama (Dem.)
	Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
	Robert L. Owen, Oklahoma (Dem.)
	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

**69th Congress, 1925-1927**

COMMITTEE (18 members—10 Rep., 7 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)

William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman (Rep.)	Fred H. Gillett, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)	Appointed December 14, 1926
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)	Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Irvine L. Lenroot, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
Frank Willis, Ohio (Rep.)	J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
George Wharton Pepper, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Oscar W. Underwood, Alabama (Dem.)
George P. McLean, Connecticut (Rep.)	Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.)	James A. Reed, Missouri (Dem.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)	Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
William M. Butler, Massachusetts (Rep.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)
Term expired November 1925	

**70th Congress, 1927-1929**

COMMITTEE (18 members—9 Rep., 8 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)

William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman (Rep.)	Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)	J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Frank Willis, Ohio (Rep.) Died March 30, 1928	Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.) Appointed May 10, 1928	James A. Reed, Missouri (Dem.)
George P. McLean, Connecticut (Rep.)	Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.)	Woodbridge N. Ferris, Michigan (Dem.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)	Died March 23, 1928
Fred H. Gillett, Massachusetts (Rep.)	Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Appointed April 28, 1928
	Thomas F. Bayard, Delaware (Dem.)
	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

**71st Congress, 1929-1931**

COMMITTEE (15 members—8 Rep., 6 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)  
*Special Session (continuing)*

William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman (Rep.)	Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)	Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.)	J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)	Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
Fred H. Gillett, Massachusetts (Rep.)	Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)
COMMITTEE (20 members—11 Rep., 8 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor; appointed April 22, 1929)	
William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman (Rep.)	Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)	Arthur Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)	Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.)	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
Resigned November 21, 1929	J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Arthur R. Robinson, Indiana (Rep.)	Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
Appointed January 11, 1930	Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)	Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Fred H. Gillett, Massachusetts (Rep.)	Hugo Black, Alabama (Dem.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)
Guy D. Goff, West Virginia (Rep.)	

**72d Congress, 1931-1933**

COMMITTEE (22 members—11 Rep., 10 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)

William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman (Rep.)	Claude Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)	Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)	J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)	Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)	Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)	Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Rep.)	Hugo L. Black, Alabama (Dem.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)	Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Arthur R. Robinson, Indiana (Rep.)	Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)
Otis Glenn, Illinois (Rep.)	J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)
Bronson Cutting, New Mexico (Rep.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

**73d Congress, 1933-1934**

COMMITTEE (18 members—8 Dem., 9 Rep., 1 Farmer-Labor)  
*Special Session (continuing)*

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)	Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)	David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)	Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)	Robert La Follette Jr., Wisconsin (Rep.)
Hugo L. Black, Alabama (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)	Arthur R. Robinson, Indiana (Rep.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)	Bronson Cutting, New Mexico (Rep.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)	
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)	

COMMITTEE (23 members—14 Dem., 8 Rep., 1 Farmer-Labor; appointed March 9, 1933)

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)	Robert J. Bulkley, Ohio (Dem.)
J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)	Appointed June 10, 1933
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)	William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)	Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Hugo L. Black, Alabama (Dem.)	Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)	David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)	Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)	Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Rep.)
Nathan L. Bachman, Tennessee (Dem.)	Arthur R. Robinson, Indiana (Rep.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)
F. Ryan Duffy, Wisconsin (Dem.)	
James P. Pope, Idaho (Dem.)	

**74th Congress, 1935-1936**

COMMITTEE (23 members—16 Dem., 5 Rep., 1 Prog., 1 Farmer-Labor)

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)	James E. Murry, Montana (Dem.)
J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)	Dennis Chavez, New Mexico (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)	Appointed May 31, 1935
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)	William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Hugo L. Black, Alabama (Dem.)	Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)	Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)	Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Nathan L. Bachman, Tennessee (Dem.)	Bronson Cutting, New Mexico (Rep.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)	Died May 6, 1935
Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)	Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
F. Ryan Duffy, Wisconsin (Dem.)	Appointed May 31, 1935
James P. Pope, Idaho (Dem.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)
Robert J. Bulkley, Ohio (Dem.)	

**75th Congress, 1937-1938**

COMMITTEE (23 members—16 Dem., 5 Rep., 1 Prog., 1 Farmer-Labor)

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)	Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)
J.T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)	Appointed May 11, 1937
Died July 4, 1937	Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)
Appointed November 30, 1937	F. Ryan Duffy, Wisconsin (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)	James P. Pope, Idaho (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)	James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)
Hugo L. Black, Alabama (Dem.)	Dennis Chavez, New Mexico (Dem.)
Resigned August 20, 1937	Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Washington (Dem.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)	William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Appointed February 2, 1938	Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)	Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)	Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Nathan L. Bachman, Tennessee (Dem.)	Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Died April 23, 1937	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

**76th Congress, 1939-1941**

COMMITTEE (23 members—16 Dem., 5 Rep., 1 Prog., 1 Farmer-Labor)

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)	Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Died November 11, 1940	Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)	Robert R. Reynolds, North Carolina (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)	Joseph F. Guffey, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
Made Chairman November 25, 1940	Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)	William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)	Died January 19, 1940
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)	Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota (Rep.)
Died April 9, 1939	Appointed February 8, 1940
Bennett Champ Clark, Missouri (Dem.)	Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Appointed April 27, 1939	Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)	Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)	Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Washington (Dem.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)	

**77th Congress, 1941-1942**

COMMITTEE (23 members—16 Dem., 6 Rep., 1 Prog.)

Walter F. George, Georgia, Chairman (Dem.)	Bennett Champ Clark, Missouri (Dem.)
Excused from Chairmanship June 30, 1941	Carter Glass, Virginia (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)	James F. Byrnes, South Carolina (Dem.)
Died June 22, 1941	Resigned July 8, 1941
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)	Josh Lee, Oklahoma (Dem.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)	Appointed June 31, 1941
Made Chairman June 30, 1941	James M. Tunnell, Delaware (Dem.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)	Appointed June 30, 1941
Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)	Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)	Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)	Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)	Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Robert R. Reynolds, North Carolina (Dem.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (Rep.)
Joseph F. Guffey, Pennsylvania (Dem.)	Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota (Rep.)
Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)	

**78th Congress, 1943-1944**

COMMITTEE (23 members—14 Dem., 8 Rep., 1 Prog.)

Tom Connally, Texas, Chairman (Dem.)	Bennett Champ Clark, Missouri (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)	Carter Glass, Virginia (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)	James M. Tunnell, Delaware (Dem.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)	Hiram W. Johnson, California (Rep.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)	Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)	Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)	Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Robert R. Reynolds, North Carolina (Dem.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (Rep.)
Joseph F. Guffey, Pennsylvania (Dem.)	Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota (Rep.)
Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)	James J. Davis, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
	Warren R. Austin, Vermont (Rep.)

**79th Congress, 1945-1946**

COMMITTEE (23 members—14 Dem., 8 Rep., 1 Prog.)

Tom Connally, Texas, Chairman (Dem.)	Lister Hill, Alabama (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)	Scott W. Lucas, Illinois (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)	Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)	Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)	Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (Rep.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)	Warren R. Austin, Vermont (Rep.)
Joseph F. Guffey, Pennsylvania (Dem.)	Resigned August 2, 1946
Carter Glass, Virginia (Dem.)	Styles Bridges, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Died May 28, 1946	Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
James M. Tunnell, Delaware (Dem.)	Chan Gurney, South Dakota (Rep.)
Carl A. Hatch, New Mexico (Dem.)	

**80th Congress, 1947-1948**

COMMITTEE (13 members—7 Rep., 6 Dem.)

Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan, Chairman (Rep.)	Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Massachusetts (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)	Tom Connally, Texas (Dem.)
Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)	Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)	Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)	Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)	Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)
	Carl A. Hatch, New Mexico (Dem.)

**81st Congress, 1949-1950**

COMMITTEE (13 members—8 Dem., 5 Rep.)

Tom Connally, Texas, Chairman (Dem.)	J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)	Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Millard E. Tydings, Maryland (Dem.)	H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Massachusetts (Rep.)
Brien McMahon, Connecticut (Dem.)	

**82d Congress, 1951-1952**

COMMITTEE (13 members—7 Dem., 6 Rep.)

Tom Connally, Texas, Chairman (Dem.)	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)	Died April 18, 1951
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Brien McMahon, Connecticut (Dem.)	H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Died July 28, 1952	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)	Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Massachusetts (Rep.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)	Owen Brewster, Maine (Rep.)
	Appointed May 9, 1951

**83d Congress, 1953-1954**

COMMITTEE (15 members—8 Rep., 7 Dem.)

Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin, Chairman (Rep.)	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)	Appointed January 13, 1954
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)	Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)
Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire (Rep.)	Appointed January 13, 1954
Died July 24, 1953	Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Robert A. Taft, Ohio (Rep.)	Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Died July 31, 1953	J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)
William Langer, North Dakota (Rep.)	John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Homer Ferguson, Michigan (Rep.)	Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)
William F. Knowland, California (Rep.)	Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
	Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)

**84th Congress, 1955-1956**

COMMITTEE (15 members—8 Dem., 7 Rep.)

Walter F. George, Georgia, Chairman (Dem.)	Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Appointed May 8, 1956
J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)	Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	William Langer, North Dakota (Rep.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)	William F. Knowland, California (Rep.)
Died April 30, 1956	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
	Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)

**85th Congress, 1957-1958**

COMMITTEE (15 members—8 Dem., 7 Rep.)

Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island, Chairman (Dem.)	John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts (Dem.)
J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)	Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	William Langer, North Dakota (Rep.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)	William F. Knowland, California (Rep.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
	Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)

**86th Congress, 1959-1960**

COMMITTEE (17 members—11 Dem., 6 Rep.)

J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)	Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)
Appointed Chairman February 6, 1959	Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Resigned chairmanship February 6, 1959	Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)	William Langer, North Dakota (Rep.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	Died November 8, 1959
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)	Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)
John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts (Dem.)	Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
Resigned December 22, 1960	John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
	Appointed January 18, 1960

**87th Congress, 1961-1962**

COMMITTEE (17 members—11 Dem., 6 Rep.)

J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)	Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)	Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)	Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)	Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
	John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)

**88th Congress, 1963-1964**

COMMITTEE (17 members—12 Dem., 5 Rep.)

J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)	Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)	Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	George A. Smathers, Florida (Dem.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)	Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)	John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
	Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)

**89th Congress, 1965-1966**

COMMITTEE (19 members—13 Dem., 6 Rep.)

J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)	Joseph S. Clark, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	Eugene J. McCarthy, Minnesota (Dem.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)	Appointed April 26, 1965
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)	Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)
Resigned March 25, 1966	Appointed March 25, 1966
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)	Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)	John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)	Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)
George A. Smathers, Florida (Dem.)	Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Resigned April 26, 1965	

**90th Congress, 1967-1968**

COMMITTEE (19 members—12 Dem., 7 Rep.)

J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	Eugene J. McCarthy, Minnesota (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)	Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)	John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)	Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)	Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)	John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky (Rep.)
Joseph S. Clark, Pennsylvania (Dem.)	

**91st Congress, 1969-1971**

COMMITTEE (15 members—9 Dem., 6 Rep.)

J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)	Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)	John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky (Rep.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)	John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)	Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)

**92d Congress, 1971-1972**

COMMITTEE (16 members—9 Dem., 7 Rep.)

J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	Resigned February 23, 1972
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)	Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)	John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky (Rep.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)	Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Edmund S. Muskie, Maine (Dem.)	James B. Pearson, Kansas (Rep.)
William B. Spong, Jr., Virginia (Dem.)	Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)

Appointed February 23, 1972

**93d Congress, 1973-1974**

COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Dem., 7 Rep.)

J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)	Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)	George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)	Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)	Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)	James B. Pearson, Kansas (Rep.)
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)	Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)
Edmund S. Muskie, Maine (Dem.)	Robert P. Griffin, Michigan (Rep.)
George McGovern, South Dakota (Dem.)	

**94th Congress, 1975-1976**

COMMITTEE (16 members—10 Dem., 6 Rep.)

John Sparkman, Alabama, Chairman (Dem.)	Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)	Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)	Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)	James B. Pearson, Kansas (Rep.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)	Robert P. Griffin, Michigan (Rep.)
George McGovern, South Dakota (Dem.)	Howard H. Baker, Jr., Tennessee (Rep.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)	Excused Sept. 19, 1975, when committee ratio was changed from 7 to 6 Republicans
Dick Clark, Iowa (Dem.)	
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)	

**95th Congress, 1977-1978**

COMMITTEE (16 members—10 Dem., 6 Rep.)

John Sparkman, Alabama, Chairman (Dem.)	Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)	Muriel B. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Appointed February 6, 1978
George McGovern, South Dakota (Dem.)	Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)	Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
Died January 13, 1978	James B. Pearson, Kansas (Rep.)
Dick Clark, Iowa (Dem.)	Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)	Robert P. Griffin, Michigan (Rep.)
John Glenn, Ohio (Dem.)	Howard H. Baker, Jr., Tennessee (Rep.)
Richard Stone, Florida (Dem.)	

**96th Congress, 1979-1980**

COMMITTEE (15 members—9 Dem., 6 Rep.)

Frank Church, Idaho, Chairman (Dem.)	Edward Zorinsky, Nebraska (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)	Paul E. Tsongas, Massachusetts (Dem.)
George McGovern, South Dakota (Dem.)	Appointed May 13, 1980
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)	Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
John Glenn, Ohio (Dem.)	Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)
Richard Stone, Florida (Dem.)	Howard H. Baker, Jr., Tennessee (Rep.)
Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)	Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)
Edmund Muskie, Maine (Dem.)	S.I. Hayakawa, California (Rep.)
Resigned May 7, 1980	Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)

**97th Congress, 1981-1982**

COMMITTEE (17 members—9 Rep., 8 Dem.)

Charles H. Percy, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Howard H. Baker, Jr., Tennessee (Rep.)	Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)
Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)	John Glenn, Ohio (Dem.)
S.I. Hayakawa, California (Rep.)	Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)
Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)	Edward Zorinsky, Nebraska (Dem.)
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Maryland (Rep.)	Paul E. Tsongas, Massachusetts (Dem.)
Nancy L. Kassebaum, Kansas (Rep.)	Alan Cranston, California (Dem.)
Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota (Rep.)	Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
Larry Pressler, South Dakota (Rep.)	

**98th Congress, 1983-1984**

COMMITTEE (18 members—10 Rep., 8 Dem.)

Charles H. Percy, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Howard H. Baker, Jr., Tennessee (Rep.)	Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)
Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)	John Glenn, Ohio (Dem.)
Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)	Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Maryland (Rep.)	Edward Zorinsky, Nebraska (Dem.)
Nancy L. Kassebaum, Kansas (Rep.)	Paul E. Tsongas, Massachusetts (Dem.)
Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota (Rep.)	Alan Cranston, California (Dem.)
Larry Pressler, South Dakota (Rep.)	Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska (Rep.)	
Paula Hawkins, Florida (Rep.)	
Appointed Feb. 9, 1984	

**99th Congress, 1985–1986**

COMMITTEE (17 members—9 Rep., 8 Dem.)

Richard G. Lugar, Indiana, Chairman (Rep.)	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)	Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Maryland (Rep.)	Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)
Nancy L. Kassebaum, Kansas (Rep.)	Edward Zorinsky, Nebraska (Dem.)
Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota (Rep.)	Alan Cranston, California (Dem.)
Larry Pressler, South Dakota (Rep.)	Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska (Rep.)	Thomas F. Eagleton, Missouri (Dem.)
Paul S. Trible, Jr., Virginia (Rep.)	John F. Kerry, Massachusetts (Dem.)
Daniel J. Evans, Washington (Rep.)	

**100th Congress, 1987–1988**

Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island, Chairman (Dem.)	Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)	Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)
Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)	Nancy L. Kassebaum, Kansas (Rep.)
Alan Cranston, California (Dem.)	Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota (Rep.)
Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)	Larry Pressler, South Dakota (Rep.)
John F. Kerry, Massachusetts (Dem.)	Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska (Rep.)
Paul Simon, Illinois (Dem.)	Paul S. Trible, Jr., Virginia (Rep.)
Terry Sanford, North Carolina (Dem.)	Daniel J. Evans, Washington (Rep.)
Brock Adams, Washington (Dem.)	Mitch McConnell, Kentucky (Rep.)
Daniel P. Moynihan, New York (Dem.)	

**101st Congress, 1989–1990**

COMMITTEE (19 members—10 Dem., 9 Rep.)

Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island, Chairman (Dem.)	Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)	Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)
Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)	Nancy L. Kassebaum, Kansas (Rep.)
Alan Cranston, California (Dem.)	Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota (Rep.)
Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)	Larry Pressler, South Dakota (Rep.)
John F. Kerry, Massachusetts (Dem.)	Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska (Rep.)
Paul Simon, Illinois (Dem.)	Mitch McConnell, Kentucky (Rep.)
Terry Sanford, North Carolina (Dem.)	Gordon J. Humphrey, New Hampshire
Daniel P. Moynihan, New York (Dem.)	Connie Mack, Florida (Rep.)
Charles S. Robb, Virginia (Dem.)	

**102d Congress, 1991–1992**

COMMITTEE (19 members—11 Dem., 8 Rep.)

Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island, Chairman (Dem.)	Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)	Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)
Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)	Nancy L. Kassebaum, Kansas (Rep.)
Alan Cranston, California (Dem.)	Larry Pressler, South Dakota (Rep.)
Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)	Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska (Rep.)
John F. Kerry, Massachusetts (Dem.)	Mitch McConnell, Kentucky (Rep.)
Paul Simon, Illinois (Dem.)	Hank Brown, Colorado (Rep.)
Terry Sanford, North Carolina (Dem.)	James M. Jeffords, Vermont (Rep.)
Daniel P. Moynihan, New York (Dem.)	
Charles S. Robb, Virginia (Dem.)	
Harris Wofford, Pennsylvania (Dem.)	

***103d Congress, 1993–1994***

COMMITTEE (20 members—11 Dem., 9 Rep.)

Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island, Chairman (Dem.)	Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)	Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)
Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)	Nancy L. Kassebaum, Kansas (Rep.)
Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)	Larry Pressler, South Dakota (Rep.)
John F. Kerry, Massachusetts (Dem.)	Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska (Rep.)
Paul Simon, Illinois (Dem.)	Hank Brown, Colorado (Rep.)
Daniel P. Moynihan, New York (Dem.)	James M. Jeffords, Vermont (Rep.)
Charles S. Robb, Virginia (Dem.)	Paul Coverdell, Georgia (Rep.)
Harris Wofford, Pennsylvania (Dem.)	Judd Gregg, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Russell D. Feingold, Wisconsin (Dem.)	
Harlan Mathews, Tennessee (Dem.)	

***104th Congress, 1995–1996***

COMMITTEE (18 members—10 Rep., 8 Dem.)

Jesse Helms, North Carolina, Chairman (Rep.)	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island, (Dem.)
Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)	Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)
Nancy L. Kassebaum, Kansas (Rep.)	Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)
Hank Brown, Colorado (Rep.)	Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
Paul Coverdell, Georgia (Rep.)	John F. Kerry, Massachusetts (Dem.)
Olympia J. Snowe, Maine (Rep.)	Charles S. Robb, Virginia (Dem.)
Fred Thompson, Tennessee (Rep.)	Russell D. Feingold, Wisconsin
Craig Thomas, Wyoming (Rep.)	Dianne Feinstein, California (Dem.)
Rod Grams, Minnesota (Rep.)	
John Ashcroft, Missouri (Rep.)	

***105th Congress, 1997–1998***

COMMITTEE (18 members—10 Rep., 8 Dem.)

Jesse Helms, North Carolina, Chairman (Rep.)	Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem) Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.) Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.) John F. Kerry, Massachusetts (Dem.) Charles S. Robb, Virginia (Dem.) Russell D. Feingold, Wisconsin (Dem.) Dianne Feinstein, California (Dem.) Paul D. Wellstone, Minnesota (Dem.)
Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)	
Paul Coverdell, Georgia (Rep.)	
Chuck Hagel, Nebraska (Rep.)	
Gordon H. Smith, Oregon (Rep.)	
Craig Thomas, Wyoming (Rep.)	
Rod Grams, Minnesota (Rep.)	
John Ashcroft, Missouri (Rep.)	
Bill Frist, Tennessee (Rep.)	
Sam Brownback, Kansas (Rep.)	

***106th Congress, 1999–2000****1st Session*

COMMITTEE (18 members—10 Rep., 8 Dem.)

Jesse Helms, North Carolina, Chairman (Rep.)	Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem) Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.) Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.) John F. Kerry, Massachusetts (Dem.) Russell D. Feingold, Wisconsin (Dem.) Paul D. Wellstone, Minnesota (Dem.) Barbara Boxer, California (Dem.) Robert G. Torricelli, New Jersey (Dem.)
Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)	
Paul Coverdell, Georgia (Rep.)	
Chuck Hagel, Nebraska (Rep.)	
Gordon H. Smith, Oregon (Rep.)	
Craig Thomas, Wyoming (Rep.)	
Rod Grams, Minnesota (Rep.)	
Sam Brownback, Kansas (Rep.)	
John Ashcroft, Missouri (Rep.)	
Bill Frist, Tennessee (Rep.)	

*2nd Session*

COMMITTEE (18 members—10 Rep., 8 Dem.)

Jesse Helms, North Carolina, Chairman (Rep.)	Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem) Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.) Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.) John F. Kerry, Massachusetts (Dem.) Russell D. Feingold, Wisconsin (Dem.) Paul D. Wellstone, Minnesota (Dem.) Barbara Boxer, California (Dem.) Robert G. Torricelli, New Jersey (Dem.)
Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)	
Chuck Hagel, Nebraska (Rep.)	
Gordon H. Smith, Oregon (Rep.)	
Rod Grams, Minnesota (Rep.)	
Sam Brownback, Kansas (Rep.)	
Craig Thomas, Wyoming (Rep.)	
John Ashcroft, Missouri (Rep.)	
Bill Frist, Tennessee (Rep.)	
Lincoln D. Chafee, Rhode Island (Rep.)	

### ***Appendix III***

#### ***Chairmen of the Committee on Foreign Relations***

Congress	Dates	Senator
14th	1816–1817	James Barbour, Virginia.
15th	1817–1819	James Barbour, Virginia. Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (2d session).
16th	1819–1821	James Brown, Louisiana. James Barbour, Virginia (2d session).
17th	1821–1823	Rufus King, New York. James Barbour, Virginia (2d session).
18th	1823–1825	James Barbour, Virginia (2d session).
19th	1825–1827	Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina. Nathan Sanford, New York (2d session).
20th	1827–1829	Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina. Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia (2d session).
21st	1829–1831	Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia (2d session).
22d	1831–1833	Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia. John Forsyth, Georgia (2d session).
23d	1833–1835	William Wilkins, Pennsylvania. Henry Clay, Kentucky (2d session).
24th	1835–1837	Henry Clay, Kentucky. James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (2d session).
25th	1837–1839	James Buchanan, Pennsylvania.
26th	1839–1841	James Buchanan, Pennsylvania.
27th	1841–1843	William C. Rives, Virginia. William S. Archer, Virginia (3d session).
28th	1843–1845	William S. Archer, Virginia.
29th	1845–1847	William Allen, Ohio. Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas (2d session).
30th	1847–1849	Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas. Edward A. Hannegan, Indiana (2d session and part of 1st beginning Mar. 14, 1848).
31st	1849–1851	Thomas H. Benton, Missouri (special session). William R. King, Alabama (1st session). Henry S. Foote, Mississippi (2d session and part of 1st beginning July 26, 1850).
32d	1851–1853	Henry S. Foote, Mississippi (special session). James M. Mason, Virginia.

*Chairmen of the Committee on Foreign Relations—Continued*

Congress	Dates	Senator
33d	1853–1855	James M. Mason, Virginia.
34th	1855–1857	James M. Mason, Virginia.
35th	1857–1859	James M. Mason, Virginia.
36th	1859–1861	James M. Mason, Virginia.
37th	1861–1863	Charles Sumner, Massachusetts.
38th	1863–1865	Charles Sumner, Massachusetts.
39th	1865–1867	Charles Sumner, Massachusetts.
40th	1867–1869	Charles Sumner, Massachusetts.
41st	1869–1871	Charles Sumner, Massachusetts.
42d	1871–1873	Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania.
43d	1873–1875	Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania.
44th	1875–1877	Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania.
45th	1877–1879	Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania (special session).
46th	1879–1881	Hannibal Hamlin, Maine.
47th	1881–1883	William W. Eaton, Connecticut. Ambrose E. Burnside, Rhode Island (1st special session). George F. Edmunds, Vermont (2d special session).
48th	1883–1885	William Windon, Minnesota.
49th	1885–1887	John F. Miller, California.
50th	1887–1889	John F. Miller, California.
51st	1889–1891	John Sherman, Ohio.
52d	1891–1893	John Sherman, Ohio.
53d	1893–1895	John T. Morgan, Alabama.
54th	1895–1897	John Sherman, Ohio.
55th	1897–1899	William P. Frye, Maine (acting, special session).
56th	1899–1901	Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota.
57th	1901–1903	Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota. William P. Frye, Maine (acting, special session).
58th	1903–1905	Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois.
59th	1905–1907	Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois.
60th	1907–1909	Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois.
61st	1909–1911	Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois.
62d	1911–1913	Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois.
63d	1913–1915	Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (died February 14, 1914)
		William J. Stone, Missouri (appointed Chairman March 2, 1914).
64th	1915–1917	William J. Stone, Missouri.
65th	1917–1919	William J. Stone, Missouri.
66th	1919–1921	Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts.
67th	1921–1923	Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts.

*Chairmen of the Committee on Foreign Relations—Continued*

Congress	Dates	Senator
68th	1923–1925	Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (died Nov. 9, 1924). William E. Borah, Idaho (appointed Chairman December 3, 1924).
69th	1925–1927	William E. Borah, Idaho.
70th	1927–1929	William E. Borah, Idaho.
71st	1929–1931	William E. Borah, Idaho.
72d	1931–1933	William E. Borah, Idaho.
73d	1933–1935	Key Pittman, Nevada.
74th	1935–1937	Key Pittman, Nevada.
75th	1937–1939	Key Pittman, Nevada.
76th	1939–1941	Key Pittman, Nevada (died Nov. 11, 1940). Walter F. George, Georgia (appointed Chairman Nov. 25, 1940).
77th	1941–1943	Walter F. George, Georgia (excused from chairmanship June 31, 1941). Tom Connally, Texas.
78th	1943–1945	Tom Connally, Texas.
79th	1945–1947	Tom Connally, Texas.
80th	1947–1949	Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan.
81st	1949–1951	Tom Connally, Texas.
82d	1951–1953	Tom Connally, Texas.
83d	1953–1955	Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin.
84th	1955–1957	Walter F. George, Georgia.
85th	1957–1959	Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island.
86th	1959–1961	Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (resigned chairmanship Feb. 6, 1959). J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas (appointed Chairman Feb. 6, 1959).
87th	1961–1963	J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas.
88th	1963–1965	J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas.
89th	1965–1967	J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas.
90th	1967–1969	J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas.
91st	1969–1971	J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas. <sup>1</sup>
92d	1971–1973	J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas.
93d	1973–1975	J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas.
94th	1975–1977	John Sparkman, Alabama.
95th	1977–1979	John Sparkman, Alabama.
96th	1979–1981	Frank Church, Idaho.
97th	1981–1983	Charles H. Percy, Illinois.
98th	1983–1985	Charles H. Percy, Illinois.
99th	1985–1987	Richard G. Lugar, Indiana.
100th	1987–1989	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island.
101st	1989–1991	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island.
102d	1991–1993	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island.
103d	1993–1995	Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island.
104th	1995–1997	Jesse Helms, North Carolina.

*Chairmen of the Committee on Foreign Relations—Continued*

Congress	Dates	Senator
105th	1997–1999	Jesse Helms, North Carolina.
106th	1999–2001	Jesse Helms, North Carolina.

<sup>1</sup>On Apr. 24, 1970, Senator J.W. Fulbright became the longest-serving Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

## ***Appendix IV***

### ***Staff Directors of the Committee on Foreign Relations***

Following the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 the committee for the first time appointed a chief of staff (the title was changed to staff director in 1979). Those who have served in this position since 1947 are as follows:

1947–1955 .....	Francis O. Wilcox
1955–1973 .....	Carl M. Marcy
1974–1977 .....	Pat M. Holt
1977–1978 .....	Norvill Jones
1979–1980 .....	William B. Bader
	Albert A. Lakeland, Jr. (Minority)
1981–1983 .....	Edward G. Sanders
	Geryld B. Christianson (Minority)
1983–1984 .....	Scott Cohen
	Gerald B. Christianson (Minority)
1985–January 17, 1986 .....	Jeffrey T. Bergner
	Geryld B. Christianson (Minority)
January 20, 1986–1987 .....	M. Graeme Bannerman
	Geryld B. Christianson (Minority)
1987–1988 .....	Geryld B. Christianson
	James P. Lucier (Minority)
1989–1990 .....	Geryld B. Christianson
	James P. Lucier (Minority)
1991–1992 .....	Geryld B. Christianson
	James W. Nance (Minority)
1993–1994 .....	Geryld B. Christianson
	James W. Nance (Minority)
1995–1996 .....	James W. Nance
	Edwin K. Hall (Minority)
1997–1998 .....	James W. Nance
	Edwin K. Hall (Minority)
1998–1999 .....	James W. Nance, <sup>1</sup> Stephen E. Biegun <sup>2</sup>
	Edwin K. Hall (Minority)
1999–2000 .....	Stephen E. Biegun
	Edwin K. Hall (Minority)

<sup>1</sup>Deceased May 11, 1999

<sup>2</sup>Appointed May 24, 1999

## **Appendix V**

*Selected provisions of the Standing Rules of the Senate, relating to committee procedures.*

### RULE XXVI

#### COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

1. Each standing committee, including any subcommittee of any such committee is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to take such testimony and to make such expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate as may be authorized by resolutions of the Senate. Each such committee may make investigations into any matter within its jurisdiction, may report such hearings as may be had by it, and may employ stenographic assistance at a cost not exceeding the amount prescribed by the Committee on Rules and Administration.<sup>1</sup> The expenses of the committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

2. Each committee<sup>2</sup> shall adopt rules (not inconsistent with the Rules of the Senate) governing the procedure of such committee. The rules of each committee shall be published in the Congressional Record not later than March 1 of each year, except that if any such committee is established on or after February 1 of a year, the rules of that committee during the year of establishment shall be published in the Congressional Record not later than sixty days after such establishment. An amendment to the rules of any such committee shall be published in the Congressional Record not later than thirty days after the adoption of such amendment. If the Congressional Record is not published on the last day of any period referred to above, such period shall be extended until the first day thereafter on which it is published.

3. Each standing committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) shall fix regular weekly, biweekly, or monthly meeting days for the transaction of business before the committee and additional meetings may be called by the chairman as he may deem necessary. If at least three members of any such committee desire that

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<sup>1</sup> Pursuant to section 68c of title 2, United States Code, the Committee on Rules and Administration issues "Regulations Governing Rates Payable to Commercial Reporting Firms for Reporting Committee Hearings in the Senate." Copies of the regulations currently in effect may be obtained from the Committee.

<sup>2</sup> The term "each committee" when used in these rules includes standing, select, and special committees unless otherwise specified.

a special meeting of the committee be called by the chairman, those members may file in the offices of the committee their written request to the chairman for that special meeting. Immediately upon the filing of the request, the clerk of the committee shall notify the chairman of the filing of the request. If, within three calendar days after the filing of the request, the chairman does not call the requested special meeting, to be held within seven calendar days after the filing of the request, a majority of the members of the committee may file in the offices of the committee their written notice that a special meeting of the committee will be held, specifying the date and hour of that special meeting. The committee shall meet on that date and hour. Immediately upon the filing of the notice the clerk of the committee shall notify all members of the committee that such special meeting will be held and inform them of its date and hour. If the chairman of any such committee is not present at any regular, additional, or special meeting of the committee, the ranking member of the majority party on the committee who is present shall preside at that meeting.

4. (a) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on the Budget) shall make public announcement of the date, place, and subject matter of any hearing to be conducted by the committee on any measure or matter at least one week before the commencement of that hearing unless the committee determines that there is good cause to begin such hearing at an earlier date.

(b) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) shall require each witness who is to appear before the committee in any hearing to file with the clerk of the committee, at least one day before the date of the appearance of that witness, a written statement of his proposed testimony unless the committee chairman and the ranking minority member determine that there is good cause for noncompliance. If so requested by any committee, the staff of the committee shall prepare for the use of the members of the committee before each day of hearing before the committee a digest of the statements which have been so filed by witnesses who are to appear before the committee on that day.

(c) After the conclusion of each day of hearing, if so requested by any committee, the staff shall prepare for the use of the members of the committee a summary of the testimony given before the committee on that day. After approval by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the committee, each such summary may be printed as a part of the committee hearings if such hearings are ordered by the committee to be printed.

(d) Whenever any hearing is conducted by a committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) upon any measure or matter,

the minority on the committee shall be entitled, upon request made by a majority of the minority members to the chairman before the completion of such hearing to call witnesses selected by the minority to testify with respect to the measure or matter during at least one day of hearing thereon.

5. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of the rules, when the Senate is in session, no committee of the Senate or any subcommittee thereof may meet, without special leave, after the conclusion of the first two hours after the meeting of the Senate commenced and in no case after two o'clock post meridian unless consent therefor has been obtained from the majority leader and the minority leader (or in the event of the absence of either of such leaders, from his designee). The prohibition contained in the preceding sentence shall not apply to the Committee on Appropriations or the Committee on the Budget. The majority leader or his designee shall announce to the Senate whenever consent has been given under this subparagraph and shall state the time and place of such meeting. The right to make such announcement of consent shall have the same priority as the filing of a cloture motion.

(b) Each meeting of a committee, or any subcommittee thereof, including meetings to conduct hearings, shall be open to the public, except that a meeting or series of meetings by a committee or a subcommittee thereof on the same subject for a period of no more than fourteen calendar days may be closed to the public on a motion made and seconded to go into closed session to discuss only whether the matters enumerated in clauses (1) through (6) would require the meeting to be closed, followed immediately by a record vote in open session by a majority of the members of the committee or subcommittee when it is determined that the matters to be discussed or the testimony to be taken at such meeting or meetings—

(1) will disclose matters necessary to be kept secret in the interests of national defense or the confidential conduct of the foreign relations of the United States;

(2) will relate solely to matters of committee staff personnel or internal staff management or procedure;

(3) will tend to charge an individual with crime or misconduct, to disgrace or injure the professional standing of an individual, or otherwise to expose an individual to public contempt or obloquy or will represent a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of an individual;

(4) will disclose the identity of any informer or law enforcement agent or will disclose any information relating to the investigation or prosecution of a criminal offense that is required to be kept secret in the interests of effective law enforcement;

(5) will disclose information relating to the trade secrets of financial or commercial information pertaining specifically to a given person if—

(A) an Act of Congress requires the information to be kept confidential by Government officers and employees; or

(B) the information has been obtained by the Government on a confidential basis, other than through an application by such person for a specific Government financial or other benefit, and is required to be kept secret in order to prevent undue injury to the competitive position of such person; or

(6) may divulge matters required to be kept confidential under other provisions of law or Government regulations.

(c) Whenever any hearing conducted by any such committee or subcommittee is open to the public, that hearing may be broadcast by radio or television, or both, under rules as the committee or subcommittee may adopt.

(d) Whenever disorder arises during a committee meeting that is open to the public, or any demonstration of approval or disapproval is indulged in by any person in attendance at any such meeting, it shall be the duty of the Chair to enforce order on his own initiative and without any point of order being made by a Senator. When the Chair finds it necessary to maintain order, he shall have the power to clear the room, and the committee may act in closed session for so long as there is doubt of the assurance of order.

(e) Each committee shall prepare and keep a complete transcript or electronic recording adequate to fully record the proceeding of each meeting or conference whether or not such meeting or any part thereof is closed under this paragraph, unless a majority of its members vote to forgo such a record.

6. Morning meetings of committees and subcommittees thereof shall be scheduled for one or both of the periods prescribed in this paragraph. The first period shall end at eleven o'clock ante meridian. The second period shall begin at eleven o'clock ante meridian and end at two o'clock post meridian.

7. (a)(1) Except as provided in this paragraph, each committee, and each subcommittee thereof is authorized to fix the number of its members (but not less than one third of its entire membership) who shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of such business as may be considered by said committee, except that no measure or matter or recommendation shall be reported from any committee unless a majority of the committee were physically present.

(2) Each such committee, or subcommittee, is authorized to fix a lesser number than one-third of its entire membership who shall

constitute a quorum thereof for the purpose of taking sworn testimony.

(3) The vote of any committee to report a measure or matter shall require the concurrence of a majority of the members of the committee who are present. No vote of any member of any committee to report a measure or matter may be cast by proxy if rules adopted by such committee forbid the casting of votes for that purpose by proxy; however, proxies may not be voted when the absent committee member has not been informed of the matter on which he is being recorded and has not affirmatively requested that he be so recorded. Action by any committee in reporting any measure or matter in accordance with the requirements of this subparagraph shall constitute the ratification by the committee of all action theretofore taken by the committee with respect to that measure or matter, including votes taken upon the measure or matter or any amendment thereto, and no point of order shall lie with respect to that measure or matter on the ground that such previous action with respect thereto by such committee was not taken in compliance with such requirements.

(b) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) shall keep a complete record of all committee action. Such record shall include a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded. The results of roll call votes taken in any meeting of any committee upon any measure, or any amendment thereto, shall be announced in the committee report on that measure unless previously announced by the committee, and such announcement shall include a tabulation of the votes cast in favor of and the votes cast in opposition to each such measure and amendment by each member of the committee who was present at that meeting.

(c) Whenever any committee by roll call vote reports any measure or matter, the report of the committee upon such measure or matter shall include a tabulation of the votes cast by each member of the committee in favor of and in opposition to such measure or matter. Nothing contained in this subparagraph shall abrogate the power of any committee to adopt rules—

- (1) providing for proxy voting on all matters other than the reporting of a measure or matter, or
- (2) providing in accordance with subparagraph (a) for a lesser number as a quorum for any action other than the reporting of a measure or matter.

8. In order to assist the Senate in—

- (1) its analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of the application, administration, and execution of the laws enacted by the Congress, and

(2) its formulation, consideration, and enactment of such modifications of or changes in those laws, and of such additional legislation, as may be necessary or appropriate, each standing committee (except the committees on Appropriations and the Budget), shall review and study, on a continuing basis the application, administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the legislative jurisdiction of that committee. Such committees may carry out the required analysis, appraisal, and evaluation themselves, or by contract, or may require a Government agency to do so and furnish a report thereon to the Senate. Such committees may rely on such techniques as pilot testing, analysis of costs in comparison with benefits, or provision for evaluation after a defined period of time.

(b) In each odd-numbered year, each such committee shall submit not later than March 31, to the Senate, a report on the activities of that committee under this paragraph during the Congress ending at noon on January 3 of such year.

9. (a) Except as provided in subparagraph (b), each committee shall report one authorization resolution each year authorizing the committee to make expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate to defray its expenses, including the compensation of members of its staff and agency contributions related to such compensation, during the period beginning on March 1 of such year and ending on the last day of February of the following year. Such annual authorization resolution shall be reported not later than January 31 of each year, except that, whenever the designation of members of standing committees of the Senate occurs during the first session of a Congress at a date later than January 20, such resolution may be reported at any time within thirty days after the date on which the designation of such members is completed. After the annual authorization resolution of a committee for a year has been agreed to, such committee may procure authorization to make additional expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate during that year only by reporting a supplemental authorization resolution. Each supplemental authorization resolution reported by a committee shall amend the annual authorization resolution of such committee for that year and shall be accompanied by a report specifying with particularity the purpose for which such authorization is sought and the reason why such authorization could not have been sought at the time of the submission by such committee of its annual authorization resolution for that year.

(b) In lieu of the procedure provided in subparagraph (a), the Committee on Rules and Administration may—

(1) direct each committee to report an authorization resolution for a two year budget period beginning on March 1 of the first session of a Congress; and

(2) report one authorization resolution containing more than one committee authorization resolution for a one year or two year budget period.

10. (a) All committee hearings, records, data, charts, and files shall be kept separate and distinct from the congressional office records of the Member serving as chairman of the committee; and such records shall be the property of the Senate and all members of the committee and the Senate shall have access to such records. Each committee is authorized to have printed and bound such testimony and other data presented at hearings held by the committee.

(b) It shall be the duty of the chairman of each committee to report or cause to be reported promptly to the Senate any measure approved by his committee and to take or cause to be taken necessary steps to bring the matter to a vote. In any event, the report of any committee upon a measure which has been approved by the committee shall be filed within seven calendar days (exclusive of days on which the Senate is not in session) after the day on which there has been filed with the clerk of the committee a written and signed request of a majority of the committee for the reporting of that measure. Upon the filing of any such request, the clerk of the committee shall transmit immediately to the chairman of the committee notice of the filing of that request. This subparagraph does not apply to the Committee on Appropriations.

(c) If at the time of approval of a measure or matter by any committee (except for the Committee on Appropriations), any member of the committee gives notice of intention to file supplemental, minority, or additional views, that member shall be entitled to not less than three calendar days in which to file such views, in writing, with the clerk of the committee. All such views so filed by one or more members of the committee shall be included within, and shall be a part of, the report filed by the committee with respect to that measure or matter. The report of the committee upon that measure or matter shall be printed in a single volume which—

(1) shall include all supplemental, minority, or additional views which have been submitted by the time of the filing of the report, and

(2) shall bear upon its cover a recital that supplemental, minority, or additional views are included as part of the report.

This subparagraph does not preclude—

(A) the immediate filing and printing of a committee report unless timely request for the opportunity to file supplemental,

minority, or additional views has been made as provided by this subparagraph; or

(B) the filing by any such committee of any supplemental report upon any measure or matter which may be required for the correction of any technical error in a previous report made by that committee upon that measure or matter.

11. (a) The report accompanying each bill or joint resolution of a public character reported by any committee (except the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on the Budget) shall contain—

(1) an estimate, made by such committee, of the costs which would be incurred in carrying out such bill or joint resolution in the fiscal year in which it is reported and in each of the five fiscal years following such fiscal year (or for the authorized duration of any program authorized by such bill or joint resolution, if less than five years), except that, in the case of measures affecting the revenue, such reports shall require only an estimate of the gain or loss in revenues for a one-year period; and

(2) a comparison of the estimate of costs described in subparagraph (1) made by such committee with any estimate of costs made by any Federal agency; or

(3) in lieu of such estimate or comparison, or both, a statement of the reasons why compliance by the committee with the requirements of subparagraph (1) or (2), or both, is impracticable.

(b) each such report (except those by the Committee on Appropriations) shall also contain—

(1) an evaluation, made by such committee, of the regulatory impact which would be incurred in carrying out the bill or joint resolution. The evaluation shall include (A) an estimate of the numbers of individuals and businesses who would be regulated and a determination of the groups and classes of such individuals and businesses, (B) a determination of the economic impact of such regulation on the individuals, consumers, and businesses affected, (C) a determination of the impact of the personal privacy of the individuals affected, and (D) a determination of the amount of additional paperwork that will result from the regulations to be promulgated pursuant to the bill or joint resolution, which determination may include, but need not be limited to, estimates of the amount of time and financial costs required of affected parties, showing whether the effects of the bill or joint resolution could be substantial, as well as reasonable estimates of the recordkeeping requirements that may be associated with the bill or joint resolution; or

(2) in lieu of such evaluation, a statement of the reasons why compliance by the committee with the requirements of clause (1) is impracticable.

(c) It shall not be in order for the Senate to consider any such bill or joint resolution if the report of the committee on such bill or joint resolution does not comply with the provisions of subparagraphs (a) and (b) on the objection of any Senator.

12. Whenever a committee reports a bill or a joint resolution repealing or amending any statute or part thereof it shall make a report thereon and shall include in such report or in an accompanying document (to be prepared by the staff of such committee) (a) the text of the statute or part thereof which is proposed to be repealed; and (b) a comparative print of that part of the bill or joint resolution making the amendment and of the statute or part thereof proposed to be amended, showing by stricken through type and italics, parallel columns, or other appropriate typographical devices the omissions and insertions which would be made by the bill or joint resolution if enacted in the form recommended by the committee. This paragraph shall not apply to any such report in which it is stated that, in the opinion of the committee, it is necessary to dispense with the requirement of this subsection to expedite the business of the Senate—

13. (a) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) which has legislative jurisdiction shall, in its consideration of all bills and joint resolutions of a public character within its jurisdiction, endeavor to insure that—

(1) all continuing programs of the Federal Government and of the government of the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of such committee or joint committee, are designed; and

(2) all continuing activities of Federal agencies, within the jurisdiction of such committee or joint committee, are carried on;

so that, to the extent consistent with the nature, requirements, and objectives of those programs and activities, appropriations therefor will be made annually.

(b) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) shall with respect to any continuing program within its jurisdiction for which appropriations are not made annually, review such program, from time to time, in order to ascertain whether such program could be modified so that appropriations therefor would be made annually.

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***Appendix VII******Authorizing Resolution, S. Res. 310***105TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION**S. RES. 310**

Authorizing the printing of background information on the Committee on Foreign Relations as a Senate document.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 16 (legislative day, OCTOBER 2), 1998

Mr. HELMS (for himself and Mr. BIDEN) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to

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**RESOLUTION**

Authorizing the printing of background information on the Committee on Foreign Relations as a Senate document.

1 SECTION 1. PRINTING OF BACKGROUND INFORMATION RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

5 The Public Printer shall print—  
6 (1) as a Senate document a compilation of materials, with illustrations, entitled “Background Information on the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate (7th Revised Edition)”;   
7  
8  
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