

Y 4
. R 86/2

1046

Se 5/3
94/4
R 86/2

Se 5/3 COMMITTEE-RELATED SENATE EMPLOYEES

GOVERNMENT

Storage

DOCUMENTS

JUN 23 1975

HEARINGS

THE LIBRARY
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

S. Res. 60 and S. Res. 110

AUTHORIZING EACH MEMBER OF THE SENATE TO EMPLOY
ADDITIONAL ASSISTANTS TO WORK ON MATTERS PER-
TAINING TO COMMITTEES ON WHICH SENATORS SERVE

APRIL 30, AND MAY 20, 1975



Printed for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration
United States Senate

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1975

52-590

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

HOWARD W. CANNON, Nevada, *Chairman*

CLAIBORNE PELL, Rhode Island

MARK O. HATFIELD, Oregon

ROBERT C. BYRD, West Virginia

HUGH SCOTT, Pennsylvania

JAMES B. ALLEN, Alabama

ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, Michigan

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, New Jersey

WILLIAM McWHORTER COCHRANE, *Staff Director*

CHESTER H. SMITH, *Chief Counsel*

HUGH Q. ALEXANDER, *Senior Counsel*

LARRY E. SMITH, *Professional Staff Member (Minority)*

JOHN P. CODER, *Professional Staff Member*

(II)

CONTENTS

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1975

Opening statement of—	Page
Hon. Howard W. Cannon, chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration.....	1
Hon. Mark O. Hatfield, ranking minority member, Committee on Rules and Administration.....	3
Statement of—	
Hon. Mike Gravel, a U.S. Senator from the State of Alaska, and sponsor of Senate Resolution 60 and Senate Resolution 110; accompanied by Hon. Bill Brock, Hon. Alan Cranston, and Hon. Bob Packwood, U.S. Senators from the States of Tennessee, California, and Oregon, respectively, and cosponsors of the resolutions.....	9
Hon. Bill Brock, a U.S. Senator from the State of Tennessee, and cosponsor of Senate Resolution 60 and Senate Resolution 110.....	19
Hon. Alan Cranston, a U.S. Senator from the State of California, and cosponsor of Senate Resolution 60 and Senate Resolution 110.....	21
Hon. Bob Packwood, a U.S. Senator from the State of Oregon, and cosponsor of Senate Resolution 60 and Senate Resolution 110.....	26
Hon. Herman E. Talmadge, chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.....	40
Hon. Warren G. Magnuson, chairman, Senate Committee on Commerce.....	50
Hon. Richard S. Schweiker, a U.S. Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.....	59
Hon. Floyd K. Haskell, a U.S. Senator from the State of Colorado.....	61
Written statement of—	
Hon. Mike Gravel, a U.S. Senator from the State of Alaska.....	11
Hon. Alan Cranston, a U.S. Senator from the State of California.....	23
Hon. Warren G. Magnuson, chairman, Senate Committee on Commerce.....	53
Hon. Frank E. Moss, Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences.....	67
Letters addressed to Chairman Cannon from—	
Hon. Howard H. Baker, Jr., a U.S. Senator from the State of Tennessee, dated April 30, 1975.....	64
Hon. Jennings Randolph, chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, dated April 23, 1975.....	64
Hon. John O. Pastore, chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, dated April 28, 1975.....	65
Hon. William Proxmire, chairman, Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, dated April 25, 1975.....	65
Hon. Frank E. Moss, chairman, Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, dated April 22, 1975.....	66
Hon. Gale McGee, chairman, Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, dated April 30, 1975.....	68
Hon. John Sparkman, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, dated April 28, 1975.....	69
Hon. James Abourezk, a U.S. Senator from the State of South Dakota, dated April 29, 1975.....	69
Hon. Joseph R. Biden, Jr., a U.S. Senator from the State of Delaware, dated April 30, 1975.....	70
Hon. Clifford P. Hansen, a U.S. Senator from the State of Wyoming, dated April 29, 1975.....	71
Mr. Pat M. Holt, chief of staff, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, dated April 4, 1975.....	71

IV

Miscellaneous—	Page
Texts of—	
Senate Resolution 60-----	7
Senate Resolution 110-----	8
Chart comparing the Rules Committee cost estimate of Senate Resolution 110 with Senator Gravel's cost estimate of Senate Resolution 110-----	16

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1975

Statement of Hon. William L. Scott, a U.S. Senator from the State of Virginia-----	73
Written statement of Hon. Frank Church, a U.S. Senator from the State of Idaho (read into the hearing record by Chairman Cannon)-----	89
Letters addressed to Chairman Cannon from—	
Hon. John C. Stennis, chairman, Senate Committee on Armed Services, dated May 20, 1975-----	91
David E. Price, associate professor, Political Science and Policy Sciences, Duke University, Durham, N.C., dated May 9, 1975-----	91
Proposed amendment to Senate Resolution 60, submitted by Hon. William L. Scott-----	74

APPENDIX

Exhibit 1.—Letter to Senate committee chairmen from Chairman Cannon, enclosing a summary of Senate Resolution 110-----	95
Exhibit 2.—Senate committee assignments, subcommittees, and committee staffs-----	97

COMMITTEE-RELATED SENATE EMPLOYEES

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1975

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C.

The committee convened, pursuant to notice, at 2:06 p.m., in room 301, Russell Senate Office Building, Hon. Howard W. Cannon (chairman), presiding.

Present: Senators Cannon, Pell, Allen, Williams, Hatfield, and Hugh Scott.

Staff present: William McWhorter Cochrane, staff director; Chester H. Smith, chief counsel; Hugh Q. Alexander, senior counsel; John P. Coder, professional staff member; Larry E. Smith, professional staff member (minority); Jack L. Sapp, professional staff member; Raymond N. Nelson, professional staff member; Peggy Parrish, assistant chief clerk; Robert C. Heckman, assistant chief clerk (auditor); and Andrew D. Gleason, professional staff member (minority).

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. HOWARD W. CANNON, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

This hearing today is on Senate Resolution 60, introduced by Senator Mike Gravel for himself and others on February 5, 1975, and on the same date referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration. Subsequently, on March 11, Senator Gravel, for himself, Mr. Brock, Mr. Cranston and Mr. Packwood, introduced a modified version of his proposal in the form of Senate Resolution 110, which is presently pending on the Senate calendar. Thus, while technically this hearing relates to Senate Resolution 60, for practical considerations it will in effect relate to the most recent Gravel proposal, Senate Resolution 110. The difference between these two resolutions will be clarified later in this statement.

Senate Resolution 110 would create a new category of Senate employees, staff members to be employed directly by a Senator and to be housed in his personal senatorial office, but whose functions would relate to and be confined to the work of committees of which the Senator is a member. Such committee-related employees would be accorded equitable treatment with respect to the records of that committee.

A preliminary analysis of Senate Resolution 110 by the staff of this committee indicates that the proposal could increase the cost of Senate staffing by more than \$40 million and add more than 1,000 com-

mittee-related employees—at not to exceed \$34,881 per annum—to the 1,262 regular committee staff members projected for the Senate for 1975. I wish to emphasize that these figures are predicated on maximum authorizations.

A summary of the staff-authorizing provisions of Senate Resolution 110 is as follows:

Section 8(a)(1) would authorize additional clerk-hire funds to each Senator on each of the so-called class A standing committees to employ additional personal staff in an amount equal to two additional employees at \$34,881 per annum or \$69,762 for each such Senator's committee assignment. There are 220 such committee assignments. Hence, 220 assignments is equal to 440 employees at \$34,881, or a total of \$15,347,640.

Section 8(a)(2) would authorize each Senator on each so-called class B standing committee, each select committee, each special committee, and each joint committee of the Congress to employ additional personal staff to assist him with those committee responsibilities in an amount equal to one additional employee at \$34,881 per annum for each such Senator's committee assignment. The Rules Committee staff finds there are 153 such assignments. Hence, 153 assignments or 153 employees at \$34,881 is \$5,336,793.

Section 9(a) of Senate Resolution 60 provides that a Senator serving as chairman or ranking minority member of a subcommittee shall receive an amount equal to two times the amount referred to in section 105(d)(2)(1) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified, that amount being \$34,881.

The modification of Senate Resolution 60 into Senate Resolution 110 would add the following restrictions to that general provision:

1. If a Senator is serving as chairman or ranking minority member of more than one subcommittee of the same committee he would be entitled to receive funds under section 9(a) for only one such subcommittee.

2. The provision would not apply if the subcommittee were funded or allocated for in an amount of \$69,762 or more.

Obtaining a realistic estimate of the maximum cost of section 9(a) of Senate Resolution 110 has been difficult due to the following factors:

1. Complete and accurate information of the total number and the membership of subcommittees is not available, since certain committees have not completed their subcommittee assignments.

2. In those instances when a committee receives a lump sum for the funding of its investigations, the extent to which subcommittees are "allocated" funds from the lump sum is strictly an intracommittee action, of which no public information is available. Consequently, there is no feasible method of excluding "allocated for" subcommittees from the calculation of the cost of section 9(a). Moreover, a committee which requests a single funding does so to gain the flexibility of utilizing its funds in areas where the greatest needs arise.

Nevertheless, utilizing the best information available and exercising its best judgment, the Rules Committee staff finds there are 175 Senate and joint committee subcommittees, or a total of 350 subcommittee chairmanships and ranking minority memberships. The above restrictions would appear to eliminate 110 subcommittee assignments, leav-

ing 240 eligible under the resolution. Hence, 240 assignments equal 480 employees at \$34,881, or a total of \$16,742,880.

The hiring of additional employees would obligate the Senate to costs beyond the payment of salaries in the form of agency contributions for employees' retirement, health and life insurance benefits. Based on the above estimates of maximum salary costs which would be incurred under Senate Resolution 110, the agency contributions would add an additional \$3,558,439.

To recapitulate, the maximum costs of Senate Resolution 110 as estimated by this committee are :

Section 8(a) (1) -----	\$15, 347, 640
Section 8(a) (2) -----	5, 336, 793
Section 9(a) -----	16, 742, 880
Agency contributions -----	3, 558, 439

For a total estimated maximum cost of \$40,985,752.

In addition to the cost factor, certain other important aspects of the Gravel proposal should be considered at this hearing, including:

1. The general impact the creation of these committee-related employees would have upon the established committee system of the Senate.

2. The propriety, if such employees are deemed necessary, of authorizing them by an amendment to the Standing Rules of the Senate, rather than by the normal method of increasing the clerk-hire funds of Members in a legislative branch appropriations act.

3. The problem of housing such additional employees, superimposed on the existing problem of housing all the regular committee personnel projected for 1975. And I may say that on that subject of housing, we have every room committed to which we have access, with the exception of 10 at the present time—and that is in all the facilities that we have available in the Dirksen Office Building, in the Russell Office Building, in the Capitol Hill Hotel, and in the Immigration Building, which we have recently taken over. And we still have a number of outstanding unfilled requests for additional space.

4. The possible mushrooming of Senate subcommittees to extend to more Members the staffing privileges which would be created by Senate Resolution 110.

I now call upon Senator Hatfield, the ranking minority member of this committee, for any opening statement he may wish to make.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. MARK O. HATFIELD, RANKING MINORITY MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Senator HATFIELD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The subject of committee staffing has been a concern of mine since the time I became a Member of the Senate some 8 years ago. Throughout this time, I have been troubled over the method of appointment and the utilization of committee personnel, because it wasn't until January of this year that I had the opportunity to appoint my first committee staff member. Until this time, like many of my junior colleagues, I was forced to handle the staffing for all of my committee assignments with staff members from my personal office.

I am not of the opinion that it is necessarily bad for Senators to use personal staff for committee business. But when I see the unfair way in which committee personnel are distributed, when I see where some Members of the Senate control from 30 to 40 committee staff persons while other Members of the Senate are unable to appoint just one committee staff person, then I believe the committee staffing system needs to be reformed. Even though I am now in a position to appoint committee personnel, my feelings on this subject have not changed.

I know of many cases where Senators are forced to use personal staff aides to handle committee assignments, and when the time comes for the committee or the committees to go into executive session, these personal staff aides are denied admittance. In many cases, these same staff aides are denied access to essential and important committee files because they are not "official committee staff members." As a result of these practices on the part of some committees of the Senate, I believe that all Senators should be able to appoint to each committee of which he is a member a competent staff aide. It will only be after this opportunity is afforded every Senator that we can expect each member to handle and perform his committee assignments competently. There are many days when I have four to five, or even six committees or subcommittees in session at the same time. It is literally impossible for me to attend all of these sessions, and thus the necessity to assign staff members to cover the committee sessions which I am unable to attend. This simple scheduling problem reinforces the idea of having a staff representative on each committee of which I am a member.

I believe the view expressed by many of the junior Members of the Senate that they are not provided with the adequate resources to fulfill their legislative responsibilities is justified. The inability of the current committee staffing system and examples also of the insensitivity of some of the chairmen and some of the ranking minority members of committees, have created the situation where the introduction of a resolution, such as Senate Resolution 110, was almost a certainty. While I agree in principle with the thrust behind Senate Resolution 110, that there be a more equitable distribution of committee personnel, I cannot in all good conscience support this measure due to the high cost which would be incurred by the U.S. taxpayer. And, finally, I am not convinced that the Senate would be a better institution just because we would add some 1,000 new staff members, if we take the most liberal interpretation of this resolution.

I believe the existing committee staff structure is inadequate and outdated, and I cannot understand the rationale which says we should add 1,000 employees approximately on top of this very poor foundation. I believe the current committee staffing system needs to be updated and changed before any attempts are made to bring on additional personnel.

The major factor forcing Senators to rob the skills of committee personnel for State business is the fact that inadequate clerk-hire funds are provided each Senator for the running of his Washington and staff offices. Some would argue that adequate funds are provided, since some Senators each year are able to turn back a portion of their clerk-hire funds to the Treasury, but I would submit, Mr. Chairman, that if a study were to be done, we would find that a majority of those Senators returning a substantial portion of their clerk-hire funds

happen to be either a chairman of a committee, subcommittee, or a ranking minority member of a committee or subcommittee. Not only is it unfair that these Senators be able to use committee personnel to handle State-related business, but it is deceiving the American taxpayers as to the actual cost to run and operate a senatorial office.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer the following suggestions as to how I feel the current committee staffing problem could be resolved, either through amendments to Senate Resolution 110 or a substitute resolution:

1. Place a firm and strict prohibition against the use of committee personnel for State business other than that which is related to the committee. Any member abusing this provision could lose access to such committee personnel.

2. Place a prohibition over the housing of committee personnel in senatorial offices. Not only is such a procedure of housing committee staffers in senatorial offices a bad practice on a purely management standpoint, but provides an environment for the misuse of committee staff persons.

3. Provide a fair and equitable distribution of committee personnel for both the majority and minority members of the committees. I mean that every member of a committee should be able to appoint at least one staff person to each committee of which he is a member, and

4. While this does not come under the jurisdiction of this committee, there is a real need to increase the amount of clerk-hire funds available to Senators in order that no temptation would exist to use committee personnel for State-related business. It is time that we bite the bullet and admit and accept how much it really costs to operate a senatorial office instead of going through the back door and using committee personnel to do needed and important constituent work.

5. Finally, we need to work to improve the general working conditions existing in senatorial and committee offices. I don't see how we can expect our staffs to do a professional job when we provide substandard working conditions. The staff members now on committees and in our offices cannot work at their capacity because of the type of working environment we have provided them.

These are the basic issues we must face. If we fail to reform the committee staff structure and correct these ridiculous working conditions we have imposed upon our staff, then in my opinion no number of new staff members, be it 1,000, 2,000 or whatever number will enable us as Senators to do a better job in representing the people of our States here in Washington.

Mr. Chairman, these are the issues which I intend to press for during these hearings, in the deliberations of the Rules Committee and on the Senate floor.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Hatfield. Senator Allen, do you have any comments before we start?

Senator ALLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no prepared remarks. I am in a similar situation to the situation that Senator Hatfield found himself in up until October of last year. I had no committee personnel assigned to me nor do I have any personnel that I have assigned to any of the committees.

At the same time, I do not know that the Gravel, et al., resolution is the proper way to handle the matter. I think possibly a better

method might be to redistribute the existing committee slots so that they would be more equitably divided, rather than adding an additional 1,000 employees.

And I might say that I am pleased that the sponsors of the resolution have not sought to push it on the Senate floor without hearings, even though it is on the calendar and it has been brought over under the rules. But yet an agreement was made that it would be subjected to hearings. And I would not want to prejudge the matter. I would certainly welcome this hearing and the production of evidence on both sides as to the need.

But I say again that I would hate to see additional slots or additional bodies added to the committee system. I believe we have a sufficient number. Sometimes I think we have too many.

I think we might work out some better distribution of the existing staff members. And that would be what I would be on the lookout to see, if something along that line might not be possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Scott?

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Well, I feel, Mr. Chairman, that something should be done. Whether this is entirely the correct approach remains to be seen.

But the difficulty exists. The lack of staff personnel is real to many Senators. I think there has been a good deal of injustice in the distribution of staff personnel, which for the most part has gone to senior members of committees. I was here for 16 years before I was able to get a staff assistant on two of the three committees on which I serve. I had one professional appointed last year to Foreign Relations, being one of the two minority members—and then it was difficult finding space for him, although that was finally adjusted. He represents the whole committee and he gives his full time to it. The same is true of my recent appointment, thanks to the chairman and the ranking minority member of this committee in the last month, so that in my 17th year in the Senate I now have one staff personnel on each of two committees and several on the third committee, where the mass of work is greater.

I have seen this situation burgeon where a few Senators have 20 or 30 or 40 staff assistants. One is not surprised by the number of press releases and the amount of self-serving declarations that are steadily and daily published in the press. It is obvious that a Senator with 40 employees isn't going to be able to think of all the stuff that his office puts out. And yet somebody has thought of it for him. One suspects that he may not even have had time to read a lot of it.

I think the system needs a thorough overhaul. I think there ought to be a fair distribution of committee staff, either through building up the staff members on the Senator's own personal staff, where he needs it, or by a provision that he shall have staff members on the committees on which he serves.

I would rather defer judgment exactly how to do that until we have heard and considered all of the testimony. But the discrimination exists, and there is no excuse for it except that some Senators have lived longer in the Senate than others or have been more astute in their means of acquiring additional personnel, or have used their senior position on the committee for the purpose or excluding the more junior members of the committee from an opportunity to receive the same kind of expert assistance they receive.

This is discrimination—I don't know whether it comes under the Civil Rights Act or not. But it does dilute the opportunities of those Senators to communicate with the general public to the extent to which they are denied an equal opportunity for expert advice.

So that is all I have to say at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, may I make a further comment?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator ALLEN. I might say that on the three committees that I serve on—the Rules Committee, the Agricultural Committee, and the Government Operations Committee—I have never had any hesitancy at all in calling on any member of any of the staffs for assistance and for information—and never a word about whether the staff member was assigned to a particular Senator or assigned to a particular party. I might say that I have had 100-percent cooperation by the staff members that I have called on for assistance and for research and for information.

And I think that might be borne in mind, the fact that we can avail ourselves of any staff member, the services of any staff member. Whether they are assigned to us personally should be a matter of small import.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, I will insert in the hearing record at this point the texts of Senate Resolution 60 and Senate Resolution 110.

[The texts of S. Res. 60 and S. Res. 110 follow:]

[S. Res. 60, 94th Cong., 1st sess.]

RESOLUTION Authorizing each Member of the Senate to employ additional assistants to work on matters pertaining to committees on which Senators serve

Resolved, That rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"S. (a) Each Senator serving on a committee is authorized to hire staff to assist him in his duties as a member of each committee on which he serves as follows:

"(1) A Senator serving on one or more standing committees named in paragraph 2 shall receive, for each such committee, an amount equal to two times the amount referred to in section 105(d)(2)(i) of the Legislative Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified.

"(2) A Senator serving on one or more standing committees named in paragraph 3; select and special committees of the Senate, and joint committees of the Congress shall receive for each such committee an amount equal to the amount referred to in section 105(d)(2)(i) of the Legislative Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified.

"(b) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall be designated as such and certified by the Senator who appoints him to the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee and shall be accorded equitable treatment with respect to access to the records of that committee.

"(c) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall not receive compensation in excess of that provided for an employee under section 105(d)(2)(i) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified.

"(d) Payments made with respect to individuals appointed to the office of a Senator under this paragraph shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers approved by such Senator.

"(e) Individuals appointed as employees under this paragraph shall be in addition to employees otherwise authorized to be appointed to the office of a Senator.

"9. (a) Each Senator serving as chairman of any subcommittee or ranking minority member of any subcommittee is authorized to hire staff to assist him in his duties as chairman or ranking minority member of each subcommittee on which he serves as follows:

"(1) A Senator serving as chairman or ranking minority member of a subcommittee shall receive for each subcommittee assignment an amount equal to two times the amount referred to in section 105(d)(2)(i) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified.

"(2) Such amount shall not be lowered unless done so by agreement of the chairman of the committee, the subcommittee chairman, and the ranking minority subcommittee member.

"(3) The provisions of this paragraph shall not apply when funds for the purpose of employing a staff for a subcommittee are provided by the full committee.

"(b) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall be designated as such and certified by each Senator to the chairman and ranking minority member of each full committee.

"(c) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall not receive compensation in excess of that provided for an employee under section 105(d)(2)(i) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified.

"(d) Payments made with respect to individuals appointed to the office of a Senator under this paragraph shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers approved by such Senator.

"(e) Individuals appointed as employees under this subsection shall be in addition to staff members otherwise authorized to be appointed to the office of a Senator."

[S. Res. 110, 94th Cong., 1st sess.]

RESOLUTION Authorizing each Member of the Senate to employ additional assistants to work on matters pertaining to committees on which Senators serve

Resolved, That rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"8. (a) Each Senator serving on a committee is authorized to hire staff to assist him in his duties as a member of each committee on which he serves as follows:

"(1) A Senator serving on one or more standing committees named in paragraph 2 shall receive, for each such committee, an amount equal to two times the amount referred to in section 105(d)(2)(i) of the Legislative Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified.

"(2) A Senator serving on one or more standing committees named in paragraph 3; select and special committees of the Senate; and joint committees of the Congress shall receive for each such committee an amount equal to the amount referred to in section 105(d)(2)(i) of the Legislative Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified.

"(b) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall be designated as such and certified by the Senator who appoints him to the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee and shall be accorded equitable treatment with respect to access to the records of that committee.

"(c) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall not receive compensation in excess of that provided for an employee under section 105(d)(2)(i) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified.

"(d) Payments made with respect to individuals appointed to the office of a Senator under this paragraph shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers approved by such Senator.

"(e) Individuals appointed as employees under this paragraph shall be in addition to employees otherwise authorized to be appointed to the office of a Senator.

"9. (a) Each Senator serving as chairman of any subcommittee or ranking minority member of any subcommittee is authorized to hire staff to assist him in his duties as chairman or ranking minority member of that subcommittee as follows:

"(1) A Senator serving as chairman or ranking minority member of a subcommittee shall receive an amount equal to two times the amount referred to in section 105(d)(2)(i) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified. If a Senator is serving as chairman or ranking minority member of more than one subcommittee of the same committee, he shall be entitled to receive funds under this paragraph for only one such

subcommittee but the individuals employed with such funds may assist him in his duties as chairman or ranking minority member of all such subcommittees.

"(2) Such amount shall not be lowered unless done so by agreement of the chairman of the committee, the subcommittee chairman, and the ranking minority subcommittee member.

"(3) If funds are authorized for the staff of a subcommittee pursuant to section 133(g) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, or if funds authorized for a committee under such section are allocated to a subcommittee, then the amounts to which the Senators serving as chairman and ranking minority member of that subcommittee are entitled under this paragraph shall each be reduced by an amount equal to the funds so authorized or allocated.

"(b) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall be designated as such and certified by each Senator to the chairman and ranking minority member of each full committee.

"(c) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall not receive compensation in excess of that provided for an employee under section 105(d) (2) (i) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified.

"(d) Payments made with respect to individuals appointed to the office of a Senator under this paragraph shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers approved by such Senator.

"(e) Individuals appointed as employees under this subsection shall be in addition to staff members otherwise authorized to be appointed to the office of a Senator."

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Gravel, you may proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. MIKE GRAVEL, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ALASKA, AND SPONSOR OF SENATE RESOLUTION 60 AND SENATE RESOLUTION 110, ACCOMPANIED BY HON. BILL BROCK; HON. ALAN CRANSTON; AND HON. BOB PACKWOOD, U.S. SENATORS FROM THE STATES OF TENNESSEE, CALIFORNIA, AND OREGON, RESPECTIVELY, AND COSPONSORS OF THE RESOLUTIONS

Senator GRAVEL. Mr. Chairman, I have asked Senator Brock, Senator Cranston, and Senator Packwood, to join me. We have worked together on Senate Resolution 60 and Senate Resolution 110 and we are going to try and divide up the nature of our testimony before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator GRAVEL. Let me thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for according us this hearing, and also for the initiative that you have taken in essentially making the hearing on Senate Resolution 110. Senate Resolution 110 is the perfected version of Senate Resolution 60, and is the version that we are trying to make a part of the Senate rules.

I would like to discuss one of the most significant aspects of the legislation—the philosophical base upon which it rests. Then we can move into other areas of a more specific nature.

But I think it is important to understand the principle involved. I think if we can get that across, we have traveled two-thirds of the distance that we need to arrive at a consensus.

We presently provide staff on the basis of State population. And this obviously is a proper way when we consider constituent needs, services, and demands. Senator Cranston, who comes from the largest State, and I, who come from the smallest State, obviously have different sized demands with respect to serving our constituents.

We also provide staff on the basis of committee assignments. The Rules Committee considers the individual budgets of the various committees and makes a judgment as to the efficacy of the request in question. After the recommendations of the Rules Committee are considered by the Senate, Members are allotted staff depending on the whim of committee chairmen. There is no question that we need staff to handle the workloads of the committee, because essentially our congressional system is a committee system—that is where the detailed work is done.

The process will not work without staffs.

However, there is a flaw in that area of staffing, committee staff assignments are at the total whim, whether it be a good or a bad whim, of the committee chairman. It is partially as a result of that flaw that an extensive series was done in the Washington Post by Mr. Steve Isaacs bringing out the inequities that exist in this area. We all know inequities exist.

Senate Resolution 110 does not attempt to rectify existing inequities because its sponsors do not have the power to correct that. That power lies within the jurisdiction of the Rules Committee. Problems caused by existing inequities is the dilemma that this committee faces when it attempts to effect reform. You are going to have to take away from some and give to others. That is a painful process and it is not a process that we felt we could effectively deal with in legislative terms. Therefore, while we will discuss that problem as it relates to Senate Resolution 110, our proposal deals with the present and the future as opposed to the past.

What we are concerned about is that Senators are not treated equally with staff resources in areas where it is clear that constitutionally, legally, and governmentally we are equal. When Senator Cranston votes, our votes are weighted equal.

Therefore, we should develop some knowledge base where each of us would have equal legislative staff. Obviously the end product can't be equal because we are different individuals with different backgrounds.

But to paraphrase Teddy Roosevelt we may not guarantee that everybody arrives at the finish line at the same time, but we ought to make sure everybody gets an equal start.

Senate Resolution 110 simply says that each Member of the Senate should have the same number of staff with respect to his committee assignments so that he is on an equal basis at the starting line.

And so that is the basic principle that is involved. We don't touch the existing population formula or committee system—we establish a new principle—and that principle is that we are all equal, therefore, we should equip ourselves to do our legislative work on an equal basis. Whether you are the Senator from California or the Senator from Alaska, if you serve on the Finance Committee, you have an equal number of people to serve your needs on that committee.

This in my mind is the only way we can begin to handle our oversight obligations. It is the only way that we are going to be able to handle the new problems that we face in our very sophisticated society.

Our workloads are too heavy. We are besieged by too many constituents. The problems are too complex. In a democracy the answer for that is not to have less tools to solve these problems—the only

answer is to have more. To have less is an abdication. We can only solve those problems with the necessary staff tools to do the job.

And so what Senate Resolution 110 would do would be to recognize that we are equal, that we have equal legislative responsibilities and we would assign staff on that basis. It would establish a formula pertaining to committee membership in that regard.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask unanimous consent that my written statement be placed in the record in full.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record.

[The written statement of Senator Gravel follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. MIKE GRAVEL, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ALASKA,
AND SPONSOR OF S. RES. 60 AND S. RES. 110

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to present the case for S. Res. 110, our resolution concerning the need for additional Senate staff. I welcome this opportunity to expand the discussion of this subject and to correct certain misconceptions surrounding the proposal.

As I reviewed my first Senate term and began making plans for my second, I became acutely aware that my ability to meaningfully participate in a great many issues was seriously hampered by a lack of staff. There is no question in my mind that there exists a positive correlation between the number of staff a member has and the number of issues in which he can become involved. There is also no question that the depth of a member's knowledge on a broad range of subjects depends on the amount of capable staff under his direction.

In discussing my frustrations with colleagues, I found that a majority agreed. More than half the Senate cosponsored my resolution, and it received the endorsement of both caucuses. I felt that the problem was so acute that an immediate solution was necessary, and that the solution should be codified in the Senate Rules.

At present, there are two methods by which the Senate is provided staff. First, there is the population formula, which takes into account the number of constituents a Senator must serve. Second, there is committee staffing, which provides cadres of professionals to guide the Senate as a whole in major policy areas.

S. Res. 110 proposes to create a new, third category to ensure individual Senators have expert assistance in meeting their legislative assignments. Such is not the case now. Let me explain why.

THE POPULATION FORMULA

The principle of the population formula is good, as far as it goes. It recognizes that some members have more constituents than others and thus need more resources to devote to citizen needs, demands, and services.

However, almost, all of our clerk-hire resources have to be used to respond to these constituent needs. Little or no money is left over to hire staff to meet national legislative responsibilities deriving from our committee assignments. The only way out of this box is to accumulate staff under the committee staffing system. But this solution is not available to all Members of the Senate equally.

COMMITTEE STAFFING

In addition to the population formula, a Senator may acquire staff directly from his committee assignment. As a member becomes a subcommittee chairman, or ranking minority member, staff may become available to assist him. Notice I said "may". In talking with members about S. Res. 110, I have learned that many subcommittee chairmen have received no staff even after six, eight, or ten years of service. This occurs because each committee chairman runs his committee differently. Some committee chairmen allow their subcommittee chairmen a great deal of freedom in running the subcommittees. Staffs are allowed to expand to a size equal to their tasks.

Of course, as was pointed out in the recent Washington Post series on committee staffing, some grow beyond their legitimate size, primarily because of the

pressures put on them by the inadequacy of the population formula. But even here, a Senator's ability to expand staff through his committee membership is completely subject to the whim of his committee chairman.

Reform and establishment of a balance is obviously called for.

It is against this background that I offered S. Res. 60, since reintroduced as S. Res. 110. This resolution would not alter existing staffing formulas or arrangements, but would provide funds based on each member's committee assignments.

My amendment to the Senate rules would put some equality into our staffing procedures, enhance our oversight capability, assist the Senate in its efforts to re-establish the Congress as a truly equal branch of government, and speak directly to some of the problems with our current population formula and committee staffing arrangements.

The formula I suggest would make available an additional \$69,762 for each membership on an A committee and additional \$34,881 for each membership on a B and C committee. These funds may be spent in any way the members see fit as long as persons hired are specifically delegated committee related work.

I further propose that an additional \$69,762 for staff be made available to each subcommittee chairman and each subcommittee ranking minority member to assist in their leadership responsibilities.

Arrangements for housing and supplying this additional personnel would fall upon each member, not the affected committee.

My amendment will not lower any existing committee or subcommittee staffing arrangement. Indeed, I want to make it very clear that my proposal is not intended to infringe on the rights or prerogatives of committee chairmen.

Each person appointed under this amendment will be designated as such and certified by the appointing member to the appropriate full committee chairman and ranking minority member.

These proposals represent, I believe, a modest but not insignificant effort to reform and rationalize Senate staffing procedures. Allow me to elaborate for the Committee some of the problem areas S. Res. 110 would address.

THE EQUALITY FACTOR

Every Member's vote is weighed equally and each must cast the same number of votes.

Every Senator is a member of anywhere from two to seven committees. In their capacity as committee members Senators serve not only constituents, but have an equal, definite and direct responsibility to the Senate, the Congress and the Nation for the development of national policy.

Neither the population formula nor the current committee staffing procedures speaks to the need of equal resources to handle these responsibilities.

THE OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITY

We have just passed through a very difficult period in American history in which we saw abuses of power by the Executive. We contributed to creating the climate that led directly to this blatant, illegal and unconstitutional abuse of power by appropriating monies year after year to expand agencies, departments, and the White House staff, but not providing ourselves with the staff to perform the necessary oversight.

Some of our most important committees have no staff assigned to members. Many Senators must take staff members away from constituent work and assign them to committee work, and then pay the price of not meeting constituent needs. S. Res. 110 would provide each Senator with the staff resources to begin to address his individual, constitutional responsibility to assure that this Nation has good and honest government.

THE "UN-EQUAL" BRANCH PROBLEM

Far too often we see the following scenario: The White House formulates a legislative idea; a department assigns 10, 20, or 30 staff members to research and draft the proposal; it is introduced in the Senate and, in the final analysis, referred to a subcommittee which may have no staff or at most a counsel and a secretary. Thus, the stage is set for another Executive steamroller.

Far too often the Senate performs its legislative function in a passive fashion. Our fact finding, investigative, and technical capacities are often ineffective because we lack adequate staff.

We limit our activities to the consideration—often not very detailed consideration—of pending Executive proposals, or to the monitoring of Executive actions. The results have all too frequently been disastrous.

INCREASE IN WORK LOAD

A closer look at the realities of our responsibilities helps explain the need for increased Senate staffing.

Ten years ago the number of issues upon which Members of the Senate felt compelled to speak filled 15,000 pages of the Congressional Record per year. The average for the past four years is over 21,000 pages per year.

The number of roll call votes has drastically increased from an average of 267 for the years 1965 to 1970 to an average for the last five years of 501 votes per session.

While precise figures on the volume of incoming constituent mail are not available, figures on the amount of franked mail sent by Congress show an incredible upward trend. They reflect the increased activity of the legislative branch and citizen communications with their elected representatives. In 1955, Congress sent 46 million pieces of mail. Last year Members of Congress communicated through the mail with the American people more than 315 million times.

Whether we like it or not, the intrusion of the Federal Government into every facet of human existence is a fact, and one that greatly increases the demands on Senators. The Executive departments, agencies, and commissions issue rules, regulations and procedures that precipitate phone calls, letters, and personal visits to congressional offices pleading for redress. In many cases the bureaucracy simply doesn't work quickly enough to render justice.

Paralleling the individual constituent cries for assistance are those of citizen interest groups. We are besieged daily with campaigns representing diverse views on each issue. Already this year thousands of citizens' lobbies have visited Washington requesting remedies to economic problems, expressing dismay about our foreign policy, imploring us to vote "for" or "against" abortion and, most recently, opposing strip mining legislation.

In short, every issue has become the cause celebre of one group or another. This is good. This is right. In a representative democracy the people must play an active role. But the demands these petitioners place on Members of the Senate overwhelm even the most talented and hard working staff.

COST ESTIMATE

Since I began soliciting cosponsors for this resolution several rumors concerning its cost have been widely circulated. I would like to present what I consider is a realistic cost estimate based on data taken from existing Senate pay records.

Section 8(a) (1), which provides \$69,762 per membership on an A committee if used to its maximum extent, would cost \$15,347,640. It is reasonable to assume that this provision will not be used to its maximum extent because the full committee chairmen and ranking minority members will not avail themselves of the funds made available by my amendment. Through their leadership roles on committees they have fully staffed themselves already. It is, therefore, realistic to assume that we can reduce expenditures under this section by multiplying 28 times \$69,762, therefore effecting an additional reduction of \$1,953,336, which brings the total for section 8(a) (1) to \$13,394,304.

Section 8(a) (2) of my resolution, which provides \$34,881 per membership on B and C committees would, if used to its maximum extent, cost \$5,336,793.

This provision will not be used to its fullest extent because committee chairmen and ranking minority members will not make use of this provision, thereby creating a deduction of \$1,185,954, leaving an adjusted figure for section 8(a) (2) of \$4,150,839. These two reasonably expected deductions bring our total preliminary cost estimate to \$17,545,143 for section 8.

Section 9, concerning the staffing for subcommittee members, would cost \$16,742,880.00 if maximally used. Subtracting the amount allotted to subcommittee chairmen and ranking minority members who also serve as full committee chairmen and full committee ranking minority members, we achieve deductions of \$941,787.00, bringing the cost of section 9 to \$15,801,093.00.

Thus, the total for sections 8 and 9 now stands at \$33,346,236.00. Two further large deductions can reasonably and logically be expected to occur.

A study recently conducted by the staff of the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations of the latest available Senate payroll data for 1974 shows the following: Thirty-four Members turned back more than 10 percent of their personal payroll allotments.

Of those 34 Members, 19 were full committee chairmen or ranking minority members. This clearly supports the contention that those holding ranking positions on full committees will not use the funds available under my amendment. They do not fully use their personal allotments at the present time. They are, as stated earlier, adequately staffed by virtue of their committee leadership roles.

Assuming that these Senators who turned back 10 percent or more of the available clerk hire funds, who are not full committee chairmen or ranking minority members, would not use the additional funds available under sections 8 and 9, we arrive at a further deduction of \$11,161,920.00, which subtracted from \$33,346,236.00 further reduces our projected cost to \$22,184,316.00.

After briefly studying the list of Senate subcommittees, it seems reasonable to assume that, at an absolute minimum, at least 20 subcommittees, 12½ percent, cannot justify the expenditures of the allotted \$139,524.00 per subcommittee. This makes a minimum reduction of \$2,790,480.00 and, when subtracted from our adjusted cost estimate, brings the final estimate of my amendment to \$19,393,836.00. Agency contributions of \$1,316,622.00 bring the total to \$20,710,458.00.

However, one additional point needs to be made in discussing the total cost of this program. The amount of clerk hire funds returned by all Senators in 1974 was \$4,473,562.00.

If we subtract this amount from the projected \$20,710,458.00 cost of my amendment, we see that the total cost in newly appropriated funds would be \$16,236,896.00.

I would like to conclude my remarks by attempting to put this cost in perspective.

Some hold the view that during a time of economic difficulty the Senate should not be spending money to increase its staff. I fail to understand this logic. We are the policy makers of the nation. We are all members of the board of directors of history's most powerful and productive country. It is precisely during a time of crises that you need the best efforts of your national policy makers. In a rational civilized democratic society, knowledge is power. Democracy thrives when the doors are open to the people, when information flows, when legislators know enough to ask the tough questions. None of these are possible without adequate staffing.

I can't believe the American people or our own constituents want us trying to solve the gigantic problems facing our nation without being adequately informed. They want informed legislators casting intelligent votes.

Congress and its subdivisions are operating on a budget equal to two-tenths of 1 percent of the 1974 U.S. budget. Even if, as my critics claim, my proposal costs around \$40 million, this would represent only a 5.7 percent increase in the total legislative appropriation. If, as I claim, the cost would be around \$16 million it would represent a 2.2 percent increase.

According to a March 18 news report, a recent GAO study has determined that we spent three times this \$16 million figure to pay overtime to Federal inspectors at U.S. border crossings. In fact, we could pay the entire cost of S. Res. 110 by building only one less F-14 jet fighter, which goes for \$17 million per copy.

Of course, maybe we need to pay border guards overtime and maybe we need that extra F-14. The point is that the money we are talking about here today is only a drop in the bucket when compared with our vast governmental expenditures. And we in the Senate have to pass on every single one of these dollars. I think it is worth the price of an F-14 to make sure we have the staff to help us make the right decisions on all those other appropriations.

In summary, Mr. Chairman, I strongly believe our current method of staffing U.S. Senators is totally inadequate and is in drastic need of revision. I believe my proposal would help the people's representatives regain control of a Federal Government that is unresponsive to the people.

Senator GRAVEL. Thank you. And also, to accompany that, our cost estimate. The Rules Committee has stated that S. Res. 110 could cost up to \$40 million and I noticed that Senator Hatfield stated that by the most liberal interpretation it would increase staff size by 1,000.

This legislation will not bring a thousand people on the payroll of the Senate. I would like to bring forth details of our cost estimates. The committee has been given copies of the costs; do you have before you the cost sheet?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't have it here. I have one, but I don't have it here.

Senator GRAVEL. If I could just go over it briefly with you, gentlemen. The section 8(a) (1), which would require 220 "A" committee memberships times \$69,762 would cost a total of \$15,347,640—and I will just talk in rounded figures.

Now, there will automatically be a deduction for the chairmen and the ranking minority members who already are adequately staffed. There is no reason why they would add staff. So you would have immediately a deduction of \$1.9 million.

Section 8(a) (2) would add \$34,000 per member, and that would come to a total of \$5.3 million. Deducting the chairmen and the ranking minority members subtracts \$1.1 million.

Under section 9, you would have a cost of \$16 million, but here you would have a deduction of \$941,000 for subcommittee chairmen and the ranking minority members, who are already the chairmen and ranking minority members of the full committees.

The Senators who now turn back 10 percent or more of their clerk staff hire funds would not use more money if they were offered more. That deduction for the "A" committee assignments is \$4.3 million, for the B and C committees is \$1.8 million and for the subcommittee section it is \$4.9 million. That total deduction of items 4, 5, and 6 is \$11 million. Therefore, the preliminary total is \$33 million less these deductions of \$11 million—comes to \$22 million.

The workload of certain committees would no way rationalize an increase in staff. Certainly, the Judiciary Committee, which has 17 subcommittees, which are more than adequately staffed, isn't going to go add on more staff.

The Public Works Committee, on which I serve—all our subcommittees have staff, so we are not going to ask more there.

The Rules Committee, you can make your own judgment as to whether or not you are going to need \$69,000 for the Printing Subcommittee, the Library Subcommittee, the Smithsonian Subcommittee, and the Restaurant Subcommittee. And, of course, the District of Columbia Committee, which has had its power eroded now because of the enactment of home rule, doesn't need additional staff.

The Labor and Public Welfare Committee also provides staff for its members.

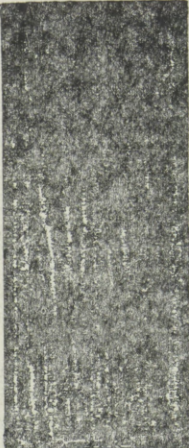
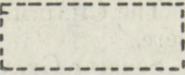
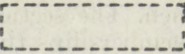
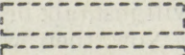
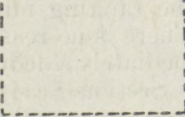
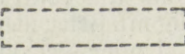
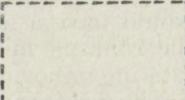
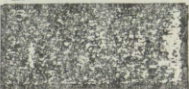
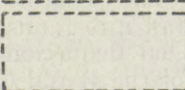
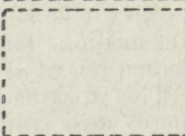
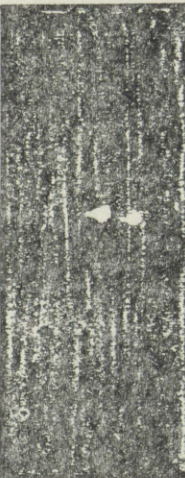
That totals 38 subcommittees that would not need additions in staff. I take a conservative point of view and I only talk in terms of 20 subcommittees. The total deduction caused by these situations is \$2.7 million, which means that the total cost for Senate Resolution 110 would come down to \$19,393,836. That translates into less than 500 additional staff. We assume that these reasonable projections would be followed.

Mr. Chairman, if this chart could be included in the record, I would like to turn to Senator Brock, who would follow on with his testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. The chart will be included as a part of the record. [The chart, with an attachment, referred to above, follows:]

RULES COMMITTEE
COST ESTIMATE
S. Res. 110

GRAVEL COST
ESTIMATE
S. Res. 110

SECTION 8 (a) (1) \$15,347,640		DEDUCTION 1	{	
		\$1,953,336	}	
		DEDUCTION 2	{	
		\$1,185,954	}	
SECTION 8 (a) (2) \$5,336,793		DEDUCTION 3	{	
		\$941,787	}	
		DEDUCTION 4	{	
		\$4,395,006	}	
SECTION 9 (a) \$16,742,880		DEDUCTION 5	{	
		\$1,813,812	}	
		DEDUCTION 6	{	
		\$4,953,102	}	
AGENCY CONTRIBUTIONS \$3,558,439		DEDUCTION 7	{	
		\$2,790,480	}	
		DEDUCTION 8	{	
		\$4,473,562	}	
		GRAVEL ESTIMATE: \$16,236,896 (new funds plus agency contribu- tions)	{	

*For description of Deductions 1-8 see attached "Explanation of Anticipated Actual Costs of S.RES. 110."

Explanation of anticipated actual costs of S. Res. 110

Sec. 8(a) (1) :	
220 "A" committee memberships $\times \$69,762$ -----	\$15,347,640
Deduction No. 1: Full committee chairman and ranking minority members are fully staffed by virtue of their leadership positions and therefore will not use funds available under S. Res. 110, $28 \times \$69,762 = \$1,953,336$ -----	-1,953,336
Subtotal -----	13,394,304
Sec. 8(a) (2) :	
153 "B" and "C" committee memberships $\times \$34,881$ -----	5,336,793
Deduction No. 2: Minus full committee chairmen and ranking minority members, $34 \times \$34,881$ -----	-1,185,954
Subtotal -----	4,150,839
Subtotal secs. 8(a) (1) and 8(a) (2)-----	17,545,143
Sec. 9:	
240 eligible subcommittee assignments $\times \$69,762$ -----	16,742,880
Deduction No. 3: Minus subcommittee chairman and ranking minority members who serve as full committee chairmen and ranking minority members, $27 \times \$34,881$ -----	-941,787
Subtotal -----	15,801,093
Subtotal for secs. 8 and 9-----	33,346,236
Senators who are not full committee chairman or ranking minority members who turn back 10 percent of their staff hire allotment can be expected not to use funds made available under Senate Resolution 110.	
Deduction No. 4: Sec. 8(a) (1)—63 memberships, $63 \times \$69,762$ -----	4,395,006
Deduction No. 5: Sec. 8(a) (2)—52 memberships, $52 \times \$34,881$ -----	1,813,812
Deduction No. 6: Sec. 9—71 memberships, $71 \times \$69,762$ -----	4,953,102
Total deductions Nos. 4, 5, 6-----	11,161,920
Subtotal secs. 8 and 9-----	33,346,236
Deductions Nos. 4, 5, and 6-----	11,161,920
Subtotal -----	22,184,316
Deduction No. 7: The workload of at least 20 subcommittees cannot justify the expenditure of funds available under S. Res. 110, $20 \times \$139,524$ -----	-2,790,480
Subtotal -----	19,393,836
Deduction No. 8: In 1974 Senators did not expend from their clerk staff hire allotment-----	-4,473,562
Subtotal -----	14,920,274
Agency contributions (retirement, health and life insurance benefits) -----	+1,316,622
Total "new" money required to fund S. Res. 110-----	16,236,896

Senator GRAVEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you one question to put it in proper context before you go. There is nothing in the legislation that would require these deductions that you have made—that would be voluntary. In other words, the legislation does not prohibit the addition of those people whom you have deducted?

Senator GRAVEL. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brock?

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Chairman, before I begin I would like to ask permission—

Senator HATFIELD. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, Senator Hatfield has a question he would like to follow up.

Senator HATFIELD. I just want to follow up the question the Chairman asked. Would the author of the resolution have any objection to our putting in mandatory language, so that additions would be in effect a deduction from the existing staff members—or, as Senator Allen put it, a reassignment, using that procedure to get an actual reassignment within the committee structures?

Senator GRAVEL. I would say that is a two-pronged question. One, if you are addressing yourself to the second proposal as to how funding takes place through the committee process, I think that there is no question that cries out for reform.

I would suggest that would be that it be done on a formula basis—based on workload of committees and what they do.

Now, with respect to this proposal, which goes to another facet of funding staff, I would, speaking for myself—and I think that the other major cosponsors and other Senators should have to voice their own opinion on this—I would be prepared to compromise to have the Rules Committee look into Senate Resolution 110 what I would be prepared to compromise to on that point.

But I would hope that we would not mix the apples and oranges. I think that one of the basic things that we are after is the principle that we are going to have staff on the basis of our equality as Senators.

Senator HATFIELD. I couldn't disagree with you at all. In fact, I heartily agree with you. I think the one telling comment in your statement, which was a very excellent summary, was when you said the Government gives but the Government does not take away.

I think that one of the frustrations of the general public, as well as in the Congress, is the feeling that all we do is create more bureaucracy—we never eliminate, we just add another layer, another layer, another layer—costly, costly additions. And that all we are doing is putting on a clean shirt with dirty underwear, and I think the public, both from a financial point of view and an efficiency point of view, would like to see us take a scalpel instead of a band-aid.

So I would only observe that the frustration we sense together on this is not beyond our ability to correct. I think we can go the direction that you are setting forth here in your resolution, and achieve not only that objective but a reform within the existing system. I just want to give one example, Senator Gravel, of the frustrations we have on the committee. There are 16 subcommittees of the Judiciary Committee. One of those subcommittees, which was created in 1952 for a 2-year period of time, still exists today with projection of 1975 budget of 17 persons—that is the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, with a budget, I might add, of about \$400,000, whereas, in comparison, we have for the Senate Armed Services Committee a total projection of 35 for the whole committee.

So we have almost half the amount for one subcommittee—which I think should have been eliminated long ago—than we have for a

full committee, the Armed Services Committee. Rather than superimposing upon that example of inequity and on bad foundations, I think we can at the same time correct the inequities both in the present committee structure and in the distribution of staff to the individual Senators.

Senator GRAVEL. Senator, I think you state very graphically how gross, how truly gross, the situation has become. I could only underscore that on the taking away and giving problem, that the only way you can do that with equity is through the use of some principle or some formula. And the basis of Senate Resolution 110 is founded on the principle of equality.

And so if you say, well, we will only effect that principle if we can take away from some other area, then you are not really ascribing to the principle of equality. It has got to be able to wash all by itself. And I think that our proposal washes all by itself.

But then when you move to the other area, the suggestion that I would make would be that you set up a formula. There is no way you can go to the chairman of that subcommittee and you say, well, we are going to take it away from you, because he is going to feel it personally. And you are going to have enemies. That is human nature.

So the only way to do it is for you gentlemen to develop a formula and say this is now the formula, everybody look to the formula for justice.

Senator HATFIELD. I agree. We did not freeze in the slaves in existence at that time—when we had abolition, we freed all the slaves, not only the ones to be born from that point onward, but the ones that had already been slaves.

Senator BROCK. Hear, hear.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Brock?

STATEMENT OF HON. BILL BROCK, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF TENNESSEE AND COSPONSOR OF SENATE RESOLUTION 110

Senator BROCK. Mr. Chairman, at the outset may I submit a short letter to the chairman from my colleague, Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee, for the record, with your permission.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be made a part of the record.

[The letter referred to may be found on p. 64 of these hearings.]

Senator BROCK. Mr. Chairman, I think the last point was the most cogent, and I would like to just take it as a takeoff point for my own testimony. We are talking about fundamental reform of the system—and I, by no means, see this as a last resort. What I feel very strongly—and I think all of my colleagues on this side of the table hope—is that this is the first step of a continuing process to provide again to the people's branch of government a true coequal role in this government of ours.

The constitutional role of the Congress is in jeopardy, and it is in jeopardy not because of any ill-intent, but because we have allowed this process to sort of build upon itself like Topsy without adequate rhyme or reason. It is fundamental that we look at this in terms of not only coequality here in the Senate, among all of us as equals, but also at the

role of the Congress and the Senate itself in providing the people of the United States with a voice in their own affairs.

I urge this committee to place this matter in the context of a total reform effort of the Senate itself, because that is where we are all reaching. Senator Stevenson and I are coauthoring another resolution which is before you, to undertake a committee reform study. And I very much hope that that can be taken up shortly, after this is concluded.

Let me speak to this matter from two or three different perspectives.

First of all, from the perspective of the Senate itself. The Senator from Oregon or maybe the Senator from Alaska mentioned the bureaucracy, we have a bureaucracy here in the Senate, too. And the people have a right to complain about that bureaucracy, about its intransigence, its inability to hear, its inability to respond. But, more important than that, that bureaucracy itself impedes us from fulfilling a basic constitutional role—we are not doing anything like an adequate job in terms of oversight. And that is a fundamental role of the Congress under the Constitution. And we have just got to do better.

Next, I will speak from the point of view of a member of the minority party. Back in 1962, the distinguished majority leader of the U.S. Senate authored a study with the minority leader, Mr. Dirksen. Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Dirksen published a study in which they advocated in effect full minority participation in the staffing process. In 1962, the minority controlled 8 percent of the committee staff; in 1965, it went to 15 percent; in 1972, 18 percent. The Senate is beginning to respond to the needs of the minority. But 18 percent as opposed to our representation of 38 percent minimum or maybe 39 percent hopefully, in the Senate, is not a pro rata share—and I don't think anyone can claim it is.

Let's talk about the minority on the basis of length of tenure, of participation in the Senate itself. I don't think newer Members are in a minority. But we are treated very much like it. The Senator from Oregon makes the point that it took him 8 years to obtain the assignment of one person—one person. Now, that just doesn't make sense in terms of his legislative responsibilities and the time that he has to give to the legislative process.

Let me just make one more point on a comparison basis. I asked my staff to draw for me a chart so I could see the difference between the House and the Senate—and you don't need to get up close to see it. This little figure over here is the Senate, this is the House—the House is somewhat bloated. I think that is a fair description of what is going on over there. Now, I am not trying to criticize the other body—I am simply saying that we consider every bill they consider, we have got to pass the same bills, we have got to go through the same process—and there may be just 100 of us, but we have got to have the same research, the same information, the same hearings if we are going to do an adequate job of reflecting our constituents' viewpoint. How can we, when they have four times as many personnel as we do. I am not asking that we equal that—I think that would be insane. I think maybe they have gone too far.

But, good lord, one-fourth—it just doesn't make sense.

Let me bring it down to a very personal note. On Monday of this week I got 1,300 letters in 1 day from my constituency. Now, I simply cannot refuse to answer mail from people who have problems. I can't deny them that response, I can't deny them representation to the extent that they need help or they want an answer, or they want to know

what is happening up here. I must respond. I don't have any choice.

When I take the number of people that it takes to give them an honest full response, and we try to turn our mail around in 48 hours, it requires literally everybody on my staff. I have nobody left, nobody left, to do the research, the data assimilation, the checking of figures, all the things that have to be done to prepare me for legislative debate—not just in committee but on the floor. And that is an enormously frustrating situation to find yourself in.

Lastly, I noted with interest the opening statements of the members of this committee, the thing I appreciated most was that each member who spoke indicated an understanding that we have got a problem. There wasn't any real argument there. Everybody knows that. The question is not whether we have a problem, but what do we do about it.

And may I say to the Senator from Oregon, if you want to write into this proposed resolution an amendment or some modification, go ahead; because we have no particular pride of authorship. We want to solve the problem. If you want to write in restrictions to require that the deductions be a matter of statute, fine—I have no objection to that. I would be delighted to support it, because we are not seeking to be the “bloated” branch, we are reaching for reform.

The thing that frightens me and bothers me is that the arguments against what we are trying to do comes down on basically one point—and that is it is going to cost more money and that we will have more bureaucracy. None of us are challenging the fact that we have got an overload now.

But to say that the existence of present discrimination justifies a refusal to end that discrimination is like turning the word upside down. I cannot follow that logic. It doesn't make any sense at all to me. The fact that we have a problem now mandates a response. We don't have any alternative other than to correct this situation. And I am fully prepared to accept almost any suggestion. I listened very carefully to the Senator from Oregon and his proposals. There is not one bit of that that I find any fault with. And I would be delighted to support it.

But we do need help, and we need it just as quickly as you can provide it to us, because without it, I don't think we can provide the kind of service that our constituents hired us to provide. I don't think we are now contributing to the legislative process to the extent of which we are capable. And as a result, I think the constitutional process itself and the American people suffer.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Cranston?

STATEMENT OF HON. ALAN CRANSTON, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, AND COSPONSOR OF SENATE RESOLUTION 60 AND SENATE RESOLUTION 110

Senator CRANSTON. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate very much this opportunity for us to appear before you. I know that some members of the committee have some concerns about the form that the resolution that we are supporting takes. I do hope nonetheless you find it a pleasure for us to be before you after what you have been through on New Hampshire with all of the tediousness and combativeness. We are here to give you pleasure today.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a pleasure.

Senator CRANSTON. The Watergate abuses and the misuses of the Presidency—in Vietnam as well as in Watergate—in several administrations, have made plain to many that Congress needs to bolster itself to deal with the executive branch in decisionmaking on an equal footing.

This generality is easy to proclaim, but the reality won't be achieved unless we take the steps to equip Congress with staff and equipment to do its work—and that requires spending money. That is going to be misunderstood, and it will be criticized. But I think we have the responsibility to do what is needed. And if through political timidity we fail to provide ourselves with the tools we need to do our work, we will be shirking our responsibilities just as much as Senators shirk their responsibilities when they fail to equip themselves to know how to vote when they go on the Senate floor.

The facts are that Senators, and particularly Senators from large States, are deplorably understaffed. Bill Brock with that chart showed how understaffed Senators are compared to Members of the House of Representatives. We often feel that the Senate in conference committee doesn't have its way as much as the House tends to have its way. That primarily may relate to the fact that House Members serve on fewer committees and thus know the subject matter of the committee they focus on better.

But I think it may also relate to the fact that House Members have more staff backup to equip them with the information they need to do their work well. And knowledge, as Mike repeats and repeats, is power. We need knowledge to do our work effectively dealing with the other branch of Congress as well as with the executive branch.

To use another situation as an example, my own; I have one staff member for every 344,262 Californians. A California Congressman is provided one staff member for every 29,062 constituents. In other words, the Congressman from my State gets 11 times as much staff per constituent as I do. When people complain to me in California, "Why don't you answer your mail as fast as the Congressman does or deal with problems as effectively?" that is not a very happy answer for me to give, so I don't. But it is a reason why a Member of the Senate from California cannot give the kind of constituent service that a Congressman can give. In other words, the Congressman from my State gets 11 times as much staff per constituent as I do.

In view of Mike Gravel's very effective leadership in this effort, I will not proceed to give the example of what happens to the biggest State's Senator. Alan Cranston, in comparison to the smallest State's Senator, Mike Gravel. [Laughter.]

But there are such great differences. Mike's resolution is a long overdue reform that would provide a Senator with additional staff to allow him to carry on his committee and legislative assignments, and which would free the Senator's own personal staff to deal more effectively and efficiently with constituent matters.

I would like to make one other point in summarizing the statement that I want to submit in full for the record. Some newspaper accounts have been critical of Senators for allegedly using committee staff for noncommittee purposes. My own situation illustrates there is another side to that story. I know it is echoed by a number of our

colleagues in the Senate. Twelve percent of my office payroll is used to back up my work on committees.

It isn't used for constituent service. It isn't used for general legislative work. It is used to back up what I cannot do effectively on committees where I am assigned and don't have enough committee staff to do my work for that committee.

I would also like to touch upon the confusion about the clerk-hire money available to Senators but not used by Senators. The argument goes: Why authorize additional staff funds to Senators when they are not using what is available to them now? Some Senators make a deliberate decision not to use all the available clerk-hire funds because they don't want that much staff for whatever the reasons may be.

But it is true that there are other Senators, and I am one of them, who desperately need more staff but don't and cannot prudently spend every dollar in our annual clerk-hire authorization. Let me explain just briefly why. If a Senator hires staff up to 100 percent of his authorization, he will have no leeway to give merit pay raises to deserving employees. A further reason for maintaining payroll flexibility arises from the failure of the Senate to provide per diem for staff travel. We have been advised to raise staff salaries temporarily to pay for travel expenses other than transportation. I don't think that it's a very appropriate way to take care of these expenses, but I know that it is done.

I feel the best management practice is to operate somewhere between 90 and 85 percent of clerk-hire capacity. I operate closer to 98 percent, because I have to, and yet at the end of last year my accrued surplus was \$17,208.65. That is inevitable because of the limited use to which surplus can be put. We can use what we accumulate for yearend bonuses to those that deserve them. We can use it also—and this is a very important thing for me—for peak mail periods to hire additional staff to deal with the mail.

When Cambodia was invaded, I got 25,000 letters a day for about the first 10 days, and then I got 10,000 letters a day for 6 weeks. It took me a year to dig out from under them. I am now getting a sudden avalanche of mail because of the Vietnam refugees and the assumption that many of them will stay in California.

We have to have some flexibility and have to hold aside money from other work I would like to be doing to deal with this kind of a situation when it arises.

Those are just some of the problems. I know you are sympathetic to our plight. I hope you will be sympathetic to the solution we propose, or will come up with something else that gives us the same results.

And thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Your written statement will be made a part of the record.

[The written statement of Senator Cranston follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. ALAN CRANSTON, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE
STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Chairman, the Watergate abuses and the misuses of the Presidency have led many of us to the conclusion that Congress should be strengthened to restore parity with the Executive branch in the national decision-making process.

This generality is easy to proclaim, but the reality will not be achieved unless we in Congress are willing to spend the additional moneys required to get us the assistance—both staff and equipment—necessary to do an adequate job.

We will inevitably be criticized for taking these steps since there is an abundance of misunderstanding among the general public of the functions and operations of the Congressional system. It is our responsibility to explain to our constituents why additional funds are needed—and it won't be easy. But if through political timidity we fail to demand adequate funding to enhance our capabilities we will be shirking our responsibilities as Senators just as much as we would if we failed to prepare ourselves adequately on the issues involved in a vote on the Senate floor.

The facts are that Senators—and particularly Senators from large states—are deplorably understaffed. To use my own situation as an example, I have one staff member for every 344,262 Californians. A California Congressman is provided one staff member for every 29,062 constituents. In other words, a Congressman from my state gets eleven times as much staff per constituent as I do. The conflicting demands on my inadequate clerk-hire allowance force me to stint every phase of my Senate office operation.

The Gravel Resolution is a long overdue reform which would provide a Senator with additional staff to allow him to carry out his committee and legislative assignments and which would free the Senator's own personal staff to deal more effectively and efficiently with constituent matters.

The enormous problems facing our nation place tremendous pressure on the Congress and the Senate to make significant legislative contributions and solutions. Under the present system, some—but not all—subcommittee chairmen get professional committee staff to help with legislative assignments.

A subcommittee chairman receives staff by one of two methods: (1) Staff from the full committee, who have been hired by the committee chairman, are assigned by the committee chairman to staff the subcommittee, or (2) A subcommittee chairman is given authority to select his own staff with the approval of the committee chairman.

On paper, the first method appears to be reasonable and adequate. In reality and from my own experience, it is not.

Staff provided by Method 1 can provide basic technical assistance to the subcommittee chairman. But it's not enough for a staffer to provide information, legislative analysis or research. His value to a Senator results from his judgment, his insight into and his ability to implement the Senator's policies and values. If a Senator cannot choose his staff on that basis—which he would be able to do under Method 2—then the staff is of little use to him.

If a Senator doesn't have a subcommittee chairmanship or if he's unable to obtain permission from the committee to hire adequate staff of his own for the subcommittee he chairs, he must turn to his personal staff, reassigning them from constituent service and problems to his subcommittee and committee duties.

In my own case, I have 60 people on my personal payroll to handle the needs of the 21 million people of California: an average volume of 12,000 letters and 900 cases per week, in addition to scores of phone calls, as well as meetings with constituents, with other members of the California congressional delegation, and with Executive agencies. Last week alone I received 26,000 pieces of mail.

I've also had the good fortune to be given 9 staff slots by the committees on which I serve.

But the scope and volume of my legislative work on those committees has made it necessary for me to assign 4 professional and 4 clerical people from my personal staff to handle business stemming entirely from my committee assignments—work I would not have to do if I were not on the committee. The loss of those 8 persons places an added burden on the already overworked remainder of my personal staff and an added burden on my payroll.

My personal payroll of \$751,980 is presently budgeted as follows:

	Percent
Legislative staff.....	25
Clerical assistants.....	25
Field staff.....	16
Administration	16
Casework	11
Press	7

Of the 25 percent used for legislative assistants and aides, 8 percent is diverted for the 4 persons whose primary duties are to supplement the committee staff

on my assigned committees and 17 percent to the remaining 12 who cover the legislative activities of the committees on which I don't serve. Of the 25 percent which is used for clerical assistants, 4 percent goes to the clerical people who perform work for the committees on which I serve, and 21 percent to the staff members who handle clerical chores unrelated to the assigned committees.

In summary, 12 percent of my total payroll is diverted for supplementary staff for my assigned committees.

Some newspaper accounts have been critical of Senators for allegedly using committee staff for non-committee purposes. My own situation illustrates there is another side to that story, and I am sure it can be echoed by a substantial number of my colleagues.

S. Res. 60 basically assures that each Senator will have a minimum committee staff base upon which to rely for his legislative work. It is not intended to affect the staff already held by Senators—it simply recognizes the fact that all Senators have a basic committee legislative responsibility in addition to our constituent responsibilities.

There is a good deal of understandable confusion about the clerk-hire money available to Senators but not used. The argument goes: why authorize additional staff funds for Senators when they're not using what's available to them now?

Now it is true that a number of Senators do not utilize fully the clerk-hire funds available to them. But it is also true that other Senators like me who desperately need more staff do not and indeed can not prudently spend every dollar in their annual clerk hire authorization. The system works like this: I receive an annual allowance of \$752,000. That amount is divided by 360 days so that I am allowed a daily payroll of \$2,088. If in any day I fail to expend the full \$2,008, the unspent money accumulates in an accrued surplus fund which can be spent for clerk hire at any time until the end of the calendar year when it reverts to the Senate.

There are several reasons why it is both difficult and unwise to operate at 100% of clerk-hire authorization.

For example, suppose a \$12,000 legislative aide quits unexpectedly and it takes a month to find a replacement. This would unavoidably add \$1,000 to the accrued surplus fund.

More important, if a Senator hires staff up to 100% of his authorization, he will have no leeway to give merit pay raises to deserving employees. Another reason for maintaining payroll flexibility arises from the failure of the Senate to provide per diem for staff travel. I compensate my staffers who are traveling on official business by increasing their salaries temporarily to cover lodging expenses. This is a ridiculous system and needs to be corrected, but it's the only way to reimburse staff. If I were spending up to my full authorization, my staff members would have to pay these expenses out of their own pockets, which I believe would be grossly unfair.

I feel the best management practice is to operate somewhere between 90% and 95% of clerk-hire capacity. But the extreme pressures of representing 21 million constituents forces me to operate at closer to maximum. Last year, for example, I utilized approximately 98% of my clerk-hire. At the end of the year my accrued surplus was \$17,208.65.

Such a surplus is inevitable because of the limited uses to which such a surplus can be put. The year-end bonus is one use. Hiring temporary help during peak mail periods is another. I do both. But the funds can not be used for permanent staff positions nor for permanent salary increases since they do not carry over from one year to another.

Mr. Chairman, I know the Committee is sympathetic to our staffing problems. I urge your careful consideration of the merits of Senator Gravel's proposal.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hatfield?

Senator HATFIELD. Senator Cranston, I think you put your finger on a very extraordinary managerial problem, and that is the question as to whether or not we could expend or commit all of the funds that we have for clerk hire. I would just like to supplement your point by a very brief review that I have made. At the end of the fiscal year 1974, there were 36 Senators, all of whom are still in office, who turned back over \$35,000 each in clerk hire—unused clerk-hire funds.

I think it is interesting to note that of the 36—26 of these Senators were either a part of Senate leadership, committee or subcommittee chairmen or ranking minority members of a committee or subcommittee with staffs. Three of the remaining 10 Senators also had access to, and did in fact, appoint committee personnel. Therefore, 29 out of the 36 Senators were in a position to utilize staff from the various Senate committees, which I think puts into perspective a little more clearly some of the reasons behind the return of unused clerk-hire funds, in addition to the very excellent point that you make.

Senator CRANSTON. Yes, those facts are very relevant. Where there is that opportunity for money not to be spent, it is great that it is turned back.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Packwood?

STATEMENT OF HON. BOB PACKWOOD, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OREGON, AND COSPONSOR OF SENATE RESOLUTION 60 AND SENATE RESOLUTION 110

Senator PACKWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I might ask my administrative assistant to pass out a chart showing staff responsibilities on my Washington staff.

I think you are aware, from the number of Senators who were here at the time this started, of the interest and the need. It is also obvious when we have 57 cosponsors on this resolution that a great many people in the Senate are concerned or agitated.

We are all aware that mail probably gets our first attention and our first money. None of us are going to go back to our States and have dozens, let alone hundreds, of constituents coming up and saying I wrote to you and I didn't get an answer—or the Congressman answered, or the other Senator answered, but you didn't answer me.

So we all do the best we can to make sure that every letter that comes in gets a response.

In 1972, the mail load in my office was 42,000 letters. In 1974, 49,000 letters. In 1975, if our projections are accurate, based upon the first 4 months mail, we will have 57,000 letters this year—up 15,000 in 4 years.

I have 21 people on my Washington staff, 5 of those spend 100 percent of their time on mail, 11 of them spend half of their time on mail and the remaining 5 spend about a quarter of their time on mail. That is 11¾ people out of 21 that spend time on mail and mail alone. I have seven legislative assistants on my staff—they spend half of their time on mail and half of it on legislative business. That is three and one-half people to cover all of the different substantive legislative matters that we have to consider as Senators. And, in addition, by virtue of my seniority on the Banking Committee, I am allowed to appoint one person to that staff—and I get about half-time use out of him. So you have a total of four legislative assistants.

On the Finance Committee, which I consider my principal committee, I have nobody. The Finance Committee has a good staff and I have used them. The Finance Committee staff is principally loyal to the person who appoints them. They are able, I am not demeaning them in any sense. But their first loyalty, especially if there is a conflict, will lie to that person that appoints them and has the power to terminate them.

I have had to use three out of my seven legislative assistants' time—or at least share part of their time—on the Finance Committee. And not only is it a question now of keeping up with the normal work of Senators, but as we are here for a longer period of time we take on increased responsibilities. I was asked by the Nixon administration to carry their health insurance bill—and I did. I was asked by the present Ford administration to lead the fight on the President's oil-tariff veto, and I did that. And they have asked me to carry their revenue-sharing proposal—and I will do that.

But in each case when you take on those obligations it is more than just preparing yourself to vote yes or to vote no. You need increased staff so that you can not just vote right, but you can lead correctly.

In 1974 I was authorized in clerk-hire allowance to spend \$386,446.50, of which I spent \$385,610.49, leaving a balance to be returned of \$836 and a penny. My average legislative assistant's salary is \$11,125 and the reason it is so low is because I frankly need the bodies to answer the mail—and I cannot keep for a very long period of time good legislative assistants at that salary. I have got young enthusiastic people; they are starting on the Hill for the first time, they are good. But the very good ones quickly find out that they are worth much more than that. I simply can't afford to pay any more than that and still get the mail answered.

My highest salary is my administrative assistant. He makes \$27,180, which is far from the maximum amount that could be paid to your administrative assistant. My preference would be, rather than going this hybrid route of having these people called committee but appointed by us, frankly would be a substantial increase in the clerk-hire allowance but with a guarantee that those on our staff who are doing our committee work have full access to committee records and to committee meetings, and the only way we have been able to achieve that so far is if the person is actually a committee staff member and has access because of that committee attachment.

Now, if the committees will guarantee that our personal staffs, who do our committee work, can see the records, can sit in on the executive sessions when meetings are closed, then I am not really concerned about whether we go to the clerk-hire route or the committee route. The key problem is we need more staff, we need staff that is loyal to us, that shares our philosophies, that on occasion will do and carry out to the idiosyncracies that we want to try—ideas that may seem far out that the committee is not concerned with at the time and that the committee staff cannot simply give attention to because they may be at variance with the ranking member's ideas or the committee chairman's ideas.

So in closing, Mr. Chairman, I need help now, not till last January, not in 6 or 9 months or 3 or 9 years, when we may reform the committee structure and turn around the present committee staffing procedure—now. I cannot wait any longer. I hope this committee within the time allotted under the agreement that Senator Gravel and Chairman Cannon and Mike Mansfield entered into can give us a resolution on the floor that will take care of this problem.

But we cannot wait any longer.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Scott?

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Senator Packwood, I think the press serves a good purpose when they explore these situations in that they usually

highlight one side of it. But in so doing they do give a forum to Senators, such as yourself, who can point out the whole picture as well as that part which has been exposed or expositied in the press.

Now, there were several good articles having to do with the use of committee staff and personal staff with a good deal of discussion on whether Senators, who had appointees on committee staffs, should permit those appointees to do any other work for them.

That did not adumbrate the problem. It obscured it, because it seems to me that if Senators do not have adequate staff representation on the committees on which they serve, they need to use their regular staff, as has been pointed out, to do the committee work. At the same time, some of these subcommittees at times are relatively inactive. They have periods of great activity when legislation comes around to it. When it doesn't, Senators have been compelled to call on their appointees on the committee staffs to help them answer legislative mail, as one illustration.

I see something wrong with the system, but I don't see anything wrong with the application which we have been compelled to make because of a disparity in the staffing. I have, as I said, the proper staff representation only on my largest committee—the Judiciary—which handles more than one third of the bills coming to the Senate. And I have no hesitation in asking people on the staff, if they are not currently busy over there, to help on the other staff. I have sitting with me right now a staff member whose work is on the Patent Subcommittee of Judiciary, and it is heavy and constant throughout a great part of the year. But I have had to borrow him for Rules Committee when this committee gets busier than the Patent Subcommittee does.

It is part of our problem, you see. We have to make these adjustments. And then the stories are written as if we are trying somehow to deceive our constituents. That is why I bring it out in the open. I don't think it is that at all.

If you had adequate representation on the staff, then you would have more adequate representation within your own office force to get the work done. I wish it were otherwise, but I am certainly going to continue to call on my staff members to help me in any area of my responsibility where I feel it is my duty to do it. And I think my constituents would rather hear from me. I would rather not have them say to me, "I got a letter from the Congressman, I didn't get one from you." It happens to all of us. I would rather have them feel they got an answer to the letter, even though I had to borrow somebody from some other area of responsibility at the time.

In two of my committees, the two staff members give their entire time up here. But, if in future, I thought I needed them, I would call on them.

Senator PACKWOOD. I see, Senator Scott, nothing wrong with that. I thought the articles in the Washington Post were excellent articles, but perhaps mixed up two things. One is the use of committee staff for, as you say, answering mail. Frankly, it makes perfectly good sense for the person that I appoint to the Banking Committee, who occupies their space—not mine—to answer my letters relating to banking from constituents. He knows the subject. To say that he cannot answer that mail and I have got to find somebody else who doesn't

cover the committee to inform themselves on it and answer it is a waste of money, a waste of taxpayers' money.

The valid point that the articles raised is that committee staff or personal staff should not be used to run for President or grease your car. But that would obtain no matter how the person was appointed or how they were paid. And I thought that point was valid and was well made.

But in my mind committee staff that we appoint that are to do our committee work or personal staff that do committee work ought to be interchangeable, and we ought to be able to mix them, move them, use them as we want to the maximum advantage.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Otherwise, it operates in favor of the wealthy Senator against the Senator who isn't wealthy. The wealthy Senator may feel compelled to go out and hire 20 or 30 extra people to run for President or spend his time denying that he is running for President. That involves correspondence, too.

Senator BROCK. If the Senator would permit me, I would like to make just one other point. The Post and Star have both done first-rate work in this area. But I think that the quality of the work indicates part of the problem, because as good a job as they have done and as hard as they worked at it, they still found only about half of the situations around here that do exist. And we all know they exist.

And that is part of the frustration, too.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. That is right. If that reporting, which was good and exploratory, had gone further into depth, it would have unearthed far more situations of discrimination and areas of criticism.

Senator BROCK. I am not sure they could have gone much further in depth. We have more covers around here than you can say grace over, Senator, and that is part of the problem.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. I don't always say grace over it.

Senator BROCK. That is the only thing left to say.

Senator HATFIELD. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hatfield?

Senator HATFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to state for the record that Senator Packwood has been long involved in the political forum, both as a member of the Oregon Legislature in election reforms, as a member of the Republican Caucus here in the Senate, has been interested in reform, and I think his testimony today bears out his understanding and long background in this area.

I refer specifically to his question about mail and the way in which we respond to this mail. Senator Cranston has a tremendous amount of mail—but still each is a very important piece because it represents the voice and the inquiry of a citizen.

I think this points up one other thing. I am sure that all of these who have joined in Senator Gravel's resolution would agree that we have to really look beyond staff per se. We have to recognize whether or not we as Senators have really established an administrative procedure.

I think that we might do a little introspection on this as well, because it is not only the mechanics of handling the mail, but it's whether or not there is an administrative philosophy in our offices on which a system for handling the mail can be designed. Again, let me emphasize, we could double our staff and still be half as efficient if we do not address ourselves to the modernizing and the obtaining of adequate working tools.

I can't conceive that as long as microfilming has been around in this country, the Senate of the United States has yet to establish a microfilming program. Even though we have done it on paper, we have fiddle-diddled around on this thing till it is still not operative. And therefore we are not getting spatialization, which is so important to the ability for staff to function. If they are sitting elbow to elbow, if there is such a high decibel level in the room that they cannot think or concentrate, and have to walk the hallways to get a little bit of privacy, as many of them do, again, let me emphasize, I think we have to take this thing in its total package—staff, space, tools, philosophy, and systems.

And when we do that, I think we can really go, as Senator Brock says, to a total reform and not just hide over the existing inadequacies by another layer of staff, which really are not going to do the job, even though we may double it.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Would the Senator yield for one illustration? Some time ago, we had a discussion in this committee on the mailing of letters, newsletters, and other information to constituents. We discovered that the amount of mail which a Senator might send his constituents was limited, not by the population of his State nor by the size of his correspondence, but by the capacity of two computers. And I don't know whether we ever corrected that or not.

But it seems to me that the test of the Senator's responsibility ought to be his equal ability with every other Senator to reach as many people as possible as often as possible, rather than the machine, the mechanical limitations of whether we have got enough computers to do it.

Senator HATFIELD. Would the Senator yield?

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Yes. Thank you.

Senator HATFIELD. Let me support that comment, but let me also go one step further. When we have a system, as we now have, where a Senator is not totally free to determine and select the kind of equipment with which he wants to move on his answering of mail, and other such responsibilities, and when we lock the Senator in even to the repair and maintenance of that to an in-house operation when we could contract probably with the manufacturer for far more efficient operation—these are the little things that still would inhibit and frustrate the full realization of adequate staff and the ability of staff to respond. But it just merely triggers all of these things, because, in my opinion, we are not dealing with just a single question of numbers of bodies.

Would the Senator agree?

Senator PACKWOOD. I agree with you a hundred times over—the little frustrations—trying to get tape for a tape recorder. They have supplied me with a Sony tape recorder, which is fine. I have found that for some reason this particular machine, whether there is a defect in the machine or not, Maxwell tapes will not work, they will not reverse. They will not supply me Sony tapes. And I can't go out and find any, unless I want to pay for them personally. It is that kind of aggravation.

Senator HATFIELD. And that is more aggravating in my situation as when I indicated I have 1 staffer, because I have 3 committees, 12 subcommittees, 6 of which are on the Appropriations, 1 joint committee and 2 commissions.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, gentlemen, I have a few questions for you with respect to the mechanics of the thing—and may I say that I certainly agree with Senator Brock that we are long overdue for reform, I think, of the entire committee system, not having been reformed since the Legislative Reorganization Act. And I think that this proposal here—I may say, very frankly—I think this is a band aid type operation and would merely compound the problem rather than solve the problem.

Senator Packwood raised the question that it didn't make any difference to him whether we solved the basic problem here by adding more clerk hire, so that you could have more people to do your constituent problems—and it seems that everyone who has raised problems here today has related them principally to constituent problems rather than principally to committee problems, such as the resolution seems to be directed.

Now, authorization for Senate committee personnel is contained in the Legislative Reorganization Act and funds for Senators' personal staffs are authorized by the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act. In view of the fact that this proposal would increase the senatorial clerk-hire funds, I would like to ask why did you choose to couch it in the form of an amendment to the Standing Rules of the Senate, which, as far as I can determine, has never contained any provision relating to Senate employees?

Senator BROCK. Mike will add to this, but fundamentally, Mr. Chairman, what we are trying to say is that we are using our present staff for committee work now, because we don't have enough of either—and we simply cannot perform adequately with the committee staffing system as it is presently structured.

What we are trying to say is, when we are assigned to a committee, that assignment in and of itself warrants adequate staff support regardless of seniority or anything else and that each and every Member of the Senate should be given a minimum level of support to do the work on the committee to which he is assigned.

And we felt, at least I felt, very strongly that this principle should be a fundamental rule of the Senate, because it is a matter of philosophical approach to the problem. Do we want to continue to use "band-aids" by creating phony subcommittees that may not have any function at all other than the acquisition of staff, or do we want to say that every Senator, by the nature of his assignment, carries with it responsibilities that have to be supported with adequate staff.

And that is why we support this proposal as a device for achieving a more responsible and responsive committee activity within the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, since you contend that the essential purpose of the proposal is to provide all Senators with equal staff assistance in respect to their legislative responsibilities, why didn't you simply request the Senate Appropriations Committee to consider providing each Member of the Senate with a equal amount of clerk-hire funds for their legislative assistance and then a varying amount, based on State population, for staff to work on constituent needs?

Senator BROCK. We have done that, Mr. Chairman. We have talked over the last 4 years—ever since this group of "freshman Senators" was founded, in 1970. We have talked to both members of the Rules

Committee and the Appropriations Committee. We have talked to everybody we know how to talk to asking for help. And the problem is that the response from the Appropriations Committee has not been adequate, in my judgment. And, second, I think it will never be so because it doesn't deal with the fundamental problem we are trying to solve here—and that is the equality of Senators in terms of responsibility.

Senator GRAVEL. If I could add to that, Mr. Chairman—first off, it really isn't a "band-aid"—and go back to the fundamentals. This establishes a new principle. And the reason why we selected the amendment of the rules was, first, we went to the caucuses and received a majority support. Second, we had 57 cosponsors on Senate Resolution 60. Third, the problem was so great that its solution deserved to be a permanent part of the rules.

The reason why we go to the contingency fund of the Senate is so that the day that this passes we can hire people. We are under great pressure to try and do a job that we think is necessary. And so we have been trying to see this problem solved for a number of years. So what you see now is a bursting forth of certain indignation over the lack of attention to solving the problem.

I was just thunderstruck listening to everybody talk about these problems. These problems aren't new. These problems can be solved by one committee, and that committee is the one that we are sitting before today. And so if the problems aren't new and they haven't been solved and now we are here testifying again the question becomes are we just going through an exercise or are we serious about trying to effect an intelligent change in the problems that beset us?

And so I am really amazed the way the Senate just massage, in rhetoric, the problems involved and does not do something about it. Senate Resolution 110 is a very concrete way to solve the problem. It is a very simple proposal. It is not very complex. It says that everybody is equal and, based on that equality, we are going to apportion x number of dollars. We don't need a great deal of harangue on that simple thesis.

The CHAIRMAN. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, provides that professional staff members authorized by that subsection should be appointed on a permanent basis without regard to political affiliation and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of their respective positions. Such professional staff members shall not engage in any work other than committee business, and no other duties may be assigned to them.

Now, do you feel that these people would fall under the category of professional staff members and, if so, would the Legislative Reorganization Act have to be amended in that particular?

Senator BROCK. Mr. Chairman, we are in violation of that law we wrote, today, the Senate is. That law is not being adhered to, and the chairman knows that as well as anybody in this room.

What we are asking—No. 1, let's adhere to the law and make it work; No. 2, let's reform where it is necessary to accommodate the situation in which we live today. You know, times are always going to change, but fundamentally we as Senators, all of us, individually, have a basic responsibility, No. 1 to our constituents and No. 2 to our country. And we cannot perform those roles adequately when we

are assigned to a committee, unless we are given some opportunity to have adequate data retrieval, adequate information services, and adequate research, in regard to that particular function.

I can't understand how the existence of a law, which we passed and to which we will not adhere is an argument against changing the law so as to accommodate—

The CHAIRMAN. When you say not adhere, I think this Rules Committee certainly adheres to it. I don't know—if you have some particular committee in mind, that is something within your knowledge. But we have consistently pointed this out to the committees when they come in for their funds.

Senator BROCK. I would be delighted to furnish for the record the series of articles from the Washington Post and the Washington Star in which they categorically cited instances where staff was being used for nonlegislative purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you want to recall that there is a difference between professional staff, as authorized under the Legislative Reorganization Act, and investigative staff. And I think, almost without exception, those articles did not, as I recall, specify professional staff people in that category.

But if you are having people appointed to represent you on the committee, then it would seem that those people would fall in the category of professional staff.

Now, someone raised the question earlier—I think Senator Cranston—that what you needed was access to the committees. The question of having a staff person in there.

I happen to be a member of the Commerce Committee and we permit staff people in there during executive sessions—and on occasion we have had to run them out, because we didn't have room for the Senators to be in there, because of the great number of staff people that were in there trying to find out—listen to what was going on during the executive session in an attempted markup.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I have—just one further thing on that point and then I will yield—I have here a list of the committees that have responded to this question: Did you permit personal staff of committee members to attend executive sessions of your committee or subcommittee?

Aeronautical and Space Sciences—yes.

Agriculture and Forestry—yes.

Appropriations and Armed Services—no answer, although I know that Armed Services does not, because I am a member.

VOICE. They are both “noes.”

The CHAIRMAN. Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs—yes.

Budget—yes.

Commerce—yes.

District of Columbia—yes.

Finance—yes.

Foreign Relations—yes.

Senator GRAVEL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to comment on the Finance Committee for a moment? The only reason we now permit staff is because we got the “sunshine law” through the caucuses. Up until last year, we couldn't get personal staff into the meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about last year. This is a current question and I am talking about the issue that you have raised, that you can't—unless they are made a part of the committee staff—that you couldn't have them attend and have access to committee information. Now, if I can read on.

Foreign Relations—yes, markup sessions; no, executive hearings.

Government Operations—yes.

Interior and Insular Affairs—yes.

Judiciary—yes.

Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization—no.

Labor and Public Works—yes.

Post Office and Civil Service—yes.

Public Works—yes.

Rules and Administration—yes.

Veterans Affairs—yes.

Select Committee on Small Business—yes.

Nutrition and Human Needs—yes.

Special Committee on Aging—yes.

National Emergencies—yes.

Select Committee on Intelligence—no.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, would the Senator yield on the Foreign Relations Committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Both the Democratic and Republican members of the Foreign Relations Committee met at the beginning of this year, first separately and then together. And I can testify from several years' membership on that committee, that it is not customary for members of the Senator's individual staff to be present even at the markup. If they had been, I would long since have been allowed to have such a person.

It was because of that restriction—and I think if we call this to the present chairman's attention, he would relax the rule. But because of the old restriction, we asked for more minority staff. Actually, my one designation of a minority staff is working for the whole committee and is one of the two professionals there who is normally not invited even into the executive sessions of the committee, although he is a member of the professional staff. And I have never made an issue of it. But as long as it comes out, we might as well have it here.

That committee works well together, and I am not complaining about it. But we made the point in that committee—and it was generally agreed that the Reorganization Act refers to the six professional staff members, and which I think was to have been increased to eight, I am not sure. But in any event—last time I heard it was four Democrats and two Republicans. There was an argument that it should be equal.

Those who are not professional members, under the interpretation at least of this committee, are clerical staff or occupied in some other capacity.

That is what one committee interpreted—

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator raised the question on Foreign Relations. Foreign Relations has nine permanent professional staff people assigned.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Well, that is because of the Committee on Multinational Corporations, headed by Senator Church, who has, I think, two and possibly three professionals.

The CHAIRMAN. No; that is permanent staff, that has nothing to do with the Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations. That is permanent staff assignments to the Foreign Relations Committee. The Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations. That is permanent staff assignments to the Foreign Relations Committee. The Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations has 14 people in addition to that.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. I said I thought it might have been increased from six to eight. It probably was increased from six to nine.

Senator BROCK. If I might just respond briefly. The point, Mr. Chairman, that I think you are making is valid, that we are making progress in opening up the committees—we have more progress to make. But the fundamental question remains one of philosophy. Shall we provide staff to Senators in order that they may meet their responsibilities? I just believe that if this committee refuses to hear our plea and says, “you know, you must go to the Appropriations Committee to get more clerk-hire”. I don’t believe that there is going to be any real fundamental reform effort.

I think that what we are seeking here is the reform of the whole system itself. And this is stage one. But we are not just asking for more staff. It goes much beyond that. It goes to the functioning of the Congress and the functioning of the Members of the Senate, itself. Unless we deal with that question, we are not going to resolve the fundamental problems we have.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let me ask you this. Did you appear and testify before the Appropriations Committee that met last week on this subject?

Senator GRAVEL. Pardon me, I did not hear that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I was asking Senator Brock whether he appeared and testified before the Appropriations—

Senator GRAVEL. I did, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Gravel did?

Senator PACKWOOD. And I did with Senator Gravel.

Senator GRAVEL. And we had a very gracious hearing. The purpose of going to the hearing was on an informational basis. I had heard that some Senators felt that Senate Resolution 110’s referral to Rules might be an evasion of their jurisdiction. In fact, I understand that you had conversations with Senator Hollings, the chairman of that subcommittee, as to where the jurisdiction of this particular issue lay—and so we wanted to go there and discuss this issue with that committee. And no more than that. There was no recognition of their jurisdiction, it was to try and inform colleagues on the issue.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Pell?

Senator PELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have not made up my mind on this legislation—57 cosponsors, it looks like apple pie. It is pretty rich, a la mode, when you figure out what it really spells out. I realize it is more a target and not really an objective goal. I have tremendous regard for Senator Gravel and his colleague.

But I would think that if we did move ahead this way, it would seem a little unconscionable at this time, when we are talking about

tightening up the belts and tightening up the process of government. It would mean obviously more space.

I think that what we face here is the normal competitiveness of our jobs. Each of us desperately wants to do a good job, the best he possibly can, and also to be reelected. And the constituent service, the reason we work so hard on that are both so that the constituents can get a fair shake and so we will be reelected.

I have seen other parliamentary bodies around the world—and I have never seen any parliamentarian who, when he has visited us, hasn't left amazed at the resources we have available.

Now, whatever we have, we are always going to want more. Each one of us is in competition with the other 99 to do an even better job. To my mind, the chairman put his finger on the problem—the real solution is the committee system—and we are all on far too many committees and subcommittees, each of us have anywhere from 4, 5, committees, 15 subcommittees, a variety of commissions—and we should be on far fewer of those and smaller committees and we could focus on the work.

I question whether we could not perhaps more equitably either go back to the committee function or divide up the present personnel that we have, because quite honestly you name me another Senator or Member of parliament around the world who is anywhere up to a tenth of what we have in help—and I will be very surprised indeed.

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scott?

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Senator Schweiker is here, and he is the ranking minority member on the Appropriations Subcommittee on Legislative Matters, I believe, and perhaps he could comment on whether that committee has taken any position on what we are hearing about.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I had intended, after we finished questioning the people on the basic proposition, to call on Senator Talmadge who has been here very patient since the start of the hearings. If you just want to ask a question of Senator Schweiker, you could do it now. But I had hoped to call the other people after we had given Senator Talmadge opportunity, because he is ranking member —

Senator HUGH SCOTT. Well, it is all right with me, I just thought Senator Schweiker could respond to the question the committee had raised.

The CHAIRMAN. He certainly can respond to the question.

Senator SCHWEIKER. Well, first, let me say, Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to be here. We did hold hearings last week on this same issue. I think there is some difference of opinion among staffers on both of our committees as to where the actual authority in these areas lies. In some of the questions that you had raised earlier, I think there is some misunderstandings, in my judgment, just from talking to Senator Hollings and our staff, as opposed to some powers that we thought the Rules Committee has and some powers that our subcommittee has.

So I think this is something that needs to be worked out. We did hold hearings on this proposal, and I would like to make a few comments on it, but why don't I defer those until Senator Talmadge presents his viewpoint?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Allen?

Senator GRAVEL. If I could respond, Mr. Chairman, to the comments by Senator Pell, would that be in order?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator GRAVEL. First off, Senator Pell, you spoke of the belt-tightening problem. Let me just say that this is an argument that can be used at any point at any time, because government should never waste its resources. And so belt-tightening now or belt-tightening 10 years from now should always take place.

But one of the reasons why we have difficulties in our economy, in our society, is because we as policymakers are not doing the best job. And the only way we can do a better job is to equip ourselves with knowledge and information. And other than our own immediate efforts, it is the efforts of our staffs that can do that.

Under the current situation we have staff that spends their time doing nothing but answering mail, we are not moving one step forward. In fact, we are just stroking down the people.

So the only way we are going to move forward to solve problems is to get people in the research area to try and help us find new solutions to problems. That is essentially what we are after, is to be able to get the staffing to handle our legislative roles more effectively, not our role as ombudsmen to the constituencies we serve.

So if that is where you want a belt tightened, I think that would be pennywise and pound foolish.

Second, with respect to space, I think the Washington Post series demonstrated that what happens is when you have the ability, through Parkinson's law, to expand your realm, you find the space, even if you have to hire smaller people to fit them in smaller quarters.

[Laughter.]

And that is the reason why with this proposal we don't worry about space. Let that be the responsibility of the hiring Senator. If he has a large appetite for work, he will find space. Some have found a way by paying people less, and he can get more bodies. Some of us can't get away with that. We will work out our own devices in that regard.

I might say, that in regard to space, that it is also under the jurisdiction of this committee, and if you wanted to you could take all of the industrial activities out of these two buildings—this building and the building next door—and put it down in the Navy Yard and you would free up a lot of space. Put the carpenters in the carpenter shop where they belong and put the people who are doing white-collar work in these building where they belong, and you would wind up with more space.

Now, when you talk of the committee system, that is exactly what we are trying to do here, is to bring in something new. We aren't piggybacking the committee system. We are setting up a new system. And the new system says that you from Rhode Island and I from Alaska and he from Pennsylvania, we are equal, totally equal when we vote. And so, Senate Resolution 110 has nothing to do with our other forms of funding. What we want to do is to apportion staff on the basis of our equality. So if you serve on one committee and I serve on one committee, we will get staff for that purpose.

Now, this doesn't interrupt any current staff funding process. That is another problem. We don't touch it. We feel that it should be reformed. But this device does not reform it, it goes to the reform of equipping ourselves as equal Members of the Senate.

Senator PACKWOOD. Mike, if I could add something to that.

Senator GRAVEL. Please.

Senator PACKWOOD. It is just almost the argument that Chairman Cannon and Senator Schweiker raised about whose committee has jurisdiction, we had hearings there and we didn't want to step on anybody's toes—and are these people going to be investigating staff or professional staff. It is those kind of procedural nitpicking decisions that has caused 57 people to sign this resolution. They have just reached the limit of their patience and tolerance. They want help.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, several of those people have told me that their names were used without authority, so I think the number is somewhat less than that.

Senator GRAVEL. Mr. Chairman, I might say on that that since I was mainly responsible for people getting on this list. If any names appear that shouldn't I would like them to come forward to me. If we have used any names without their authority, I will apologize publicly.

Mr. Chairman. I think the charge is unfair that I used my colleagues names improperly, and I take this as an insult; since I am mainly responsible for the cosponsorship list. It is not my practice to use names of colleagues when it is not authorized. In most cases, we have their actual signatures on a petition for this legislation. In other cases we have logged the staff contacts and dates of cosponsorship approval.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Allen?

Senator ALLEN. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me a dual need has been asserted here with a one-phase solution. The need for more personal office staff was emphasized, I believe, by Senator Cranston and to a lesser extent by Senator Packwood. Senator Gravel and Senator Brock apparently emphasizing the need for expert help in helping to prepare a Senator for floor debate. Yet the solution suggested has been to impose these needed personnel on the committee system. And, so far as I know, the committees as such are not asking for any additions along this line, and as far as I know the chairmen are not asking for additions along this line.

I just wonder whether we ought to approach the matter from the standpoint of loading the committees down. I think, if anything, with all due respect, many are already overloaded. I just don't feel like it could absorb any more bodies on the committee staff.

Senator Packwood suggested the possibility of increasing the staff allowances. Well, I believe possibly they are already adequate, but that would seem to be a more logical approach to me.

And with the large numbers of staff members, if all we are seeking is assistance, it would seem to me that the chairmen could assign a committee member, a committee staff member or staff member, to work primarily with certain individuals. That might answer this need.

And I don't feel that the thought of the sponsors of the resolution is to get more patronage. I believe we sincerely need more help. And I recognize the need for more help. As I stated, I have no personnel on any of the committees assigned to me, though I feel free to use the services of any.

The question was asked by the chairman as to why the amendment of the rules was used as a vehicle rather than amendment of the Legislative Reorganization Act. And that question was not answered.

I am wondering if possibly the reason would be that amendment of the rules would take Senate action, whereas amendment of the act would have to run the gauntlet of House approval and also approval by the President?

But, be that as it may, I feel like this matter needs considerably more study, Mr. Chairman, and I am mindful of the unequal distribution of staff personnel. And I would like to see it approached from the standpoint of dividing up the existing personnel a little bit more fairly on special assignments, if that is the desire.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of the reasons I refer to this as sort of a band-aid solution, because it would seem to me that if we are going to go through this route of assignment of personnel, that we can go back to the existing committee structure and take some of those people away that are there at the present time, because they are doing the work for the entire committee at the present time.

And when we get to numbers, I just had the staff review what the situation is with respect to staff on the individual Senators' own payroll, the legislative and personal staff that a Senator has—and I find that there are 21 Senators that during the last quarter of last year had more than 50 people on their staff. And it raises the question of how many from a management standpoint can one really manage and still produce effectively.

Senator ALLEN. Another thought occurred to me in this connection and in connection with Senator Cranston's argument, that he has only one staff member for 344,000 constituents, whereas a House Member from California has a staff member for every 29,000, or some such figure.

That seems to me to be an effective argument on the Senator's personal staff, but it seems to me, on committee work and use of staff personnel to get together information and so forth, that would not have anything to do with the number of constituents you have, because if you just had 100,000 constituents, research for those 100,000 would also be research if you had 5 million.

So I believe that is a good argument on needing more staff personnel, but not more committee personnel, it seems to me.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that was the point that Senator Gravel was stating, that the legislative problem is the same for him as it is for the Senator from California.

Senator GRAVEL. Mr. Chairman, if I might add, with respect to the band-aid aspect of it and with respect to the solution that the Senator from Alabama suggests—we need more study on the problem and that we should take this all up. Senate Resolution 110 came before the caucus, which was the first official act of this Congress—it was passed in the caucus. It was introduced as legislation, it was referred to this committee. This committee, when it had it before it, proceeded to go ahead and hold hearings on the various committee staffs, never gave this a tumble. And we at the time sought to have a hearing as part of those deliberations so that it could be handled in totality.

Then the committee proceeded to go ahead and act in that action. We moved in another direction, right to the floor. And this is, of course, where we developed some degree of acrimony over the issue. We wanted to proceed the way that is being suggested, it should be handled as a totality. It was because we had no hope of realizing that course of action that we had to go another way.

And now we are back at square 1 where you are telling us, well, we have got to handle it altogether and we have got to study it some more.

This is an issue that every single Member of the Senate is an authority himself, and so it is an issue that could come to the floor and every Member could handle the vote on this subject.

Now, if the committee chooses not to do this, then that is a decision of the committee. But certainly the committee has had ample time to integrate this resolution if it chose to.

Now, with respect to the committee aspects of it, the Senator is right, that there are problems on the committee system. My question is, very simply—and I say it without any disrespect—well, why haven't you done something about it? This is where it is done. We are coming in with a new proposal. Now you say that this new proposal is going to lay on top of this and cause greater problems. It doesn't cause any problems.

Here is equity—and we ask for equity here. That you still have inequity there and you won't address yourselves to it—there is nothing that we can do about it. It is up to your initiative, gentlemen. What we are saying is, give us this equity here and, if you want, we will help you solve this other one with votes on the floor.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, as you say, each Senator is an expert in this area, so I would like to call on another expert, Senator Gravel.

Senator GRAVEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. We would like to thank you very much for the hearing you have given us. I might say that when I was talking earlier, I forgot to continue with page 3 of the deductions—and that amount which we project would be \$16 million, and I know you permitted that to be in the record, so that is there.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, that was made a part of the record. By your computation, you estimate that the total new money required would be only \$16,236,896, is that right?

Senator GRAVEL. That is right, Mr. Chairman. And I also stated that I would be prepared to compromise, to have the committee lock that in, in legislation, if it chose to.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Talmadge.

STATEMENT OF HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE, CHAIRMAN, SENATE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

Senator TALMADGE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Rules Committee. I appreciate very much this opportunity to testify on this very important question.

Senate Resolution 110, as the members of the committee well know, is a proposal for authorizing more than 1,000 additional staff members of the U.S. Senate.

Because of its enormous cost and far-reaching, virtually revolutionary, effect upon the present committee system of the U.S. Senate, this resolution requires careful thought and close examination.

I have already voiced my strong opposition to the resolution on two occasions on the floor of the Senate. Additional Senate staff as proposed by Senate Resolution 110, which in fact would almost double the present number of regular committee staff members projected for 1975, is not needed.

We cannot afford it.

It would in all likelihood be an obstacle to efficient committee work, rather than the asset it purports to be.

I share every Senator's desire for streamlining the legislative process. I have long been an advocate of the reassertion of congressional authority over matters affecting the security of our Nation and the welfare of our people.

I share every Senator's wish to carry out his legislative responsibilities to the fullest and best extent possible. I agree that every Senator ought to be afforded every available resource that will increase his knowledge and enhance the performance of his duties. I appreciate the axiom that "knowledge is power." But I do not agree that "more is better" in every case.

I defer to no one in my desire to strengthen the role of Congress in asserting its rightful influence over national policy. With all due respect to my colleagues, Mr. Chairman, I suggest that in order to attain this goal, Congress needs more muscle and less fat.

First, Mr. Chairman, we must consider the cost of Senate Resolution 110. It would authorize an additional 1,073 Senate staff members, at salaries of \$34,881 each per annum. When you figure in agency contributions for retirement, health- and life-insurance benefits, the authorized total estimated cost would come to nearly \$41 million. Yet that would not be the true cost. That is only the tip of the iceberg.

We have got to consider other realities such as increased office space, increased stationery allowance, expanded parking facilities, and larger expenditures for travel, both domestic and foreign.

My staff has inquired of the Architect of the Capitol as to what would be required to properly house an additional 1,000 new Senate staff members. It could require something like 375,000 square feet, at an estimated cost of some \$30 million.

As we all know, we have inadequate space at the present time. It is well known to all of us that virtually all Senate offices and committee offices are overcrowded, and some Senators have spilled their office staff into the corridors.

Also, we cannot act on the assumption that all of the provisions of Senate Resolution 110 will not be implemented, that some Senators will take advantage of it and others will not. If the Senate adopts this resolution, it must assume that the staff allowed will indeed be hired and that the funds authorized will be spent. We can't write out a \$41 million check—and I emphasize that this would be only part of the cost—in the hope that only a portion of that will be spent.

Senator ALLEN. Will the Senator yield at that point?

Senator TALMADGE. I yield.

Senator ALLEN. One item of cost there that we might want to speculate upon that the Senator does not mention. Would the Senator feel that possibly any self-respecting staff member, in order to justify his existence on the Senator's staff, might be able to come up with an extra \$10-million-a-year program for the Senator to advocate?

Senator TALMADGE. Oh, indeed so. As the Senator well knows, one of the big problems with the legislative process now is that the committees have huge staffs and the Senators have huge staffs—we have got a lot of bright-eyed idealistic young people right out of law school, seeking new worlds to conquer. They spend virtually all their time

writing speeches for Senators, preparing amendments for Senators, and developing broad new spending program for Senators to introduce.

And as long as they have that opportunity, they will continue it. And if you double the staff, you double the amendments and double the costly new programs.

Senator ALLEN. Well, very few of those amendments advocate cutting down on the cost of Government.

Senator TALMADGE. Almost none that I can recall. They advocate increasing it.

Senator ALLEN. Well, I won't elaborate further on this thesis.

Senator TALMADGE. It is not a very good way to do business, to write an open-end check and then assume that somebody is not going to cash the check and spend it. I urge the committee to study this resolution from every vantage point to ascertain its true cost and make these facts known to all the Members of the Senate.

Moreover, at this time of national economic crisis, when we are contemplating a deficit higher than the total Federal budget when I first came to the Senate 18 years ago, we owe it to the taxpayers to be as tightfisted with their money as taxpayers are now having to be with their own earnings.

In addition to cost, Mr. Chairman, we must take into consideration what such a proliferation of staff would mean to the committee system as presently established.

Senate Resolution 110 would create a whole new category of Senate employees. It would establish a fourth level of committee staff. Right now, we have the professional majority staff, the professional minority staff, and each Senator has his personal legislative staff.

Now, under this resolution, we would have a new staff echelon—a "shadow staff"—ostensibly doing committee work, but answerable only to the individual Senator who hired them.

Put at the disposal of Senators would be a whole new army of employees, each going their own way, without any direct responsibility to their respective committees. This would be a setback for the concept embodied in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 of having a highly skilled professional corps of committee staff.

It would, in effect, result in politicizing committee staffs.

We should consider the impact of Senate Resolution 110 on the existing professional staff of the committees. In the case of the committee I chair, the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, I would have to hire two full-time clerks who would do nothing but work on travel vouchers for staff members, as opposed to the one clerk who does it part time now. I would need at least five lawyers to do the drafting of bills and other legal work of the committee, where I have two now. I would need at least two additional printing clerks to handle all the printed material that would be generated. This would be necessary because Senate Resolution 110 would authorize 52 additional employees to the Agriculture Committee, which now has only 21 employees.

It would increase problems involving jurisdiction over certain areas of legislation which, as we know, are most often caused not by Senators, but by staff sitting around looking for something to do or new worlds to conquer.

I am not at all convinced that a massive infusion of new staff members into the committee system of the Senate would result in more efficiency on either committees or in the personal offices of Senators. I am fearful that it would create more problems and more inefficiency than we already have.

We should also consider the impact of Senate Resolution 110 on the efficiency of the executive branch of Government. Often executive officials find themselves testifying before three or four committees of the Senate on the same issue. They find themselves responding to lengthy surveys and inquiries from several different committees. If we had the army of new so-called committee staffers provided for in Senate Resolution 110, the burden would become intolerable.

We ought to be looking at the staff we now have, in terms of the best possible utilization, rather than building another bureaucracy on the bureaucracy we already have.

If we are going to have a Senate that functions better and that legislates more efficiently and wisely, it will be because Senators themselves determine to participate more actively in the legislative process.

We need more Senator involvement rather than staff involvement.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot see how Congress can criticize waste and inefficiency in the executive branch and demand that the budget be drawn as tight as possible and, at the same time, propose an expensive new spending program like Senate Resolution 110.

When we have millions of Americans out of a job, when we have inflation robbing working people of their earnings and the elderly of their savings, speaking personally, I for one would not like to try to explain to my constituents or any taxpayer why the Senate saw fit to pad its staff with 1,000 new employees at a bare minimum cost of \$41 million.

I don't think this point can be stressed too strongly, and any Senator who thinks we don't have a mandate to spend less, and not more, is not paying much attention to the voice of the people these days.

And one short statement in conclusion, Mr. Chairman. It has been pointed out that Senators have been around here 4, 5, or 6 years without having any committee staff or appointing any members to committee staffs. I was in the U.S. Senate for 14 years before I appointed any committee staff. I didn't become chairman of a full committee until that time. I have never recommended or appointed any member on the staff of any committee on which I served, save the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Those are professional staff members; they are put there not because of their politics but because of their qualifications, their efficiency, their dedication to duty.

In the 18 years that I have been in the U.S. Senate, I have been able to obtain any knowledge of any bill that I wanted to by contacting the professional staff members of that committee.

I have limited or no time to do it myself, but I have a legislative section of three girls and two bright young lawyers. They try to keep me informed. They do so through contacts with the professional staff members of the committee that originated the bill.

Now, on the Finance Committee on which I serve, I have never appointed or recommended any member of that staff. I do not desire to.

I am chairman of one of the subcommittees there, but I have no staff. Yet I have access to the full committee staff any time I need them.

That has continued to be the case since my youngest and most junior day in the U.S. Senate. I have never called upon any staff member, not only of the committees on which I have the honor to serve, but any committee in the U.S. Senate, that the response, the cooperation, of that committee staff has not been beyond the call of duty. Any other Senator can do likewise. I am prepared to respond to questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Talmadge, the question has been raised in discussions as to what the status of the staff would be under Senate Resolution 110; that is, are they either fish or fowl?

Senator TALMADGE. It would be a conglomerate staff with no control in any direction. They would be assigned theoretically to the staff of the committee that had jurisdiction. But they would not be under the control of the committee to which they were assigned. They would be under the control of the Senator that appointed them. They would be free to come up and meddle with the professional staff at any time, disrupt the business of the committee, impede the legislative process, and be in the way of business and efficiency—that is what it would amount to.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hatfield?

Senator HATFIELD. Senator, who hires, interviews, and makes the determination of the professional staff of the Agriculture Committee?

Senator TALMADGE. The staff director.

Senator HATFIELD. And who interviews and makes the decision on who shall be the staff director?

Senator TALMADGE. The committee itself. I nominated the staff director and he was elected unanimously by members of that committee.

Senator HATFIELD. Who nominated him?

Senator TALMADGE. I nominated him to the committee and he was elected unanimously by the committee.

Senator HATFIELD. Would any other member of the committee have been free to offer nominations?

Senator TALMADGE. Oh, yes, indeed. They have. We have picked our staff—I really don't know who is a Republican and who is a Democrat on our staff and don't care. What we want is professional competence and we have got it.

Senator HATFIELD. Do I understand, Senator, that if each member of that committee were provided the opportunity to name a staff person to the committee, you would feel that this would be then difficult for the professional staff to operate efficiently.

Senator TALMADGE. I do, because we would have then neither fish nor fowl. We have got a professional staff that responds not only to the request of any member of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee, Senator, but any Member of the U.S. Senate.

I have directed them time after time, in the presence of the full committee, whenever any Senator requested cooperation and aid on that committee, they give it. I have yet to hear the first complaint. I have had many Members of the Senate call me on the telephone or see me on the floor and say that they need to find out such and such about agriculture. And I would say if you need to get in touch with Mike McLeod, the staff director, you will get service. And they come back and reported to me, "I got service."

Senator HATFIELD. I certainly don't have any doubt as to the veracity of your statement. You indicated that there would be these people coming in—I believe you used the word “meddling”——

Senator TALMADGE. If Senate Resolution 110 is agreed to, we will have 52 new staff members assigned to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, when we have only 21 at the present time. You can imagine the chaos that would cause.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator, I think I made myself clear, too, in my opening statement that I do not feel that we should add another layer of bureaucracy on the existing staff system.

You indicated also about the control of committee staff. Now, where is that place of control?

Senator TALMADGE. Under the professional staff director, supervision of the chairman and ranking minority member or vote of the Senate committee at any time. Someone has got to be chairman of the committee and it just so happens that I am the present chairman. I won't be there forever. It just so happens that Senator Dole is the ranking minority member. He and I have a perfect working relationship. We have never disagreed on anything. Members of our committee are consulted fully at any and all times—they have a right to move to do anything, and it is done.

Senator HATFIELD. I heartily subscribe to that evaluation, since I served on your committee as a freshman Senator and I recall the way that committee operated.

I understand you said you had 21 members. And how many Senators make up the membership of your committee?

Senator TALMADGE. Fourteen.

Senator HATFIELD. Now, what would be your response to the idea of providing each of the 14 Senators to appoint 1 staff person within that body of 21 staff that you now have assigned to the committee.

Senator TALMADGE. You would not have a committee, then, you would have a fragmented body there of 14 Senators and one and a half committee members each. Now, if you want to authorize additional money for Senators to perform their functions more efficiently, I have no objections to that. But it ought to be done in the clerk-hire system. And I have grave doubt if that is needed, because the Senator knows that about two-thirds of the Senators presently sitting didn't use all of their clerk-hire money last year.

But let's don't fragment the professional staff; let's preserve the committee system as it is. You have got to have an entity that can operate. And they must be responsible to somebody. In our case it is the staff director, the chairman, the ranking minority member in that order—and to the full committee.

You can't have a fragmented staff up there that is responsible to the 14 different people. They have got to be answerable to somebody that assigns a duty—you draft this bill, you write this committee report, you prepare this, you make this inquiry. If you have got it fragmented upon 14 different people, you can't get everything done. It is like sending an army into battle with no general.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator, when you have an executive session in the Agriculture Committee to discuss or mark up a bill, do you allow any staff member from the personal office——

Senator TALMADGE. Yes, we do. We have gone beyond that this year.

We have a new member of our committee, Senator Stone, of Florida, who was elected on this "sunshine law" platform. And we have been trying to mark up bills in open session also.

I must say that it has greatly delayed our work. The first bill we had to mark up was one relating to food stamps—the committee's opinion was almost unanimous, we were going to kill Secretary Butz' proposal to charge higher prices for food stamps. Under normal procedure it would have taken us 15 minutes, but it just so happened that day we had two or three television cameras and the room was so jammed with people where the members of the committee had to almost fight their way to their seats. And because of the multiplicity of newspaper reporters, television cameras, and spectators, it took us an hour and a half to 2 hours to act on 15 minutes' worth of business.

Senator HATFIELD. I note in your projection for 1975 that you have 10 professional and 11 clerical for your general staff, a total of 21.

Senator TALMADGE. Come around here, Mike, I don't know exactly what the breakdown is. This is our staff director, Mike McLeod, he is available to respond.

Mr. McLEOD. That is correct.

Senator HATFIELD. That is correct. Senator Talmadge, as I understand, this group of 10 professionals has been jointly agreed to by the entire committee.

Senator TALMADGE. They have. In fact, all of the staff has and they are all under the direction of the staff director and general counsel.

Senator HATFIELD. What about the 11 nonprofessional?

Mr. McLEOD. The same way. They have been hired with the concurrence of the chairman and the ranking minority member.

Senator TALMADGE. We consider them professionals also, Senator.

Senator HATFIELD. For budgetary purposes, we divide it.

Senator TALMADGE. Yes, we asked you for the money, which you provided, and we are grateful for it. But that staff also has been professional members.

Senator HATFIELD. But they are only selected by two persons of the committee, rather than the full committee, the 11?

Mr. McLEOD. They are interviewed by me and hired with the concurrence of the chairman and the ranking minority member.

Senator HATFIELD. As compared to the 10 professionals who, as I understood the chairman to say, are elected by the entire committee?

Mr. McLEOD. Yes; we bring that up in the full committee.

Senator HATFIELD. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Allen?

Senator ALLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to express my appreciation to the distinguished Senator from Georgia for his very fine testimony. And I would like to state that I have had the honor of serving on the Agriculture Committee with the distinguished chairman ever since I have been in the Senate.

Certainly I have admired and approved of the way the chairman has handled the work of the Agriculture Committee, the nonpartisan manner in which he has handled the staff and the members of the staff. I heard him make the statement there before the whole committee, when the staff was assembled there, that any member, any and all members of the staff, were to accept the assignments and to assist every member of the committee irrespective of his party affiliation—

and I know it to be a fact that the distinguished chairman is not concerned at all with the party affiliation of the staff members, but is concerned only with the efficiency and the dedication of the members of the staff.

And I was impressed also by the point made by Senator Talmadge of the fact that we are moving in the direction of having government by staff, as far as the work of the U.S. Senate is concerned, and work of the Congress. I feel this would be—if this resolution should pass and it is fully implemented, as the distinguished Senator has said, there is no reason to feel that the resolution would not be——

Senator TALMADGE. Would the Senator yield at that point?

Senator ALLEN. Yes.

Senator TALMADGE. The Senator is well familiar, I am sure, with Parkinson's law that expenditures rise to meet income.

Senator ALLEN. Or they seem to exceed income also—you might have an amendment to that law. But I feel that while I have great respect for members of the staffs of all the committees on which I serve—I feel that we are moving in the direction of having less input from the Senators and the minds and the thinking of the individual Senators and more and more input by staff members.

And I feel that this would be a further step in that direction.

Senator TALMADGE. I agree fully, I have long felt that way.

Senator ALLEN. And I can certainly see how it would affect the operations of the committees and know how it would affect the operation of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee.

I would like to call to the attention of the distinguished Senator the fact that every 2 years at the end of Congress we have a race with the calendar, trying to get out before the next Congress begins.

Would there be any danger, with this tremendous addition of staff members, that there would be so much work created for the committees and for the Congress that we would have even more difficulty?

Senator TALMADGE. I would feel that way, Senator. When I first came to the Senate in 1957, we would adjourn, Friday, Labor Day, sine die. Every time there is an increase in the Senate staff, the congressional sessions get longer and longer. And, as the Senator knows, we can run the year around now.

Now, there are only 365 days in the year. If we double the staff, we might have to create a new calendar that Caesar never thought of.

Senator ALLEN. When I first came to the Senate, I marveled at the desks of the Senators. I was told that originally back many decades ago the desk of a Senator had only a drawer and a top on it. Senators did not have office space at that time. And they decided to give the Senators a little more office space. So they put this 4- or 5-inch top on the desk. And with the Senators limited at that time on office space and parking facilities, and staff, we seem to have had some pretty good legislation back in those days, because the Senators participated themselves.

As I observe the Senators on the floor there, many backed up by three or four staff members while legislation is being considered, we get too much input from the staff members and less from the Members of the Senate.

Senator TALMADGE. Yes; it impedes the legislative effort, in my judgment.

Senator ALLEN. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Senator HATFIELD. Could I ask one more?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator Talmadge, we are confronted in this committee with a very difficult problem.

Senator TALMADGE. I am aware of that.

Senator HATFIELD. As you well know, it is not just as of now, but every time a committee chairman and the ranking member appear before our committee to ask for additional personnel—basically because the committees themselves vary to such a degree.

Here is your committee, Agriculture Committee, with—I am looking for the number of subcommittees that you have.

Senator TALMADGE. We have six.

Senator HATFIELD. Six subcommittees. Here is the Judiciary Committee with 16 subcommittees.

Senator TALMADGE. Ours is different from the Judiciary Committee, Senator—we do not have staff assigned permanently to subcommittees. Our total staff is available for wherever the action is at any particular time.

Now, some of them tend to become somewhat specialists in the field of those subcommittees. But they are all free and available whenever hearings are to be held and at any time for any purpose.

Senator HATFIELD. All right, let's make another comparison, then, as between your committee, Agriculture and Forestry, with 21 staff, and Judiciary with 201 staff personnel. Giving a little example of the distinction, here is Finance Committee with no subcommittees.

Senator TALMADGE. They have created some now.

Senator HATFIELD. Yes, but I mean as of this particular budget year that we are working with. So here we have this great variation as the structure, the commitments, and assignments to these committees.

We are trying to find some kind of criteria—we certainly believe and accept the validity of the statements of the chairman and the ranking member when they come before this committee and say they have this need. But we as a Rules Committee are almost just having to float along—and it is very difficult to establish some kind of a criterion that would be appropriate for the Agriculture Committee and the Finance Committee, Judiciary, and so forth.

And then we have the junior members of some committees, which unlike the Agriculture Committee where they do have access to staff—and I can speak from personal experience—are frozen out of an access to the staff.

Now, we say, oh yes, we can ask the staff for questions, but handling the daily work and having some kind of an input in our own legislative relation to that committee, is very difficult. And in some instances we can't even have our personal staff come into the markup or to the executive sessions, as I indicated in my opening testimony.

So there are some committees where this does apply, although perhaps does not apply to yours.

Do you have any thoughts or suggestions, based upon your tenure—

Senator TALMADGE. Our Agriculture Committee now—let me respond to the Senator from Oregon—is adequately staffed. When I became chairman of the committee, it was inadequately staffed. Through our petitions to this committee, you responded—and we have the per-

sonnel now that are trained, experienced, and competent to perform any function of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. And I think it would be a grave mistake to try to further add clerk-hire personnel to a Senator's office under the guise of committee responsibility. You have got two different functions there. The staff of a legislative committee is the servant of the people that serve on that committee—and in the final analysis the servant of the Senate.

And then if you make these personnel assigned to that committee not the servant of that committee, but the servant of the Senator, you will just confuse and disorganize things beyond all hope.

Now, I don't know what they are going to do about this so-called "sunshine law." You all in the final analysis will make the determination on that. But the Democratic caucus and the Republican caucus, as I understand it, have passed resolutions wanting everything to be done in public. In my judgment, that will further impede the legislative process. When Senators see television cameras and news media around, they tend to respond thereto. And it delays the legislative process.

Now, I am all for the public's right to know. But the Legislative Reorganization Act already requires every vote to be a matter of public record and made available to the public. And I don't know what would happen if you have these news cameras while you are trying to hold a conference committee between the House and the Senate, with the frozen dug-in positions there, where if anyone tended to try to work out a compromise, a headline would come out and say Hatfield sold out Oregon or Cannon sold out Nevada or Talmadge sold out Georgia. I think it would make it virtually impossible in difficult and awkward situations to work out a compromise.

I would think this, that if this committee feels that clerk hire is inadequate to where Senators don't have adequate staffs, they ought to increase that. But I would say again, when two thirds of the Members of the Senate turned back clerk-hire money last year, I doubt that that is needed.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator, how is your mail delivered to you, say in relation to your chairman work and your general State constituency? In other words, when a person from Georgia writes "Dear Senator Talmadge, I have this view about—"

Senator TALMADGE. I get a letter, Herman E. Talmadge, U.S. Senate, it comes to my office, 109 Russell Building. When I get a letter addressed to the chairman of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee, I presume it goes to your committee, doesn't it, Mike?

Mr. McLEOD. That is correct.

Senator HATFIELD. You had the food stamp—no doubt you had a lot of mail.

Senator TALMADGE. Oh, yes, we have had a lot of mail.

Senator HATFIELD. Now, how was the mail answered that came to you on the subject of food stamps?

Senator TALMADGE. Mike, would you respond to that? I don't really know, I think that 99 percent of it was handled by my office, personnel in 109 Russell Building.

Mr. McLEOD. Yes, we received a huge amount of mail, petitions and a write-in campaign on this issue from around the country. And the bulk of it was handled in the committee, because it did relate to something in our committee's jurisdiction.

Senator HATFIELD. This is because the Senator was chairman of the committee, so it was handled by committee staff.

Mr. McLEOD. That is correct.

Senator HATFIELD. Now, how was the mail inquiring about the same subject handled by other members of the committee?

Mr. McLEOD. I presume it was handled by their office individually.

Senator HATFIELD. By their individual offices?

Mr. McLEOD. That is correct.

Senator HATFIELD. Thank you very much, Senator Talmadge.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Talmadge.

Senator TALMADGE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. As agreed to, call Senator Schweiker next.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I would like to yield to Senator Magnuson, if he wants.

Senator MAGNUSON. I will be very brief. I want to get back on the floor.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Magnuson.

STATEMENT OF HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON, CHAIRMAN, SENATE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Senator MAGNUSON. Mr. Chairman, we submitted to the committee a very comprehensive report of the operations of the Commerce Committee. It approaches the issue of staffing from a historical perspective and points out the growth of the responsibilities of the Commerce Committee. Let me add a few less formal remarks.

Mr. Chairman—I remember that when I became chairman of the Commerce Committee 22 years ago the members could handle it pretty easily. But with the problems of the economy, which the Commerce Committee is responsible for, and a great deal of them, our responsibilities as a committee have grown and grown and grown.

Now, I think we are the busiest committee in Congress. I don't know whether our results show that, but I think they do. We consider more legislation, we report out more legislation than any other committee in Congress. We have 12 subcommittees—they are holding hearings on their particular subject constantly every morning. We don't have enough committee rooms; we have to go out and borrow another hearing room constantly. But I need not remind the chairman of the wide-ranging responsibilities of the Commerce Committee. As one of its prominent members he knows them full well.

Take the railroad problem. I suppose that we have taken up 30 percent of the committee's time on the railroad problems alone. And Merchant Marine and Fisheries and Communications and all these things—we are a busy committee. And I surely have no apologies for the recommendation of our committee to this committee for the amount of committee staff.

We, too, have turned back money most every year, because we anticipated some things that did not happen. But we have investigations going on all the time and it takes adequate resources—I'd rather err on the side of too many resources and turn money back rather than be caught shorthanded.

Now, I was interested to hear your question, Senator Hatfield, about the committee staffs and the young Senators coming along. You seem

to feel that they might be left out by the chairmen. Now, I have always, in the 22 years that I have been chairman—and Senator Johnson was ahead of me, from Colorado—I have always allowed every Senator on the committee on any hearing, whether it is executive or markup or whatever it may be, to have his person there. And they come in.

And in fact the room is packed up there in 5112. We just don't have enough room. That is going to be a problem, too, for the Rules Committee—it is always, I guess—space. And the representatives of the Senators come in and they speak, if they wish, for their Senators or they stand behind their individual Senators and offer him notes.

We also inaugurated, years ago, the right of the minority to have adequate staff—I was, I think, the first committee chairman of the major committees in Congress to allow the minority this staff. And I was fortunate to have, as my ranking member all those years, Senator Cotton. We worked together on all these matters. There was never any complaint. Nor has the present ranking member Senator Pearson raised any objection. And in our submission to the Rules Committee, of the seven core people we added, I think five of those are for the minority.

With the growth of the committee, we sort of adopted a "core" idea. In other words, we have professional experts that handle surface transportation, oceanography—I will say to the Senator from Rhode Island, oceanography has been a new one up in that committee, a lot of work—Senator Hollings and I have it. All these subcommittee chairmen have a person, one or two, but they also call upon a small core of committee professionals. Sometimes when they become chairman of the subcommittee, they take on the fellow who had been working previously in that field, say, oceanography or fisheries or whatever it may be as their own man. Sometimes they add a new person.

And it has worked very well. We have open sessions. I find a few of the problems that Senator Talmadge mentioned, and I know how difficult it is on some of these complex bills. For example, we have that natural gas bill in front of the committee. That has taken weeks, hasn't it—weeks, weeks. And almost 37 days of hearings over the past year and a half.

Now, to markup that complicated bill in open session is going to be some job, but we'll do it. Maybe I am a little sensitive about this, too, because I don't know. I haven't any idea how the Appropriations Committee—take the one I handle, HEW—with 318 line items—line items, some of them broken down in 4 or 5—how we could have an open session—we would never get through with it, we would just never get through.

I was at a strange conference last year on HEW when the Senate put in the abortion bill, the abortion amendment. Well, I want to tell you. I would have had to hire an auditorium downtown between the two sides on markup for the conference on that bill. Everybody was there, there were groups standing in the hall, different sides; it was a very emotional issue.

The formal statement I have submitted here elaborates on the core staff idea. The point is our staff hasn't grown like "Topsy," it has grown in a controlled way and the growth has been necessitated by the very nature of the economy of this Nation, which we are responsible for.

Now there is a great deal of talk all over about deregulation—not deregulation of gas or oil, but deregulation of the independent agencies. I see the chamber of commerce downtown this week spent all of their seminars on that. But we handle all the independent agencies with the exception of Securities and Exchange and the oversight on that. Senator Pastore the last 3 days has been up there with the FCC on the equal-time provision part of the bill, witness after witness. And I never realized when I first got on this committee, which I have been on for 30 long years, that it would grow by such leaps and bounds.

And the regulatory thing, I think the Commerce Committee could spend literally weeks on what we should do with the ICC and what we should do with some of these regulatory commissions that I must say are getting a little bit out of hand, in my book.

So it is a complex job up there and we just can't have one person assigned to it to do one thing—you have to have a good core capable of handling several issues. We have a good general counsel who also takes care of all the specifics of transportation. And our committee members seem satisfied—there have been no complaints in Commerce from the members of the subcommittee that they haven't had adequate service from the core.

Now you asked about mail. I made it a point to count the mail in my office that came to me. And about 42 percent, when you opened it up, should belong to the Commerce Committee and we send it up there. Well, it takes one girl half a day to open that stuff up and sort it out.

And then I get letters addressed to me not as chairman of the committee, but about committee matters. But my office answers a great deal of them, particularly a lot of people I come to personally know over the years. And so you can't separate all these things sometimes between offices. A chairman of a committee is bound to get mail from all over the country—sometimes you can tell from the postmark that it belongs in the Commerce Committee, but you got to look at it and you got to read it—somebody has got to read it. That is an initial process that my office takes care of.

Now, the committee itself gets mail that is addressed directly to the Senate Commerce Committee. So it is hard to separate these things.

But as far as new people are concerned, every member of my committee, I think, is thoroughly satisfied with the core idea, that they can call upon anybody to handle these matters in their particular special field. And some of them have grown up in it. I have people that have been there a long time, and in answer to any question, the same question you asked Senator Talmadge—when there is a vacancy on the committee staff, the ranking minority member, which is now Senator Pearson in Commerce and used to be Senator Cotton and I would sit down and talk about it after receiving recommendations for staffing from the chief counsel. And the new staff had some particular expertise in a certain field—airlines, power, or something like that—we would assign them to do a lot of work on the appropriate subcommittee relating to their expertise. The chairman, as chairman of the subcommittee on aviation, knows how this works.

The point is we have a job in the committee, a big job. And I don't know how many bills we have up in there now, but they just keep coming in.

Let me take a moment to discuss consumer items. Of course, as you know, in the last 4 or 5 years, consumer legislation has grown and grown and grown. Now, we have got to exercise some oversight on all the bills we've passed.

Then we handle all the nominations—that takes some time—all the nominations for all the independent agencies, with the exception of the Securities and Exchange Commission. There is about one of those nominations comes up every week—you know, they have been playing musical chairs downtown on these nominations.

And international trade with Dan Inouye as the chairman. He has a man, who comes to execs; we all crowd in and everybody has their say—and I am glad for their advice.

My formal remarks detail the way the committee is run. I've highlighted a few points here. And I agree with a great portion of what Senator Talmadge said. I don't know how we could put any more lawyers of staff on the committee, unless you rent me a building some place or kick out the Judiciary Committee in the old office building and give me a couple of their rooms.

And that is the only way I know how we can do it.

A final point. I find it hard to separate sometimes, because you are a chairman of a committee—committee work and stuff that runs through my office. As chairman of a committee you know what I mean. People, people. When we have a transportation issue building up, my personal senatorial office looks like Grand Central Station.

The airlines want to see me and my personal staff; the railroads, too, who are fighting with the trucks and the inland waterways fighting with the railroads—and you just name it, we've got it in our personal offices. All these people want is a fair advantage—and my personal staff helps me.

As an aside, the committee does have a couple of people because of my long tenure around here, that have been with me for a long time—and they probably aren't doing as much work as they should. But one of them is retiring today and another one in 6 months—and that is about it. The rest of them are pretty doggone active people.

So I will submit this statement, my own little statement on this particular resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record.

[The written statement of Senator Magnuson follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON, CHAIRMAN, SENATE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

As your Committee has wisely recognized, the introduction of a series of major proposals for the reform of committee staffing patterns, coinciding with the annual presentation of committee budget resolutions, has provided a welcome and timely opportunity to review the evolution of committee staffing.

To assist your Committee in its deliberations, I have attempted to distill the benefit of more than two decades of experience as Chairman of the Commerce Committee—an entity whose mission, organization, scope, staffing patterns and responsibilities have undergone fundamental change during that historically brief span.

Some two decades ago when I first became Chairman of the Commerce Committee, the making of legislation was still a "cottage industry". The Commerce Committee had evolved primarily as the promoter of fledgling transportation and communication modes and as a referee. Whenever the flywheel of competition

became unbalanced, the Committee was called upon to act as arbiter among competing modes of transportation and communications, finely tuning such established regulatory mechanisms of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Air Commerce Act of 1926, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, and the Federal Radio Commission Act of 1929.

Initiatives for the modification of these essentially settled regulatory frameworks came primarily from sources external to the committee, from the administration, from the regulatory agencies themselves, and from the industries subject to regulation.

The pace of Congressional activity was slow and measured, and the Committee rarely undertook in each session any more than one or two significant legislative initiatives. The Congress still struggled to meet the statutory deadline for adjournment, *sine die*, by July 30.

We operated on the basic assumption that the economic structure was essentially sound and that government intervention in the market place was an aberration to be avoided or at least narrowly circumscribed. There had been no significant legislative incursions into a generally unregulated market place since the New Deal. It was a time of consolidation and restraint.

Staffing needs and staffing patterns of the Committee reflected this limited role. Congressional staff members, expert in the relatively narrow fields of merchant marine, aviation, surface transportation and communications regulation, satisfied the Committee's essential needs. As late as 1964, one Congressional staff member was sufficient to cover legislative demands for the regulation of business (such as consumer and environmental concerns), energy, foreign commerce, science and technology and to monitor such agencies within the Committee's oversight jurisdiction as the Department of Commerce, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and product safety regulation within the Food and Drug Administration.

Thus it took more than six years for the relatively modest consumer product packaging and labelling reforms initiated by Senator Hart and myself to evolve into law; nearly eight years for our product warranty reform and, to this date, nearly a decade to revise an automobile accident compensation system which no independent observer has failed to condemn as shockingly inefficient and inequitable.

It was the Johnson years, the mid-60's, which generated a surge of new demands for broadening government intervention in business and other heretofore private institutions: equal employment and public accommodations, product and occupational health and safety, consumer rights and environmental protection.

And the Committee responded. In 1964, the structure of the Commerce Committee reflected the Committee's historic and traditional concerns: there were only four subcommittees, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Surface Transportation, Aviation and Communications. In 1967, the Committee created its first new standing subcommittee since 1961, the Consumer Subcommittee. In 1969, the Environmental Subcommittee came into being. The Committee membership had outgrown its statutory bounds and by 1965, it had grown from 15 to 18 members, becoming the second largest committee in the Senate.

For most of this period, the Committee was able to draw upon the technical depth and policy making coherence of an administration which shared the basic political philosophy of the Committee majority. Nevertheless, the Committee staff underwent slow but constant growth, reflecting the increased breadth of Committee activity. Staff growth was supplied primarily by a pioneering internship program, involving a graduating law school intern selected each year by a distinguished faculty committee solely upon the basis of academic and leadership distinction.

During this period, too, the minority staff, reflecting the prevailing philosophy of the Committee's minority membership, grew in size and professional competence to act as a dynamic and effective counterweight to the majority's initiatives—scrutinizing, refining, perfecting and challenging imperfectly conceived or executed majority initiatives. The minority would collaborate when appropriate, challenge when appropriate, but would always subject majority initiatives to intense scrutiny and analysis.

By the late 60's and early 70's, yet another fundamental shift had begun to occur in the Committee's role, as Congress began to awaken to what appeared to be severe systematic flaws in the nation's economic apparatus. Even before the OPEC boycott, there was increasing evidence that the mindless resource gluttony of the American economy was leading to energy and other material shortfalls which would profoundly affect the economy.

Nor were these problems, however broad and profound their implications, tremors that could be left to the slow traditional evolution of Congressional responses. The energy crisis cannot suffer a ten year delay in the evolution of an energy policy. A transportation system whose energy-efficient rail component is tottering on the brink of bankruptcy cannot tolerate the delays which could ensue if the product of the Committee's efforts has not been fully developed. At the same time, we must acknowledge the paucity of coherent remedial programming emanating from the executive branch; in part, as a result of a plaguing lack of continuity in policymaking leadership roles in the executive branch; in part because of reliance upon an increasingly barren faith in the unregulated play of market forces as a solution to severe economic dislocations.

Whereas the primary thrust for change in the late 50's and early 60's came from the executive, the regulatory agencies and the affected industries, by the late 60's demands for more fundamental change were coming from an increasing number of public voices; consumer and environment advocacy groups and broad public interest advocacy coalitions such as Common Cause. Perhaps most significant has been the growth of what can be termed, only slightly facetiously, "Congress power": the overriding conviction that Congress itself must take the initiative not only to receive and refine the inputs of the executive branch and others, but to hammer out its own policy initiatives.

This conviction has been accompanied by the growth of an activist Congressional coalition. For better or for worse, the majority of Congress no longer is inclined to let time and the unregulated play of market forces right themselves. There is less fear of tampering with the established order of things. We have become increasingly less worshipful of the innate wisdom and equity of unchanneled market forces, or the Administration.

The public and Congress, as representatives of the public, have experienced a profound loss of faith in the inherent soundness of many of our economic and social institutions. We are seized by a growing sense that these institutions are in need—not of minor regulatory adjustments or lubricants through subsidies—but of fundamental overhaul, to which no institution other than Congress can speak with authority and a sense of the public will. It is no longer sufficient for us to continue to seek the "technical fix" rather than the system overhaul. It is no longer sufficient, if it ever was, for us to await the tides of many Congresses to slowly shape national policies. It is no longer sufficient, if it ever was, for us to have at our command less than the most knowledgeable and skilled legislative craftsmen in the country.

It may well be that the revival of "Congress power" has its genesis in part as a result of the occupation of the White House by a party other than the Congressional party, but it is likely that the critical problems and far-reaching solutions contemplated, would in any event have generated a greater sense of urgency within Congress for enhancing its own information gathering and decision-making apparatus even if the Congress and the White House were in the hands of the same party. More than balancing rate disputes between truck and rail carriers or evaluating charter restrictions between supplemental and scheduled air carriers, we need a national transportation policy. More than a ban on non-reuseable containers, we need a resource management program. More than a marine sanctuary pilot program, we need a national ocean policy.

More than grants for pilot programs in solar energy, we need a technological growth policy.

Policies of such scope cannot be shaped by hands already busy with forging stop gap legislative solutions. The cadre of able lawyers formed by the Committee in the 60's had to be augmented by the professional expertise of specialists: the marine law expert, the biochemist, the engineer and physicist, the economist, the energy expert, the administrative and constitutional lawyer. And we needed as well the skilled and seasoned investigative team to satisfy the justly growing public demand for a more accountable and responsive bureaucracy.

We need knowledgeable staff doggedly monitoring the activities of the major departments and the increasingly critical regulatory agencies within the Committee's oversight jurisdiction in order to carry out the mandate of the Legislative Reorganization Acts.

We need experienced and trusted senior staff to administer and coordinate the internal workings of the Committee, using increasingly sophisticated information retrieval and word processing capacities, enabling them to harmonize and coordinate major policy formation in tandem with those sister committees with which we share jurisdiction over broad policy areas (principally the Interior and Public Works Committees and increasingly with the Democratic Policy Com-

mittee and the Democratic Conference). And we needed staff with an ability to utilize Congress's new technology assessment and macro-economic budgeting capacities.

Thus the majority core staff structure took the form of:

(1) Small teams (usually two or three professional staff members) assigned to one or two major subject matter areas and, for oversight purposes, to particular agencies or significant programs.

(2) Support professionals with skills of broad application (administrative and constitutional law, biochemistry, physics, economics, engineering, parliamentary procedure, legislative interpretation).

(3) An integrated administrative and clerical support staff featuring a centralized word processing and information retrieval system.

(4) A senior supervisory staff consisting of (1) the chief counsel, (2) the general counsel (also transportation counsel), and (3) the energy, technology and environment coordinator.

To meet these needs without generating a population explosion of new staff, we chose to maintain a single integrated core majority staff rather than to fragment the Committee into administratively autonomous subcommittee staffs. Within the framework of this structure, staff is able to both process the normal flow of legislative proposals and oversight requirements in each subject matter area and to respond, upon committee demand, to high priority problems presented to the Committee promptly and in-depth. This is done through the flexible formation of *ad hoc* task forces formed by the grouping of staff persons drawn from the staff, possessing a broad range of subject matter competence and technical skills.

For example, when the staff was called upon to develop legislative recommendations for the rechanneling of competitive forces in the automobile industry toward the marketing of energy-efficient passenger cars, the Committee formed a staff task force, under the direction of the general counsel, drawing upon the energy, surface transportation, environment and consumer staff groups, and including the Committee's legislative drafting specialist, the staff engineer and several science and technology interns.

Equally important for maximizing the economical utilization of the Committee's resources, this centralized, non-compartmentalized structure, enables the Committee to shift and regroup staff resources to reflect the uneven ebb and flow of Committee activity within the various subject matter areas within its jurisdiction. It is also easier to retire staff members whose skills and expertise no longer reflect Committee needs, replacing them with such skills and expertise as may now be required to meet changing Committee needs. Thus there is less of a tendency to perpetuate vestigial staff members than might be the case with protective, autonomous subcommittee structures.

While necessarily operating under the overall direction of the Chairman and the subcommittee chairmen, this centralized staff structure tends to avoid narrow and one-dimensional perspectives and intra-committee jurisdictional feuds and jealousies which may be the unwelcome byproduct of autonomous subcommittee organization.

As Chairman, I have always sought to share the workload of the Committee equitably and I believe that even the most junior members of the Commerce Committee will attest to the ready availability and willingness of the staff to assist them in their Committee activities. It is not always an easy task to serve 18 masters, but insofar as the demands of legislative and oversight workloads permit, no member of the Commerce Committee is denied full access to staff resources.

The Committee staff works closely and cooperatively with the legislative assistants of Senators assigned to the Committee; scheduling appropriate briefing sessions, supplying advance briefing documents, and assisting with amendment or responding to questions.

I am sympathetic however with the demands of junior Senators and with the minority members for greater staff support. As the work load of each Senator on our Committee is expanded, the breadth and complexity of legislation before us increases, the pace of legislative activity is accelerated—there is clearly a need for augmenting the legislative assistance which each Senator needs to inform himself and to guard the interests of his constituency.

However, to the extent that the Senate's resources are limited by space (physical plant) and by the dictates of economical administration, it is equally clear to me that the interests of the Senate, as well as the individual members, would

be better served by augmenting the core Committee staffs (both majority and minority) than by splintering committee staffs into un-coordinated, unguided, peripatetic groups of highly paid professionals, neither clearly designated as legislative assistants, nor effectively intergrated within the Committee's work structure.

I hope that these observations will be of some use to your Committee in its deliberations. I stand ready to respond to any further inquiry you may have and I have asked the staff to be available to respond to any inquiry as well.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hatfield, any questions?

Senator HATFIELD. Yes, thank you, Mr. Chairman. Senator Magnuson, I have had the privilege of serving on your committee as well as Senator Talmadge's. In my first year I enjoyed my service on your committee very much.

According to our records, you have now 93 staff persons on your committee—81 investigative and 12 permanent. Is this figure correct?

Senator MAGNUSON. I think the figure is correct.

Senator HATFIELD. Now, Senator, I understood you to state a little while ago that when there is a vacancy on the staff, you get your chief director of the staff and the minority member and the three of you sit down and interview and look over the applications?

Senator MAGNUSON. I don't interview so much, as the general counsel and these people submit a couple of names—and if it is on the Republican side, they look at it, and we take a look at it.

Now, I don't do this as to vacancies for clerical help. We just find the best person we can. And that is something I wouldn't be adequate to judge anyway.

Senator HATFIELD. But the determination is made after the recommendations of staff to the existing staff director, to you, and the minority member of the committee, and the three of you make a judgment.

Senator MAGNUSON. Yes, and we pass it around. My counsel reminds me, except for the professional staff, if there is a vacancy—there isn't much turnover on that—the minority picks their man and we pick ours. And they don't participate.

Senator HATFIELD. You mentioned the difficulty of delineating the kinds of inquiries and communications that you receive as chairman of the committee and as a Senator from the State of Washington.

And I understood—correct me if I am wrong—the inquiries and communications which come to you on the subject matter before your committee, or legislative proposals, or confirmation questions, appointments—that material is handled by the committee staff; is that correct?

Senator MAGNUSON. Yes.

Senator HATFIELD. And then, does this—

Senator MAGNUSON. I was talking about the mail that flows into my senatorial office that has to have some preliminary handling to know where you are going to send it.

Senator HATFIELD. Exactly. But then, when it is a committee matter, it is sent up to the committee from your office?

Senator MAGNUSON. Oh, yes, and if I get a letter from home or out in that area, we get some letters on some of these matters, say transportation matters—you get them from Washington, I get them from Oregon, we often might even know the person—I send those to committee for answer, because it is a committee problem.

Senator HATFIELD. What about the other members of the committee with similar inquiries and communications and requests?

Senator MAGNUSON. They can use—each subcommittee has a person that is working—and they can use the committee as much as they want for an answer. They usually ask the committee—sometimes they want to answer it on their own personal Senate stationery—but they will find out from the committee staff just a draft of some kind of letter.

Senator HATFIELD. I recall that I inquired many times of committee staff for the position or history of a particular issue, but then my own personal office staff processed that particular inquiry.

Now, this is a distinction as to whether or not individual members can inquire and utilize committee staff for the answer—but is that mail processed back in the individual member's office?

Senator MAGNUSON. Well, that would depend upon the individual member, if he wanted it back. And the staff members go down to the office of any Senator, say he has got an inquiry, and work with the Senator's personal staff to get the answer. Now, it may be typed right there or he may take it back to the committee for a draft. They spend a lot of time doing that.

Senator HATFIELD. How would you react to the proposal here today, as made by some of our colleagues? I think you have 18 members on the committee?

Senator MAGNUSON. Yes, we have 18.

Senator HATFIELD. Eighteen members—if 17 of those members, other than the chairman, had the authority to appoint one of the 93 present staff, how would you respond to that kind of a proposal?

Senator MAGNUSON. Well, if they brought in somebody new, it would surely disrupt everything—if there is somebody there that is doing the job in a particular subcommittee. It would take a long time for them, coming in new. I would think that a Senator, rather than—I don't know, I am just thinking out loud—extra help in his office would be more important right now than extra help in the Commerce Committee, because they get all the help they need from the Commerce Committee.

I don't know of any of them that have a complaint. I haven't heard it.

Senator HATFIELD. I don't think you probably would have, because I recall that committee was very open. But I don't recall that committee doing any of the processing of the inquiries, the requests, in the mail of the individual members of the committee.

Senator MAGNUSON. Well, we have now got to the point where each member has a man.

Senator HATFIELD. Each member?

Senator MAGNUSON. Each member of the committee has a man. Well, the 12 subcommittees give you 12 right there.

Senator HATFIELD. That is the chairman.

Senator MAGNUSON. Yes, the chairman and then the—well, I don't know that Republican members—well, they have at least one-third of them.

Senator HATFIELD. We have listed here that minority staff is 20 out of the 93—excuse me, projected 20—it is now 14, out of 93.

Senator MAGNUSON. You have got to take out the clerical help, that isn't assigned to minority or anybody else.

Senator HATFIELD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MAGNUSON. OK, thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator Schweiker, we must apologize for keeping you here so long and we are happy to hear from you.

**STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, A U.S. SENATOR
FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA**

Senator SCHWEIKER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate your holding hearings today. In view of the hour, I will certainly be very brief.

I think what we see here, Mr. Chairman, is a clash in the concept of how a Senator should do his job. I think this is really the issue here. You have heard Senator Talmadge very ably and very respectfully—and I certainly admire and respect him—very succinctly state the concept he has as Senator. Obviously, being one of the signers of the Gravel resolution, I differ with that. I see a somewhat different role.

I think the role as the newer younger Member sees it is one of participation, and not just participation in the Senate action itself, but because we are so busy and because we do have so many subcommittees—and granted these should be changed—having access and having a staffer that you could rely on and use becomes an extension of the Senator's prerogative.

So that participation to us includes some kind of a designated staffer.

Now, I am a signer of the resolution. I might say that I feel certainly there are some limits we should put on it, there are some restraints we should make. I think Senator Hatfield's proposal is an excellent basis for compromise, because I think we have to put some checks and reins to prevent our going too far the other way, to alleviate some of the concern that Senator Talmadge might have.

But I think there is another point that should be made, stating my concept of the job, Senator, and that is that just adding staff doesn't necessarily mean you are going to spend money. I think Senator Proxmire has amply demonstrated that adding staff doesn't mean you are going to spend money. In his case, it means you are going to save money.

I had a bill myself in the House that has saved three quarters of \$1 billion because we could work some concept up—and I had a staff to do it there. So I think you can add staff and save money.

In the Appropriations Committee, we have 63 staffers as I recall and we supervise a \$350 billion budget—that is \$6 billion per staffer. No way we are going to do our job and find where we can save money and oversee our job and followup program and regulations properly as an Appropriations Committee member when we are spread so thin—and I might say that the Appropriations Committee ranks eighth of the committees in terms of staff.

We are not near the top, yet we have a staffer theoretically in charge of \$6 billion of appropriations.

I know when I first came here 14 years ago as a Congressman, there was an old adage, every time one of the newer Members said something about seniority to the effect that the longer you are here, the more you like the system. And that is a little bit of what we are seeing here today in terms of difference here of opinion as to how best to conduct the job of staffer.

Unfortunately, those of us who are in the minority and junior have

the biggest problem. Those who are in the majority and junior have a problem, too. And that is the reason you see the four last classes have banded together. This is an unparalleled precedent here, with the last four classes of Senators, Republicans, and Democrats, joined together. Now, we are not 100-percent united, but we are probably 80-percent united.

And I think it does show that there is something wrong with the present system, that we need to change it. There has to be some relief given to those of us who believe in our right to participate with a staffer in some way.

I agree that we shouldn't overturn the chairmanship, but being a legislator also means that you have responsibilities through your staff.

So I think there are things we can do that won't ruin the system but will reform it. I am reminded, coming from the business world, that every business head in this country has access and the right to hire staff—that is fundamental. Every labor union head in this country has the right to hire and use a staff. I sit on the Appropriations Committee and without blinking an eye we appropriate a dozen jobs here, 100 jobs there—1,000 jobs there for the executive branch, without the blink of an eye. Yet here are 11 Senators almost fighting literally tooth and claw to get one staffer on one committee.

And that is a little bit what we are saying here, there ought to be a better way to do it. And if there is some jurisdictional problem between our two committees, as far as the one I serve on, we are certainly amiable to working them out. I am not sure that is the basic problem, but if there is we will certainly work on it.

So I hope the committee in holding these hearings will take the two different concepts in mind and try to work some kind of a compromise out along the line that Senator Hatfield has suggested.

That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Senator, you said that to get one staff person for each committee—section 8(a) of the proposal would authorize additional clerk-hire funds to each Senator on each of the so-called class A standing committees to employ additional personal staffs in the amount of two additional employees on each committee at \$34,881 per annum.

Senator SCHWEIKER. Yes; that is why I said at the start of my remarks, Mr. Chairman, that I thought Senator Hatfield's proposal, which I believe was one staffer, presented a good basis for compromise, because if we do innovate here and bring a new system—and I also think his concept of doing committee work is important. I am not arguing, as much problem as I have on staff for my Pennsylvania constituency—and I might say my Congressman from Pennsylvania has nine times more staff than I do proportionally—I am not arguing that point today. All I am saying is that I think a staffer should do committee work and I think he should be integrated into the committee-chairman setup, like Senator Talmadge suggested.

I do not think the ideas, though, are irreconcilable. I think they can be blended in a way that there is a participatory role of the Senator and yet the staffer does work with the staff director and overall with the chairman, so that the chairman's ability to be chairman isn't really thwarted.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hatfield?

Senator HATFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I have no questions. I have talked with Senator Schweiker on this matter, and he has been certainly in a position to speak from experience, and, as a fellow member of the Appropriations Committee, we have especially had problems in trying to do our work on that committee as junior members and not have the opportunity of even having our personal staff at the time of mark-up in handling some of the data which is so important to our final decisions.

And so I welcome you here today, I appreciate your testimony.

Senator SCHWEIKER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Senator Haskell?

STATEMENT OF HON. FLOYD K. HASKELL, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO

Senator HASKELL. Mr. Chairman, I will be extremely brief. I came here to offer a case history for examination by the members of the committee.

My legislative committees are Interior and Finance. On Interior I am chairman of two subcommittees, on Finance I am chairman of one subcommittee.

In Finance, as the chairman and members of the committee know, Senator Long has asked for additional help. In Interior I have a very loose allocation of staff to my subcommittees.

Now, the staffs of both of those committees are first-rate. They are competent people. I will say that both of the chairmen are excellent chairmen, I consider them both to be good friends of mine. But as a matter of practicality, if I have a project—and if either Senator Jackson or Senator Long has a project at the same time—as a matter of human nature, who is going to get the attention?

Assuming people relatively newly elected to the Senate are to be effective I think it is absolutely essential that we have something in the nature of the Gravel resolution, as modified by the Hatfield proposal.

I wrote the chairman of the committee a letter this morning on this matter. On my desk yesterday came an article which I think illustrates the problem. The article is from a publication entitled "People and Taxes," dated April 1975. The operative quote reads: "IRS Congressional Oversight is Nil." The sentence reads: "A new Senate IRS oversight subcommittee, chaired by Senator Floyd Haskell (D.-Colo.) has no staff and no budget at all."

Mr. Chairman, in some respects it makes it look as if Don Quixote has a better chance of getting the job done than I do. And for that reason I think that something along the lines of the Gravel resolution, where people who are chairmen of subcommittees or people who are on committees have some direct access to staff to get the job done, is highly desirable.

Now, that is all I have to say, Mr. Chairman. I will be glad to attempt to answer any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Hatfield?

Senator HATFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I am privileged to serve with Senator Haskell on the Interior Committee, and I think this points up an interesting case study. It is an understatement. For this reason—Senator Haskell has indicated that he is chairman of two subcom-

mittees, and I am privileged to serve on one of his subcommittees. There are nine majority members of the Senate Interior Committee. There are 32 staff members hired by the majority party, 6 hired by the minority.

And on this committee, of which Senator Haskell is chairman of two subcommittees, he is the sixth ranking Democrat out of the nine members of the majority party.

Now, I think this points up the difference in hiring policy between the committees—I am not making any critical comment, I am just making an observation. Senator Haskell is here today before this committee to indicate the inadequacy of his ability to perform the functions of his subcommittee assignments because of his lack of opportunity or the procedure that would provide him with selection of staff.

Is this correct?

Senator HASKELL. Yes, this is correct. On the Interior Committee, there are two people—assigned to one of those subcommittees. I did not hire either of them, though both are very satisfactory. But unless you really have somebody of your own choosing, and you can say, "Look, my friend, you continue on this job at my pleasure," quite obviously, should the occasion arise, the chairman of any full committee would be able to preempt any of the staff people, even if they are assigned to someone else.

On Finance, Senator Long has asked for just the kind of thing the Gravel resolution contemplates. On Finance the committee staff are great, but obviously they are responsive to Senator Long and not to me. On my subcommittee in Finance I have had to assign two people from my personal staff to do the work. They have been helped by the Finance Committee staff, but I can't count on them as a regular definite thing.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator, I might point out that on the Finance Committee there has been no minority staff up until this year.

Senator HASKELL. And not yet.

Senator HATFIELD. Not yet.

Senator HASKELL. Not yet.

Senator HATFIELD. But you said you had staff assigned to you. Who assigns the staff on the Interior Committee to you as the subcommittee chairman?

Senator HASKELL. Well, I discussed the matter with Senator Jackson, and Mr. Quarles is assigned because of my conversation with Senator Jackson. A Mr. Williams is assigned, too. Mr. Quarles has had duties to perform for the chairman as well as duties assigned by me. I think a subcommittee chairman and the ranking minority member have a right to know they have somebody there all the time when they need him.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator, you had no part in the selection of these gentlemen to the full committee?

Senator HASKELL. That is correct.

Senator HATFIELD. And therefore you have had no part in the selection of these people to serve your subcommittee of which you are a chairman—except as a request.

Senator HASKELL. Except as a request.

Senator HATFIELD. But I mean, you have made a request for a number or for bodies rather than a specific person?

Senator HASKELL. Actually, I did make a request for a specific person in the case of Mr. Quarles.

Senator HATFIELD. Already a member of the staff.

Senator HASKELL. Already a member of the staff, correct.

Senator HATFIELD. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the problems as I see it is that we have committee staffs who are inherited as people go on the committee—and if we were to change simply because we got a new man on the committee, we fired somebody and put new staff people on, it could very rapidly disintegrate the expertise of the staff that has been accomplished over a period of years.

I know that has been my situation on Armed Services Committee. I have been on the Armed Services Committee for 17 years, and I have never had a staff person appointed or one accountable directly only to me, even though I am the chairman of three subcommittees.

But I have various members of the staff who work with me, but they are highly specialized people, they are part of an expert staff. And I inherited them and I have never attempted to try to get one of them fired so that I could put someone on of my own choosing.

Senator PELL. If the Senator would yield there, I have seen something of the opposite process starting to take place in the Foreign Relations Committee, that we have had that same expert unified staff in the past—and there is a tendency now to appoint staff members responsible to individuals. And it, in my view, is not having a good effect on the overall competence of the staff.

Senator HASKELL. May I make a suggestion, gentlemen? It seems to me that you could have a small core of experts as staff members, and that then subcommittee chairmen and ranking minority members could have people of their own choosing.

To use myself as an example, I would not choose anybody else than the person who was recently assigned to my subcommittee. He is a very competent man. If I am defeated or something, somebody takes my place, the chances are pretty good that he would continue to keep him on the subcommittee staff but I think the important thing is knowing that the person is responsible to you.

Now, that is the guts of it.

Senator HATFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to second that comment, and I think it is not an irreconcilable situation that Senator Pell and Senator Cannon have described here today. I think we could very well adopt a system similar to that in a change of Presidential administration. The chief staff of the President is in effect a cabinet, but that cabinet does not just continue on, because there is a change of personnel in the office of President. I think if all the professional staff and everyone offered their resignations every time there is a change in chairmanship and give that new chairman the opportunity to rehire, which he probably would do in most instances, at least we would break this kind of bureaucratic longevity that I think freezes in an awful lot of problems and creates the problems that we are trying to deal with today.

After all, we are not here in perpetuity, we are only here on a 6 year term. And I think sometimes that staff is far better off than the Senators are, as far as having longevity or having seniority or having job security.

Senator HASKELL. I do think there is a compromise, Mr. Chairman. I see we probably have a vote. I don't mean to delay you, but I will be glad to answer questions as long as you have them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you want to comment on that?

Senator HASKELL. I think, Senator Hatfield, that something like that would work. Maybe you could have subcommittee staff and when you would get a new subcommittee chairman, they would go through the process you are talking about. My hunch is that if you have competent folks, 9 times out of 10 you would keep them on.

But it is a question of whom they are directly responsible to.

Senator HATFIELD. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. There are a number of statements that have been submitted by Senators Randolph, Pastore, Proxmire, Moss, McGee, Sparkman, Abourezk, Biden, and the chief of staff of the Foreign Relations Committee. Those will all be made a part of the record—and others as they are submitted.

[The documents referred to follow:]

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D.C., April 30, 1975.

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HOWARD: I hope you will give the most serious consideration to the request being made by Senator Bill Brock and others before the Rules Committee today concerning committee staffing arrangements. The growing difficulties we are all facing, I believe, require a new look and new action by the Senate.

I will be grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

HOWARD H. BAKER, Jr.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS,
Washington, D.C., April 23, 1975.

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HOWARD: Your letter of April 18, 1975, requests my views on S. Res. 110. As Chairman of the Committee on Public Works I will share with you the consensus expressed by Members of the Committee on Public Works as we discussed our budget proposal for the coming year. It was agreed that additional staff assistance would enhance the ability of Members to carry out their activities with respect to the Committee.

Section 9 of S. Res. 110 dealing with Committee staffing is a matter of serious concern. The staffing request which we presented to the Rules Committee was agreed on after discussion with the Members and reflects their evaluation of the Committee schedule and workload. The appropriate time to discuss the need for additional personnel is during consideration of the Committee budget. It is my greatest fear that the approach suggested in S. Res. 110 would adversely affect the accountability of Committee staff to all of the Members of the Committee. It would tend to fragment the cohesive operation of the Committee as it has evolved over the past quarter of a century.

It is my hope that the Committee on Rules and Administration, in its consideration of S. Res. 110 and possible alternatives, will provide all Members of the Senate with adequate staff support so that they can function in accordance with their Committee duties, their obligations to constituents, and their legislative responsibilities.

With kindest personal regards,

Truly,

JENNINGS RANDOLPH, U.S.S.,
Chairman.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY,
Washington, D.C. April 28, 1975.

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter asking for my views on Senate Resolution 110 which would authorize each Member of the Senate to employ additional assistants to work on matters pertaining to committees on which the Senator serves.

Since its organization on August 2, 1946, pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 (Public Law 79-585), the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has been empowered by that Act to appoint and fix the compensation of staff employees as it deems necessary and advisable. Over almost three decades of the Committee's existence, it has maintained essentially the same small number of professional staff. The staff is available to serve all Members, regardless of their political party or their seniority on the Committee.

Throughout my service on the Committee—as a member, Vice-Chairman and Chairman—the staff assistance has been entirely satisfactory. Thus, as far as the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy is concerned, it is my view that the authorization sought by Senate Resolution 110 is not needed and cannot be justified.

With best personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN O. PASTORE,
Chairman.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., April 25, 1975.

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I appreciate the opportunity to comment on Senate Resolution 110 authorizing each member of the Senate to employ additional staff assistants to work on committee business. I believe this Resolution reflects a widespread dissatisfaction with the committee staff system in the Senate, particularly on the part of less senior members. I would be the first to acknowledge that there are serious shortcomings in our present committee staff system. In many ways, this system does not meet the tremendous needs of the Senate for expert and professional assistance. However, I am concerned that Senate Resolution 110 might be a step in the wrong direction.

In theory, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 requires the professional staff of standing committees to be available to all members of the committee. In practice, the services of committee staff have all too frequently been made available only to the chairman or the ranking minority member. When this has occurred, other senior members of the committee have sometimes been able to obtain the appointment of "their men" to the committee staff in order to represent their viewpoints on matters before the committee.

Over a period of time, many committee staffs have gradually become fractionated. Rather than specializing in depth on a single subject, for the benefit of the committee as a whole, committee staff members have had a tendency to represent individual members of the committee on all matters under the com-

mittee's jurisdiction. Junior members have understandably felt they have been denied fair treatment when they observe committee staff members acting essentially in a representational capacity on behalf of the chairman or other senior committee members. Thus, Senate Resolution 110 has been introduced to enable junior members to have equal representation.

The problem with Senate Resolution 110 is that it will further weaken and erode the professional role envisioned of committee staffs in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. It will legitimize the representational role in which many committee staff members are already engaged. Instead of working for the committee as a whole, staff members will perceive their function as that of working for only one member.

The inevitable result of S. Res. 110 will be to weaken the committee system itself. The additional staff authorized by S. Res. 110 will make it almost impossible for standing committees to justify any increase in their own staffs and may even invite reductions from present staffing levels. This will make it more difficult for committee staffs to specialize and acquire enough expertise to match the level of skills found in the Executive Branch. When staff persons are tied to individual members, it will be difficult to concentrate enough staff resources to provide an in-depth examination of an important issue before the committee or to regroup and reassign personnel as the committee's priorities shift. Instead of reinforcing one another, the staff will tend to duplicate one another. Intra-committee jurisdictional quarrels will be intensified. Personality conflicts between members could be exacerbated as some staff personnel seek to justify their existence through an over-zealous advocacy of the viewpoints, real or imagined, of their principals. In short, the ability of committees to review legislation, to initiate their own proposals and to conduct effective oversight could be weakened if its staff resources are proliferated in the manner contemplated by S. Res. 110.

Although I do not believe S. Res. 110 is the answer, the issues raised by the Resolution cannot and should not be dismissed. The present committee staff system must be restructured so that it does, in fact, meet the needs of the committee as a whole. Toward that end, I would recommend a temporary deferral of S. Res. 110 pending a major study of the committee staff system in the Senate. The study could be undertaken by the Library of Congress, by the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, or by the Rules Committee itself. Whoever does the study, I believe it might address itself to the following questions:

- (1) How do committee staffs actually function today?
- (2) How do committee staff persons perceive their roles?
- (3) What do committee members regard as the legitimate function of committee staffs?
- (4) How can the services of committee staffs be made available to all members on a non-discriminatory basis?
- (5) What changes are needed in the Legislative Reorganization Act to ensure that committee staffs work for the committee as a whole?
- (6) Do Committees have enough staff resources to meet their present responsibilities?

Perhaps the present committee staff system cannot be sufficiently restructured to obviate the need for a resolution along the lines of S. Res. 110. Nonetheless, I do not believe we should proceed in this direction without a thorough and objective study of our present system. The congressional staff system has never been seriously studied since the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. I believe such a study is long overdue.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
Chairman.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1975.

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON,
*Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In reply to your letter of April 18, 1975, I am concerned that S. Res. 110 would have an adverse impact on both taxpayers and the Senate. As your excellent analysis indicates, the cost of staffing as a result of passing S. Res. 110 would be more than \$40 million annually. That would probably be

the minimum additional annual expenditure. I don't believe that the Senate should authorize an additional \$40 million minimum expenditure for additional staff at this time.

Passage of this resolution would almost double the present size of Senate committee-related employees. It would be impossible to house these additional employees under existing circumstances. The Senate has already found it necessary to build additional office space to house the present employees. The addition of 1,000 or more employees would make working conditions intolerable and ultimately require the authorization of additional office space, another expenditure we cannot presently afford to make. I might add a seldom considered but very important problem would be parking facilities for these new employees. We already have insufficient parking for all employees of the United States Senate and no room for expansion of parking facilities.

As you know, it has been my policy as Chairman of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, and that of my predecessors, that the staff be always available not just to the Chairman or the Committee members, but to all Senators. It has been my expressed desire that the staff of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences should assist any Senator who might request their assistance. Such a policy, if honestly instituted throughout the Senate would minimize if not eliminate the call for additional staffing.

The real problem in the Senate is not the lack of sufficient staffing available to Senators, it is the fractured jurisdiction of the committees. A reorganization of the Senate committees and their jurisdictions to require that related subject matter be assigned to one committee would avoid the need for additional staff requirements for Senators. Instead of the present requirement of calling upon as many as five different committees to receive assistance in any particular matter, a Senator or his staff should need to call upon only one committee. The reorganization of committees would allow better utilization of committee staff such that the present Senate staff would not be required to waste valuable time searching from committee to committee for an answer to a specific problem.

Reorganization would also eliminate the many fractional subcommittees which are not really related to the specific jurisdiction of the standing committee. These subcommittees have been organized only because of the need to have some expertise in a legislative area not directly related to the jurisdiction of the standing committee when such legislation is referred to the standing committee. Present staff could serve the Senate much better if specific expertise were aligned together rather than scattered about from committee to committee.

Almost every Senator, be he junior or senior in terms of service, feels the need for increased staff assistance from time to time. The increased complexity of issues facing the nation, the rising expectations and involvement of our constituents in public affairs, and the need for Congress to fulfill its Constitutional role all are persuasive reasons for careful review of staffing patterns and committee jurisdiction. Simply doubling "Committee" staff is not the answer. Thoughtful study by your Committee, followed by Senate action on your recommendation, is the better course.

Sincerely,

FRANK E. MOSS,
Chairman.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR FRANK E. MOSS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION, APRIL 30, 1975

SUBJECT: HEARING ON S. RES. 60 AND S. RES. 110

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: I appreciate very much this opportunity to submit my views on S. Res. 60 and S. Res. 110 to the Committee on Rules and Administration. These Resolutions deal with issues of critical importance to efficient and effective functioning of the Senate, and I commend this Committee for reviewing these issues with the care and foresight for which it is renowned.

Although they differ somewhat in detail, S. Res. 60 and S. Res. 110 have a common purpose and would have generally similar results. I will devote my remarks to S. Res. 110, since I have had an opportunity to review the careful analysis prepared by the Rules Committee staff of that Resolution. My views, however, relate to both Resolutions: adoption of either would be unduly costly, would impair the effective functioning of the Senate, and would fail to solve the basic issues underlying the understandable concerns of their cosponsors.

As your excellent analysis indicates, the costs of staffing as a result of passing S. Res. 110 would be more than \$40 million annually. That would probably be the minimum additional annual expenditures. I don't believe that the Senate should authorize an additional \$40 million minimum expenditure for additional staff at this time.

Passage of this Resolution would almost double the present size of Senate committee-related employees. It would be impossible to house these additional employees under existing circumstances. The Senate has already found it necessary to build additional office space to house the present employees. The addition of 1,000 or more employees would make working conditions intolerable and ultimately require the authorization of additional office space, another expenditure we cannot presently afford to make. I might add a seldom considered but very important problem would be parking facilities for these new employees. We already have insufficient parking for all employees of the United States Senate and no room for expansion of parking facilities.

As you know, it has been my policy as Chairman of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, and that of my predecessors, that the staff be always available not just to the Chairman of the Committee members, but to all Senators. It has been my expressed desire that the staff of the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences should assist any Senator who might request their assistance on matters within the jurisdiction and competence of the Committee. Such a policy, if honestly instituted throughout the Senate, would minimize if not eliminate the call for additional staffing.

The real problem in the Senate is not the lack of sufficient staffing available to Senators, it is the fractured jurisdiction of the committees. A reorganization of the Senate committees and their jurisdictions to require that related subject matter be assigned to one committee would avoid the need for additional staff requirements for Senators. Instead of the present requirement of calling upon as many as five different committees to receive assistance in any particular matter, a Senator or his staff should need to call upon only one committee. The reorganization of committees would allow better utilization of committee staff such that the present Senate staff would not be required to waste valuable time searching from committee to committee for an answer to a specific problem.

Reorganization would also eliminate the many fractional subcommittees which are not really related to the specific jurisdiction of the standing committee. These subcommittees have been organized only because of the need to have some expertise in a legislative area not directly related to the jurisdiction of the standing committee when such legislation is referred to the standing committee. Present staff could serve the Senate much better if specific expertise were aligned together rather than scattered about from committee to committee.

With these factors in mind, I have cosponsored S. Res. 109—the Stevenson Resolution—calling for a thorough-going review and revision of Senate committee jurisdiction. I hope this Committee and the Senate can act on S. Res. 109 in the near future. The kind of study called for will necessarily take an extended period of time; therefore, it should begin as soon as possible.

Mr. Chairman, almost every Senator, be he junior or senior in terms of service, feels the need for increased staff assistance from time to time. The increased complexity of issues facing the nation, the rising expectations and involvement of our constituents in public affairs, and the need for Congress to fulfill its Constitutional role, all are persuasive reasons for careful review of staffing patterns and committee jurisdiction. Simply doubling "Committee" staff is not the answer.

Again, I want to thank the Committee for allowing me to make this statement. I plan to support your recommendations for resolution of these important issues.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., April 30, 1975.

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your recent letter asking for my comments on Senate Resolution 110. This resolution would authorize each Member of the Senate to employ additional assistants to work on matters pertaining to committees on which a Senator serves.

You should know, Mr. Chairman, that I am opposed to the resolution. It is not my judgment that there is any pressing need for the kind of staff help suggested by Senate Resolution 110. Indeed, should Senate Resolution 110 become operative, the Senate may have many more problems than contemplated by the resolution. In the first place, there is a very serious and real problem as to where such staff, as anticipated by Senate Resolution 110, would be housed. But more importantly, it does not seem to me that the business of the Senate and its committees would be resolved by the kind of staff additions indicated in the resolution.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, it ill behooves the Senate to increase its costs of operation by over \$40 million at a time when we are all asked to tighten our belts. There would also be a very real administrative problem should Senate Resolution 110 come to pass. Committees already are beset with management problems about the burgeoning size of committee staffs. Senator Gravel's resolution would simply compound those problems.

Furthermore, I am concerned about the oblique approach of the Gravel resolution to our staffing problems. If there is a problem, about the staff in various Senate offices, then surely we ought not to approach that problem in the kind of roundabout way suggested by the resolution.

Instead, we ought to meet the problem head on and approach the inadequacies of staffing for Senate offices directly. That is to say, we ought to increase the amount of money available to Senate offices for additional staff and not couch it in terms of hiring staff to do an individual Senator's committee staff work.

It has been my experience as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service that we do not need additional staff in order to make the committee function better. Our Committee has found that by reducing staff we function much more effectively and efficiently without the dead weight of Parkinson's law.

Lastly, it should be noted that a number of Senators often turn back a sizable portion of their contingency funds. Surely in those cases, the additional staff assistance provided by Senate Resolution 110 is not necessary.

Should you have any further questions about this matter, please get in touch with me or my Staff Director, Rod Crowlie. Thank you very much for considering my views.

Sincerely,

GALE MCGEE,
Chairman.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C., April 28, 1975.

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR HOWARD: This will acknowledge your letter of April 18, 1975, concerning Senate Resolution 110 authorizing each Member of the Senate to employ additional assistants to work on matters pertaining to committees on which Senators serve.

I personally do not believe it would be a good idea to create this new category of Senate employees, who would be assigned to committee work but who would be responsible to individual Senators instead of the committee. It has been my experience that Senators get the benefit of better staff work if a committee staff is a pool of expertise on which all Senators can draw. I would expect to oppose Senate Resolution 110 in its present form if and when it should be taken up on the Senate floor.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

JOHN SPARKMAN,
Chairman.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., April 29, 1975.

HON. HOWARD CANNON,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR HOWARD: I am writing to reaffirm my support for S. Res. 110 and to urge its favorable consideration by your Committee.

There is no question but that new expenditures must be examined carefully at a time of record deficits and serious economic problems. But, it has always been my feeling that expenditures which permit Senators to deal with their Committee duties more effectively have benefits which vastly exceed their cost. In fact, I think it is arguable that the kind of staff work which would be provided by S. Res. 110 could well end up saving the taxpayer far more than it costs through detailed examination of Administration spending requests which would not be possible without the staffing provided by the Resolution.

In my own case I know that my service as a member of the Senate Interior Committee would be vastly improved were the staffing arrangements provided by S. Res. 110 in effect. On the other hand my staffing situation on the Budget Committee is quite adequate. The cost figures prepared in support of the Resolution accurately reflect at least my personal situation in that they assume that Senators will avail themselves of additional staff where it is needed, but will not utilize such staff where the staff already provided is adequate.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

JAMES ABUREZK,
U.S. Senate.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D.C., April 30, 1975.

Hon. HOWARD CANNON,
Chairman, Senate Rules Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I write in support of Senate Resolution 110, relating to staffing of committees.

Other Senators, with longer experience than I, have undoubtedly expressed in greater detail their distress at the current method of committee staffing. As a first-term Senator, now in his twenty-eighth month of service, I, too, have experienced difficulty as I seek to master the legislative process—both as to substance and as to procedure, each of which is a heavy thicket for us to negotiate our way through.

The existing method may have been adequate, but I suggest that, like so much else, the existing method has been over-run by the mounting needs of the Senate and its committees. If I experience this inadequacy as a Senator from a State of small population, approximately 560,000, I wince at the tremendous burden levied upon Senators from states with 5 and 10 and 20-million constituents.

Mr. Chairman, I serve as a member of the Foreign Relations and the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, and Budget Committees. I am able, therefore, to appreciate especially the merits of Senate Resolution 110. As you know, the newly established Budget Committee authorizes each of its members to have a staff member (and a secretary)—in addition to the "general staff" of the full committee. I have immensely benefited. Even as I write you this letter, Senate Concurrent Resolution 32, coming from the Budget Committee, is now being debated on the floor. This resolution is an important test of the new Budget Act. It would establish target budget and revenue levels for fiscal 1976. The fact that I have an able staff member assigned to the Budget Committee gives me an immeasurably greater grasp of budgetary, fiscal and relative matters involved in this historic effort to repair Congressional control of the federal purse strings.

Speaking frankly, Mr. Chairman, there is a disparity in the services given Senators on other committees. My observation is that there are committee staffs that function, in effect, as a "Secretariat" for the chairman and other individual members have somewhat to fend for themselves.

I'd like to make two main points in support of the resolution.

1. A Senator's knowledge on subjects within the jurisdiction of his legislative committees is related to the staff available to him *at his direction*.

2. The existing system—relating a member's clerk-hire allowance to the population of his state and existing committee staffing, are inadequate—no matter how capable the personal and committee staff members. Roll-calls have increased from an average of 267 about 10 years ago to 500 in recent years. Communications between constituents, individual and group, and each Senator rise continuously each year—certainly, in my office.

I do not back away from over-work; but I do argue that, in so doing, I should have the fullest resources to combat the rising tide.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, the Congress, with all its inadequacies, is still less remote from the American people than the other two branches of government. If conditions, such as the committee staffing, continue to persist, we may arrive at a time when this will not be so.

Thank you for your attention.

Best wishes to you and your committee colleagues.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, Jr.,
U.S. Senator.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D.C., April 29, 1975.

HON. HOWARD CANNON,
Chairman, Senate Rules and Administration Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Your seeing to it that I am associated with the remarks of Senators Packwood, Gravel, Brock and Cranston on S. Res. 110 (S. Res. 60) will be sincerely appreciated.

With regards,

Sincerely,

CLIFFORD P. HANSEN, U.S.S.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C., April 4, 1975.

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In connection with the Rules Committee's consideration of the problems of staffing Senate committees, I would like to submit the following thoughts, based on 25 years as a member of the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee under six chairmen of both parties.

The problem, it seems to me comes down to a question of whether a committee staff works for the committee or for the members of the committee in their individual capacities—that is, whether the staff should serve the institution or the individual members of it.

Both the committee and individual Senators are better served, and at less expense, if the staff as a whole works for the committee as a whole. This in effect makes the staff a pool on which any member of the committee may draw. It means that the staff can be composed of specialists. To use the Foreign Relations Committee as an example, a Senator looks to one member of the staff for help with respect to the Middle East, to another member of the staff for help with respect to Southeast Asia, to another for help with respect to questions of arms control, etc. Thus, the Senator gets the benefit of a variety of expertise developed over a period of years.

On the other hand, if members of the staff are tied to individual Senators, the staff member has to cover the whole range of the Senator's interests in the subject matter under the committee's jurisdiction. Again to use Foreign Relations as an example, the staff member would have to deal with the Middle East and Southeast Asia and arms control, etc. It would be extraordinary if he ever became expert in any of them. The only way to avoid this would be to give each Senator not one but several staff members on each committee—an impractical and very expensive proliferation of staff.

What I am suggesting will not meet the need which some Senators feel for somebody who is *their* man, who is looking after *their* interests, and who is loyal to them personally rather than to the institution of the Senate. Obviously, Senators do need people like this; that is why there is provision for personal staffs. But the intent of the Reorganization Acts both of 1946 and 1970 seems clearly to be that committee staffs should be responsible to committees—that is, to the institution. (It might even be argued that one reason the Senate has had so much difficulty in asserting its rightful prerogatives against a strong and centralized Executive Branch is the lack of institutional loyalty.)

There is a further problem, and that is, how does one provide a staff which generates ideas and arguments to promote opposing sides of a question? It has been my experience that, with the possible exception of highly contentious and emotional issues, this is a problem which disappears in practice. I have myself, for example, more than once written a committee report and also minority views—to the satisfaction of both sides. Within the concept of an integrated, pooled committee staff, one could provide, of course, for the appointment of staff members holding differing views. The desire to do this is no doubt at least part of the reason for the provision of minority staff. Yet this is moving in the direction of turning staff members into advocates and thereby of breaking down staff professionalism. It is my observation that there are already too many staff members around the Hill who confuse themselves with Senators, and I would hope that trend would not be encouraged.

Sincerely,

PAT M. HOLT.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess this hearing to a future time and the Chair will announce it when we are able to schedule other witnesses.

[The committee was recessed at 5:10 p.m., subject to the call of the Chair.]

COMMITTEE-RELATED SENATE EMPLOYEES

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1975

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C.

The committee reconvened, pursuant to recess, at 10:15 a.m., in room 301, Russell Senate Office Building, Hon. Howard W. Cannon (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Cannon, Allen, Williams, and Hatfield.

Staff present: William McWhorter Cochrane, staff director; Chester H. Smith, chief counsel; Hugh Alexander, senior counsel; John P. Coder, professional staff member; Larry E. Smith, professional staff member (minority); Jack L. Sapp, professional staff member; James H. Duffy, chief counsel, Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections; and Peggy Parrish, assistant chief clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Our first witness will be Senator William L. Scott. Senator, we are happy to have you here to testify on the so-called Gravel resolution and proposition today.

You may proceed, sir.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM L. SCOTT, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me first thank you and the members of the committee for affording me the opportunity and others that are concerned about proper committee staffing an opportunity to be heard.

Now, I believe this affects all Senators. As you know, I cosponsored Senate Resolution 60 that authorizes additional staff assistants to serve on the legislative committees of the Senate, and to express my support for the concept, but not the exact form of the resolution that is now before the committee.

In fact, I have had legislative counsel prepare an amendment to the resolution, and I hope that the committee will see fit to consider this proposed amendment during its deliberation.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that I be permitted to insert the proposed amendment in the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir. It will be made a part of the record. [The amendment referred to follows:]

94th CONGRESS
1st SESSION

S. RES. 60
H. R.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Referred to the Committee on _____ and ordered to be printed.

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. WILLIAM L. SCOTT

(Insert title of bill below)

to S. RES. 60, a ~~bill~~ resolution authorizing each Member of the Senate to employ additional assistants to work on matters ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ pertaining to committees on which Senators serve.

via XXX page XXX line XXX insert the following:

viz: On page 1, line 4, strike out all that follows through the end of the resolution and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"8. (a) Each Senator serving on a committee who does not have a professional staff member, other than a staff member appointed under paragraph 9, of such committee, or of a subcommittee thereof, appointed upon his recommendation and subject to his exclusive supervision and direction is authorized to appoint a staff member to the committee staff to assist him in his duties as a member of such committee.

"(b) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall not receive compensation in excess of that provided for an employee under section 105 (e) (1) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified. Individuals appointed under this paragraph shall be in addition to employees otherwise authorized to be appointed to the staff of a committee.

"(c) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall be designated as such and certified by the Senator who appoints him to the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee and

Amdt. No.

shall be accorded equal treatment and access to the records of that committee as other professional staff members of that committee.

"9. (a) Each Senator serving as chairman of any subcommittee or ranking minority member of any subcommittee who does not have a professional staff member, other than a staff member appointed under paragraph 8, of the full committee, or of that subcommittee, appointed upon his recommendation and subject to his exclusive supervision and direction is authorized to appoint a staff member to the staff of the full committee to assist him in his duties as chairman or ranking minority member of that subcommittee.

"(b) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall not receive compensation in excess of that provided for an employee under section 105 (e) (1) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1968, as amended and modified. Individuals appointed under this paragraph shall be in addition to employees otherwise authorized to be appointed to the staff of a committee.

"(c) An employee appointed under this paragraph shall be designated as such and certified by the Senator who appoints him to the chairman and ranking minority member of the full committee and shall be accorded equal treatment and access to the records of that committee as other professional staff members of the full committee."

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. My proposed amendment or substitute simply stated provides that each Senator serving on a committee who does not have at least one professional staff member be authorized to appoint one, rather than two persons, as provided in Senate Resolution 60, to the committee staff to assist him in his duties as a member of said committee.

This person would be a member of the committee's professional staff and compensated from the committee funds. He would, however, be subject to the supervision and the direction of the Senator appointing him.

This amendment would further provide that a Senator who is chairman or ranking member of a subcommittee and does not have a profes-

sional staff member assigned to him as such, and if he so desires, would be entitled to appoint one person to the professional committee staff to assist him in his duties in that capacity.

This amendment would decrease the cost of the basic proposal significantly, in my opinion, and would still alleviate the problem. It's my understanding from the information you furnished me, Mr. Chairman, that I turned back, and you will note that I am correcting these figures, because it was after a check with the letter that you sent to me I turned back 42½ percent, or approximately \$189,000 of my clerk hire allowance, or a higher percentage than any Member of the Senate.

So I do have sufficient funds to hire more employees in the clerk hire allowance. However, in my opinion, the need is not for more employees in the Senate offices, but to have someone who is a member of the committee staff to keep each Senator acquainted with what is programed to be considered in the committee, with the various subcommittee activities on which the Senator does not serve, and generally to assist him in his committee work.

A professional person who works with the other committee staff members certainly has a better rapport with them than one who is not on the staff and who has to come to the committee staff in an effort to learn what is programed for future consideration, and what is actually being considered in the various subcommittees, as well as the full committee.

I have little or no difficulty in obtaining answers to questions from existing committee staff members, but generally, do not have any person to advise me as to what is under consideration and what is planned for consideration without making a request for information.

Mr. Chairman, all the members of the Rules Committee have been in the Senate longer than I have, and you may have had a somewhat different experience, but I submit that the committee staff quite generally caters to the chairman of the committee or the ranking Republican member of the committee and to those who have a more senior status. And yet the people of Virginia, with almost 5 million population, and I use my own State because it is the one, of course, I am familiar with, and they have the same right to expect their Senator to be informed as to planned activities and existing activities of the committee as a Senator with a greater amount of seniority.

Please understand I am not opposing the seniority system in general, but I am merely saying that each Senator should have the same opportunity and the same right to be informed as every other Senator, regardless of the time that he has served in the Senate.

As the distinguished chairman knows, in our Armed Services Committee, only members of the Senate committee and members of the professional staff of the committee are privileged to be present at executive sessions of the committee, and the chairman of our committee is one of the outstanding members of the Senate and is very adamant in his position that staff members from Senate offices cannot be present to acquaint their Senators as to what transpires in our committee.

Moreover, even if they were permitted to attend, they would be at a disadvantage over regular staff members of the committee who must counsel together from time to time regarding the work of the committee, perhaps have lunch together, build up personal friendships

with one another, and keep one another informed on the work of the committee, of which all of them are a part.

My statement, Mr. Chairman, is not intended to be critical of any staff member of any committee in the Senate. To the best of my knowledge none have declined to respond to a proper inquiry from my office, nevertheless, they do not as a practical matter, contact the office and make any effort to keep me informed or my staff advised as to what is programed, and what is happening in a given committee.

We frankly do not generally know that a hearing is to be held on a given matter until we read about it in the record, or until we receive a formal notice from the committee. This is sometimes only a day prior to the hearing.

I share the concern that has been expressed by some as to the cost of S. Res. 60, but my proposed amendment would reduce that cost substantially, and I can assure you, Mr. Chairman, that it is my plan to continue to use my clerk hire allowance in a reasonable manner and to return to the Treasury all funds not considered necessary to properly serve the people of my State, which would more than offset the additional cost of providing a professional staff member for each of the three committees of which I serve, as well as someone to help on the subcommittee on which I am the ranking member, should I see the need for such assistance.

Therefore, insofar as the Senator from Virginia is concerned, this proposal, if amended as suggested, would not result in any increase in permissible cost. I might explain, Mr. Chairman, when I say "permissible cost", I was permitted to spend \$189,000 more than I actually spent last year, and so whatever additional costs that this bill as proposed to be amended would cost could very well be absorbed by the amount returned to the Government from the clerk hire allowance.

I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that each of us wants to do the best possible job, in representing the people of our State and our Nation here in the Senate, and I ask your assistance in helping us to do this.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you, Senator Scott, for your fine statement. You indicate that as far as you personally are concerned there would be no increased cost other than that which has already been approved for you, and that is correct.

Of course, there are many Members of the Senate who would employ the additional assistants, which would result in increased costs. I am not clear specifically from your statement when you say the person would be entitled to appoint one staff member for the committee that he serves on. Do you envision one staff member for each committee that he serves on, so that if he served on three committees, he would have one staff member appointed for each of those three committees?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Yes, I do, Mr. Chairman, and the reason for this is that, it seems to me, that as the staff works together they acquire a comradeship, a sharing of knowledge, and each Senator should be privy to what goes on within the staff, within the committee on which he serves.

I am saying that any staff member that I might put on my clerk hire could not be a part of the committee staff. He would not know what is planned, and—I am sure, on this committee, and every committee in the Senate. The people who serve on the committee know more about

the planning of this committee than any legislative assistant from the offices of the other Senators.

Now, I am not asking for additional help, I am just asking that it be arranged somewhat differently so that each of us can know what is going on with the committee on which we serve, and I am sure that each Senator knows if he does not have someone to look after his interests on a given committee, that there are times when he is caught short, and something is coming up before a committee of which he is unaware.

So I am asking that there be a shift here so that each Senator will have some sort of entry into the inner-workings of the committee on which he serves.

The CHAIRMAN. I can see a very serious problem with respect to some of the committees in that where you have, let's say, 18 people members of a committee, or 16—a number of committees have 16 or more—adding that number of staff people to the committee's staff who are not accountable to the committee staff director, and are not accountable to the chairman of the committee, who has the overall responsibility. It would seem to me to pose some very serious problems. Do you envision in that any problems?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Well, Mr. Chairman, I would have no objection at all to anyone that I might appoint, if this were adopted, to be accountable to the staff director. He could be accountable to the staff director, and also report to me. I do not see any necessary inconsistency.

I am not suggesting that 16 new members be appointed. I am saying that if a given Senator does not have a person that reports to him, then that he be permitted to appoint someone.

I do not envision any chairman appointing anyone, and the Chairman might be better informed on this, but I would submit that every chairman has someone who reports to him, in fact, the staff director and the chairman of the committee may well take the leadership position and should take the leadership position in determining the future course of the committee.

So I would not envision any chairman of any committee and I am not trying to talk myself out of the passage of this bill by referring to the chairman, but I do not envision that they would need to appoint anyone. They already have someone, and I would submit that the ranking Republican Member already has someone. I am saying it is the more junior Members who are sort of at the bottom of the heap, that feel the need greater, and yet they represent their State and their State is entitled to participate as fully as the most senior member of a given committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I would agree with you that certainly the chairman and the ranking minority member in every committee has someone that is accountable directly to them, and reports directly to them.

Just to run down the list here, for example, Aeronautical and Space Sciences, there are 10 members, so that means there would be 8 new staff people appointed there; Agriculture and Forestry, there are 14 members, so if you eliminate the majority and the minority, that would leave 12 new ones there, on Appropriations there are 26, and if you eliminate the majority and minority, that would leave 24; Armed Services, there are 16, and that would make 14; Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, there are 13, and reduce that by 2 and you would have 11; Budget, there are 16, reduced by 2, you would have 14; and Commerce, there are 18, reduced by 2, that leaves

16; Finance, there are 18, reduced by 2 would leave 16; Foreign Relations, there are 17, reduced by 2 would leave 15; Government Operations, there are 14 reduced by 2 would be 12; Interior and Insular Affairs, there are 14, reduced by 2 would make 12; Judiciary, there are 15, reduced by 2 would make 13; Labor and Public Welfare, there are 15; reduced by 2 would be 13; Public Works, there are 14, reduced by 2 would be 12; and those are the class A committees. Now, the class B committees: the District of Columbia has seven, and that would reduce to five, Post Office and Civil Service has nine, and that would reduce to seven; Rules has eight, and that would reduce to six; Veterans' Affairs has nine, and that would reduce to seven; and now, would you apply that to the select committees, the special committees, and the joint committees of the Congress as well?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Well, Mr. Chairman, where there is any substantial amount of work, I feel it should be applied. I believe, Mr. Chairman, that the recitation that you have made is the maximum, and that the actual number—because, in effect, I am the newest member of the Judiciary Committee, having just been appointed, and yet the committee has seen fit to assign a staff member to me. Now, he is getting somewhat of a minimum salary, and I would prefer to be able to fix his salary at a higher amount, if I saw fit, but there are other members of a committee, other than the chairman and ranking member that do have someone and under my suggestion, they would have a right to appoint someone, if they did not already have someone. It would be an optional, not a mandatory thing. So in my opinion, and most respectfully, I suggest that there would be less people employed than the chairman has enumerated.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think there would be some less. I have just taken two off of each one.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But do you think on the select committees and the special committees and the joint committees the same proposition should follow?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I am not a member of any of those committees, so I would not be in a position to comment. I am on the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and for a period of 3 months, as the Chair knows, we do have someone assigned to me, but this is as a consultant, not as a regular member, and it is on a temporary basis.

Now, I am not suggesting that in the present setup, that everything is bad. I am just suggesting that it can be improved, and I believe that each Senator is entitled to have someone on the major committees, at least.

Now, the chairman and the Committee on Rules would be much better informed with regard to these joint committees as to the need. If the need is there I believe the staff should be available. If the need is not there, of course, I am not in favor of wasting, and I think that is illustrated by the fact that I did turn back \$189,000 in clerk hire allowance. I am not suggesting anything we do not need, Mr. Chairman, but I believe there is a clear need, and as the Chair knows, a large number of the membership of the Senate cosponsored this bill for two additional members, and my amendment would more than cut that in two, because it would make it optional, it would provide that there be only one, and that would be the maximum.

So I would submit, Mr. Chairman, that it would be a clear savings over what is proposed, and candidly, Mr. Chairman, if this comes to the floor of the Senate, in my opinion, it is going to be approved.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you suggesting that same type of arrangement for the subcommittees, or just for the basic committees?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. The subcommittees, no, sir. On the subcommittees, if one is a ranking member and feels a need because of special activities, I feel he should have someone to help him, but often times the regular person assigned to him would be ample for a subcommittee only. I would make that optional and Mr. Chairman, these are thoughts that have occurred to me. I do not claim that they are the perfect solution. I would just urge that the committee consider these suggestions, and then the committee in working its will can come up with something that is reasonable to all Members of the Senate, because certainly where some have help and others do not, it is not fair and equitable in my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. I have gone through and reduced each of the other committees by two, but it is obvious that that would be reduced some as you indicate.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But if we applied that same formula to the select committees, the special committees, and the joint committee membership, then it would permit the authorization of 313 additional employees, compared to 1,262 staff people right now. So it would be roughly on the order of increasing the number of employees by 25 percent.

I am wondering now, would you propose that those people be housed in the committee's offices, or in the Senator's own offices, or where?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I think it would be much better if they could be housed in the committee offices. Now, I realize there are limitations on space, and we do have a new building that is being constructed, and that perhaps would alleviate this space problem. To the extent possible, I would prefer that they be housed in the committee's space. Where that is not possible, of course, there would have to be other space provided.

You know, Mr. Chairman, if I might perhaps philosophize for just a minute, I think we look after the executive branch a whole lot better than we look after ourselves, and there would be no difficulty at all in us spending the amount of money that may be necessary if we were talking about one of the executive departments of government and I think we do a disservice to the country when we, representing a State, do not have adequate staff help on our committees to do our job. And sometimes this results in us being dominated by the executive branch to a greater extent than I feel that we should be.

I was thinking about the number while I was driving in and I thought perhaps about half of the Senators might feel that they did not have anyone to represent them, and this is just my own thinking. That perhaps there would be 50 Senators, the 50 less senior Senators, that might feel the need and they might need two people to help them on their committees. So roughly, and I have no facts to back this up, this is just a guesstimate on my part we might need to employ an additional 100 people under the bill as my amendment proposes.

And I know that the Chair has endeavored to do it in a more scientific way, and yet I am satisfied that there are Senators other than

the chairman and the ranking member who have someone who helps them on a given committee, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the suggestions that has been made, and has been under discussion by a number of the Senate Members is that the Legislative Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee should recommend an additional amount of money to each Senator; for example, one of the figures talked of was \$50,000 to each Senator based on his legislative representation requirements, not based on his population, as the clerk hire formula is used now, and that the Senator then, if he were allocated that figure for legislative assistants, could use it any way he saw fit.

For example, he could employ two people at roughly \$25,000 each, or maybe one at \$25,000, one at \$13,000 and one at \$12,000 and to let him adjust that for the purpose of legislative assistants, but make them on his own staff as long as they are accountable to him, but provide that the committees permit a Senator to have a member of his staff there in the committee to work with the committee staff and keep the Senator advised, as you have suggested here.

I wonder what you would think of that sort of proposition?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Well, Mr. Chairman, I would not personally favor that approach because, as the Chair knows, and the committee members know, I do not use the money that I now have, and it would be helpful for our legislative assistants to have a little better access to the other members of the committee staff, but my own personal preference would be for us to have someone right in the committee, on the committee staff, that could come and go, that would have as much access as the rest of the committee staff. To me it is not as much a question of money, and I realize there are other Members that use all of their clerk hire allowance and feel different about this, but to me the problem would not be solved by money alone. It is being a part of the committee, and having someone that knows what is going on in the committee.

I am not talking about a bunch of spies. We are comrades here, and we are all Senators, and we are all working together for the common good, but I am saying that each Senator ought to have someone that reports to him, and tells him in advance what is planned for the committee, and if he sees fit, he could go to the committee chairman or other committee members and comment on the wisdom of something that is proposed, the desirability of going further, or not going quite as far, and to me it would be in the interest of the Senate to have someone that informs each Senator as to the plans of the committee on which he serves.

This is more—the plea that I am making to the committee than it is a matter of money, and I realize that whatever plan is adopted it will cost some money. I feel it will cost less than has been projected, Mr. Chairman, but perhaps I am wrong. I feel we should do it. We would not hesitate at all if this was HEW or HUD or something like that. This is just a fraction of the amount of money that we spend on these executive departments, and I feel there is a real need, and I think it is in the interest of the individual Senators, and I think we can be better legislators.

The CHAIRMAN. If we used your formula there and everyone took advantage of it except the chairman and the ranking minority mem-

ber, as we figured out here, we figured out \$25,000 top salary, and that it would cost up to \$7,825,000 a year.

Senator Hatfield?

Senator HATFIELD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Scott, I very much appreciate your presence here today and the testimony you have offered is very helpful.

I would like to second the general thesis that you have brought to this committee. I think that it is feasible and within the realm of reason that we could implement your proposal. In fact, I have another modification of the original proposal that pretty well follows in your line of thinking.

We did some checking with the various Senate offices as to the Senators who do not now have a committee appointed staffer. On the 18 standing committees, if you will look at the left-hand column on the back page of this proposal we found there are only 100 Senators in the 18 standing committees who do not have a committee staffer. Now, if you apply the minimum of the \$26,575 salary range to those, you would come up with the figure, \$2,657,000, and that is a far cry from the \$40 million which was the original proposal of Senator Gravel and his associates.

If you want to apply the high salary levels of \$34,881—as you read across there—that is a total of \$3,488,000.

Now, let me also indicate that of those 100 slots, it is interesting to note that almost 50 percent of them, actually the figure is 46, come from the Foreign Relations Committee, the Finance Committee, and the Armed Services Committee; three committees that have had a very long-standing custom of concentrating staff under the control of the chairman and the ranking minority member.

Now, if you had the select and special committees, of which there are five—and again, this is on a survey we made of all the offices—we find there are 44 Senator slots or staffer slots that could be appointed, which would add \$1,169,000 if you took the low range of the scale, making a total of \$3,800,000 when adding the 18 standing committees; or in the high range, \$5 million.

Now, if you want to add the joint committees, we find there are seven of them, you have 40 Senators now who do not have staffers or 40 staff slots, and that would add in the low range \$1 million, and the high range, \$1.3 million, for a low total cost of standing committees, special and select committees, and joint committees of \$4.8 million—almost \$5 million in the low range, or \$6.4, almost \$6.5 million at the top range.

Now, Senator Scott, it seems to me that following through with your proposal, we have two factors here that have to be considered aside from cost. I think you brought out very well the matter of making the staff people serving the Senator from the committee a part of the committee. The problem that we have is that under those who have said, "Let us move under the Reorganization Act and just add a number of dollars to the legislative appropriation", we are freezing in a rotten system. That is what we are doing, and we are merely superimposing upon an existing foul base of committee allotments, as I see it, an additional layer of people. This is not correcting the existing problem, but only hiding the problem under spending more money, which I do not think is proper.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Well, Mr. Chairman, it is interesting to note the figure of 100—in the top left corner. When the Senator was presenting this in a scientific way, my guess as I was driving in today in the car was 100. We both came up with the figure of 100. We followed different approaches in doing it.

Senator HATFIELD. My point is, I think we ought to be concerned about trying to bring a little more equity into the present system rather than locking it in. Second, it seems to me we have to answer the needs of the junior Senators which have been eloquently presented. I agree with you that if we go to the floor with anything less than some kind of a solution, whatever level it may be—total number of dollars, or staff—that is going to meet the needs of the junior Members, I am thoroughly persuaded they have the votes to put over the original Gravel resolution. I think, I would have to vote against it because it moves to the extreme of having two for every committee, one for every subcommittee, and over a thousand new staff people, which frankly would be climbing over each other and be less productive than our present system.

But I do feel that we might take the minimum approach and then crank it in a system whereby we are not superimposing upon the existing one. What I propose here is that we put this through clerk-hire with full access to the committee until those 100 slots are filled through attrition, resignation, or vacancies that occur on the existing committee staff.

In other words, I have an appointment now on the Appropriations Committee. I am not the ranking member of the Appropriations Committee, and I would not get one staffer under my proposal, or as I understand it, under your proposal, as you indicated you were on the Judiciary Committee.

And when we reduce and whittle out those who now have staff, I think the other people ought to be able to appoint someone to the first vacancy on the existing staff, but we could do this, I figure, in 3 years. Phase it in 3 years so that everyone on the committee staff would be housed in the committee, and everyone on that committee would have appointed one person.

But bear in mind we have committees today where the chairman appoints them all, or the ranking member appoints whatever minority staff there is. The junior members on both sides have little or no voice in selecting the committee staff. The staff is accountable to the chairman; and accountable to the ranking member as we heard the testimony before this committee, and I think that is wrong.

Now, I do not say that there should not be a committee core professional staff to move beyond, around, and above for the continuity of the committee, but I do not think that it is balkanizing the committee to have some staff persons responsible to individual Senators as well as to the committee as I understood your testimony.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Yes, I take no pride in my own amendment. It was prepared by legislative counsel, and of course, at my direction. I believe very fully in the committee system and we have a committee here, Committee on Rules, that is thinking this out, it is hearing testimony, and I certainly wanted it to have the benefit of my views, and it is good to know that one or more members of the committee is thinking along the same line, and I share the Senator's views

that the proposal without any amendment is excessive, and yet contrary to what the Senator from Oregon has said, I am going to vote for it, if I have no choice than to vote for it or no change at all. Because the need is there, and I would prefer that it be made in a more economical way, but I share the Senator's thoughts. It is excessive, but we have got to do something so that we will have some help on the committee.

I do not approve of the excessive approach, but I have presented my views, and each of us can have slightly different views, and through the legislative process of considering everybody's points of view, I think we can come up with a satisfactory answer to this problem.

Senator HATFIELD. Senator, let me ask you a couple of specific questions. Let's take your Committee on Judiciary, of the 15 members on that committee, as I have it on this record here, 9 are majority and 6 minority, and these are 198 total staff, permanent and investigative. If I understand your proposal, each of the 15 members of that committee ought to be able to have 1 designated staff personnel out of the 198?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. If he chooses to do so, and I feel it is reasonable for him to have, yes.

Senator HATFIELD. All right.

Now, if we did that, we would still have 183 staff people left under the control of the chairman and the ranking minority member or whoever wants it. Now, let's take a smaller committee, because that is the largest. Let's take the Commerce Committee where we have 18 members and 102 staffers. As I understand your proposal, each of the 18 ought to be able to have 1 designated person out of 102, which would leave 84 or 94?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, there is one difference, I am not suggesting that anyone that is presently on the staff be eliminated.

Senator HATFIELD. I understand.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. So it might not be an addition.

Senator HATFIELD. My view is that it has to be phased in, but the addition should be through clerk-hire rather than through the committee, but as these vacancies occur on the committee, then they would be phased onto the committee staff budget for hiring purposes.

You take Armed Services; there are 16, 35 staff, which as you know is one of the lowest-staffed committees. The fact is, as I have pointed out, we have subcommittees in the Judiciary that have more staff than the Armed Services Committee has, but there you have about half the committee staff that would be appointed and still you would have some 16 or 17 left as a regular corps committee.

I appreciate your testimony very much, and I want to say that I have had no difficulty in staffing at all whatsoever with this committee. The chairman has been very considerate, very helpful, and we have worked on our staff on the minority side as a combination of effort between all three of us. We have three people on our side of this committee, and each one of us has appointed a minority staff. So we have no problems whatsoever. But this is not true with all the committees in the Senate.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I think we should add, and I believe we all know, this is not a partisan effort. This is some-

thing on which the younger Members of both parties have met together from time to time in an effort to find ways to suggest that we can improve our Senate organization.

Senator HATFIELD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Allen?

Senator ALLEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Scott, I certainly want to commend you for the economy that you practice and your belief in cutting down on Federal bureaucracy, and certainly your personal policies in handling your staff are certainly very, very commendable, and I am amazed that you have been able to hold your staff expenses to the level that you have.

I can certainly recognize your feeling that you need closer contact with the committees. You know, a lot has been said about the benefit that Senators would draw from these various plans, and I do not believe I have ever heard a single word to the effect that any of the committees would benefit by having these large numbers of added staff people on the committee. What is your thought along that line? Could any committee duties be assigned to these added staff people, or would they merely be a listening post for the Senator there on the committee?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, if I might answer the Senator from Alabama first by saying perhaps comparing my own situation with that of the other Members of the Senate may be unfair to them, because my State adjoins the Nation's Capital, and I only have one person in a field office in Virginia, and that is in Richmond, and my staff is all here in Washington, but that is the single exception.

Senator ALLEN. But being so close, that would add to the constituent cause.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. We do have a tremendous burden of correspondence. I would feel that anything that would help the individual members of a committee would help the committee as a whole. I believe each of us as a member of a committee has something to contribute, and the better informed we are on what is planned will help us to make our contribution.

I do not consider the committee as an entity separate and apart from the Members who make up the committee. I think the distinguished Senator from Alabama makes a contribution to the Rules Committee, and I am hopeful that on the committees on which I serve I can make some contribution, and I would like to make a greater contribution. I think I help my State, I like to think that any contribution I make is in the interest of the country, and I do not separate the individual members from the committee as a whole.

Senator ALLEN. In other words, the better informed Senator makes a better committee member, and therefore a better committee?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. That is my opinion, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ALLEN. Well, now would these additions to the committee staff, would they be called on to do any committee work, or would they work for the Senator on the side or what would be the situation?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, in answer to the Senator from Alabama, I feel that the chairman made a good comment, a very worthwhile comment when he did bring out the fact that under my proposal they would not be under the control directly of the staff di-

rector, and perhaps they should be, but primarily they would be working for the Senator.

If he did not keep them busy, of course, they ought to be given other work to do, and in one instance they might be kept busy by the individual Senator, and in other instances they might not be. I believe that where they had a responsibility to the Senator and also to the staff director, but first to the Senator, where the staff director could not take them away from the Senator and use them on a general committee function without his permission. I feel that they could make a maximum contribution to the committee staff, but also to the individual Senator.

I see nothing wrong with them being under the general control of the staff director.

Senator ALLEN. The Senators could call on these staff personnel to do matters not related to the committee?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Oh, yes. I would assume that it would be completely under the control of the Senator, subject to, if he is not putting the person to use, the proper use, then the staff director could find other work for them to do. I do not feel that we can just make this ironclad. I think we have to see how it works, and primarily they would be under the general supervision of the staff director, but always on call to do the work of the individual Senator.

I would not want the staff director to have the power to take them away from the individual Senator. I think it would thwart the effort that we are making here, and yet he does have a responsibility to coordinate the work, and if they are not busy helping the Senator, I see nothing wrong with them doing anything the staff director feels they should do.

Senator ALLEN. I wonder, Senator Scott, if you see any relationship between the, you might say the burgeoning bureaucracy in the Senate staff system, congressional staff system, if I may say, with the continuing mushrooming of the Federal bureaucracy? Is there any relationship there?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Well, Mr. Chairman, I cannot very well answer the Senator's question. I am not suggesting that any of us employ anybody that we do not need, that will not be helpful to use in doing the work that we are called upon to do here in the Senate. I do not see a correlation there. If at all, it seems to me that the better the job that is done here on the Hill, the less the need will be to have a large bureaucracy within the executive branch. I think oftentimes we are dominated by the executive branch because non-elected people do have rather large staffs, there is empire building.

Senator ALLEN. Well, if we add 10 or 15 staff members, say to HUD or HEW, wouldn't it be natural for these staff people in these areas to come to their Senators and say, "Senator, what do you think of this bill here, what do you think of this plan?" and wouldn't it be possible for each one of these two staff people to justify their existence to suggest to their Senator—I know the Senator from Virginia would not countenance this but some of the other Senators might think it is a pretty good idea, that they would come up with expensive new programs for their Senator to advocate there before the committee. Don't you see some danger of that?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. There might well be, not in my office because my staff has been instructed to emphasize the ways we can

reduce the Government's budget, not increase it, and ways that we can make our Government operate more efficiently and as the distinguished Senator knows, I feel that we need to reduce some of the constraints we have over the business community and the public in general. Now, this is the way I voted, and the way I have attempted to do since coming to the Senate, and I think that having someone to report to us on activities of the committee will help each Senator to do his job in the way he feels it is best.

It may be different from my feeling, from the distinguished Senator from Alabama's feeling, but I think we can carry on our job better if we have adequate help, and for my own part, I don't feel that I have, and I have heard this expressed by perhaps a majority of the Members of the Senate, that they do not feel that they have adequate help. And when the large number of staff members that are on some of the committees are mentioned, perhaps there could be a rearrangement, as Senator Hatfield has suggested, and that might be the ultimate goal, to have a rearrangement.

And yet, I hate to point to any one committee, or any group of committees and say they are not doing it right in this committee.

Senator ALLEN. The Senator spoke of the fact that if each Senator had a staff member on the committee, they would have a close, personal relationship with the committee staff members, and that way could stay in better touch with what is going on. I wonder if we could not accomplish this same result by encouraging our present legislative assistants to strike up a close relationship and visit the committees a little more often, and sit in on some of the committee's sessions, and to get on a first name basis with the staff people who have this information the Senator feels he needs to receive.

Could we not accomplish a whole lot in that fashion?

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. I am sure the Senator is correct. Here in the room with me I have Jack White who is my primary assistant in the legislative field, a man who has been here on the Hill for 16 years working with other Members of the Congress from Virginia, a very able, a very well qualified individual, yet I see behind the committee various members of the staff, and I think Jack is a good person who tries to get acquainted with members of the committee staff, and I am sure that the committee staff knows each other far better than it is possible for Jack to get to know these people, regardless of the efforts.

I think an effort can be made as the Senator suggests, but I think if we expect him to be as knowledgeable as the present staff members are, to know them as well as they know each other, I think he is doomed to failure and I do not expect him—I want him to do his best, but I do not expect him to be able to know what goes on in the Rules Committee as well as the members of the committee staff, know what goes on in the Rules Committee, or any other committee, and of course, I am not a member of the Committee on Rules and Administration and would not be entitled to a staff member.

My concept, in fact, is that if I am assigned somebody that works on the committee, Judiciary, for example, when he is not busy on Judiciary work, he might come to the Committee on Rules and see what they are planning, and he could go beyond the Committee on Judiciary and help with work on other committees.

Senator ALLEN. Well, I know, bringing it close to home here, on this committee one of the most important pieces of legislation that the

committee has considered was the campaign financing bill, and I never had any hesitancy in asking for an audience with Mr. Duffy, who is assigned that area of legislation. We had a number of conversations where I was seeking information directly rather than through somebody, and I think possibly we Senators might follow that plan a little bit more.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Well, I think the Senator is entirely correct, but I wonder if the staff members, in the Senator from Alabama's situation, I wonder if the members of the staff come to him and tell him what is planned, and if they seek him out to keep him informed as much as they might the chairman of the committee. Perhaps it would be better if we referred to some other committee that the Senator serves on rather than the present committee, because I hate to get into personalities, but I just do not believe that a committee staff member seeks out each member of the committee and keeps him informed as well as he does the committee member, the chairman, the ranking member, the person that perhaps recommended him, or appointed him to the job.

I see a difference, and I think it is a practical difference, and I see the need for some form of legislation.

Senator ALLEN. Well, the Senator knows that I admire him very much and his sound views on fiscal impossibilities.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. It is certainly mutual.

Senator ALLEN. And certainly his recommendation will go a long way with the Senator from Alabama in the fiscal environment.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, you have been very generous with your time, and I am prepared to respond to any question that the Chair or other members might have, but as a preliminary departure, let me thank you and all members of the committee for your courtesy in letting me express my views.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you just one question; do you envision that these people would then be considered professional staff members, and I am asking that in this context; 2 U.S.C. 72, which is a section of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, says, after defining professional staff members and so on:

Such professional staff members shall not engage in any work other than committee business and no other duties may be assigned to them.

Now, if we were to follow your suggestion, and if those people would be considered as professional staff members, it would require an amendment to this section of the Legislative Reorganization Act, and that is the reason for my question.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I would expect them to work only on committee work. I am not suggesting that they should work in the offices of the Senators on noncommittee related work.

Now if it would require an amendment, why then I feel it should be amended, but under the portion of the law that the Senator has just read to take my case, that working on the Armed Services Committee could a staff member also assist a Senator with regard to what is going on on some other committee, would that be prohibited by the section that the Senator has just read?

I would expect them to be able to help the Senator beyond one specific committee. I would not expect them to be doing case work or to be doing other things that might be improper under existing

law, but I would expect them to be able to go beyond the one committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That makes sense to me. For example, I am on the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, and I do not have a staff member on that committee, and I would not want to have a staff member on that committee, but I have one of my own personal staff members who works with me on the Space Committee, as well as on the Armed Services Committee. He is a member of my own personal staff, and not a member of either one of the committee staffs. I would not want somebody assigned to me to work only on Aeronautical and Space Sciences because the workload is not that heavy. If I had somebody working on that, I would certainly want to be able to assign him to other duties.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Well, Mr. Chairman, as you know, each Member of the Senate, whether he is an older Member or a newer Member, is assigned to two or three committees, and then he has numerous subcommittees, and assuming that each Senator is doing the best possible job he can to keep up personally with the activities of every subcommittee, and what they are doing, his task is indeed difficult.

I am not suggesting that the Senator personally not do his job, but I am suggesting that he needs help to properly do his job.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you very much for a very fine statement here. You have been of great assistance to us.

Senator WILLIAM L. SCOTT. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Church had intended to be heard and he was unable to make it, and has submitted a written statement and I would like to read that into the record. I think it will be very helpful to the committee.

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK CHURCH, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF IDAHO

The CHAIRMAN [reading]:

S. Res. 110, Senator Gravel's proposal regarding Senate staff, raises to public view the serious and vexing housekeeping issues facing the Senate.

We are all acutely aware of the expansion of Senate business. As America's economy and population have grown larger, as Federal programs have been added to deal with national problems, as Federal agencies have proliferated, the Senate has been forced to keep pace.

We all face the demands of constituents who want help dealing with the complexities of the bureaucracy. In large measure, our response to these demands has been ad hoc. Committees have unevenly increased their professional staffs. Office clerical assistance has grown—but without sufficient regard for the disparity in the size of the States—to meet ever-increasing constituent demands for ombudsman services.

The Gravel resolution forces us to consider the resulting ad hoc structure and decide what measures are needed to correct its inequities.

In my judgment, although changes are in order, the Gravel proposal would be a mistake.

There is nothing wrong with the original Reorganization Act concept of a professional committee staff composed of nonpartisan specialists who can follow issues and agencies on a full time basis and who can provide independent judgments, technical support and legislative expertise.

We also need skilled committee investigators who can act as the Senate's eyes and ears. As Senators, we cannot spare the time to do the weeks of field work to organize hearings, which will lay out complex social or economic issues. These investigators should be nonpartisan professionals as well.

It is tempting for committee and subcommittee chairmen to use committee staff people for their own office work. But this is unfair to less advantaged Senators and the practice should stop.

Naturally, junior Senators resent a system which discriminates against them and their constituents. When they find themselves short handed in their own offices, while other Senators make use of committee staff personnel, it should not be surprising that they protest.

Other Senators are equally disturbed when they find the professional staff of a committee failing to meet committee needs, either because senior members have diverted manpower to noncommittee work, or because the committee will not ask for an adequate budget. These frustrations are also very real and should be met.

Senator Gravel's resolution solves neither of these problems. At great cost to the taxpayers—approximately \$40 million in additional payroll alone—it adds an entirely new layer of bureaucracy to the Senate in the form of committee employees who do not serve in the traditional role of professional staff. We can be sure that the new employees will be political and will function as agents of their Senators rather than as investigators or specialists.

Instead of Senate Resolution 110, we should tighten up the professional staff situation. If staff members are not doing committee work, they should not be on committee payrolls. The language of 2 U.S.C. 72a states: Professional staff members shall be appointed on a permanent basis, without regard to political affiliation, and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of their respective positions. Such professional staff members shall not engage in any work other than committee business and no other duties may be assigned to them. This should be applied to all committee and subcommittee employees.

Further, each committee should seriously assess whether the professional staff is now adequate to serve the members equitably, to stay on top of the agencies which the committee oversees, and to investigate problems needing legislative attention.

Finally, when budget pressures ease, we should improve the efficiency of our existing committee staffs by providing them with more space and needed office equipment.

Adequate office space for committee and subcommittee staffs must be found. Subcommittees are not a fleeting aberration to be housed in jerry-built temporary quarters. By crimping on office space, we have cut the productivity of our professional staff to the minimum.

One of my committees, Foreign Relations, has offices spread over three buildings. Visiting all of the offices is a morning's walk of several miles. The lack of contiguous office space makes efficient administration and supervision difficult and adds inordinately to the costs of wasted time and messenger service.

The Special Committee on Aging, of which I am Chairman, has had to cramp staff personnel so close to each other there is no room between desks. One person typing disrupts three others. An important visitor or a phone call cannot be handled properly.

Committees must also have adequate office equipment. Although there has been a great improvement in that situation during your tenure, Mr. Chairman, there are still unmet needs.

Now, a word about the pricetag of the Gravel proposal. To the present cost of running the Senate, it could add as much as \$60 million a year. I arrive at this estimate by calculating overhead expenses per employee at 50 percent of salary—an estimate commonly used in industry.

Senator Gravel's proposal is an expression of frustration with the flaws of the present system. But I believe it would be a serious mistake to add almost 1,000 new employees as a new layer of Senate bureaucracy at a cost of \$40 to \$60 million while the fundamental problems of the Senate staff system remain unresolved.

We should begin by trimming the employees who do personal rather than committee work. Then, as funds permit, we should undertake to staff the existing committees adequately to serve all committee members in a nonpartisan professional manner.

Mr. Chairman, I oppose the Gravel resolution and urge you to put it aside and turn instead to the resolution of those abuses and inequities in the present system, which gave rise to it in the first place.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no other statements to be submitted, the committee will stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 11:30 a.m., the committee was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.]

[Letters received by Chairman Cannon from Senator John C. Stennis, chairman, Senate Committee on Armed Services; and David E. Price, associate professor, political science and policy sciences, Duke University, Durham, N.C., are as follows:]

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C., May 20, 1975.

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like to set forth my position on Senate Resolution 110, which proposes a new category of Senate employees to assist individual Senators in their committee work.

I strongly oppose this resolution. Let me emphasize that I am not against further staff assistance for Senators in connection with their committee activities, where such a need is found to exist. Other alternatives would be far more suitable for relieving this problem.

It is my understanding that under the Gravel Resolution, the additional staff members would be responsible to the individual committee members with regard to their committee activities. My reservations go to the matter of preserving the committee staff system as an institution. Under this system, it is crucial that all committee staff be responsible to the committee as a whole and not to its individual members.

Regardless of how employees would be labelled under the Gravel Resolution, this new category of employees would necessarily operate in a manner inconsistent with the concept of the staff serving the committee as an institution.

In order to carry out its unique function, the committee staff must comprise a range of expertise within various specialized areas, usually attained only after a number of years of experience. Within the Armed Services Committee, for example, individual staff members specialize on procurement of military hardware, research and development, manpower, military construction and so forth.

A truly professional staff requires continuity even though the chairman and individual members may change. Moreover, the scope and complexity of the legislation handled by the Armed Services Committee require a degree of staff teamwork that would be unattainable under the Gravel proposal.

It has been my long standing policy that all committee staff are available to all Committee members—both majority and minority—in carrying out committee work. The Gravel approach would be a step in the opposite direction.

As in any organization, effective operation requires clear lines of responsibility. A staff can best serve the committee only if it is responsible to the committee. As the Chairman representing the Armed Services Committee, I have considered myself responsible for the committee staff and have always held the entire committee staff accountable to me even with respect to the staff members designated for the minority who have substantive legislative assignments. The Gravel Resolution would remove this accountability.

In view of the foregoing, I would hope that the Rules Committee would not recommend passage of the Gravel Resolution.

As a related staff matter I want to say that I am hoping to be able to work out, in conjunction with the committee, something that will provide a greater opportunity for personal staff to attend committee meetings and contribute to the committee process. I have always sought the most active participation of every member of the committee and will do all I can to facilitate this participation.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. STENNIS, *Chairman.*

DUKE UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Durham, N.C., May 9, 1975.

Senator HOWARD CANNON,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CANNON: Thank you for sending me the materials pertaining to Senate Resolution 110, which would authorize each member of the Senate to employ additional assistants to assist him in his committee work.

I welcome the opportunity to comment on this proposal, for my own experience and research have given me some rather strong convictions along these lines. As a legislative aide to the late Senator E. L. Bartlett, I had occasion to work rather closely with the staff of the Commerce Committee. My comparative study of the Commerce, Finance, and Labor and Public Welfare Committees, *Who Makes the Laws?*, deals extensively with staff resources and roles, as does the forthcoming study of the House and Senate Commerce Committees which I directed for the Congress Project.

Let me make it clear where I stand at the outset: I do not like the proposal, and I do not like it because, in my judgment, it would weaken the Senate's capacity for independent and innovative lawmaking and oversight.

This is not to say that the needs which have given rise to the proposal should not be addressed. For various reasons the Senate has become in the last twenty years an increasingly decentralized and individualistic institution where both junior and senior members are anxious—and, often, are able—to have their say and leave their mark on a range of broad policy questions. I view this as a development which, for the most part, has made the Senate a more energetic and creative participant in the policy-making process. These developments have been accompanied by important changes in the committee system: better appointments for junior members, increases in the number and autonomy of subcommittees, and so forth. But all committees have not adapted equally satisfactorily to the changing needs and expectations of their members. Some, like Finance, Foreign Relations and Interior, have lagged badly in making staff resources available to their less senior members. I criticized the Commerce Committee along these lines in the mid-sixties, but the situation there seems to have improved in recent years. In any event, as individual senators become more substantially involved in a range of policy areas, they need and will properly demand adequate staff resources to make their contributions intelligent and well-informed. It is in the interest of the Senate as an institution and of the public as well for your committee to devise means of so equipping them.

But while the loosening up of committee authority and resources and the wider dispersal of opportunities for policy-making are promising developments, they are not a sufficient answer for those, like myself, who wish to strengthen the Senate's policy role. In fact, individual "policy-making" ventures are all too often limited to what is commonly called "show-horse" behavior: introducing bills, issuing statements, seeking dramatic confrontations in hearings. Such activities have their value in floating new ideas, heightening public awareness, and keeping the executive honest. But the entire committee system is built on the premise—now more important to recognize than ever—that collective, specialized entities are necessary to give Senate business the kind of detailed and sustained attention it deserves.

Individual Senate offices, no matter how lavishly staffed, are no substitute for the kind of "critical mass" a committee represents. A well-staffed committee can bring resources to the policy process—an efficient division of labor among specialists, coherent and undistracted attention to policy problems and proposals, sustained and coordinated liaison with outside groups and agencies—which members and their individual staffs could never muster.

It is not uncommon, as you know, for senators to be spread among a dozen subcommittees, to say nothing of constituent service and other competing demands. Whatever creativity, coherence, and expertise a committee is able to bring to the policy process thus cannot simply be the function of the hurried inputs of its individual members; it will inevitably be largely dependent on the effectiveness of the staff. The resolution before you invites you to consider the impact on how a staff is *organized* on its "effectiveness." My view is that, at both the full committee and subcommittee levels, a substantial measure of central coordination and control is required.

S. Res. 110 would make available to each member approximately \$70,000 for each "A" committee membership and \$35,000 for each "B" or other committee membership. Persons hired with these funds would be supposed to do only committee-related work, but the present (and inadequate) safeguards against the diversion of committee staff would not be strengthened. Each senator would "certify" his appointees to the chairman and ranking minority member of the appropriate committee, who would, however, have no control over the appointments. The new appointees would be regarded as members of the *committee* staffs with respect to access to committee records [§ 8(b)] and, I would presume, committee meetings, although they would not necessarily be housed in committee offices.

Senator Gravel has stated that it is not his intention in introducing the resolution to "lower any existing committee or subcommittee staffing arrangement . . . [or] to infringe on the rights or prerogatives of committee chairmen." But many witnesses have already noted the kind of financial outlay the resolution would require and the pressures on office space it would create. It seems highly unrealistic to assume that the passage of this resolution and the subsequent appointment of committee aides by each senator would not necessitate some trade-offs in fairly short order, i.e. a compensatory reduction in the number of committee and subcommittee aides under appointment to chairmen and ranking minority members. Certainly one can assume that any *growth* in committee staffs would be channeled in the direction envisioned by S. Res. 110.

It seems quite likely, in short, that core committee and subcommittee staffs would be arrested in their development and perhaps even cut back were S. Res. 110 to be adopted. I do not doubt that in some cases such cutbacks would be well advised, but as a matter of general policy it would seem to me that such a move would take the Senate in a direction precisely the opposite of that it should take if it is to improve the quality of its policy product.

Let me refer to Commerce Committee operations as a case in point. I have no desire to gloss over the deficiencies of this particular staff: it contains several long-term patronage appointees who make only minimal contributions to the committee's work, and a number of additional committee employees are siphoned off for work on the chairman's or other members' personal staffs. I would hope that your committee might find a way to investigate and move against such abuses wherever they occur. But congressional "reformers," it seems to me, should be concerned not only with the exposure and correction of abuses, but also with the positive and more elusive task of improving Congress' policy-making capacities. In this light, the Commerce Committee staff, despite the negligibility of the contributions of some of its more peripheral members, emerges as one of the most impressive in the Senate. The staff's creativity and skill, as I have documented elsewhere, have been absolutely essential to the committee's pathbreaking role in the area of consumer protection. Nor would this staff role have been possible without the coherence of purpose and specialized division of labor which central direction makes possible.

The Commerce Committee needs to improve its policy performance in many respects—to delve seriously into the areas of environmental and energy policy, to move beyond particularistic, service-oriented approaches to the communications and transportation industries, and to improve its capacities for agency oversight and the critical scrutiny of presidential nominees. All of this will require augmented, not diminished, core-staff capabilities. To move in the direction of S. Res. 110 would, in my view, be counterproductive in the extreme.

I would be more sympathetic toward those provisions of S. Res. 110 which pertain to subcommittee staffing (§ 9). The same concerns for committee productivity and the quality of the congressional product which lead me to oppose an across-the-board fragmentation of core committee staffs also incline me favorably toward vigorous subcommittee systems. We ought to encourage a certain kind of "empire building" at the subcommittee as well as the committee level, for that is how members' energies become engaged and policy problems receive sustained attention. It follows that the Senate should protect itself against chairmen who would reduce the effectiveness of subcommittees by denying them the authority and resources they need to function properly.

But here too, the provisions of S. Res. 110 seem less than adequate. Almost every member of the Senate would be eligible for the \$70,000 staff entitlement which the resolution grants to each subcommittee chairman and ranking minority member. The disallowance, contained in § 9 (a) (3), of additional funds for subcommittees already "authorized or allocated" for in the excess of \$70,000 would be of only limited and irregular applicability; one reason for this is that intracommittee "allocations" of resources are generally an in-house, informal matter (and of course S. Res. 110 creates every incentive for precisely that mode of operation). This indiscriminate granting of an increment, with only limited regard for actual present levels of subcommittee staffing and funding, suggests that the provision is motivated less by a concern for subcommittees as policy-making entities than by a desire to augment further the resources granted by § 8 to senators as individuals. Your committee might well consider, it seems to me, providing guaranteed levels of subcommittee authority and support, perhaps after the fashion of the rules adopted by the House Democratic Caucus in 1973 and

1975. But the specific provisions contained in S. Res. 110, unfortunately, do not seem very promising in this regard.

In closing, let me reiterate my hope that you will take seriously the problems which S. Res. 110 raises. It is admittedly difficult, and probably undesirable, to design precise rules of resource allocation for committees that vary widely in their patterns of work and organization. But steps could be taken to alleviate the plight of those who find themselves without adequate staff to carry out their committee work—guaranteeing adequate levels of subcommittee and minority staffing, for example, and perhaps providing for additional legislative aides in members' offices—and it can be hoped and expected that intensified pressures from junior members will make for more accessible staffs, more equitably shared, on committees that have lagged in this regard. My main concern in addressing myself to S. Res. 110 has been simply to urge that your committee, in addressing itself to the needs of individual members, should also be mindful of the larger goal of a strong and productive Senate. To break up, or divert resources from, the core staffs of committees and subcommittees would, I believe, reduce Congress' capacity for independent and effective policy-making. It would be unfortunate indeed if, in the quest for "reform," we lost sight of this larger goal.

Sincerely,

DAVID E. PRICE,

Associate Professor of Political Science and Policy Sciences.

APPENDIX

EXHIBIT 1.—Letter to Senate Committee Chairmen From Chairman Cannon, Enclosing a Summary of S. Res. 110.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., April 8, 1975.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: For your information and consideration, I enclose a copy of Senate Resolution 110, submitted by Mr. Gravel on March 11, 1975. This resolution would authorize each Member of the Senate to employ additional assistants to work on matters pertaining to committees on which the Senator serves.

In view of the impact this resolution would have upon the present committee system of the Senate, especially on the pending annual expenditure authorization resolutions for Senate committees, the Committee on Rules and Administration plans to hold a hearing on the Gravel proposal as soon as it concludes its investigation of the New Hampshire Senatorial contest.

Inasmuch as the provisions of Senate Resolution 110, if approved as introduced or in some modified form, would directly bear upon the organization and operation of every Senate committee, will you kindly give this Committee the benefit of any views you may have thereon. A summary of the most pertinent points and provisions of that resolution is enclosed for your information.

With all best regards, I am,
Sincerely,

HOWARD W. CANNON, *Chairman*.

SUMMARY OF SENATE RESOLUTION 110

Senate Resolution 110, introduced by Mr. Gravel (for himself, Mr. Brock, Mr. Cranston, and Mr. Packwood) on March 11, 1975, would create a new category of Senate employees—assistants to be employed directly by a Senator and to be housed in his personal Senatorial offices, but whose functions would relate to and be confined to the work of committees of which the Senator is a member. Such committee-related employees would "be accorded equitable treatment with respect to the records of that committee".

A preliminary analysis of the resolution by the staff of the Committee on Rules and Administration indicates that the proposal could increase the cost of Senate staffing by \$40,985,752 and add 1,073 committee-related employees (at not to exceed \$34,881 per annum) to the 1,262 regular committee staff members projected for the Senate for 1975.

A summary of the staff-authorizing provisions of Senate Resolution 110 follows:

Section 8(a) (1)

Section (a) (1) of Senate Resolution 110 would authorize additional clerk-hire funds to each Senator on each of the following standing committees—

Aeronautical and Space Sciences, Agriculture and Forestry, Appropriations, Armed Services, Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, Budget, Commerce, Finance, Foreign Relations, Government Operations, Interior and Insular Affairs, Judiciary, Labor and Public Welfare, and Public Works—to employ additional personal staff to assist him with those committee responsibilities in an amount equal to two additional employees at \$34,881 per annum or \$69,762 for each such Senator's committee assignment. The number of Senators' committee assignments in the above list totals 220.

220 assignments for 440 employees at \$34,881 is \$15,347,640.

Section 8(a) (2)

Section 8(a) (2) of Senate Resolution 110 would authorize each Senator on each of the following committees—

Standing Committees.—District of Columbia, Post Office and Civil Service, Rules and Administration, and Veterans' Affairs;

Select Committees.—Intelligence, Nutrition and Human Needs, Small Business, and Standards and Conduct;

Special Committees.—Aging and National Emergencies;

Joint Committees.—Atomic Energy, Congressional Operations, Defense Production, Internal Revenue Taxation, Joint Economic, Library, and Printing—

to employ additional personal staff to assist him with those committee responsibilities in an amount equal to one additional employee at \$34,881 per annum for each such Senator's committee assignment. The number of Senators' committee assignments in the above list totals 153.

153 assignments for 153 employees at \$34,881 is \$5,336,793.

Section 9(a)

Section 9(a) of Senate Resolution 110 would authorize each Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of any subcommittee to employ (subject to certain restrictions) additional personal staff to assist him with those subcommittee responsibilities in an amount equal to two additional employees at \$34,881 per annum for each such Senator's committee assignment.

The best information available indicates there are 175 Senate and joint committee subcommittees, or a total of 350 subcommittee chairmanships and ranking minority memberships. Section 9(a) provides that its provisions shall not apply (1) to more than one such assignment held by a Senator within a committee, or (2) in cases where a subcommittee is already funded. These restrictions would appear to eliminate 110 subcommittee assignments leaving 240 eligible under the resolution.

240 assignments for 480 employees at \$34,881 is \$16,742,880.

AGENCY-CONTRIBUTION FACTOR

The hiring of additional employees obligates the Government to payments beyond salaries in the form of agency contributions for employees' retirement, health, and life insurance benefits. Based on the above estimates of salary costs which would be incurred under Senate Resolution 110, the agency contributions would add an additional \$3,558,439.

Summary of cost

Section 8(a) (1)-----	\$15,347,640
Section 8(a) (2)-----	5,336,793
Section 9(a)-----	16,742,880
Agency contributions-----	3,558,439
Total estimated cost, S. Res. 110-----	40,985,752

EXHIBIT No. 2.—Senate committee assignments, subcommittees, and committee staffs—U.S. Senate committee system, 94th Cong., 1st sess.

	Number of members			Number of subcommittees			Number of committee staff		
	Total	Majority	Minority	Total	Unfunded	Permanent	Investigative: 1975	Total	
Total, all committees (31) -----	373	225	148	175	147	309	953	1,262	
Class A standing committees (14):									
Aeronautical and Space Sciences-----	10	6	4	0	0	14	3	17	
Agriculture and Forestry-----	14	9	5	6	6	12	9	21	
Appropriations-----	26	16	10	13	13	43	19	62	
Armed Services-----	16	10	6	9	8	13	22	35	
Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs-----	13	8	5	8	5	12	33	45	
Budget-----	16	10	6	15	15	12	64	76	
Commerce-----	18	12	6	13	13	12	90	102	
Finance-----	18	11	7	11	11	24	40	64	
Foreign Relations-----	17	10	7	9	7	18	57	75	
Government Operations-----	14	9	5	5	0	14	107	121	
Interior and Insular Affairs-----	14	9	5	7	7	12	35	47	
Judiciary-----	15	9	6	15	0	17	181	198	
Labor and Public Welfare-----	15	9	6	11	11	30	65	95	
Public Works-----	14	9	5	8	8	12	41	53	
Class B standing committees (4):									
District of Columbia-----	7	4	3	0	0	13	12	25	
Post Office and Civil Service-----	9	5	4	3	3	13	9	22	
Rules and Administration-----	8	5	3	7	5	14	14	28	
Veterans' Affairs-----	9	5	4	4	4	12	11	23	
Select committees (4):									
Intelligence-----	11	6	5	4	4	-----	80	80	
Nutrition and Human Needs-----	14	8	6	0	0	-----	17	17	
Small Business-----	17	10	7	6	6	12	11	23	
Standards and Conduct-----	6	3	3	0	0	-----	2	2	

**EXHIBIT No. 2.—Senate committee assignments, subcommittees, and committee staffs—U. S. Senate committee system,
94th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued**

	Number of members			Number of subcommittees		Number of committee staff		
	Total	Majority	Minority	Total	Unfunded	Permanent	Investigative: 1975	Total
Special committees (2):								
Aging-----	22	13	9	7	7	---	26	26
National Emergencies-----	8	4	4	0	0	---	5	5
Senate Members on joint committees (7):								
Atomic Energy-----	9	5	4	6	6	---	---	---
Congressional Operations-----	5	3	2	0	0	---	---	---
Defense Production-----	3	3	2	0	0	---	---	---
Internal Revenue Taxation-----	5	3	2	0	0	---	---	---
Joint Economic-----	10	6	4	8	8	---	---	---
Library-----	5	3	2	0	0	---	---	---
Printing-----	3	2	1	0	0	---	---	---

