

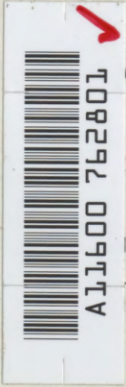
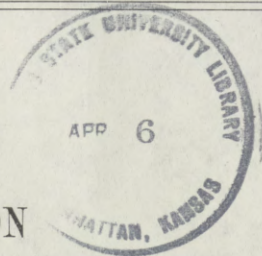
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REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

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HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PENDING RULES OF THE SENATE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION
ON

S. Con. Res. 2

ESTABLISHING A JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE
ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

AND

S. 1208

ESTABLISHING A COMMISSION ON
CONGRESSIONAL REORGANIZATION

FEBRUARY 24 AND MARCH 1, 1965

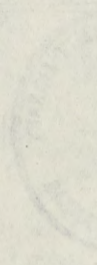
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CONTENTS

	Page
Texts of Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 and S. 1208-----	1
Statement of—	
Hon. A. S. Mike Monroney, a U.S. Senator from the State of Okla- homa-----	5
Hon. Clifford P. Case, a U.S. Senator from the State of New Jersey--	20
Hon. Robert McClory, a Representative in Congress from the 12th District of Illinois-----	28
Hon. Gordon D. Allott, a U.S. Senator from the State of Colorado--	33
Hon. Gale W. McGee, a U.S. Senator from the State of Wyoming---	38
Written statement of—	
Hon. Alan Bible, a U.S. Senator from the State of Nevada-----	44
Hon. Jack Miller, a U.S. Senator from the State of Iowa-----	45
Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, a U.S. Senator from the State of Massa- chusetts-----	45
Hon. Hugh Scott, a U.S. Senator from the State of Pennsylvania---	46

APPENDIX

Exhibit 1.—Editorials submitted for the record by Senator A. S. Mike Monroney:	
“ A Big Job” (San Francisco Examiner, Dec. 20, 1964)-----	49
“Senator Speaks Up” (New York Times, Nov. 30, 1964)-----	49
“New Moses on the Hill?” (Washington Post, Nov. 26, 1964)-----	50
“On Modernizing Congress” (Syracuse Herald-Journal, Dec. 3, 1964)-	50
“Congressional Overhaul” (Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, Nov. 29, 1964)-----	51
“ A Blueprint for Congress” (Nashville Tennessean, Nov. 30, 1964) --	52
“Quill-Pen Congress” (Detroit News, Dec. 4, 1964)-----	52
“Rough Course for Monroney” (Tulsa Tribune, Nov. 30, 1964)-----	53
“Senator Monroney’s Reforms” (Washington Evening Star, Dec. 4, 1964)-----	54
“Reform of Congress Should Turn Its Focus on Quality” (Charlotte (N.C.) Observer, Dec. 7, 1964)-----	55
“ The Old 1946 Model” (St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Dec. 8, 1964)-	56
“ For a Modern Congress” (Hartford (Conn.) Times, Dec. 9, 1964)---	56
“Updating Congress Overdue” (St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch, Dec. 8, 1964)-----	57
“Modernizing Congress” (Portland Oregonian, Dec. 16, 1964)-----	58
“Congressional Reforms May Soon Be on Way” (Macon (Ga.) Tele- graph, Dec. 4, 1964)-----	58
“Congress Maps Reforms” (Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 11, 1964)-	59
“ What Can We Do About Congress?” by Ralph K. Huitt (Milwaukee Journal, Dec. 13, 1964)-----	60
“Visions of an Effective Congress” (Wilmington (Del.) News, Dec. 9, 1964)-----	63
“New Congress To Hear Many Proposals To Modernize Operations” (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Dec. 6, 1964)-----	64
Exhibit 2.—“The Congress and America’s Future,” report of the 26th American Assembly (submitted for the record by Senator Joseph S. Clark)-----	67
Exhibit 3.—Documents submitted for the record by Senator Gale W. McGee:	
Letter from Senator McGee to Senator Mike Monroney suggesting the establishment of a Senate sabbatical, February 10, 1965-----	73
Letter to Senator McGee from Evron M. Kirkpatrick, executive director, the American Political Science Association, February 23, 1965, enclosing “Proposal for Sabbatical Leave for Legislators”-----	74
Editorials:	
“Senate Sabbatical,” Casper (Wyoming) Tribune-Herald, Febru- ary 12, 1965-----	75
“ A Snowball-in-Hell Idea,” Capitol Hill magazine, February 1965-	76

CONTENTS

1	Introduction
2	Chapter I. The History of the United States
3	Chapter II. The Constitution of the United States
4	Chapter III. The Federal Government
5	Chapter IV. The State Governments
6	Chapter V. The Local Governments
7	Chapter VI. The Judiciary
8	Chapter VII. The Executive
9	Chapter VIII. The Legislative
10	Chapter IX. The Administration
11	Chapter X. The Public Opinion
12	Chapter XI. The Foreign Relations
13	Chapter XII. The Economic Conditions
14	Chapter XIII. The Social Conditions
15	Chapter XIV. The Cultural Conditions
16	Chapter XV. The Future of the United States

REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1965

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON STANDING RULES
OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:20 p.m., in room 301, Old Senate Office Building, Senator Carl Hayden (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator Hayden.

Also present: Senator Joseph S. Clark, and Kent Watkins, staff director of the subcommittee.

Also present: Gordon F. Harrison, staff director, Committee on Rules and Administration; Hugh Q. Alexander, chief counsel; Walter L. Mote, professional staff member; John P. Coder, professional staff member; and Lew Hastings, professional staff member.

Senator HAYDEN. The hearing will be in order. This morning the subcommittee will consider testimony on bills dealing with congressional reorganization. After certain institutional prescriptions were laid down in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, we inevitably found that human nature began to deviate from these structures and politically significant discrepancies appeared between the formal arrangements and what the behavior really was. It seems appropriate that we should take another look at this relationship in an effort to insure a more effective Congress in the tripartite system. At this point I will insert into the record the texts of the two bills under consideration—Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 and S. 1208.

(The texts of S. Con. Res. 2 and S. 1208 are as follows:)

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. CON. RES. 2

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 6, 1965

Mr. MONRONEY (for himself, Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. CURTIS, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. FANNIN, Mr. FONG, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. HART, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. JORDAN of Idaho, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MCCLELLAN, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MORTON, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. NELSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. PEARSON, Mr. PELL, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. SMATHERS, Mrs. SMITH, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. TOWER, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. YARBOROUGH, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), that there is hereby established a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress (hereinafter referred to as the committee) to be composed of six Members of

the Senate (not more than three of whom shall be members of the majority party) to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and six Members of the House of Representatives (not more than three of whom shall be members of the majority party) to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members. No recommendation shall be made by the committee except upon a majority vote of the Members representing each House, taken separately.

SEC. 2. The committee shall make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress of the United States and shall recommend improvements in such organization and operation with a view toward strengthening the Congress, simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with other branches of the United States Government, and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the Constitution. This study shall include, but shall not be limited to, the organization and operation of each House of the Congress; the relationship between the two Houses; the relationships between the Congress and other branches of the Government; the employment and remuneration of officers and employees of the respective Houses and offices and employees of the committees and Members of Congress; and the structure of, and the relationships between, the various standing, special, and select committees of the Congress: *Provided*, That nothing in this concurrent resolution shall be construed to authorize the committee to make any recommendations with respect to the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, and/or precedents of either House, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House: *Provided further*, That the language employed herein shall not prohibit the committee from studying and recommending the consolidations and reorganizations of committees.

SEC. 3. (a) The committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Eighty-ninth Congress, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures, as it deems advisable.

(b) The committee is empowered to appoint and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, technicians, and clerical and stenographic assistants as it deems necessary and advisable.

(c) The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$150,000 through January 31, 1966, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers signed by the chairman.

(d) The committee shall report from time to time to the Senate and the House of Representatives the results of its study, together with its recommendations, the first report being made not later than one hundred and twenty days after the effective date of this concurrent resolution. If the Senate, the House of Representatives, or both, are in recess or have adjourned, the report shall be made to the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives, or both, as the case may be. All reports and findings of the committee shall, when received, be referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate and the appropriate committees of the House.

S. 1208

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 18 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 17), 1965

Mr. CASE introduced the following bill: which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

A BILL

To establish a Commission on Congressional Reorganization, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Commission on Congressional Reorganization Act".

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE AND POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) It is the purpose of this Act to provide for a comprehensive and impartial study of the organization and functioning of the Congress through establishment of a Commission on Congressional Reorganization charged with the duty of determining means and measures for the improvement of the legislative processes of the Congress in the public interest.

(b) It is the sense of the Congress that each Member of the Congress, each officer and employee of every committee of the Congress or of either House thereof, and each officer and employee of every department, agency, and instrumentality of the United States should render all practicable assistance to such Commission for the prompt, effective, and impartial performance of its duties.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION ON CONGRESSIONAL REORGANIZATION

SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby established a bipartisan commission to be known as the Commission on Congressional Reorganization (referred to hereinafter as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of twelve members as follows:

(1) Three appointed by the President of the Senate from Members of the Senate;

(2) Three appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives from Members of the House of Representatives; and

(3) Six appointed by the President of the United States from individuals in private life who are specially qualified by training and experience to contribute to the solution of problems of public administration or the functioning of legislative bodies.

(c) Not more than two members of the Commission appointed from Members of the Senate, and not more than two members of the Commission appointed from Members of the House of Representatives, may be members of the same political party. Not more than three members of the Commission appointed by the President of the United States may be members of the same political party.

(d) Vacancies in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(e) The Commission shall elect a Chairman and a Vice Chairman from among its members.

(f) Seven members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) Members of the Congress who are members of the Commission shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as Members of Congress, but they shall be reimbursed by the Commission for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties of the Commission.

(c) Each member of the Commission appointed from private life shall receive compensation at the rate of \$75 per diem for each day on which he is engaged in the performance of duties of the Commission, and shall be reimbursed by the Commission for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by him in the performance of such duties.

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. (a) The Commission may appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable in accordance with the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949.

(b) The Commission may procure, without regard to the civil service laws and the classification laws, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as authorized for the departments by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810; 5 U.S.C. 55a), but at rates not to exceed \$50 per diem for individuals.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. (a) The Commission shall make a comprehensive and impartial study of the present organization of the Congress and the functioning of the legislative and investigative processes thereof with a view to determining means and measures whereby those processes may be improved in the public interest.

(b) Such study shall include, but shall not be limited to, a full and complete consideration of each of the following topics:

- (1) The scheduling of measures for consideration and action;
- (2) The structure, staffing, and operation of congressional committees;
- (3) The workload of the Congress and the committees thereof;
- (4) Congressional rules and floor procedures;
- (5) Conflicts of interest of Members of the Congress;
- (6) The term of office of Members of the House of Representatives;
- (7) Communications, travel, and other allowances of Members of the Congress;
- (8) The financing of congressional election campaigns;
- (9) The duties of Members of Congress incident to the appointment of postmasters and the making of appointments to military service academies and other Government academies;
- (10) The legislative oversight of the administration of laws;
- (11) The strengthening of the congressional power of the purse; and
- (12) The operation and effectiveness of existing laws with respect to lobbying.

(c) During the course of its study, the Commission may submit to the Congress such reports as the Commission may consider advisable. On or before March 31, 1966, the Commission shall make a final report of its findings and recommendations to the Congress. The Commission shall cease to exist sixty days after the submission of its final report to the Congress.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 7. (a) (1) The Commission or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof may, for the purpose of carrying out its duties under this Act, hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, administer such oaths, and require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses, and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents as the Commission or such subcommittee may deem advisable. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the Chairman or Vice Chairman, or any duly designated member, and may be served by any person designated by the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, or such member.

(2) In the case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena issued under paragraph (1) of this subsection by any person (other than a Member of the Congress or a member of the staff of any committee of the Congress or of either House thereof) who resides, is found, or transacts business within the jurisdiction of any district court of the United States, the United States court of any possession of the United States, or the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, such court, upon application made by the Attorney General of the United States, shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission or a subcommittee thereof, there to produce evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under inquiry. Any failure of any such person to obey any such order of the court may be punished by the court as a contempt thereof.

(b) Upon request made by the Chairman or the Vice Chairman, the Commission may procure such information, advice, and assistance as it deems necessary to carry out its functions under this Act from—

- (1) Any Member of the Congress, with the consent of such Member;
- (2) Any joint committee of the Congress, or any committee of either House of the Congress, with the consent of the chairman of such committee; or
- (3) Any department, agency, or instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government, or any independent agency of the United States, with the consent of the head thereof.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 8. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Commission, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Senator HAYDEN. We are pleased to have with us the coauthor of the 1946 act, Senator Monroney, who is the chief sponsor of a similar measure this year. Senator, would you like to proceed?

**STATEMENT OF HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM
THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA**

Senator MONRONEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I want to express my appreciation for the promptness with which you have directed your committee's attention to Senate Concurrent Resolution 2—a measure which is as deserving of immediate action as any other pressing and vital issue before the Congress.

Unless the Congress subjects its organization and operation to piercing scrutiny and changes some of its methods, it will not be able to fulfill its responsibilities for today's workload and resolve the perplexing problems with which it is faced.

I am sure that the 49 Members of the House—34 Democrats and 15 Republicans—who have sponsored similar resolutions, and the 56 Members of the Senate—31 Democrats and 22 Republicans—who have sponsored my resolution are equally gratified at the promptness of this Rules Committee.

I do not intend to go into detail on the myriad proposals for reform and reorganization which have been made. The committee is already aware of the number and content of many of these proposals. There will be many more, and I am sure that their sponsors will appear before the joint committee we are proposing.

The majority of the Senate and the 49 House Members sponsoring the creation of the joint committee are evidence of the need for action now. They represent the expressions of discontent with our current organization and operation, plus the ideas of the farsighted, who envision a future which may pass the Congress by.

I would, however, like to submit for the record a copy of the statement I made on the floor of the Senate the day I introduced this resolution.

Mr. Chairman, the language and the purpose of Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 should have a ring of familiarity to you and the other members of the committee, for it is virtually identical to the resolution sponsored in this body by the late and distinguished Senator Robert La Follette and by myself in the House, which was adopted by the Rules Committees of both Houses in 1945.

The resolution would establish a joint committee of the Congress to be composed of six Members of the Senate, appointed by the President of the Senate, and six Members of the House, appointed by the Speaker. Not more than three Members from each House could be from the majority party, thus insuring an impartial and bipartisan inquiry in keeping with the bipartisanship exhibited by the current sponsorship of the resolution. The chairman and vice chairman of the joint committee would be elected by the committee members.

The committee would be authorized—

- (1) To hold hearings;
- (2) To make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress; and
- (3) To recommend improvements with a view toward strengthening its operations, improving its relationships with other branches of the Government, and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the Constitution.

The differences between my resolution and the 1945 resolution are of a technical nature relating to expenses of the committee and limitations on staff and stenographic help. The amount authorized for expenditure, \$150,000, is substantially greater than that authorized in the 1945 resolution.

This additional funding would enable the joint committee to obtain the very best technical help in the fields of accounting, management, and electronic data processing.

I believe such consultation is going to be needed if the joint committee is to undertake a thorough analysis of appropriations and budgetary procedures, to make sure that Congress does not let the power of the purse slip from its grasp.

One of the most important provisions in the resolution from a practical and realistic standpoint is the proviso which prohibits the committee from making any recommendations with respect to the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices and/or precedents of either House, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House. This is the same as the proviso contained in the resolution which created the joint committee in 1945.

I realize that there are many rules and precedents in both Houses which contribute to delay and inefficiency, but I am also aware that each House makes its own rules and neither can change or modify the rules of the other. Any attempt to do so would be futile and would endanger the prospects for timely passage of other urgently needed modifications.

This approach enabled us in 1946 to achieve the first significant reorganization in six decades. Its strength lies in not prejudging the issues, in considering all measures which would strengthen the Congress, and in reserving to each House the right to change or not change those rules and procedures peculiar to it. Different approaches have been tried in the past 20 years, but all have failed to achieve the goal of broad reorganization.

Most of our internal problems are not dramatic. A grand slam spectacular way to improve the functioning of democracy is not the purpose of this resolution. Reform will, or may, come through 25 or 50 or even 100 changes, each contributing its share to modernization.

There are other strong reasons for the adoption of the joint committee approach. It is a fact of congressional life that we have in the past avoided as long as possible taking a close look at ourselves and admitting that things are wrong—slipshod or ineffective. And even when we were pushed to the point of doing just that, there were always other important pieces of legislation to which we gave priority.

Part of this congressional inaction has been due to the piecemeal approach used in trying to achieve even modest reorganizations. A civil rights dispute or a foreign aid debate always seems to intervene to keep us from focusing our attention on the problems of Congress itself. It is a lot like a person approaching middle age—he turns his head when he passes a mirror so he will not have to look at the wrinkles or grayness which are evidence of his lost youth.

A joint committee serves to emphasize the importance of the undertaking—to become a focal point. It provides a forum where Members of Congress, as well as experts from the academic community and other areas can present their views. It serves to generate new and

additional thinking both within the Congress and from outside sources and to keep enthusiasm at a high pitch.

I think I am honest in saying that it takes a lot of momentum toward reorganization to keep the attention of the Congress focused on the subject. The history of reorganization proposals in this century will support me. I do not believe we can achieve any significant, across-the-board changes, both major and minor, unless we adopt the joint committee approach.

There is strong support for the study and review of Congress authorized by my resolution, not only from Members of Congress, but from political scientists and from editorial writers and commentators across the land.

It has been 20 years since we took the last close hard look at ourselves. It is time to do so again. I need not dwell on the vast changes which have occurred in every other phase of our life and our Government during the past 20 years—for you have lived through these years and have seen those changes with me. I think you must have wondered along with me at times whether the Congress was up to the task of meeting its great responsibilities.

The Congress must deal with a range of subjects as far reaching and diverse as all human experience. The making of laws in a democracy has become by far the most complex, the most sophisticated, manufacturing process ever developed by man. It grows more complex and more sophisticated daily. It is a process involving the careful mixing of many skills and many talents, combined with diligence and inspiration.

You really cannot compare the lawmaking machinery with any other assembly line or creative procedure. The genius, the mechanics, the chemistry, and the brainpower that combine in the lawmaking technique cannot be blueprinted precisely. But those of us who are part of the process can see flaws. A need for innovation and modernization is apparent to all.

If a new motor oil is developed or a more efficient brake produced, we have no hesitancy in having them installed in our automobiles. If ways can be developed to make the Congress run more smoothly, increase the horsepower and productivity, we should not hesitate to put them into effect.

We should not make changes for the sake of changes alone. But we must recognize that changes are demanded and made in response to needs.

I love the traditions of the Congress. I think that for the most part our procedures and our structure are sound. However, I can detect some creaks that have developed.

I think we should also remember that the tradition which we cherish so much today in many instances represented drastic departures in their time from past procedures and traditions. They were established to meet existing needs and their utility and effectiveness were necessarily restricted by the human limitations on the vision of the persons who proposed them. What was effective and efficient in the congressional climate of a hundred years ago may very well be just the reverse today.

In a sense the resolution which I propose today represents the strongest tradition of our heritage and is designed to make sure that

this tradition shall continue. Our forefathers were not afraid of change. They had great foresight and vision, and had no fear of departing from the habits and practices of the past. They were adaptable and flexible and provided us with a living document—our Constitution—which is admired by all peoples throughout the world who aspire to a sound and stable form of government.

This is our great tradition and our great challenge—to have the most modern and representative government in the world—one in which the people have the utmost confidence and through which their goals can be achieved; for the Congress is the voice of the people, and, as the people's representatives, it is our sworn duty to make that voice heard and keep it on par with other branches of our Government and with the other nations of the world.

While it may well be a painful process for us who are in the Congress to take that look in the mirror, and to see ourselves as others see us, we must do it, and we must not shrink from the greatest traditions of our past by refusing to contemplate change.

It is my fervent hope that this joint committee study can begin within a few weeks. It is a big job, and I would hope that it could be undertaken in such a way as not to interfere too much with the many other committee chores which the members of this joint committee will have in coming months.

Editorial support for modernization and reorganization of Congress has come from all parts of the Nation—from small and large newspapers, from California and New York, from Georgia and Michigan, from Tennessee and Oklahoma.

Such widespread newspaper support was vitally important in 1945 and 1946 when we were working on the Legislative Reorganization Act of that period. I am sure that general editorial enthusiasm for this new reorganization act shows public concern about the burdens of Congress and in turn will help to build public support for modernization of our methods.

The editorials I ask to have printed in the record of the hearing at this point are from the following newspapers, and I list their editors:

- The Tulsa Tribune, Tulsa, Okla., Jenkin Lloyd Jones.
- San Francisco Examiner, San Francisco, Calif., Dick Pearce.
- The New York Times, New York, N.Y., John Oakes.
- Syracuse Herald-Journal, Syracuse, N.Y., Alexander F. "Casey" Jones.
- Cedar Rapids Gazette, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Jarry E. Boyd.
- Nashville Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn., John Siegenthaler.
- Detroit News, Detroit, Mich., Martin S. Hayden.
- Washington Post, Washington, D.C., James Russell Wiggins.
- The Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Newbold Noyes.
- The Charlotte Observer, Charlotte, N.C., C. A. McKnight.
- St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Mo., Robert Lasch.
- Hartford Times, Hartford, Conn., Robert W. Lucas.
- St. Paul Dispatch, St. Paul, Minn., Herbert L. Lewis.
- Portland Oregonian, Portland, Oreg., Robert C. Notson.
- The Macon Telegraph, Macon, Ga., William A. Ott.

Articles with editorial comment which I would like to insert in the record are from the Christian Science Monitor, by Richard L. Strout;

the Milwaukee Journal, by Prof. Ralph K. Huitt, director of a 2-year study of Congress being conducted by the American Political Science Association under a grant from the Carnegie Corp.; and the Wilmington (Del.) News, by Columnist James J. Kilpatrick, and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, by James Deakin.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to put into the record these editorials I mentioned and also my statement on the Senate floor when I introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 2.

Senator HAYDEN. It may be done.

(The editorials referred to may be found as exhibit 1 in the appendix to these hearings. The statement of Senator Monroney on the Senate floor is as follows:)

CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS—PROPOSED REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1965

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a concurrent resolution to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress of the United States. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution lie on the table until January 8 in order to permit other Members who may wish to do so to join as cosponsors.

In respect to the letter I wrote to each Member of the Senate, enclosing a copy of the resolution, 47 Senators have indicated a desire to be cosponsors. I am greatly heartened by the support for this resolution.

The resolution provides for a committee composed of six Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate and six Members of the House appointed by the Speaker. Not more than three Members from each House could be of the majority party. The committee would be directed to make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress and to submit recommendations designed to strengthen and streamline congressional procedures and operations with a view toward improving the relationship of Congress with the other branches of our tripartite National Government. Constitutional responsibilities of the Congress will thus be maintained in an improved manner.

As I have previously stated, this resolution is almost identical to the concurrent resolution sponsored by the late Senator La Follette and myself which was passed by the Congress in 1945. The differences are of a technical nature and relate to expenses of the committee and limitations on staff and stenographic help. The joint committee established in 1945 made recommendations which were the basis for the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946—which was the first major reorganization of Congress in 60 years. Now that 20 years have passed, the Congress is again in need of major reorganization.

Congress has always been, and I hope Congress always will be, an institution capable of adapting to new conditions and new needs. The work of Congress changes as the world changes. To a major degree, the responsibilities of the Members of the Congress have become far more complex as our society and our economic system have increased in complexity. In this era of fantastic technological and engineering advancement Congress must deal with myriad problems and matters as diverse as the elements that go into the makeup of our civilization and social order.

Without hesitation we now must delve into the difficulties associated with the great adventures of our time, discussing lunar landings and fly-bys past Mars and supersonic airplanes that will span the Atlantic in 2½ hours. We must appropriate billions upon billions for missiles with intercontinental ranges and for hundreds of other terribly important defense and security items. Yet Congress maintains, and must always maintain, the beautiful and orderly traditions, precedents and procedures that are the heritage of the legislative branch from the great days of Webster and Calhoun and other illustrious leaders of the past.

This proposed study of various means of renovating and updating our congressional operating techniques need not do violence or damage of the slightest kind to either the traditions or the more efficient aspects of the Congress. We reverse the traditions such as the snuff-boxes there in the front of the Chamber. These nice but uncomfortable chairs, these old-fashioned but charming mahogany desks, the blotting sand and the archaic inkwells—these are great tra-

ditions and they do not detract to the slightest degree from the diligent pursuit of our duties.

However, there are other aspects of the Congress not so charming and not so visible as its furnishings and decor. Some of these traditions now interfere with our work to a degree that they should be examined at length.

Certainly the American people expect the Congress to improve its performance. Many citizens are convinced that there are better ways to handle, or perhaps even to balance, the \$100 billion budget through modern accounting and computer techniques.

Many citizens wonder why the Congress, with so much on its agenda, continues to hold a Tuesday to Thursday schedule most weeks. Thousands upon thousands of Capitol visitors have been puzzled when they visit the galleries expecting to hear a debate on a tax bill that has been publicized widely throughout the land, but instead find one or two lonely Members on the floor of this Chamber discussing something entirely different—say, perhaps, an amendment to the fishing laws for the District of Columbia. We who serve in Congress have always found ourselves to be consistent targets for jokesters and cartoonists. The lampoonings and caricatures, however, are beginning to wear thin. There is a strident and persistent demand for improved congressional practices.

I need not remind any of my colleagues that the problems of 1965 are far different from the problems of 1955 or 1945 or 1925 or 1905. There was a time when Congress would ordinarily meet for only 3 or 4 months each year. It would take up a few bills, some about tariffs, some about rivers and harbors, maybe passing legislation to build a few new post offices, and then adjourn for 9 months.

Our workload in this era defies simple description. The Congress must be responsible for policies affecting virtually every facet of human affairs. This is a big country and it is growing. Its problems have grown larger as it has expanded to become the leader of the free world. We cannot expect our problems to grow any easier or our solutions to be less difficult to arrive at. Congress must be prepared for the responsibilities ahead. As the Nation grows in strength and security, so must Congress prove stronger and more efficient as a bulwark of our national system.

I hardly need remind you also that the 100 Senators with staff assistants and the 435 Members of the House of Representatives and their assistants total fewer than the number required to run the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The cost of operating the entire Congress, \$89 million—Members' and staff assistants' salaries and other associated expenses, exclusive of building costs—totals less than the cost of the Federal Fish and Wildlife Service, \$110 million.

Yet, Congress is expected to hold up its share of the responsibility in our tripartite system of government. It must hold hearings and allocate the funds for all 2,300 departments, agencies, offices and bureaus of Government, containing nearly two and a half million employees. It must by law raise the necessary taxes to meet these costs, plus the tens of billions needed for global defense and the exploration of space. It must be as expert as possible on whether our Gemini or Apollo capsules can compare with their Russian counterparts.

It must provide for trade policies that will build up our exports, yet guard against tariffs so low that they destroy domestic markets. It must maintain a balance of payments favorable to the United States, but at the same time permit huge expenditures, both public and private, in dozens of foreign countries.

Proposals dealing with the taxes, trade, transportation, and health of our 190 million Americans account for a large proportion of bills. But on top of this duty is the enormous problem of passing on appropriations bills to allocate funds for all the Government agencies and installations. With the budget now ranging toward \$100 billion, this job alone is enough to consume nearly half the time of the Congress, if we are to justify every item and ask all the questions that might reveal any waste or extravagance.

Only through specialization can Members of Congress qualify as experts in any single field of governmental activity. Yet every Member of Congress, regardless of whether he has undertaken a specialty or not, has to assume responsibility in connection with the entire gamut of Federal problems, domestic and international. This across-the-board responsibility sometimes gives the executive branch an advantage, for most of our people in the various executive departments work only in limited and specialized fields. Their programs and plans take form usually after long intraagency conferences and considerations. By contrast, the work of the Congress, from the beginning of hearings on a bill until its final passage, is done in a goldfish bowl under the glare of worldwide news media

coverage. When a department or agency miscues, it often can make quiet corrections behind the scenes. But when Congress makes a boo-boo, it is on the 6 o'clock news and the front pages everywhere.

When Senator Robert M. La Follette and I started to work on the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, we thought that the capacity of the Congress then had been stretched to the limit. Coming out of World War II, we had little idea that the workload, which then seemed enormous, would continue to grow with each new year.

Twenty years ago, about the time the first Reorganization Act was being launched, the Congress received 6,539 bills. This was in the 1st session of the 78th Congress.

Ten years later, in 1953, the 1st session of the 83d Congress received 10,695 bills, and, in 1959, in the 1st session of the 86th, it received a total of 13,847 bills in both Houses. In the 1st session of the 88th a total of 14,168 bills were introduced.

I am reciting these figures as proof that Congress needs to remodel its legislative machinery, with proper procedures for committee action and floor debate, to do a better job on the mammoth problems that are thrust upon it for settlement each year. These are the problems that require days and sometimes weeks of study to be sure that the jokers and mistakes are discovered and eliminated before a new law is passed.

There are many ways in which Congress could improve its machinery—some involving major changes, others of a minor nature. The proposed joint committee could take testimony on these suggested changes and make recommendations to the Congress. The areas of major importance, in my opinion, which require immediate attention are:

First. Congressional procedure for dealing with the Federal budget.

Second. Committee operation.

Third. Earlier adjournment or specified recess periods.

Fourth. Reducing the individual Member's caseload.

In addition to these major changes, there are many minor changes which could be made to strengthen Congress and simplify its operation. Among them are:

First. Hiring an architect for the Capitol who is really a distinguished architect in his own right—someone with great talent and imagination.

Second. Hiring a construction manager to oversee all construction work on Capitol Hill or calling upon the services of the Corps of Engineers or the GSA's building department.

Third. Hiring a business manager who would be responsible for the operations of all Capitol buildings and would keep them as clean as the capitol buildings in many of the smaller nations as a result of diligent housekeeping work.

Fourth. Putting the Capitol guides under civil service—and with retirement for their accumulated service.

This, perhaps, is the only Capitol in the world where the people—who pay the expenses of running the Government—are charged a 25-cent fee for the privilege of viewing the operation of the people's branch of the Government, which is the Congress.

All of these things—both major and minor—should be considered by a joint committee of the Congress.

The greatest problem the Congress has is dealing annually with a Federal budget of \$100 billion. Congress does not have the proper tools to do the job.

Today, the Appropriations Committees and their staffs wrestle with a task that is impossible with our present machinery. We are literally attempting to run a business 10 times as large as A.T. & T., the Santa Fe Railroad, and General Motors combined, with machinery as obsolete as a quill pen, a slanting book-keeper's desk and an old-fashioned high stool.

There are ways in which automatic data processing could be brought in to serve as an invaluable aid in assembling, comparing and consolidating Government expenditure figures, bringing them in line with good management practices, I am not an auditor, but I am sure we would find the talent to give such modernization and automation a good try. Hundreds of thousands of accounts must be examined. The magnitude of the task by the old method of oral testimony is beyond the capacity of the human mind to absorb the hundreds of thousands of words that are taken down in shorthand and transcribed at all these various hearings.

The primary function of the Congress is still the exercise of power of the purse. I repeat, the powers of the purse rest only in the Congress.

If we use this power well, we can and will be able to control the size of Government, its activities, and the number of people who find their way on or off the payroll. This is the major responsibility given to the Congress by the Constitution. We dare not fail in this assignment.

In addition to seeking ways to improve accounting machinery through automation, many good, bad, and mediocre suggestions have been made along many lines. They should be studied carefully. Only such a study can separate the good suggestions from the bad.

First. Establish a joint committee on the budget, composed of both House and Senate Members and a joint staff of experts. They could advise and assist the regular Appropriations Committees in fixing the funding levels of Government agencies.

Second. Prepare a legislative budget. This was provided in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, but it was never carried out. It would empower the Congress to set a ceiling for its total appropriations at the outset of each session in order to fit the separate bills into the overall plan and into a balanced budget.

Third. Consolidate our present 13 separate appropriations bills into a single annual consolidated general appropriation act, carrying funds for all Government departments.

This was tried once in the fifties and was abandoned, I believe, after one session.

Fourth. Divide appropriation bill responsibility between House and Senate. Each House would originate half the bills, thus avoiding delay in passage until late in the session each year. This perhaps would be another controversial suggestion, but it is offered only as another suggestion that may be available for study.

Fifth. Establish in the Bureau of the Budget a special personnel section, whose principal duty would be to screen minutely—I repeat, screen minutely—requests for additional Federal employees. They should also plan for better utilization of existing Government workers.

Sixth. Provide for a separate session each year to consider only the appropriation bills.

Seventh. Extend appropriation bills to cover 2-year periods so that Congress could concentrate on legislation in one session and appropriations in the next, with provisions for emergencies.

Eighth. Require all legislative bills to authorize new expenditures to be accompanied by a report specifying the annual cost of such program.

Ninth. Amend House rules to restrict back-door spending.

Tenth. Limit the use of supplemental and deficiency appropriation bills to emergency needs.

Eleventh. Require a yea-and-nay vote on all appropriation bills.

I again emphasize that these are only a few of the many proposals that may be suggested and considered carefully at the hearings.

Certainly the passage of appropriation bills before the beginning of the fiscal year on July 1 would encourage better management of Government departments. With the public closely aware of the congressional duty to control the expenditures of Government, the failure properly to exercise this most important function has brought heavy criticism upon the Congress.

At fault, primarily, are the systems used to control expenditures. The staff members for the Appropriations Committees of both Houses are of highest caliber and experience. But no matter how skilled or experienced any staff member is—or any Congressman or Senator for that matter—he is unable to get on top of and know every item in an appropriation bill totaling \$50 billions of dollars, or in the case of other than defense appropriations, ranging downward from that figure to amounts ranging from \$5 to \$10 billion.

An improvement in systems, with data processing and other accounting aids, plus the addition of auditors to simplify the budget and to reveal clearly the expenditures provided by the bills, is long overdue. A few dollars spent for added staff and added organization of the budget requests into clearly understandable accounts would pay off 100 times its cost.

Under such a system, if it can be worked out, we can quickly identify the peaks and valleys of costs, and place individual responsibility for high costs on the administrators of such departments. Today we have no comparative analysis whatsoever. The administrative spenders and the administrative savers all look alike in today's appropriation system.

The level of appropriations and the care with which funds are granted influence the quality of government as much as any regulatory laws that are passed. Reform in this field would bring great credit upon the Congress.

Another area where great improvement could be made is in committee operations. The committees are the heart and key to any improvement in congressional machinery. As the committee work is improved, the speed and efficiency of handling legislation will be greatly accelerated. The holdup of our legislative program last session in the Senate, and I suspect in the House, was often caused by logjams in the committees. Until the bills are reported to the House or Senate by the standing committees, they cannot be considered on the floor.

The key point in the passage of all legislation is at the committee level. Ninety-five percent of the bills approved by committees are passed by the House or Senate, and the committee versions generally remain 95 percent unchanged. No bill is likely to pass unless it has committee approval. Therefore, the quality of committee work and the expedition of its business are of primary importance to the legislative process.

This importance is recognized in the great variety of proposals for improving committee procedures. Two proposals were adopted by the Senate in the last Congress—one to permit committees to sit during the morning hour and the other establishing a rule of germaneness. Both are helpful in speeding up the handling of bills.

Other proposals among many for improving the committee system that may be studied include:

First. The selection of committee chairmen by secret ballot rather than by the rules of seniority. A few hazards of the present system are evident. Those Senators who can continue to be reelected move inexorably toward the chairmanship, where they can prevent or at least delay consideration of major legislation referred to their committees, regardless of the overwhelming national interest. Yet most of the substitutes, including the proposed selection by secret ballot, have their own hazards, and can split the committee members into splinters of special interest. Perhaps some plan or compromise that would retain the rule of seniority but limit the chairman's term, perhaps by years. At the end of his term the chairmanship could be passed along to the next senior Member. I have seen the suggestion that the chairmanship should be limited by age—65 or 70. Certainly care should be taken so only future chairmen would be affected by such suggestions.

Second. Permit a majority of a committee to convene meetings, consider matters within their jurisdiction, and end debate by moving the previous question, in other words, bring the matter to a vote. This is another way of limiting the power of the chairman.

Third. Changing the method of assigning Members to committees. The majority members of the Ways and Means Committee perform this task in the House and seems to meet with little criticism. In the Senate, however, the party steering committees make the decisions, and our system is under heavy attack.

These first three proposals should be studied and thoughtfully considered, although their attainment would be difficult since they are so loaded with political controversy.

Turning to the more attainable, we should perhaps consider:

First. Realining some of the committee jurisdictions to achieve a better balanced workload.

Second. Limiting as near as possible House Members to one major committee, and Senate Members to two major committees.

Third. Providing more time for committee hearings early in the session.

The convening of certain committees, say on December 1, to hold hearings and be ready to report proposed legislation when the Senate and the House are organized on January 3 or 4 would certainly start us off to work when we are bright eyed and full of vim and vigor, instead of getting underway on the legislative program about March 1 or 15.

Fourth. Providing more staff specialists for committees dealing with technical matters—military, space, medical research.

Fifth. Establishing more careful rules for the conduct of committee investigations.

In a representative form of government, it is extremely important that elected representatives have first hand knowledge of the views and desires of their constituencies. Under our tripartite system the Congress is the only truly representative branch of government. Its Members are the only officials whom the

people can get close to. Members of Congress must be able to spend a considerable amount of time in the their district and States.

Because of increased workload and national crises it has been impossible for Members of Congress to spend much time outside Washington in the past two or three Congresses. But a lot of the blame must fall on the Congress itself and not on the workload or material crisis.

Congress could save at least 2 months' time if it would get busy at the start of the session when the Members are full of fire and bright eyed. As Senators well know, we often spin our wheels from the beginning of Congress until about March 1, waiting for committees to have hearings and report bills.

Perhaps committees could be recalled, with travel provided, to meet from about December 1 to December 20. That way we would have bills ready for the Senate and House Calendars for floor action immediately after the President's state of the Union address. Under our present system, usually the Lincoln day recess forestalls any floor action until about March 1.

We could save a lot of time if we abandoned the 3-day, Tuesday-to-Thursday workweek and went on a 5-day, Monday-to-Friday workweek. We could break this up by scheduling one long weekend a month.

We have to abandon the practice of avoiding rollcalls and delaying action on bills because too many Members are out of town during the week giving speeches. We must make the committee chairman responsible for the bills reported out of his committee and require that he be on hand whenever the leadership deems it advisable to call up his bills.

We must permit our committees to sit while the Senate is in session. One Member should not be able to block all committees from meeting. Because of a misinterpretation of the act of 1946 this situation prevails today. We need to clarify this rule so that our committees can operate efficiently and with greater dispatch.

This proposed study of congressional operations must examine the nonlegislative workload of the Members. I believe it has grown tenfold during my years in the House and Senate. In 1939, one secretary could easily handle the task of correspondence and the departmental problems of constituents. Today most Congressmen have 6 or more secretaries and Senators average between 10 and 20.

While legislators should concentrate on their lawmaking duties, I would estimate that most senatorial staffs devote 75 percent of their time and energy to the errands, problems, and inquiries from constituents or from their States' public agencies. These include veterans' problems, public works programs, farm crop quota adjustments, and a thousand and one other problems that seem to get lost or pigeonholed in Washington, and for which help is asked of Members of Congress.

We have given ourselves an ever-increasing number of assistants, but the workload grows faster than the staff. The administrative assistant, recommended in the Reorganization Act of 1946, has helped materially; but he and other staff aids have been unable to take over the complete staff workload. Much of it still rests upon the Congressman or the Senator.

In an effort to make sure that the primary legislative task is performed effectively and not buried by this other service to the state, 66 Senators have already appointed legislative assistants, many equal in authority and salary to the administrative assistant. Yet, unlike the position of administrative assistant, legislative assistants as such are not authorized by statute or Senate rule, and no extra salary funds are available for the position. It is time to recognize this need for specialized service in the legislative area.

Many other suggestions have been made to lighten the congressional workload. These are worthy of the joint committee's study. Among them are suggestions to:

First. Provide for elective officials and home rule for the District of Columbia.

Second. Remove the authority of Congressmen and Senators to appoint postmasters and candidates for the military academies.

Third. Turn over for executive determination the settlement of certain immigration and claims bills.

Fourth. Provide advisory committees of scientists to assist Congress on a part-time basis.

Fifth. Create a high-level commission for the continuous study of differences between the two Houses, and the adjustment of them when they occur.

Sixth. Provide for Senate and House leadership conferences to work out a schedule of hearings, markup, and floor action on important administrations bills as well as others.

Let me emphasize at this point an outstanding provision of this resolution. This is the proviso which would prohibit the committee from making any recommendation with respect to the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices and/or precedents of either House or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House. This same proviso was included in the resolution that created the joint committee of 1945. Each House must be responsible for its own rules, and neither desires to be involved in any way in determining the rules of the other. But this joint committee would be free to hear testimony on matters relating to rules and procedure without invading the prerogatives and responsibilities of the separate Houses insofar as rules, parliamentary procedures, practices, precedents, and floor procedures are concerned.

I hope that those Members who have not yet had a chance to study this very brief resolution will do so in time to meet the January 8 deadline for cosponsorship. This is a practical and realistic approach to our congressional organizational needs of 1965, just as it was in 1945. Many other approaches have been tried and have been found wanting during the past 20 years. Many, many hours of hard work will be required in order to gain the objectives sought by this resolution, but they are objectives worthy of the effort. Let us proceed now to make 1965 a banner year for the legislative branch, exceeding the very worthy achievements of 1964 and other past years.

Let us not lose sight of the fact that the progress of all mankind toward a brighter world hinges to a major degree on how well we in the Congress perform our assigned duties as servants of a free and well-motivated people. The reforms that will become self-evident in the course of a congressional reorganization study can contribute materially to the further growth and development of our democratic institutions that light the way for all men.

Senator MONRONEY. I know the demands on the committee's time, the many matters pending before it. The courtesy extended to me and the other authors of this bill is certainly appreciated. We would want to set up the committee as soon as possible, to study the myriad suggestions that would be studied in connection with this legislation.

That completes my statement.

Senator HAYDEN. I believe that Senator Clark has some comments to make on the resolution.

Senator CLARK. I would appreciate it, Mr. Chairman. I am very grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to ask Senator Monroney a couple of questions, even though I do not serve on this subcommittee. I am a member of the full committee, and I am grateful to you, sir, for letting me sit with the subcommittee.

Senator Monroney, as you know, Senator Case, of New Jersey, and I have sponsored a resolution generally similar to yours which was Senate Concurrent Resolution 1 of the 88th Congress, which was cosponsored by 30 Senators—to be sure not as many as you have corralled with your indefatigable energy. And when that resolution came out of this subcommittee 2 years ago, there was inserted in the proviso which you have, starting at line 24 on page 2 of your Senate Congressional Resolution 2, which reads as follows:

Provided that nothing in this concurrent resolution shall be construed to authorize the committee to make any recommendations with respect to the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, and/or precedents of either House, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House.

My question is, Senator, how will it be possible to recommend improvements in the organization and operation of the Congress with a view toward strengthening the Congress, simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with other branches of the U.S. Government, and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the Constitution—that last being a quote from your concurrent resolution—without making any recommendation with respect to the rules, parli-

mentary procedure, practices, and/or precedents of either House, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House?

It seems to me that in that proviso you have taken the heart out of the resolution. What would be your reply to that?

Senator MONRONEY. As the distinguished Senator knows, I testified before this distinguished committee when the resolution was up, praising the resolution very strongly, but stating at that time what I restate now: that political science, or if you choose to call it politics, is the art of the possible, and that to achieve any degree of reorganization, one must recognize the facts of life, namely, that you would never be able to secure passage and launch a major reorganization effort if rule XXII or similar amendments to our Senate rules are permitted to be incorporated in any general omnibus report by a Joint Committee on Reorganization.

It was for that reason that I testified before. I am still of that opinion—based on the experience I have had with reorganization in the past.

I might point out in answer directly to the Senator's question—and I do not intend to be filibustering the question although it might seem so to the Senator—that it would seem to me that the same identical language applied in the original LaFollette-Monroney resolution.

But under that we achieved what was at least claimed to be and, I think, did result at least in the largest major reform in about 60 years.

Senator CLARK. The Senator knows my friendly disposition to him.

Senator MONRONEY. Indeed I do. I appreciate it.

Senator CLARK. We have a warm friendship. But having practiced law for 25 years before I came to the Senate, and having studied the results of the LaFollette-Monroney report with great care, and with much respect and admiration, I have no hesitation in saying that every recommendation which your committee made was a violation of the concurrent resolution under which you are acting.

In other words, you did not, in my opinion, make a single recommendation that did not affect one way or another the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, and/or precedents of one or the other Houses, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House. In fact, in my judgment the most important reform that you made was in vastly curtailing the number of committees which each House was authorized to have.

In order to do that, you had to completely rewrite rule XXV of the Senate.

Senator MONRONEY. As I recall—my memory is a little bit hazy on this—there were no very definite rules of committee jurisdiction laid down. They were a peripheral part of the body of regulations of some kind or other found somewhere in the journals, but not found in the rules themselves.

We clearly defined the committees' jurisdictions, and then by the consent of the Congress, these were written and incorporated in there as rules.

There were no rules that were changed—there were merely rules that were codified as passed by the reorganization of the Congress.

Now, I am not a lawyer, and that gives me some advantage in making a broader interpretation which a distinguished lawyer like the

senior Senator from Pennsylvania does not have. And therefore, we believe that we can do that which the Senate is willing to let you do.

Senator CLARK. Well, I suggest to my friend that if he studies the technical details of that splendid reorganization, of which he was a coauthor, he will find that the major impact of his committee study, or at least one of the major impacts, was to rewrite rule XXV of the Senate from start to finish, by cutting down the number of committees from 34 to, I think, some 18. And I suggest that the Senator's staff, which I am sure includes one or more excellent lawyers, would have great difficulty in finding a single recommendation of that committee which did not require a change in the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices and/or precedents of either House, or consideration of any matter on the floor of either House.

I do not want to get into an argument with the Senator. I know he does not want to get into an argument with me.

Senator MONRONEY. You are the last man in the world I would like to argue about on reorganization, because no one has devoted more thought, time, energy, and diligence in trying to reorganize Congress than the senior Senator from Pennsylvania.

Senator CLARK. I thank the Senator for those kind words. But I wonder if he would be able to give the subcommittee an example of a change which he thinks could be recommended by this joint committee which, at least so far as the Senate is concerned, did not involve a recommendation with respect to the rules, et cetera.

Senator MONRONEY. May I say to my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania that I and Senator LaFollette, who was not a practicing lawyer but a pretty good one in practice—had one cardinal principal with which we judged what was within the bounds of the Reorganization Act—and what was out of bounds.

Does it affect the procedures on the floor of the Senate? If it affected the procedures on the floor of the Senate, we considered it was outside the bounds of the reorganization resolution creating our study. If it was before the legislation came to the floor of the Senate, if it came before that, we felt that it was within our jurisdiction to recommend reform and correction.

It was on this perhaps oversimplification of our jurisdiction that we separated the good from the bad, the legal from the illegal, the organizable from the unorganizable.

Senator CLARK. Why do we not leave it, Senator, in the most friendly way. We will disagree about whether your committee acted legally. I do not think it did, because it recommended a number of changes in these matters which are excluded from the proviso in this resolution as they were in that.

And my suggestion is on the record for what it is worth, and I guess it will not be worth much in view of what I know is the view of the vast number of Senators who cosponsored this resolution—but I would just like to leave on the record, Mr. Chairman, my strong conviction that the proviso which begins on page 2, at line 24, and continues down to line 4 on page 3, renders ineffective the whole body of the resolution.

I recognize my friend's great ability in arguing to the contrary. I would like to ask a couple of more things.

Would you not agree, Senator Monroney, that the report of the 1946 committee—I guess it was reported in 1945, and the act was passed in 1946.

Senator MONRONEY. We had a 2-year timetable, which I hope can be hit on this one.

Senator CLARK. Would you not agree that the two matters which then were causing the greatest difficulty to the appropriate and prompt action of the House were the undue power exercised by the House Rules Committee, and with respect to the Senate the then state of rule XXII which, as a practical matter, permitted unlimited debate? And that your committee felt that they did not have authority to go into those two matters, but did have authority, directly or indirectly, to recommend a great many other changes in rules, procedures, et cetera, of both Houses?

Senator MONRONEY. Because of the taut situation that has always existed, which the Senator is well aware of, on rule XXII, and also on the seniority system—these were the two “thou shalt not touch”—the untouchables. And for that reason, I think we were not challenged on other suggestions that by flyspecking or overemphasis of the Senate rules could have been prohibited or opened for question the legality of our jurisdiction in recommending other practices that we found very desirable for reorganization.

Senator CLARK. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to prolong this unduly. I thank my friend from Oklahoma for his patience and courteous answers.

I would like permission, Mr. Chairman, to have inserted in the record at this point, if I may, the individual views of my Pennsylvania colleague, Senator Scott, and myself, on the report made by you, sir, from the Committee on Rules and Administration last year with respect to Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 1 of the 88th Congress, cosponsored by Senator Case and me and some 28 other Senators.

Senator HAYDEN. That will be included in the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

[Excerpt from Senate Report 504, to accompany S. Con. Res. 1 of the 88th Cong.]

INDIVIDUAL VIEWS OF MR. CLARK AND MR. SCOTT

The resolution which the Committee on Rules and Administration has reported as Senate Concurrent Resolution 1 is not the same resolution which 30 Senators cosponsored at the beginning of this session. It is, in fact, no more than a truncated and critically weakened look-alike. The committee struck out everything after the enacting clause and substituted a new resolution of its own.

We have joined in the action of the committee in reporting this measure to the floor for the sole purpose of giving the entire membership of the Senate an opportunity to restore the original resolution.

The widespread support for congressional reorganization within the Senate, in the press, and among the general public is based on dissatisfaction with the way the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, and precedents of both Houses of Congress conspire to defeat the popular will and to frustrate the programs of a President of either party. Yet the Rules Committee has removed from the jurisdiction of the proposed Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, any study of and recommendations concerning the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, and precedents of either House.

Moreover, section 2(b) of the resolution reported by the Rules Committee reads as follows:

“(b) Nothing in this concurrent resolution shall be construed to authorize the committee to make any recommendations with respect to the rules, parlia-

mentary procedure, practices, or precedents of either House of the Congress, or the consideration of any matter on the floor of either House, except that this subsection shall not prohibit the committee from studying and making recommendations with respect to the consolidation and reorganization of committees of the Congress."

This subsection tears the very heart out of the resolution. With it included, there is little purpose in establishing a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress.

It is true that a similar exclusion was made in the jurisdiction of the joint committee which laid the groundwork for the La Follette-Monroney Reorganization Act of 1946. But in our judgment, it was a grave mistake then, and would be an even more serious mistake now, to exclude from the jurisdiction of the joint committee the very heart of the matters which have given rise to the present public dissatisfaction with the performance of the Congress. The principal deficiency in the Reorganization Act of 1946, based on the report of the La Follette-Monroney committee, was that it did not deal with needed changes in the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, or precedents of the two Houses which have accordingly continued without significant change for several generations.

It is important to stress that the proposed joint committee is directed merely to study and to make recommendations. Its recommendations must be approved by both Houses (insofar as they affect both Houses) before they can become effective in either body. No prerogative of any Member of either body or of any committee of either body is affected by permitting a joint committee of both parties to study and recommend. The power to change remains where it has always been: with the Members of the Senate and the House.

We hope that the Senate will approve amendments we intend to offer on the floor when the resolution is called up for action, which would restore the substance of the original resolution cosponsored by almost one-third of the Members of the Senate.

JOSEPH S. CLARK.
HUGH SCOTT.

SUPPLEMENTAL VIEWS OF MR. CLARK

The original resolution cosponsored by 30 Senators contemplated a committee of 14: 7 from the Senate, 7 from the House, with 4 from the majority and 3 from the minority party in each House. The Rules Committee reduced the membership of the proposed committee from 14 to 12 and balanced its membership among the parties evenly at 6 each—3 from each party in each House.

In view of the responsibility carried by the majority party for the operation of both Houses, it seemed wiser to the proponents of the original resolution to give a slight majority in the committee (substantially less than the present ratio of the two parties in both bodies) to the majority party, which has the primary responsibility for enacting legislation.

I still adhere to that view.

The precedent relied on by the Rules Committee was the La Follette-Monroney resolution which led to the Reorganization Act of 1946. In my opinion, it would have been better then and still is now to give the majority party the fundamental responsibility for the recommendations of the proposed committee.

The original resolution also contemplated election by the members of the committee on their own chairman and vice chairman. The substitute committee resolution leaves the duty of selecting the chairman and vice chairman to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and provides that the chairman and vice chairman should not be from the same political party.

Again, I prefer the provision of the original resolution which presumably would result in the election of both a chairman and a vice chairman from the majority party, which would have the primary responsibility for clearing the recommendations of the committee through both Houses. In short, I believe the Senate should restore and pass the text of the original Senate Concurrent Resolution 1.

JOSEPH S. CLARK.

Senator CLARK. I would also like to submit for the consideration of the subcommittee an amendment to the Monroney resolution which would strike the proviso which I have referenced, beginning at page 2, on line 24.

(The amendment referred to follows:)

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. CLARK to Senate Concurrent Resolution 2, a concurrent resolution to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, viz:

Beginning with the word "That" in line 24, page 2, strike out all to and including the words "Provided further," in line 4, page 3.

Senator CLARK. I would also like permission to have included in the record the report of the 26th American Assembly held at Arden House in New York, from October 29 to November 2, 1964, which makes a number of comprehensive and I think useful suggestions for congressional reform, almost all of which would require a change in the rules, procedures, et cetera, of one House or the other.

(The document referred to may be found as exhibit 2 in the appendix to these hearings.)

Senator CLARK. I will state for the record that both Senator Case and I appeared and participated in the deliberations of that assembly, and I commend it to the chairman and the members of the subcommittee. I hope they will make a careful study of this report, which I believe is very useful.

I thank the chairman for his courtesy.

Senator HAYDEN. Senator Monroney?

Senator MONRONEY. Mr. Chairman, may I say I deeply appreciate the interest of the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania in the reorganization of the Congress. The fact that we disagree on methods I am sure does not cause us to disagree on the vast and great need for reorganization of the Congress.

He has written many searching papers regarding reorganization. It has been due, I think, to a large degree the stimuli that he has been able to create, both on the floor and off the floor of the Senate, that has helped to carry forward the ground swell throughout the country for another reorganization of the Congress.

Senator HAYDEN. Thank you, Senator Monroney.

Senator Case.

STATEMENT OF HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Senator CASE. Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before your subcommittee today, and I commend the subcommittee for moving so expeditiously on the important subject of congressional reform.

May I just in a personal word express my feeling of being back home, because I used to be a member of this committee, and enjoyed that service immensely. And not the least of the enjoyment was my association with the members and the chairman. It is a very great pleasure.

I have been back on one or two occasions which were a little stormier than this one. I think it is probably a good thing this is not.

So that brings back nostalgic memories, too.

Like the Senator from Oklahoma, I am most happy that the subcommittee is moving so expeditiously on this important subject.

I think, Mr. Chairman, if I may make the suggestion, that I should like to present my statement, which is three or four pages, for inclusion in the record, and then just comment briefly on the highlights. Is that all right?

Senator HAYDEN. Certainly.

Senator CASE. Then I shall do that.

As I think the chairman and the members of the subcommittee know, I have introduced and reintroduced a bill for the appointment of a Hoover-type commission.

The point is that this would be a Hoover-type commission somewhat different from the recommendation made by the Senator from Oklahoma or even the resolution of the Senator from Pennsylvania, which I have joined in consponsoring, both of which would limit the study group to Members of the Congress.

The difference between the Clark resolution and the Monroney resolution is largely the limitation of the scope of the activity of the committee, which has already been brought out this afternoon by the colloquies between those two Senators.

In this disagreement, may I say I line up alongside of my colleague from across the Delaware, because I think that he is eminently right about the position that he has taken; this again, with the same deference that he made as to our more senior colleague from Oklahoma.

The job of reorganizing Congress is our job, and it is a job that is enormously important.

Now, there are some Members of Congress, perhaps of the public, who question the need for acting on congressional reform this year.

We had a pretty good year last year, and we made a pretty good start this year.

The argument is made that President Johnson is a man experienced in the legislative process and is persuasive in stimulating action on Capitol Hill. And the implication is that with a leader of this sort we do not need any congressional reform.

Well, he is a leader of great force. There is no doubt about this. And he is a man of great experience. And he is a man who cannot sit still—he has got to be pushing and moving, and he will push the Congress as he pushes himself, and has for many years.

But we should not have to have a President of this sort in order to get action by the Congress of the United States. We ought to be a self-starting body, a body capable of starting ourselves into action, and capable of completing action, of bringing matters to a vote, deciding them, and disposing of issues and dealing with problems affirmatively in time. And we are not, as things stand now—except where there is no determined opposition by even a small minority to actions that we attempt to take—where such an opposition exists, as in the 88th Congress, we will go through a whole year, accomplish almost nothing.

No one will forget, I think, that by the end of the fiscal year in that session we had passed only one appropriation bill, and by the 1st of September we had only done half the job, when the new fiscal year was a third of the way through.

And we did not pass the last appropriation bill, as I recall it, until December, the last day.

We all remember of course those two matters, especially that we were going to at least do that year—they were must bills—the tax cut

and civil rights. And of course we were going to do a lot of other things too. But we were at least going to do that.

Well, time went on and on and on, and we ended up doing neither one of those two things.

I remember of course the end of that year was clouded and legislatively confused by many things, including, of course, President Kennedy's tragic death. But I remember the discussions of the commentators about the paradox between this attractive, able man and his inability to get things done in Congress.

I remember Professor Burns, for example, lamenting that only some very small proportion of his program had been accomplished in nearly 3 years. And this should not be so.

I have listed, Mr. Chairman, in my statement, from the bill, my bill itself, 12 areas into which I think the study should be directed—without excluding others—but as a mandatory matter, 12 of those. And I must point out with great frankness, of course, that these include specifically congressional rules and procedures.

The issue was raised sharply between the position Senator Monroney has taken and the one taken by Senator Clark and me.

This is a matter of great importance, I think.

I think we did in the 1946 reorganization everything that could be done under the limitations that that resolution, the resolution authorizing that reorganization, which is almost identical with the present one, makes possible. We increased salaries. We cannot do this again. I do not think I would even suggest it this time. We have done this.

We put through a pension plan. We increased the staffs, committee staffs and congressional staffs. We set up a policy staff on each side of each House, as I recall it.

We cut down the number of committees. It has been a matter of debate whether the proliferation of subcommittees, which is partially a result, has been a good or bad thing. And I am not sure it has not been somewhat self-defeating, because it has increased the number of individuals under our present practices who may say "No."

Congress is a great "No" sayer. The chairman knows this better than anybody else in the world. He is effective not only in saying "No," but he can say "Yes," and he can get things done, too. Many of us are not in the same position, because we do not have the same good judgment as to what to say "Yes" to.

But this is the great problem—that so many people can block our action. On so few occasions is it possible for us to act affirmatively. And the result is that Congress has become to a great extent what my colleague from Pennsylvania has called the sapless branch.

But it is true. We are tending more and more to be a place where respectable people can come for an interesting experience and live a life more or less innocuous. It used to be penury. It is now innocuous semipenury. And this is not a good thing.

We should be a vigorous, respected group, able to do more than stop things, able to act affirmatively and effectively in the solution of the great problems.

No single President, no matter how good he is—and all our Presidents are good men, and even great men in most cases—is good enough to run the show. And this is the direction we have been tending in more and more—a one-man government operation, because Congress

has gotten less and less able to cope with the problems of the modern day.

And so I urge so much that, not only that the committee act, as I am so glad to see it is going to act—I am so happy that you have taken this early initiative—but that you act in a way that will not limit the study that will come out of your action to matters which will make the study, I am afraid, much less effective than it can be, and I think that it must be.

I leave myself open to your questions, sir, and again express my great pleasure as your willingness to hear me.

(The prepared statement of Senator Case follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM
THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before your subcommittee today, and I commend the subcommittee for moving so expeditiously on the important subject of congressional reform. Your decision to hold hearings so early in the year suggests that we may finally this year be able to set in motion a comprehensive study of the present organization of the Congress and the functioning of the legislative process. I appear in behalf of a bill which I have reintroduced to provide for the appointment of a Hoover-type Commission to make a thorough and objective study of this matter and to make recommendations to the Congress for effective reforms.

There may be some Members of the Congress, and of the interested public, who question the need for acting on congressional reform this year. They may point to an active second session of the 88th Congress and to the good start which we are making in the 89th. They may point to President Johnson as a man experienced in the legislative process and persuasive in stimulating action on Capitol Hill.

There is no denying this, but, as our history reminds us, not all Presidents have had this experience and ability. In any case, it is the responsibility of the Congress to make the legislative process as effective as possible no matter who occupies the White House. One measure of the administration's interest in Congress would be to demonstrate effective support for the cause of congressional reform. Certainly, anyone who has dealt with it as intimately and thoroughly as the President must recognize the need for major improvements.

We can't easily forget the first session of the 88th, which ran all the way into the end of the calendar year without coming to a final vote on such major problems as civil rights and the administration's proposed tax cut. If it could happen once, it could happen again.

My bill provides for the appointment of a 12-man bipartisan Commission—3 Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate; 3 Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House, and 6 individuals in private life who are specially qualified by training and experience to contribute to the solution of problems of public administration or the functioning of legislative bodies, appointed by the President of the United States.

The Commission which I am proposing is, of course, modeled on the Hoover Commission which, as Members of the Congress know so well, made a major contribution in improving the executive branch of government. I am certain that a similar study of our branch would be very valuable. There has been no comprehensive attempt to modernize congressional procedures since the enactment of the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946.

The proposed Commission includes members from outside Congress. I believe that these members can bring fresh views to the Commission discussions and can give the general public an effective role in the deliberations of the Commission. Surely, the procedures of Congress should not be considered the exclusive concern of the Members of Congress. The electorate has a substantial stake in the smooth and effective functioning of the legislative process, and we should, therefore, try to obtain the best possible counsel in bringing our procedures up to date.

The Commission would be expected to report on 12 specific problem areas and on any other matters it considered pertinent. The 12 specific areas are:

- (1) The scheduling of measures for consideration and action;
- (2) The structure, staffing, and operation of congressional committees;
- (3) The workload of the Congress and the committees thereof;
- (4) Congressional rules and floor procedures;
- (5) Conflicts of interest of Members of the Congress;
- (6) The term of office of Members of the House of Representatives;
- (7) Communications, travel, and other allowances of Members of the Congress;
- (8) The financing of congressional election campaigns;
- (9) The duties of Members of Congress incident to the appointment of postmasters and the making of appointments to military service academies and other Government academies;
- (10) The legislative oversight of the administration of laws;
- (11) The strengthening of the congressional power of the purse; and
- (12) The operation and effectiveness of existing laws with respect to lobbying.

My resolution lists these 12 specific problem areas because each of them is extremely important and because Congress for years has shied away from dealing with them. If our reorganization is to be a truly thorough and effective one, we must be sure that the Commission gives specific attention to each of these matters.

In this connection, some proposals, Senator Monroney's pending resolution, for example, would limit the jurisdiction of the Reorganization Commission. Under them, consideration of the rules and precedents of the House or the Senate would be barred. I recognize that many Members of the Congress are sensitive about even considering changes in these rules, but I also recognize that changes in the rules are essential if we are really to make this Congress the effective body that we will all know it can be. My bill would require consideration of the House and Senate rules.

Several of the problem areas which I have outlined relate to reducing the non-legislative workload of Members of Congress. As the population grows and as our legislative and policy problems become more complicated and pressing, there is a crucial need for research and reflection. Yet, at the same time, we are experiencing a tremendous upsurge in nonlegislative demands upon the time of Members of Congress.

In looking at several of the recent Congresses, it is clear that we have acted in the Senate to confirm more postmasters than we have to enact public laws.

We have spent hours and hours of time in committees and on the Senate floor on the municipal problems of the District of Columbia. The debate on public welfare standards for the city of Washington in recent years has occupied more time of many Members than a careful study into the future arms needs of the Nation's defense technology.

We have our obligations as to appointments to the military service academies. This year my office had more than 600 applicants. The matter of handling preparations for the examinations, preparing correspondence with parents, school principals, and other interested parties combined to absorb almost the full time of one member of my staff as well as a considerable chunk of my own time and that of several other members of the staff.

Certainly there are better ways of selecting candidates to academies or solving the problems of the municipal government of the city of Washington or selecting postmasters in every village, hamlet, and metropolitan area of our States.

Reform comes hard in any field, but in the Congress this is doubly true, for our institution has managed from time to time to rise above its handicaps and turn in an occasional sterling performance. Unfortunately, in my experience, this has been the exception rather than the rule. I suggest that your subcommittee can be the starting point for an effective move toward congressional reorganization which will enable the Congress to carry out its duties year in and year out more expeditiously and effectively, no matter who is in the White House or how many obstructive minorities in the Congress itself may try to prevent an important matter from coming to a vote. In the fast-moving world of the 1960's, we cannot afford to permit archaic procedures to stultify and even paralyze an institution which properly aspires to be the greatest legislative body in the world.

Senator HAYDEN. Thank you.

Senator CLARK. May I ask the Senator a question, Mr. Chairman?

Senator HAYDEN. Certainly.

Senator CLARK. Senator Case, I would like to turn your mind back to that part of your statement in which you indicated that at the present moment the Congress is performing in a reasonably satisfactory manner. This is a great change from the situation in 1963.

Would you not think, taking a good look at congressional history, that it is highly unlikely that the present condition, where a President has been swept into office by a huge majority, with an almost unprecedented congressional majority behind him, I think greater than at any time except in the election of 1936—history would teach us, would it not, that this condition cannot last, and that the tug of war between the White House and the Congress is almost certain to arise again.

Senator CASE. The Senator is so right.

As a matter of fact, the very election that he speaks of was followed in months by the first great setback that President Roosevelt had. It was a marked thing that very shortly after this great victory his political power on Capitol Hill ended, almost, except in regard to matters affecting carrying on of the war.

Senator CLARK. So the Senator would agree, would he not, that the ultimate aim—to vastly oversimplify what we are trying to do—is to arrange it so that both branches of Congress will be able to act when a majority is ready for action after due deliberation in committee and on the floor.

Senator CASE. That is precisely so. And, Mr. Chairman, if I may, I would like to make explicit what I think was implicit in what we have all been saying before.

I think the heart of this matter is rule 22, and the power of committee chairmen. That is, if I had to pick out any two things that I thought were absolutely essential, they are these matters. And I think any reorganization which does not deal pretty clearly with both of them would be almost a travesty on reform.

Senator CLARK. Now, would the Senator agree that if the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate and its Subcommittee on the Standing Rules of the Senate were itself to engage in a comprehensive study of the rules, parliamentary procedures, practices, and/or precedents, and the consideration of any matter on the floor of the Senate, that perhaps such a comprehensive study by this subcommittee and/or by an ad hoc special Senate committee might make up for the deficiency created by the proviso in the Monroney resolution?

Senator CASE. It would go a certain distance in that direction, in my judgment.

I have great respect for my colleagues. There is not a dope among them. And there are probably no greater experts than Members of Congress in congressional procedures. But this is—we do not need just expertise. We need what a friend of mine once called the desire, the will to make a change. And unfortunately, among the Members of Congress there is, I think, on the part of perhaps the majority, a tendency to suffer from this constitutional disease of ours, the desire not to face unpleasant questions unless we have to.

And our present procedures are in considerable part the result of our being very happy indeed to find ways in which we can toss off

responsibility by putting on this subcommittee chairman or that committee chairman or blaming congressional procedures for actions that we ourselves know ought to be taken but which would be uncomfortable for us to take.

And this I think limits sharply—that is one factor limiting sharply the effectiveness of a separate congressional only investigation into matters of congressional procedures, either one in each House, or each in a joint concurrent committee of both Houses.

Here my colleague and I think different basically—I am sure he would prefer to have the best and is willing to settle for something less only because his judgment as a practical matter is that the best is not obtainable, and he is going to make the best of it and not be unhappy. Neither would I. But I would be so much happier if we could get outsiders appointed by the President, who are expert in their fields, as well as Members of the Senate and of the House.

Senator CLARK. I agree in general with the Senator from New Jersey, and he has well expressed the reasons why I prefer the approach of having members of the joint committee only Members of Congress, and yet able to call in experts as witnesses.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to note my own strong view that if you, sir, with your vast prestige and the affection with which the Senate holds you, were to undertake as the chairman of this subcommittee, whether or not expanded in size, the kind of comprehensive study of the rules of parliamentary procedure, practices, and precedents of the Senate with the aid of a staff which you have retained as a result of the money resolution which you sponsored a few days ago, this might well become one of the living monuments of your long and successful service to the Senate.

And I would urge you to give careful thought to the possibility of undertaking the sponsorship and responsibility for such a comprehensive study in which, of course, I would be very glad to cooperate.

As you know, sir, I introduced in the closing days of the second session of the last Congress a comprehensive revision of all of the rules of the Senate prepared for me at my request by the Legislative Reference Bureau at the Library of Congress, who went to infinite pains and long work in preparing the revision which took in excess of 5 months of steady work.

I intend to reintroduce that comprehensive revision in the next few days.

I certainly am not of the view that it is the last word or final answer to any of these matters. But I do say it is the product of hard and intelligent work, and I can say that because the hard and intelligent work was not done by me—although it was done under my supervision.

I would hope that that comprehensive revision of the rules would at least be given careful attention by you, sir, and the other members of your subcommittee with a view to seeing whether in the changes suggested there might not lie a vast improvement in the operation of the Senate of the United States.

Senator CASE. Mr. Chairman, may I say just a word? I do not mean to interrupt your acceptance of the offer or proposition just made by the Senator of Pennsylvania.

If you are about to say "Yes," go ahead and say it.

I have something to say not exactly on that point that I would like to say before I am excused, if I may, sir.

Senator HAYDEN. The Senator can understand that there are just so many hours in a day. My duties as chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations are such that by attending to its business, I do expedite the work of the Senate.

I have entered into an arrangement with the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations to expedite consideration of the money bills, because until the money bills are passed, until funds are provided for the operation of the Government, Congress cannot adjourn. When the money is available, we can get away.

The long debate which took place on the floor of the Senate the last time delayed action on the appropriation bills. But when we got around to it, my committee had everything ready and promptly passed the appropriation bills.

Perhaps the best suggestion that could be made would be to get another member of the Rules Committee to do this job.

Senator CLARK. I quite agree with everything the Senator from Arizona has said. Not only does he carry an enormous responsibility as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, but also as the President pro tempore of the Senate, and as a member of the Committee on the Interior.

Senator Cannon, who is also a member of the subcommittee, I think has the heaviest committee responsibilities of any Member of the Senate, with the possible exception of Senator Curtis, who is the ranking Republican member on this committee.

Senator John Sherman Cooper, who is the third member of the subcommittee, is the ranking Republican on at least two very important committees.

And so I agree with the Senator from Arizona that no one of the three members of the Subcommittee on Standing Rules can possibly take the time to do the job.

It is for that reason that I would respectfully urge the Senator from Arizona to consent to having an ad hoc committee appointed, possibly among the other members of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, who would be willing to undertake that work. And I am quite confident that we could find those members who would be willing to do it.

If what we did did not meet with the favor of the more senior members of the committee, they could always vote us down when we got through.

So I would urge the Senator from Arizona to be willing to consider that suggestion in the hope that we might move forward on what I think all three of the Senators who appeared here today are in agreement is one of the most serious unsolved problems which the Congress must in the near future deal with if we are going to resume our proper constitutional role in the American Federal Government.

Senator CASE. Mr. Chairman, the only other thing that I think I should like to say, based upon a sense that perhaps I was very much less appreciative of it—in the earlier testimony that I gave—of the work, fine work done by the LaFollette-Monroney committee, that I feel, or certainly meant to be.

I think they did miracles—especially considering the limitation of their authority contained in the legislation or resolution which authorized the creation of that body.

I think, because I think they have exhausted the possibilities of such a limited inquiry, that we should go further, as I think I can make clear.

I think the effect of adopting a resolution or a bill with the limitation in this language which is so familiar to everyone is that the limitation will not always be observed; witnesses will testify on matters; they cannot help if they want to make any sense at all talking about either procedures, precedents, or rules.

But the inclusion of this limitation will make it possible for a few Members of the Senate, whenever anything is touched upon that they regard as important, to raise a question, and find the inquiry barred. And I think in practice that this will be probably limited to those two matters I mentioned before—rule XXII and anything dealing with the power of the committee chairmen. Possibly also seniority.

And I think that these are the very heart of the obstructions which prevent Congress from realizing the full potential which we all hope that it will.

I thank so much the chairman for his courtesy.

Senator HAYDEN. Congressman McClory, we are very glad to see you. Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT McCLORY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE 12TH DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Chairman, I have a prepared statement here, and I will leave copies of it with you and just make a few extemporaneous comments, if you would prefer.

I wanted to emphasize an interest in this subject because I feel that the legislative branch of our Government needs to be strengthened, and I think through such legislation as this we can provide a more effective and a stronger Congress, so that we do measure up to the challenge which the legislative branch is incurring at the hands of the judicial branch and the executive branch.

I introduced a bill similar to that which is sponsored here in the Senate by Senator Monroney, and cosponsored by a number of his colleagues, and with a few changes which I would like to mention.

One change in my legislation is that the joint committee should be a little larger than in the proposal of Senator Monroney.

I think that this may be important in that a committee working on this is going to be the bulwark for passage of such legislation in the House and Senate, and that having a good representation in terms of numbers as well as influence from both bodies would contribute to the success of the legislation.

Also, I have emphasized in my bill that particular attention should be given to the subject of a Joint Legislative Budget Committee, and to the subject of congressional staffing.

I think both of these are rather key, as far as our position is concerned.

Senator HAYDEN. I can say with respect to the Committee on the Budget, the Senate, as you know, has passed that legislation, but never could get the House to consider it.

Mr. McCLORY. That is true; I have observed that. And I sponsored a similar bill in the House, and I have tried to get support of the House on that.

But I have an idea that if such a measure came out of such a joint committee as is proposed in this legislation, that it would have the impetus that it needs to be passed in the House as well as in the Senate.

I think that there might be further interest on the House side if we would include in the recommendations the subject of more adequate staffing of congressional committees, House committees. And I am particularly interested in this as a minority Member in the House.

I know that the minority Republican Members of the House for some time have been urging an increased staff for them to work with. And I think that is important to preservation of a strong two-party system. This is something which it is incumbent upon the members of both parties, in both Chambers, to consider most seriously.

Senator HAYDEN. As I understand it, there is some minority membership among the staff of the House committees.

Mr. McCLORY. Yes, there is some minority staff at least on a number of the committees. But, for instance, on the House Government Operations Committee, which I had the privilege to serve on during the 88th Congress, the majority staff numbered 53, I believe, and the minority staff 3.

Well, the disproportionate staffing of that committee, I think, impairs the usefulness of the committee and prevents the full investigation of executive department activities which the Committee on Government Operations are charged with undertaking.

Well, I think in general that summarizes my testimony.

I have referred in my statement to the subject of the burden of case-work and have also made reference to a subject that has been discussed in the press and elsewhere comparable to the Scandinavian office of "ombudsmen," which is sort of an intermediary between the citizen and his government, which as you know, Senator, you and I undertake in many cases involving our constituents.

Then I would like to point out that, in the bill I propose, I did not preclude consideration of the subject of the rules. And it might be that consideration could be given to some joint rules, or at least to amendment of some of the rules which seem to impair our effectiveness. I am thinking, for instance, of the House rules requiring that amendments should be germane, without that same limitation in the Senate, and the misunderstandings and the lack of close cooperation which sometimes results from this disparity in the rules of the two bodies. And perhaps there are other rules needed that I am not changing as well.

But anyway, I cannot help but feel that the establishment of this committee, this joint committee, through Senate Concurrent Resolution 2—and I would prefer that if you do recommend this legislation that you consider some of the other language contained in my Concurrent House Resolution 64, and consider adopting those changes as amendments to the Senate bill.

Senator HAYDEN. I assure you very careful consideration will be given.

Mr. McCLORY. Thank you very, very much, Senator.
(The prepared statement of Mr. McClory follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT McCLORY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM
THE 12TH DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Chairman and members of the Rules Committee, my primary interest in supporting the establishment of a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress is to strengthen the legislative branch of our Federal Government.

For some time it has seemed to me that the power and authority of the Congress of the United States has diminished while, at the same time, the executive and judicial branches have expanded their authority.

The initiative undertaken by Senator Mike Monroney, Senator Clifford Case, and my colleague, Representative Ray Madden, and many others in the Senate and House strikes me as consistent with the thoughtful and constructive action which the Congress should take during this session.

Let me say, first, that there are many areas awaiting the establishment of a workable joint legislative committee with an adequate staff to make a careful study in depth. Such study would produce recommended changes which would improve the congressional procedure and increase the strength of the Congress.

Among the subjects which such a committee could review are the following:

1. Machinery should be devised for a more careful and coordinated handling of the fiscal business of the Nation. This subject might be resolved through a permanent Joint Legislative Budget Committee, whose staff would carefully and fully review the Executive request, recommend some system of priority with respect to demands on Federal revenue, consider an overall maximum of Federal spending, and otherwise build a mechanism for the development of a legislative budget in contrast to an executive budget, with which the Congress has struggled in the past.

2. Consider the subject of increased and improved staffing of congressional committees—including adequate minority staffing.

(a) In this connection, of course, I am thinking of the vast staff which composes the executive budget and the extremely small size of the staff which serves the Congress in reviewing and recommending appropriations exceeding \$100 billion.

(b) Another committee which would seem to require an enlarged staff is the House Committee on Government Operations which is charged with reviewing the activities of the entire executive branch of government. In this behalf, particular attention should be given to the inadequacy of the minority staff. The vitality of the two political party system is essential to the preservation of our Republic. An articulate and constructive opposition contributes substantially to the quality of government.

(c) I have had rather close contact with reports of the General Accounting Office during the past year and it has disturbed me to note that not many of these reports result in congressional investigations or other congressional action. Only a few of the many reports receive the careful attention which almost all of these summaries deserve.

Unless provision is made for enlarging congressional committee staffs, this deficiency in the performance of our congressional duties will continue.

3. Consideration should certainly be given to lengthening the term of our Representatives in Congress to 4 years. Although this will require the amendment of section 2 of article I of the Constitution, a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress could consider and recommend such a constitutional change.

4. Further consideration might also be given to the length of sessions of Congress with a view toward expediting our work and adjourning earlier in the year.

5. Now, recently, there has been much comment regard the office of "ombudsman." This office, which has been established in several Scandinavian countries, acts as a sort of representative of the citizens who feel themselves aggrieved in their relationship with their Government. Members of Congress now assume this role in the handling of so-called casework. If the Members could be relieved of the major part of this activity by creation of an "ombudsman"

or similar office, the opportunity for devoting greater time to legislative duties would result.

6. It would be my further hope that such a joint committee might recognize the wisdom of House rule XVI, precluding the consideration of amendments which are not germane. The effectiveness of this rule is destroyed when the Senate attaches amendments to legislation which are not germane. A joint committee might be able to persuade the Senate of the wisdom of the House rule.

House Concurrent Resolution 64, which I introduced, provides for a joint committee composed of 10 Members of the House and 10 Members of the Senate, equally divided between the 2 political parties. It is my feeling that the enlarged committee would provide greater support in the House and Senate for the recommendations which the joint committee might develop.

Other minor changes from those proposed by Mr. Madden and Senator Monroney appear in the concurrent resolution which I have proposed and which you will want to consider when you reach the point of taking final action on this general proposal.

I might point out that if you decide to adopt verbatim the concurrent resolution which I have presented, it would seem necessary to amend section 3(c) to provide that "the expenses of the committee shall be paid jointly from the contingent fund of the Senate and House of Representatives, upon vouchers signed by both the chairman and vice chairman of the joint committee." (Presumably, the representative of the House members and the Senate members of the joint committee.)

I cannot conceive of any more constructive action to be taken by this Congress than to improve the machinery by which we perform our congressional duties. The public is keenly aware of our deficiencies and our shortcomings. The improvements which I have recommended for consideration undoubtedly do not include other areas which may be equally as important.

At any rate, the time is here and now for us to act in our own behalf and to strengthen the Government of the greatest free society in the history of mankind.

I urge your favorable consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 with amendments so that it will conform with House Concurrent Resolution 64.

Thank you.

Senator HAYDEN. We will recess at this time until 10 o'clock Monday morning to consider proposed changes in rule XXII.

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Monday, March 1, 1965.)

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REORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

MONDAY, MARCH 1, 1965

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON STANDING RULES OF THE
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:15 p.m., in room 301, Old Senate Office Building, Senator Carl Hayden (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Hayden and Cooper.

Also present: Kent Watkins, staff director of the subcommittee.

Also present: Gordon F. Harrison, staff director, Committee on Rules and Administration; Hugh Q. Alexander, chief counsel; Walter L. Mote, professional staff member; and Lew Hastings, professional staff member.

Senator HAYDEN. The committee will come to order.

Senator Allott, we will be glad to hear from you.

STATEMENT OF HON. GORDON D. ALLOTT, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO

Senator ALLOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee.

I join Senator Monroney in sponsoring his Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 because I am convinced that the review it authorizes is long overdue.

A horse-and-buggy Congress cannot adequately cope with the problems of the age of rockets, and it will become increasingly more difficult in the future.

The review to be made by the joint committee established by this resolution will cover two major fields of inquiry which may be stated as follows: First, how Congress does its work, and how it might do it more effectively; and second, what Congress fails to do that it should be doing.

The first of these questions will likely receive most of the attention of the joint committee, and perhaps it should be resolved before the second question can be decided.

Many of us are well aware of the numerous deficiencies in how Congress does it work, because we are so familiar with its processes. Certainly the correction of such deficiencies should be a major and primary target of the efforts of the joint committee.

But preoccupation with the first question should not be to the exclusion of the second question, which will receive little attention in the daily workings of Congress.

Therefore, it is my intention to direct attention to what I consider a major area of deficiency in the hope that it will receive the consideration I feel it deserves.

The genius of our system of government lies in the balance maintained through the check that one branch of Government can exercise over the other two. But there can be no balance if the checks are not applied. Of course, indiscriminate use of congressional "checks" would be obstructionary. By the same token, laxity in applying congressional "checks" when the occasion clearly demands it amounts to dereliction.

If we in Congress are to perform our sworn duty to our constituents and the Nation, we must be ever alert to the abuses of power, particularly by the executive establishment, because of its nature, but also by the judiciary, and we must never shrink from applying the necessary "checks" with discretion.

In recent years, we have witnessed a fantastic expansion of the executive establishment to a point where it is beyond the control of one man, and even beyond one man's comprehension. Such bureaucratic proliferation is the greatest of all diluents to the vote of the citizen. The bureaucratic behemoth conspicuously lacks any sense of built-in self-imposed limitation or restraint. It treats the whole area of public policy and national interest as its own exclusive playground, and responds to every challenge to its authority with veiled contempt and sometimes with sheer fury.

Bureaucrats are seldom responsive to the wishes of the people since none of them are elected. The man elected to command and control them becomes sometimes a captive of the bureaucracy himself.

A vigilant and unafraid Congress is essential if this Government is to remain a government "of the people."

What does Congress fail to do that it should be doing?

I believe that Congress fails to exercise the surveillance over the executive establishment and the regulatory bodies of its own creation, that the citizens of this country are entitled to expect.

All too frequently the agencies and bureaus engage in jurisdictional power struggles among themselves with a total disregard to the public welfare.

A recent example of this is the battle for jurisdiction by the Securities and Exchange Commission over commingled trust funds held by a national bank subject to the jurisdiction of the Comptroller of the Currency. The results of this particular skirmish are still undecided, but too often power grabs leading to endless and wasteful duplication are successful. Or, on the other hand, one bureau or agency achieves congressional approval for a particular pet program which has a lot of attractive appeal—and all the other bureaus and agencies never rest until they have a similar program of their own. A typical example, I think, of this is the proliferation in the last 2 or 3 years of the computers. We are now increasing the memory of our computers by the dozens all over the country, as the chairman well knows.

We should never have allowed this travesty to occur. Congress failed to apply its "check." An abuse of power may also be the failure to exercise it.

Now, congressional "checks" have not been applied in the past when they should have, probably because of 1 of 3 reasons. One, Congress was not aware of certain abuses of the executive branch or was apathetic to them; two, Congress could not apply its "check" because it had previously abdicated its authority legislatively; or three, the congressional "check" was applied, but it proved ineffectual because Congress did not or could not follow through.

A large part of the blame for the failure of Congress to resolutely and appropriately apply its "check" must be placed on its inadequate staffing. And this inadequacy is particularly acute on the minority side of the Senate committees. Since there are half as many minority Senators, they must in effect cover twice the ground that the majority must cover. This multiplies the difficulty of their job in being efficient and effective as the internal check our system envisions.

Under our system, the majority relies upon the minority to point out its errors, lest those errors become fateful. This system has served the Nation well for nearly 200 years. But it is presently in danger of being destroyed, in my opinion, because the minority has been so weakened, weakened not only in numbers, but more importantly weakened in effectiveness through lack of effective tools. The tools most needed are adequate and competent committee staff members. The smaller the minority, the greater the need for staff.

Americans for Democratic Action have also recognized the need for adequate staffing for the minority party members of the committee. And, I hope that Congress too will recognize this need.

I am informed that on some committees there are as many as 15 members to every minority staff member. On other committees the staffs are nonpartisan. There is really no such thing as a completely nonpartisan staff, when the work of the staff is directed by the chairman or the staff director of the chairman's choosing.

A nonpartisan staff may amount to no staff in the minority in many instances.

I am personally acquainted with a past situation where the one and only minority staff member of a committee—and this is a major committee—was required to use a stenographer from the majority staff. Therefore for anything of a confidential nature, he had to rely on the personal staff of minority Senators for typing. Such a situation is not only absurd—it is intolerable.

On the two standing committees on which I serve, there is one which I consider to be an acute situation, while the other is not so acute. And here I must stop to pay my own personal respects to the individual members of the staff, not only on the Interior Committee, but particularly on the Appropriation Committee, because I would have to say in all good conscience, Mr. Chairman, that I have never called upon any member of the Appropriation Committee staff from either side that I did not get all of the help which they could possibly supply. So I would not want what I say here today to be considered as an implication of inability or incapability or lack of cooperativeness on the part of those staffs.

But consider the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, which has six subcommittees. The staffing ratio is 12 to 2. There are times when it is physically impossible for the minority counsel to cover

the activities of the subcommittee. And I consider the inadequacy of minority staff on this committee as acute.

I must say that I remember when the Republican minority a few years back, 4 or 5 years ago, had 2 minority staffs that I was acquainted with, and there were 38 members on the staff of the Interior Committee. Thanks to the present chairman and his predecessor, this situation has been taken care of.

Now, consider the Appropriation Committee where the professional staff is on a ratio of 23 to 4. Minority staffing is really too slim to allow the minority to follow up on appropriation measures and determine whether the various agencies have spent money as directed by the committee.

I consider this situation very bad.

Congressional "checks" are not applied through a sheer lack of information.

If I may be permitted to interpolate for a moment, Mr. Chairman—in talking with my constituents, when we talk about the difficulties of this job, I always tell them and have told them repeatedly that the hardest job for Congress to do is to see that the money it appropriates is spent in the way in which Congress intended it to be spent. And I am sure the chairman will agree heartily with that statement.

Senator HAYDEN. I do, indeed.

Senator ALLOTT. Now, on the particular subcommittee on appropriations on which I am the ranking member, the Independent Offices Subcommittee, I think the Chair will recall that we have under that committee some 20-odd independent agencies. It is a very complicated bill. It runs all the way from space to veterans, from housing to Interstate Commerce Commission and the National Science Foundation—so it covers almost the whole gamut of knowledge.

I repeatedly—and I am sure that others on the committee will know this—have found that matters which we told the various agencies to go slow on, we find that they have continually kept building up.

What I am talking about here—while I consider the minority staff extremely capable—and I put it on the record, that it would be possible to profitably employ for the Subcommittee on Independent Offices alone—and the same thing would apply even in a more aggravated way to the Defense Committee, for example—as many as two on a year-round basis, and keep them busy checking into the various agencies, in the fall particularly, to see that the directives of Congress have been complied with.

Now certainly—and I am almost through—I would not advocate equal staffing. The majority has certain housekeeping functions that require a larger staff. But I do advocate equitable staffing. By equitable staffing I mean sufficient minority staff members to permit the minority to be an effective part of the legislative process.

There are have been proposals of a 60-40 ratio, and this may be appropriate in some instances. However, I do not think that an inflexible ratio can be applied in all instances. On some committees, an 80-20 ratio may be appropriate, while on others a ratio approaching 50-50 may be appropriate. It depends upon the nature of the committee and its work.

If our legislative work is to be other than perfunctory, and if Congress is to be more than a machine grinding out laws in a thoughtless

and mechanical manner, we must have adequate staffing on both sides of the party aisle. The minority side is now dangerously lacking.

The bipartisan study called for by Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 can be the key to revitalized Congress, a Congress that accepts its duty and performs it diligently—and I might here add is able to follow up on what it has done.

The American people deserve nothing less. And I respectfully urge favorable and early action on this important and urgent legislation, Mr. Chairman.

I might say, Mr. Chairman, that I have joined in this resolution, and I am simply commenting on this one phase of what this committee, which the resolution would establish, might expect to go into because I think it is a very great need in the Congress.

Senator HAYDEN. That matter will be considered if and when this resolution is passed, and a similar resolution in the House.

Senator ALLOTT. That is correct, sir.

Senator HAYDEN. Any questions?

Senator COOPER. Senator Allott, your comments are very important.

How would you envision that Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 would accomplish better staffing for the minority?

Senator ALLOTT. Well, I would think that the committee established by Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 cannot establish it, Senator—all it can do is study two main areas, as I pointed out in the initial part of my statement—how Congress does its work and how it might do it more effectively, and what Congress fails to do that it should be doing. I have picked out one area where I think Congress is failing to do something, and which from my point of reasoning, if my supposition and statements are correct, the committee would explore.

I have tried to point up a specific reason in a specific area—that shows that this committee is needed and into which it should inquire.

Senator COOPER. What you are saying is, then, that if this resolution passed you would hope very much and expect that the committee would look into this particular subject among others?

Senator ALLOTT. Yes, sir.

Senator COOPER. And impress its judgment upon the Senate and the House with respect to better staffing.

Senator ALLOTT. That is correct, sir.

Senator COOPER. How many subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations do you serve?

Senator ALLOTT. Five. Those committees are the Defense, Independent Offices, Health, Education, and Welfare, State-Justice, and Public Works.

Senator COOPER. I am talking now not only to you, but to the chairman here, who has served as chairman of that committee so long. It is a fact that the work of that committee engages practically all of your time?

Senator ALLOTT. I would say that the work of that committee, when we start receiving the bills, particularly, engages 85 percent of my committee time.

Senator COOPER. While we are waiting for the passage of this resolution, is it not possible that this subject could be brought more forcibly to the attention of our colleagues in the majority by urging them to provide more help to the minority?

Senator ALLOTT. Well, we tried to do that last year in the Senate on two occasions. I am not sure that we selected the best basis, because that was supposed to be 1 for every 10. As I stated here, I do not think you can put down a flat rule. But I notice that year after year, when we come back to our independent offices appropriation—and we are talking about \$14 billion here as a general budget for the independent offices appropriation—that things that we have inquired into and perhaps even criticized bitterly the year before, there has been no opportunity to go into during the interim. So we really do not know what has occurred. Lots of times we find that things that we have criticized had in another way become functioning and become a part of our Government.

Senator COOPER. I think your testimony is very helpful. I know that you have made this viewpoint known many times, and, on occasion on the floor. I hope very much your advice will be followed by this committee.

Senator ALLOTT. Thank you. No one is in a better position to know, of course, than our chairman the almost fantastic complexities involved in the various appropriations committees. And to say that you can utilize a staff of a hundred would not probably even be an overestimation, if it were utilized and employed properly. It would save the people of this country money. But I think you have to go at it committee by committee, and what you decide today may be correct, but you may have to modify it tomorrow. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Senator Cooper.

Senator HAYDEN. Senator McGee.

STATEMENT OF HON. GALE W. MCGEE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WYOMING

Senator MCGEE. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the courtesy of the members of the committee in hearing my views on the question that is pending; namely, updating, really, the Congress of the United States. I think this has probably been postponed too long already. I think the need for it has been demonstrated in many obvious ways by many who are far better equipped, both in intellect and experience, than I to delve into the question.

It seems to me that one of the elements that has strengthened our system of government, even from its very inception, has been our willingness and our flexibility that we have allowed it to modernize from generation to generation. Thomas Jefferson once said, right after the Constitutional Convention, that he feared the Constitution would have to be torn up and a new revolution occur about every 20 years in order to keep up with change. But we have demonstrated in our maturity, in our sophistication, that we can achieve changes to conform with changing times in far more peaceable ways and far more stable ways. One of them is our willingness to take a frank look at the machinery under which we operate now and measure it in terms of the needs of the times in which we live.

Senator HAYDEN. The idea is our Government above all others has endured for a longer time without materially changing than any other government in the world.

Senator MCGEE. Yes. And I think it is explained mostly by our willingness to change it peacefully, in an orderly way, an evolutionary way, rather than a revolutionary way. I think this has contributed to its strength.

Rather than repeat a good many of the things that have already been said here, Mr. Chairman, while I did not prepare a formal statement, I have one other area that I think we sometimes tend to neglect. That is, while we focus on updating the machinery of Congress, we sometimes fail to talk about upgrading Congressmen. And I think that you cannot separate the one move from the other.

When I speak of "upgrading Congressmen," I speak in no derogatory sense at all, but only to face the fact that we are all mortals, and we have physical limitations. Yet we are caught up in responsibility for making decisions that the times command of us, and the pressures have become so intense and the pressure so complex that the toll they take has increased above what it was not very many years ago.

I can remember 15 or 20 years ago when a typical session of the Congress could be counted upon to break up in late May or early June, for example, and most of the business of the country had been taken care of.

So I have been advancing two approaches to this question. I am sure there are others that ought to be considered. There are two in particular that in my judgment would upgrade Congressmen, and not just the machinery of Congress—the first one that I will speak to is that of accepting the concept that the Congress of the United States is a full-time business, year round, and that we cut out all of this speculation in January and February every year about when we are going to get out, about when we are going to adjourn. I think that defeats a great part of our goal—because the fact is that the world of which we are a part probably is not going to let us adjourn very early—there are some forces loose in the world that not even the Congress of the United States can control—least of all can we give it a date, with which we can channel it to the convenience of our membership.

So I believe that the sooner that we accept the idea that we are in session 12 months a year, we can then, in an orderly and calculated way, space the work of the Congress so that it achieves the maximum impact and still provides for the physical rejuvenation of the Members of Congress.

Originally this started out as what we sometimes call the summer recess idea—because of the larger number of younger and younger men and women coming into the Congress, there were more and more children in school. The tragedy of the congressional calendar had become one in which the school schedules worked at opposite ends from the congressional schedule.

I can say that my four children, after nearly 7 years now in Washington, have never been home—I mean never been back to Wyoming. For one reason—we do not believe in separating the members of the family.

Now, they are free in the summertime, but the Congress is not. We do not get home until the fall, and sometimes very late in the fall.

When I can go home in the fall, they are back in school, by reason of school schedules.

We think that one of the elements that would be helpful would be a year-round schedule in which it might be found convenient to have a short respite, let's say, in the middle of February, as we do now, around the birthday of Abraham Lincoln—that we have a short respite around Easter, and perhaps around the Fourth of July. But certainly at some given interval in the summer, perhaps August, have 3 or 4 weeks when the Congress knowingly would not be in session, so that families could then have some little time together. We do not have that time now.

Now, what this kind of a schedule would mean to the membership, it seems to me, is immeasurable in its value.

We know the great strains on our Members. Just the one term that I have been here, we have watched our colleagues drop, literally, from active service because of physical limitations. And I think that we have got to face up to what this means—that we do have an obligation, among other things, to survive, if we can, to stay in good shape if we can, to keep clear minds if we can.

For that reason, I recommend the consideration of what I have chosen to call the full-time bill for the Congress—that we count on year-round congressional session, and then space the time in accordance with what the collective judgment of the leadership on both sides could agree upon in advance.

Senator HAYDEN. This recess that you suggest in August would permit a Senator to go home to his constituents?

Senator MCGEE. Those who choose to do that, could do so. It is up to them. I would choose to spend that time with my family. I understand from the polls I have run around the Hill, the rest of the Senators would like the chance to be with their families as well. If you would like to take your family home and politic at the same time—families are good politicians—you could kill two birds with one stone. I am saying this would be good for the spirit.

The other proposal that I advance, and admittedly it is one that is far out, in a way, is that we consider very seriously senatorial sabbatical leave.

Now, I know that at first blush this seems quite unfeasible. I can think of a hundred reasons why it cannot be done. But I say that there is one reason above all others why it must be done—and surely we have enough brains in our midst to figure out the ways around the stumbling blocks to it.

The one compelling reason for it is that this body of 100 men and women has been asked to supply its judgment and its leadership, not just for the Congress of our country, but in many of its decisions, for the whole world. And it is imperative that those upon whom that burden falls, those pressures, have an opportunity to replenish their heads, if you will, their thoughts, in the exploration of new ideas, in the acquisition of new muscles to their own philosophy.

This is not a new concept. The academic world has had it since the Middle Ages; namely, that a professor, with all that he is supposed to indulge in intellectual pursuit, also runs dry, and he has to recharge his battery, he has to go out and get filled up again with new ideas. And he gets a sabbatical. In the academic world that is normal every seventh year.

Modern industry is turning to this same thing, where its top executives are being encouraged to take a kind of sabbatical in order to recharge, not their techniques for selling their product, but to recharge their mental vigor, so that they are no longer fatigued or frustrated, or just plain indifferent because of hard work, and that they get filled up with new and imaginative approaches to the problems that may predominate in their particular industries.

I say never was it more important that such an inducement, that such an opportunity, be made available to the Members of the Senate of the United States—time to sit and think.

Now, I happen to have come into the Senate straight from the classroom, from the halls of ivy, as it were. I have often been asked what it is I miss most here in Washington. I have to be very candid and say what I miss most is the chance to read and reflect, which was a hallmark of academic pursuit.

Now, most of us, when we first come in, come in rather filled with a lot of ideas—many of the cracked ones, as we discover. I had more solutions to the problems of the world when I came here than I have now. But at least we have sort of filled the reservoir, whatever other pursuit we may have come from.

But we find that once we get here, the pressures are so great that ultimately you get the feeling that the reservoir is running dry and that you are leading from the bottom of an empty reservoir every once in a while, when you ought to be coming up with a fresh new idea; that what books we are able to read—unfortunately in my case they are too few—have to be read on an airplane, or you might be able to sneak away one weekend for some reading.

This is hardly the way to seek counsel from a group of responsible men and women who have been assigned to the task of helping to pilot the ship of state over the kinds of stormy seas that we have now.

I would hope that we would find it possible to work out mechanically a formula whereby Members of the Senate would be given a little time off on a rotation basis, after X amount of time—I would say at least once in their second term; I think maybe it ought to wait beyond the first term, as it does in the academic world, because they have a great deal to go on then, and they have a lot of learning to do on their own. But at some time in their second term, they should be entitled to take 3 months, 6 months, whatever we can work out as an acceptable interval of time—an interval of time that would perhaps send them, or they would be inspired to go to some great seat of learning in the world—it would not have to be in our country—and indulge in their own particular interests there, or become a part of their community and have a give-and-take in seminar fashion. In any case, that they go into that setting in order to experience a rejuvenation in their own political philosophy. I do not mean partisan political philosophy now; I mean the political philosophy of man.

Senator HAYDEN. Does the idea contemplate a pairing of members of the opposite parties?

Senator MCGEE. Not necessarily. I would think that once it achieved a relaxation of some of the rules of the Senate that we have worked upon in the past that would make it possible in cases of the six or seven or eight Members of the Senate that might be on leave

at any given moment to agree among all of the political segments present to arrange for some honorable pairing of their absence. Now, whether that was simply in the presence of men who were still in the Senate by agreement would be I think an incidental to it, rather than fundamental to achieving that kind of agreement. It might even be best that one of these individuals just go off to a mountain top somewhere with a stack of books.

I had a conversation not very long ago at luncheon with a retired Foreign Service officer in our country. He used to be an Assistant Secretary of State, he was an ambassador for many years, and he is now retired.

I asked him how he was enjoying it. He said it was wonderful. I asked him what he was doing. He said he was reading a list of 52 books, a list that he compiled during his 25 years in service. He had not had a chance to read them. But he said:

The crime is this. Now I am retired, I am put out to pasture. While I am reading myself full, I am no longer in a position to do anything about the great ideas that I am now absorbing. Now, look at you. You spent your life growing up, reading books. And now at a time when you need to be best equipped to do something with these new ideas, you are engaged in the very business that denies that opportunity to you. We have the whole system inverted.

I do not know whether he is trying to run for the Senate or not. But he was simply saying that he now has the indulgence of reading himself full at a time that he can do the least about it. And the time that I can do the most about it, in my own small way, I have the least time in which to get that kind of a job done.

I think a good many of my colleagues that I have visited with share this same blind spot. They are very sensitive about what the people will say back home. I can tell you what the people will say. They will say "This sounds like another goof-off by the Congress," that we are looking for another free indulgence of some sort.

We are going to have to withstand that kind of criticism to begin with, in my judgment, Mr. Chairman. We are going to have to launch on our own behalf an education crusade in regard to the wisdom of this kind of an approach.

I think this would do a great deal to enrich the contribution that the leaders of the Senate can make to their country.

Now, we are so busy trying to figure out which side of a bill we are going to be on, or taking care of the chores in the office, that we lose complete sight of the big picture.

It wasn't very long ago, in fact I think the last year that President Eisenhower was in office, that there was a very distinguished committee appointed to inquire into the national purpose. Well, I think you would find most individual Senators stymied for a moment if you said to any one of them without warning "What is our national purpose?" They do not have time to stop and think about that, to think where we are going or how we ought to get there. They only want to get through 1 more day and not miss a rollcall, if they can help it.

We get so obsessed with our menial kitchen chores, if I might call them that, housekeeping duties—we get so enmeshed in the details of the present, that we lose the big picture of the future.

I think that a proposal in the order which I suggest would help us a little bit to try to take our bearings and set some guideposts along

the way as we see them. Because this is imperative, it seems to me. It is imperative in any society, be it large or small, be it business or academic. It matters not—whatever your pursuit—you ought to take time to think it through, and to enrich your own philosophy.

I feel that this is definitely important for those who are chosen by the proper procedures to their country and particularly in these times.

So those, in essence, are the two suggestions that I would toss in to the many that you are considering about modernizing the Congress.

I say that a modernized Congress likewise needs modern Congressmen, and that it is as important to upgrade the individual as it is to update the machinery of which he becomes a part.

That is all the time I want to take.

I am very grateful to the committee for hearing me out. I am mindful of the fact that there are lots of mechanical and logistical pitfalls in ultimately working it out. But I am confident that all of the best brains put together can work it out. We have worked out a lot tougher problems than that.

I do think that we ought to aim toward that as a legitimate target.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that certain documents dealing with this subject be placed in the record of these hearings.

Senator HAYDEN. That will be done.

(The documents submitted by Senator McGee will be found as exhibit 3 in the appendix to these hearings.)

Senator HAYDEN. Any questions?

Senator COOPER. Senator McGee, while I did not hear your speech on the subject, I have read it. It was a very interesting and stimulating proposition to the effect that time be given to Members in which they have time to read, study, and reflect. I think it is a valuable idea.

I think there is a question which is not as broad as the one you have raised, but which presses on me, narrower in scope. I think it is important. That is we must find the time today to even study thoroughly the questions are are immediately before us.

I have felt for a long time and said on the floor a few times that it seems to me there should be some steering committee made up of the Members of the majority and the minority that could arrange the scheduling of committee hearings—and, indeed, session of the Senate—in such a way as to give the Members a day or a week in which they could actually study more carefully the bills before us.

Senator MCGEE. I think that is exceedingly important, too. And all of us always say that "Thank heavens for my good staff"—but you are still getting it second hand. And without that, we could not even shoot from the hip as we have to now and be right, we hope, more often than we are wrong. But that is likewise desperately important.

Senator COOPER. I think another subject—I remember when I first came here in 1947 and 1948—the time was not taken up as it is now. In the field of defense, so many issues relating to security measures, when we debated on the floor provide very little that you can learn, or can be said. There is always the question of security raised.

As a result, the Committee on Armed Services and perhaps the Committee on Foreign Relations have the basic knowledge upon which the rest of us have to depend and make decisions.

I have always thought that some means ought to be provided to give to Members of the Senate as much information about defense matters, and the question of broad foreign policy, relating to the difficult questions we have today, such as Vietnam. This information is just not available to Members of the Senate unless you are a member of one of these committees. It reduces the effectiveness of a Senator, because you have not the basis of facts upon which to make decisions and speeches. It is a real problem.

Senator MCGEE. I do not know whether the Senator would agree or not, but I have felt that both the Defense Department and the State Department have often neglected an opportunity to raise the level of understanding of their problem in the Senate by concentrating on a given committee, because that is the committee that actually casts the votes in the first stage on their bills. But then those two Departments begin to wonder why they get in trouble when they get to the floor.

It would take very little additional effort on their part, in my judgment, to work out knowingly, deliberately, a broader base for the same kind of deliberations to which the official members of the committees in those critical areas are commonly exposed.

I have been more aware of efforts to try to do that on the Foreign Relations Committee than I have been on the Armed Services Committee. It may have been on there, too. But I have not been involved with it. On Foreign Relations I have noted that Secretary Rusk has made a very notable effort, a step forward, as I see it, in that very regard, where there are opportunities set up deliberately for other Members than those on the committee to share the kind of information that he has brought to the committee. And I think the more that is done, the wiser we will all be on the big question.

But if we are going to go that route, we are going to have to have some paring down somewhere else, I suspect, either that or the institution of longer days, more hours in the day, or something, in order to get it all in.

But I think we have to set up our priorities as a legislative body. And that means we are going to have to do less and less about the minutiae that we sometimes get bogged down with now, and more and more about the big question. And that would tie right in with what you were just discussing.

Senator COOPER. Thank you very much.

Senator MCGEE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HAYDEN. Thank you. This completes the subcommittee's public consideration of proposals dealing with congressional reorganization. If anyone is interested in submitting a written statement on this subject, the hearings will be left open for 5 additional days.

(Whereupon, at 2:55 p.m. the subcommittee was recessed, to reconvene subject to call of the Chair.)

(Written statements submitted for the record by Senator Alan Bible, Senator Jack Miller, Senator Leverett Saltonstall, and Senator Hugh Scott are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. ALAN BIBLE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEVADA

Mr. Chairman, the resolution to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress has my enthusiastic support. The work of Congress has continued to increase in volume and complexity, matching the pace of a space-age society. Periodic self-evaluation and readjustment is imperative if Congress is

to meet its responsibility to the Nation as an effective and responsive member of our tripartite form of government.

It has been nearly 20 years since the last reorganization legislation was adopted by the Congress. Since then, progress in agriculture, manufacturing, science, medicine, and practically every phase of our life has surpassed our fondest expectations and these advances promise to accelerate in the future. We were all thrilled, just last week, at the success of our moonshot and the resulting photographs which offer our scientists additional tools to move forward in their exploration of space.

As the Nation's pursekeeper, Congress is charged with the responsibility of evaluating many of these programs and allocating funds for activities which will gain the most good for our Nation. Our accounting and evaluating techniques must be updated to meet this challenge.

As a lawmaking body, Congress must analyze complex problems in this fast-changing Nation and world. Congress must pass legislation to meet our changing needs on a basis of expert information and thorough consideration. This requires the most judicious use of our time.

As a watchdog and check upon our sister branches of government, the Congress must operate in such a manner so to gain and keep the respect of the executive and judicial branches.

Finally, as the closest link to our citizenry, we must be so informed that we can intelligently provide answers to a multitude of questions and problems.

Our responsibilities are many—they are growing, as we all realize. I believe we should take steps immediately to explore methods of improving our procedures to meet the challenges of the future. The establishment of a joint committee of Congress to evaluate suggestions and make recommendations would be most helpful in this regard. I believe the need exists today and I am hopeful this legislation will be given early enactment.

STATEMENT OF HON. JACK MILLER, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Subcommittee on Standing Rules: I believe Senate Concurrent Resolution 2, of which I am a cosponsor, will serve as a vehicle in developing a broad program leading to the modernization of the rules and procedures under which Congress operates. This study is long overdue. Such a study would enable Congress to get its work done more efficiently and more effectively. It is high time we establish reforms to offset the continued erosion of power of the legislative branch of the Government.

This is the heart of Senate Concurrent Resolution 2. While it is not so spelled out, it is there implicitly, nevertheless: Congress must modernize its machinery so that it will regain control of its responsibility and recover its coordinate role in the Federal system.

Congress presently is not equipped to do a thorough job; it is still operating under rules and procedures which belong to the model T era, not the space age.

It has neither the time nor the staff to conduct effective checks on whether the nearly \$100 billion it appropriates annually is being properly spent. There is no way at the moment that we can justify every major item which finds its way into law. This is a disservice to the taxpayer, who should and must have an accounting of how his money is spent, and how wisely.

There should and must be provisions made to expedite urgent legislation, yet they must be so designed that they will not become a funnel for pushing through all kinds of unneeded and unnecessary legislation.

Congress today must involve itself into every facet of life, national and international. It is concerned with the spending by more than 2,000 departments and agencies with more than 2,600,000 employees, yet the present setup in the Congress prohibits the close scrutiny of these departments and employees.

I am hopeful that out of Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 will come specific recommendations enabling Congress to fulfill its constitutional obligations in this modern age.

STATEMENT OF HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

My dear Mr. Chairman, because of important hearings today before the Armed Services Committee of which I am ranking minority member, I regret that I am unable to testify personally in behalf of Senate Concurrent Resolution 2. How-

ever, as a cosponsor of the proposal, I want to submit this letter for inclusion in the record of the hearings so that I may indicate my support for the bill.

Fundamental to our tripartite system of government is a strong and independent legislative branch which is equipped to deal with the problems presented by our modern society. The Congress, as an equal partner with the judiciary and the Executive, has its own particular role to play in our governmental system. In order for it to do an effective job, a review of its organization and operation is necessary from time to time to see how it might be improved.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 would establish a joint committee, consisting of six Members of the House and six Members of the Senate, "to make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress." It would authorize this committee to recommend such changes as it felt would strengthen the Congress and better enable it to meet its constitutional responsibilities.

The last time a comprehensive review of congressional activities was made, in 1945-46, many innovations were instituted, and I think they facilitated our work to a great extent. However, in the intervening 20 years during which I have been privileged to serve in the Senate, our world has undergone tremendous change. Nuclear energy is now a commonplace, instantaneous worldwide communication a reality, and trips to the moon a not-so-distant possibility. The effect of these and other changes has been felt in the Congress. Our workload has increased greatly. Jurisdictional problems have developed among committees, and some features of congressional operating procedures have proved more effective than others, with the result that certain congressional practices appear to need alteration to insure that the national legislative body can continue to meet the demands of the times. Over the years we have made piecemeal modifications in congressional procedure, but it is now time to sit down and discuss fully the effects of the events and changes of the past 20 years on the functioning of the Congress, and to think about what can be done to insure that the legislative branch keep pace with the rest of our modern-day society.

In this connection, it is important to note that Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 would not authorize the joint committee to make any recommendations pertaining to the rules, practices, or precedents of either House of Congress. This wisely leaves to each body decisions about which aspects of its own rules and practices need to be modified. At the same time, by avoiding controversies over the internal operations of each House, it increases the likelihood that meaningful action can be taken on matters which are of major concern to the whole Congress.

I feel that there is real merit in providing for a study of the organization and operation of Congress now. We in Congress have an important responsibility, and we want to meet it in the best way we can. Congress must be an ongoing, forward-looking body if it is to meet the challenge of the times. I feel that this bill will help it to be just that.

STATEMENT OF HON. HUGH SCOTT, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Chairman, as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 2, I appreciate this opportunity to express my strong support of this measure which would authorize the creation of a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. The purpose of this study is to develop legislation to improve and modernize the organization and machinery of Congress.

I have been privileged to serve in the Congress of the United States during the nearly two decades that have elapsed since the enactment in 1946 of the LaFollette-Monroney bill which resulted from a thorough study similar to that proposed by the pending legislation. Twenty years may be a short time in the span of history, but during this brief period we have witnessed startling and revolutionary developments in almost every field of endeavor. The U.S. Government has had to cope with the many and constantly changing problems associated with the breathtaking events of this postwar era. My lengthy experience in our National Legislature has convinced me that Congress is poorly equipped organizationally to play its important role effectively as one of the three coequal branches of the U.S. Government.

What is at stake now is the continued strength and effectiveness of Congress. As deeply as I respect our coequal institutions of the Presidency and the judiciary, I want a Congress that is just as strong and effective as they.

Congress may not command as much attention in our communications media as the Presidency. For one thing, it is easier to focus on 1 man than it is on

535 men, and the President is the principal representative of the United States in the eyes of other nations of the world. However, the importance of Congress should not be downgraded merely because it, in contrast to the man at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, is not always on page 1 of the daily newspapers or the lead item on the Huntley-Brinkley program.

To the contrary, Mr. Chairman, Congress role is critically important to the effective functioning of our representative form of government. The legislation we consider here has the most far-reaching effects on the lives of every American and on the welfare and safety of millions of individuals all over the world. Certainly the occupant of the White House is an important individual and I, for one, would not want to hamstring the exercise of his powers and duties by making him a puppet of Congress or of the courts. But I do want to be certain that his acts and the acts of his subordinates are subject to continuing scrutiny and review by Congress. And I want to be certain that Congress continues effectively to have a hand in formulating policy for the many and varied issues with which our Government must deal.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, let us be always mindful that Congress has the power of the purse. We should jealously guard and exercise that power, but to do so requires revitalizing and modernizing our organizational machinery so that we can effectively discharge our responsibilities during the authorization-appropriations phase of the budget process.

Congress must keep up with our changing times. I am convinced that the legislative proposals to emerge from the proposed study authorized by this resolution will be framed with that in mind. For this reason, I urge the committee to report out Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 so that the proposed joint committee can get on with its very important job.

APPENDIX

EXHIBIT 1

EDITORIALS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY SENATOR A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

[From the San Francisco Examiner, Dec. 20, 1964]

A BIG JOB

Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma has for the second time in his congressional career set himself the backbreaking task of modernizing the working rules of Congress. As a young Congressman in 1946, Monroney joined with Wisconsin Senator Robert LaFollette to carry out the first overhaul of congressional machinery in 60 years.

Now, 18 years later, Congress is creaking and wheezing along under organizational handicaps at least as bad as, perhaps worse, than the procedural hamstringing that prevailed in 1946.

The LaFollette-Monroney Act of 1946 was good. But it applied to a different kind of a world than Congress must work in now and the rest of us must live in.

Monroney underlines just how different. The Nation's population, for one thing, has increased 50 million; from 140 million to 190 million. The gross national product has grown from \$218 billion to \$623 billion. But those are not the basic measures of change.

Since 1946 the American Government, along with the American people and all the rest of the world—free and slave alike—has moved into the fantastic and terrifying age of space and atomic energy.

Even the awesome problems of space embrace only part of the pace of change. An emerging pluralistic society has entirely revolutionized our way of living, even of thinking.

Today the Congress is the legislative body for a \$100 billion annual business—the world's largest, history's biggest. But Congress is trying to run that enormous and complicated business with a legislative organization that was obsolete almost before the first of the ensuing 18 years had passed.

Congressional reorganization has been overdue not just most of those 18 years, but by a span that seems to reach back to prehistoric times in terms of the kaleidoscopic change that has occurred so swiftly that men grasp its significance only vaguely. And the pace of change will run ever more swiftly.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 30, 1964]

SENATOR MONRONEY SPEAKS UP

Senator Monroney of Oklahoma, who is assuming active leadership in the movement for congressional reform, brings to this task his deserved prestige as coauthor of the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946 and the sensitive political skills which helped make that law a reality.

In proposing a joint House-Senate committee to make a yearlong study of the way Congress now conducts its operations, Mr. Monroney recognizes that it takes time to build a consensus among the Members on behalf of any serious innovation. He is placing the emphasis on modernization and efficiency, rather than on party responsibility or structural reform. This approach evades some hard underlying issues, but it is at least pragmatic. Most Congressmen, like most other Americans, feel more at home discussing techniques and practical shortcuts than they do considering theoretical questions or radical reforms.

The seniority system, the committee system, absenteeism, filibusters, repetitious hearings and needlessly long sessions are among the issues requiring study by the proposed committee. Senator Monroney intends to focus attention on the inadequate and archaic procedures now used to review the budget and to appropriate funds.

But the use of computers will not correct the autonomous, irresponsible power of appropriations subcommittee chairmen, such as Representative Otto Passman, on foreign aid, or Representative Albert Thomas, on the independent agencies, or Senator Robert Byrd, of West Virginia, on the affairs of the District of Columbia. The need is to devise a means of bringing the appropriation process under the effective control of a majority of the Members of the whole House and Senate, acting through their central elected leadership.

The Monroney resolution is not likely to meet much open opposition in the Senate, where Clifford Case, of New Jersey, and Joseph Clark, of Pennsylvania, have been tirelessly keeping alive the cause of congressional reform. The real obstacles to the resolution and, more important, to the approval of the committee's eventual recommendations, will come in the House.

The more ambitious reforms proposed in the original draft of the 1946 law foundered on the opposition of the late Speaker Sam Rayburn. The traditionalists are still entrenched there. But the outlook is brighter now that Senator Monroney has rejoined the battle.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 26, 1964]

NEW MOSES ON THE HILL?

Senator A. S. Mike Monroney's decision to push for a modernization of congressional procedures is in many respects the best news of the week. Mr. Monroney—then a Member of the House—and the late Senator LaFollette were the chief architects of the reforms that were put into effect in 1946. Their bill proved to be the most extensive overhaul in the history of Congress. Actually, however, it was a moderate effort which left many defects uncorrected.

Mr. Monroney notes that the country has undergone enormous growth since the previous reforms were affected. The Federal Government is now a \$100 billion a year business, he said, and Congress is trying to manage it from a slant-top desk, an old fashioned revolving stool, and a big thick ledger, using a quill pen. Political scientists, the press, and individual Members of Congress have been saying the equivalent of this for years. It is encouraging to have their judgment confirmed by a veteran congressional reformer who is now bidding for a leadership post.

Under the Monroney plan, the task of shaping the proposed reform program would be given to a special bipartisan, 10-member, Senate-House committee. The committee would be asked to devise ways and means of reducing the workload of some legislative committees to speed action so that Congress could adjourn each year by August, to study substitutes for the seniority system and the antifilibuster rule and so forth. We hope that such a committee will be approved and that it will be given the widest possible mandate.

Probably most urgent of all is a mechanism in both Houses for bringing major items in the administration's program to a vote after a reasonable time for their discussion in committee. Congress needs to conserve its time and strength for deciding vital policy issues. Far too much of its energy has been frittered away in the past on petty chores, trivialities, and procedural hassles. If Mr. Monroney and like-minded colleagues can lead the way out of this wilderness, they will earn the profound thanks of the country as well as of Congress.

[From the Syracuse Herald-Journal, Syracuse, N.Y., Dec. 3, 1964]

ON MODERNIZING CONGRESS

SEN. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONRONEY: Thanks for your letter with the accompanying statement on your plan to revamp the 1946 LaFollette-Monroney Act to update the organization of Congress.

This proposal certainly is a timely approach to a crying need, but frankly I see more chance to gain the stated objectives so far as financial and budgetary aspects of congressional responsibilities are concerned than I do any reform that involves political considerations, and particularly the chairmanship of committees on a seniority basis.

As we all know, the chairmanship of important committees is almost wholly in the hands of veteran southerners and no matter how practical the plan to evolve a better plan they are not going to yield their powerful positions now theirs on a seniority basis. You and I do not have to discuss that.

You mention how editorial support brought about the passage of the original LaFollette-Monroney Act.

If your memory is as green as mine on this subject, you will recall that we worked together on this proposal and that, as program chairman of the American Society of Newspapers Editors, I set up a panel in the House caucus building for discussion of the proposal. The panelists were yourself, the late Senator LaFollette, the late Senator Maloney of Connecticut, Speaker Sam Rayburn, and Representative Clarence Cannon, of Missouri. You are the only survivor of that group. If memory serves, many of our questions came from Josephus Daniels, Navy Secretary under Wilson and Carolina publisher.

Our group was so impressed with your proposal that hundreds of favorable editorials resulted and, to the surprise of many, the bill went through.

You will recall that great emphasis was laid on ridding Congress of unneeded committees.

But whatever slack was taken up in the legislation was later restored by the activation of subcommittees. As in some football games, the overzealous officials took the game away from the players.

But all party considerations aside no one can argue with you on the need of the latest computer aids on getting budget and department financial information to the Appropriation Committees, on the advisability of early consideration of work coming up, and on ABA adjournment by August.)

No one could have greater respect than I have for our Congress. But the turtlelike way it operates on most matters always makes me feel that most of you Members ought still to be wearing white wigs and silver-buckled slippers—that the snuffboxes and sand containers for quill pens are not an antique feature continued for atmosphere but a true symbol of congressional thinking.

And if I may make a suggestion on the content of the resolution, make the necessity of updating your methods of getting your work done faster and more efficiently, and of improving working methods to make earlier adjournment possible the main concern and avoid all political matters like seniority which would certainly encounter lethal opposition.

You will notice I have edited your letter and statement to obtain maximum exposure of key points. That was the only reason.

Cordially,

CASEY JONES.

[From the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, Nov. 29, 1964]

CONGRESSIONAL OVERHAUL

U.S. Senator Mike Monroney, of Oklahoma, a candidate for the Democratic whip job now held by Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, says he'll press for overhaul and modernization of congressional rules and procedures when Congress opens next year. This is the kind of news that makes you want to stand up and cheer—if he means it. If there's anything in the United States that can stand a complete overhaul and updating it is Congress.

It has been some 18 years since the last overhaul was attempted. Some of the 38 major reforms enacted then did not work. Others were not given a chance to work by Congressmen who weren't about to change their "we've always done it this way" ideas.

But the Federal Government is a \$100 billion a year business and, as Senator Monroney points out, this means rules and procedures which do not contribute to an efficient operation no longer can be tolerated.

We hope before he draws the legislation calling for a study leading to recommendations for the overhaul. Senator Monroney will get together with the so-called Young Turks of the U.S. House who are hoping to bring about some changes over there. By putting their heads together they might come up with a piece of proposed legislation that would be acceptable while also saving the

taxpayer considerable expense. Senator Monroney is especially interested in modernizing procedures by which Congress deals with budget and appropriations bills. If only Congress could borrow computers from Government agencies and use them to eliminate a lot of the drudgery now involved in poring over annual appropriations items, it would be a big help, he said. House Members seem more interested in taking a new look at the antiquated seniority system that leads to the "strong chairman" system that, in turn, leads to virtual dictatorship in determining what bills Congress may consider.

These and other outmoded rules and procedures all should be reviewed for the good of all. You can't run a 20th century nation with 18th century machinery. It's time Congress recognized that and did something about it.

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Nov. 30, 1964]

A BLUEPRINT FOR CONGRESS

Senator A. S. Mike Monroney, Democrat, of Oklahoma, has come up with a blueprint for a comprehensive modernization of congressional machinery which ought to get thorough study by national lawmakers.

Senator Monroney was coauthor of committee and staff overhauls which were adopted in 1946. These have proved effective, but, as the Oklahoman noted, the Nation has changed a great deal since then.

Senator Monroney has advanced proposals for improving congressional procedures and methods in dealing with the \$100-billion-a-year business that is the U.S. Government. He suggested, among other things, that computers might be used to process details of the vast Federal budget for the Appropriations Committees.

"We have got to stop acting like a bunch of retired farmers sitting on cracker barrels around a potbellied stove," said Senator Monroney, noting that modern accounting methods could save the country vast amounts of money.

Under his plan, the task of shaping the details of the proposed reform program would be given a bipartisan Senate-House committee which would be asked to devise ways and means of reducing the workload of some committees to speed action on legislation, a study of the rules to find some method of substituting for the seniority system, for the antifilibuster rule, and other things.

One point that should find favor with most Congressmen is the Senator's proposal that Congress have a mandatory adjournment by August 15 every year. In order to facilitate this, important committees would return to Washington as early as December to hold hearings and vote bills into the legislative pipeline.

Senator Monroney estimates this system would save the Congress from "spinning its wheels" for months at a time while committee action holds up legislation.

Whether this would work as well as the Senator hopes is a little doubtful, but his overall package of proposals has a great deal of merit.

In the age of the computer, the missile, and the moon race, Congress cannot afford to keep depending on its antiquated machinery to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. Too much time and energy are wasted on trivialities and cumbersome procedure.

If Senator Monroney can again bring about liberation of Congress from its outmoded ways he will find the Nation grateful.

[From the Detroit News, Dec. 4, 1964]

"QUILL PEN" CONGRESS

Senator Mike Monroney, Oklahoma Democrat, has proposed another overhauling of Congress in order to speed up its work and make it more responsive to the Nation's needs. The plan deserves broad support.

What Monroney wants to do is set up a bipartisan committee of five Members of each House to make a yearlong study of needed changes. Political scientists, business leaders, computer experts, and other private citizens would be asked to testify.

The Oklahoma Senator, who was a cosponsor of the LaFollette-Monroney Reorganization Act of 1946, believes that the emphasis this time ought to be put on Congress power of the purse.

He wants modern accounting methods, certified public accountants to help staff congressional committees, and use of computers to help Members of Congress understand the Government's budget.

He points out that while business has adopted new computer techniques, Members of Congress "who are the comptrollers of the world's biggest business, are figuratively using a high, slant-top desk, an old-fashioned revolving stool, a big thick ledger, and a quill pen."

Another problem that Monroney wants investigated is the increasing amount of "casework" Members of Congress carry on for their constituents back home. He would not deny the public its right of petition, but he thinks something must be done to lighten the load that constituents place upon the backs of Members of Congress.

Service to their constituents is one of the major function of all Members of Congress. But Members must not be so overwhelmed by this burden that they lack the time and staff to delve into national and international problems. Monroney's proposal ought to get favorable action as soon as the new Congress meets.

[From the Tulsa Tribune, Nov. 30, 1964]

ROUGH COURSE FOR MONRONEY

The picture from Washington, D.C., shows Oklahoma Senator Mike Monroney waving with a gesture of despair at a footlocker full of documents which overburdened Congressmen have to wade through at appropriations time.

The Senator is a frustrated newspaperman, and he knows how to capture an idea. In this instance, he was dramatizing the need for congressional reorganization, his newest "hobbyhorse."

Congressional reorganization is a wordy subject, and one that won't long grip the average reader's attention. Two elements in it, however, will certainly hit the headlines in the months ahead.

One is the proposal to change the seniority system in Congress, under which powerful committee chairmanships go to the men who have served longest—usually southern conservatives. The other is the proposal to choke off filibusters by writing new limitations on Senate debate—another move that will rouse every conservative to arms.

Senator Monroney probably calculates that with the impetus of President Johnson's sweep in the last election, these long-troublesome matters can now successfully be brought to a head. He is probably gambling that if it comes to a liberal-conservative showdown, the liberals can now carry the day.

He may be right. Congressional Quarterly points out this week that the "conservative coalition" in the House failed to defeat any measure backed by President Johnson on a rollcall vote last session. This record contrasts sharply with President Kennedy's contests with the Republicans and southern Democrats in 1963, and this fact of life now has to be recognized.

The effort to remove congressional roadblocks is not simply a liberal versus conservative issue, however, and it would be a pity if the flying of fur and feathers over seniority and the filibuster were allowed to obscure the less dramatic proposals in Senator Monroney's congressional reorganization package. For the other reforms are in their own ways quite as important. Let's itemize the leading ones:

1. The use of computers and new accounting techniques to clarify the immense complexities of the Government's \$100 billion budget. (This is the point Senator Monroney's footlocker full of documents was supposed to dramatize.) The Senator believes billions of dollars can be saved if all the departments of Government are able to "talk the same language."

2. A conflict-of-interest rule would compel Congressmen to make a personal financial statement each year.

3. ABA—which Senator Monroney defines as "Adjournment by August." That's a desirable goal, for it would provide a more orderly and efficient setting for congressional action.

4. More facilities for attention to the problems of individual constituents. The Congressman is often the individual's only defense against the bureaucracy.

It is probably no coincidence that the American Assembly of Columbia University—a group of businessmen, industrialists, bankers, and scholars—has recently agreed upon a very similar set of goals, in a pamphlet entitled "The Congress and

America's Future." The statement was born of a conference at Arden House, Harriman, N.Y., October 29 to November 1.

This university-oriented group also puts emphasis on the need to remove road-blocks from Congress path. "Individuals or minorities in the legislature must not be permitted to frustrate the will of a majority, whether in a standing committee or in one or both of the Houses," it says.

It is easy to guess that, to the liberal element in politics, all this will seem the golden opportunity to break once and for all the conservative strength in Congress.

Senator Monroney's task, as an Oklahoman, should be to see that the valid issue of "congressional reorganization" is not swamped by the hell-for-leather liberals. The points he raises are valid ones, and there have indeed been had abuses of the powers of seniority in the past. Revision is in order.

But the checks and balances which make up our uniquely American system are precious not just to a few conservative cliques, but to all Americans. The country will not look kindly on reforms which result in the abrupt silencing of dissident minority voices in the Congress.

This is a tough course the Oklahoma Senator has charted for himself, but it is one he has been over before.¹ With Senator Robert La Follette, Jr., he was a co-author of the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946. Some of it fell flat.

Nevertheless, the 48 standing committees of the House were successfully consolidated into 19 (still only 20 today), and the 33 Senate committees became 15 (now 16).² Lobbyists were required to register and a retirement system for Congressmen was set up.

For this, Representative Monroney (as he then was) won a \$10,000 award from *Colliers* magazine for "distinguished service." He donated the money to help establish an Episcopal school in Oklahoma City.

If he can render such distinguished service again, without becoming the tool of special interest groups, we will nominate him for "Statesman of the Year."

[From the Evening Star, Dec. 4, 1964]

SENATOR MONRONEY'S REFORMS

When a bill coauthored by Senator A. S. Mike Monroney to streamline Congress finally became law back in 1946, some badly needed changes resulted. Among them was the reduction of standing committees through pruning and mergers from 81 to less than half that number, and new language declaring that it shall be the "duty" of committee chairmen to report bills promptly.

If these seem mild, it might be useful to note that this act was the only major reorganization of Congress in the 20th century. And lest anyone consider abolishing a committee an easy task, it should be recalled that up to 1921 the Senate could not bear to part with its Committee on Revolutionary Claims—created in 1832.

Now Senator Monroney has called for a joint committee to conduct a year-long study of new reorganization proposals, furthering the reforms he began 18 years ago. One of the major changes he has in mind is the creation of a professional staff of certified public accountants and use of computers to speed the annual appropriation process of our \$100 billion budget. The present system he likens to a bunch of farmers negotiating around a potbellied stove.

Also proposed for scrutiny are the seniority system, filibusters, the logjam of inconsequential work now handled as private bills, and the "Australian weekends" where Fridays and Mondays often end up as legislative holidays because of trips by lawmakers.

The Senator has several things going in his favor. He comes from a State outside traditional North-South hostility. A direct, open, undeviating man, he

¹ Representative Monroney, plugging for congressional reorganization in 1944: "We are trying to do this work sitting on an old-fashioned bookkeeper's stool with a slant-top desk, a Civil War ledger, and a quill pen."

² Senator Monroney, plugging for congressional reorganization in 1964: Members of Congress approach our \$100 billion budget "like a bunch of farmers sitting around on cracker barrels."

"In the good old days of the 19th century, Congress would meet for 3 or 4 months a year * * * pass a few bills, and then adjourn. Today the workload has multiplied a thousandfold. The subject matter now extends into every facet of human experience, from the problems of air pollution to medical research to economic growth, through the realms of outer space and across the vast spectrum of our fantastic military weaponry."

is well liked by his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. The press likes him, too, for he was one of them earlier in his career. And having guided congressional changes once before, Senator Monroney has acquired a shrewd knowledge of what is possible.

We do not share the view of those who regularly attack the congressional setup as antediluvian and obsolete. Take it all in all, year in and year out, the system operates slowly but well. If it is something of a brake on the forces of change, that is all right, too.

But every institution needs occasionally to look at its way of doing business, and every such review reveals areas that need constructive attention.

Along the line of improving staff work, of lightening lawmakers' workload by delegating routine, and of speeding the machinery of annual money bills so that Congress may adjourn by fall, Senator Monroney may well find practical goals, capable of achievement.

[From the Charlotte Observer, Dec. 7, 1964]

REFORM OF CONGRESS SHOULD TURN ITS FOCUS ON QUALITY

Before President Kennedy died, American liberals were driving hard to reform a Congress which they felt was not passing nearly enough laws. But the combination of President Johnson's engineering skill and a desire to award President Kennedy in death what it had withheld in life caused Congress to transform a hopper full of bills into a book full of laws.

For a while it seemed that the faultfinding monitors of the 88th Congress had been silenced by a piecemeal performance that went well over quota. The few pleas for reform that were still heard seemed only to suggest that a certain species of liberal can make no intelligible sound except a squawk.

This serene condition did not last long.

The November 3 elections greatly strengthened the ranks of liberal-minded Congressmen, and they have gained new heart and new impetus for reform. Today, as in the past much emphasis is being placed on changing the internal procedures of both Houses in order to weaken the troublemaking capacities of minorities and thereby speed up the flow of legislation.

The most frequently mentioned proposals in this category are those which would make it easier for the Senate to cut off a filibuster, require fewer than 218 votes to force a stubborn House committee to discharge a bill and trim the authority of the chairman of the House Rules Committee, Judge Howard W. Smith.

This seems a misplaced emphasis to us. The second year performance of the 88th showed rather conclusively that the rules under which it worked are not unduly obstructive when other conditions are favorable.

ONE CLEAR NEED

If it is debatable whether Congress needs adjustments to improve the quantity of its output, there scarcely can be any argument that Congress sorely needs improvement in the quality of its membership and performance.

Seen from any perspective, the demands on Congress have ballooned much faster than Congress ability to respond to them. With the multiplication of nearly everything in the United States, from smoke and people to Polaris missiles, the executive branch has tended to keep pace through its own expansion. Except in the limited terms of staff assistants and satellite agencies such as the General Accounting Office and the Library of Congress, the legislative branch cannot meet growing requirements by merely enlarging itself.

The subjects with which Congress must deal have not only proliferated in numbers, they have also taken on a complexity that was undreamed of in times past. With a reasonable amount of effort, a Senator in the 67th Congress could digest most of the pertinent facts and vote intelligently on whether to ratify the treaty on international naval armaments. In 1963, only a handful of Senators were able to master enough of the technical details involved to vote as "experts" on the test ban treaty.

Does anyone believe that more than a tiny minority in the 88th Congress had the time to read widely in the significant literature on urban America before voting on the rapid transit bill?

To do nothing about this is not to cling to the status quo, it is to ride with deterioration. A Congress that is steadily being outdistanced by its challenges, that is becoming less and less able to match brains and understanding with the executive branch, is a Congress that is failing in its constitutional functions.

Some interesting prescriptions have been offered recently that, if taken seriously by Congress, offer improvement if not a cure. Sixty-seven distinguished Americans meeting at the 26th American Assembly a month ago drafted a list of 18 recommendations for change in Congress. At least 12 of those recommendations bear heavily on the issue of quality in the legislative branch.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Dec. 8, 1964]

THE OLD 1946 MODEL

The moment seems propitious for improvement of the machinery and methods with which Congress operates, and certainly the need is substantial. Some of the reforms of 1946, the first major overhaul in 60 years, have come unstuck and others have been reversed. Not only have new problems arisen, but new means have arisen for possible use in solving them.

Encouraged by the liberal Democratic gains in last November's elections, Senator Monroney, of Oklahoma, who with the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., of Wisconsin, led the reform legislation of 18 years ago, will introduce a resolution for creation of a bipartisan committee in each House to make a year-long study and recommendations.

A group of Democratic liberals in the House is drawing up proposals, and we trust Republicans in Senate and House will display an equal interest. Some proposals will unquestionably involve partisan politics, but others will not. As an example of the latter there is the colossal waste of time involved in some of Congress antiquated procedures, such as the slow-motion ritual by which the House of Representatives comes to a vote.

During a year this archaic rite takes up an entire month's time. Yet although the era of cybernetics has burst upon us and Congress is now called upon to decide whether it wants to use computers in processing the budget, the House has still not been able to make up its mind whether to adopt so relatively primitive a device as electric voting, which would reduce the time required to poll the Chamber from 45 minutes to some 30 seconds.

The first duty of a study committee would be to look to the reforms Congress thought it made in 1946. Liberal provisions were made to enable Members to employ the administrative assistance they needed, but too much of it has gone instead to the support of relatives. Some good stout antinepotism rules to put this reform back where it belongs would create confidence in whatever new reforms were undertaken. We think Congress also owes it to the taxpayer to eradicate some of the more flamboyant wastes of junketing and to make another effort to control conflict of interest.

The committee reforms of 1946 have long since been set at naught by the proliferation of subcommittees. A 1946 reform requiring permission of Senate or House for a committee to meet while the Chamber was in session has been so grossly misinterpreted that during the recent civil rights filibuster every committee of the Senate was prevented from meeting at various times by the vote of a single Member of Congress. This is a classic example of an intended reform that has become a positive evil.

We agree with Senator Monroney that the "biggest and most essential" reform needed is to improve control over budgeting and spending, and there is much that can be done to simplify the budget, to make it more understandable, to separate expenditures from investments, and to enable Congress to retain control over appropriations after they are made.

Does this sound as if reform of Congress is even more important now than it was in 1946? We think it does. The American Congress is capable of greatness but no one can accuse it of being either modern or efficient. We think it could do with being a little more of both.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Times, Dec. 9, 1964]

FOR A MODERN CONGRESS

It has been 18 years since Congress reformed itself, and that overhaul was the first in 60 years.

Now, according to Senator A. S. Mike Monroney, of Oklahoma, one of the sponsors of the 1946 reform bill, the job must be done again. In order to carry the steadily increasing burden of old and new problems, congressional machinery must be updated, modernized, and revised.

Financial matters are among the most important and sensitive items that need the attention of modernizers. We need better methods to handle the \$100 billion a year governmental apparatus.

Senator Monroney suggests that Congress, the comptroller of the world's biggest business, is figuratively "using a high, slant-top desk, an old-fashioned revolving stool, a big thick ledger, and a quill pen."

Besides changes in fiscal procedures to update current accounting, auditing, and budgeting methods, Senator Monroney would set a mandatory adjournment date about August 15. To accomplish this, he would make provisions to accelerate the movement of bills to Senate and House floors.

This means some revision of long-standing committee customs and practices.

It would seem that it would be easier to effect some of these reforms than to persuade Congress to approve changes in some of its historic rules. For example of challenging questions:

Is there any workable substitute for the seniority system?

What should be done about the rule on cloture?

What can be done to eliminate the Tuesday-to-Thursday system? (Legislative holidays occur on Mondays and Fridays under this system.)

How much delay can be permitted because Members have important speeches to make, delaying final votes?

The people have more than a merely passive role in this reform; they have a very direct involvement. Senator Monroney says that possibly more than 80 percent of the time of Members of Congress and their staffs is consumed in so-called casework for constituents, a necessary service that they must continue to render.

This results in mountains of mail flowing through the offices of Senators and Congressmen. Senator Monroney has no quarrel with this practice; in fact he insists everyone should have the right of petition, guaranteed by the Constitution.

However, he notes that the Birch Society "has reduced this treasured right to the level of a chain-smoking habit. I sometimes wonder if Birch members ever read our answers. They never seem to accept basic and probable facts and data which we supply."

To accomplish the overdue reforms, Senator Monroney will sponsor a bill next month, calling for a bipartisan committee of five Members from each House that will be allowed 1 year for the rules study.

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch, Dec. 8, 1964]

UPDATING CONGRESS OVERDUE

It is 18 years since Congress last succeeded in adopting a general program for modernization and improvement of its operations. By today's standards of business efficiency it is woefully weak in its methods of handling the legislative end of a \$100-billion-a-year government. However, there is hope that a new reorganization plan will begin to materialize in 1965.

Senator Mike Monroney, of Oklahoma, an authority in this field, is taking the lead in pushing for another broad modernization program. With the late Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin, he was architect of the 1946 Reorganization Act, the most extensive in this century.

In this computer age, says Monroney, Congress still is trying "to operate with a quill pen," especially in its approach to budgetary and appropriations matters. It fritters away months of time each session on minutiae and nonessentials while neglecting important policy issues. He proposes a 10-member bipartisan special committee, with five each from the House and Senate, to conduct a year's study of organizational shortcomings and recommend an updating program.

Monroney says Congress normally could adjourn in August every year by rearranging committee schedules. He proposes that important committees begin work each December 1 on programs for the session opening in January. "In that way we would have bills ready for the Senate and House Calendars for floor action immediately after the President's state of the Union address. * * * We can easily save 2 months by getting at legislation earlier."

Another advocated reform is to permit committees of either body to meet while the House or Senate is in session, subject only to a majority vote of approval. At present a single objection can block committee sessions.

While Monroney puts greatest emphasis on changes not involving highly controversial issues, he mildly suggests that the joint committee should consider the seniority system and cloture in the Senate.

He does not go as far as Senators Case and Clark, who sought more drastic reforms in the last session, but without success. However, if a new reorganization study is authorized it should include authority to examine all pertinent proposals for improving congressional procedures, including matters relating to party responsibility and the powers of committee chairmen.

[From the Oregonian, Portland, Oreg., Dec. 16, 1964]

MODERNIZING CONGRESS

Senator A. S. (Mike) Monroney, of Oklahoma, coauthor of the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946, is going to try it again. He and a House partner will introduce what he hopes will be Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 1 in the next session, to authorize a bipartisan committee to recommend to each House methods of "overhauling, modernizing, and revising" the creaking machinery of Congress.

Inasmuch as the Monroney-La Follette Act of 1946, the first congressional overhaul in 60 years, was only partially successful and the national budget has increased to \$100 billion annually, the need for reform is apparent.

"Secretary McNamara has saved billions," says Senator Monroney. "He is on top of the defense budget because he has used the most modern accounting methods. Many of our greatest businesses—A.T. & T., General Motors, the railroads and the banks—have adopted new computer techniques. Yet we who are the comptrollers of the world's biggest business are figuratively using a high, slant-top desk, an old-fashioned revolving stool, a big thick ledger and a quill pen."

Senator Monroney has some ideas for committee consideration, including clearly separating operating expenses from capital investment. The establishment of a capital budget for the Government is one thing on which Senator Wayne L. Morse has agreed with the Oregonian—or vice versa—for years. But Senator Monroney wants also to prevent the objection of one Senator from stopping committees from meeting during Senate sessions. Senator Morse was the man who crippled committee work during the 3 months of the filibuster on civil rights.

We wish Senator Monroney success, particularly in curbing the Tuesday to Friday system, limiting the seniority system and assigning nonobstructive times for speeches not pertinent to the legislation on the floor. He will need all the help he can get, for Members of Congress are fiercely protective of their costly prerogatives.

[From the Macon Telegraph, Dec. 4, 1964]

CONGRESSIONAL REFORMS MAY SOON BE ON WAY

When anyone in Congress talks of streamlining the legislative branch, southerners are likely to head for the hills, arm themselves to the teeth, and prepare to do battle to preserve the seniority system.

And of course, the seniority system has much to commend it.

But why can't certain needed reforms be made or at least considered without dragging in the ancient arguments about seniority, cloture, and the like that tend to confuse and stultify other issues?

A week or so ago, Senator A. S. Mike Monroney held a press conference to get his reorganization resolution off to a flying start. He was a cosponsor of the La Follette-Monroney Reorganization Act of 1946, which provided the only sweeping congressional reform of this century. So the Senator knows whereof he speaks.

In the years since the last reform, the Nation's population has grown by 50 million and the gross national product has tripled. Senator Monroney does not miss the mark far when he says that, despite this unbelievable growth, "we who are the comptrollers of the world's biggest business are figuratively using a high, slant-top desk, an old-fashioned revolving stool, a big thick ledger and a quill pen."

Is it too much to ask, as does the Senator, that each department and agency in this gigantic Government of ours rearrange its appropriations requests to separate clearly and identify—"in neon lights"—just what is current operating expense and just what is capital investment in buildings and other construction items with long utilization potential? This is only one minor aspect of the overall problem.

So much could and should be done to relieve Congressmen of unimportant detail, of endless rehashing of matters already settled, of long delay while waiting for key committees to complete their work, and of a fairer apportionment of duties among committees.

The Senator's proposal is for a bipartisan committee of five members each in both the House and the Senate. The House wing will work out its rule changes for the House, and the Senate wing for the Senate. A year-long study is contemplated.

Out of the study, if approved by the House and Senate, may come proposals for strengthening and making more efficient the workings of government without sacrificing safeguards and procedures which have proved their worth.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 11, 1964]

CONGRESS MAPS REFORMS

(By Richard L. Strout)

Almost certainly the incoming Congress is going to make procedural reforms. And high time, sigh critics.

It's been 18 years since Congress turned inward and made an effort to streamline itself. Since the La Follette-Monroney reorganization passed in 1946 the whole world has speeded up, but not Congress.

The Nation has 2 more States, 40 million more people, and revolutionary social, scientific, and military changes. Congress has hardly changed at all.

Congress has two problems: ethical standards, and speedier work rules. The second is easier to deal with than the first because it is more tangible. Most current discussion centers here.

NEED INDICATED

That doesn't mean that Congress couldn't use a revised code of ethics. Many events emphasize this:

The daily headlines on the Bobby Baker case indicate a need of tighter procedures.

In 1962 a Federal grand jury indicted two Congressmen, one from Alabama, and one from Maryland, for conspiring to defraud the Government. One paid the fine, the other appealed on the ground of legislative "privilege." The case is pending; Congress isn't worrying much about it, it appears.

The customary lameduck "junkets" are now occurring all round the world. Defeated Congressmen are traveling abroad free in a final fling at taxpayers' expense. Is the public hopping mad? It doesn't seem to be.

Local newspapers indicate Congressmen get traffic tickets "fixed" here fairly regularly; after all, citizens of the District of Columbia do not govern their city, Congressmen run it.

LOAD INCREASED

However, it is not ethical but procedural issues that will probably immediately center the attention of returning Congressmen. These deal with matter-of-fact problems of handling an enormously increased workload faster.

Involved, too, is the desire to remove roadblocks from congressional action. Procedural precedents of 25 or 50 years in the House are almost certainly going to fall.

There is an overwhelming Democratic majority in the House. Observers sense a "revolt" developing against conservative committee chairmen who have bottled up legislation in the past.

Backing changes are 100 or so members of the Democratic study group, the liberal wing of the party. Enlisting behind them, it is believed, will be a majority of the 38 new Democratic Members. They lack seniority themselves and may be expected to be willing to limit the value of seniority for entrenched committee chairmen.

MEETING SCHEDULED

These two groups meet on reform proposals here January 2, before the afternoon party caucus of all House Democrats.

Procedural changes proposed:

Restore the "21-day rule" empowering the House majority to take up a bill if the autocratic Rules Committee hasn't acted in 21 days.

Reduce the number of signatures required on a discharge petition to loose a bill from a hostile committee from the present 213 (half the Membership) to perhaps 175.

Empower the House majority to send to conference any bill that has passed both Houses. At present the objection of a single Member to a conference sends the bill back to the Rules Committee where a conservative coalition may delay it.

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Dec. 13, 1964]

WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT CONGRESS?

A new drive to reform Congress, its rules and procedures is to start in the session opening January 4. The Democratic study group, a House liberal task force, has been planning strategy for the reform drive, it was revealed last week. Senator Monroney, Democrat, of Oklahoma, called November 25 for creation of a joint Senate-House committee to modernize the congressional machinery. In the longer and nonpartisan view, however, best hope for sound improvements in the legislative branch may lie in a 2-year study of Congress now getting underway, directed by Ralph K. Huitt, a University of Wisconsin professor of political science. The study, sponsored by the American Political Science Association and financed by the Carnegie Corp., may be the most comprehensive analysis of Congress ever made, certainly the most intensive study in nearly 20 years. It is appropriate that a Wisconsin man heads the study, for the last thorough reorganization of Congress came in 1946, through legislation written by the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., and Senator Monroney. The following article is the first published statement by the director of the present study on the aims and methods of the group of scholars he heads.

(By Ralph K. Huitt¹)

Despite the remarkable performance of the 88th Congress, it's a fair bet that the 89th will be under heavy attack before it is very old. Congress is a favorite target for criticism, even from its own Members. Why is this so? Partly because it is psychologically as well as politically a representative body. The President and the black robed judges walk apart from ordinary men, wrapped in the aura of their high office. But Members of Congress are people like us; they mirror our strengths and weaknesses.

It is criticized also because what it does matters. It is a powerful political institution. Almost alone among the world's legislatures it has stood off the absolutism of the executive and remained the coordinate branch the Founding Fathers meant it to be.

¹The writer, Prof. R. K. Huitt, is a man of many jobs and titles. Besides being director of the study of Congress and professor of political sciences at the University of Wisconsin, he is director of the Wisconsin Center for Education in Politics, Madison, as well as legislative representative in Washington of the president of the university. Huitt frequently spends 2 or 3 days a week in the National Capital. A native of Corsicana, Tex., with degrees from Southwestern University and the University of Texas, he was a destroyer escort officer in the Navy in World War II. He joined the UW faculty in 1949 and on a faculty fellowship of the Ford Foundation served in 1954 on the staff of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Democratic leader. In 1958 he was legislative assistant to Senator Proxmire, Democrat, of Wisconsin, and in 1960 was speechwriter for Senator Johnson in his vice-presidential campaign. He did research on the legislative process in 1960-61 on the Rockefeller Foundation grant. He has served on the executive committee of the American Political Science Association and has written extensively for political science journals.

NO MODELS FOR CONGRESS

Whatever the reasons, there is a substantial body of congressional criticism, much of which has been surprisingly consistent over two decades.

When, therefore, the Carnegie Corp. gave the American Political Science Association a grant of \$230,000 to study Congress, many people assumed—and the temptation was great—the money would be spent telling Congress what it ought to do. Is that not, after all, the job of political science?

Two considerations argue against that approach. The first is that there is no model of a proper legislature to which men of good intention can repair. It is true that structure and procedures are important; they do affect outcomes. But how? No one can be sure. Men of political capacity with the backing of strong interest groups tend to control whatever structural arrangements there are and use them for their own purposes. This is the nature of politics.

The result is that "reforms" tend to have strange and unintended consequences. A good example is the reform of the speakership in 1910–11.

"Uncle Joe" Canon had been a virtual dictator of the House of Representatives, using his considerable powers to set the will of the Republican majority at naught. A coalition of Democrats and insurgent Republicans finally staged a revolution and stripped him of autocratic powers.

What was the reform? Why, a Democratic Rules Committee was made strong. And who are the bad guys today? The Rules Committee, of course—and the "reform" advocated by good liberals is to return the powers of the Speaker.

The Rules Committee is a necessary and rational invention; some agency of the House must control the flow of bills onto the floor and set the conditions of debate. Central party leadership is indispensable and the Speaker should provide it. The relationship of committee to Speaker and the division of power between them is a proper subject for discussion. What is not possible is to make either the vessel of an immaculate public interest existing outside the stresses of politics.

A second consideration is that we do not know much about how Congress really works. There are volumes aplenty on the formal arrangements in Congress but not much on the actual behavior of the people who make them work.

Consider the criticisms and proposed reforms of Congress. There are much too many to list them in detail. It took 62 double-column pages last summer for the Congressional Quarterly just to summarize them. Nevertheless they fall into some identifiable categories.

REFORMERS NEED FACTS

One deals with party leadership. Many critics of Congress would like to strengthen it so Congress might operate more like the disciplined lower House generally found now in parliamentary systems.

But what do we know about the work of the leadership as it exists now? The last book on the Speaker of the House of Representatives appeared more than half a century ago. There never has been a book on the floor leadership of either House—only an article or two.

What are the relations of the congressional party leadership with the President of the United States? With their coleaders, the charimen of the committees? What practices should be strengthened, what weakened, to increase their influence? These are questions which should be answered because the answers will tell the reformers what they are up against.

There is similarly little knowledge about the operations of the standing committees, which we know are little legislatures of specialized jurisdiction. There are studies of individual committees at particular times, but no comprehensive or comparative study of all or most of them over time. Nor have we charted the patterns of their relationships with the administrative agencies which they are supposed to oversee.

Another set of proposals seeks to bring coherence to Congress budgetary operations. Actually, "budgetary" is misleading, because it suggests an effort to relate expenditures to income. But this is what Congress does not do that reformers want it to do.

Spending is accomplished by passing a dozen or more bills which are prepared by committees—and their subcommittees—which makes little effort to work with each other. Taxes are the work of House and Senate committees which do cooperate with each other but not with the spending committees.

The core of the suggested reforms would require these four committees to make a legislative budget, either through joint meetings or a joint committee of their leaders, and Congress to adopt it and live by it.

Just such a requirement was made in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946—and it never worked at all. The provision is still law but no power in heaven or earth could enforce it, because it was enacted without any real consideration of the highly complicated practices in each committee which have evolved over the years and work in the main pretty well.

What is needed before the next try clearly is the most careful study of the political and institutional influences which bear on the taxing and spending process and the probable effect of alterative procedures.

ETHICS OF CONGRESSMEN

Many criticisms of Congress are directed at the conduct of individual Members which bring discredit on the institution.

Congressmen, like other people, break the law and are punished for it. But the real problem arises not from unlawful but unethical behavior.

Members often have interests outside Congress. They hold securities, they practice law, they make speeches and write for pay. They can and must do business with lobbyists, represent interests, and raise money for campaigns. They should and do make trips abroad to see the effects of American policy.

These activities and many more afford opportunities for abuse. The evidence suggests that most Congressmen resist temptation, but some obviously do not. The freewheeling behavior of a few tarnishes the institutional image and all share the blame.

But what should one suggest as a control? A code of ethics for Members of Congress probably would have no more effect in disciplining bad actors than such codes do in other professional groups.

The ultimate policeman over Congress is the voter, of course—but the policeman is often asleep. When public exposure regularly brings defeat at the polls there will be little to expose. That has been proved in England in this century. But when constituencies may return to Congress men under indictment and conviction, or even actually in jail, some Members of Congress understand the lesson and proceed accordingly.

What is needed is to put Congress in context. What explains why the society itself condones and perhaps even promotes irresponsible performance by public officials? Why, on the other hand, do some electors become more demanding, and clean house, as the English—and the voters in some American cities and States—have done? These are the basic questions.

BETTER SCHEDULING

There are many suggestions made, often by Congressmen themselves, to make the congressional job easier and more efficient. Scheduling of legislation certainly could be improved; Congress generally wastes the spring and toils late into the fall. Like most people, Congressmen would do better with a vacation at the time other people are taking them. It would seem however that such matters should be left to Congress itself.

What, then, should a study of Congress do? What can and should professional political scientists do to help Congress to do its job more effectively and the public to assess that performance more fairly?

The answer would seem to be to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of congressional process with sophisticated analysis of as many crucial aspects of it as possible.

This suggests not one study but many studies, each carried out by a scholar already deeply immersed in the problem. The many studies become a study of Congress through continuous collaboration among the individuals involved in it, and through a final study attempting to synthesize the others and place them in perspective.

This is the way our APSA study of Congress is proceeding. A dozen young political scientists already have contracted to do parts of it, and at least a half dozen others will join them. Within a couple of years their work should

produce the most comprehensive body of basic knowledge of congressional operations we have ever had.

But what about Congress itself, under attack from outside and inside as well, its most responsible Members deeply sensitive to criticism and wanting very much to serve the public well and enjoy its respect? Are the men in the white coats to stand aloof from the hurly-burly and refuse to take sides?

FREE TO CRITICIZE

Not at all. Each individual scholar will be free to criticize and propose as he pleases, even though he contradicts the suggestions of another scholar working on the study. But what the study will not do is adopt a list of "official" recommendations which inevitably would be taken as the point of view of the discipline itself. This is simple honesty. Political scientists are divided on what should be done about Congress, as they are on most subjects.

Moreover, it recognizes the basic truth that political scientists are not equipped to prescribe structures and procedures guaranteed to produce certain outcomes. The stakes in politics are increasingly large: politicians and their allies will struggle to get their way; by whatever apparatus is provided. There are no organizational gimmicks which furnish shortcuts to wise policy.

The study of Congress therefore will try to do what professional scholars are trained to do: It will explain what is and analyze alternatives to it. The individual studies should be invaluable staff papers for congressional committees or citizens' groups which want to make their own proposals for congressional reorganization.

[From the Wilmington News, Wilmington, Del., Dec. 9, 1964]

VISIONS OF AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

It was the day before Thanksgiving, and Senator Mike Monroney's press conference that afternoon failed to get the attention it deserved. The veteran Oklahoman, one of the most able men in the Congress, had called in reporters to discuss one of his favorite causes—the modernization of congressional machinery.

He was not talking, as most critics talk, simply of the seniority system and the filibuster rules. These were the least of his concerns. Monroney was talking about the imperative need for the Congress to start using modern tools of accounting, computing, and data processing in order to do a more efficient job of looking after a hundred billion dollars a year.

"Many of our greatest businesses—A.T. & T., General Motors, the railroads, and the banks—have adopted new computer techniques," Monroney said. "Yet we who are the comptrollers of the world's biggest business are figuratively using a high, slant-top desk, an old-fashioned revolving stool, a big thick ledger, and a quill pen."

Monroney could easily have drawn a more vivid indictment. Federal agencies charged with accounting are mired in the ruts of a horse-and-buggy age. No one would ever believe the man-years of tedious labor that now are exhausted in the preparation of itemized budgets, and in the crediting and debiting of infinite figures to infinite accounts. Every January, a small fraction of this labor floats like an iceberg up the Hill to the House, in the form of the Budget of the United States. Subcommittees chip at the mass of figures, swim around them, abandon the effort.

"I am sure," said Monroney, "that ordinary housekeeping details can be handled by establishing guidelines averages and that millions of routine and repetitive items in many departments can be handled by accepting those within toleration limits of average costs."

Every student of Federal accounting practices is sure of this, too, and equally sure that Monroney is right in other criticisms of present procedures. In the normal course of events, as the Senator pointed out, the Congress wastes the first 2 months of its session. Weeks drag on, while key committees struggle ineffectually to get bills to the floor. Much of this lost time could be avoided by pre-session hearings and by freeing the Congress of responsibility for hundreds of truly inconsequential burdens that could be handled by executive agencies.

Monroney's hope is that both Houses will agree promptly next month to the creation of a bipartisan, 10-member commission, to make a year-long study of practices that could be overhauled or replaced. This is not the proposal of mad, impetuous youth. Monroney has served in the Congress since 1939, first as a Representative and, since 1950, as a Member of the Senate. He played a major role in the last congressional overhaul, 18 years ago, under the LaFollette-Monroney Act of 1946.

Will anything come of Monroney's hopeful plan? The record of recent years offers small encouragement. Virginia's respected Senator, Harry Byrd, has grown old trying to persuade his colleagues to adopt a system that continuously would link appropriations to revenues. Every effort to gain approval of electric voting machines has died in the womb of tradition. The Congressional Record trudges along with its costly and apparently inoperable Appendix. Under the unwritten rules of the Tuesday-to-Thursday Club, quorums seldom can be mustered on Mondays or Fridays. On the House side, especially, the development of informed and thoughtful statesmen is inhibited by political custom that reduces Congressmen to errand boys. And when Senator Monroney suggests, however gently, that "a better division of work can be considered for some of our overloaded committees," the Senator is walking, sugar coated, into a swarm of bees.

But this is the Christmas season. Good fellowship abounds, hope springs eternal. Along with other fairy tales and happy myths, the dream of an efficient Congress takes on a plausible cast. Mr. Monroney once upon a time achieved some excellent reforms, and it is just possible that the miracles he wrought in 1946 may be achieved anew for 1966. And in time, Santa Clause might bring us a Congress that got down to work in January, finished up by the first of August, and passed so few laws, of such wisdom and probity, that our liberties would stand secure.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Dec. 6, 1964]

NEW CONGRESS TO HEAR MANY PROPOSALS TO MODERNIZE OPERATIONS—MONRONEY BELIEVES LEGISLATURE IS STILL USING QUILL PEN AND SLANT-TOP DESK IN AGE OF COMPUTERS AND HAS FALLEN BEHIND EXECUTIVE BRANCH

(By James Deakin, a Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch)

WASHINGTON, December 5.—Not in many years, legislative authorities agree, has there been as much pressure for reform of Congress rules and procedures as there is today.

The 89th Congress convening January 4 will be confronted with a variety of proposals for modernizing its operations, speeding the flow of legislation from the committees to the floor and reducing the power of committee chairman and other senior members.

Reform sentiment, which has been building up for several years, especially among younger legislators, was bolstered by the impressive liberal Democratic gains in the November election. In the House, the party lineup next year will be 295 Democrats and 140 Republicans, a net gain of 38 Democratic Members.

The liberals believe there is a good chance that the controversial 21-day rule will be reimposed in the House next year as an additional curb on the power of the Rules Committee. The rule, in effect only once before, would permit legislation to be called up for floor action if the rules unit refused to clear it in 3 weeks.

But despite the enlarged Democratic majority, the prospects for further institutional changes will depend in large measure on President Lyndon B. Johnson. And there are preliminary indications that Mr. Johnson does not look with favor on the deeper reforms that would attack the congressional seniority system.

The moves for congressional reform fall into two main categories:

1. A proposal by Senator A. S. (Mike) Monroney, Democrat, of Oklahoma, that each House of Congress appoint a bipartisan committee to study changes in its rules. The two committees would make a year-long study of congressional procedures, the first full-scale review since 1945.

Monroney's plan stresses the need for streamlining the legislative machinery and places relatively less emphasis on a substitute for the seniority system, a simple majority to invoke cloture in the Senate and other institutional reforms, although these are listed as proper subjects for consideration.

2. A group of proposals by Democratic liberals in the House to make fundamental changes in the seniority procedure of choosing committee chairmen. Although these proposals differ in detail, the general thrust of all of them would be to give more power to the Speaker and to the caucus of all Democratic Members, at the expense of the committee chairmen and senior members.

Monroney's proposal is considered to have a fairly good chance of approval, although it could get caught in the three-way contest for a new assistant Senate Democratic leader to replace Vice President-elect Hubert H. Humphrey. Monroney and Senators John O. Pastore, of Rhode Island, and Russell B. Long, of Louisiana, are vying for the leadership post being vacated by Humphrey.

Together with the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., of Wisconsin, Monroney was the author of the La Follette-Monroney Reorganization Act of 1946, the last major overhaul of congressional procedures. Since 1946, the Oklahoma Senator pointed out recently, the population of the United States has grown by 50 million and the gross national product has risen from \$218 billion to \$623 billion.

While the country's great corporations and the executive departments of Government utilize computers and modern accounting procedures to keep track of their money, Congress is "figuratively using a high, slant-top desk, an old-fashioned revolving stool, a big thick ledger and a quill pen," Monroney said.

At the heart of his proposal is the realization, shared by political scientists, that Congress has slipped behind as a coequal branch of Government because of its failure to match the executive agencies in trained staff personnel, modern accounting methods and speedier legislative techniques.

Monroney's principal suggestions include the following:

1. Congress should study the possibility of using computers to process much of the vast detail connected with a Federal budget of almost \$100 billion a year. At present, the legislature has literally no way of determining whether many of the executive's budget requests are justified.

2. The committee structure should be studied to ascertain which committees are overloaded and how to free them from routine, minor detail work that delays consideration of important legislation.

As an example, Monroney points out that congressional committees now spend a week reviewing budget carryovers by executive agencies. This, he believes, is essentially an auditing procedure that could be better handled by accountants employed by Congress.

Waivers of residence requirements in immigration cases are another time-consuming legislative chore. At least part of this job, in Monroney's opinion, could be handled by the Justice Department, freeing congressional committees to get important bills to the floor earlier.

Congress is inundated by minor work of this sort, much of it in the form of private bills. Monroney favors turning over much of this detail work to the executive departments or courts, just as the Federal Tort Claims Act, part of his 1946 bill, relieved Congress of handling an excessive load of claims against the Federal Government.

3. A simple majority vote, rather than the present unanimous consent, should be sufficient to permit committees to meet while the Senate is in session. Monroney has pointed out that an objection by one Senator prevented every Senate committee, including the appropriations unit, from working at various times during last year's civil rights filibuster.

4. Committees with important work to do could be recalled to meet from about December 1 to December 20, in advance of a new session, so that bills could be ready for floor action soon after the President's state of the Union message in January. At present little important legislation gets to the floor before March and often not until later than that.

In the House, a group of about 125 liberal Democrats loosely organized into the Democratic study group is proposing a different approach to the problem of reform. Their ultimate aim is to break the power of the southern committee chairmen—the "congressional establishment"—whose guiding principles, according to Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat of Pennsylvania, are:

"(1) White supremacy, (2) a higher devotion to property than to human rights, (3) undeviating support of the military establishments, (4) belligerence in foreign affairs, and (5) a determination to prevent congressional reform."

The most ambitious reform being considered by the Democratic study group was drawn up by Representative Richard Bolling, Democrat of Missouri. It would fundamentally alter the power structure of the House by dividing the

authority to name committee chairmen and members between the Speaker and Democratic caucus.

In the caucus, which precedes each new session of Congress, the Democratic members would choose their nominee for Speaker, as they do at present. The Speaker then would name the chairman and Democratic members of the Ways and Means and Rules Committees, but his selections would be subject to approval or rejection by the caucus.

The Democratic members of Ways and Means then would name the members, but not the chairmen, of all other standing committees, subject to the same approval or rejection by the caucus. The Speaker then would name the chairmen of the standing committees, subject to caucus approval or rejection. His selections could be made without regard to seniority if he chose.

Bolling believes that this arrangement would avoid a return to the kind of dictatorial power exercised by Speakers such as Joseph G. Cannon and Thomas Reed, while at the same time curbing the authority of the committee chairmen.

Various other proposals to reform the seniority system are being considered by the Democratic study group, and no decision has been reached yet on which plan to present to the Democratic caucus on January 2.

EXHIBIT 2

"THE CONGRESS AND AMERICA'S FUTURE," REPORT OF THE 26TH AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

(Submitted for the record by Senator Joseph S. Clark)

THE CONGRESS AND AMERICA'S FUTURE

Arden House, Harriman, N.Y., October 29–November 1, 1964

PREFACE

These pages contain the recommendations of a group of Americans of diverse pursuits and interests who met at Arden House, Harriman, N.Y., October 29–November 1, 1964, to review the functions and procedures of the Congress of the United States. The meeting was convened by the American Assembly of Columbia University which conducts policy studies. "The Congress and America's Future" was the 26th study initiated by the assembly.

The recommendations were adopted by the assembly in plenary session after 3 days of meetings in small discussion groups. As a nonpartisan, educational institution, the American Assembly takes no stand on the subjects it presents for public discussion. The same may be said of the Ford Foundation whose generosity made the entire 26th American Assembly possible.

FINAL REPORT OF THE 26TH AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

At the close of their discussions the participants in the 26th American Assembly reviewed as a group the following statement. Although there was general agreement on the final report, it is not the practice of the American Assembly for participants to affix their signatures, and it should not be assumed that every participant necessarily subscribes to every recommendation.

We have discussed what steps might be taken to assure the continued vitality and effectiveness of the Congress of the United States. We feel a respect for the values underlying the American system of representative government, in which the legislature is crucial. We desire to see those values perpetuated and reflected in institutions that will protect freemen and provide the capacity for effective government.

Many of the problems of the Congress, and many of the criticisms and complaints directed at it, have roots in conditions affecting not only the United States but all representative governments. As these governments have been obliged to meet the problems created by industrialization and urbanization, complicated almost beyond measure by persistent and critical issues of foreign policy, representative bodies have confronted a troublesome situation. The matters that they consider are far more significant, numerous, and complex than those of their predecessors half a century ago. Little can be done to alter these conditions, but something can be done to improve the capacity of the institutions that must deal with them.

These problems that the Congress shares with other parliamentary bodies are paralleled by others that arise from distinctively American arrangements: the constitutional separation of President and Congress, the decentralizing effects of federalism, and the structure and practices of the House and Senate that frequently reflect long tradition and distinctive styles in our political life. One need not assume fundamental changes of a constitutional character in order to conclude that changes are both desirable and possible of achievement. In meeting these problems we may help to assure a Congress whose role in America's future is vigorous and worthy of the respect of free and intelligent men.

Three specific sets of convictions have guided our deliberations:

1. The distinctive functions of the Congress must be maintained. Congress must retain and strengthen its capacity to bring critical political judgment to bear on the major issues of the day. Congress thus can function more effectively in relation to the increasingly active role of the President and his executive associates in the initiation of legislative proposals. In consequence it will better reflect the broad wisdom available in our total political system.

If the Legislature is to perform this basic function, the Members of Congress must also continue to handle problems of their individual constituents. Such activities, far from being a handicap to the Congress, provide a sympathetic link between citizens and the bureaucracy. The Congress must also maintain its oversight of the decisions and actions of executive officials. Both service to constituents and oversight of the executive agencies are subject to abuse, but their proper exercise is necessary to the American system.

2. The vigor of the Congress as a legislative body and the effectiveness of our constitutional arrangements require that the Congress warrant and command the confidence and respect of the electorate. A Congress able and equipped to discharge its central functions rationally, expeditiously, and with integrity is essential to the survival of representative government in this country.

3. If the Congress is to perform these functions well, ways must be found to strengthen the elected leadership in the House and Senate—chiefly the Speaker and the floor leaders—and through that leadership to assure that the majority sentiment of the Congress is effectively expressed. Individuals or minorities in the Legislature must not be permitted to frustrate the will of a majority, whether in a standing committee or in one or both of the Houses.

This conviction is not inconsistent with a due regard to the rights of a minority or in conflict with the continuation and encouragement of expertness in the standing committees. Such competence is essential to the effectiveness of the Congress. But no single committee in either House can be assigned a jurisdiction broad enough to achieve coordinated action in such complex areas as national security policy and national economic policy. If such action is to be achieved in the Congress, it should be accomplished through the central leadership.

In support of these general convictions we recommend:

1. The system of designating chairmen and ranking minority members of the standing committees on the basis of seniority must be modified. There is merit in the seniority principle, provided some choice is offered to the majority and minority parties in each House. We suggest that the choice be made either by the elected leaders in each House or by secret ballot in the caucuses of each party, in either case from among the three senior party members of each committee.

2. No Senator or Representative should be permitted to become or to remain a committee chairman, Speaker, or floor leader after reaching the age of 70. This provision should not apply to incumbents.

3. Any Representative or Senator should be permitted to retire on full pay after reaching the age of 70, provided that he has had at least 10 years of service in the Congress.

4. The rules of the House should be amended to provide that signature of a discharge petition by 218 Members or by 150 Members and the Speaker be sufficient to bring any bill out of committee and before the House.

5. In the Senate the majority leader should be authorized to offer a motion designating any bill a major item of legislation. Adoption of this motion would require the committee to which that bill had been assigned to report it to the Senate within 30 calendar days.

6. The Rules Committee of the House must be at all times an instrument of the leadership of the House. To this end the Speaker might be restored to his position as chairman of the committee. Alternatively, he might be given authority in each Congress to appoint its majority members, including the chairman. At minimum, the Speaker of the House should be empowered to call up a special rule for the consideration of any bill on which the Committee on Rules has failed to act for 21 calendar days.

7. The Committee on Rules should have no part in determining whether a bill passed by the House should be sent to conference with the Senate. Agreement to conference and on instructions to conferees should be by majority vote on a privileged motion by the majority leader.

8. Freedom of debate in a legislative body has value, even at the cost of delay, but its abuse in the form of a filibuster exposes the Senate and the Government of the United States to ridicule and may dangerously delay action. Such tactics should be restrained so that a majority can act after a dissenting minority has had adequate opportunity to be heard.

The present cloture rule is inadequate for this purpose. At the least the Senate should amend its present rule to provide for the adoption of a cloture petition by three-fifths of those present and voting.

9. At the start of each Congress a simple majority of the Senate should have the power to adopt and amend its rules without prejudice to the concept of the Senate as a continuing body for other purposes.

10. Further to assure majority control of legislation, a majority of the Members from each House designated to serve on a conference committee should have indicated by their votes general agreement with the bill as passed by that House.

11. Each Chamber should adopt and enforce effective procedures to protect the constitutional and other traditional rights of citizens called before its committees.

12. The growing practice of requiring that administrative agencies obtain permission from or "come into agreement" with committees or subcommittees of the Congress, or their chairmen, before taking action, exceeds the proper bounds of congressional oversight of administration and subverts Presidential responsibility. It grants arbitrary power to chairmen of committees or subcommittees that is not subject to account. The practice should be abandoned.

13. Campaign costs are excessive; requirements for reporting on contributions are ineffective; and existing ceilings on expenditures are unrealistic. The consequences too frequently are waste, deception, and corruption. To correct these evils:

(a) Time on television and radio stations should be made available by law to candidates for Congress.

(b) Ceilings should be raised to realistic levels, but legislation governing campaign contributions and expenditures should provide for full and prompt reporting to an agency designated by Congress responsible for complete disclosure. These reports should be public property, should be locally available, and should cover all receipts and expenditures on behalf of any candidate for the House or Senate in a primary or general election.

(c) The income tax laws should be amended to encourage campaign contributions by a larger number of persons, thus reducing candidates' dependence on a small number of large donations.

14. Respect for the Government requires respect for its individual officials. Each Senator and Representative and all Presidential appointees should be required to report annually their financial interests and the sources of their income.

Furthermore, the number of Members of the House and the Senate holding Reserve commissions in the military forces while serving in the Congress is a cause for concern. We regard this practice as undesirable and of doubtful constitutionality.

15. The standing committees in their specialized jurisdiction serve the Congress well, but no adequate overview in Congress is taken of such large areas as national security policy and national economic policy. Responsibility for dealing with this difficult problem should lie with the elected leadership, and these leaders should be adequately staffed for this purpose. The executive performance in this area needs to be improved, but much more needs to be done on the legislative side.

16. The Congress should divest itself of direct responsibility for the government of the District of Columbia.

17. We agree with the recent decision of the Congress to increase salaries of Senators and Representatives, and we recommend that salaries, allowances, and staff services be kept at a level commensurate with the dignity and responsibilities of these offices.

18. A majority of participants who considered this report favor a 4-year term for the Members of the House of Representatives, with elections in the presidential years.

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	Franklin Wallick, United Auto Workers, Washington, D.C.
	Francis O. Wilcox, dean, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

ABOUT THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

The American Assembly was established by Dwight D. Eisenhower at Columbia University in 1950. It holds nonpartisan assemblies of American leaders and publishes authoritative books to illuminate issues of U.S. policy.

An affiliate of Columbia, with offices in the Graduate School of Business, the assembly is a national, educational institution incorporated under the State of New York.

The assembly seeks to provide information, stimulate discussion, and evoke independent conclusions in matters of vital public interest.

AMERICAN ASSEMBLY SESSIONS

Currently two national programs are initiated each year. Authorities are retained to write background papers presenting essential data and defining the main issues in each subject.

About 60 men and women representing a broad range of experience, competence, and American leadership meet for several days to discuss the assembly topic and consider alternatives for national policy.

All assemblies follow the same procedure. The background papers are sent to participants in advance of the assembly. The assembly meets in small groups for four or five lengthy periods. All groups use the same agenda. At the close of these informal sessions participants adopt in plenary session a final report of findings and recommendations.

Regional, State, and local assemblies are held in every major area of the United States. A number have already been scheduled following the national session at Arden House, on the Congress and America's future—with Occidental College, Tulane University, George Washington University, the University of Oregon, and the U.S. Air Force Academy.

Assemblies have also been held in Canada, Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Over 70 institutions have cosponsored one or more assemblies.

AMERICAN ASSEMBLY BOOKS

The background papers for each assembly program are published in paper and hard cover editions for use by individuals, libraries, businesses, public agencies, nongovernmental organizations, educational institutions, discussion and service groups. In this way the deliberations of assembly sessions are continued and extended.

The background papers for the 26th American Assembly will be published under the title, "The Congress and America's Future," by Prentice-Hall, Inc.

ARDEN HOUSE

Home of the American Assembly and scene of the national sessions is Arden House, which was given to Columbia University in 1950 by W. Averell Harriman. E. Roland Harriman joined his brother in contributing toward adaptation of the property for conference purposes. The buildings and surrounding land, known as the Harriman Campus of Columbia University, are 50 miles north of New York City.

Arden House is a distinguished conference center. It is self-supporting and operates throughout the year for use by organizations with educational objectives. The American Assembly is a tenant of this Columbia University facility only during assembly sessions.

The American Assembly Columbia University

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EXHIBIT 3

DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY SENATOR GALE W. MCGEE

FEBRUARY 10, 1965.

Hon. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MIKE: As you are author of Senate Joint Resolution 2, to establish a joint committee to make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress, I am writing to you to suggest consideration of an idea which I believe is essential to the continued progress and success of our form of government. It is clear that we must take measures to insure that our chief legislative body, the Congress, keeps pace with the world which it must lead. And so we rightly attempt, as you are so ably doing now, to devise the means to "update" the Congress. What I propose is a means to "update" the Congressmen.

My proposal is a system that will give to the Members of the Senate the time to assess this world and our place in it—time to read and reflect. In other words, a sabbatical from the day-to-day obligations of the Senate which, in our modern world, so impinge upon our time that we are unable to pause to take stock of ourselves and the goals we pursue. Indeed, it is one of the chronic complaints of Members of this body that they do not have time to think and to study. Our lives are a continual rush through a never-ending series of crises and decisions with each day serving to prepare only for the day that follows.

This proposal is not made to suggest that we find more time to become experts in those fields which attract us professionally. We have our staffs and unlimited access to a field of experts who can assist us to obtain the specific knowledge about matters fiscal, agricultural, economic, or military. What I seek is time to think about what has been facetiously called the "Big picture." In the history of mankind, our leaders, those who have changed the course of history, are those men who either commanded armies or those who commanded ideas. And most often the former fell before the onslaughts of the latter. It is my firm belief that progress cannot be made if the Nation's leaders are not given the time to think, the time to develop ideas. I should hope that having had this time their worth to the Nation and their achievements in this Chamber would be increased manifold.

Where would a Senator on leave go? What would he be expected to do? That should be up to him, perhaps to a mountaintop, to a lonely island, or preferably to the environs of one of the great seats of learning in our own country or abroad. But there should be no deadlines to meet.

While many of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle share my impatience with the restriction of our concentration to the immediacies of business, most also express the common misgiving that this situation is incurable, that the constituents would rebel at the thought of their elected representative taking a sabbatical which would produce nothing concrete in action and, in their discontent, provide him with a sabbatical of a more permanent nature. I would be the first to say that while I am strongly urging this concept for your consideration in the future deliberations on the functions of the Congress, I am completely mindful of the many pitfalls in the way of the ratification of this proposal. Undoubtedly, there are a certain number of individuals who would abuse the privilege and waste the time. But these are the same people who today abuse the privilege and honor of being the people's representatives in the Congress. They comprise a very small minority of the Senate membership. And there are the more practical problems of implementation—when should this sabbatical be taken, how long should it last, what about votes taken in the Senator's absence? To start the discussion I might suggest that a sabbatical be taken

once in every 6-year term after the first one, for a period of 3 to 6 months. What would happen to a Senator's votes on critical issues is a matter which would be more difficult to resolve. One or two possibilities readily come to mind. Either the votes of Senators on sabbatical could be counted in absentia or they could be paired live.

Obviously, it would be important to limit the number of Senators on leave at any one time, perhaps 6 to 10. And I would further suggest that the Member be barred from constant attendance in his home State during that time lest he succumb to the temptation to mend his political fences.

These are obstacles of a rather large scale which make the pursuit of this goal difficult before it is begun. But none of these obstacles imply that the problem is thereby reduced, that the times do not require men of new vision and clear goals. A sabbatical, I believe, is one way to provide the basis for leadership. In the academic world, which I once inhabited, we talked of reading ourselves full and then writing ourselves empty as the means of distilling knowledge and ideas and then sharing them with our fellow men. Should we not have equal time as legislators to read and think ourselves full and then work out the resultant accumulation in the public interest? Surely the Nation that can aim for the moon, that can resolve the modern breakthroughs in knowledge and technique that have remade our world can put its talents to the task of ironing out the minutia of daily life to make it possible for the men and women who are running the biggest operation in the world and who are making decisions upon which rest the fate of the world to find the time to use God's gift of intellect to form a better perspective on our world and our future.

I will close this letter with an account of a conversation I recently had with a distinguished member of our Foreign Service, just retired after a quarter century of administering the foreign policy of our Nation. He remarked that he had been too busy during all those years to do much reading but had kept a list of books, which totaled 54, that he wanted to read when he had the time. "Now I have the time," he said, "and I am enjoying myself immensely, but these are the books that were important to my generation and now I am no longer in a position to do much with the ideas I receive." His role and my role—from the university to the Senate—were both reversed. When we had the time to read and reflect, as an academic, I was in no position to do much about it. But now as a Member of the Senate, when it is possible to make some small contribution to the course of the history of our time, we too often find only the time to shoot from the hip.

Man has always distinguished himself from other animals by his ability to think, to reason, to plan, to view not only the realities of the present but the portents of the future, the abstractions of a universe whose very nature is change. This supreme gift of God should not be misused or the potential we possess for progress ignored. I sincerely hope that in the deliberations which are soon to come on the organization and activities of the Congress of the United States that you will present this idea and help it to receive consideration by the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress.

Sincerely,

GALE MCGEE, *U.S. Senator.*

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., February 23, 1965.

The Honorable GALE W. MCGEE,
*Old Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR MCGEE: Your plan for sabbaticals for legislators, as outlined in the Washington Post, is in my view completely sound. Not only do public men need time out for reflection; there are many in public life who have something to say about politics and government, and they ought to be provided with an opportunity to organize and prepare their thoughts for publication.

You may be interested in a similar plan advanced recently by this association, providing for a program of awards supported by a grant from a private foundation. Enclosed is a description of this proposal, which was not accepted as presented 2 years ago. Perhaps it is time for us to renew our effort to secure funds to support this program.

With best wishes,
Cordially,

EVRON M. KIRKPATRICK,
Executive Director.

PROPOSAL FOR AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION FELLOWSHIPS FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

PROPOSAL

To enable Senators and Representatives to have a specific opportunity for reading, research, and reflection and to contribute to the educational objectives of colleges and universities, the American Political Science Association proposes to undertake the following project:

Awards, on a bipartisan basis, to Senators and Representatives to allow them to spend time on a university campus, in association with the department of political science; to devote such time to reading, research, and reflection and to deliver a series of three to five lectures on matters of current public interest. The awards would also provide a graduate assistant in political science to aid the Member of Congress during the year on a research of interest to that Member.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Many Members of both Houses of Congress have commented over the years about the lack of time and opportunity they have for personal reflection, reading, and research. This is the result of various factors: lack of personal funds, lack of an appropriate opportunity, and lack of time. This situation means that Members of Congress seldom are able to examine public issues and problems with the detachment and purposefulness they would like. They are unable to look beyond the immediate, and frequently superficial, daily chain of events that confront them in committees and on the floor. They are unable to consider or analyze emerging policy in terms of its longrun consequences to their district, State, or Nation. Many Members believe this fact seriously limits their effectiveness as responsible initiators of public policy.

After carefully exploring the matter with a number of Members of Congress, it seems to the association and to the Members of Congress consulted that the difficulties could be overcome and opportunity provided for such activities by a properly organized bipartisan program of awards.

Awards would be made to Members under which they would agree to spend 6 to 8 weeks in the fall (after Congress adjourns in off-election years and after the elections in election years) and additional periods of several days at a time during the remainder of the year on a university campus. The university department of political science would give them faculty status for the year, provide office space, and a graduate assistant. In addition, he would be expected to give three to five public lectures and spend some time in meeting with classes and seminars. Thus, a relationship of substantial mutual benefit would exist for both the Member and the local academic community.

[From the Tribune-Herald, Casper, Wyo., Feb. 12, 1965]

SENATE SABBATICAL

We are not sure that we fully understand Senator Gale McGee's proposal for senatorial sabbaticals, but we are not ready to write the suggestion off as impractical.

The Senator recommends that a leave of absence be granted every 6-year term for a period of 3 to 6 months "to assess the world and our place in it—time to read and reflect." He would have political fence mending prohibited during the sabbatical.

Perhaps it is his professional background which leads Dr. McGee to make this recommendation. He has, both before and during his career as a Senator, made considerable study of other countries. Because of his temperament and approach to national problems—and we hope not to get too personal in this—it can be assumed that he would benefit from such a schedule. Whether other Senators would similarly benefit, is a matter of conjecture.

Any Member of the Senate taking advantage of the opportunity would have to hie away to some retreat where he could not be reached by persons pressing for particular legislation or by newsmen seeking his views on current issues. If he is to read and reflect, he may have to do it incognito. Would Senator McGee's proposals include trips to other countries? Such trips, unless the expenses were borne personally, would raise the cry of "junket."

Members of the Senate and House do have recesses, although sessions are sometimes prolonged and frequently there is committee work even when Congress is

not convened. Would the average Member be willing to absent himself for a period when he knows that some rival contender may be making political hay back home? Could he in any practical sense absent himself at a time of critical decisions, particularly those which might affect his own State?

These are questions which arise in weighing the Senator's proposal, which also triggers certain other observations.

Unless the situation changes, Americans will have more leisure time on their hands. How they are to enjoy this leisure will be a determining factor in whether it is to be beneficial or deleterious. Members of the U.S. Senate well might set an example for the country.

How necessary are these long sessions, lengthy hearings, almost interminable debates? It is one of Parkinson's "laws" that the time taken to accomplish a given task will be expanded to fill the time allowed for it. The right of Congress to deliberate ought not to be abrogated, but it is apparent that much legislation would be just as good with less argument. The Wyoming Legislature meets for 40 days every 2 years, generally stopping the clock on the last day of the session. Congress cannot be expected to set such a short time limit. It should, however, adopt a reasonable schedule, and no President should have the power to keep it in session through much of a long, hot summer just to get his program across. Only in case of emergency should this be permitted.

Perhaps if Members of the House and Senate would set realistic but definite deadlines, they would find plenty of opportunity to read and reflect. Nobody expects them to work all the time.

[From the Capitol Hill magazine, February 1965]

A SNOWBALL-IN-HELL IDEA

Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming has come forth with a bold, daring, and wise plan. Unfortunately, the Senator has about the same chance of getting his plan enacted into legislation as a snowball as of surviving the roasting pits of hell.

The Senator has introduced legislation to provide sabbatical leave for all Senators, on a rotating basis, so they can have time to think. The very idea of U.S. Senators pausing for deep reflection is enough to cause us to form a circle and clap hands. But Honorable McGee's bill has one serious drawback—it would bar a Senator from going into his home State while on sabbatical leave. Anyone who has been in Washington long enough to remember Goldwater knows that few Senators will vote for a bill cutting themselves off from their constituents for any reason or for any duration of time.

As Senator McGee sees it, any Senator among his own must give up the luxury of thought in favor of more immediate pursuits: speechifying, handshaking, fence mending, baby kissing, and all that mad, insane grinning so indigenous to the craft of politics. He's right.

The idea of providing Senators (and we would include U.S. Representatives) a few weeks each year for meditation, reading, and recharging of the personal batteries in some private haunt is exciting of itself. Much can be learned from reading, more from taking a thoughtful private look into one's inner self, still more from putting aside workaday routine labors to dwell in fancy on the sublime.

No Member of Congress, regrettably, has ample time for these important human functions. There is always mail to answer, cases to plead before Federal agencies, personal appearances to make, errands to run, committee sessions to attend. Much of life for the public man thus becomes drudgery or ritual. He is always hopping from one crisis to another meeting this speech deadline, catching that plane, entertaining this group of constituents. Too often he finds himself occupied largely with picayune things. There is precious little time available for pensive study, the rededication of the soul to just causes, or the careful scrutiny of those large problems which shape history.

We'd like to see our Congressman make individual efforts to grab such sabbaticals on a periodic basis. We'd like them to say openly and frankly: "I go unto a private haven—there to commune with myself, God's rolling hills, and this moment." (Or words to that effect, according to taste.) We spent a dozen years on the political firing line so we don't expect the miracle to happen. But wouldn't it be grand if it did?

Senator McGee, bless his idealistic heart, is to be congratulated for his effort and for having thrown the idea into the public domain.