A HISTORY

of the COMMITTEE on HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

1947–2012

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

A HISTORY

OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

1947–2012

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Clockwise from top

Jamie Fleet – Minority Staff Director

Philip Kiko – Staff Director & General Counsel

The Hon. Daniel E. Lungren – Chairman

The Hon. Robert Brady – Ranking Member

INTRODUCTORY LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN LUNGREN

From ensuring Capitol security, a mission forever changed on September 11, 2001, to protecting and improving our electoral process through the advancement of landmark election reforms, this Committee is charged with executing some of the most vital responsibilities in the House of Representatives.

Acting primarily behind the scenes, the Committee on House Administration has responded to some of the most tragic and controversial events that have transpired in the United States Congress during the past several decades.

Since its establishment in 1947, many distinguished Chairpersons and Members have served on this Committee and its respective subcommittees, including House Speaker John Boehner and Democratic Whip Steny Hoyer. This history, written in their honor, discusses in great detail their challenges and lasting contributions.

It is not only a privilege to serve as Chairman of the Committee on House Administration, but also a great honor to participate in the preservation of the Committee's rich history.

Daniel E. Lungren
Chairman, Committee on House Administration
September 17, 2012

CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION 1947–2011

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NAME	STATE	PARTY	SERVICE AS CHAIRMAN
Karl M. Le Compte*	Iowa	R	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)
Mary T. Norton	New Jersey	D	Jan. 18, 1949–Jan. 3, 1951 (81st Congress)
Thomas B. Stanley	Virginia	D	Jan. 3, 1951–Jan. 3, 1953 (82nd Congress)
Karl M. Le Compte*	Iowa	R	Jan. 14, 1953–Jan. 3, 1955 (83rd Congress)
Omar T. Burleson	Texas	D	Jan. 5, 1955–July 30, 1968 (84th–90th Congresses)
Samuel N. Friedel	Maryland	D	July 30, 1968–Jan. 3, 1971 (90th–91st Congresses)
Wayne L. Hays	Ohio	D	Jan. 22, 1971–June 21, 1976 (92nd–94th Congresses)
Frank Thompson Jr.	New Jersey	D	June 23, 1976–Jan. 3, 1981 (94th–96th Congresses)
Lucien N. Nedzi [Acting Chair]	Michigan	D	June 18, 1980 (96th Congress) Acting Chair during interruption of service by Thompson
Augustus F. Hawkins	California	D	Jan. 28, 1981–Sept. 6, 1984 (97th–98th Congresses)
Frank Annunzio	Illinois	D	Sept. 6, 1984–Jan. 3, 1991 (98th– 101st Congresses)

NAME	STATE	PARTY	SERVICE AS CHAIRMAN
Charles G. Rose III	North Carolina	D	Jan. 3, 1991–Jan. 3, 1993 (102nd–103rd Congresses
William M. Thomas	California	R	Jan. 4, 1995–Jan. 3, 2001 (104th–106th Congresses)
Robert W. Ney	Ohio	R	Jan. 20, 2001–Nov. 3, 2006 (107th–109th Congresses)
Vernon J. Ehlers [Acting Chair]	Michigan	R	Jan. 18, 2006–Nov. 3, 2006 (109th Congress) Acting Chair during interruption of service by Ney
Vernon J. Ehlers	Michigan	R	Nov. 4, 2006–Jan. 3, 2007 (109th Congress)
Juanita Millender-McDonald	California	D	Jan. 4, 2007–April 22, 2007 (110th Congress)
Robert A. Brady	Pennsylvania	D	May 24, 2007–Jan. 3, 2011 (110th–111th Congresses)
Daniel E. Lungren	California	R	Jan. 5, 2011–Jan. 3, 2013 (112th Congress)

* Members served non-consecutive terms as Chairman.

LeCOMPTE, KARL M. (1887–1972)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 80th and 83rd Congresses

Le Compte, Karl Miles, a Representative from Iowa; born in Corydon, Wayne County, Iowa, May 25, 1887; attended the public schools and was graduated from the State University of Iowa at Iowa City in 1909; became owner and publisher of the Corydon Times-Republican in 1910; during the First World War served as a private in the medical detachment of United States General Hospital No. 26 in 1918; member of the State senate 1917–1921; elected as a Republican to the Seventy-sixth and to the nine succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1939–January 3, 1959); chairman, Committee on House Administration (Eightieth and Eighty-third Congresses); was not a candidate for renomination in 1958 to the Eighty-sixth Congress; returned to newspaper publishing; retired but continued as a contributing editor; died in Centerville, Iowa, September 30, 1972; interment in Corydon Cemetery, Corydon, Iowa.

NORTON, MARY T. (1875–1959)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 81st Congress

Norton, Mary Teresa, a Representative from New Jersey; born in Jersey City, N.J., March 7, 1875; attended parochial schools and the Jersey City High School; was graduated from Packard Business College, New York City, in 1896; president of the Queen's Daughters' Day Nursery Association of Jersey City 1916–1927; appointed to represent Hudson County on the State Democratic committee in 1920; elected a member of that committee in 1921 and served as vice chairman 1921–1931 and as chairman 1932–1935; also served as vice chairman of the Hudson County Democratic Committee; elected county freeholder in 1922; delegate at large to the Democratic National Conventions in 1924, 1928, 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944, and 1948; delegate to International Labor Conference at Paris, France, in 1945; elected as a Democrat to the Sixty-ninth and to the twelve succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1925–January 3, 1951); chairwoman, Committee on District of Columbia (Seventy-second through Seventy-fifth Congresses), Committee on Labor (Seventy-fifth through Seventy-ninth Congresses), Committee on Memorials (Seventy-seventh Congress), Committee on House Administration (Eighty-first Congress); was not a candidate for renomination in 1950; consultant, Women's Advisory Committee on Defense Manpower, Department of Labor, 1951 and 1952; died in Greenwich, Conn., August 2, 1959; interment in Holy Name Cemetery, Jersey City, N.J.

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Mitchell, Gary. "Women Standing for Women: The Early Political Career of Mary T. Norton." New Jersey History 96 (Spring-Summer 1978): 27-42; Rees, Maureen. "Mary Norton: A Grand Girl." Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries 47 (December 1985): 59-75.

STANLEY, THOMAS B. (1890–1970)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 82nd Congress

Stanley, Thomas Bahnson, a Representative from Virginia; born on a farm near Spencer, Henry County, Va., July 16, 1890; attended the local public schools and Eastman Business College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.; engaged in furniture manufacturing since 1924; dairy farmer and livestock breeder; member of State house of delegates 1930–1946, serving as speaker 1942–1946; elected as a Democrat to the Seventy-ninth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Thomas G. Burch and at the same time was elected to the Eightieth Congress; reelected to the Eighty-first, Eighty-second, and Eighty-third Congresses, and served from November 5, 1946, until his resignation February 3, 1953, having entered the campaign for Governor; chairman, Committee on House Administration (Eighty-second Congress); elected Governor of Virginia for the term commencing January 1954 and ending January 1958; trustee of Randolph-Macon College; vice president and director of First National Bank, Bassett, Va.; chairman, Commission on State and Local Revenues and Expenditures (a tax study commission); resumed his business of furniture manufacturing; died in Martinsville, Va., July 10, 1970; interment in Roselawn Burial Park.

BURLESON, OMAR T. (1906–1991)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 84th–90th Congresses

Burleson, Omar Truman, a Representative from Texas; born in Anson, Jones County, Tex., March 19, 1906; attended the public schools, Abilene Christian College, and Hardin-Simmons University at Abilene, Tex.; was graduated from Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn., in 1929; was admitted to the bar the same year and commenced practice in Gorman, Tex.; county attorney of Jones County, Tex., 1931–1934; judge of Jones County, Tex., 1934–1940; special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1940 and 1941; secretary to Congressman Sam Russell of Texas in 1941 and 1942; general counsel for the Housing Authority, District of Columbia, in 1942; served in the United States Navy from December 1942 to April 1946, with service in the South Pacific Theater; elected as a Democrat to the Eightieth Congress; reelected to the fifteen succeeding Congresses and served from January 3, 1947, until his resignation December 31, 1978; chairman, Committee on House Administration (Eighty-fourth through Ninetieth Congresses), Joint Committee on the Library (Eighty-fourth through Ninetieth Congresses), Joint Committee on Printing (Eighty-fourth Congress); was not a candidate for reelection in 1978 to the Ninety-sixth Congress; was a resident of Abilene, Tex., until his death there on May 14, 1991.

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Ralph Nader Congress Project. Citizens Look at Congress: Omar Burleson, Democratic Representative from Texas. Washington, D. C.: Grossman Publishers, 1972.

FRIEDEL, SAMUEL N. (1898–1979)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 90th–91st Congresses

Friedel, Samuel Nathaniel, a Representative from Maryland; born in Washington, D.C., April 18, 1898; moved with his family to Baltimore, Md., when six months of age; attended the public schools and Strayer Business College; mailing clerk in a Baltimore store 1919–1923; founder and president of Industrial Loan Co., 1926–1956; member of the State house of delegates 1935–1939; member of the city council of Baltimore 1939–1952, representing the first and later the fifth district; delegate, Democratic National Conventions, 1964 and 1968; elected as a Democrat to the Eighty-third and to the eight succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1953–January 3, 1971); chairman, Committee on House Administration (Ninetieth and Ninety-first Congresses), Joint Committee on the Library (Ninety-first Congress), Joint Committee on Printing (Ninety-first Congress); unsuccessful candidate for renomination in 1970 to the Ninety-second Congress; died in Towson, Md., March 21, 1979; interment in the Hebrew Friendship Cemetery, Baltimore, Md.

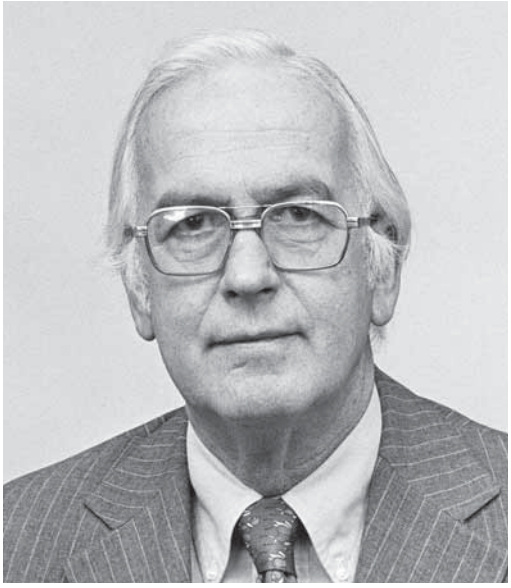
HAYS, WAYNE L. (1911–1989)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 92nd–94th Congresses

Hays, Wayne Levere, a Representative from Ohio; born in Bannock, Belmont County, Ohio, May 13, 1911; attended the public schools of Bannock and St. Clairsville, Ohio; was graduated from Ohio State University at Columbus in 1933; student at Duke University, Durham, N.C., in 1935; teacher in Flushing, Ohio, 1934–1937 and Findlay, Ohio, in 1937 and 1938; also engaged in agricultural pursuits; mayor of Flushing, Ohio, 1939–1945; served in the State senate in 1941 and 1942; Commissioner, Belmont County, 1945–1949; member of the Officers' Reserve Corps, United States Army, from 1933 until called to active duty as a second lieutenant on December 8, 1941; was separated from service with medical discharge in August 1942; chairman, board of directors, Citizens National Bank, Flushing, Ohio, since December 1953; delegate, Democratic National Conventions, 1960, 1964, and 1968; chairman, House of Representatives delegation to NATO Parliamentarians Conference since beginning of United States participation, and president of conference in 1956 and 1967; president, North Atlantic Assembly, 1969–1970; elected as a Democrat to the Eighty-first and to the thirteen succeeding Congresses and served from January 3, 1949, until his resignation September 1, 1976; chairman, Committee on House Administration (Ninety-second through Ninety-fourth Congresses), Joint Committee on Printing (Ninety-second through Ninety-fourth Congresses), Joint Committee on the Library (Ninety-second Congress); resigned as chairman of Committee on House Administration on June 18, 1976; successful candidate in the primary in 1976 to the Ninety-fifth Congress but withdrew before the general election; member of the Ohio state house of representatives, 1978–1980; was a resident of St. Clairsville, Ohio, until his death in Wheeling, W.Va., on February 10, 1989; interment in Union Cemetery, St. Clairsville, Ohio.

THOMPSON, FRANK, JR. (1918–1989)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 94th–96th Congresses



Thompson, Frank, Jr., a Representative from New Jersey; born in Trenton, Mercer County, N.J., July 26, 1918; attended parochial and public schools and Wake Forest (N.C.) College, 1941 and the Wake Forest Law School; served in the United States Navy 1941–1948; received three combat decorations for action at Iwo Jima and Okinawa; commanded the United States Naval Reserve Battallion 4-22 and completed a seventeen-month tour of active duty, from August 1950 to January 1952, on the staff of the commander, Eastern Sea Frontier, and released from active duty January 1, 1952; was admitted to the bar in 1948 and commenced the practice of law in Trenton, N.J.; member of the State house of assembly 1950–1954, serving as assistant minority leader in 1950 and minority leader in 1954; elected as a Democrat to the Eighty-fourth Congress; reelected to the twelve succeeding Congresses and served from January 3, 1955, until his resignation December 29, 1980; chairman, Joint Committee on Printing (Ninety-fourth and Ninety-sixth Congresses), Committee on House Administration (Ninety-fourth, Ninety-fifth, and Ninety-sixth Congresses); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1980 to the Ninety-seventh Congress; was a resident of Alexandria, Va., until his death in Bethesda, Md., on July 22, 1989.

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Wilson, Augusta Elliot. Liberal Leader in the House — Frank Thompson, Jr. Washington: Acropolis Books, 1968.

NEDZI, LUCIEN N. (1925–)

Acting Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 96th Congress

Nedzi, Lucien Norbert, a Representative from Michigan; born in Hamtramck, Wayne County, Mich., May 28, 1925; graduated from Hamtramck High School, Hamtramck, Mich., 1943; B.A., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1948; attended the University of Detroit Law School, Detroit, Mich., 1949; J.D., University of Michigan Law School, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1951; United States Army, 1944–1946, served as a combat infantryman in the Philippines and in the Corps of Engineers in Japan; United States Army Reserve, 1946–1953, served in the Korean conflict; admitted to the Michigan bar in January 1952; admitted to the District of Columbia bar in 1977; lawyer, private practice; Wayne County, Mich., public administrator, 1955–1961; delegate to the Democratic National Conventions, 1960 and 1968; elected as a Democrat to the Eighty-seventh Congress, by special election, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of United States Representative Thaddeus M. Machrowicz; reelected to the nine succeeding Congresses (November 7, 1961–January 3, 1981); chairman, Select Committee on Intelligence (Ninety-fourth Congress), Joint Committee on the Library (Ninety-third through Ninety-fifth Congresses), Committee on House Administration (Ninety-sixth Congress); was not a candidate for reelection to the Ninety-seventh Congress in 1980; is a resident of McLean, Va.

HAWKINS, AUGUSTUS F. (1907–2007)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 97th–98th Congresses

Hawkins, Augustus Freeman (Gus), a Representative from California; born in Shreveport, Caddo Parish, La., August 31, 1907; in 1918, moved to Los Angeles, Calif., with his parents; attended local public schools; graduated from Jefferson High School in 1926, from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1931, and from the University of Southern California in 1932; engaged in the real estate business in 1941; member of the State assembly, 1935–1962; elected as a Democrat to the Eighty-eighth and to the thirteen succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1963–January 3, 1991); chairman, Committee on House Administration (Ninety-seventh and Ninety-eighth Congresses), Committee on Education and Labor (Ninety-eighth through One Hundred First Congresses), Joint Committee on Printing (Ninety-sixth and Ninety-eighth Congresses), Joint Committee on the Library (Ninety-seventh Congress); was not a candidate for renomination in 1990 to the One Hundred Second Congress; died on November 10, 2007, in Bethesda, Md.

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"Augustus Freeman (Gus) Hawkins" in Black Americans in Congress, 1870–2007. Prepared under the direction of the Committee on House Administration by the Office of History & Preservation, U. S. House of Representatives. Washington: Government Printing Office, 2008.

ANNUNZIO, FRANK (1915–2001)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 98th–101st Congresses

Annunzio, Frank, a Representative from Illinois; born in Chicago, Cook County, Ill., January 12, 1915; graduated from Crane Technical High School, Chicago, Ill.; B.S., DePaul University, Chicago, Ill., 1940; M.A., DePaul University, Chicago, Ill., 1942; teacher, Chicago public schools, 1936–1943; assistant supervisor of the National Defense Program at Austin High School, 1942–1943; educational representative of the United Steelworkers of America, 1943–1948; chairman, War Ration Board 40-20, 1943–1945; Advisory Committee to Illinois Industrial Commission on Health and Safety, 1944–1949; Advisory Committee on Unemployment Compensation, 1944–1949; director of labor, State of Illinois, 1949–1952; elected as a Democrat to the Eighty-ninth and to the thirteen succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1965–January 3, 1993); chairman, Committee on House Administration (Ninety-eighth through One Hundred First Congresses), Joint Committee on Printing (Ninety-eighth and One Hundredth Congresses), Joint Committee on the Library (Ninety-ninth and One Hundred First Congresses); was not a candidate for renomination in 1992 to the One Hundred Third Congress; was a resident of Chicago, Ill.; died on April 8, 2001, in Chicago, Ill.; interment in Queen of Heaven Cemetery, Chicago, Ill.

ROSE, CHARLES G. III (1939–)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 102nd–103rd Congresses

Rose, Charles Grandison, III, a Representative from North Carolina; born in Fayetteville, Cumberland County, N.C., August 10, 1939; attended the public schools; A.B., Davidson (N.C.) College, 1961; LL.B., University of North Carolina Law School, Chapel Hill, 1964; admitted to the North Carolina bar in 1964 and commenced practice in Raleigh; chief district court prosecutor for the Twelfth Judicial District, 1967–1970; elected as a Democrat to the Ninety-third and to the eleven succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1973–January 3, 1997); chairman, Joint Committee on Printing (One Hundred Second Congress), Committee on House Administration (One Hundred Second and One Hundred Third Congresses); was not a candidate for reelection to the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

THOMAS, WILLIAM M. (1941–)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 104th–106th Congresses

Thomas, William Marshall, a Representative from California; born in Wallace, Shoshone County, Idaho, December 6, 1941; A.A., Santa Ana Community College, 1961; B.A., San Francisco State University, San Francisco, Calif., 1963; M.A., San Francisco State University, San Francisco, Calif., 1965; faculty, Bakersfield Community College, Bakersfield, Calif., 1965–1974; member of the California state assembly, 1974–1978; elected as a Republican to the Ninety-sixth and to the thirteen succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1979–January 3, 2007); chair, Committee on House Oversight (One Hundred Fourth and One Hundred Fifth Congresses); chair, Committee on House Administration (One Hundred Sixth Congress); chair, Committee on Ways and Means (One Hundred Seventh through One Hundred Ninth Congresses); not a candidate for reelection to the One Hundred Tenth Congress in 2006.

NEY, ROBERT W. (1954–)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 107th–109th Congresses

Ney, Robert William, a Representative from Ohio; born in Wheeling, Ohio County, W.Va., July 5, 1954; B.S., Ohio State University, 1976; public safety director of Bellaire, Ohio; program manager, health and education, Ohio Office of Appalachia; teacher; member of the Ohio state house of representatives, 1981–1983; member of the Ohio state senate, 1985–1995; elected as a Republican to the One Hundred Fourth and to the five succeeding Congresses until his resignation on November 3, 2006 (January 3, 1995–November 3, 2006); chair, Committee on House Administration (One Hundred Seventh through One Hundred Ninth Congresses).

EHLERS, VERNON J. (1934–)

Acting Chairman and Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 109th Congress

Ehlers, Vernon James, a Representative from Michigan; born in Pipestone, Pipestone County, Minn., February 6, 1934; educated at home by his parents; attended Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952–1956; A.B., University of California, Berkeley, Calif., 1956; Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Calif., 1960; teaching and scientific research, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, 1956–1966; professor of physics, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966–1983; commissioner, Kent County, Mich., 1975–1983; member of the Michigan state house of representatives, 1983–1985; member of the Michigan state senate, 1985–1993; elected as a Republican to the One Hundred Third Congress by special election, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of United States Representative Paul B. Henry, reelected to the eight succeeding Congresses (December 7, 1993–January 3, 2011); chair, Committee on House Administration (One Hundred Ninth Congress); was not a candidate for reelection to the One Hundred Twelfth Congress in 2010.

MILLENDER-McDONALD, JUANITA (1938–2007)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 110th Congress

Millender-McDonald, Juanita, a Representative from California; born in Birmingham, Jefferson County, Ala., September 7, 1938; B.S., University of Redlands, Redlands, Calif., 1981; M.A., California State University, Los Angeles, Calif., 1988; attended University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.; member of the Carson City, Calif., city council, 1990; mayor pro tempore, Carson City, Calif., 1991–1992; educator, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, Calif.; delegate to the Democratic National Conventions, 1984, 1992, and 2000; member of the California state assembly, 1993–1996; elected as a Democrat to the One Hundred Fourth Congress by special election, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of United States Representative Walter R. Tucker III, and reelected to the six succeeding Congresses (March 26, 1996–April 22, 2007); chair, Committee on House Administration (One Hundred Tenth Congress); died on April 22, 2007, in Carson, Calif.

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"Juanita Millender-McDonald" in Black Americans in Congress, 1870–2007. Prepared under the direction of the Committee on House Administration by the Office of History & Preservation, U. S. House of Representatives. Washington: Government Printing Office, 2008.

BRADY, ROBERT A. (1945–)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 110th–111th Congresses

Brady, Robert A., a Representative from Pennsylvania; born in Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pa., April 7, 1945; graduated from St. Thomas More High School, Philadelphia, Pa.; union official; sergeant-at-arms, Philadelphia, Pa., city council, 1975–1983; chair, Philadelphia Democratic Party; member of the Pennsylvania Democratic state committee and Democratic National Committee; member of the Pennsylvania turnpike commission, 1991–1998; elected as a Democrat to the One Hundred Fifth Congress by special election, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of United States Representative Thomas Foglietta, reelected to the seven succeeding Congresses (May 19, 1998–present); chair, Committee on House Administration (One Hundred Tenth and One Hundred Eleventh Congresses).

LUNGREN, DANIEL E. (1946–)

Chairman, Committee on House Administration, 112th Congress

Lungren, Daniel Edward, a Representative from California; born in Long Beach, Los Angeles County, Calif., September 22, 1946; attended St. Barnabas School, Long Beach, 1960; graduated from St. Anthony High School, Long Beach, 1964; A.B., Notre Dame University, South Bend, Ind., 1968; attended University of Southern California Law Center, Los Angeles, 1968–1969; J.D., Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, D.C., 1971; admitted to the California bar in 1972; lawyer, private practice; staff for United States Senators George Murphy, California and Bill Brock, Tennessee; delegate, California State Republican conventions, 1974–1979; cochairman, National Congressional Council, 1977–1978; elected as a Republican to the Ninety-sixth and to the four succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1979–January 3, 1989); was not a candidate for renomination in 1988 to the One Hundred First Congress; elected California State attorney general in 1990 for the four-year term beginning in January 1991 and reelected in 1994; unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1998; elected as a Republican to the One Hundred Ninth and to the three succeeding Congresses (January 3, 2005–January 3, 2013); chair, Committee on House Administration (One Hundred Twelfth Congress).

INTRODUCTION

For over two centuries, the House of Representatives has played a central role in the governance of the United States. There is not a policy decision or realm of endeavor on which the House and its Members do not exert an important influence. But even as the House of Representatives helps govern the nation, the institution itself must be governed. Like all large, complex, and important institutions, the House of Representatives needs a mechanism to set its policies, to manage its day-to-day operations, and to administer its activities. The Committee on House Administration is that mechanism for the People's House.

The Committee oversees the day-to-day operations that keep the House of Representatives running. It oversees the budgets of chamber committees and of individual Representatives. It supervises the elected officers of the House and the countless administrative and technical functions of the chamber. The Committee is responsible for ensuring security on the House side of Capitol Hill, overseeing the Capitol Police to maintain a careful balance between safety and access for the millions who visit the Capitol campus annually.

The Committee on House Administration also exercises jurisdiction over the subject of federal elections on behalf of the House. In this regard it considers proposals to make or amend federal election law, and it monitors all congressional elections across the United States. The Committee also oversees the management of several important national institutions, such as the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution, which includes the National Zoo.

In fulfilling its responsibilities, the Committee on House Administration has for over 60 years not only overseen the day-to-day operation of the chamber, it has also been at the forefront of transforming the House of Representatives from a chamber without formal processes or administration into a 21st Century institution, with a billion-dollar budget and vital responsibilities to the nation.

Origin of the Committee

"The modern era on Capitol Hill," observes political scientist Roger H. Davidson, "is widely thought to have begun with the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946."[1] The act, the first comprehensive revision of Congress's organization and operation since 1789, was crafted by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress to meet the challenges of a vastly increased legislative workload, the expansion of presidential authority, and a perceived erosion over time in the prestige of Congress. The most significant provision of the act reduced the number of committees from 48 to 19 in the House, and from 33 to 15 in the Senate. Other related provisions codified committee jurisdictions, and created new rules governing committee procedures (which applied to every committee with the exception of the Appropriations Committees), and authorized permanent professional staff and clerical aides for House and Senate standing committees.

Preceding the act's introduction, the Joint Committee, chaired by Senator Robert LaFollette with Representative A.S. Mike Monroney as vice chairman, held extensive hearings during which the idea of a Committee on House Administration was introduced. In testimony before the Joint Committee on March 19, 1945, Representative James W. Wadsworth told the panel that the House's structure had "grown over 150 years without any planning toward the achievement of a logical, businesslike organization." Wadsworth felt that many of the "hodgepodge conglomeration of committees in the House" had little important work and ought to be greatly reduced in number so "every committee on the list would be charged with really important things to

do."[2] He then proceeded to share with the Joint Committee a plan for reducing the number of House committees, most of which was ultimately adopted by the panel as well as by the House and the Senate. Under the Wadsworth proposal, a new Committee on House Administration would absorb the responsibilities of 10 different committees.[3]

In accepting Wadsworth's plan, Congress consolidated within the Committee on House Administration responsibilities that were previously dispersed among 10 committees with far-flung jurisdictions. The new committee was to assume jurisdiction over federal elections; memorial designations; most House internal administrative, management, and personnel functions; the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, the Botanic Garden,[4] the House Library, works of art for the Capitol; disposition of useless executive papers; and government printing and publishing.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 also provided the statutory basis for the Joint Committee on the Library and the Joint Committee on Printing. The chair and four members of the House Administration Committee, it also provided, would serve on both joint committees together with the chair and four members of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee.[5]

Addressing New Demands and Expectations

The Committee on House Administration was officially established on January 2, 1947, at the beginning of the 80th Congress (1947–1948). While the number of Members of the House of Representatives (435) representing the 50 states has remained unchanged since the Committee's creation, the population of the United States in six-and-a-half decades more than doubled—growing from approximately 144 million in 1947 to approximately 310 million in 2011. During the same period, ever increasing demands have been placed on the federal government. Since World War II, Congress has faced a progressively more complex workload as it has dealt with a substantial growth in calls for legislative responses to social issues, increased oversight of executive branch activities, and a monumental increase in constituent requests for assistance in dealing with the federal government. Still more challenges for federal legislators have been prompted by globalization of the economy and periodic recessions, a technological and informational revolution, and rising security concerns. As the nation and Congress have addressed the challenges presented by these developments, the Committee's role has undergone a significant transformation as well.

Oversight of Federal Elections. The Committee's most far-reaching legislative work arguably has been that related to the conduct of federal elections. Historically, the Committee has had a hand in shaping legislation that touches on virtually all aspects of elections. Issues concerning corrupt election practices, contested congressional elections, campaign finance disclosures, and credentials and qualifications of House Members also fall under its purview.

Under the leadership of its first chairman, Karl M. Le Compte, one of the Committee's early actions was to introduce legislation to outlaw the payment of poll taxes in federal elections. Although nearly two decades would pass before the proposal finally became reality, with the 1964 ratification of the Twenty-Fourth Amendment barring the poll tax, the Committee on House Administration never wavered in supporting its passage. Also, throughout its entire history, the Committee has been increasing its efforts to facilitate voting by members of the armed forces and American citizens abroad.

Subsequent to the ratification of the Twenty-fourth Amendment, the Committee led the movements (1) to make voter registration sites and polling places fully accessible to older voters and those with disabilities, which resulted in passage of the Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped Act; and (2) to allow eligible citizens to register to vote in federal elections when applying for a driver's license, which culminated with the enactment of the National Voter Registration Act, popularly known as the Motor Voter Act. Following the contested presidential election of 2000, the Committee played a pivotal role in the development and passage of the Help America Vote Act of 2002, which provided

nearly $4 billion to improve voting equipment, recruit and train election workers, and increase accessibility for voters with disabilities.

Since 1975, the issues of money in political campaigns and the most appropriate way to regulate campaign spending within constitutional limits have often been the subject of major legislative efforts by the Committee on House Administration. Members of the Committee played a leading role in crafting and overseeing major amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act in 1976 and 1979. Monitoring implementation of those amendments, and considering the rise of policy issues such as public financing, political action committees, and Federal Election Commission oversight, occupied the Committee throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s. Reform efforts that began in earnest during the mid-1990s culminated with the 2002 enactment of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (McCain-Feingold). The Committee held multiple hearings on campaign reform, and members of the Committee were involved in passage of the act, which, among other things, banned unlimited contributions in federal elections (soft money) and placed additional restrictions—which were extensively litigated—on political advertising.

Chamber Administrative Responsibilities. The Committee also exerts great influence on the internal procedures and priorities of the daily operations of the House of Representatives. Routinely, the Committee has had to weigh the needs of Members and the various House committees against the need to ensure a cost-effective operation for Congress and the nation. Certainly one of the most critical components of realizing this vision has been a sustained effort by the Committee on House Administration to oversee House personnel and administrative functions.

The Committee has played a critical role in ensuring that Members have the resources needed to address emerging demands and expectations, while also being responsible for housekeeping duties as outlined in House Rule X. Those responsibilities range from disbursing appropriations for committee staff and Member staff salaries, to administering travel allowances for Members, assigning office space, handling parking assignments, restaurant services, issuing identification badges, and compiling and publishing information related to campaign financial disclosures. It has also had a prominent role and been at the forefront in developing House administrative reform proposals, considering the consequences of changes in the Chamber's service structure, and provided key direction in implementing and overseeing management of a number of reforms with major impact on House operations.

Meeting these diverse responsibilities has required the Committee to (1) adapt to changing circumstances influencing the operation of the institution, (2) maintain flexibility in office operations while establishing or reviewing standards and guidelines to new situations, (3) administer House efforts to enhance accountability, and (4) ensure the ability of the chamber to fulfill its constitutional obligations. Over time, the Committee's role in these various activities has moved from implementation to oversight.

Since its inception, Members of the Committee have consistently been at the forefront as the House of Representatives experienced the integration of various generations of information technology into the House, from the allocation of mechanical typewriters in the World War II era, to electronic voting, televised floor debate, arrival of personal computers and the Internet, development of the House Information System, and the issuance of a BlackBerry® to every Member at the beginning of the 21st Century.

The Committee has overseen the exploration and deployment of new security measures and technologies in the Capitol building and surrounding House office buildings, the deployment of new security technologies, and accelerated efforts to ensure the continuity of legislative and constituent service operations. A renewed urgency was brought to these efforts following the 2001 terrorist attacks and the anthrax attacks on Capitol Hill.

Understandably, the importance and impact of the Committee's actions and policy decisions has increased dramatically as the number of people employed by the House,

Capitol Police, Architect of the Capitol, and congressional support agencies grew, and as the chamber's administrative functions multiplied. In 1947, the House had fewer than 2,000 employees. By 2009, the number had grown to approximately 10,000.

To facilitate the efforts of those whom they support, the Committee publishes the *Members' Congressional Handbook*, which contains the regulations for Member's representational allowance; *Committees' Congressional Handbook*, which governs expenditures of committee funds; *Employee Handbook*, which sets forth the rules of conduct for House employees; and the *New Member Pictorial Directory*.

Scope of the History

During the past six decades, more than 200 different Members have served on the Committee, and 17 have served as the Committee chair. This number includes five future Speakers of the House,[6] four future House Democratic Floor Leaders,[7] two future House Republican Floor Leaders,[8] seven future House Democratic Whips,[9] six future Democratic Caucus Chairmen,[10] three future House Republican Conference Chairmen,[11] and a future Senate Majority Leader.[12] Serving on the Committee afforded these future House and Senate leaders a unique opportunity to learn about the administrative nuances of the chamber and to help House colleagues deal with non-legislative matters critical to their representational responsibilities.

This history is compiled in recognition of the more than ten-score members and former members of the Committee for their service to the House, Congress, and a grateful nation.

Today, under Chairman Daniel E. Lungren and Ranking Democratic Member Robert A. Brady, the Committee on House Administration continues its important role as the "Mayor of Capitol Hill." To fully appreciate the Committee's critical role in this evolution, the narrative that follows begins with a brief look at the work done by its various predecessor committees consolidated, and then examines the evolution of the Committee's jurisdictional responsibilities since 1947. Finally, a series of topical chapters examine how the Committee has handled: (1) federal elections laws; (2) campaign finance legislation; (3) contested House elections; (4) its chamber administrative responsibilities; (5) oversight of legislative branch entities; and (6) non-legislative branch activities involving the Smithsonian Institution, the National Library of Medicine, monuments and memorials (until 1994), and the Hatch Act (until 1994).

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Endnotes

1 Roger H. Davidson, "The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 15, Aug. 1990, p. 357.

2 Testimony of Rep. James W. Wadsworth, U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, *Organization of Congress*, hearing on H. Con. Res. 18, 79th Cong., 1st sess., March 19, 1945 (Washington: GPO, 1945), pp. 87, 94. References regarding the importance of the Wadsworth plan are found in: Testimony of Rep. Robert Ramspeck, U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, *Organization of Congress*, hearing on H. Con. Res. 18, 79th Cong., 1st sess., April 17, 1945, pp. 302–303; Testimony of Rep. Robert Hale, U.S.

Congress, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, *Organization of Congress*, hearing on H. Con. Res. 18, 79th Cong., 1st sess., April 24, 1945, p. 341; U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, *Organization of the Congress*, first report of the Joint Committee on the Organizational of Congress pursuant to H. Con. Res. 18, 79th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 36 (Washington: GPO, 1945), 17-18; U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, *Organization of the Congress*, report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress pursuant to H. Con. Res. 18, 79th Cong., 2nd sess., S. Rept. 1011 (Washington: GPO, 1946), pp. 4–5; Rep. A.S. Mike Monroney, remarks in the House, "Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946," *Congressional Record*, vol. 92, July 25, 1946, p. 10040; Martin L. Fausold, *James W. Wadsworth, Jr.: The Gentlemen From New York* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975), p. 349; and "Congressional Reorganization," *Congressional Quarterly*, v. 2, April–June 1946, p. 364.

3 The House committees to be absorbed, together with their dates of establishment, were: Accounts (1803); Disposition of Executive Papers (1889); Enrolled Bills (1789); Library (1809); Memorials (1929); Printing (1846); Election of the President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress (1893); and Elections (1789, divided into three committees—Elections No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3—in 1895). See Testimony of Rep. James W. Wadsworth, U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, *Organization of Congress*, hearing on H. Con. Res. 18, 79th Cong., 1st sess., March 19, 1945 (Washington: GPO, 1945), p. 94.

4 Jurisdiction over measures relating to the construction or reconstruction, maintenance, and care of the buildings and grounds of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Botanic Gardens was given to the House Committee on Public Works.

5 Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 825-826 (Aug. 2, 1946).

6 Representatives who served on the Committee and subsequently were elected Speaker included John W. McCormack, Carl Albert, Newton Gingrich, Thomas S. Foley, and John A. Boehner. McCormack was a member of the Committee in the 80th Congress, Albert in the 81st–82nd Congresses, Gingrich in the 96th–103rd Congresses, Foley in the 98th–99th Congresses, and Boehner in the 103rd–106th Congresses.

7 Future Democratic Floor Leaders who served on the Committee are John W. McCormack (80th Congress), Carl Albert (81st–83rd Congresses), and Steny H. Hoyer (102nd–107th Congresses).

8 Future House Republican Floor Leaders who served on the Committee are Charles A. Halleck (82nd–86th Congresses) Thomas S. Foley (98th–99th Congress), and John A. Boehner (103rd–106th Congresses).

9 Representatives John W. McCormack (80th Congress), Carl Albert (81st–83rd Congresses), John J. McFall (87th-88th Congresses), John W. Brademas (88th–96th Congresses), Thomas S. Foley (98th-99th Congresses), William H. Gray, III (102nd Congress), and Steny H. Hoyer (102nd–107th Congresses) served on the Committee prior to their selection as House Democratic Whip.

10 Representatives Thomas S. Foley (98th-99th Congresses), William H. Gray, III (102nd Congress), Steny H. Hoyer (102nd–107th Congresses), Victor H. Fazio (96th & 104th Congresses), J. Martin Frost (101st–103rd Congresses), and John B. Larson (108th Congress) served on the Committee prior to their selection as House Democratic Caucus Chair.

11 Representatives John B. Anderson (87th–88th Congresses), Samuel L. Devine (88th-96th Congresses), and John A. Boehner (103rd–106th Congresses) served on the Committee prior to their selection as House Republican Conference Chairman.

12 Representative Robert C. Byrd served on the Committee in the 83th–85th Congress prior to his election as a Senator and selection as Senate Majority Leader.

II. PREDECESSOR PANELS

The Committee on House Administration enjoys the distinction of being able to boast a lineage extending back to the creation of the very first standing committees in the House. At the time of its creation in 1946, the Committee inherited the legislative and administrative responsibilities of ten existing standing committees:[1]

- Committee on Accounts;
- Committee on Elections, No. 1;
- Committee on Elections, No. 2;
- Committee on Elections, No. 3;
- Committee on the Election of the President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress;
- Committee on Enrolled Bills;
- Committee on the Library;[2]
- Committee on Memorials;
- Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers; and
- Committee on Printing.[3]

Two of these committees had themselves inherited the jurisdiction of committees abolished earlier. The Committee on Accounts inherited the duties of the Committee on Mileage (1837–1927)[4] and the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics (1893–1911). The Committee on Printing inherited the jurisdiction of the Committee on Engraving.

Among the predecessors of the Committee on House Administration are some of the oldest and longest standing committees of the House. At the outset of the 1st Congress, after meeting on virtually a daily basis for the entire month of March, the House was finally able to muster a quorum on April 1, 1789, when two Members, James Schureman of New Jersey and Thomas Scott of Pennsylvania, took their seats.[5] Once officially constituted, one of the first orders of business was to adopt a set of parliamentary rules to guide the fledgling body. These rules established the fundamental practice that would govern the House to the present day.

Item seven of the rules package taken up April 13, 1789, provided for the first standing committee created by the House, the Committee on Elections, which was given the responsibility of approving the certificates of election of newly-elected Members. The Committee on Enrolled Bills was created soon thereafter, coincident with the passage of the first piece of legislation, necessitating the administrative tasks associated with enrollment of the bill. This latter committee, although modified several times, survived until 1947, when its functions were absorbed by the newly-established Committee on House Administration.

The following historical sketches of predecessor committees are not meant to be exhaustive. Rather, they are intended to provide detail sufficient to portray the work and institutional context of the predecessor committees that were to be supplanted by the modern Committee on House Administration. Within this selective approach, an effort has been made to identify committee actions that had notable procedural implications, or that may be of particular interest to students of the history of Congress. The committee vignettes that follow are arranged chronologically based upon the dates each was designated as a standing committee of the House.

Committee on Elections

On April 13, 1789, the Committee on Elections, composed of seven Members elected by ballot, became the first standing committee to be established by the House of Representatives. It was the duty of the seven-member Committee on Elections

> to examine and report upon the certificates of election, or other credentials of the members returned to serve in this House, and to take into their consideration all such matters as shall, or may come in question and be referred to them by the House,

> touching returns and elections, and to report their proceedings with their opinion thereupon to the House.[6]

Five days later, on April 18, 1789, the committee completed its initial mandate pursuant to this directive and presented a report accepting the credentials of 49 Members from nine states. Contested election cases from South Carolina and New Jersey remained pending, but were disposed of on April 29. Since there was no prior body of precedents to rely upon, the House instructed the committee to report a proper mode of investigation and decision.[7] The committee's report, outlining basic rules of evidence, was adopted by the House and embodied the first formal instructions to guide the committee's proceedings in such cases. A decade later, the rules for taking evidence in contested election cases were formalized in statute.[8] The first purely chronological compilation of contested election cases covering the 1st through 22nd Congresses (1789–1833) was published in 1834, pursuant to a resolution reported by the Committee on Elections. In later Congresses the work of the committee was immeasurably facilitated by publication of comprehensive indexed digests of contested election cases.[9]

A 1911 treatise on government describes the work of the committee succinctly:

> The constitution makes each house the sole judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its members. Contested elections are referred to a committee on elections, which considers the evidence in each case and submits a report. Inasmuch as a majority of the members of the Committee on Elections are chosen from the dominant party, a contested election is quite likely to be decided on partisan lines. Persons may be excluded from membership if the election has been irregular or corrupt; if improper returns have been made; if the constitutional requirements are lacking; or for other reasons which in the opinion of the house render individuals unfit to act as members.[10]

Cognizant of the suggestion of partisanship, in 1870 the House considered a resolution designed to insure impartiality:

> *Resolved*: That from the nature of its duties the Committee on Elections of the House of Representatives is a judicial body, and in deciding contested election cases referred to such committee the members thereof should act according to all the rules of law, without partiality or prejudice, as fully as though under special oath in each particular case so decided.[11]

The resolution was ultimately rejected because it was deemed to cast imputation upon the Committee on Elections. Notwithstanding the failure of this resolution, the committee ultimately overcame the perception that they acted in a biased fashion. By 1926, a minority member of the Committee on Elections No. 1 was able to say, "In the eight years I have served on Elections Committees . . . I have never seen partisanship creep into that Committee but one time."[12]

During the early years of Congress, it was difficult to determine the fields of jurisdiction of committees so precisely that there would be no overlapping. As a result there was often debate over the proper reference of bills on certain subjects. Even in the case of the Standing Committee on Elections, where ostensibly there was little room for doubt, there was on occasion some ambiguity about what kind of business properly lay within its sphere. For example, in the 2nd Congress (1791–1793), when a petition alleging certain irregularities in the election of Anthony Wayne of Georgia came up for discussion, Abraham Baldwin of Georgia moved to refer the matter to the Committee of Elections. The motion was immediately rejected on the grounds that the question "did not fall within their cognizance." The petition was therefore laid upon the table for ten days, when it was referred to a select committee.[13]

In 1890, the actions of the Committee on Elections became the backdrop for a procedural drama whose outcome would have a profound impact on the development of legislative procedures of the House. That January, House

Speaker Thomas Brackett Reed of Maine devised and inaugurated a novel method of establishing a quorum, absent the requirement of demonstrating its presence through a roll call vote.

On January 29, 1890, when the contested election case of Charles B. Smith *vs.* James M. Jackson (West Virginia) was before the House, pursuant to a report of the Committee on Elections, a vote was demanded on whether the House would consider the matter.[14] Speaker Reed announced the result of what would prove to be a historic vote: 161 yeas, 2 nays, and 165 not voting. (Nearly all the minority Democrats had absented themselves from the chamber in an effort to forestall action on the election case.)

A no-quorum point of order was raised against the validity of the vote, but Speaker Reed, in a dramatic departure from all prior practice, directed the Clerk of the House to also record the names of those present but not voting, thereby satisfying the constitutional quorum requirements. The Speaker repeated this maneuver the following day in approving the *House Journal*, refusing to entertain any appeal of his decision, averring that the parliamentary question of the legitimacy of the no-roll-call quorum had been settled. At the same time, the Speaker announced his intention to disregard any motion or appeal that he deemed to be purely dilatory.

These two procedural modifications were subsequently incorporated into the formal rules of the House on February 14, 1890 (although not without considerable debate). George Galloway's *History of the House of Representatives* explains the significance of these two changes, and other changes embraced in the so-called "Reed Rules," as follows:

> By empowering the Speaker to prevent obstruction, the reforms of 1890 went far to regularize House procedures, to expedite the conduct of its business, to enhance its dignity, and to fix legislative responsibility upon the majority. The Reed Rules won lasting fame for their author in the annals of Congress and have proved generally satisfactory in practice.[15]

In the 1860s the committee took on new responsibilities occasioned by the hostilities of the Civil War. On June 22, 1863, Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee on Elections, reported a resolution proposing the appointment of a commission for the purpose of visiting rebellious states that had taken steps to re-establish their allegiance to the Union to ascertain whether those loyal to the Union "were sufficiently strong to reorganize governments against the insurgents."[16]

Another issue that occasionally drew the attention of the Committee on Elections was the question of polygamy. A case in point was that of Representative George Q. Cannon who was elected to represent Utah Territory in the U.S. Congress in 1873. He remained a congressional delegate until 1881, when his seat was contested by Allen G. Campbell. The basis of the challenge was the assertion that Cannon was an avowed polygamist, which made him unfit to serve in the House. The issue was referred to the Committee on Elections; ultimately the House, on April 20, 1882, decided that neither contestant was entitled to the seat.

From 1789 through 1840, the 1st through the 15th Congresses, the average number of contested election cases was slightly less than four per Congress.[17] Following the 34th Congress (1855–1857), however, the number of contested seats rose sporadically to a peak of 38 during the 54th Congress (1895–1897). In 1895, due to the increase in workload, the committee was split into three separate committees: Elections No. 1, Elections No. 2, and Elections No. 3. Decades prior to the official designation of these distinct committees, the House had taken steps to deal with the committee's increasing workload. In 1870, the House adopted the following amendment to the Rules:

> The Committee on elections for the Forty-First Congress shall consist of fifteen members; and each contested case may be assigned by the chairman to a special committee of three members thereof for their exclusive consideration, and such special committee shall report their decision in the case directly to the House.[18]

After 1935, the number of contested elections returned to an average of three per Congress, and in 1947 the three elections committees were abolished and their jurisdiction included in that of the new Committee on House Administration.

Committee on Accounts

The Committee on Accounts enjoys the distinction of being one of the earliest of the predecessor committees of the Committee on House Administration. During the 9th Congress, on December 27, 1803, the House adopted the following resolution reported by the Committee on Ways and Means:

> *Resolved*: That a committee be appointed to consist of three members, to be styled "The Committee on Accounts," whose duty it shall be to superintend and control the expenditures of the contingent fund of the House or Representatives, and to admit and set all accounts which may be charged thereon.[19]

During the 9th Congress, the Committee on Accounts was included as one of seven standing committees provided for by the Rules of the House adopted December 17, 1805. In addition to the duty of controlling the contingent fund of the House specified in the 1803 resolution, the House Rules adopted in 1805 specified another responsibility for the standing committee: "to audit the accounts of the members for their travel to and from the seat of Government, and their attendance in the House."[20]

Of all the predecessor committees, the Committee on Accounts encompassed the widest range of jurisdictional responsibilities that now reside in the Committee on House Administration. Eight of the 16 paragraphs in today's Rule X jurisdictional statement deal with matters that, prior to 1946, were handled by the Committee on Accounts. In addition to the duty of controlling the contingent fund of the House specified in the 1803 resolution, the committee was responsible for the accountability of House officers; the procurement of rooms for the use of committees and for the Speaker; and recommending and authorizing the employment of stenographers, reporters of debates, janitors, and clerks and staff assistants for committees and Members. Moreover, the functions of the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics were absorbed by the Committee on Accounts in 1911, and in 1927 it assumed the functions of the Committee on Mileage.

Throughout its history, the Committee on Accounts was one of few committees that had leave to report *at any time* matters within its jurisdiction. An index to the committee's reports for the years 1815 to 1887 suggests the comprehensive range of duties and responsibilities within the committee's purview:[21] funeral expenses of deceased Members;[22] selection of pages;[23] assignment and payment of committee clerks;[24] dismissal of the doorkeeper;[25] a study of the expediency of lighting the Hall of the House by electricity;[26] and auditing the accounts of the Select Committee on the Depression of Labor.[27] The committee's jurisdiction extended to all matters related to the facilities of the House. Accordingly, in 1916, the committee reported a resolution authorizing an electromechanical voting system for the House of Representatives;[28] and, in 1922, a resolution for the fumigation of the House for the purpose of exterminating pests.[29]

On occasion, the committee also exercised punitive powers to enforce proper accounting practices in the House. At the close of each session of Congress, for example, the doorkeeper was required "to take an inventory of all the furniture, books, and other public property in the several committee and other rooms under his charge and report the same to the House."[30] The Committee on Accounts was then charged with determining the amount of the doorkeeper's liability for missing articles.

As noted earlier, the Committee on Accounts had leave to report at any time on matters making expenditures from the contingent fund of the House. On occasion, however, there were attempts by other House committees to assume that prerogative. A case in point was a 1944 resolution to create a select committee to investigate campaign expenditures (H. Res. 551, 78th Congress). The resolution came to the floor with an amendment reported by the Committee on Rules proposing to give the select committee authority over its own expenditures. A point of order was made that the Rules Committee had exceeded its

authority by offering an amendment that was properly within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Accounts. John Cochran of Missouri, Chairman of the Committee on Accounts, argued persuasively for the point of order:

> The Committee on Accounts was set up by the House in 1803; long before the Rules Committee was ever heard of. This all-powerful Rules Committee takes it upon itself to assume jurisdiction over the contingent fund of the House. Not only do the Rules of the House place that jurisdiction in the Committee on Accounts, but your Committee on Accounts is subject to several statutes, specifically referring to the activities of the Committee on Accounts, and the contingent fund.[31]

The Speaker then sustained the point of order, citing earlier precedents that the subject of such an amendment was a matter properly within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Accounts.

Conversely, the Committee on Accounts was itself barred from reporting as privileged measures outside its jurisdiction. For example, an 1896 resolution reported by the committee was deemed not to be privileged because a portion of the resolution directed an investigation into importation and exportation of certain products. Sustaining a point of order against the resolution reiterated this principle: "the fact that they [the Committee on Accounts] have the privilege of reporting on expenditures out of the contingent fund does not give them the privilege of reporting on non-privileged matters."[32]

Notably, along with the several committees on claims in the House, the Committee on Accounts had the authority to consider bills appropriating funds for the adjustment of private claims against the government.[33] This authority was an exception to the general rule prohibiting consideration of items proposing appropriations in connection with bills reported by non-appropriating committees.[34]

Unlike any other committee of the House, the Committee on Accounts, by statute, was granted the authority to continue to act even after the final adjournment of a Congress. The law provided that before the termination of the session, the Speaker was to appoint three Members-elect as a temporary committee on accounts to exercise functions relative to expenditures of the contingent fund until the organization of the next House.[35]

Accounting is sometimes viewed as a purely ministerial duty that does not provoke much controversy. But on occasion, the business of the Committee on Accounts was the backdrop for high drama on the floor of the House. In the 60th Congress (1907–1909), for example, during a floor speech, George Southwick of New York took exception to the committee's failure to provide a salary increase for a House employee. Charles Bartlett of Georgia, Ranking Member of the Committee on Accounts, took these disparaging remarks to be directed at himself personally. Brandishing a knife, he attempted to attack Southwick. Bloodshed was avoided only after several Members, and the Sergeant-at-Arms carrying the mace, intervened.

On occasion, the committee was called upon to investigate sensitive political issues. Of particular historical interest was the case of Joseph Keifer of Ohio, who was Speaker of the House in the 47th Congress (1881–1883). At the end of the session, Speaker Keifer reportedly discharged employees of the House in order to put his nephew and others on the payroll. At the beginning of the 48th Congress (1883–1884), a three-member subcommittee of the Committee on Accounts was directed to investigate the charges against the former Speaker. According to press reports, the subcommittee had concluded that "the acts of the ex-Speaker . . . and the intimation of wrongdoing have been more than supported by the evidence."[36]

The official report of the subcommittee was delayed over disagreements as to the wording of the report. The House had changed hands in the 48th Congress, with Democrats gaining a majority. The language favored by the two majority Democrats criticized the former Speaker in severe terms, but was objected to by the Republican member of the subcommittee. In the end, compromise language was adopted, presenting the testimony received by the subcommittee, and denying compensation to the employees who had been improperly appointed.

Committee on the Library

The standing Committee on the Library, established in 1806, was composed of the House members of the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress. Its jurisdiction included all legislation relating to the Library of Congress, and statuary, pictures, or works of art on the Capitol grounds. The authority for its establishment came originally from a statute in 1802 that prescribed that sums to be appropriated for books for the use of Congress should be "under the directions of a joint committee to consist of three members of the Senate and three members of the House of Representatives."[37]

Interestingly, for a time in the late 1800s, the House appointed not three, but five, Members to the committee. There was some discussion as to whether House action could override the membership requirement in the statute, but ultimately the House agreed to abide by the three-Member limit.

Library of Congress Building. Historically, one of the committee's most significant accomplishments was its involvement in the successful effort to create a separate building outside of the Capitol to house the congressional library. In the latter half of the 19th century the collections of the congressional library had undergone geometric growth. In 1875, a report from the House Appropriations Committee said:

> The library has already become a thing whose growth is beyond control. So long as our country prospers and maintains its place among civilized and enlightened nations, its national library will grow under laws of accretion which it would scarce be possible, even were it desirable, to control.[38]

As early as 1873, Congress recognized that the burgeoning size of the congressional library located in the Capitol would require a comprehensive solution. In that year Congress authorized a design competition for a new library facility and appointed a commission to select a plan.[39] A decade later, the Committee on the Library reported that the conditions of the collections had become intolerable:

> The result is seen in the books stowed rank behind rank, so that their titles are concealed instead of exhibited, in alcoves overflowing into every adjacent space and corridor, and in floors heaped high with books, pamphlets, musical compositions, and newspapers, from the ground floor of the Capitol to the attic.[40]

Initial design suggestions contemplated an expansion of the Capitol building itself. Based upon the projections of the Library's rapid growth, the Architect of the Capitol estimated that it would not be long before "all the available space now occupied by the Senate, the House and the rotunda," would be needed to store the collections.[41]

Attention then turned to selection of a suitable site for a separate library building. Several locations were considered and rejected. A site west of the capitol now occupied by the Botanic Gardens was disapproved when it was determined that the new library building could not be erected there because "the grounds were mainly composed of rather soft soil and were full of treacherous bogs."[42] Similarly, sites at Judiciary Square and at New York Avenue and North Capitol Street were deemed to be at such a distance as to be inconvenient to Members.

In 1886, the Committee on the Library reported a bill (H.R. 1297, 49th Congress) recommending the construction of a new library building "immediately east from the Capitol and contiguous thereto," finding that it combined "the requisites of vicinity to the Capitol, salubrity, elevation of site, and desirable surrounding, to a greater degree than any other."[43]

In 1890, the committee reported a joint resolution to provide for "a suitable public ceremony" to accompany the laying of the Library's cornerstone noting: "The magnitude of the Congressional Library and the general interest of the whole country in the same seem to justify the small expense that may be necessary to provide for such ceremonial celebration."[44]

The decision to locate the Library outside the Capitol marked the beginning of a process to relocate other Capitol tenants: the Supreme Court and House and Senate committee offices in new facilities on land surrounding the Capitol. As such, it was the first step toward creating the extended Capitol complex we know today.

Jurisdictional Highlights. While the construction and administration of the Library of Congress may be the achievement most commonly identified with the work of the committee, it was also involved in a range of other projects that had lasting national and historical significance:

- In 1871, the committee recommended the purchase of a collection of 2000 portraits of prominent Americans offered by photographer Mathew Brady;[45]
- In 1884, the committee considered a report from the Joint Commission on the Completion of the Washington Monument;[46]
- In 1886 the committee reported a bill, S. 2012 (49th Congress), recommending an expenditure of $500,000 for "The commemoration of the illustrious public service of Abraham Lincoln by a monument in the city of Washington, with appropriate statuary;"[47]
- In 1890, the committee considered a bill (S. 4087, 51st Congress), "relative to the proposed purchase of the manuscript papers and correspondence of Thomas Jefferson;"[48]
- In 1910, the committee reported a resolution providing for the appointment of "competent artists" to paint the portraits of former Speakers of the House;[49] and
- In 1924 a bill was referred to the committee providing for the purchase of relics of Abraham Lincoln.[50]

Committee on Mileage

The Committee on Mileage was formally established on September 15, 1837. On that date the House adopted an amendment to the Rules of the House proposed by William Crosby Dawson of Georgia that authorized the Speaker "at the time of appointing the other committees each session, to add a Committee on Mileage whose duty it shall be to ascertain and report the distance to the Sergeant-at-Arms for which each member shall receive pay."[51]

Since 1803, the responsibility for computing such reimbursement had resided in the Committee on Accounts. It would be returned to that same committee with the dissolution of the Committee on Mileage in 1927.

The authority for the payment of mileage compensation to Members of Congress dates to a statute enacted in the 1st Congress: "An Act for Allowing Compensation to the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and to the Officers."[52] In addition to a salary for Members of six dollars for each day of the session, the law also provided for a payment of "six dollars for every twenty miles of the estimated distance, by the most usual road, from his place of residence to the seat of Congress." In 1818, the mileage compensation was increased to "eight dollars for every twenty miles."[53]

In the earliest days, the compensation due Members was certified by the Speaker of the House. Beginning with an 1805 House rules change, the newly-created Committee on Accounts was given responsibility "to audit the accounts of the members for their travel to and from the seat of Government, and their attendance in the House." This responsibility was transferred to the new Committee on Mileage in 1837. While the job of ascertaining Member's mileage allowance might appear to be a routine matter, the work of the committee was not without occasional memorable episodes and a few controversies that proved to have a lasting effect on the operations of the House.

Computation of Member's mileage allowance was often the subject of controversy in early Congresses. Members complained that the allowances were inequitable and did not take into account the true expenses of Members who traveled from the most remote districts. Several solutions were suggested, with one Member from the West suggesting that the only way to standardize the allowance would be moving the Seat of Government to a location in the Midwest:

> A motion was made by Mr. [Archibald] Yell [of Arkansas], to amend the amendment moved by Mr. [John Francis] Claiborne [of Mississippi], by adding thereto as follows: And that said committee be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for reducing the compensation allowed to members of Congress to six dollars per diem; and, also, into the expediency of providing by law for the removal of the seat of Government of the United States to some point on the Ohio

or Mississippi River, on or before the first day of January, 1840.[54]

Over time, other proposals were put forth to standardize the mileage formula and make it more equitable. In 1857, the Committee on Mileage expressed the opinion that each Member might be compensated based on the "legal distance" from the capitol of the state represented by the Member.[55] In 1860, the committee espoused a more precise determination of mileage, requesting the Postmaster General "to furnish the House . . . a statement of the distance by the usual mail route from the post office of each [S]enator and [R]epresentative in Congress to the city of Washington."[56]

Dissatisfaction with the equity of the existing formula for mileage reimbursements came to the forefront of congressional interest in the 30th Congress (1847–1848) when several events coalesced. Criticism over compensation of Members in Congress had been brewing since 1816, when Congress voted to increase congressional salary compensation from $6 per day to $1,500 per session.[57] (The mileage allowance of $6 for each 20 miles traveled was a separate payment and was unaffected by the 1816 law.) Public outrage over the Compensation Act of 1816 resulted in its repeal less than a year later.[58] Richard Johnson of Kentucky, who proposed the resolution to increase Member's salaries, also led the repeal effort noting that the pay raise had "excited more discontent" than any other "measure of the Government, from its existence."[59]

Although the mileage computation was unaffected, the residual effects of the 1816 act put all forms of congressional compensation under closer examination. This heightened scrutiny peaked in the 30th Congress with the election of Horace Greeley of New York. Greeley, the founder and editor of the *New York Tribune*, served only three months, having been elected to fill the vacancy caused by the unseating of David Johnson, but he made the most of his brief tenure.

Soon after his arrival in the House, Greeley obtained, and had a reporter transcribe, the schedules for mileage compensation. He then computed how much could be saved if Members computed their mileage by the most direct post-route, instead of by the "most usual road" as specified in the statute. (Changes in transportation practices occasioned by the expansion of rail and steamboat routes allowed Members to travel more cheaply, and more quickly, but by more circuitous routes). As a result, Greeley concluded that some Members "charged and received twice as much for traveling five days in a sumptuous cabin, replete with every luxury, as their fathers paid for roughing it over the mountains in fifteen to twenty days at a greater cost."[60]

Greeley estimated that reform of the mileage computation formula would result in a $50,000 annual savings to the government, and arranged for his findings to be published in the *New York Tribune*.[61] The expose caused an immediate uproar in the halls of Congress. Within days of the article's publication, the House approved a resolution directing the Committee on Mileage to undertake an inquiry. The committee was charged with two tasks: determining whether any Member had drawn mileage compensation in excess of what they were entitled to by law; and secondly, deciding whether the facts alleged in the *Tribune* article amounted to "an allegation of fraud against most of the Members of the House."[62] It was also rumored that signatures were being gathered for a possible expulsion proceeding against Greeley himself.[63]

On January 12, 1849, the committee concluded in its report, based on a strict interpretation of the statute, that there was not a "single instance in which the distance they reported was not warranted by the laws and the facts as represented."[64] As to the second matter, the allegations of fraud in the *Tribune* article, the committee concluded that they were "so palpably false that it cannot possibly injure anyone," and declined to recommend any further action.

Over its history, the committee was involved in a number of other controversies regarding mileage compensation. In 1877, the committee considered a bill (H.R. 650, 61st Congress), "Providing for the payment of mileage to Members of Congress for attendance upon extra or called sessions of Congress." The committee reported the bill with a recommendation that "it do not pass," noting that there was no law in force entitling Members to mileage compensation for attendance at such sessions.[65]

Another issue that occasionally arose was the question of compensation to Members who were unsuccessful parties to contested election cases. One of the most notable examples was the case of Brigham H. Roberts, a representative-elect from Utah. On January 25, 1900, Roberts, a polygamist, was denied a House seat by a vote of 268 to 50.[66] Subsequently, Roberts submitted a claim to the Committee on Mileage for reimbursement for travel expenses from Utah to Washington, D.C. A vote was taken in committee and the petition was denied on a tie vote, one member being absent.[67]

Assignments to the Committee. Unlike today, when committees are routinely appointed promptly at the beginning of each Congress pursuant to resolution, in the 19th century, the Speaker named Members to committees, and often delayed making appointments to many committees until later in the session.[68] By virtue of its responsibility to make a prompt accounting of mileage reimbursements for newly-elected Members, the Committee on Mileage was invariably one of the first committees to be impaneled. As such, on occasion, the appointment of Members to this committee served as a bellwether of the Speaker's intentions regarding maintaining the continuity of membership on other committees from one Congress to the next.

On December 9, 1887, the *Washington Post* reported that the Members appointed to the Mileage Committee at the outset of the 50th Congress (1887–1889) were identical with the previous Congress (as far as the newly elected House would permit), concluding:

> The Mileage Committee is a small straw, but it was taken as an indication yesterday by speculative people that the Speaker (John Carlisle), did not intend, when it could well be avoided, to disturb present committee membership.

On another occasion, the selection of members of the Mileage Committee had an even greater import. In 1909, during the first session of the 61st Congress (1909–1911), the Speaker's unfettered authority to appoint Members to committees became a matter of partisan controversy. In an episode that foreshadowed the 1910 revolt against Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, that would, in the following, Congress prompt the House to strip the Speaker of this and other prerogatives, the minority Democrats had determined in caucus not to accept any committee appointments that had not been sanctioned by Minority Leader James "Champ" Clark. Consequently, when Speaker Cannon announced appointments to the Mileage Committee, two Democrats, Charles Bartlett of Georgia and Ollie James of Kentucky, refused to serve. In an amusing footnote to these proceedings, Speaker Cannon then appointed Elijah Lewis of Georgia as a minority member of the committee, apparently unaware that Lewis had lost his reelection bid. Bartlett drew a laugh from the Chamber when he rose and informed the Speaker that the Member just appointed to the committee was no longer a Member of the House.[69]

In the late 19th and early 20th century, the Mileage Committee was one of several committees with limited workload that at various times attracted the attention of frugal Members bent on economizing the operational overhead of the House. Long before the work of the Mileage Committee was absorbed by the Committee on Accounts, there were calls for its abolition, or at the very least, an elimination of a paid committee clerk. In 1882, Thomas R. Cobb, who chaired the committee during the 45th–46th Congresses (1875–1879), admitted that the committee had only met twice during his four-year tenure. In 1919, one commentator noted that the Committee on Mileage was among those inactive committees maintained year after year because the chairmanship of the committee carried with it "certain perquisites, including an office and stenographic service."[70]

The absorption of the Committee on Mileage, and its duties, into the Committee on Accounts was accomplished with little fanfare. In presenting the rules package for the 70th Congress (1927–1929), Bertrand Snell of New York, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, noted that the 16 committees being eliminated, had "practically no work to do in connection with the work of the House," and proposed "to change the work done by the Mileage Committee

to the Committee on Accounts,"[71] where it remained until the establishment of the Committee on House Administration in 1947.

Committee on Engraving and the Committee on Printing

The Committee on Engraving enjoyed a brief life span of only 15 years. Established as a standing committee on March 16, 1844 (H. J. Res. 597, 28th Congress), it was a continuation of a select committee established earlier on January 11, 1844. Although serving what some would consider a minor role in the legislative process, the Committee on Engraving was created to respond to the contingencies of the day. In the words of one commentator:

> The creation of a standing committee has generally been linked with some important historical occurrence. . . . Engraving came to be a permanent member of the committee family when the Mexican War and the stirring argosies of '49 called for more extensive service of cartographers.[72]

The select committee was charged with investigating alleged abuses in the engraving, lithographing, and printing of maps ordered in the 26th through 27th Congresses (1839–1843). The inquiry uncovered substantial overcharges by "men who subsist and fatten on the national treasury."[73]

Based upon the findings of the select committee, the standing Committee on Engraving was empowered to oversee the publication of maps, charts and drawings. The committee was to determine which documents were to be printed, and the manner in which they should be executed. Samuel Simon of Connecticut, who introduced the resolution creating the committee, was its first chairman, although he served only a single term in Congress. Throughout its short history the committee never varied in size, always consisting of three members.

On March 23, 1844, the first items referred to the committee included charts illustrating the weather during 1843, a map of Florida depicting the Indians remaining in the territories, drawings relating to weights and measures for a report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and a map of the swamp lands near New Madrid, Missouri.[74]

Nearly coincident with the creation of the Committee on Engraving was the establishment of the Joint Committee on Printing in 1846. The language establishing the committee's mandate was contained in a statute which also provided generally for matters relating to congressional printing.[75] An early example of the sort of resolutions referred to the new committee was an 1848 resolution to authorize the printing of 10,000 copies of the reports and maps relating to the expedition of Captain James Cook.[76]

The same day that this resolution was adopted an amendment to the joint rules of the House and Senate was approved granting the Committee on Printing privilege to report at any time. Previously, on several occasions, the scope of the committee's authority to submit privileged reports had been called into question. The committee was empowered to report privileged resolutions dealing with questions of printing for either the House or for both houses of Congress. In 1893, a resolution was presented dealing not only with printing for the chambers, but also with the revision of laws on the subject of printing in general. The chair ruled that such a resolution was not privileged.[77]

The committee on occasion exercised jurisdiction over legislative issues beyond the immediate scope of chamber printing. On January 31, 1892, for example, the committee considered a resolution, H. Res. 69 (52nd Congress), to authorize the public printer to reimburse employees of the Government Printing Office for pay that had been deducted as a result of the government closure for the funeral services for President James Garfield. Similarly, on July 28, 1882, the committee reported a bill, H.R. 6844 (47th Congress), to fix the pay of government printers and bookbinders.

Of particular historical interest is a 1935 resolution introduced by Thomas O'Malley of Wisconsin, directing the Sergeant-at-Arms "to have printed for the occupants of the galleries of the House . . . a pamphlet explaining how the House conducts its business."[78] This action was the genesis of the document that has become ubiquitous as a public guide to the legislative process, *How Our Laws Are Made*.

As with other standing committees, the official designation in 1846 of the Committee on Printing was preceded by the establishment of a temporary select committee during several earlier Congresses. In 1828, a Select Committee on Printing was charged with conducting an inquiry into the prices of printing for Congress.[79] As early as 1830, proposals were put forward to make the Committee on Printing a standing committee of the House. One such resolution was reported on March 30, 1830 from the Committee on Retrenchment:

> *Resolved*, That the following be added to the standing rules of the House: A Committee on Printing shall be appointed at the commencement of each session; and it shall be the duty of such committee to examine all. Executive reports, communications, and documents, and reports from any of the Executive Departments, or the Bureaus thereof—also, the reports of committees and papers presented to the House, when an extra number is proposed to be printed, and report, forthwith, upon the propriety of printing such extra number;—and it shall not be in order to print more than the usual number of such paper or document, until the report of the Committee on Printing, respecting it, be presented to the House.[80]

In 1840, a Select Committee on Printing was directed by resolution of the House to report on the question of separating the patronage of government printing from the political process.[81] The effort to make the committee permanent was renewed in the 27th Congress (1841–1843) when a select committee reported a resolution on March 5, 1842 providing:

> *Resolved,* That henceforth it shall be a standing rule of the House, that a committee be appointed, consisting of three members, to be denominated "the Committee on Printing," whose duty it shall be to examine all papers and documents, of every description whatever, which it may be proposed to have printed.[82]

Despite its joint status, the House members on the committee functioned autonomously in some respects, "receiving resolutions and bills which were referred to it and reporting them by its own authority, without the concurrent action of the Senate branch."[83] The Joint Committee on Printing has continued, since its establishment in 1846, until the present day (although there have occasionally been efforts to abolish it).[84] Since 1947, House members of the Joint Committee have been selected from the Committee on House Administration.

Committee on Enrolled Bills

There is understandably some ambiguity in fixing a precise date for the establishment of the House Committee on Enrolled Bills. The committee that was absorbed by the Committee on House Administration in 1947 had existed as a House committee since 1876, when the joint rules of the House and Senate were allowed to lapse, effectively dissolving the Joint Committee on Enrolled Bills, made up of Members from both chambers, which had existed since the 1st Congress.

The original Joint Committee on Enrolled Bills was established on July 27, 1789, as a component of the joint rules approved on that day. As adopted by the House, these rules authorized the creation of a joint committee to be composed of one Senator and two Representatives who were named a few days later. For a brief period, prior to the creation of this permanent committee, the House, jointly with the Senate, appointed individual ad hoc committees for enrolling each bill as it was approved. The first reference to this short-lived practice appears in the House Journal entry of May 19, 1789:

> A message from the Senate, by Mr. Otis, their Secretary: Mr. Speaker: The Senate have appointed a committee, to join a committee on the part of this House, to present to the President of the United States, the bill, entitled "An act to regulate the time and manner of administering certain oaths," after the same shall be duly engrossed, examined, and signed by the Speaker of this House, and the President of the Senate. And then he withdrew. Ordered, That Mr. Partridge and Mr. Floyd be appointed a

> committee on the part of this House, for the purpose expressed in the message from the Senate.[85]

As evidenced by the above referenced passage, in early Congresses the members of the committee themselves presented the enrolled bill to the President. By the closing decades of the 19th century, however, this practice had been largely replaced by a less formal method as described in a *Washington Post* article of 1888:

> Formerly there was a great deal of formality about presenting a bill to the President for his approval or rejection. A committee of the House or Senate visited the White House and presented the bill with great ceremony. But now the Clerk of the Committee on Enrolled Bills takes the bills up to the White House in a bunch and delivers them to Col. Lamont, Mr. Pruden, or Mr. Hendley. That is all.[86]

Notwithstanding these new procedures, for legislation of particular import, the committee sometimes reverted to the earlier practice. In 1903, for example, Frank C. Wachter of Maryland, Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, accompanied by Amos Allen of Maine, personally delivered the enrolled copy of the free-coal bill to President Theodore Roosevelt who immediately signed the legislation. The necessity for quick action on the bill was explained in a *Washington Post* article:

> Representative Allen who noted the time (of the bill signing) 1:15 p.m., immediately telegraphed the fact to Portland, Me., where it was understood some ships heavily laden with English coal, were waiting to move up to the dock. If they had entered with their cargo before the bill was signed, they would have been required, under interpretations of the courts, to pay full duty, whereas, if they entered after 1:15 p.m. they would have to pay no duty.[87]

On another occasion, at the outset of World War II, Chairman Michael J. Kirwan of Ohio made a "crosstown dash in a taxicab with the British aid bill under his arm" enabling the President to sign it soon after congressional action was completed.[88]

From 1876, until the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, the committee continued to be referred to as a joint committee, although in fact, it operated as two separate committees, with the House component responsible for the enrollment of bills originating in the House. The joint rules set out, in some detail, specific procedures to be followed for the appointment of the committee and for the execution of its work:

> *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the following ought to be established joint rules between the two Houses, to wit: That while bills are on their passage between the two Houses, they shall be on paper, and under the signature of the Secretary or Clerk of each House, respectively. After a bill shall have passed both Houses, it shall be duly enrolled on parchment, by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, or the Secretary of the Senate, as the bill may have originated in the one or the other House, before it shall be presented to the President of the United States. When bills are enrolled, they shall be examined by a joint committee of one from the Senate, and two from the House of Representatives, appointed as a standing committee for that purpose, who shall carefully compare the enrollment with the engrossed bills, as passed in the two Houses, and, correcting any errors that may be discovered in the enrolled bills, make their report forthwith to the respective Houses. After examination and report each bill shall be signed in the respective Houses, first by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and then by the President of the Senate. After a bill shall have thus been signed in each House, it shall be presented by the said committee to the President of the United States for his approbation, it being first endorsed on the back of the roll, certifying in which House the same originated, which endorsement shall be signed by the Secretary or Clerk, as the case may be, of the

> House in which the same did originate, and shall be entered on the Journals of each House. The said committee shall report the day of presentation to the President, which time shall also be carefully entered on the Journal of each House.[89]

Although after 1876 the joint rules no longer continued to officially govern, the practice of enrollment continued under the rules of each chamber with only two minor changes prior to 1947. Enrolled bills were printed on paper rather than being handwritten on parchment, and the designated officers were no longer required to sign enrollments in open session. Each of these changes has its own particular history.

In 1874, an investigation into the propriety of enrolling bills by hand was precipitated by the inadvertent interpolation of a letter and a comma into a tariff bill during enrollment that had unintended impact on the statute's interpretation. An amendment offered by Senator Abijah Gilbert of Florida proposed to add to the duty free list "fruit plants, tropical and semi-tropical." When enrolled, the insertion of a "s" and a comma made the language far more expansive: "fruits, plants, tropical and semi-tropical." In the words of Senator John Sherman of Ohio, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, "This little slip of the pen, occurring somewhere in the course of engrossing or enrolling, has led to great difficulty."[90]

Partly in response to this episode, on February 9, 1874, James A. Garfield of Ohio (later elected President), introduced the following resolution which was agreed to:

> *Resolved*, That the Committee on Enrolled Bills be directed to inquire into the expediency of repealing the law that requires the statutes of the United States to be enrolled on parchment, and to devise some method by which the text of the laws be better preserved from interpolations and changes, and that the Committee have leave to report by bill or otherwise.[91]

A similar resolution, introduced in the Senate by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was agreed to on February 20, 1874.[92]

In the earliest Congresses, the technical task of enrollment was actually performed by the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate. In later years, the ever-increasing volume of legislation necessitated that the leadership rely on a clerical staff to check the accuracy of enrollments. Congress passed only 118 bills in the 1st Congress, but in later years the volume of bills to be processed, particularly at the end of a session, burgeoned to an unmanageable number.

The strain on enrolling clerks increased exponentially at the rush to adjournment. On the day before adjournment in 1888, 83 private pension bills that had passed both houses were enrolled and delivered to the White House. The ability of the enrolling clerks to discharge these considerable duties free from error frequently elicited expressions of praise from the Members. In 1892, L.C. McPherson received a written commendation from officials at the Department of State and the Clerk of the House attesting to the "absolute freedom from error in the enrolled bills which passed through his hands."[93]

On occasion, in order to meet end of session deadlines, the House adopted special contingency plans. In 1899, the House passed a resolution authorizing the temporary hire of two bicycle messengers for the sole purpose of making deliveries of enrolled bills between the enrolling room and the Government Printing Office.[94] Some relief to the end-of-session hysteria was provided by a change in practice that allowed enrollment not only during a period of legislative session but even after Congress had adjourned *sine die*.

It is worth noting that in 1812 the Committee on Enrolled Bills was the first standing committee to be granted leave to report at any time on matters within its jurisdiction. The privilege carried with it the right of immediate consideration by the House. This procedural prerogative was later granted to other committees as well as a way of "expediting the most important matters of business."[95] Today, the Committee on House Administration is one of only five House committees that continue to enjoy the privilege to report at any time.[96]

Since 1946, the Joint Committee on Enrolled bills has been composed of three members of the Committee on House Administration and three Members from the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

Committee On Disposition of Executive Papers

The Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers was established by law on February 16, 1889. The act provided that whenever an executive department accumulated files or papers that were not needed for the transaction of current business and possessed no permanent value or historical interest, the head of the agency would submit a report to Congress with a concise statement of the character and condition of such papers. The presiding officer of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives would, upon receipt of the report, each appoint two Members to sit on a joint committee to examine the reports and papers and report on them. If the report of the joint committee agreed that the papers were useless, the head of the department would be ordered to sell them as wastepaper or otherwise dispose of them.[97]

Approval of this statutory provision encountered some procedural difficulty when it was discovered that there had been a minor clerical error during the enrollment of the bill S. 2305. The word "Senator" had been inserted where the plural "Senators" should have appeared. The error was addressed by passage of a subsequent resolution directing the Committee on Enrolled Bills to make the necessary corrections. (This sort of error was not uncommon during the early years of Congress. For other examples, see the entry for the Committee on Enrolled Bills.)[98]

As the disposition process became institutionalized, a Select Committee on the Disposition of (Useless) Executive Papers was regularly appointed at the beginning of each Congress. In 1911 it was recognized as a standing committee in the revised Rules of the House.[99] Under the 1934 National Archives Act, the Archivist of the United States was given responsibility for governmental records and archives and was required to submit the disposition lists formerly submitted by the agencies.[100] The committee occasionally held hearings and reported bills relating to governmental recordkeeping and archives.

Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics

For those unfamiliar with the history of the House, the notion that there once existed a standing committee devoted solely to the subject of ventilation and acoustics may seem improbable. At the time, however, the work of the committee was a far more compelling topic than might be supposed from the perspective of observers who take modern heating and air conditioning for granted. In the 19th century, the conditions in the House chamber were perceived as not only uncomfortable, but dangerously unhealthy. In a 1895 report by the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics, Chairman George Washington Shell of South Carolina described the situation in no uncertain terms:

> We see members carried away from here corpses after very short illnesses, and we have been led to suppose that this is occasioned largely by the unhealthy conditions of the Hall itself. [101]

The standing committee was established in 1893, but before its establishment there were numerous select committees created to study the problem of ventilation in the House chamber, and suggest solutions.[102] Legislative actions relating to concerns about the quality of air in the chambers of the House occurred as early as 1802, when the following motion was submitted:

> *Resolved,* That the Speaker of this House cause to be opened a ventilator or ventilators in the chamber of the House of Representatives, at some convenient place or places therein; and that the expense thereof be discharged out of the moneys appropriated for defraying the contingent expenses of this House. [103]

Unhealthy conditions were identified soon after the new House chamber was first occupied in 1857. On May 10, 1864, the House agreed to a concurrent resolution from the Senate for the appointment of a joint select committee to be responsible for of the heating and ventilation of the Senate Chamber and the Hall of the House. Representatives Justin Morrill of Vermont, Nathaniel Smithers of Delaware, and James English of Connecticut were appointed as the House members.

During the succeeding Congress, another joint committee was appointed. The membership of the committee

suggested the seriousness with which the House viewed the air-quality problem. It included such luminaries as Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Henry Dawes of Massachusetts. Representative Stevens chaired the Committee on Ways and Means (37th–38th Congresses, 1861–1865), the Committee on Appropriations (39th–40th Congresses, 1865–1869), and was designated in 1868 to conduct the impeachment proceedings against President Andrew Johnson. Representative Dawes chaired the Committee on Elections (37th–40th Congresses, 1861–1869), the Committee on Appropriations (41st Congress, 1869–1871), and the Committee on Ways and Means (42nd–43rd Congresses, 1871–1875).

In 1866, Abner Harding of Illinois said that he had been nearly perishing for want of fresh air and that the chamber reminded him of the black hole of Calcutta.[104] In 1867 a resolution was introduced, which read:

Whereas the confined and poisonous air in the hall and corridors of the representative wing of the Capitol has caused much sickness and even several deaths among the members of this house, and under present arrangements must continue in a poisonous condition:

> *Resolved,* That a committee of three be appointed to examine at once and report to this house by what means a sufficient supply of pure air may be obtained for said hall; and that said committee be empowered to use the present modes of ventilation to the best advantage for the present, and that they report by bill or otherwise.[105]

Although investigations regarding ventilation were often limited to each individual chamber, in 1870, the House joined with the Senate to pass legislation appropriating the sum of $3,000 "for the purpose of making experiments in the ventilation of the halls of the capitol."[106] Another 1870 statute provided for an appropriation of $15,000 for additional "glass panels, flues, doors, and apparatus for improving the lighting and ventilating of said hall."[107] Unfortunately, these expenditures proved to be insufficient. In the very next session of Congress an additional appropriation was approved that provided for "additional fans for the exhaustion of vitiated air from the hall."[108]

To solve the problem, the committee considered a parade of patented technological solutions, including Professor R.B. Williamson's 1878 invention for cooling and purifying air. In 1879, the committee visited Alexandria, Virginia, to inspect the patent refrigerating machine of Thomas Cook of Philadelphia, which was in successful operation in Portner's Brewery. A proposition had been made to place one of Cook's refrigeration machines in the basement of the House to "cool the atmosphere."[109] Interestingly, during one period, there was a debate among two opposing schools of thought as to the appropriate remedial course to improving ventilation in the Chamber. One camp contended "a downward system of ventilation is preferable to the one now in vogue, viz.: the upward system."[110]

Other less technological solutions to the air quality problem were also put forward. In 1879, the committee suggested: "Throw the chamber open as soon as the House adjourns or recesses, and keep all the doors and windows around the hall open until the foul air has had an opportunity to escape."[111] In 1894, the committee recommended that: "the machinery for ventilation be run the full 24 hours, in order that members may have pure air to breathe at the beginning of each daily session."[112] For that purpose, they recommended an appropriation of $700 a month be made available immediately.

Over the years, the source of the foul air in the chamber was ascribed to a host of causes: "Among other things, the committee has discovered that the apertures in the floor beneath the desks, intended to supply fresh air to the hall are the accumulators of apple parings, cigar butts, crumbs of bread, and every description of refuse through which all the air admitted to the House is forced to pass."[113] In 1895, Chairman George Washington Shell of South Carolina announced that the committee had concluded that leaking gas from the chamber's light fixtures was a likely culprit.[114] But perhaps the most unlikely cause was the committee's assertion that foul air in the chamber was caused by admitting to the public gallery "persons unclean in their person and dress."[115]

The ultimate solution to the problem of ventilation in the House would not be realized until the advent of "a new and wondrous improvement in the science of ventilation called "air conditioning."[116] The legislative appropriation bill for FY1929 included $323,000 "for the purchase and installation for the Senate Chamber and the Hall of the House of Representatives of complete improved ventilation, dehumidifying air conditioning apparatus."[117] The system in the House was completed in December 1928, and in the Senate the following year. In an amusing footnote to these events, it was necessary to print notices for the Members of Congress who were unaccustomed to cool, dry air in the summertime, to assure them that there was nothing to worry about when experiencing an air-conditioned room for the first time.

Chamber Acoustics. As the committee's name suggests, the acoustic properties in the chamber were also a frequent topic of the committee's investigations. As one commentator noted, "The acoustic properties of the chamber are not good." It has been said that "speaking in the House is like trying to address the people in the Broadway omnibuses from the curbstone in front of the Astor House."[118]

In 1891, the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics reported on enlargement of the Old Hall of the House (now Statuary Hall)[119] and, in 1899, on a plan for the remodeling of the hall and rearranging its seats. In the Old Hall of the House, the acoustics were a source of constant trouble because of the echoes, and several investigations were made.[120] One report suggested ways to improve acoustics, recommending a reduction in the size of the hall, the removal of desks and the rearrangement of the seats.

Today, the mere mention of the name of the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics is apt to prompt some mildly derisive response. During its tenure, the committee enjoyed a greater degree of respect, but was nonetheless the target of the occasional verbal barb. In the latter years of its existence, assignment to the committee was sometimes perceived as less than desirable. One commentator describes Speaker Joseph G. Cannon's appointment of freshman Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin to the committee as follows: "He put Lenroot to one side by assigning him to the inane Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics."[121]

The committee was later described as one of those committees appointed for the sole "purpose of giving holes for Uncle Joe (Speaker Joseph Cannon) to 'put his pegs in.'"[122] In 1908, George Lindsay of New York resigned from the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics shortly after being appointed, having discovered that the committee seldom, if ever, met and was useful only in providing rooms for the chairman's use.[123] The following year, Minority Leader Champ Clark of Missouri echoed this sentiment, noting sarcastically, "I would not care a baubee if he [Speaker Cannon] put me at the tail end of the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics."[124]

Jurisdictional Highlights. In the 42nd Congress (1871–1873) it was decided by House Speaker James G. Blaine of Maine that all matters relating to the arrangement of the Hall and the convenience of Members were to be considered and treated as matters of privilege.[125] This precedent extended beyond the termination of the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics. In 1923, a resolution to inquire into the efficacy of installing a "public address or voice amplifying system" in the Hall of the House was deemed to be privileged. Interestingly, an experimental system was installed pursuant to this resolution, but after a brief trial it was removed.[126]

In the 49th Congress (1885–1887), John Swinburne of New York, a minority member of the committee, introduced a resolution to extend the jurisdiction of the House Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics to all buildings in the District of Columbia, but no action was taken on his proposal.[127]

Toward the end of its existence the committee considered legislation not directly related to its primary jurisdiction. One notable example was a proposal to fund the De Bausset vacuum airship. The invention was based on the theory that by pumping the air out of a steel cylinder, the vacuum created would produce a lighter-than-air craft that could transport passengers and cargo. At the time it was hailed as the next revolution in transportation.[128]

Throughout most of its history the committee was composed of seven members: four majority and three minority,

with the exception of the 59th–60th Congresses (1905–1909), when it consisted of six members equally divided. Notably, in the 54th–56th Congresses (1895–1901), the minority wing of the committee included, in addition to two Democrats, members of the third party Populist Party—Harry Skinner of North Carolina (54th–55th Congresses) and John Atwater of North Carolina (56th Congress).

Committee on the Election of the President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress

The Committee on the Election of the President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress was established in 1893, during the first session of the 53rd Congress.[129] The origin of the committee, however, dates to nearly two decades earlier, when, in 1876, the House established a Select Committee on Counting the Votes for President and Vice President.[130] In 1887, the select committee was renamed the Committee on the Election of the President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, a name that it would retain when transformed into a standing committee in 1893.[131]

As was the practice in the years prior to the explicit jurisdictional statements included in the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act, jurisdiction of the committee was somewhat ambiguous, and only stated redundantly by the name of the committee itself. For example, House Rules for the 79th Congress (1945–1946) directed that legislation on the subject of the election of the President, the Vice President and Representative in Congress, be referred to the Committee on the Election of the President, Vice President and Representatives in Congress."[132]

Notwithstanding this terse statement, over its 53-year history, the committee processed an interesting variety of legislation on subjects related to several aspects of elections. A wide range of legislation concerning the election of the officials named in the committee's title was referred to the committee. These included proposed changes to the Constitution affecting terms of office of the President, the Vice President, and Members of Congress, as well as bills to provide for the method of succession for the President and the Vice President, and the meeting times of Congress.

Jurisdictional Highlights. Measures affecting national election laws were also within the province of the committee. In 1912, nearly a century before the adoption of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, the committee reported a bill providing for the disclosure of contributions and expenditures for the purpose of influencing or securing the nomination of candidates for the offices of President and Vice President.[133]

Constitutional amendments are normally the province of the Committee on the Judiciary. On several occasions, however, the Committee on the Election of the President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress reported joint resolutions proposing a constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of United States Senators.

On other occasions the committee reported joint resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution prohibiting polygamy and disqualifying polygamists from election to Congress. In 1899, the committee submitted a report on whether the House would have to seat a Member-elect who was a polygamist. The committee concluded that the Constitution did not allow the House to exclude a Member-elect who met all the constitutional qualifications. However, once a Member was seated, the House could vote to expel him (Article 1, section 5, paragraph 2).[134]

In 1898, the committee reported a bill, providing for voting by soldiers in congressional elections,[135] and a bill proposing an amendment to the Constitution increasing the term of office of Representatives from two years to four years.[136] A year later, in 1899, the committee reported a bill (H.R. 11356, 55th Congress), to permit the use of voting machines in congressional elections. One of the most compelling historical footnotes of the committee's actions was its consideration and support of a technical innovation that is today the subject of continued debate—the use of *electronic* voting machines in congressional elections.[137]

One of the last major issues considered by the committee prior to being subsumed by the new Committee on House

Administration in 1947, was the question of absentee balloting by servicemen.[138]

Prior to the establishment of the standing committee, a Select Committee on Laws Respecting the Election of the President and the Vice President, reported legislation relating to presidential succession, including, interestingly, a proposal in 1886 to amend the Constitution to create an office of Second Vice President.[139]

Caroline O'Day of New York, Chairwoman of the committee in the 75th–77th Congresses (1937–1942), has the distinction of being only the third woman in history to chair a standing committee in the House.

Committee on Memorials

The Committee on Memorials was established on January 3, 1929. It was charged with arranging for the observance of a memorial day by the House in memory of the Members of the House and Senate who had died during the preceding session. In conjunction with this ceremonial duty, the committee was also entrusted with the responsibility of arranging for publication of the proceedings of these memorial services.[140]

Since the First Congress, it had been the custom to hold a separate memorial service for each Member who had died during the session or during the intervening recess. Over time, the practice became more formalized. Services were held in the Hall of the House, usually on a Sunday, and the proceedings were printed in the *Congressional Record*, and subsequently in book form. During early Congresses, when the membership of the House was small, deaths of Members were relatively infrequent. For more than a century, the practice of individual memorial services was adequate for its intended purpose: to provide an appropriate ceremony of remembrance for deceased Members. As the membership of the House grew, however, Members began to question whether the traditional memorial exercises should be modified in some way.[141]

In the 67th Congress (1921–1923), 19 Representatives and 4 Senators died either during its 4 sessions or in the intervening adjournment. There were a comparable number of deaths during the 68th and 69th Congresses (1923–1927). As the number of services increased, there was a perception that attendance was waning and the ceremonies were becoming perfunctory. Concerned Members felt that the traditional memorial programs were falling short of what was intended, and "lacked a great deal of the dignity of a proper memorial day in the House of Representatives."[142]

In response to these perceived inadequacies, the House Rules Committee on January 3, 1929, reported the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives be amended by inserting a new paragraph following paragraph 40, which shall be known as 40a and shall read as follows: "40a. On memorials, to consist of three members." That Rule XI be amended by inserting a new paragraph following paragraph 40, that shall be numbered 40a and shall read as follows: "40a. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Memorials to arrange a suitable program for each memorial day observed by the House of Representatives as a memorial day in memory of Members of the Senate and House of Representatives who have died during the preceding period, and to arrange for the publication of the proceedings thereof. [143]

The proposal enjoyed broad support, although some Members expressed reservations regarding the wisdom of establishing such a committee and abandoning the longstanding traditions of the House governing memorial exercises. With only three members, the committee was among the smallest in the House (at the time, most committees had 20 or more members). This objection was countered by the argument that since the committee had a single ceremonial task, three Members would be competent to discharge the committee's duties.

A second source of concern was the absence of any specificity in the resolution regarding the details of the memorial service itself. Would it be sufficiently dignified? These fears were allayed by assurances that the committee would take

great care to produce a memorial service befitting the solemnity of the occasion. The program designed by the committee for its first memorial exercise on February 20, 1929, seemed to quiet any doubts regarding the wisdom of establishing the Committee on Memorials.

The service opened with a prelude of sacred selections by the United States Marine Band Orchestra. Speaker of the House, Nicholas Longworth of Ohio, presided, and the House Chaplain, Dr. James Shera Montgomery, delivered the invocation. The Clerk of the House read the roll of deceased Members, followed by memorial addresses by Members. Interspersed throughout the program were vocal selections by the Imperial Male Quartet, a popular singing group of the day. The service concluded with the Chaplain's benediction and postlude by the Marine Band Orchestra.[144]

The Committee on Memorials operated from the 70th–79th Congress (1927–1946), at which time its duties were absorbed by the Committee on House Administration pursuant to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. During its 18-year existence, only 14 different Members served on the committee. Notable among these was Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, who was appointed as an inaugural member of the committee and served continually until the committee was abolished.[145] She was chairwoman of the committee during the 77th Congress (1941–1942). In the 80th Congress (1947–1948), she was elected to the newly-formed Committee on House Administration, serving as ranking member. In the 81st Congress (1949–1950), when the Democrats gained a majority, she rose to the chairmanship. Her portrait now hangs in the office of the House Democratic Leader.

Endnotes

1 The history of several of the precursor committees begins many years before their official designation as standing committees, when they originally appeared as select committees of the House.

2 Prior to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, the five House members of the Joint Committee on the Library constituted a separate House Committee on the Library. Today, the House members of the committee are drawn from the membership of the Committee on House Administration.

3 The House branch of the Committee on Printing, acting as a standing committee, continued until 1947 when it was incorporated into the Committee on House Administration. House Members of the Joint Committee have been selected from the membership of the Committee on House Administration since 1947.

4 Ninety years before being absorbed by the House Committee on Accounts in 1927, the Committee on Mileage originated as an outgrowth of that same committee.

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6 *House Journal*, 1st Cong. 1st sess., April 13, 1789 (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1826), p. 13.

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140 "House Resolution 272," *Congressional Record*, vol. 70, Jan. 3, 1929, pp. 1077–1081.

141 Only a single Member of Congress, Rep. Theodorick Bland of Virginia, died during the 1st Congress.

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III. JURISDICTIONAL HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE

Origins and Development

The Committee on House Administration was established in January 1947 as part of a larger effort to streamline the congressional committee system and to modernize the internal management and operations of the House and Senate. With the enactment of the Legislation Reorganization Act of 1946, which is widely acknowledged to be a critical milestone in modernizing Congress, the number of House committees was reduced from 48 to 19. Prior to the reorganization, many panels had overlapping jurisdictions. Ten committees, with far-flung jurisdictions covering federal elections, memorial designations, and oversight of various House personnel and administrative functions, were consolidated under the new Committee on House Administration (see the "Predecessor Panels" chapter for a detailed examination of each committee).

Since 1947, the two principal functions of the Committee on House Administration have been oversight of federal elections and the day-to-day operations in the House. The former responsibility means that the Committee has taken an active role in shaping legislation that touches on any and all aspects of federal elections, as well as issues concerning corrupt practices, contested congressional elections, campaign finance disclosures, and the credentials and qualifications of House Members. The latter role has afforded the Committee an opportunity to exert a great influence on the internal procedures and daily operations of the institution. Also, the Committee has had continuous oversight responsibility for the Library of Congress, the House Library, the U.S. Botanic Gardens, and the Smithsonian Institution.

Jurisdictional History

80th Congress (1947–1948). Jurisdictional responsibility granted to the Committee by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 included "all proposed legislation, messages, petitions, memorials, and other matters relating" to the following subjects:

(A) Employment of persons by the House, including clerks for Members and committees, and reporters of debates.
(B) Expenditure of the contingent fund of the House.
(C) The auditing and settling of all accounts which may be charged to the contingent fund.[1]
(D) Measures relating to accounts of the House generally.
(E) Appropriations from the contingent fund.
(F) Measures relating to services to the House, including the House restaurant and administration of the House office buildings and of the House wing of the Capitol.
(G) Measures relating to travel of Members of the House.
(H) Measures relating to the assignment of office space for Members and committees.
(I) Measures relating to the disposition of useless executive papers.[2]
(J) Matters relating to the Library of Congress and the House Library; statuary and pictures; acceptance or purchase of works of art for the Capitol; the Botanic Gardens; management of the Library of Congress; purchase of books and manuscripts; erection of monuments to the memory of individuals [except for measures relating to the construction or reconstruction, maintenance, and care of the buildings and grounds of the Botanic Gardens and Library of Congress, which jurisdiction was given to the House Committee on Public Works].
(K) Matters relating to the Smithsonian Institution and the incorporation of similar institutions [except for the measures relating to the construction or reconstruction, maintenance, and care of the buildings and grounds, which jurisdiction was given to the House Committee on Public Works].
(L) Matters pertaining to printing and correction of the Congressional Record.
(M) Measures relating to the election of the President, Vice President, or Members of Congress; corrupt practices;

contested elections; credentials and qualifications; and federal elections generally.

The Committee on House Administration was also given the responsibility for:

(A) Examining all bills, amendments, and joint resolutions after passage by the House; and in cooperation with the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, of examining all bills and joint resolutions which shall have passed both Houses, to see that they are correctly enrolled; and when signed by the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, shall forthwith present the same, when they shall have originated in the House, to the President of the United States in person, and report the fact and date of such presentation to the House;

(B) Reporting to the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House the travel of Members of the House;

(C) Arranging a suitable program for each day observed by the House of Representatives as a memorial day in memory of Members of the Senate and House of Representatives who have died during the preceding period, and to arrange for the publication of the proceedings thereof.[3]

The 1946 act also provided the statutory basis for the Joint Committee on the Library and the Joint Committee on Printing, and that the chair and four members of the Committee on House Administration serve on the both committees together with the chair and four members of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee.[4]

83rd Congress (1953–1954). The Mutual Security Act of 1954, directed House and Senate committees to report certain foreign travel expenses to the Committee on House Administration and Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, respectively.[5] This provision was the first of many to deal with the reporting of foreign travel and the relationship of the two administration committees to these reports. For example, in the 85th Congress (1957–1958), this provision was amended to require annual transmittal of foreign travel reports to the Committee on House Administration from the other House committees and for these reports to be published in the Congressional Record.[6]

88th Congress (1963–1964). A significant event in the developing professionalization of House employees occurred with enactment of the House Employees Position Classification Act of 1964. The act directed the Committee to establish and maintain a compensation schedule for employees of House officers and certain other offices; create position classification standards and approve position descriptions; and create additional permanent and temporary positions to promulgate regulations to implement the act.[7]

89th Congress (1965–1966). The Committee was given jurisdiction over resolutions authorizing committees to employ additional professional and clerical personnel.[8]

91st Congress (1969–1970). The Select Committee on the House Restaurant was given jurisdiction over House dining facilities, and the Committee on House Administration's jurisdiction was limited to legislation involving House dining facilities.[9] The Select Committee to Regulate Parking on the House Side of the Capitol was given jurisdiction over outside parking, and the House Building Commission was authorized to delegate to the Architect of the Capitol responsibilities for parking within House office buildings.[10]

Passage of the Federal Contested Election Act of 1969 (FCEA) established the process for contesting a House election, and vested the Committee with adjudicatory authority over the process.[11]

With a July 1970 resolution, the House transferred some jurisdiction over campaign finance to the Standards of Official Conduct Committee from the Committee on House Administration. The Standards Committee was given jurisdiction over: "Measures relating to the raising, reporting, and use of campaign contributions for candidates for the office of Representative in the House of Representatives and of Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico."[12] The jurisdiction of the Committee on House Administration was not amended, giving it and the Standards Committee overlapping jurisdiction.

Also in 1970, Congress formally relinquished its role in approving the disposition of executive papers. The Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers was abolished,

and the Committee on House Administration and Senate Rules and Administration Committee were authorized to provide advice to the administrator of the General Services Administration on the disposition of such papers.[13]

92nd Congress (1971–1972). The House transferred from the Clerk of the House to the Committee jurisdiction over computer services, and authorized the Committee to incur expenses for the maintenance and improvement of computer services and to hire technical staff. These decisions marked the beginning of House Information Systems (H.I.S.).[14]

The Committee was delegated wide authority to establish, by committee order, allowances for Members and committees. For Members' personal offices, the Committee was authorized to establish allowances from the contingent fund for clerk hire, postage, stationery, telephone and other communications, district office space and expenses, and travel and mileage to a district. For committees, the Committee was authorized to establish allowances for postage, stationery, and telephone and other communications.[15]

The House once again established a Select Committee on the House Restaurant, but gave it responsibility for restaurant operations, subject to the jurisdiction and authority of the Committee on House Administration. The House also transferred the duties and records related to House dining facilities to the Committee on House Administration from the Architect of the Capitol.[16]

93rd Congress (1973–1974). Congress agreed to a change in federal law initiated in the House to discontinue the Committee on House Administration's duties to receive committees' foreign travel reports and publish them in the Congressional Record.[17]

The principal development in the 93rd Congress affecting House organization and procedures and the Committee was the adoption in October 1974 of the Committee Reform Amendments, effective with the convening of the 94th Congress (1975–1976).[18] Under the amendments, the Committee received jurisdiction over parking and over a committee scheduling system that was to be implemented through H.I.S. Reimbursements for the attendance of Members-elect at early organizational meetings was subject to regulation by the Committee. Committees were to file foreign travel reports with the Committee.

Reference in the Committee's jurisdiction to memorial services for deceased Members was deleted, and its jurisdiction over the Hatch Act was transferred to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.[19]

94th Congress (1975–1976). The House removed campaign contributions to candidates for the House from the jurisdiction of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct and restored it to the jurisdiction of the Committee on House Administration.[20]

The House gave the Committee shared jurisdiction over measures relating to the compensation, retirement, and benefits of Members, officers, and employees, which had largely been within the sole jurisdiction of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.[21]

By the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974, effective January 3, 1975, jurisdiction over House Restaurants was returned to the Committee,[22] the Committee obtained jurisdiction over parking facilities of the House,[23] reimbursements for the attendance of Members-elect at early organization meetings was subject to regulation by the Committee, and committees were to file foreign travel reports with the Committee.[24]

On July 1, 1976, the House established the Commission on Administrative Review. The commission, which comprised eight Representatives and seven public members, was charged with studying the House's administrative services, including personnel, administration, accounting, purchasing, and allowances, and making a final report to the House no later than December 31, 1977.[25] Representative David R. Obey was named chair, and the commission became popularly known as the Obey Commission. The same day, the House stripped the Committee on House Administration of its authority to set allowances for Members, House officers, and committees without the adoption of a resolution by the House, limiting the committee's adjustments to allowances

to a change in prices, technological improvements in equipment, or cost-of-living increases pursuant to the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1971.[26]

Prior to those House actions, Representative Wayne L. Hays resigned as chairman of the Committee on House Administration on June 18, 1976, after admitting to having an affair with a Committee secretary. Four days later, Representative Frank Thompson, Jr. was selected as the new chair of the Committee, and it adopted a series of orders that originated in recommendations by a separate three-member Democratic task force, also headed by Representative Obey. Among the orders, Members and chairs were required to certify monthly their staff, salaries, and duties; disbursements would be made only upon presentation of a voucher; cash-outs from the stamp allowance were ended; a Member could transfer funds between seven of his or her office's separate allowances, and expend some of the clerk-hire allowance for computers and office equipment; and quarterly House spending reports in a new format were required. One order gave the Committee power to adjust the clerk-hire allowance for the federal cost-of-living adjustment. The Committee also requested an audit of committees' finances by the General Accounting Office.[27]

95th Congress (1977–1978). In the International Security Assistance Act of 1978, the House changed its committee foreign travel reporting requirement from the Committee on House Administration to the Clerk of the House, but maintained the requirement for publication in the Congressional Record.[28] Earlier, the House authorized the Committee to recommend spending levels for foreign as well as domestic travel in committee funding resolutions.[29]

In an expansion of the Committee's jurisdiction, the House authorized committee funding resolutions reported by the Committee to apply to "any committee, commission, or other entity."[30] The House rule previously applied only to funding resolution for standing committees.

The Committee was given committee jurisdiction over the House beauty shop.[31]

96th Congress (1979–1980). The Committee acquired new jurisdiction after the Senate abolished the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations in the course of reorganizing its committee system in 1977. The House first, in the 95th Congress, created a Select Committee on Congressional Operations to operate an Office of Placement and an Office of Management and to study House organizational and operational issues.[32] The select committee's existence was not renewed in the 96th Congress (1979–1980), however, and the House agreed to a resolution directing the Committee on House Administration to provide various services, such as a placement service and professional development.[33] The House also directed the Committee to regulate solid waste disposal for the House.[34]

The House became explicit about the relationship of the Committee to the operation of vacant Representatives' offices. In the 96th Congress and 97th Congress, payments to staff of offices vacant for any reason could be continued upon the approval of vouchers by the Committee on House Administration and the signature of the committee's chair.[35] In the 98th Congress, the Clerk of the House was directed to supervise the staff and manage the office of a Member who died, resigned, or was expelled, or of a Member who was incapacitated. With the permission of the Committee, the Clerk was authorized to appoint staff to operate the office.[36]

97th Congress (1983–1984). Following a series of incidents involving allegations of sexual improprieties between Members and congressional pages, the House, independent of action by the Committee, established the House Page Board, with jurisdiction over the page program.[37]

99th Congress (1985–1986). The House instituted more orderly funding of committees by providing three months' interim funding in the first session of a Congress at a rate of 9% of each committee's funding in the expense resolution of the previous session of Congress, thus giving the Committee and the full chamber time to report and agree to, respectively, committee funding resolutions. The Committee, in addition, was authorized to regulate spending under the rules changes.[38]

100th Congress (1987–1988). The House authorized three months' interim funding for committees at the beginning

of the second session as well as the first session, and permitted the Committee to reduce spending below the 9% authorized.[39]

Two new entities were created that included membership from the Committee on House Administration—the House Fine Arts Board, to be comprised of the House members of the Joint Committee on the Library, with the Committee on House Administration chair designated as chair of the board,[40] and the United States Capitol Historical Preservation Commission, whose members were to include the chairs and ranking minority members of the House Administration and Senate Rules and Administration Committees.[41]

The House applied anti-discrimination provisions to House employment rules, and created an Office of Fair Employment Practices to enforce these provisions through a complaint and hearings process. The chair and ranking minority member of the Committee were to appoint employees of the office. In the event of an appeal from a decision of the office, a review panel was to be created comprising two Committee members appointed by the chair, two members appointed by the ranking minority member, two House officers appointed by the Speaker, and two minority employees appointed by the minority leader.[42]

101st Congress (1989–1990). The Committee was authorized to promulgate regulations implementing House Rule XXXVI pertaining to noncurrent records. If the Clerk of the House determined that a House record should not be available, the Clerk was to notify the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee in writing. The Committee was also granted leave to report on matters relating to the preservation and availability of noncurrent House records.[43]

Another rules change allowed the Committee to meet during House consideration of a measure for amendment under the five-minute rule, a privilege previously held by only the Appropriations, Budget, Rules, Standards of Official Conduct, and Ways and Means Committees.[44]

In 1989, the Postmaster General was directed to provide various reports on the costs of franked mail to the Clerk of the House, Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards (a unit of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee), Committee on House Administration, Secretary of the Senate, and Senate Rules and Administration Committee. The Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards—also called the Franking Commission—and the Committee on House Administration, for the House, and the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, for the Senate, were directed to "consider promulgating such regulations" that would ensure total mailing costs would not exceed amounts made available for a fiscal year.[45]

Congress created a commission to recommend individuals to the President for a 10-year appointment as Architect of the Capitol. The commission comprised the Speaker, President pro tempore, House and Senate majority and minority leaders, and the chairs and ranking members of the House Administration and Senate Rules and Administration Committees.[46]

102nd Congress (1991–1992). In response to scandals involving the House Bank, House Post Office, House Restaurant, and other perceived abuses of power, the House passed the Administrative Reform Resolution.[47] Among the provisions that affected Committee directly were the following:

- The position of Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services was created and assigned operational and financial responsibility for certain functions enumerated in the resolution, subject to the policy direction and oversight of the Committee.[48]
- The position of Inspector General was created and assigned certain duties, subject to the policy direction and oversight of the Committee.[49]
- The Committee was directed to implement decisions of the Speaker that eliminated perquisites.
- The Committee was directed to create an office of general counsel "in a manner which shall insure appropriate coordination with and participation by both the majority and minority leaderships on representational and litigation matters."
- The Office of the House Postmaster was eliminated.
- A Subcommittee on Administrative Oversight was established under the Committee, with equal majority and minority membership, to receive audits from the Inspector General and to provide oversight of the Clerk of the House, Sergeant at Arms, Doorkeeper, Director

of Non-Legislative and Financial Services, and Inspector General.[50]

The House created a new Rule LI, Employment Practices, which incorporated by reference the Fair Employment Practices Resolution first agreed to the by the House, in the 100th Congress containing duties for the Committee as described above. In the 103rd Congress, the House also added to this new rule authority for the Committee to issue rules and regulations applying the Fair Labor Standards Act to the House.[51]

The General Accounting Office (GAO), in cooperation with the Committee, was directed to develop accounting standards and guidelines to be used by House legislative service organizations.[52]

Congress created the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Capitol, and included the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee among its members.[53]

103rd Congress (1993–1994). Congress approved legislation reducing the number of employee positions in the House, Senate, and each legislative branch agency by 4%, with at least 62.5% of the reduction to be completed by September 30, 1994, and the balance of the reduction to be completed by September 30, 1995.[54] The law required the Committee play a key role by reporting expense resolutions under its jurisdiction and taking other actions to achieve the specified reductions.

The Committee was directed by law to transfer to the Clerk of the House responsibility for all financial activities of legislative service organizations.[55]

The Committee was directed by law to implement a transit-pass system for House employees.[56]

104th Congress (1995–1996). Substantial House rules changes implemented for the 104th Congress[57] included reconstituting standing committees and changing the name of the Committee on House Administration to the Committee on House Oversight. (The name was changed back to the Committee on House Administration at the start of the 106th Congress.)

References to the "contingent fund" were eliminated without changing the accounts over which the Committee would have jurisdiction—committee salaries and expenses (except for the Appropriations Committee); House Information Systems; and allowances and expenses of Members, House officers, and House administrative offices.[58]

The House amended its general oversight rule to require each committee to adopt an oversight plan in an open session by February 15 of the first session of a Congress and to submit its plan to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight and the Committee on House Oversight. The House also disallowed consideration of expense resolutions for committees that had not submitted oversight plans, a constraint on the Oversight Committee's authority to report such resolutions.

The House also directed the Clerk to report semiannually to the Oversight Committee on the financial and operational status of each function of the office. This same direction was given to the House Sergeant at Arms.

The House created a new officer—the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO)—with functions assigned by the Speaker and the House Oversight Committee and under the policy direction of the Speaker and the Oversight Committee. The CAO was directed to report semiannually to the Committee on the financial and operational status of each function of the office and set up a new Office of Procurement and Purchasing.[59]

The House abolished the position of Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services, which operated under the under the policy direction and oversight of the then-Committee on House Administration. The rules changes also made conforming changes to the additional functions of the Oversight Committee relating to the Chief Administrative Officer, Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services, and Doorkeeper.

The House directed its Inspector General to undertake a comprehensive audit of House financial records and administrative operations, in consultation with the Speaker and the Committee, and to report pursuant to a House rule that included the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee among the recipients of any report.

Jurisdiction over the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards[60]—popularly known as the Franking Commission—was transferred to the Committee from the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which was not reconstituted as a committee.

The House prohibited the creation or continuation of legislative service organizations, and directed the Committee to ensure the orderly termination of such existing entities.

The Committee's jurisdiction over the erection of monuments in memory of individuals was transferred to the reconstituted Committee on Resources.[61]

The Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 applied certain federal labor and antidiscrimination laws to legislative branch employees and established an Office of Compliance.[62] Oversight of the Office of Compliance and board of directors was entrusted to the House Oversight and Senate Rules and Administration Committees.[63]

The House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act of 1995 included provisions that:

- established the Members' Representational Allowance (MRA), subject to regulations promulgated by the House Oversight Committee;[64]
- provided additional regulatory authority to the Committee to set and adjust the amounts, terms, and conditions of the MRA;[65]
- authorized the Committee to regulate positions allowed for Member staffs, and allowed the two-month term of a temporary employee to be extended with the written permission of the Committee;[66]
- disallowed payments from House accounts unless authorized by the Committee;[67] and
- authorized the Committee to regulate the distribution to Members of the published annotated edition of the United States Code.[68]

The House Sergeant at Arms was provided with the same law enforcement authority as the Capitol Police, subject to regulations promulgated by the Committee.[69]

The FY1997 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act made the Committee on House Oversight and Senate Rules and Administration Committee responsible for determining the structure and operation of a program established by the act for exchanging information among legislative branch agencies, and for providing oversight of the program.[70]

The same act transferred responsibility for Capitol complex security systems to the Capitol Police from the Architect of the Capitol, subject to the direction of the House Oversight and Senate Rules and Administration Committees.[71]

105th Congress (1997–1998). The House deleted references to the Speaker in the rule providing for the Office of the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), leaving the Committee solely responsible for the CAO's supervision and policy direction.

106th Congress (1999–2000). The opening-day rules package for the 106th Congress changed the name of the House Oversight Committee back to the Committee on House Administration. The rules package also clarified the Committee's jurisdiction over the employment of reporters of debate.[72]

The FY2001 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act authorized the Committee to promulgate regulations governing the return to the Treasury of unspent Members' allowances.[73] This provision has been included in subsequent legislative branch appropriations acts.

107th Congress (2001–2002). The House transferred responsibility to the Clerk of the House for examining the engrossment of bills, amendments, and joint resolutions passed by the House and the enrollment of bills and joint resolutions passed by both houses, and for the presenting of House-originated bills and joint resolutions to the President. The Committee's responsibility was repealed.[74]

The House added "policy direction" to the Committee's jurisdiction vis-à-vis the Inspector General, and removed its policy direction jurisdiction over the Clerk of the House, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Chief Administrative Officer. The Committee's oversight jurisdiction over all of these House officers was retained.[75]

The Help America Vote Act stipulated that chairs and ranking minority members of the Committee on House Administration and Senate Rules and Administration

Committee were each to make two appointments to the Election Assistance Commission Board of Advisors,[76] and the chairs and ranking minority members of the two committees, or their designees, were to serve as nonvoting, ex officio members of the Help America Vote Foundation Board of Directors.[77]

108th Congress (2003–2004). The House codified the "operating procedures" of the Standards of Official Conduct Committee, which included authority of the committee to retain outside counsel subject to the approval of the Committee on House Administration.

The House reiterated a long-standing policy that the associate, or "shared," staff of the Appropriations Committee are not subject to review by the Committee on House Administration in connection with the Committee's reporting of committee expense resolutions.[78]

Subject to the approval of the Committee on House Administration and Senate Rules and Administration Committee, the Capitol Police Board was authorized to promulgate regulations on the release of security information.[79]

In response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and a subsequent incident in which the biological agent anthrax was mailed to several recipients, including two Capitol Hill offices, the Chief Administrative Officer was directed to issue regulations, subject to the approval of the Committee, on mail handling to ensure the safety of individuals who might come into contact with mail.[80]

Federal law (2 U.S.C. secs. 29a and 43b-2) was amended relating to the attendance of Members, Members-elect, and staff at orientations for new Members conducted by the Committee.[81]

112th Congress (2011–2012). In the 112th Congress, the Committee's jurisdiction, appearing at Rule X, cl. 1(j),[82] included the following:

(1) Appropriations from accounts for committee salaries and expenses (except for the Committee on Appropriations); House Information Resources; and allowances and expenses of Members, Delegates, the Resident Commissioner, officers, and administrative offices of the House.
(2) Auditing and settling of all accounts described in subparagraph (1).
(3) Employment of persons by the House, including staff for Members, Delegates, the Resident Commissioner, and committees; and reporters of debates, subject to rule VI.[83]
(4) Except as provided in paragraph (r)(11), the Library of Congress, including management thereof; the House Library; statuary and pictures; acceptance or purchase of works of art for the Capitol; the Botanic Garden; and purchase of books and manuscripts.[84]
(5) The Smithsonian Institution and the incorporation of similar institutions (except as provided in paragraph (r)(11)).[85]
(6) Expenditure of accounts described in subparagraph (1).
(7) Franking Commission.
(8) Printing and correction of the Congressional Record.
(9) Accounts of the House generally.
(10) Assignment of office space for Members, Delegates, the Resident Commissioner, and committees.
(11) Disposition of useless executive papers.
(12) Election of the President, Vice President, Members, Senators, Delegates, or the Resident Commissioner; corrupt practices; contested elections; credentials and qualifications; and Federal elections generally.
(13) Services to the House, including the House Restaurant, parking facilities, and administration of the House Office Buildings and of the House wing of the Capitol.
(14) Travel of Members, Delegates, and the Resident Commissioner.
(15) Raising, reporting, and use of campaign contributions for candidates for office of Representative, of Delegate, and of Resident Commissioner.
(16) Compensation, retirement, and other benefits of the Members, Delegates, the Resident Commissioner, officers, and employees of Congress.

Pursuant to Rule XIII, cl. 5(a)(3), the Committee had leave to report on matters related to enrolled bills, contested elections, printing, expenditure from accounts under its jurisdiction, and the preservation and availability of noncurrent House records. Under Rule X, cl. 4(d), the Committee had "additional functions" related to officers of the House,[86]

gifts to the House, and settlements under the Congressional Accountability Act.

The principal authority in House rules regarding expense resolutions, which was within the jurisdiction of the Committee, was contained in Rule X, cl. 6 and cl. 7. Other provisions affecting the expense resolutions and House accounts appeared elsewhere in House rules. Limits on use of the frank contained in House rules appeared in Rule XXIV, cl. 4-cl. 9. Authority related to the noncurrent records of the House appeared in Rule VII.[87]

Jurisdictional Relationship with Other House Committees

The Committee has working relationships with its Senate counterpart, the Senate Rules and Administration Committee; with the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, particularly the House Legislative Branch Subcommittee; and with the Speaker. With jurisdiction over aspects of the operation of the Capitol, House office buildings, and services within the Capitol Complex, the Committee on House Administration also has working relationships with the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, which has jurisdiction over construction of public buildings generally and the Capitol and House and Senate office buildings specifically, and the House Office Building Commission, which comprises the Speaker and two House Members, traditionally the majority and minority leaders.[88]

The Chairman, Ranking Member, and members of the Committee on House Administration, because of their role on the Committee, also serve on other congressional committees and boards, such as the Joint Committee on Printing, the Joint Committee on the Library, and the House of Representatives Fine Arts Board. Illustrations of the jurisdictional relationships of the Committee on House Administration with some of these entities appear in this section.

Appropriations Committee. After the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 took effect in the 80th Congress (1947–1948), the House Appropriations Committee noted the jurisdiction of the Committee on House Administration in the FY 1948 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act. The Appropriations Committee stated that committee staff funding, except for that of the Appropriations Committee, was made available "in such amounts and under such regulations as may be approved by the Committee on House Administration."[89]

Post Office and Civil Service Committee. In the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee was given jurisdiction over "Status of officers and employees of the United States, including their compensation, classification, and retirement." This jurisdiction included compensation and benefits for Members of Congress, officers of Congress, and congressional employees, with the Committee on House Administration, through rules of the House and statute, having related jurisdiction over job descriptions, salary schedules, and other matters for House officers and employees and other legislative branch employees, such as those of the Capitol Police or the Architect of the Capitol.

In the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974, which became effective at the beginning of the 94th Congress (1975–1976), the Committee on House Administration's jurisdiction over the Hatch Act was transferred to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.[90] With the convening of the 94th Congress, the House gave the Committee on House Administration shared jurisdiction with the Post Office and Civil Service Committee over measures relating to the compensation, retirement, and benefits of Members, officers, and employees, which had largely been within the sole jurisdiction of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.[91]

At the beginning of the 104th Congress, jurisdiction over the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards was transferred to the House Oversight Committee from the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which was not reconstituted.[92]

Rules Committee. A significant challenge to the Committee on House Administration's jurisdiction arose in the 89th Congress (1965–1966) when the Rules Committee briefly asserted its authority to establish spending limits in resolutions authorizing other House committees'

investigations.[93] Concern by the Chairman of the Rules Committee over the rising costs of House committees' investigations led to the challenge to the Committee on House Administration's exclusive jurisdiction over committee spending authorizations. On January 28, 1965, the Committee on House Administration agreed to a committee resolution asserting its jurisdiction, under the rules of the House and 2 U.S.C. sec. 95, and transmitted the resolution to the Rules Committee.[94]

On February 2, 1965, the Rules Committee reported several House resolutions authorizing specific investigations by specific committees. The Rules Committee, however, also proposed amendments to some of the resolutions setting a limit on spending authorizations for these investigations. When several of the resolutions were considered by the House on February 16, the Rules Committee's amendments were deleted at the initiative of the Rules Committee Chairman. In a floor statement, Rules Committee Chairman Howard W. Smith conceded the Committee on House Administration's jurisdiction, while asking his colleagues on the Committee on House Administration to hold down committees' investigative costs, which he said had increased by $1 million in each of the preceding six Congresses.[95]

Ethics Committee. In the 91st Congress (1969–1970), the House transferred some jurisdiction over campaign finance to the Standards of Official Conduct (now Ethics) Committee from the Committee on House Administration. The Committee on Official Conduct was given jurisdiction over: "Measures relating to the raising, reporting, and use of campaign contributions for candidates for the office of Representative in the House of Representatives and of Resident Commission to the United States from Puerto Rico."[96] The jurisdiction of the Committee on House Administration, however, was not amended, giving it and the ethics committee overlapping jurisdiction. Questions seeking to clarify the intent of the resolution, which also covered lobbying, raised during debate, were largely unanswered, other than the floor managers noting that this resolution related to the larger set of reorganization recommendations made by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress.

When the 94th Congress (1975–1976) convened, the House agreed to rules changes that included deleting the Standards of Official Conduct Committee's jurisdiction over campaign finance related to House candidates and returning the jurisdiction fully to the Committee on House Administration.[97]

Endnotes

1 The contingent fund may be thought of as the cumulative set of House decisions to spend money for specific purposes, those decisions having been made by the Committee on House Administration or the House. Such decisions were normally made through a committee action, such as a resolution or order, or through House action on a resolution or on a measure enacted into law. Funding for the contingent fund was contained in appropriations acts.

2 Congress had previously established a Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers to review schedules of executive documents proposed for disposal. The joint committee was to comprise two Senators and two Representatives, with the Representatives being members of the House Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers, a committee superseded by the House Administration Committee. P.L. 115, sec. 4, 57 Stat. 381 (July 7, 1943).

3 Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 825-826 (Aug. 2, 1946).

4 Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 838 (Aug. 2, 1946).

5 Mutual Security Act of 1954, P.L. 665, sec. 502, 68 Stat. 850 (Aug. 26, 1954).

6 Mutual Security Act of 1958, P.L. 85-477, sec. 401(a), 72 Stat. 268 (June 30, 1958).

7 House Employees Position Classification Act, P.L. 88-652, 78 Stat. 1079-1084 (Oct. 13, 1964).

8 "Referral of Resolution [H. Res. 640]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 112, 89th Cong. 2nd sess., Feb. 7, 1966, p. 2373; and U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives, One Hundred Tenth Congress,* 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 109-157 (Washington: GPO, 2007), p. 453.

9 "To Create a Committee on the House Restaurant [H. Res. 472]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 115, 91st Cong. 1st sess., July 10, 1969, pp. 19080–19081.

10 "To Create a Select Committee to Regulate Parking on the House Side of the Capitol [H. Res. 282]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 115, 91st Cong. 1st sess., March 13, 1969, p. 6441.

11 Federal Contested Election Act, P.L. 91-138, 83 Stat. 284-285 (Dec. 5, 1969).

12 "Lobby Practices and Political Campaign Contributions Affecting the House of Representatives [H. Res. 1031]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 116, 91st Cong. 2nd sess., July 8, 1970, pp. 23136–23141.

13 Government Records Disposal, P.L. 91-287, sec. 2, 84 Stat. 321-322 (June 23, 1970).

14 "Providing Funds for Computer Services for the House of Representatives [H. Res. 601]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 117, 92nd Cong. 1st sess., Nov. 9, 1971, pp. 40015–40017.

15 "Expenditures From Contingent Fund for Allowances to Members, Officers, and Standing Committees [H. Res. 457]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 117, 92nd Cong. 1st sess., July 21, 1971, pp. 26446–25451. Made permanent law in the Supplemental Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1972, P.L. 92-184, 85 Stat. 636 (Dec. 15, 1971).

16 "Creating a Select Committee on the House Restaurant [H. Res. 317]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 117, 92nd Cong. 1st sess., March 25, 1971, pp. 7961–7962. Made permanent law in the Legislative Appropriations Act, 1972, P.L. 92-51, 85 Stat. 133 (July 9, 1971).

17 Department of State Appropriations Authorization Act of 1973, P.L. 93-126, sec. 5(3), 87 Stat. 452 (Oct. 18, 1973).

18 "Committee Reform [H. Res. 988]," *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1974, 93rd Cong. 2nd sess., Oct. 8, 1974, pt. 2, pp. 1864–1878.

19 "Committee Reform [H. Res. 988]," *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1974, 93rd Cong. 2nd sess., Oct. 8, 1974, pt. 2, pp. 1865, 1869–1870, 1874–1875, 1878.

20 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1975, 94th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 14, 1975, pt. 1, pp. 4, 6–7.

21 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1975, 94th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 14, 1975, pt. 1, pp. 4, 6–7.

22 "Committee Reform [H. Res. 988]," *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1974, 93rd Cong. 2nd sess., Oct. 8, 1974, pt. 2, pp. 1874, 1878.

23 "Committee Reform [H. Res. 988]," *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1974, 93rd Cong. 2nd sess., Oct. 8, 1974, pt. 2, pp. 1874, 1878.

24 "Committee Reform [H. Res. 988]," *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1974, 93rd Cong. 2nd sess., Oct. 8, 1974, pt. 2, pp. 1869–1870, 1878.

25 To Establish a Commission on Administrative Review in the House of Representatives [H. Res. 1395]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 122, 94th Cong. 2nd sess., July 1, 1976, pp. 21788–21807.

26 "Providing for Consideration of House Resolution 1372, to Limit Authority of House Administration to Fix and Adjust Allowances," *Congressional Record*, vol. 122, 94th Cong. 2nd sess., July 1, 1976, pp. 21807–21825. Made permanent law in the Legislative Appropriations Act, 1977, P.L. 94-440, sec. 101, 90 Stat. 1448 (Oct. 1976).

27 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 94th Congress, 2nd Session, 1976* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1976), pp. 25–30.

28 International Security Assistance Act of 1978, P.L. 95-384, sec. 22, 92 Stat. 742 (Sept. 25, 1978).

29 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1977*, 95th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 4, 1977, pt. 1, pp. 6–8.

30 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1977,* 95th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 4, 1977, pt. 1, pp. 6–8.

31 "House Beauty Shop Employee Benefits [H. Res. 315]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 123, 95th Cong. 1st sess., Nov. 1, 1977, pp. 36298–36303, 36343–36344.

32 "Continuing the Work of the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations By Establishing a Select Committee of the House to Perform the Functions of Such Joint Committee for the House [H. Res. 420]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 123, 95th Cong. 1st sess., March 28, 1977, pp. 9247–9257.

33 "Providing Funds for Further Expenses of Committee on House Administration [H. Res. 268]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 125, 96th Cong. 1st sess., June 20, 1979, pp. 15707–15709.

34 Solid Waste Disposal Act Amendments of 1980, P.L. 96-482, sec. 22, 94 Stat. 2347 (Oct. 21, 1980).

35 "Providing for Limited Continuation of Pay of Clerical Assistance to Members in Certain Cases of Termination of Service [H. Res. 804]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 126, 96th Cong. 2nd sess., Oct. 2, 1980, p. 28978; and U.S. Congress, House, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 1982,* report to accompany H.R. 4120, 97th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 97-170 (Washington: GPO, 1981), p. 17. Made permanent in the Continuing Appropriations Act, 1982. P.L. 97-51, sec. 101(c); 95 Stat. 959 (Oct. 1, 1981).

36 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1983,* 98th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 3, 1983, pt. 1, pp. 5–6.

37 "Public Bills and Resolutions [H. Res. 611]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 128, 97th Cong. 2nd sess., Nov. 30, 1982, p. 28119.

38 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 7]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1985,* 99th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 3, 1985, pp. 6–8.

39 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1987,* 100th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 6, 1987, pp. 5–7.

40 Arizona-Idaho Conservation Act, P.L. 100-696, sec. 1001, 102 Stat. 4611 (Nov. 18, 1988).

41 Arizona-Idaho Conservation Act, P.L. 100-696, sec. 1001, 102 Stat. 4608 (Nov. 18, 1988).

42 "House of Representatives Employment Practices [H. Res. 558]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1988,* 100th Cong. 2nd sess., Oct. 3, 1988, pt. 2, pp. 1840, 1878–1879. This resolution was also made effective in the 101st Congress. "Providing for the Continuation of Provisions of the Fair Employment Practices Resolution [H. Res. 15]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 135, 101st Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 3, 1989, p. 85.

43 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 3]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1989,* 101st Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 3, 1989, pt. 1, pp. 6–8.

44 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 3]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1989,* 101st Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 3, 1989, pt. 1, pp. 6–8.

45 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1990, P.L. 101-163, sec. 317; 103 Stat. 1067 (Nov. 21, 1989). In 1990, spending of appropriated funds for franked mail was made subject to specific regulation by the House Administration and Senate Rules and Administration Committees. The postmaster general was directed to report on individual Member's spending for franked mail, and the Postal Service, in consultation with the House Administration and Senate Rules and Administration Committees, was prohibited from delivering franked mail in excess of a Member's allocation. Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1991, P.L. 101-520, sec. 311(b); 104 Stat. 2279 (Nov. 5, 1990). An Official Mail Allowance was established in the House for Members, officers, and employees entitled to use the frank, subject to regulations promulgated by the Committee with respect to the allocation and expenditures relating to the allowance and to regulations promulgated by the Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards relating to matters under 39 U.S.C. sec. 3210(a)(6)(D). P.L. 101-520, sec. 311(e); 104 Stat. 2279-2280 (Nov. 5, 1990).

46 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1990, P.L. 101-163, sec. 319; 103 Stat. 1068 (Nov. 21, 1989).

47 "House Administration Reform [H. Res. 423]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1992,* 102nd Cong. 2nd sess., April 9, 1992, pt. 1, pp. 591–599.

48 In the 103rd Congress, the position of Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services was recodified into House Rule VI. "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1993,* 103rd Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 5, 1993, pt. 1, pp. 4, 9.

49 In the 103rd Congress, the Office of Inspector General was recodified into House Rule VI, and the chair and ranking minority member of the House Administration Committee were listed among other entities to receive reports of audits and financial irregularities. "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1993,* 103rd Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 5, 1993, pt. 1, pp. 4, 9.

50 In the 103rd Congress, the House clarified notification requirements in the event of a tie vote in the subcommittee. Notification was to be made to the Speaker, Majority Leader, Minority Leader, and chair and ranking minority member of the House Administration Committee. "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1993,* 103rd Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 5, 1993, pt. 1, pp. 4, 9.

51 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1991,* 102nd Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 3, 1991, pt. 1, pp. 5, 9. The Fair Employment Practices Resolution was codified as Rule LI in the 103rd Congress. "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1993,* 103rd Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 5, 1993, pt. 1, pp. 5, 9.

52 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Making Appropriations for the Legislative Branch for the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1993,* conference report and joint explanatory statement to accompany H.R. 5427, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 102-1007 (Washington: GPO, 1992), p. 14.

53 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1993, P.L. 102-392, sec. 324; 106 Stat. 1726-1727 (Oct. 1992).

54 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1994, P.L. 103-69, sec. 307; 107 Stat. 710 (Aug. 11, 1993).

55 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1994, P.L. 103-69, sec. 311; 107 Stat. 712 (Aug. 11, 1993).

56 Federal Employees Clean Air Incentive Act, P.L. 103-172, sec. 2(a); 107 Stat. 1995 (Dec. 2, 1993).

57 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 6]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1995,* 104th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 4, 1995, pt. 1, pp. 11–3, Jan. 5, 1995, pp. 23–26.

58 Through a subsequent Committee on House Oversight order and legislation, the Members' Representational Allowance was created. Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1996, P.L. 104-53, sec. 314; 109 Stat. 538-539 (Nov. 19, 1995) authorized the Committee on House Oversight to combine Members' individual allowances into a single allowance, the Members' Representational Allowance (MRA) and to promulgate regulations. House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, P.L. 104-186, sec. 101, 110 Stat. 1719 (Aug. 20, 1996) established the Members' Representational Allowance, subject to regulations promulgated by the House Oversight Committee.

59 The Chief Administrative officer was later directed to issue a semiannual report on disbursements, with such additional information that the House Oversight Committee might direct to be included. House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act. P.L. 104-186, sec. 106; 110 Stat. 1722-1723 (Aug. 20, 1996).

60 See 2 U.S.C. sec. 501. Conforming statutory references were made in P.L. 104-14, sec. 1; 109 Stat. 187 (June 3, 1995).

61 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 6]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1995,* 104th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 4, 1995, pp. 15, 18, Jan. 5, 1995, pt. 1, pp. 23–26.

62 Congressional Accountability Act. P.L. 104-1, Title III, sec. 301-305; 109 Stat. 24-32 (Jan. 23, 1995).

63 Congressional Accountability Act. P.L. 104-1, sec. 301(i), 109 Stat. 26 (Jan. 23, 1995).

64 House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, P.L. 104-186, sec. 101-103; 110 Stat. 1719–1720 (Aug. 20, 1996).

65 House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, P.L. 104-186, sec. 102; 110 Stat. 1719–1720 (Aug. 20, 1996).

66 House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, P.L. 104-186, sec. 104; 110 Stat. 1720–121 (Aug. 20, 1996).

67 House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, P.L. 104-186, sec. 105; 110 Stat. 1721–1722 (Aug. 20, 1996).

68 House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, P.L. 104-186, sec. 107; 110 Stat. 1723 (Aug. 20, 1996).

69 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1966, P.L. 104-53, sec. 313; 109 Stat. 538–539 (Nov. 19, 1995).

70 Legislative Appropriations Act, 1997, P.L. 104-197, sec. 314; 110 Stat. 2415 (Sept. 16, 1996).

71 Legislative Appropriations Act, 1997, P.L. 104-197, sec. 308; 110 Stat. 2413-2414 (Sept. 16, 1996).

72 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1999,* 106th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 6, 1999, pt. 1, pp. 9, 34–35.

73 Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2001, P.L. 106-554, App. B H.R. 5657, sec. 103; 114 Stat. 2763A-101 (Dec. 21, 2000).

74 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 2001,* 107th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 3, 2001, pt. 1, pp. 5, 7–8.

75 "Rules of the House [H.Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 2001,* 107th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 3, 2001, pt. 1, pp. 5, 7–8.

76 Help America Vote Act, P.L. 107-252, sec. 214, 116 Stat. 1680 (Oct. 29, 2002).

77 Help America Vote Act, P.L. 107-252, sec. 601(a), 116 Stat. 1718–1719 (Oct. 29, 2002).

78 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 149, 108th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 7, 2003, pp. 12, 20–21.

79 Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2005, P.L. 108-447, Div. G, sec. 1008(d); 118 Stat. 3183 (Dec. 8, 2004).

80 Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2005, P.L. 108-447, Div. G, sec. 108; 118 Stat. 3177 (Dec. 8, 2004).

81 Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2005, P.L. 108-447, Div. G, sec. 107; 118 Stat. 3176 (Dec. 8, 2004).

82 U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Twelfth Congress,* 111th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 111-157 (Washington: GPO, 2011), pp. 453–456.

83 Official Reporters and News Media Galleries.

84 Reference is to the jurisdiction of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee over construction and maintenance.

85 Reference is to the jurisdiction of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee over construction and maintenance.

86 Related provisions appear in Rule II, Other Officers and Officials. U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Twelfth Congress,* 111th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 111–157 (Washington: GPO, 2011), pp. 643, 493–495.

87 U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Twelfth Congress,* 112th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 111-157 (Washington: GPO, 2011), pp. 401–405, 453–456, 940–941.

88 See 2 U.S.C. §2001.

89 Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1948, P.L. 197; 61 Stat. 367 (July 17, 1947).

90 "Committee Reform [H. Res. 988]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1974,* 93rd Cong. 2nd sess., Oct. 8, 1974, pp. 1875, 1878.

91 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 6]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1975,* 94th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 14, 1975, pp. 4, 6–7.

92 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 6]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1995,* 104th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 4, 1995, pp. 15, 27.

93 The Rules Committee's jurisdiction included "directing [committees] to make investigations." Rule XI, cl. 16, sec. 717, parliamentarian's notes. U.S. House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules and Practice of the House of Representatives,* 89th Congress, H. Doc. 374, 88th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1965).

94 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, The Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives: Policies, Precedents, and Procedures Including Related Statistical Information (Jan. 1947–Jan. 1966), Comm. Print, 89th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1965), p. 67.

95 *The Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives: Policies, Precedents, and Procedures Including Related Statistical Information (Jan. 1947-Jan. 1966)*, p. 67, "Reports of Committees on Public Bills and Resolutions," *Congressional Record,* vol. 111, 89th Cong., 1st sess., Feb. 2, 1965, p. 1858; and Rep. Howard Smith, "Creating a Select Committee on Small Business," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 111, 89th Cong., 1st sess., Feb. 16, 1965, pp. 2700–2701.

96 "Lobby Practices," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1970,* 91st Cong. 2nd sess., July 8, 1970, pp. 725–726.

97 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 5]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1975,* 94th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 14, 1975, pp. 4, 6–7.

IV. FEDERAL ELECTION AND VOTING LAWS: PRESERVING THE NATION'S ELECTORAL PROCESS

Among the many important responsibilities of the Committee on House Administration is its role in reviewing the nation's voting process. Since its establishment, the Committee has been at the forefront of significant statutory changes designed to protect and perfect the nation's electoral processes.

These have included adoption in 1962 of the 24th Amendment to eliminate the poll tax, after nearly 15 years of related legislative activity, and, more recently, the Help America Vote Act of 2002, enacted in the aftermath of the contested presidential election of 2000. Historically, the Committee has had a hand in shaping legislation that touches on any and all aspects of federal elections. Issues concerning corrupt practices, contested congressional elections, campaign finance disclosures, and credentials and qualifications of House Members also fall under its purview.

The Committee provides oversight for virtually all aspects of federal elections, including voting qualifications, election administration, corrupt election practices, and campaign finance. The Committee is also responsible for ensuring that federal elections remain democratic and transparent.

Over the six decades since it was established, the Committee has taken a keen interest in improving the voting process for members of the military and their families, and American citizens living abroad. The Committee has been instrumental in the many improvements enacted during that time for military and overseas voters, beginning with the 1950 amendments to the Servicemen's Voting Act and continuing up to the enactment of the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act of 2009. Other important and far-reaching legislation championed by the Committee includes the Federal Election Campaign Act (1972), the Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped Act (1984), the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (1986), the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, and the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Act of 2002.

Another key responsibility is the Committee's role as final authority on House elections and Member credentials and qualifications. Under the Constitutional proscription that says "Each House shall be the Judge of Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members,"[1] the Committee is responsible for resolving contested elections.

As the chief overseer of election and voting laws in the U.S. House of Representatives, throughout its history the Committee has played a vital role in the nation's democratic process. The numerous improvements to the voting process that have been enacted during the Committee's tenure, and its vigilant oversight of the performance of those laws, has helped ensure the continued success of democracy in the United States.

The Poll Tax

Origins and Development

In the early years of the Republic, many states limited the vote to adult males who owned property or paid taxes, according to the colonial era tradition, or who paid a "poll tax" to be eligible. These restrictions slowly disappeared as the result of westward expansion, the growth of cities, and other democratizing forces. In the 19th century, the franchise expanded to include an increasingly large proportion of the white adult male population in the 19th century. The poll tax disappeared entirely prior to the Civil War, but it was revived in the South following Reconstruction as a means of disenfranchising former slaves and their descendants and reasserting white political control. Mississippi and Tennessee enacted poll tax requirements for voting in 1890, followed by South Carolina in 1895, Virginia and Alabama in 1901, Texas in 1903, and Arkansas in 1908.[2]

In the years immediately after World War II, opposition to the poll tax became a focal point of the emerging civil rights movement. When intimidation and violence failed to dissuade would-be voters, the poll tax was arbitrarily applied to guarantee disenfranchisement of specific individuals. As a formal, government-sanctioned obstacle, the poll tax, like literacy tests, was perceived to be particularly egregious by movement leaders, returning veterans, and civil rights supporters.

Role of Committee

The Committee on House Administration addressed the poll tax issue immediately upon its organization in the 80th Congress (1947–1948). In the three Congresses preceding the 80th, the House had passed legislation prohibiting the poll tax in federal elections, but the Senate had taken no action, largely due to opposition from Southern Democrats. Within six months of its establishment, the Committee held nine days of hearings between July 1 and July 15, 1947, on legislation to eliminate the poll tax.[3] On July 16, the Committee reported H.R. 29 (80th Congress), which prohibited states from imposing a poll tax as a condition for voting in primary or general elections for federal offices.[4] Committee members who opposed the legislation believed that Congress did not have the authority to "interfere with the election laws" of the various states because Article 1, Section 2 of the Constitution left the determination of voting qualifications to the states.[5] The six Members who voted against reporting the bill, all Southern Democrats, noted in their minority views on the Committee's report that: "We reiterate our unalterable opposition to Federal legislation to abolish the poll tax as an unwarranted assumption of legislative power not granted in the Constitution."[6] The House took up the bill on July 21 and there followed a heated, though limited, debate. Representative George Bender of Ohio, a Committee member and sponsor of the legislation, noted that the "poll tax, as it exists in seven Southern States today, is not a tax as we ordinarily understand the term. It was not imposed—and is not collected—as a source of revenue. It is a device for disenfranchising voters." On the issue of constitutionality, Bender remarked:

> I must point out that this body has three times passed such a bill by an overwhelmingly favorable vote. Surely my colleagues on those occasions recognized the clear constitutionality of the bill they were voting for. I know that the Committee on House Administration and its Subcommittee on Elections, which this month reported the bill favorably to us after extensive hearings, had heard the constitutional question discussed in detail and were convinced of the validity of the arguments that the bill is constitutional.[7]

The House passed the bill by a 290-to-112 vote the same day.[8] Although the Senate had not taken action on previous House-approved bills to eliminate the poll tax in 1942, 1943, and 1945, a subcommittee of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee reported H.R. 29 in February 1948, although no hearings were held. As the result of an objection by Senator John Stennis of Mississippi, the full committee held hearings during March at which six Senators and several House Members testified. The Committee reported the bill on April 28. A motion to consider H.R. 29 was offered on July 29, which led to a filibuster by opponents that ended on August 4 without further action on the bill.[9]

The Committee on House Administration's Subcommittee on Elections again held extensive hearings on legislation to ban the poll tax during the 1st session of the 81st Congress (1949–1950), as 11 bills and a constitutional amendment were introduced. Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas introduced H.J. Res. 214 (81st Congress) to ban the poll tax by constitutional amendment, which marked a new strategy to eliminate the poll tax and was referred only to the Committee on the Judiciary. While defending the poll tax as a "reasonable exercise of States' rights," Hays noted that his fellow southerners had not "won many adherents and that the rest of the country wants the seven States retaining the tax to get rid of it."[10]

Between May 2 and June 9, 1949, the Subcommittee on Elections held 14 days of hearings on the various bills to repeal the poll tax, including H.R. 3199, sponsored by

Committee Chairwoman Mary Norton.[11] On June 9, the Subcommittee voted 4 to 3 on a motion offered by Omar Burleson of Texas to delay further action on H.R. 3199 while the Judiciary Committee considered the Hays constitutional amendment (H.J. Res. 214). On June 24, the full Committee voted 11 to 7 to report H.R. 3199, as amended, the Subcommittee's previous vote notwithstanding.[12] On the question of whether a constitutional amendment was necessary—the central point of debate for several years previous—the report noted that Section 4 of Article 1 of the Constitution provides that the state legislatures shall prescribe the "times, places, and manner" of choosing Members of the U.S. House and Senate, but that Congress "may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators."[13]

Chairwoman Norton brought the measure to the floor under a new rule adopted at the beginning of the 81st Congress (1949–1950). The rule permitted a committee chair to bring a bill directly to the floor if it was reported by the committee of jurisdiction and not acted upon by the Rules Committee within 21 calendar days.[14] Despite a series of delaying tactics, H.R. 3199 was brought to the floor on July 25. Chairwoman Norton, in her opening statement on the measure, pointed out that similar bills had been adopted by the House in each of the four previous Congresses, and the repeal of the poll tax was included in both party platforms in 1948. She went on to say that it was impossible for her "to understand, in this country of ours, which is supposed to provide equal rights to its citizenry, we can eliminate a great body of our citizens from having a say in their own government."[15]

Then, taking up the opponents' contention that such legislation was unconstitutional, Chairman Norton pointed out that, on each of the four occasions the House had passed a similar bill, the Senate Judiciary Committee, which was "composed entirely of lawyers," had "reported the House bill to be constitutional." Also, at 1948 Senate hearings on a similar bill, a "document signed by nine distinguished professors of law" had been presented "affirming the constitutional power of Congress to outlaw the poll tax by statute." Norton concluded by urging her House colleagues to "unite before the world on the great principle of democracy and prove that we are sincere by abolishing the poll-tax requirement on voting so all Americans will have the right to vote for the candidates they wish to represent them."[16]

During the ensuing debate, opponents once more invoked the argument that the legislation was unconstitutional and an unwelcome intrusion into the public affairs of southern states. Representative Harry J. Davenport of Pennsylvania suggested that the poll tax was itself unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment, and that enforcement of its provisions would reduce the number of Representatives elected to Congress from the seven poll tax states. Quoting from a *Chicago Sun* article published several years earlier, Davenport pointed out that:

> He [Senator Danaher, of Connecticut] stole the show at the final Senate committee hearing on the anti-poll-tax bill by calmly suggesting that it might be a good idea, since the Constitution has been so rapturously invoked, to enforce the 14th Amendment. . . . It provides that when any State abridges the right to vote (as eight Southern States do, by means of the poll tax) its congressional representative shall be reduced accordingly. Strict enforcement of this amendment demands that Congress cut down the number of Representatives elected by each poll-tax State.[17]

Several attempts to amend the bill by limiting its scope were unsuccessful. Subsequently, Representative Robert Hale offered a motion to recommit the bill to the Committee, with instructions to report a joint resolution banning the poll tax by Constitutional amendment. On a point of order, the instructions were ruled non-germane, and the House voted on a simple motion to recommit the bill, which failed on a 123 to 267 vote. The House then passed H.R. 3199 on a 273 to 116 vote. Passage of H.R. 3199, marked the fifth time the House had approved legislation to eliminate the poll tax in the 1940s.[18] As in the four previous occasions, the Senate

did not act on the bill. A Senate Judiciary subcommittee had approved S.J. Res. 34 to ban the poll tax by constitutional amendment on May 23, but the full Judiciary Committee postponed consideration of it indefinitely on June 2.[19]

During the next five Congresses (82nd–86th Congresses, 1951–1960), a number of bills to prohibit the poll tax were introduced and referred to the House Administration Committee's Subcommittee on Elections, but no further action occurred.

A bill to ban the poll tax was again introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on House Administration in the 87th Congress (1961–1962), but by then the widely held opinion was that the poll tax should be eliminated by constitutional amendment. On March 27, 1962, the Senate approved S.J. Res. 29 to ban the poll tax by constitutional amendment.[20] When the House received this resolution, it was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary rather than the Committee on House Administration. On May 15, the Judiciary Committee held a hearing on S.J. Res. 29 and reported the resolution without amendment on June 13.[21] The House approved the measure on August 27, by a 294 to 86 vote,[22] and was then sent to the states for ratification. Ratification was completed on January 23, 1964, when the legislature of South Dakota became the thirty-eighth state to approve the 24th Amendment to the Constitution.[23]

Voting for the Armed Forces and Citizens Abroad

Origins and Development

During World War II, nearly 20 percent of voting age American voters—an estimated 16.3 million troops—took up arms in defense of democracy in locations far removed "from their place of voting residence, either in this country or abroad."[24] With such a large percentage of potential voters engaged in the war effort, Congress felt the need to establish an absentee ballot program for members of the military serving overseas.

With the passage of the Soldier Voting Act of 1942, members of the armed forces serving during wartime were for the first time guaranteed federal voting rights. The act: (1) allowed members of the armed forces to vote for presidential electors, and candidates for the U.S. Senate and House, whether or not they were previously registered and regardless of poll tax requirements; (2) provided for the use of a postage-free, federal post card application to request an absentee ballot; and (3) instructed the Secretary of State to prepare an appropriate number of "official war ballots," which listed federal office candidates and, if authorized by the state legislature, candidates for state and local office in a particular state.[25] Under the Constitution, Congress has the authority to regulate the administration of federal, but not state and local, elections.[26]

The Soldier Voting Act of 1942, however, "had almost no impact at all" on the 1942 presidential elections since it was enacted on September 16, only weeks before the November general election.[27] Only 28,000 out of five million soldiers overseas voted that year.[28]

Under congressional war powers, the 1942 law mandated procedures so that the states would permit service members to vote. When Congress amended the law in 1944, however, it merely recommended that states follow such procedures.[29] Congressional authority to regulate state voting procedures expired when the war ended, as the law noted that its provisions applied "in time of war."[30] In 1946, only minor technical changes were made in the law.[31]

Role of the Committee

Efforts by the Committee on House Administration to facilitate voting by members of the armed forces and American citizens abroad have spanned more than 60 years, since the first days of its establishment. To overcome the barriers to participation for persons far away from polling places, the Committee first sought to encourage states to voluntarily provide absentee ballots to servicemen in World War II. Over time, the Committee pursued permanent solutions to the challenges of time and distance for military voters and required states to permit absentee registration and voting by members of the armed forces in federal elections. Those guarantees were eventually extended to the spouses and family members of military personnel, and finally, to overseas citizens

in 1968. In the years since, the Committee has continued its commitment to overcoming obstacles for these voters by periodically reviewing and improving federal laws on military and overseas voting.

1950 Servicemen's Voting Act Amendments. In the 81st Congress (1949–1950), the Committee's Subcommittee on Elections considered several amendments to the 1942 law that were designed to ease voting barriers for members of the military. Subsequently, the full Committee reported two measures: H.R. 9399,[32] which required that a postcard application for an absentee ballot be hand delivered, rather than simply made available, and H.R. 9455,[33] which recommended that states reduce the weight of absentee voting materials to minimize cost and promote speed of delivery. The House approved both bills on September 18, 1950, and the Senate concurred two days later. President Harry S. Truman signed both bills on September 29, 1950.[34]

Companion bills were introduced in the House and Senate in the 82nd Congress (1951–1952) to remedy voting problems that arose when certain provisions of the 1942 law lapsed following the end of World War II. While some states had adopted permanent procedures to facilitate military voting, others had not. The proposed bills permitted members of the military to vote without registering in person or paying a poll tax; and without having to meet unreasonable residency, literacy, and educational requirements. They also permitted the use of the federal post card ballot application, and called for the timely delivery of primary and general election absentee ballots as well as candidate and issue information.

Following Senate passage of its bill (S. 3061, 82nd Congress) on June 20, 1952, Subcommittee on Elections Chairman Omar Burleson of Texas convened hearings on June 26 and July 1, to consider the Senate bill as well as the House companion measure (H.R. 7571), sponsored by House Majority Leader John McCormack of Massachusetts.[35] A message submitted by President Truman for the hearing record noted that: "In many States, the laws which facilitated voting in 1944 have now expired. Since 1942, Federal statutes have affirmed the right of absent service people to vote, but even this basic right may be ignored in some States [this year] unless vigorous action is taken."[36] Prior to the hearing, the President had asked the American Political Science Association (APSA) to study the military voting problem and make recommendations. The results of the APSA study, as well as the President's endorsement of the association's legislative recommendations, were also submitted to the Committee.[37] All of the APSA's recommendations were included in the House and Senate bills.

Despite the President's support, the House Subcommittee on Elections on July 3 voted to postpone any further action on the legislation. Subsequently, on July 5 the Senate adopted S. Res. 349, which called for cooperation between the federal government and the governors of the states to facilitate voting by members of the military in the 1952 elections.[38]

The House Subcommittee on Elections resumed consideration of military voting legislation in the 83rd Congress (1953–1954) with a June 25, 1954 hearing on two bills: H.R. 8917, and S. 1654.[39] On July 15, the full Committee reported a substitute version of S. 1654, which had already been passed by the Senate. The House substitute proposed "more comprehensive legislation affecting dislocated United States personnel, whether in the armed services or attached to same, or whether civilian personnel employed in our foreign establishments." The House reported version superseded "previous enactments which prescribed entitlement to vote only in time of war."[40] No further action was taken on the proposal by the 83rd Congress, however, as "the exigencies of the legislative schedule precluded obtaining a rule before adjournment" to bring the measure to the floor.[41]

Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955. After several attempts in previous Congresses to strengthen state laws with respect to voting in the armed forces, the Committee, at the outset of the 84th Congress (1955–1956), reported H.R. 3406 to provide for permanent federal voting rights for those in the military.[42] As the result of a Rules Committee hearing on a request to bring the measure to the floor, further action was suspended while the House Administration Committee considered the bill a second time. On February 18, the

Committee reported a new bill, H.R. 4048, that repealed the 1942 law and, instead, made a series of recommendations to the states on military voting.[43] The bill incorporated aspects of the 1942, 1946, and 1950 laws in recommending that the states: (1) accept the federal postcard absentee ballot application; (2) provide postage-free balloting materials; (3) permit commissioned and certain noncommissioned officers to administer any required oaths; and (4) make absentee ballots available at least 45 days prior to an election. The measure also called for the states to extend federal voting rights to the wives of servicemen, members of the merchant marine, and civilians serving with the armed forces. H.R. 4048 was brought to the House floor, debated briefly, and passed by a voice vote on February 24. The Senate Rules Committee reported the bill on June 17 and the full Senate passed an amended version of the bill by a voice vote on July 20. Subsequently, on July 29 the House disagreed with the Senate amendments and asked for a conference. The Senate agreed to the conference report on August 1, and the House concurred the following day. The bill was signed into law by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on August 9, 1955.[44]

The following Congress, the Subcommittee on Elections held an August 26, 1960, hearing on H.R. 8432 (86th Congress, 1959–1960), which would have amended the 1955 law to require in-hand delivery of registration and absentee voting forms by military personnel.[45] No further action followed on the legislation.

Broadening Overseas Voting Rights (1968). During the 90th Congress (1967–1968), Congress sought to address a much broader question related to overseas absentee voting: providing voting rights to Americans living abroad who were neither in the armed services nor employed by the federal government. On May 14, 1968, the Committee reported H.R. 8176, which recommended that the states extend absentee registration and voting rights to all Americans residing abroad temporarily.[46] Four days later, the House took up, amended, and passed H.R. 8176 by a voice vote.[47] It then took up a similar Senate passed measure, S. 2884, amended it by substituting the language of H.R. 8176, and passed S. 2884 on a voice vote. The Senate concurred in the House amendment on June 3, 1968.[48]

That same day, the House took up a related Senate passed bill, S. 1581, which stipulated that absentee voting postcards had to be "in the hands" of voters no later than August 15 before the election for those residing outside the United States, and no later than September 15 if they lived in the territorial limits of the United States. The Committee had reported S. 1581, with amendments, on May 14, 1968.[49] The House passed S. 1581 on a voice vote on May 20, and the Senate approved the bill as amended by the House, on June 3. Both S. 1581 and S. 2884 were signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson on June 18, 1968.[50]

Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act of 1975. In its continuing effort to ensure federal voting rights for American civilians who lived abroad, the House Administration Committee held hearings on the issue at the beginning of the 94th Congress (1975–1976). On February 25 and 26 and March 11, 1975, the Committee met to consider H.R. 3211, sponsored by Representative John H. Dent, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Elections. H.R. 3211 guaranteed absentee registration and voting rights for citizens abroad who no longer maintained an address in their state of last residence, were not in the state on election day, or could not provide a specific date on which they would return to the state. The 1968 overseas voting rights amendments recommended, but did not require, states to facilitate voting by Americans living abroad. Existing state laws and practices had resulted "in the fact that some 750,000 American civilians residing abroad still [were] barred from participating in Presidential or Congressional elections. Those civilians include[d] thousands of businessmen, as well as church officials, teachers, lawyers, accountants, engineers, and other professional people serving the interests of their country abroad and subject to U.S. tax laws and the other obligations of American citizenship."[51]

On May 13, 1975, the Senate Rules and Administration Committee reported a similar version of the overseas voting legislation (S. 95), which the full Senate passed by a voice

vote two days later. The House Administration Committee reported an amended version of S. 95 on November 11, which guaranteed absentee registration and federal voting rights for citizens living overseas, even if they did not maintain a residence in a state or did not intend to return to the state.[52] Included among the amendments were the anti-fraud penalties set out in H.R. 3211—a $5,000 fine and five years in prison for providing false information in order to vote. The Committee deleted a provision in the Senate-passed version stating that the absentee voting rights would not have any effect on tax liability of overseas voters. Four minority members of the Committee believed allowing U.S. citizens residing outside the United States to cast an absentee ballot "in the State and in the voting district in which he last resided prior to assuming his foreign residence," exceeded the "power of Congress to enact," and respectively dissented. "It is our conclusion," they wrote, "that Congress may not, consistent with the Constitution, extend the right to vote in all federal elections to U.S. citizens *who are not residents of any state*."[53] The Committee issued a supplemental report on the bill on December 3 to comply with Rule XI of House Rules that required an estimate of the inflationary impact on the economy even though the bill had no costs associated with it.[54] On December 10, the House passed S. 95 by a 374 to 43 vote. The Senate concurred on December 18.[55] President Gerald R. Ford signed the bill into law on January 2, 1976.[56]

Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act of 1975 Amendments. The Committee revisited military and overseas citizens voting rights in the 95th Congress (1977–1978). The Committee found that despite the enactment of Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (P.L. 84-296), and the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act of 1975 (P.L. 94-1203), there were still problems.

> Many U.S. citizens residing abroad [still could] not exercise their constitutional right to vote in Federal elections, or [were] inhibited from doing so, because of inconsistent and conflicting laws and other impediments imposed by the several States. Of substantial concern to the committee was the fact that many U.S. citizens residing abroad do not vote, or register to vote, because of fear that the exercise of the Federal franchise will subject them to some form of taxation by the several States."[57]

According to a U.S. Chamber of Commerce survey of overseas citizens following the 1976 election, 50% of those who had not voted attributed their decision on concern about whether they would be subject to paying state taxes as a consequence.[58] Furthermore, there were inconsistencies and conflicting laws in the states that inhibited voting participation, as nearly half of the states had failed to enact legislation to enfranchise overseas citizens.

On September 13, 1978, the House Administration Committee reported S. 703, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute. The measure had previously been passed by the Senate on May 9, 1977. The amended bill: (1) reasserted federal voting rights for any member of the armed forces, the Merchant Marines, or their spouses and dependents who were not covered under state law at the time; (2) required that a single postcard be designed for military and civilian overseas voters to register and request an absentee ballot; and (3) stated that citizens living overseas who exercised their right to register and vote absentee in federal elections were not liable for payment of any federal, state, or local tax. The House approved the amended bill by a 327-to-78 vote on September 19. The Senate passed the bill on October 13.[59] It was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter on November 4, 1978.[60]

Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (1986). The issue of military and overseas voting rights did not come up again until the 99th Congress (1985–1986) when, on March 12, 1986, Elections Subcommittee Chairman Allan B. Swift introduced H.R. 4393. The goal of the Swift bill was to consolidate the provisions of the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955, pertaining to military voters and their dependents, and the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act of 1975, pertaining to citizens abroad. Chairman Swift also sought to update the law governing overseas voters by removing redundant and obsolete provisions. The Committee reported an amended version of the measure on August 7,

which included a provision creating a write-in ballot for voters who did not receive a regular state absentee ballot within sufficient time for it to be returned and counted.[61] A hearing on the write-in ballot provision had been previously held by the Subcommittee on Elections on February 6.[62]

The Committee's intent, its report noted, "[w]as simply to update the current law; other than the addition of the write-in ballot provision, there [were] only minor substantive differences between the current law and the provisions of H.R. 4393."[63] The House passed the bill by voice vote on August 12, and the Senate approved it four days later, also by voice vote. The Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan on August 28, 1986.[64]

Modifications Since 2000 Presidential Election. Following the 2000 presidential election, further improvements were sought in the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA) as a result of controversy in Florida surrounding ballots received from military and overseas voters. Both the National Defense Authorization Act for FY2002, and Help America Vote Act of 2002, included provisions concerning military and overseas voting. Also, the Defense Authorization Act for FY2005 amended UOCAVA to ease the rules for use of the federal write-in ballot in place of state absentee ballots.[65]

The Committee was actively involved in House consideration of all three acts. The Committee favorably reported the Help America Vote Act of 2002 in early December 2001, and seven members of the Committee were subsequently appointed as House conferees when the bill was considered by a conference committee.[66] When the FY2002 National Defense Authorization Act went to conference, House Speaker Dennis Hastert of Illinois appointed three members of the House Administration Committee as conferees for consideration of applicable sections.[67] The Speaker also appointed three members of the Committee as conferees for applicable sections of the Defense Authorization Act for FY2005.[68]

Help America Vote Act of 2002, the FY2002 National Defense Authorization Act, and the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2005. The main provisions of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA) require states to permit absent uniformed services voters, their spouses and dependents, and overseas voters who no longer maintain a residence in the U.S. to: (1) register absentee (overseas voters are eligible to register absentee in the jurisdiction of their last residence), and (2) vote by absentee ballot in all elections for federal office (including general, primary, special, and runoff elections).[69] In addition, UOCAVA recommends that states accept the federal write-in absentee ballot for general elections for federal office (provided the voter is registered, has made a timely request for a state absentee ballot, the absentee ballot has not arrived with sufficient time to return it, and the ballot is submitted from outside the United States or its territories).[70]

UOCAVA also stipulates that voting materials be carried "expeditiously and free of postage."[71] It recommends that states accept the Federal Post Card Application (FPCA) from uniformed services voters, their spouses and dependents, and overseas voters to allow for simultaneous absentee registration and to request an absentee ballot.[72] While all states and territories accept the FPCA, some require the voter to submit the state registration form separately in order to be permanently registered. Other recommendations in the law suggest that states:

- waive registration requirements for military and overseas voters who do not have an opportunity to register because of service or residence;
- send registration materials, along with an absentee ballot to be returned simultaneously, if the FPCA is not sufficient for absentee registration;
- expedite the processing of voting materials;
- permit any required oath to be administered by a commissioned officer in the military or by any official authorized to administer oaths under federal law or the law of the state where the oath is administered;
- assure mailing absentee ballots to military and overseas voters at the earliest opportunity; and
- provide for late registration for persons recently separated from the military.[73]

The National Defense Authorization Act of 2002 amended UOCAVA to permit a voter to submit a single absentee application in order to receive an absentee ballot for each federal election in the state during the year.[74] The Help America Vote Act subsequently amended that section of the law to extend the period covered by a single absentee ballot application to the next two regularly scheduled general elections for federal office. The Help America Vote Act also added a new section that prohibits a state from refusing to accept a valid voter registration application on the grounds that it was submitted prior to the first date on which the state processes applications for the year.[75]

The Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act also requires states to accept and process any valid voter registration application from an absent uniformed services voter or overseas voter if the application is received not less than 30 days before the election. The Help America Vote Act amended that section of the law to require a state to provide to a voter the reasons for rejecting a registration application or an absentee ballot request.[76]

In addition to the amendments to UOCAVA mentioned above, the Help America Vote Act of 2002: (1) required the Secretary of Defense to establish procedures to provide time and resources for voting action officers to perform voting assistance duties; (2) established procedures to ensure a postmark or proof of mailing date on absentee ballots; (3) required secretaries of the armed forces to notify members of the last day for which ballots mailed at the facility can be expected to reach state or local officials in a timely fashion; (4) stipulated that members of the military and their dependents have access to information on registration and voting requirements and deadlines; and (5) required that each person who enlists receive the national voter registration form. Also, the Help America Vote Act amended the UOCAVA to:

- require states to designate a single office to provide information to all absent uniformed services voters and overseas voters who wish to register in the state;
- require states to report the number of ballots sent to uniformed services and overseas voters and the number returned and cast in the election; and
- require the Secretary of Defense to ensure that state officials are aware of the requirements of the law and to prescribe a standard oath for voting materials to be used in states that require such an oath.[77]

The Defense Authorization Act for FY2002 also included provisions that: (1) required an annual review of the voting assistance program and a report to Congress; (2) guaranteed state residency for military personnel who are absent because of military duty; (3) continued the online voting pilot project begun for the 2000 elections; and (4) permitted the use of DOD facilities as polling places if they had previously been used for that purpose since 1996 or were designated for use by December 2000.[78]

The Defense Authorization Act for FY2005 amended UOCAVA to permit uniformed services voters to use the blank, federal write-in ballot previously available only to overseas voters.[79]

The Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act of 2009 (MOVE Act). In a 2005 hearing on implementation of the Help America Vote Act, Ranking Member Juanita Millender-McDonald noted that "many overseas and military voters reported that they did not receive their ballots in time to vote. Some did not receive their ballots at all. We can, and must, do better."[80]

Following the 2008 presidential election, the Subcommittee on Elections held two hearings in early 2009 to review problems that continued to disrupt voting by members of the uniformed services and U.S. citizens overseas.[81] The first hearing, on March 26, 2009, reviewed what went right and wrong in all aspects of the 2008 election, with particular attention to voting problems encountered by members of the military.

The second hearing, on May 21, 2009, focused on the obstacles and potential solutions to military overseas voting. The intent of the hearing was "to provide an opportunity for the committee to learn about outreach efforts of the Federal Voting Assistance Program, the hurdles that military and overseas voters encounter when they try to vote from abroad, and possible policy recommendations to address these obstacles." Chairwoman Zoe Lofgren in her opening

statement identified several common problems: ". . . the delivery of election materials to UOCAVA voters, burdensome absentee ballot requirements, and varying State requirements and deadlines." She concluded by acknowledging the efforts of "Chairman Brady, who, along with the committee and Ranking Member, Mr. Lungren, are dedicated to removing these obstacles and ensuring military and overseas voters can successfully cast their ballots." [82]

During the hearing, the Subcommittee heard from a representative of the Federal Voting Assistance Program at the Department of Defense, an Air Force Voting Assistance Officer, the General Registrar of Fairfax County, Virginia, and a retired Marine Corps sergeant and spokesperson for Military Voting Rights USA.[83]

Subsequently, the Committee on October 1, 2009, reported H.R. 2393, the Military Voting Protection Act of 2009, which had been introduced by Committee and Subcommittee on Elections member Representative Kevin McCarthy. As reported, H.R. 2393 would have established procedures for collecting marked absentee ballots from absent uniformed services voters four days prior to a regularly scheduled general election for federal office, and that the ballots be transmitted to local election officials for counting by United States Postal Service express mail. Also, procedures were to be implemented that would enable any individual whose marked ballot was collected to determine whether the ballot has been received by the appropriate State election official.[84] This would make it possible for voters to track their ballots to be certain they were delivered to the appropriate official. Representative McCarthy had introduced a similar bill, H.R. 5673, in the 110th Congress.

Although the House did not take up H.R. 2393, Congress did enact a military and overseas voting law in 2009 that included similar provisions.[85] The Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act (S. 1415) was reported in the Senate on July 15, 2009, and subsequently added as an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2010 (H.R. 2647), which passed the Senate on July 23. The House voted in favor of the conference report[86] on the bill on October 8, and the Senate approved it on October 22. It was signed into law by President Barack Obama on October 28, 2009.[87]

The Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act amended UOCAVA to require various changes to improve voting for members of the uniformed services and overseas citizens. Among the principal changes were provisions that:

- required states to establish procedures to permit absent uniformed services voters and overseas voters to request voter registration and absentee ballot applications by mail and electronically for all federal elections;
- required states to establish procedures to transmit, by mail and electronically, blank absentee ballots to absent uniformed services voters and overseas voters for federal elections;
- required states to transmit a validly requested absentee ballot to an absent uniformed services voter or overseas voter no later than 45 days before an election if the request is received at least 45 days before the election;
- required the Secretary of Defense to establish procedures to collect marked general election absentee ballots from absent overseas uniformed services voters for delivery to the appropriate election official;
- broadened the use of the federal write-in absentee ballot for general elections to include special, primary, and runoff elections as well;
- prohibited states from refusing to accept an otherwise valid voter registration application, absentee ballot application, or marked absentee ballot from an absent uniformed services or overseas voter on the basis of notarization requirements or restrictions on paper or envelope type, including size and weight; and
- repealed subsections of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA), which required states to process an official post card form as an absentee ballot request for the next two regularly scheduled general elections, if requested by the voter. The previous requirement resulted in high numbers of ballots mailed to military personnel who had moved, thereby distorting statistical counts of ballots sent and received.[88]

The Military and Voter Overseas Empowerment Act of 2009 also: (1) made improvements to data collection methods on UOCAVA participation, (2) established new requirements

for reports to Congress, and (3) authorized pilot programs to test relevant technology, as well as payments under the Help America Vote Act to meet the new requirements.[89]

The Committee's efforts to improve the federal voting process for military and overseas voters have continued over the entire 62-year history of the Committee and into the present, yet the barriers that result from being outside the United States on election day are not easily overcome. Because elections are run at the local level, the interaction between voter and election official to register, request, and return an absentee ballot are complicated by time and distance. Committee oversight has been a key element in making improvements to UOCAVA to mitigate such inherent barriers to full participation by members of the uniformed services and citizens abroad.

Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped

During the 98th Congress (1983–1984), the Committee on House Administration Task Force on Elections held a series of three hearings that examined the issue of polling place accessibility for the elderly and disabled.[90] The focus of the hearings was H.R. 1250, cosponsored by Representatives Hamilton Fish and Douglas Walgren, which called for making voter registration sites and polling places fully accessible to older voters and those with disabilities. At the time, state laws and practices to accommodate elderly or disabled voters varied widely, but generally depended upon procedures such as absentee registration and voting, the use of accessible polling places, curbside voting, and providing voter assistance in the polling place. Despite state efforts to improve the registration and voting process for all voters, through laws enacted over the previous 20 years,[91] the elderly and disabled continued to face special obstacles to voting participation. Some states required a certificate from a physician to vote absentee, for example, while the use of curbside voting depended on weather and also sacrificed a measure of privacy. By the early 1980s, removing barriers to voting for the elderly and disabled became a legislative priority for the Committee and Congress.

When the Committee began consideration of H.R. 1250 early in the 98th Congress, a new amendment to the Voting Rights Act concerning polling place assistance to handicapped voters had just recently taken effect.[92] The provision permitted voters who were blind, disabled, or illiterate to choose a person, except for the voter's employer or an agent of their union, to assist them in voting. Moreover, legislation similar to H.R. 1250 had been introduced in the preceding three Congresses. At the first hearing convened by the Task Force, Chairman Al Swift noted that:

> [m]any individuals and groups, including those in the Coalition of Voter Accessibility, which is represented here today, have been actively working for some time to move this legislation along. They argue, correctly, that the right to vote is among the most basic of a citizen's rights. And it is important for us to insure, as much as possible, that that right is not denied to anyone who wants to be able to participate in Federal elections.[93]

The Task Force examined a variety of issues concerning accessibility and polling places, from the perspective of both voters and election officials. During the three hearings—two in Washington and one in Atlanta—the Task Force heard from witnesses representing the elderly, disabled, and civil rights groups as well as election officials from Alabama, California, Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, New York, and West Virginia.[94] The last hearing coincided with the annual meeting of the advisory board of state and local election officials for the Federal Election Commission's National Clearinghouse on Election Administration, which "allowed the Committee to take advantage of that meeting to discuss H.R. 1250 in some detail with the diverse group of state and local election officials who were in town, and to set up what turned out to be a very constructive meeting between a number of those officials and representatives of the groups in the Coalition for Voter Accessibility."[95]

As introduced, H.R. 1250 would have required that voter registration facilities and polling places be readily accessible to the elderly and disabled during all hours of operation;

that enlarged type instructions for registration and voting be displayed at the appropriate facilities; that notarization and medical certification requirements for elderly and disabled absentee voters be no more stringent than for other categories of absentee voters; and that public notice be given at polling places that elderly and disabled voters could select a person to assist them in casting a ballot.

During the course of the hearings, some members of the Committee and various state and local officials expressed concerns about the difficulty of finding accessible facilities in certain places, such as rural areas, where there are fewer public buildings. Testimony also provided some insight with respect to election administration emergencies that might preclude using only accessible polling places, such as the need to move polling locations at the last minute because of a weather emergency. Also, some witnesses pointed out that privately owned facilities might not be easily modified, even on a temporary basis, and some accessible facilities might be unavailable on election day or too expensive to rent. Others expressed concern about the requirement for jurisdictions to provide printed ballots in all voting places for those who would have difficulty using a voting machine.

The Committee reported H.R. 1250 on June 21, 1984, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute. Among the changes made by the Committee was one that provided for two exemptions to the accessibility requirement for all voting facilities: (1) if the chief election officer of a state determined that an emergency existed, such as the need to move polling places because of the impact of extreme weather conditions; and (2) if a survey by local election officials determined that no accessible facility could be found, the elderly and disabled voters affected would be reassigned to the nearest accessible polling place. The Committee determined that "a reasonable number of accessible registration facilities within each election jurisdiction" were needed, rather than requiring that all be accessible. The Committee reasoned that, in many states, those seeking to register could do so at a number of locations, in contrast to being assigned to a specific polling place. Other modifications included requiring enlarged type instructions and telecommunications devices for the deaf, eliminating state requirements for a medical certification or notarization to obtain an absentee ballot, and providing that either the Attorney General or aggrieved individuals could file suit for noncompliance.[96]

The House took up H.R. 1250 on June 25, 1984. A key issue that arose during debate concerned a requirement that allowed for a voter whose own polling place was not accessible to be reassigned to another polling place with disability access. This clause was prompted by a specific requirement in some state constitutions that a voter cast a ballot only at their assigned polling place. Because the bill mandated compliance by December 1985, it was argued that some state constitutions could not be amended within that timeframe because of the necessity for legislative approval in two successive general assemblies and approval of the amendment by the state's voters. In response, Representative Hamilton Fish explained that this issue was "being dealt with in the Senate. We expect it to be taken care of in the Senate bill in an amendment. I am sure the House will accept the Senate amendment."[97] The House passed H.R. 1250 on a voice vote under suspension of the rules later that day.[98]

Next, H.R. 1250 was referred to the Senate Committee on Rules, which favorably reported an amended version on August 8.[99] Among the amendments to the bill was one stating that the act would take effect after December 31, 1985, and another that addressed the problem of inaccessible polling places and reassigning voters. The latter amendment provided for curbside or absentee voting in cases where a polling place was not accessible and the voter could not be reassigned because of state law. The Senate took up the bill the following day, and passed it on a voice vote with an amendment on August 10.[100]

The House took up the amended bill on September 12 and agreed to the Senate's amendments to H.R. 1250 by unanimous consent and passed the bill on a voice vote.[101] President Ronald Reagan signed the Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped Act on September 28, 1984.[102]

National Voter Registration Act

Efforts to establish a national voter registration system followed closely on the heels of passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965. In the early 1970s, a substantial effort was made to establish a national "postcard" or mail registration system. During the 92nd Congress (1971–1972), both the Senate and the House held hearings on a proposal to establish a national voter registration system, with the Census Bureau conducting postcard registration for federal elections. The proposal came to the Senate floor for a vote but was tabled.[103] Although other voter registration bills were referred to the Committee on House Administration, it took no action on those bills.

Committee Begins Its Involvement

By the 93rd Congress the Committee became involved in moving legislation forward that would address an "emerging concern over the steady decline in voter participation in our national elections over a number of years."[104] During a Subcommittee on Elections hearing in June and July 1973, "statistics were offered by various witnesses to the effect that voter participation in presidential elections [had] diminished from 64% of the voting age population in 1960, to 62.9% in 1964, to 61.8% in 1968, and most recently, to approximately 55% in the 1972 presidential race." Numerous witnesses at the hearing "cited studies and opinions of various research organizations, civic groups, and other election experts" which "tended to establish that the major causes for the lack of voter participation in elections [were] the difficulties and barriers to voter registration."[105]

Postcard Registration Proposal

On February 5, 1974, several months after the hearings, the Committee favorably reported H.R. 8053, which sought to establish within the U.S. Census Bureau a Voter Registration Administration that would be responsible for implementing a system of postcard voter registration for federal elections. The Committee felt that the registration system outlined in the bill would "retain the necessary degree of local control over election procedures and [would] assure substantial safeguards to protect against voter fraud while providing for the greater needed reform to simplify registration procedures that [would] encourage increased voter participation in the electoral process."[106] The House on May 8, 1974, however, refused to take up the bill by rejecting the rule under which the measure was to be debated on the floor by a vote of 197 to 204.[107]

During the 94th Congress (1975–1976), the Committee in April and May 1975 held hearings on a modified version of the postcard voter registration measure, which called for the creation of a Voter Registration Administration within the Federal Elections Commission. H.R. 1686 eliminated the required mass mailing of postcards to every household and instead provided that registration postcards be made available at post offices and other public offices. The Committee favorably reported H.R. 1686 in mid-November 1975. Although no further action was taken on H.R. 1686, the Committee approved a similar bill (H.R. 11552), which the House subsequently passed on August 9, 1976, by a 239 to 147 vote. The 94th Congress concluded with the Senate taking no action on H.R. 11552.[108]

Election Day Registration Proposal

The following March, President Jimmy Carter sent Congress five recommendations for reforms in the nation's election system. "The most innovative part of his recommendations," in the opinion of *Congressional Quarterly*, "was the Universal Voter Registration Act, a bill that would simplify registration and add millions of voters in federal elections. The proposal fulfilled one of the commitments made by Carter during his" presidential campaign the previous fall.[109] The same day, the Universal Voter Registration Act was introduced in both the House (H.R. 5400) and in the Senate (S. 1072). The proposed legislation required "each State and unit of local government to permit any eligible individual to register and vote at the appropriate polling place on the day of any Federal election." H.R. 5400 (95th Congress, 1976–1977) called for an Administrator of Voter Registration, accountable to the Federal Election Commission, who would coordinate all administrative and procedural matters relating to the proposed act. In April 1977, prior to endorsing H.R. 5400, the Committee held five days of hearings on the bill.[110]

Although the proposal initially appeared to have broad backing on Capitol Hill, and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration favorably reported its companion bill (S. 1072), neither chamber took further action on the Universal Voter Registration Act. Critics of election day registration attacked the concept "on the grounds that it would be an invitation to voter fraud." It was also viewed by many in Congress "as an unnecessary change to an electoral system against which they had few complaints." The Carter Administration and Democratic leadership in an unsuccessful effort to generate more support for the proposal "agreed to a series of concessions, concluding with one to make the whole plan optional." Support in Congress, however, continued to decline as the proposal was further undermined by negative reactions from local election officials.[111]

Proposed Program of Federal Assistance to the States to Encourage Registration

The Committee did not revisit the voter registration issue until June 1984, when its Task Force on elections held a hearing on the subject. Task Force Chairman Al Swift began the proceedings by noting the contribution on the topic of a symposium sponsored by American Broadcasting Company and Harvard University the previous fall. "That blue ribbon panel brought together two former Presidents of the United States, prominent Members of Congress, noted journalists and respected academics to discuss the subject of voter registration," he said. "Those symposium participants unanimously came to the conclusion that our present registration system is a significant barrier to voting and that 'easing the means of voter registration should have the highest priority.'"[112]

"Our hope," Chairman Swift explained, "is to encourage creativity on the part of the States, so that perhaps we can work together with them to develop registration systems that are effective and that are also flexible enough to accommodate the variety of circumstances that exist in local elections in this country."[113] H.R. 4367, the legislative vehicle chosen to accomplish this goal, sought to establish a program of federal assistance to the states to encourage voter registration. The Committee took no further action on this proposal in the 98th Congress (1983–1984).

National Voter Registration Reform Proposals

101st Congress. By the 1988 presidential election, voter turnout had reached its lowest point in 40 years, just slightly more than 50% of the voting age population. At the beginning of the 101st Congress (1987–1988), partly in response to the turnout trends, and partly as a continuation of a long-standing effort by registration reform proponents, several bills were introduced to reform voter registration procedures. For some supporters, these efforts aimed at completing what had been started by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its amendments by eliminating the final barriers to voting: voter registration restrictions. For others, the belief that making it easier to register would encourage more voter participation was the driving force behind support for voter registration reform.

The first "motor-voter" bill (H.R. 15) was introduced at the beginning of the 101st Congress by House Administration Committee Chairman Frank Annunzio and Elections Subcommittee Chairman Al Swift.[114] On March 21, 1989, the Committee held a hearing on H.R. 15 and two related bills.[115] The proposed National Voter Registration Act of 1989 (H.R. 15) required States to establish procedures for registration through the driver's license application process, registration by mail, and registration in government and private sector agencies. The second bill, the Universal Voter Registration Act of 1989 (H.R. 17), sought to establish national standards for voter registration, including requirements for registration by mail, registration in government and private sector agencies, and registration on election day. The third, the Voter Participation Act of 1989 (H.R. 87), amended the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide for voter mail-in registration and election day registration for elections to federal office. No further action was taken on H.R. 15, H.R. 17, or H.R. 87.

In February 1990, however, the House did pass H.R. 2190, the National Voter Registration Act of 1989, a modified version of H.R. 15, which had been introduced by House Majority Leader Thomas S. Foley. H.R. 2190

received bipartisan support, with Representative William M. Thomas, ranking member of the Subcommittee on Elections, and Representative Newt Gingrich, House Minority Whip, both being among the original cosponsors of the bill. Prior to House passage, the House Administration Committee favorably reported the bill on September 18, 1989.[116] H.R. 2190 was never brought up in the Senate. S. 874, the Senate companion bill, was favorably reported by Committee on Rules and Administration but was effectively killed on September 26, 1990, when a Senate floor vote to cut off debate fell five votes short (55 to 42) of the number required.[117]

102nd Congress. Despite the threat of a presidential veto, both the House and Senate passed a "motor voter" bill in 1992. The Senate passed S. 250, the National Voter Registration Act of 1992, on May 20 by a 61 to 38 vote, short of the two-thirds needed to override a veto. The House considered the Senate bill on June 16 and adopted it after rejecting an alternative offered by Representative William M. Thomas, ranking minority member of the Committee on House Administration, which would have created a $25 million block grant program to help states increase voter registration. The one hour of general debate on the bill was equally divided and controlled by the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the Committee on House Administration. The House passed S. 250 by a vote of 268 to 153, short of the two-thirds needed to override a veto.[118]

President George H.W. Bush vetoed S. 250 on July 2, 1992, condemning the bill as "an open invitation to fraud." The President in his veto message, which was expected, said that the bill would "impose unnecessary, burdensome, expensive, and constitutionally questionable federal regulation on the states in an area of traditional state authority." The legislation would, he argued, "expose the election process to fraud and corruption without any reason to believe that it would increase electoral participation to any significant degree." President Bush did say he would "support legislation that would assist the states in implementing appropriate reforms in order to make voter registration easier for the American public."[119] A Senate attempt to override the President's veto on September 22, was short (62 to 38 votes) of the two-thirds needed.[120]

National Voter Registration Act of 1993

Three months later, during a September 1992 presidential campaign appearance on the Washington Monument grounds, William J. Clinton, the Democratic candidate, announced that he would support a "motor voter" bill that would allow voters to register when they renewed their driver's licenses. On May 20, 1993, after winning the presidency, Clinton signed the National Voter Registration Act Motor Voter of 1993. The bill signing ceremony on the South Lawn at the White House culminated a five-year effort by supporters of the motor voter legislation aimed at boosting voter registration. "This bill in its enactment," President Clinton declared, "is a sign of a new vibrancy in our democracy."[121]

The National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (H.R. 2) was introduced in the House on January 5, 1993, by Representative Al Swift, Chairman of the House Administration Committee's Subcommittee on Elections. Three weeks later, the Subcommittee on Elections held a hearing on H.R. 2. While the bill differed from earlier motor voter proposals in some respects, Subcommittee Chairman Swift pointed out at the hearing, the "basic concepts of H.R. 2190 [101st Congress] and S. 250 [102nd Congress] remained the same in this bill." Although the President was now of a different political party and passage of motor voter was likely to be more favorably received at the White House, Chairman Swift emphasized this was not the purpose of the hearing. The intention of the hearing, he explained, was twofold. First, he said it should be noted "that half of the witnesses were suggested by the Ranking Member, something that is not always standard procedure." Second, a "number of States and jurisdictions have been implementing provisions of H.R. 2 over the past few years and they now have data and practical hands on experience. . . . We are eager to hear from these witnesses who have taken part in this process, what their experience has been and what advice they can give to other States and jurisdictions."[122]

H.R. 2 was favorably reported by the Committee on House Administration on February 2, 1993. Two days later, the House passed the bill by a 259 to 160 vote. In approving the legislation, the "Committee felt that many processing systems in place to handle driver's license application data lent themselves naturally to processing a voter registration application. By combining the driver's license application approach with mail and agency based registration, the Committee reasoned that any eligible citizen who wished to register would have ready access to an application."[123]

On March 17, 1993, following two weeks of floor debate, the Senate passed H.R. 2 by a vote of 62 to 37, after amending the bill and substituting the text of S. 460. The Senate vote came after a compromise was agreed upon that removed from the measure provisions requiring states to provide registration forms at public assistance agencies, such as welfare and unemployment disabilities offices.[124]

When the conference committee met to resolve the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill, conferees agreed to accept the House provision that allowed for voter registration at public assistance offices. New language was added, however, requiring the agencies to make it clear that registering to vote was optional and not registering would not affect the amount of assistance they received. Also, a requirement that registration forms be made available at unemployment offices was dropped as was a requirement for a registrant to produce documentation of citizenship upon request by election officials. The conference report on H.R. 2 was adopted by the House on May 5 and by the Senate on May 11, prior to President Clinton affixing his signature to the National Voter Registration Act of 1993.[125]

Help America Vote Act of 2002

In one of the closest contests in American history, the 2000 election riveted national attention on its outcome for weeks after the voting concluded. The unusual circumstance of not knowing the winner of the presidential contest as well as the exposed flaws in the nation's voting system raised concerns about the overall integrity of the election system and focused intense attention on the issue. In the final weeks before the 106th Congress (1999–2000) adjourned, numerous bills were introduced to begin to address problems that left the presidential contest in doubt until December 12, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on a 7 to 2 vote that "a violation of the Equal Protection Clause" existed because the state of Florida did not have a uniform standard for manually recounting ballots in different counties.[126] The Court decided by a 5 to 4 vote to end further recounting in Miami-Dade, Broward, Palm Beach, and Volusia Counties, whereby George W. Bush retained a 537 vote margin in the popular vote and was awarded Florida's 25 electoral votes and the presidency.[127]

Although the Supreme Court's decision resolved the election contest, discussion and debate concerning the result and the voting problems that arose in Florida and elsewhere continued unabated. Studies were initiated by the General Accounting Office (GAO), the California Institute of Technology and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology jointly, the Constitution Project and many others, while study groups were formed or commissioned, most notably the National Commission on Federal Election Reform, co-chaired by former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford.

Role of the Committee

The Committee on House Administration played a central role in the months after the November 2000 election when the revealed failings of the voting process commanded national attention. Although the Committee had long been engaged with issues concerning election administration, the intricate details of the voting process were an obscure and largely unknown topic for the press and the public. Shortly after the 107th Congress (2001–2002) was sworn in, House leaders considered establishing a select committee to examine and report election reform legislation, but, according to press reports, the parties disagreed on its make-up and the concept was abandoned.[128] Instead, the leadership agreed to rely on the permanent committee system, and principally the Committee on House Administration, to consider election reform legislation.[129]

Among the more than 100 election-related bills introduced in early 2001 was H.R. 775, which Representative Steny Hoyer, the Committee's Ranking Member, introduced on February 28, 2001. H.R. 775 called for the establishment of a buy-out program for punch card voting machines, a grant program to fund election improvements, and an Election Administration Commission—a new federal agency that would serve as an information clearinghouse and develop best practices for election administration. Along with similar bills, Representative Hoyer's proposal marked a turning point in considering how to administer federal elections, because, as Hoyer later observed at a Committee hearing, "[h]istorically, States and local subdivisions have run our elections, but, just as well, they have run Federal elections during that process without any compensation from the Federal government."[130]

Shortly after the Hoyer bill was introduced, the Committee began a series of four hearings on election reform to consider the merits of the various proposals. At the second hearing, on May 10, 2001, Chairman Robert W. Ney announced in his opening remarks that he and Representative Hoyer had reached "an agreement in substance to proceed on a piece of legislation together on a bipartisan basis." Representative Hoyer also mentioned the bipartisan proposal in his opening statement, when he referred to their intention to cosponsor an "electoral reform measure that recognizes the legitimate role Congress can play in modernizing our democracy's infrastructure without infringing on the rights of States and local communities."[131] At both that hearing and an earlier hearing on April 25, Committee members heard testimony from state and local administrators as well as elections experts concerning voting equipment, election procedures, and longstanding budgetary constraints.

During two subsequent hearings, on May 17 and 24, Committee members heard from voting equipment vendors and experts on voting technology whose testimony focused on the cost and logistics of replacing equipment, system design and ergonomics, research and development, security issues, and error rates for different voting systems.[132] Other committees and subcommittees also held hearings on election reform, including the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation; the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs; the Subcommittee on Military Personnel of the House Committee on Armed Services; the House Committee on Science; and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, which held a series of four hearings.

On November 14, 2001, Representatives Ney and Hoyer introduced H.R. 3295. The proposal included provisions similar to H.R. 775, such as the punch card buyout program, an election administration agency, and grant funding. It also contained provisions to create a poll worker recruiting program for college students, establish a foundation to encourage participation among high school students, provide reduced postal rates for election mail, and ease voting problems for members of the military and overseas voters. The Committee reported H.R. 3295 on December 10, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute.[133] Two days later, the House took up the bill.

House Floor Action

At the outset, some Democrats objected to the notion that the House would consider H.R. 3295 under a closed rule. In response to those objections, Committee Ranking Member Hoyer said:

> I regret this rule did not allow a substitute, but I believe it is important that we pass this bill and pass it today. . . . If we pass this rule, I will speak strongly on behalf of this bill and hope to see its passage. The reason that I say that I think it should pass today. . . . [is that] I am hopeful that we can do this as quickly as possible so that 2002 and certainly 2004 will not be a repeat of 2000. That election in 2000 ended 37 days after it began. It ended on this day exactly 1 year ago. It is appropriate that we act today."[134]

The House adopted the resolution to consider H.R. 3295 on a 223 to 193 vote[135] and debate on the bill followed. Speaking first, Chairman Ney noted in his remarks that the bill was the result of a bipartisan effort:

> From the outset of this process, my goal was to craft legislation that could be supported by members from both sides of the aisle. That is critical in this process.... Improving our country's electoral system should not and cannot be a partisan issue. Everybody in the United States has the right to vote and has to feel secure that their vote counts.[136]

Following the Chairman's remarks, Representative Hoyer noted that the "legislation is not a magic elixir. However, it will significantly improve the integrity of our election process, encourage voter participation and restore public confidence in our system. In short, it is a historic opportunity for this House to right the undemocratic wrongs in our election system."[137] Shortly thereafter, on December 12, 2001, the House passed H.R. 3295 on a 362 to 63 vote, one year to the day after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Bush v. Gore* and ended the contested presidential election of 2000.[138]

Senate Consideration

As in the House, Senate members introduced a number of election reform bills early in the first session of the 107th Congress that took a variety of approaches. Senator Christopher Dodd of Connecticut, ranking member of the Senate Rules Committee, introduced S. 565 in April 2001, and Chairman Mitch McConnell of Kentucky introduced S. 953 in May. The Committee held four hearings on election reform in March, June, and July 2001. The last three after the chairmanship had switched from McConnell to Dodd, following Senator James Jeffords' announcement that he was leaving the Republican party to become an Independent. Jeffords' switch gave Democrats a 50-49 partisan advantage in the Senate.[139] When the Democratic members of the Rules Committee met on August 4 to mark up S. 565, the Republican members boycotted the meeting; and the bill was reported[140] on a 10 to 0 vote.[141]

After several months of negotiations, a reworked version of election reform legislation was announced on December 19, 2001, as a substitute amendment to S. 565. The Senate took up the bill on February 13, 2002, and agreed to the substitute amendment by unanimous consent.[142] After an additional nine days of consideration during February, March, and April, the Senate passed S. 565 as amended on a 99 to 1 vote on April 11, then passed H.R. 3295, which the House had passed the previous December, on a voice vote after substituting the text of S. 565. It then requested a conference with the House.[143] The final compromise version included certain requirements for administering federal elections in the states and voter identification requirements for first time voters who registered by mail, the two principal issues that had stalled Senate deliberations on the bill.

Conference Deliberation and Passage

Conferees were appointed in the Senate on May 1 and in the House on May 16, 2002. The subsequent conference negotiations spanned nearly six months.[144] Although the House and Senate bills were broadly similar, they included a number of important differences, among which are the following: (1) both called for the establishment of a new federal agency on election administration, but the House version included two advisory boards as well, while the Senate version established a temporary study commission; (2) the Senate version included $3.5 billion for voting improvements, while the House version provided for $2.25 billion in grant funds; (3) both established federal standards or requirements for voting systems, but the House provisions applied only to new systems; and (4) both versions required the use of provisional ballots and a statewide voter registration system, but only the Senate version included requirements for voter identification.

On October 4, 2002, conferees announced agreement on an election reform bill. The conference report was submitted on October 8 to the House, which took up the measure two days later. In his remarks in support of the conference agreement, Chairman Ney noted that the effort to craft election reform legislation was "a long, winding process that is about to conclude tonight, in what I think is going to be known as one of the most important votes that any Member of this body can cast, not only for this session but for the future, for decades to come, of the future of the voting process for the citizens of the United States."[145] Later that day, the House approved the conference report on a 357 to 48

vote.[146] When Senate consideration of the agreement began on October 16, Senator Christopher J. Dodd of the Rules Committee reflected on the voting problems in 2000 that spurred congressional action and the challenge of forging a bipartisan solution:

> This has been a very long and arduous effort to get to this point. This is not a perfect piece of legislation, but I think it advances considerably the role the United States ought be playing as a Federal Government in the conduct of elections.... When we have error rates as we do and millions of people turned away at the polls, it is long overdue that we correct the system. This bill goes a long way in doing that. It is a proud day. It ought to be for all of us here who responded to the challenge that was asked of us as a result of the elections of 2000.[147]

The Senate approved the conference report on a 92 to 2 vote on October 16, 2002.[148] The Help America Vote Act was signed into law by President George W. Bush on October 29, 2002.[149]

Provisions of the Act

The Help America Vote Act created a new federal agency with election administration responsibilities, set requirements for voting and voter-registration systems and certain other aspects of election administration, and provided an unprecedented $3.86 billion in federal funding for election improvements. The law also:

- established several grant programs to replace punchcard and lever voting machines, to meet the federal standards established by the act, to promote disability access at polling places, to encourage participation in the voting process by high school and college students, and for election administration improvements generally;
- established the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) composed of four members appointed by the President to four-year terms to replace the Office of Election Administration (OEA) of the Federal Election Commission;[150]
- required that voting systems used in federal elections provide for error correction by voters, manual auditing, accessibility to disabled persons, alternative language capability as required for some jurisdictions under the Voting Rights Act, and federal error-rate standards;[151]
- required that any voter not listed as registered be offered the opportunity to cast a provisional ballot and be permitted to cast that ballot;
- required states that have voter registration to employ a computerized statewide voter registration system that is accurately maintained;
- required first-time voters who registered by mail to provide specified identification when voting;
- required that the EAC develop voluntary guidance to assist states in meeting the act's requirements;
- established two enforcement processes under which the U.S. Attorney General could bring civil action with respect to the requirements;
- required that states, as a condition for receipt of funds, establish administrative procedures to handle complaints from individuals; and
- required (1) the Secretary of Defense to establish procedures to ensure that absentee ballots of military and overseas voters are postmarked; (2) that each state designate a single office to provide information to military and overseas voters on absentee registration and voting; and (3) that each state report statistics on absentee ballots sent and received.[152]

In its scope, the Help America Vote Act was unprecedented in that it provided—for the first time—federal standards on a broad range of election administration practices and the funding to achieve those standards. Just 14 months before the law was enacted, the Carter-Ford Commission on election reform had noted it its report that: "In a world of problems that often defy any solution, the weaknesses in election administration are, to a very great degree, problems that government can actually solve."[153] While its House and Senate sponsors noted that the Help America Vote Act was achieved through compromise, they more often proudly cited its bipartisan sponsorship to rectify flaws in the democratic process and renew its promise.

Proposals to Amend HAVA and Related Oversight

108th Congress. During the 108th Congress, the Committee "continued to focus on important election reform matters,

especially trying to ensure that Help America Vote Act was properly implemented and adequately funded. . . . The Committee also conducted numerous oversight hearings on election-related matters, including the issue of electronic voting system security and the operation of the Election Assistance Commission, to make sure that Congress remained informed about how HAVA was working on the state and local levels."[154]

In July 2004, the Committee convened the first of what would be many hearings on the security and reliability of electronic voting systems,[155] and considered a number of bills on the topic. One proposal required all voting systems to produce a permanent paper record of a vote that could be corrected and verified by the voter. Another required that a voting system produce an auditable paper record. A slightly different bill on electronic voting systems required manufacturers to provide a copy of the software to a state, required states to test each system for at least 30 days prior to an election, and required that the names of individuals who worked on the software be provided to the Election Assistance Commission.

The Committee also held its first oversight hearing on the Election Assistance Commission,[156] whose commissioners had been appointed six months earlier. As the architects of the Help America Vote Act (HAVA), and of the EAC as well, Committee members were interested in the EAC's progress with respect to its mandate, as well as state compliance with HAVA and any impediments encountered by the commissioners, particularly with the 2004 election approaching. No further action was taken by the Committee on election reform proposals in the 108th Congress.

109th Congress. During the 109th Congress (2005–2006), the Committee held eight hearings on election reform topics, including several to examine issues from the 2004 presidential election, as well as HAVA implementation and reform proposals.[157] The 2004 election was the first in which the initial phase of HAVA requirements were in effect. One hearing was convened in Washington, D.C., one in Ohio, another in Wisconsin, and a third in New Mexico to discuss HAVA implementation and explore how the voting process had performed in the election. Other hearings were held on voter identification requirements and noncitizen voting, ballot security and verification, the pros and cons of paper voting records, and the activities of the Election Assistance Commission. No further action was taken by the Committee on election reform proposals in the 109th Congress.

110th Congress. During the 110th Congress (2007–2008), the Committee again held a series of hearings on a variety of election reform topics, including oversight of the Election Assistance Commission, absentee voting, election day registration and provisional voting, best practices for poll workers, military and overseas voting, presidential primaries and caucuses, and preparations for the 2008 presidential elections. The Committee reported six election bills, H.R. 281, H.R. 811, H.R. 5036, H.R. 5803, H.R. 6339, and H.R. 6625,[158] but only the first two amended the Help America Vote Act. The other four bills reported by the Committee concerned Help America Vote Act-related topics, but did not require amending HAVA.

H.R. 281, the Universal Right to Vote by Mail Act of 2007, permitted any voter to cast a ballot by mail, as long as the state could verify the voter's identity through a comparison of the ballot signature with a signature on file.[159] H.R. 811, the Voter Confidence and Increased Accountability Act of 2007, required a voting system that used or produced a voter-verified paper record of each ballot before it would be cast and counted. It also mandated that states perform random audits of federal election results before they could be certified.[160] Neither bill was taken up by the House.

The Committee's effort to pass legislation to require paper ballots for electronic voting machines stalled when the House did not take up H.R. 811. The Committee did, however, report H.R. 5036, which would have reimbursed jurisdictions for using paper ballot systems for the 2008 election, including converting or retrofitting electronic voting machines, as well as for conducting manual audits of the results. A motion to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 5036 failed to achieve a two-thirds majority for passage in the House by a 239-178 vote.[161]

A third effort to address concerns over paperless electronic voting machines, H.R. 5803, was offered by Committee member Zoe Lofgren. H.R. 5803 directed the Election Assistance Commission to make grant payments to states in order to provide for back-up paper ballots, in case of voting system failures, for the 2008 election. A motion to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 5803 failed to achieve the two-thirds majority necessary for passage in the House by a vote of 248 to 170.[162]

With respect to poll worker shortages, the Help America Vote Act included a program to recruit college-age students to be poll workers. The Committee continued its commitment to addressing the problem of poll-worker shortages in reporting H.R. 6339, which would have allowed federal employees to use up to six days of leave to serve as poll workers or to receive training to be poll workers.[163] The House took no further action on H.R. 6339.

Finally, H.R. 6625, the only election reform bill that the Committee reported and that the House passed during the 110th Congress, would have permitted states to designate Department of Veterans Affairs facilities as voter registration agencies within the state, under the National Voter Registration Act of 1993. On September 17, 2008, H.R. 6625 was agreed to by the House on motion to suspend the rules by a voice vote.[164] The Senate took no action on the bill.

111th Congress. The Committee on House Administration's work on election issues began with a hearing before its Subcommittee on Elections to review the performance of the nation's election system in the 2008 general election.[165] The subcommittee subsequently conducted oversight of the 2008 audit review by the Inspector General (IG) of the Election Assistance Commission. The oversight hearing addressed the IG's findings on the inadequacy of the Commission's accounting records, misallocation of Commission resources, and staff recruiting and hiring priorities.[166] Three additional Subcommittee hearings focused on barriers to voting encountered by uniformed services personnel and overseas voters;[167] uniform standards for election administration with respect to poll-worker training, provisional ballots, and emergency paper ballots;[168] and voter registration modernization.[169] The full Committee also convened a hearing on expanding access to the democratic process.[170]

The Committee reported three bills to amend the Help America Vote Act. H.R. 2510, the Absentee Ballot Track, Receive, and Confirm Act, would have directed the Election Assistance Commission to reimburse states that voluntarily adopted a tracking system so voters could confirm whether their absentee ballot was received and counted. The bill was reported by the Committee on June 19, 2009. On July 30 the House passed an amended version of H.R. 2510 on a voice vote under suspension of the rules. No further action occurred.

A second bill, H.R. 1604, the Universal Right to Vote by Mail Act of 2009, would have prohibited a state from imposing additional requirements on a voter's eligibility to cast a ballot by mail, except to allow for verification of the voter's signature and to impose applicable deadlines. Both bills were sponsored by Committee member Susan Davis. The Committee reported an amended version of H.R. 1604 on July 16, 2009,[171] but the House took no further action on the bill. A third bill, H.R. 3489, would have prohibited state election officials from accepting a challenge to a voter's eligibility to register or vote if the individual's household was subject to foreclosure proceedings or because their jurisdiction was part of a geographic area adversely affected by a hurricane or major disaster, as declared by the President. H.R. 3489 was reported by the Committee on March 25, 2010,[172] but no further action followed.

During the 111th Congress, the Committee also reported three other election reform bills that, if enacted, would not have amended the Help America Vote Act. The Committee reported and the House passed an election reform bill to make it unlawful for a chief state election official to be active in a political campaign for federal office. Sponsored by Committee member Susan Davis, H.R. 512 would have prohibited such political activity by the election official unless the official or a family member was a candidate. It was amended and reported by the Committee on December 8, 2009.[173] An amended version was passed in the House under suspension of the rules on September 29, 2010, by a 296-129 vote; the Senate did not act on

the bill. Another election bill reported by the Committee was H.R. 2393, sponsored by Committee member Kevin McCarthy.[174] This bill amended the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (P.L. 99-410) to require the Secretary of Defense to collect completed ballots from overseas members of the uniformed services for delivery to state election officials before the polls close on election day. The Committee reported H.R. 2393 on October 1, 2009, but it was not taken up by the House. A similar provision was included in the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act (P.L. 111-84) that improved the voting process for members of the uniformed services and their family members, and American citizens overseas.

112th Congress. At the outset of the 112th Congress, the Committee began its oversight work by convening a hearing to evaluate the implementation and performance of the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act of 2009, the MOVE Act, on the 2010 election.[175] An Assistant Attorney General at the Department of Justice testified about enforcement efforts, while state election officials from West Virginia, Indiana, and Florida, and two witnesses from military voting advocacy groups testified on implementation of the law and its effectiveness in the November election.

The Subcommittee on Elections held three subsequent hearings. The first dealt with the activities and 2012 budget request of the Election Assistance Commission (EAC).[176] At the second hearing, the subcommittee explored issues and voter experiences during the 2010 election by hearing from several election officials and representatives of a voting equipment company and a law school democracy program.[177] The third hearing was on H.R. 672, a bill to terminate the EAC, which was created by the Help America Vote Act of 2002.[178] The legislation was sponsored by the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Elections, Representative Gregg Harper. H.R. 672 called for the elimination of the EAC. It also eliminated its two advisory boards: the Standards Board and the Advisory Board, replacing them with a new board that included state and local election officials and stakeholders. The bill transferred other various EAC functions to the Federal Election Commission (FEC) and National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST). The bill transferred to the FEC the EAC's responsibility for developing voluntary voting system guidelines and maintaining an information clearinghouse. It also transferred to the FEC certain responsibilities under the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act, the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2002, and the Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act. Agency responsibilities for testing and certification of voting system hardware and software were to be transferred to NIST.

In his opening remarks at the April 14, 2011, hearing, Chairman Harper noted that the EAC had been established to "disburse funds and assist States in their obligation to meet the requirements" of the new law, but he added the following:

> Today, nearly a decade later, after most States have met the major requirements of HAVA, little funding remains to be disbursed. Any yet with the bloated, management-heavy budget and a demonstrated inability to manage its resources wisely, the EAC continues to operate providing little, if any, real assistance to the States at significant cost to taxpayers.[179]

In his testimony Representative Steny Hoyer, ranking member on the Committee when HAVA was enacted, emphasized the agency's importance in providing guidance to the states on election administration, testing of voting systems, and developing best practices for military voting. He acknowledged that the EAC could be more efficient and would benefit from future oversight by the Committee.[180] The second panel of witnesses included the Secretaries of State from New Hampshire, Mississippi, and Florida; the Registrar of Voters for Sacramento County, California; and a representative of the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). The Secretaries strongly supported the legislation,[181] while the Registrar and AEI representative favored modifying, rather than terminating, the agency.[182]

The Committee met on May 25, 2011, to mark up H.R. 672[183] and approved an amendment in the nature of a substitute, offered by Representative Harper. As amended, the

bill transferred essential functions to the FEC, rather than to both the FEC and NIST. The Committee reported the bill on June 2.[184] It was taken up by the House on June 21 under suspension of the rules, but failed to attain the two-thirds majority needed for passage when the vote was taken on June 22.

A similar bill introduced by Representative Harper on November 17, 2011, was passed in the House on December 1, 2011. H.R. 3463 called for the elimination of the EAC and transferred its functions to the FEC, as did the amended version of H.R. 672. It also terminated public financing of presidential election campaigns and the national party conventions. The House took up the bill under a closed rule and passed it on a 236-190 vote. The Senate did not act on the bill during the first session of the 112th Congress.

The Committee's action on legislation to eliminate the EAC was the initial effort in Congress to settle the question of whether the agency is temporary or permanent, a debate that began during debate on the Help America Vote Act. As the first session of the 112th Congress ended, it appeared that elimination of the EAC was going to be a priority of the Committee for the foreseeable future.

Endnotes

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3 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, *Anti-Poll-Tax Legislation*, hearings on H.R. 29, H.R. 7, H.R. 66, H.R. 225, H.R. 230, H.R. 668, H.R. 1435, and H.R. 4040, 80th Cong., 1st sess., July 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 11, 14, and 15 (Washington: GPO, 1947).

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14 Rep. Adolph J. Sabath, "Adoption of the Rules for the 81st Congress," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 95, Jan. 3, 1949, pp. 10–11.

15 Rep. Mary Norton, "Federal Anti-Poll-Tax Act," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 95, July 25, 1949, pp. 10097–10098.

16 Rep. Mary Norton, "Federal Anti-Poll-Tax Act," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 95, July 25, 1949, p. 10098.

17 Rep. Harry J. Davenport, "Federal Anti-Poll-Tax Act," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 95, July 26, 1949, p. 10223. Section 2 of the 14th Amendment reads "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis

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V. CAMPAIGN FINANCE LEGISLATION

Origins and Development

Before the nation's current campaign finance laws were enacted in the 1970s, the system was regulated by a series of statutes dating from 1907, but primarily by the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, as amended by the Hatch Act amendments of 1940.[1] Among the principal features of the Corrupt Practices Act were: (1) disclosure of receipts and expenditures by political committees operating in two or more states and by House and Senate candidates; (2) limits on contributions by individuals to federal candidates or national committees; and (3) limits on expenditures by House and Senate candidates and political committees operating in two or more states.

The following chronology lists the principal statutes and court decisions that governed campaign finance practices at the federal level prior to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (FECA). A brief summary of the principal provisions of each law is provided, along with some notation as to whether it was later repealed or is still in effect.

- Tillman Act, 1907 (34 Stat. 864)—prohibited monetary contributions from nationally chartered banks and corporations to political campaigns at any level and prohibited such contributions from any corporation to political campaigns at the federal level (still in effect);
- Publicity Act of 1910 (36 Stat. 822)—required post-election disclosure of receipts and expenditures by national party committees and committees operating in two or more states in connection with campaigns for the House of Representatives (repealed by Corrupt Practices Act in 1925);
- Publicity Act Amendments of 1911 (37 Stat. 25)—extended disclosure requirements to Senate campaigns and to pre-election reporting (for nomination, as well as general election); also limited House campaign expenditures to $5,000 and Senate campaign expenditures to $10,000 (repealed by Corrupt Practices Act in 1925);
- *Newberry v. United States* (256 U.S. 232 (1921))—the Supreme Court held unconstitutional the regulation of primary elections, under the 1910 Act, as amended; this conclusion was later overruled (or weakened) by the Court in United States v. Classic (313 U.S. 299 (1941));
- Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 (43 Stat. 1070)—largely revised and codified the provisions of the earlier statutes, with little substantive change, except for the deletion of the primary election regulations; continued the disclosure requirements for multi-state political committees and House and Senate candidates; changed the expenditure limitations to conform to state law where applicable or, for Senate candidates, $10,000 or three cents for each vote cast in the last general election for that office, up to $25,000, and, for House candidates, $2,500 or three cents for each vote cast in the last general election for that office, up to $5,000 (repealed by FECA);
- Hatch Act Amendments of 1940 (54 Stat. 767)—imposed a $5,000 per year limitation on contributions to candidates or national committees in connection with any campaign for federal office; also set a $3,000,000 per year limitation on receipts and expenditures of any political committee operating in two or more states (repealed by the FECA);
- War Labor Disputes Act of 1943 (57 Stat. 167)—prohibited labor unions from making political contributions to candidates for federal office (automatically expired six months after World War II ended); and
- Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 (61 Stat. 159)—made the prohibition on labor union contributions permanent, and expanded the prohibition on national banks, corporations, and unions to include expenditures in connection with federal campaigns, as well as contributions to them (still in effect).

The law governing campaign finance for much of the 20th century came to be widely viewed as seriously flawed, both because of campaign activities not included in its scope

and because of the ease with which its restrictions could be circumvented. The law's disclosure provisions and the spending limits did not cover presidential and vice presidential candidates, candidates and political committees in primary elections, or political committees operating within only one state. Moreover, candidates, political committees, and individuals could and commonly did avoid regulation under its provisions. Candidates and political committees could circumvent their spending limits as well as disclosure requirements by establishing multiple committees operating in single states or in the District of Columbia (which had no disclosure requirements). Individuals could evade the limits on contributions by giving to more than one committee working on behalf of a candidate or by routing contributions through additional members of the same family.[2] It can be argued that the law was generally ineffective partly because of these and other widely known loopholes, and partly because its provisions were never truly enforced. No House or Senate candidate was ever prosecuted for violation of the Corrupt Practices Act.

Role of the Committee

In the 80th Congress (1947–1948), when the Committee on House Administration was created, several bills seeking to amend the Federal Corrupt Practices were referred to the Committee's Subcommittee on Elections, but no action was taken on any of them. No campaign finance bills were referred to the Committee in the next three Congresses. In the 84th Congress (1955–1956), the Subcommittee on Elections held hearings on May 18 and July 7, 1955, on H.R. 3139, to prevent corrupt practices and require fuller, stricter disclosure of financial activity.[3] No further action was taken on that bill.

Efforts to Replace the Corrupt Practices Act. During the 1950s and 1960s, considerable attention was paid to the inadequacies of the Corrupt Practices Act. The press reported evasions of the law, Members of Congress introduced bills and committees held hearings, reports were issued on campaign finance, and proposals were made to reform it. The complaints and proposals generally centered on requiring more comprehensive and timely disclosure of campaign receipts and disbursements, and imposing limits on contributions and expenditures that could be properly enforced and would better reflect the realities of contemporary election campaigns.

It was until the 86th Congress (1959–1960), however, that the Subcommittee on Elections become formally involved when it held hearings on a Senate-passed bill (S. 2436) aimed at improving the timeliness, quality, and availability of disclosure information as well as providing limits on contributions and expenditures that reflected changes in campaigns since enactment of the Corrupt Practices Act.[4] Once again, no further action was taken.

The 87th Congress (1961–1962) saw a similar situation as the 86th Congress. The Senate again passed a bill to amend the Corrupt Practices Act, but S. 2426 was not quite as far-reaching as the bill passed by the previous Senate, It changed disclosure rules and raised spending limits but left contribution limits untouched. The Subcommittee on Elections held hearings in 1962 on this bill and several similar House bills.[5] The Subcommittee also published a comparative analysis of the Senate-passed bill, its House companion bill (H.R. 9255), and the then current law,[6] but did not report the bill.

No campaign finance bills were referred to the Committee in the 88th Congress (1963–1964), but with the 89th Congress (1965–1966), the Committee on House Administration saw a significant rise in legislative interest: 26 bills were referred and 1 bill was reported by the Subcommittee on Elections. The subcommittee held four days of hearings in the summer of 1966, signaling the first intensive examination of the myriad issues that had been emerging in the 1950s and 1960s.[7] The hearings resulted in a bipartisan bill, sponsored by Subcommittee Chairman Robert T. Ashmore of South Carolina and Ranking Member Charles Goodell of New York, which was reported by the subcommittee October 4, 1966.[8] H.R. 18162, the Election Reform Act of 1966, combined ideas proposed by President John F. Kennedy, President Lyndon B. Johnson, various House members, and subcommittee members and experts. It was labeled by one observer as "the most comprehensive [campaign reform] bill considered in Congress to that date."[9]

Among the principal provisions of H.R. 18162 were: (1) the establishment of an independent, bipartisan Federal Election Commission to administer stronger disclosure requirements; (2) elimination of the ineffective expenditure limits of the Corrupt Practices Act; (3) the inclusion of primary elections and intrastate committees in federal regulation; (4) a requirement for reporting by all campaign committees with at least $1,000 in activity aimed at influencing federal elections; and (5) a strengthened prohibition on union, corporate, and trade association funding of federal elections. The latter provision, which would have prevented such organizations from paying overhead costs of separate segregated funds (i.e., political action committees, or PACs), was strongly opposed by organized labor, which, at that time, was the dominant force in the PAC arena. Some observers saw the provision as a key factor in the bill's failure.[10] H.R. 18162 was sent to the full Committee in October 1966, and, while no further action was taken on it in that Congress, it foreshadowed the Federal Election Campaign Act, enacted in 1972.

In the 90th Congress (1967–1968), the Subcommittee on Elections picked up where the previous Congress ended by again reporting the Ashmore-Goodell bill, as modified in subcommittee, in June 1967. The new version of the bill, H.R. 11233, added a provision prohibiting candidates from using campaign receipts for personal use. The bill was reported by the full Committee in June 1968,[11] a year after its adoption by the subcommittee, making it the first campaign finance reform measure reported by the Committee. The delay in Committee action was seen by some observers as a result of stalling tactics by organized labor, which objected to a provision prohibiting direct use of union and corporate funds (i.e., to support PACs). When the bill was reported by the Committee, that provision had been deleted.[12] The 90th Congress took no further action on the measure.

The 91st Congress (1969–1970) was much quieter regarding the campaign finance issue. The Subcommittee on Elections held hearings on several bills on May 6, 1970,[13] but no action was taken on any of them.

1970s and FECA. The 92nd Congress (1971–1972) enacted the first major revision of federal campaign finance laws since the 1925 Corrupt Practices Act. The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) was the result of considerable effort and activity both in congressional committees and the floor of both chambers. The issue was the dominant legislative concern of the Subcommittee on Elections, which held seven days of hearings—June 22–24, July 13–15, and July 20, 1971—on numerous bills. The primary focus of the Committee was on H.R. 8284, a reform bill by Committee Chairman Wayne Hays.[14]

Following the last hearing, the subcommittee, meeting in executive session, reported H.R. 8284 to the full Committee on House Administration. The Committee marked up the bill in executive sessions held between September 14 and October 5, 1971. On October 4, the Committee ordered the introduction of a clean bill, introduced that day by Chairman Hays as H.R. 11060, which was reported on a 20-4 vote on October 13.[15] The bill featured improved disclosure and reporting requirements as well as limitations on spending in federal elections. Despite this momentum on H.R. 11060, many considered the bill inferior to another bill, S. 382, which had already passed the Senate.[16] Not only were the Senate bill's disclosure and reporting provisions seen as stronger, but it established an independent Federal Election Commission to supervise disclosure. H.R. 11060 had given such authority to the Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Clerk of the House (for presidential, Senate, and House elections, respectively). Several Committee members urged that the bill be strengthened in the "separate views" filed with the Committee report; Committee Republicans sought to substitute the text of S. 382, but were defeated on an 8-15 vote.[17]

By the time the measure reached the House floor, a movement to strengthen H.R. 11060 had developed. Most of the reporting and disclosure requirements from the Senate bill were substituted for those in H.R. 11060, but supervisory responsibilities were left with the three officers designated in the bill. Before passage, the bill was merged with H.R. 11231,

a bill reported by the Commerce Committee that included new broadcast provisions. The new amended version of H.R. 11060 passed the House November 30, 1971. The House-Senate conference on S. 382 resulted in a measure featuring an abolition of the ineffectual contribution and expenditure limits of the Corrupt Practices Act and new limitations on broadcast spending by federal candidates. Broadcast spending was also addressed through a requirement that broadcasters offer the lowest unit rate to political candidates, a policy still observed today. The most enduring aspect of the FECA in its initial form, however, was the systematic, regular reporting and disclosure requirements for federal candidates. The bill was signed into law by President Richard M. Nixon on February 7, 1972.[18]

During the second session of the 92nd Congress, the full Committee held hearings on June 20, 1972, on a bill—H.R. 15511—to change the filing schedule for reports under the FECA.[19] No further action was taken on the measure. In one additional action, on September 27, 1972, the Committee reported H.R. 15276, which clarified that the FECA's prohibition on government contractors spending money in federal elections would not affect the specific activities exempted from the Act's prohibition on corporate and union spending (i.e., communication with members, etc.).[20] While the bill was reported unanimously in Committee, supported by the Nixon Administration, and passed by the House October 2, 1972, it never reached the Senate floor.

Post-FECA.

FECA Amendments of 1974. Campaign finance reform became a major issue in the 93rd Congress (1973–1974), as the unfolding Watergate scandal contributed to a heightened focus on money and politics. There was a growing sense that the newly enacted FECA needed to be substantively amended. The Senate moved quickly and passed S. 372, the FECA Amendments of 1973, which included contribution and expenditure limits in all federal elections and the creation of an independent enforcement agency. The Subcommittee on Elections held six days of hearings in October and November 1973 on more than 50 bills, with a focus on the Senate-passed bill.[21] Observers saw the House as "much more cautious" about comprehensive campaign finance reform than the Senate,[22] with Committee on House Administration Chairman Wayne Hays of Ohio and Subcommittee on Elections Chairman John Dent of Pennsylvania both strongly opposed to an independent administrative agency and contribution limits.[23] The Committee took no action in the first session of the 93rd Congress, beyond the six days of hearings held by the Subcommittee on Elections.

In the second session of the 93rd Congress, partly because of House inaction on S. 372 and partly because of heightened interest in public financing of elections, the Senate Rules and Administration Committee reported a new bill, S. 3044, the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974, which incorporated most of the features of S. 372 with the major addition of public financing of presidential and congressional elections.[24] S. 3044——was passed by the Senate April 11, 1974. The Committee on House Administration began a series of 21 markup sessions on March 26; the sessions ended on July 1, amidst charges of stalling from reform proponents.[25] On July 30, 1974, the Committee reported its version of the FECA Amendments of 1974—H.R. 16090—by a 21-2 vote.[26] Like the Senate bill, H.R. 16090 imposed limits on contributions and expenditures in all federal elections. Unlike S. 3044, it provided for public financing only of presidential elections. In addition, rather than an independent election agency to administer the law, the House bill created a seven-member supervisory board dominated by Congress, with four members appointed by congressional leadership, plus the Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Clerk of the House. By the time House debate began on H.R. 16090, Chairman Hays secured Committee agreement to a compromise amendment, giving the supervisory board four voting members, with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House as ex officio members only.[27] This was adopted on the House floor, and, on August 8, 1974, the House passed the amended H.R. 16090 by a 355-48 vote.[28]

The conference committee (on S. 3044) completed its work on October 7, 1974, by dropping public financ-

ing of House and Senate elections, as the House conferees insisted upon, but raising expenditure limits from where the House bill had set them and creating the independent election agency, as in the Senate bill.[29] On October 15, 1974, President Gerald R. Ford signed the FECA Amendments of 1974 into law.[30]

The first session of the 94th Congress (1975–1976) found the Committee and its Elections subcommittee involved with implementing the FECA Amendments of 1974, focusing on the initial actions of the Federal Election Commission (FEC), its commissioners, and its regulations. The Subcommittee held four days of hearings in March 1975 on the first six nominations for FEC commissioners.[31] The full Committee reported H. Res. 314, approving the nominations, on March 17.[32] The resolution was adopted by the House on March 19, and the nominees were confirmed on April 10, 1975. The FEC Commissioners testified before the full Committee on January 27, 1976, on 22 proposed regulations on a variety of topics.[33]

Another issue taken up by the Committee during the 94th Congress was the "point of entry" regulation proposed by the FEC, whereby disclosure reports would be filed by Senate and House candidates with the FEC, with copies to be made and sent to the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House, respectively. Under the 1974 FECA Amendments, which created the FEC, either chamber could disapprove a proposed FEC regulation by a simple majority, known as the legislative veto. The regulation was unpopular among many House members who were thought to prefer giving the Clerk of the House a chance to have errors corrected before transmittal to the FEC.[34] The Committee met September 11, 1975, and voted 18-1 to disapprove the regulation. Meetings between Committee Chairman Hays and FEC Chairman Thomas Curtis failed to find a compromise, so the Committee on October 9 approved H. Res. 780, formally disapproving the regulation by a unanimous vote (made possible by the absence of Bill Frenzel of Minnesota, the lone dissenter).[35] The resolution failed when it was initially brought up on the House floor under suspension of the rules on October 20, but it passed the House on October 22, 1975, under a special rule.[36]

FECA Amendments of 1976. The second session of the 94th Congress was largely taken up with the 1976 amendments to the FECA necessitated by the Supreme Court's ruling in *Buckley v. Valeo* on January 30, 1976 (424 U.S. 1 (1976)). That decision, among other things, declared the FEC as constituted to be unconstitutional, as it was an executive branch agency whose members were not appointed fully by the President. The ruling also struck down expenditure limits enacted under the 1974 Amendments, but generally upheld contribution limits. Congress acted fairly quickly after the *Buckley* decision to reconstitute the FEC so its members were chosen by the President with Senate approval, and to remove the expenditure limits imposed in 1974. The Committee held markup sessions between February 23 and March 10, and reported H.R. 12406 on March 17, 1976.[37] The bill closely followed S. 3065, as reported March 2 from the Senate Rules and Administration Committee.[38] The House passed H.R. 12406 on April 1 after adopting several amendments to make the bill more closely resemble the Senate version. The conference version of the 1976 FECA amendments was filed April 28;[39] it was considered to be closer to the House bill as passed in that it continued Congress's authority to overturn regulations and placed certain restrictions on FEC advisory opinions.[40] The bill became public law on May 11, 1976.[41]

Renewed Push for Public Financing of Congressional Elections. The 95th Congress (1977–1978) saw a renewed push for public financing of congressional elections. Reformers who had been unable to achieve that goal in prior Congresses were now aided by support from President Jimmy Carter, Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill of Massachusetts, and new Committee on House Administration Chairman Frank Thompson of New Jersey. The Subcommittee on Elections was not reestablished in the 95th Congress, but the full Committee held seven days of hearings between May 18 and July 12, 1977, on public financing of congressional elections and other campaign finance proposals.[42] The focus of the hearings was on H.R. 5157, which was sponsored by Morris

Udall of Arizona and John Anderson of Illinois, and 8 identical bills, which had a cumulative total of 123 cosponsors.

A proposal for partial public funding of House general elections, supported by the House leadership, was scheduled for markup by the Committee on House Administration on October 25, 1977. Opponents succeeded in amending the proposal, however, adding coverage of primary elections and extending financing to a wider range of (minor party) candidates, both seen as designed to lessen support for public financing among incumbent Members. Following adoption of the two amendments, Chairman Thompson decided not to take up the bill, saying there were not enough votes in committee to report a public financing bill at that time.[43]

On March 16, 1978, the Committee reported a bill initially intended as the counterpart to S. 926, passed by the Senate in the first session and focused on simplifying reporting and disclosure requirements under the FECA.[44] As reported H.R. 11315 went further than the Senate bill by reducing limits on contributions to and by parties and political action committees (PACs), reducing party-coordinated expenditure limits, and prohibiting intraparty transfers of funds for purposes of contributions to candidates. While the expressed intention of the added provisions was to reduce special interest influence and campaign spending, some Republicans on the Committee and in the House interpreted the measure as being prompted by majority concerns about growing Republican success in party and PAC fundraising, and they asserted that it was really aimed at reducing electoral opportunities for Republican members.[45] The ill will caused by the reported bill contributed to the defeat of the rule for consideration of H.R. 11315 on March 21, 1978, thereby killing not only that bill but also the leadership-supported public financing amendment intended for floor debate.

In the 96th Congress (1979–1980), the push for public financing of congressional elections, which had been gathering momentum since the 93rd Congress, came to a halt when the Committee on House Administration voted against reporting H.R. 1, a public finance bill. The Committee held five days of hearings between March 15 and March 27, 1979, focused on H.R. 1, which was supported by House leadership and which had nearly 160 cosponsors.[46] Supporters of the bill sought to make it more palatable to opponents, but by the time the Committee met on May 24, 1979, their efforts had failed. Added to opposition based on using tax money to pay for election campaigns were the more parochial concerns of some Members about helping to finance their challengers' campaigns and thus reducing the incumbent fundraising advantage. The Committee voted 8-17 against reporting H.R. 1, thus ending serious congressional discussion of public financing of congressional elections until the 100th Congress (1987–1988).[47]

FECA Amendments of 1979. The 96th Congress did include a notable victory for campaign finance advocates with enactment of the 1979 FECA Amendments. By putting aside the controversial issues of public financing and further reducing permissible contributions by political parties and PACs, the House and Senate were able to reach bipartisan agreement on provisions aimed at reducing burdensome recordkeeping and reporting requirements of FECA, and giving state and local parties greater latitude to engage in grassroots campaigning that could affect federal elections. Following a markup on July 31 and August 1, 1979, the Committee on House Administration reported H.R. 5010 on September 7.[48] The measure passed the House under suspension of the rules on September 10. Informal discussions were held between the House and Senate to iron out differences between H.R. 5010 and the Senate version as reported from the Rules and Administration Committee. The revised version of H.R. 5010 was brought up in the House and Senate on December 18 and 20, respectively, and passed both houses. The measure was signed by President Carter on January 8, 1980.[49]

Onset of the Political Action Committee (PAC) Issue. One campaign finance issue arose during the 96th Congress as a floor amendment to the FEC authorization bill (S. 832) reported by the Committee on House Administration. The text of H.R. 4970, which became known as the Obey-Railsback proposal (for its sponsors, David Obey of Wisconsin

and Thomas Railsback of Illinois), was added to S. 832 on the House floor on October 17, 1979.[50] The measure, which lowered the PAC contribution limit and placed an aggregate PAC receipts limit on congressional candidates, was aimed at reducing the perceived influence of "special interests" in the electoral process. While the underlying bill never received action in the Senate, that vote ushered in a decades-long focus in Congress on the role of PACs in campaign financing, which the Committee on House Administration would return to again and again.

FEC Oversight. On June 18, 1979, Chairman Thompson established five task forces to exercise oversight of the Federal Election Commission: Task Force on Audits and Review (May 21, 1980); Task Force on Enforcement (June 18–19, 1980); Task Force on Information Office and Public Disclosure (December 5, 1979, April 21, May 12, and June 30, 1980); Task Force on Public Financing of Presidential Campaigns (no hearings); and Task Force on Administration and Clearinghouse (May 14 and July 30, 1980).[51]

1980s and Congressional Stalemate on Campaign Finance Issues. During the 1980s, the campaign finance debate continued the focus begun in the 96th Congress (via the Obey-Railsback amendment) on the appropriate role of PACs (i.e., special interests) in financing elections for federal office. In the 97th Congress (1981–1982), the Committee established the Task Force on Elections to handle campaign finance and other election issues. The task force held two days of hearings in the second session: one, on June 10, 1982, on contribution limits under FECA, focused on PACs; the other, on July 28, 1982, on independent expenditures (spending by outside groups in support of or opposition to a federal candidate that is not coordinated in any way with a candidate and is subject to no limits on amounts spent).[52] No further action was taken on any proposed legislation.

The Task Force on Elections was again revived by the Committee on House Administration in the 98th Congress (1983–1984). The task force held eight days of hearings on campaign finance issues, focused on the role of PACs and the political parties and ways to increase the direct role of individual citizens. The first four hearings were held in Washington, followed by field hearings in Boston, Sacramento, Seattle, and Atlanta.[53] Neither the task force nor the Committee took any further action.

For the 99th Congress (1985–1986), the Committee on House Administration established a Subcommittee on Elections instead of the task force of the prior two Congresses. The subcommittee held no hearings on campaign finance issues per se, but it did hold an oversight hearing on the FEC on November 7, 1985,[54] in addition to routine hearings on FEC budget authorization.

In the 100th Congress (1987–1988), the Subcommittee on Elections held five days of hearings on campaign finance reform.[55] The stalemate of recent Congresses continued, however, with members in the majority, led by Subcommittee Chair Allan B. Swift of Washington, insisting on a comprehensive solution to issues presented in the campaign finance debate, especially regarding spending limits in congressional elections and curbs on the role of PACs. Members in the minority, led by Subcommittee Ranking Member William Thomas of California, urged that more limited measures be enacted where consensus existed. In the second session, the Subcommittee considered two minor bills and reported one to the House. On August 2, 1988, the Subcommittee held a hearing and marked up H.R. 4952 (sponsored by Bill Thomas), which was aimed at preventing state elected officials from transferring funds raised for state offices to prospective campaigns they might wage for federal office.[56] The bill was ordered reported by the Committee on House Administration on August 3 and passed by the House under suspension of the rules August 8, 1988; no further action was taken on the measure. On September 8, 1988, the Subcommittee held a hearing on H.R. 5121, a bill sponsored by Committee Chairman Frank Annunzio of Illinois, to require publication of certain information about PACs.[57] On September 14, 1988, the bill was amended and forwarded to the Committee, which recommitted it to the Subcommittee; a further hearing[58] and markup was held by the Subcommittee that same day, but no further action was taken.

1990s and Renewed Push for Public Financing and Expenditure Limits. The sense of partisan stalemate on campaign finance reform was so great at the start of the 101st Congress (1989–1990) that House Speaker James Wright of Texas established a Bipartisan Task Force on Campaign Reform to seek consensus legislation. The Task Force was headed by Subcommittee on Elections Chairman Allan Swift and Representative Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan. The Committee was thus formally bypassed in the effort to produce a bill that could pass the House, although the Subcommittee made staff and resources available to assist the Task Force throughout its existence. The Task Force, however, was unable to reach a consensus, and the Democratic and Republican leadership offered their own bills when the House debated campaign finance reform in August 1990. On August 3, the House passed H.R. 5400, sponsored by Swift and supported by the House Democratic leadership, which featured voluntary spending limits in House general elections in exchange for certain public benefits and curbs on PACs.[59] A conference committee was appointed to reconcile the differences between H.R. 5400 and the Senate-passed S. 137, but the committee never met.

The continued pressure for campaign finance reform as the 102nd Congress (1991–1992) led Speaker Thomas Foley of Washington to direct the Committee to revive a special task force within the Committee to address the issue. The Task Force on Campaign Finance Reform, led by Chairman Sam Gejdenson of Connecticut and Ranking Member Bill Thomas, held eight days of hearings in the spring of 1991, including field hearings in St. Paul, Minnesota, and Madison, Wisconsin.[60] At the end of the process the Task Force found itself unable to reach a bipartisan proposal, and the Democrats and Republicans prepared to offer their own legislation. With Senate passage of its version of campaign finance reform (S. 3) in May 1991, the focus was on the House. Task Force Chairman Gejdenson and the House Democratic leadership introduced H.R. 3750 on November 12, 1991, and the bill was marked up by the Committee on November 14. As reported, by a 14-9 vote, the bill featured spending limits in House general elections in exchange for matching public funds, and lower postal rates and curbs on PACs.[61] The House debated and passed H.R. 3750 on November 25, 1991, by a 273-156 vote after defeating the Republican alternative offered by Minority Leader Bob Michel of Illinois.[62] Unlike in the 101st Congress, the House and Senate conferees on H.R. 3750 and S. 3 met and reached agreement on a bill that left House and Senate spending limits and benefits intact for each body, in addition to curbs on PACs and other features.[63] The conference report was passed by the House and Senate in April 1992, but the ultimate bill was vetoed by President George H. W. Bush, who objected to both the public financing and spending limits provisions; his veto was sustained.[64]

In one additional action on campaign finance in the 102nd Congress, the House Administration Subcommittee on Elections held a hearing on the status and operation of the presidential public finance system on May 1, 1991.[65] One of the concerns expressed at the hearings was the practical effects on candidates if a shortfall existed in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. On November 7, 1991,[66] the Subcommittee on Elections held a markup and sent to the full Committee H.R. 3644, sponsored by Subcommittee Chairman Swift, to allow the Treasury Department to take into account estimated amounts from the dollar checkoff in the coming year, in order to avoid potential cutbacks in funds distributed to candidates. The bill also required candidates receiving public funds to use closed-captioning in broadcast advertising. The bill was reported by the Committee on November 19, 1991. The rule (H. Res. 288) for the bill's consideration was placed on the House calendar but not acted upon.

Reform advocates picked up in the 103rd Congress (1993–1994) where they had left off in the 102nd Congress, hoping that President Bill Clinton's support could make the crucial difference in enacting legislation. The Senate passed S. 3 in June 1993, and House reform advocates rallied around H.R. 3. Both bills were based on the vetoed bill from the 102nd Congress. The Committee held no formal hearings on the issue, but its members were involved in negotiations throughout 1993. The Committee met November 10, 1993, to consider

a substitute version of H.R. 3, as well as a Republican alternative, H.R. 3470, which was offered by Minority Leader Michel, and a bipartisan alternative, H.R. 2469, sponsored by Representatives Michael Synar of Oklahoma and Robert Livingston of Louisiana. Neither of the two alternatives contained the controversial spending limits and public benefits in H.R. 3. On November 10, the Committee voted (12-7) to report H.R. 3, featuring voluntary House spending limits in exchange for communication vouchers (based on matching donations), and a cap on PAC and large donor receipts for House candidates.[67] On November 22, 1993, the House passed H.R. 3 on a 255-175 vote, setting the stage for a conference with the Senate.[68] However, differences over financing public benefits and the extent of curbs on PACs kept House and Senate negotiators at loggerheads until the end of the second session when a compromise was announced. The issue died when a Republican filibuster in the Senate kept the Senate from formally appointing conferees.

Republican Control of the House. The political landscape changed dramatically in the 104th Congress (1995–1996), with Republican control of both chambers and with little interest on the part of the Republican leadership in either spending limits or public financing, the key objectives of the reform advocates since the 1970s. The House Oversight Committee, as it was renamed in the 104th Congress, held four hearings: on November 2 and 16, 1995, on campaign finance legislation;[69] on December 12, 1995, on the role of political parties in financing elections;[70] and on March 21, 1996, on political activity of labor unions.[71] On July 9, 1996, H.R. 3760, sponsored by House Oversight Committee Chairman Bill Thomas, was introduced on behalf of the Republican leadership. It reflected a different approach to campaign finance reform than the bills passed in prior Congresses. It called for in-district funding requirements, equal contribution limits for PACs and individual citizens, a greater role for political party funding, higher contribution limits for donations to opponents of wealthy candidates, and curbs on party soft money and bundling. The Committee held a markup of H.R. 3760 on July 10, 1996.[72] The Committee reported the measure by a vote of 6-5.[73] The Rules Committee replaced the bill with H.R. 3820, which added a provision to curb the political use of union dues. H.R. 3820 was defeated by the House on July 25, 1996, on a 162-259 vote. H.R. 3505, the Democratic alternative to the legislation was also defeated that day.

Aftermath of 1996 Election and Enactment of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002. Interest in campaign finance reform escalated sharply in response to the 1996 elections during which large sums of election-related money were raised and spent outside the purview of federal election law (i.e., soft money). There were also allegations concerning illegal foreign campaign money raised by the Democratic National Committee. As the 105th Congress (1997–1998) opened, reform supporters vowed major legislative efforts on the issue of unregulated election-related money, while House and Senate leaders expressed their desire to make investigating the foreign campaign money allegations a priority. More than 100 reform bills were introduced in the House. From the outset, media attention focused on the Shays-Meehan bill sponsored by Representatives Christopher Shays of Connecticut and Martin Meehan of Massachusetts. Its Senate companion was the McCain-Feingold bill, sponsored by Senators John McCain of Arizona and Russell Feingold of Wisconsin. Those measures, which were endorsed by President Bill Clinton in his 1997 State of the Union Address,[74] sought to ban party soft money and to redefine "express advocacy" so that more election-related activity would be regulated under federal election law. In the face of House leadership reluctance to schedule debate on campaign reform, and its resistance to the Shays-Meehan approach in particular, several task forces were created to seek consensus on proposals. Most notable of these was the House Freshman Bipartisan Task Force on Campaign Finance Reform which held forums and produced H.R. 2183, co-sponsored by Task Force Chairmen Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas and Thomas H. Allen of Maine. That bill took a more moderated approach than Shays-Meehan in curbing party soft money by only requiring disclosure of election-related activity outside the framework of federal election law and proposing an increase

in hard money contribution limits to provide incentives for more activity to be conducted under federal election law.

The House Oversight Committee held a series of hearings on campaign finance reform on October 30 and 31 and November 6 and 7, 1997.[75] Reform supporters sought to force a scheduled floor vote with a petition to discharge various bills from committee on the last day of the first session. Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Republican leaders said the House would vote on reform legislation by March 1998. The House Oversight Committee continued its hearings in the second session, on February 5 and 26 and March 5, 1998.[76] On March 18, 1998, the Committee reported H.R. 3485, sponsored by Chairman Bill Thomas and supported by the Republican leadership, to ban party-raised soft money, adjust contribution limits, protect dissenting workers and stockholders from political use of union and corporate money, guard against vote fraud, and require issue advocacy disclosure.[77] The Committee's reported bill was amended slightly before it reached the House floor in part to add a provision to ban state party as well as national party soft money. The revised bill took the form of H.R. 3581, also sponsored by Chairman Thomas. On March 30, 1998, the Republican leadership brought four campaign finance bills sponsored by Chairman Thomas to the floor under suspension of the rules. Two were defeated: H.R. 3581, by a 74-337 vote, and H.R. 2608, to prohibit political use of involuntary union dues, by a 166-246 vote. Two noncontroversial bills were passed that day: H.R. 34, to prohibit contributions from noncitizens, by a 369-43 vote, and H.R. 3582, to strengthen reporting and disclosure under federal election law, by a 405-6 vote.[78]

The second phase of House activity developed out of reform supporters' revival of the discharge petition for H. Res. 259. The petition sought to allow consideration of the Republican leadership's proposal, the freshmen bipartisan measure (H.R. 2183), and the Shays-Meehan proposal (H.R. 3526). As the petition drive neared the needed 218 votes, Speaker Gingrich announced: (1) that the House would reconsider the issue by May 1998 and (2) an elaborate procedure for consideration. The freshman bipartisan bill, H.R. 2183, was designated as the base bill, and amendments and substitutes would be allowed. Ultimately, after a protracted debate and complex procedural hurdles, the House passed the Shays-Meehan substitute on August 3, 1998, by a vote of 237-186, after 6 days of debate, adoption of 23 amendments, and rejection of 18 others. On August 6, the House passed H.R. 2183, as modified by the text of the amended Shays-Meehan substitute, on a vote of 252-179. The bill, the companion to the Senate's McCain-Feingold bill, featured curbs on party soft money and election-related issue advocacy. The Senate, however, could not agree on a bill in the 105th Congress, and no bill was enacted.[79]

In the 106th Congress (1999–2000), the drive for campaign finance reform picked up where it had left off in the 105th. The Committee held hearings on June 17 and 29 and July 13 and 22, 1999.[80] On August 2, the Committee ordered four bills reported in order to move the debate to the House floor. H.R. 2668 (Thomas), to improve enforcement and disclosure in the FECA, was reported favorably.[81] Two other bills were reported without recommendation: H.R. 1867 (Hutchinson), based on the freshman bipartisan bill of the 105th Congress;[82] and H.R. 1922 (Doolittle), to remove contribution limits and generally deregulate the campaign finance system.[83] H.R. 417 (Shays-Meehan), based on the bill passed by the House in the 105th Congress, was reported unfavorably.[84] The proposed rule for floor debate, however, allowed for consideration of the Shays-Meehan bill as the base bill, along with 10 amendments and 3 substitutes (comprised of the texts of the other bills reported by the Committee on House Administration). On September 14, 1999, the House passed H.R. 417 on a 252-177 vote with three perfecting amendments—two on foreign money in U.S. elections and one on reimbursement for political use of government vehicles. As passed by the House, H.R. 417 featured provisions to broaden the definition of express advocacy, ban national party and federal candidate soft money raising, and curb state party soft money spending on federal-related activity.[85] Once again, the Senate could not agree on a campaign finance measure, thus insuring a return to the issue in the 107th Congress.

2000s and Attainment of Campaign Finance Reform. The Senate broke its long stalemate early in the 107th Congress

when it passed the McCain-Feingold campaign finance bill, shifting the focus to the House. The Committee began a series of hearings on campaign finance reform on March 17, 2001, in Phoenix, Arizona.[86] On May 1, during the second hearing of the series, supporters of McCain-Feingold and its House companion, H.R. 380 (Shays-Meehan), urged the House to act by Memorial Day.[87] Chairman Robert Ney of Ohio stated the Committee would report a bill to the House by the end of June 2001. A third hearing, on constitutional issues, was held June 14,[88] and a fourth, on June 21, included testimony from House Members.[89] On June 28, the Committee completed its hearings by taking further testimony from Members.[90] It then proceeded to markup H.R. 2360 (Ney-Wynn, sponsored by Robert Ney of Ohio and Albert Wynn of Maryland), which featured limits on soft money donations to national parties, disclosure of election-related issue advocacy, and increases in some hard money contribution limits. The Committee ordered it reported favorably to the House.[91]

The Committee also ordered favorably reported H.R. 2356, a modified Shays-Meehan bill, which closely resembled S. 27 (McCain-Feingold) as passed by the Senate in April.[92] The House scheduled debate on the Ney-Wynn and Shays-Meehan bills on July 12, 2001, but debate failed to materialize that day when the House rejected the proposed rule. In the wake of the defeat of the rule, the House leadership would not commit to revisit the issue. Supporters of Shays-Meehan then looked to a discharge petition to force reconsideration.

On January 24, 2002, House advocates secured the last four signatures necessary for the discharge petition to force a floor vote on the bill. Under the discharge petition rule, Representatives Shays and Meehan, Committee on House Administration Chairman Ney, and Majority Leader Dick Armey of Texas would be permitted to offer substitutes with the proposal receiving the most votes becoming the base bill, subject to amendments. On February 13, 2002, the House agreed to a Shays-Meehan substitute amendment (240-191), after rejecting substitutes offered by Armey (179-249) and Ney (53-377). The House then agreed to four perfecting amendments and rejected eight others, after which H.R. 2356, as amended, was passed on a 240-189 vote. On March 20, the Senate passed H.R. 2356 on a 60-40 vote, thus obviating the need for a conference. On March 27, 2002, President George H. W. Bush signed H.R. 2356, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), into law.[93]

Post-BCRA Campaign Finance Issues. As the 108th Congress (2003–2004) began, the political community was adjusting to the new law that took effect on November 6, 2002, while carefully watching the courts for their rulings on the new act's constitutionality. On December 10, 2003, the Supreme Court largely upheld BCRA in McConnell v. FEC (549 U.S. 93). The Committee on House Administration began an examination of the role of tax-exempt "527" political organizations since enactment of BCRA. On November 20, 2003, the Committee authorized its Chairman to issue subpoenas to compel testimony from several groups that had declined to testify in its scheduled hearing that day.[94] On May 20, 2004, the Committee held an oversight hearing on the FEC and the 527 rulemaking process, prompted by the agency's postponement of a decision on a proposed regulation to redefine "political committee" to include activity by many 527 groups then in operation.[95]

In the wake of the 2004 elections, when more than $400 million was raised and spent by 527 organizations outside of federal election law regulation, the 109th Congress (2005–2006) examined the role of 527 groups in federal elections. The Committee held a hearing April 20, 2005, on regulation of 527 organizations that focused on H.R. 513 (Shays-Meehan) and H.R. 1316 (Pence-Wynn). Whereas H.R. 513 sought to bring more 527 groups under the purview of FECA regulation, H.R. 1316 embodied a more indirect approach by loosening restrictions on funding sources within the FECA. On June 8, 2005, the Committee held a markup on H.R. 1316.[96] H.R. 1316, as amended, was favorably reported on June 22, 2005.[97] On June 29, the Committee held a markup of H.R. 513 (Shays-Meehan), and ordered it reported (as amended to reflect the sponsors' changes) without recommendation.[98] On April 5, 2006, the House passed H.R. 513 (Shays-Meehan), as amended, by a 218-209 vote. The text of H.R. 513 was also included in H.R. 4975 (Dreier), the

House Republican leadership's lobbying and ethics reform bill. On May 3, 2006, the House passed H.R. 4975, the Lobbying Accountability and Transparency Act of 2006, which included the text of H.R. 513. This set the stage for a conference with the Senate, because the Senate-passed lobbying reform bill did not contain the 527 provisions.[99] The conference never met, leaving the 527 issue unresolved.

The issue of regulation of Internet communications was addressed at a Committee hearing on September 22, 2005. On March 9, 2006, the Committee favorably reported H.R. 1606, sponsored by Jeb Hensarling of Texas, which would have exempted Internet communications from regulation under federal campaign finance laws.[100] It was expected to be considered by the House, but further legislative action was postponed indefinitely following the FEC's approval of new regulations in March 2006 to regulate only paid advertisements placed on another's website.

Democratic majorities elected in the 2006 House and Senate elections suggested the potential for renewed interest in campaign finance during the 110th Congress. Much of the legislative activity on the issue occurred tangentially, as Congress enacted the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007 (HLOGA) in September 2007. A leadership initiative that focused primarily on lobbying and ethics, HLOGA contained provisions requiring additional disclosure of lobbyists' campaign contributions and bundling activities.[101] HLOGA also restricted travel aboard private aircraft for campaign purposes.

The 110th Congress enacted only one other change to campaign finance law. P.L. 110-433, which originated as H.R. 6296, extended until 2013 the FEC's authority to conduct the Administrative Fine Program (AFP). The AFP, which would have expired at the end of 2008, sets standard penalties for routine reporting violations and requires fewer resources than the Commission's full enforcement process. Committee on House Administration Chairman Robert A. Brady of Pennsylvania sponsored H.R. 6296, but it was not considered by the Committee. The measure passed the House by voice vote under suspension of the rules on July 15, 2008.[102] After Senate passage of an identical bill by unanimous consent on October 2, 2008, President George W. Bush signed H.R. 6296 into law on October 16, 2008.[103]

During the 110th Congress, the House passed three other campaign finance bills, but none received consideration in the Senate. Although Committee members were involved in floor debate on all three, the Committee on House Administration officially reported only one of those bills (H.R. 3032). All three passed under suspension of the rules and by voice votes. H.R. 3032, sponsored by Representative Walter Jones of North Carolina, would have permitted candidates to designate an individual (other than the campaign treasurer) to spend campaign funds if the candidate died. The Committee favorably reported an amended version of the bill by voice vote on April 22, 2008.[104] The amended version of H.R. 3032 made slight adjustments to the proposed process for designating an individual other than the treasurer to disburse campaign funds. The House passed the amended version of the bill on July 15, 2008.[105]

The second bill was H.R. 3093, the House version of the FY2008 Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies appropriations bill, which contained an amendment sponsored by Representative Mike Pence of Indiana that would have prohibited spending funds for criminal enforcement of BCRA's electioneering communication provision.[106] However, the provision was not included in companion Senate legislation or the FY2008 consolidated appropriations law.[107]

The third House bill, H.R. 2630, sponsored by Representative Adam Schiff of California, would have prohibited certain political committees from paying candidate spouses for campaign work. The bill also would have required disclosure of campaign payments to other family members. H.R. 2630 passed the House on July 23, 2007.[108]

In the only House hearing related to campaign finance in the 110th Congress, the Committee on House Administration's Subcommittee on Elections held an oversight session on automated political telephone calls ("robo calls") in December 2007.[109] In addition to providing background information about the use of automated calls in campaigns, Members and

witnesses at the hearing considered whether, or if, automated calls could be constitutionally restricted. Some Members also emphasized the value of official (franked) automated calls to arrange telephone-based town hall meetings.

The 110th Congress concluded without additional House activity on campaign finance issues.

Citizens United and a Changing Campaign Finance Landscape After 2010

The Supreme Court's January 21, 2010, ruling in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* was one of the most significant changes in campaign finance policy in decades.[110] In fact, the policy and legal landscape arguably had not changed as substantially since the Court considered FECA in *Buckley* (1976). Responding to *Citizens United* and related legal and regulatory developments occupied most congressional attention to campaign finance matters—including for the Committee on House Administration—during the 111th Congress and into the 112th Congress.[111]

Most notably, the Citizens United decision lifted the long-standing FECA prohibition on corporations and unions using their general treasury funds for independent expenditures and electioneering communications. As noted previously, independent expenditures explicitly call for election or defeat of political candidates (known as *express*[112] *advocacy*), may occur at any time, and are usually (but not always) broadcast advertisements. They must also be uncoordinated with the campaign in question.[113] *Electioneering communications* are defined only as broadcast advertising, are aired during specific pre-election windows, and might discuss a candidate, but do not explicitly call for election or defeat (known as *issue advocacy*).[114]

Most congressional attention responding to the ruling focused on the DISCLOSE Act, introduced in the House as H.R. 5175 by Representative Chris Van Hollen of Maryland. The Committee on House Administration was actively involved in considering the legislation. On February 3, 2010, the Committee and the House Judiciary Committee held the first House hearings (separately) on *Citizens United*; both sessions included discussion of themes later found in the DISCLOSE Act. The Committee on House Administration held two hearings on H.R. 5175 specifically, on May 6, 2010, and May 11, 2010.[115] The committee held a markup on May 20, 2010, when H.R. 5175 was ordered favorably reported, as amended.[116] After the Committee on House Administration reported[117] an amended version of H.R. 5175 on May 25, the House of Representatives passed the bill, with additional amendments, on June 24, 2010, by a 219-206 vote.[118] By a 57-41 vote, the Senate declined to invoke cloture on companion bill S. 3628 on July 27, 2010.[119] A second cloture vote failed (59-39) on September 23, 2010.[120]

Although *Citizens United* was the most notable campaign finance event during the 111th Congress, before and after the Supreme Court's January 2010 decision the Committee on House Administration was engaged in various campaign finance matters. During the 111th Congress, on March 25, 2009, the Committee reported H.R. 749, sponsored by Representative Walter Jones of North Carolina, by voice vote and without amendment. The bill was virtually identical to H.R. 3032, also sponsored by Representative Jones and, as discussed above, passed the House during the 110th Congress. Like its predecessor, H.R. 749 would have permitted the candidate to designate an individual other than the treasurer to spend campaign funds after the candidate's death. On April 22, 2009, H.R. 749 passed the House by voice vote and under suspension of the rules. The measure was subject to only brief debate and received bipartisan support. The bill did not receive consideration in the Senate.

The Committee also considered H.R. 512, which would have prohibited "chief State election administration officials" (e.g., Secretaries of State) from "tak[ing] an active part" in managing or otherwise being involved in federal election campaigns if the official "has supervisory authority" for administering the relevant election.[121] Although primarily an election administration bill, H.R. 512 proposed to amend FECA and was, therefore, tangentially related to campaign finance policy. At a June 10 markup, some Committee Members expressed concern that H.R. 512 appeared to presume that election officials could not objectively separate

campaign activities and election-administration duties, and might unnecessarily limit election officials' political activities. Representative Daniel Lungren of California, Ranking Member of the Committee on House Administration, reiterated those themes during floor debate. By contrast, Committee Member and bill sponsor Representative Susan Davis of California countered that the measure was reasonably limited to thwarting potential corruption and designed to enhance integrity in the electoral process. The House passed H.R. 512 (296-129) on September 29, 2010. It did not receive Senate consideration.

After the DISCLOSE Act stalled in the 111th Congress, momentum on campaign finance issues appeared to fade early in the 112th Congress. The upcoming 2012 elections and ongoing interest in the aftermath of Citizens United, however, kept campaign finance issues before Congress. Committee activity on campaign finance issues during the first session of the 112th Congress occurred primarily through two Subcommittee on Elections hearings, one on the FEC and one on H.R. 672, which proposed to eliminate the EAC and had tangential implications for the FEC.

The FEC oversight hearing—the first major event of this type for the committee since the immediate aftermath of BCRA enactment in 2002—occurred in November 2011. On November 3, Chairman Gregg Harper convened the Subcommittee on Elections hearing. Much of the hearing, which featured testimony from FEC commissioners, emphasized Committee questions about transparency in the agency's enforcement process. Following the hearing, on December 2, 2011, the FEC released more than 1,300 pages of documents concerning its audit, enforcement, and compliance processes. The FEC redacted portions of the documents, taking the position that releasing some information about the enforcement process could inform would-be violators of the cost of running afoul of Federal Election Campaign Act or FEC regulations.[122] Consultations between the Committee and the FEC continued into 2012, resulting in additional information being provided to the committee and the public.[123]

The H.R. 672 Subcommittee on Elections hearing occurred on April 14, 2011. Primarily devoted to terminating the EAC, the bill (sponsored by Representative Gregg Harper of Mississippi) had tangential campaign finance implications because it proposed to transfer some EAC functions to the FEC. The full committee marked up the bill on May 25, 2011. An attempt to pass a favorably reported, amended version of the bill under suspension of the rules failed (235-187) the House on June 22, 2011.[124]

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95 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Hearing on Federal Election Commission and 527 Groups*, hearing, 108th Cong., 2nd sess., May 20, 2004 (Washington: GPO, 2004).

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97 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *527 Fairness Act of 2005*, report to accompany H.R. 1316, 109th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 109-146 (Washington: GPO, 2005).

98 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *527 Reform Act of 2005*, report to accompany H.R. 513, 109th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 109-181 (Washington: GPO, 2005).

99 "527 Reform Act of 2005," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 152, Apr. 5, 2006, pp. H1514–H1530; and "Lobbying Accountability and Transparency Act of 2006," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 152, May 3, 2006, pp. H2011–H2030, H2032–H2057.

100 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Online Freedom of Speech Act*, report to accompany H.R. 1606, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 109-389 (Washington: GPO, 2006).

101 HLOGA is P.L. 110-81; 121 Stat. 739. HLOGA amended the Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA); see 2 U.S.C. § 1601 *et seq*.

102 "Federal Election Commission Fines Authorization Extension," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 154, July 15, 2008, pp. H6535–H6536

103 P.L. 110-433, which amended 2 U.S.C. § 437g.

104 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to Permit Candidates for Election for Federal Office to Designate an Individual Who Will be Authorized to Disburse Funds of the Authorized Campaign Committee of the Candidate in the Event of the Death of the Candidate,* report to accompany H.R. 3032, 110th Cong., 2nd sess., H.Rept. 110-602 (Washington: GPO, 2008).

105 "Permitting Designation of Individual to Designate Campaign Funds Upon Candidate's Death," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 154, July 15, 2008, pp. H6534–H6535.

106 H.R. 3093, Sec. 711, as passed by the House. See "Commerce, Justice, Science and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2008," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 153, July 26, 2007, p. H8633.

107 The consolidated appropriations bill was H.R. 2764, which became P.L. 110-161.

108 "Campaign Expenditure Transparency Act," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 153, July 23, 2007, p. H86234.

109 See U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, *Hearing on the Use of "Robocalls" in Federal Campaigns,* 110th Cong., 1st sess., Dec. 6, 2007 (Washington: GPO, 2008). This topic is tangentially related to campaign finance, because legislation aimed at restricting automated political calls often references, or would amend, FECA.

110 130 S. Ct. 876 (2010). For legal analyses of the case, see CRS Report R41045, *The Constitutionality of Regulating Corporate Expenditures: A Brief Analysis of the Supreme Court Ruling in Citizens United v. FEC*, by L. Paige Whitaker; and CRS Report R41096, *Legislative Options After Citizens United v. FEC: Constitutional and Legal Issues*, by L. Paige Whitaker et al.

111 Parts of this section are adapted from other CRS products, which contain additional detail. See, in particular, CRS Report R41542, *The State of Campaign Finance Policy: Recent Developments and Issues for Congress*, by R. Sam Garrett; CRS Report R41264, *The DISCLOSE Act: Overview and Analysis*, by R. Sam Garrett, L. Paige Whitaker, and Erika K. Lunder; and CRS Report R42042, *Super PACs in Federal Elections: Overview and Issues for Congress,* by R. Sam Garrett.

112 *DISCLOSE* was an acronym for Democracy is Strengthened by Casting Light on Spending in Elections.

113 On the definition of *independent expenditures*, see 2 U.S.C. 431 §17.

114 On the definition of *electioneering communications*, see 2 U.S.C. 434 §(f)(3).

115 On the Committee on House Administration hearing, see U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Defining the Future of Campaign Finance in an Era of Supreme Court Activism*, hearing, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., Feb. 3, 2010 (Washington: GPO, 2010).

116 The Committee reported the bill on May 25, see U.S. Congress, House Committee on House Administration, DISCLOSE Act, report to accompany H.R. 5175, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., May 25, 2010, H.Rept. 111-492 (Washington: GPO, 2010). Also in the House, on Mar. 11, the Committee on Financial Services, Subcommittee on Capital Markets, Insurance, and Government Sponsored Enterprises, held a hearing addressing corporate governance and shareholder protection after *Citizens United.* In addition to exploring general themes, various legislative proposals, including Representative Capuano's Shareholder Protection Act (H.R. 4790), were discussed. At the May 20, 2010, Committee on House Administration markup, Rep. Capuano initially offered the Shareholder Protection Act as an amendment to the DISCLOSE Act. He ultimately withdrew the amendment, saying that it would be pursued separately.

117 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *DISCLOSE Act*, report to accompany H.R. 5175, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., May 25, 2010, Rept. 111-492 (Washington: GPO, 2010).

118 "Democracy is Strengthened by Casting Light on Spending in Elections Act," House vote 391, *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 156 (June 24, 2010), p. H4828.

119 "DISCLOSE Act—Motion to Proceed," Senate vote 220, *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 156 (July 27, 2010), p. S6285.

120 "DISCLOSE Act—Motion to Proceed—Resumed," Senate vote 240, *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 156 (Sept. 23, 2010), p. S7388.

121 On passage, see "Federal Election Integrity Act of 2010," House vote 563, *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 156 (Sept. 29, 2010), p. H7372. On debate, see "Federal Election Integrity Act of 2010," debate in the House, *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 156 (Sept. 28, 2010), pp. H7145–7148.

122 This information comes from consultations between R. Sam Garrett and J. Duane Pugh, FEC Director of Congressional, Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs, July 2012. The question of how much information the agency should release about how it determines civil penalties has been the subject of ongoing debate at public commission meetings and among the regulated community.

123 For additional discussion, see U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Third Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 112th Cong., 2nd sess., H.Rpt. 112-571, June 29, 2012 (Washington: GPO, 2012), p. 8.

124 House Roll Call vote no. 466 (2011).

VI. CONTESTED HOUSE ELECTIONS

Origins and Development

Article I, section 5 of the Constitution provides that: "Each House shall be the Judge of Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members." In addition, Article I, section 4 provides: "The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations." Together, "these two sections invest Congress with near-complete authority to establish the procedures and render final decisions relating to the election of its members."[1]

In exercising its authority to judge election returns, Congress "is essentially free from judicial review. The Supreme Court has declined jurisdiction over congressional election contests, finding that the authority to resolve contests is constitutionally committed to each of the respective houses and therefore is not justiciable." Instead of assuming complete responsibility for resolving election contests, however, Congress has "recognized and indeed relied on state contest (challenge) and recount procedures to clarify and resolve issues relating to election contests of their members." Although the "authority of states to enact contest and recount procedures governing federal elections seems well grounded in law," several "states have chosen not to assert jurisdiction." Ultimately, the final authority for "resolving a dispute rests with the house of Congress to which the challenge pertains. The rules and precedents of each house establish the methods under which a challenge is considered."[2]

Prior to the establishment of the Committee on House Administration in 1947, the House Committee on Elections considered contested elections. In 1798, the Fifth Congress (1797–1798) enacted a statute governing the process and procedures relating to contested elections. This statute expired at the end of the First Session of the Sixth Congress (1799–1800).[3] In 1851, Congress enacted a second contested election statute, which, with the exception of minor amendments made in 1860, 1873, 1875, 1879, and 1887,[4] remained substantially unchanged until enactment of the Federal Contested Elections Act of 1969 (FCEA)[5] "An attempt to make major improvements in contested election procedures failed in the 67th Congress (1921–1922) when the bill passed the House in 1921, but died in the Senate."[6]

Role of the Committee

Between 1947 and 2006, the Committee on House Administration considered more than 60 contested election cases. In addition, the Committee was instrumental in the passage of FCEA, which was introduced by Representative Watkins M. Abbitt of Virginia, a member of the Committee.

Enactment of Federal Contested Election Act (FCEA). In the 90th Congress (1967–1968), a year prior to the passage of FCEA, a virtually identical bill, H.R. 18104, was the subject of a July 1968 hearing by the Committee's Subcommittee on Elections. Following the hearing, the Committee made certain perfecting amendments in the proposal, and a new bill (H.R. 18797) incorporating those changes was introduced and favorably reported by the full Committee. No further action was taken on H.R. 18797.[7]

The bill subsequently introduced in the first session of the 91st Congress (1969–1970) by Representative Watkins Abbitt (H.R. 14195) contained two substantial changes designed to bring the contested election "procedure into closer conformity with the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure upon which the contested election procedures prescribed" were based. In favorably reporting H.R. 14195, on October 14, the Committee stressed it was "essential . . . that such contests be determined by the House under modern procedures which would provide efficient, expeditious processing of

the cases and a full opportunity for both parties to be heard. Historical experience with the existing law has demonstrated its inadequacies." The Committee in drafting the bill sought to "completely overhaul and modernize election contest procedures in the House."[8]

During floor consideration of H.R. 14195, Representative Abbitt observed that the 1851 law was "antiquated and cumbersome" and those procedures were "unsuitable for the changed conditions of our time." Representative Abbitt, in urging passage of FCEA, argued, "H.R. 14195 would provide modern procedures for a contested election case to be heard in the House, permitting a more efficient processing of the case than does existing law." The bill did not, he explained, "set out any substantive grounds for upsetting an election, such as fraud or other irregularities. It is strictly limited to prescribing a procedural framework for the prosecution, defense, and disposition of contested-election cases patterned upon the federal rules of civil procedure used for more than 20 years in our U.S. District courts."[9] Following brief debate, FCEA, which is only applicable to House contests, was approved by the House on October 20, and the Senate a month later. It was signed into law by President Richard Nixon on December 5, 1969.[10]

House Options in Seating Members-Elect. Under FCEA, the right to a seat in the House may be challenged by filing a protest, petition, or memorial with the House, or by motion of a Member. Only a candidate for election to the House in the last preceding election and claiming a right to such office may contest a House seat.[11] The contestant must be a candidate whose name was on the official ballot or who was a bona fide write-in candidate.[12] FCEA proscribes procedures for instituting a challenge and presenting testimony, but does not establish criteria to govern decisions.

The House has several options in seating Members-elect in the context of a contested election. It may: (1) seat a Member-elect who has been certified as the winner by the state executive authority; (2) seat a certified Member-elect conditionally pending the outcome of an investigation of the election by the Committee on House Administration; or (3) seat no candidate, even though there is a state-certified winner, until the Committee investigates the election and reports the results to the House. If a candidate is certified as elected by the executive authority of the state, this certificate is forwarded to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, and the candidate's name is entered on the roll of the Representatives-elect.[13]

When the House is convened in January of a new Congress, Members-elect are administered the oath, and a single objection may be made to challenge any one of them. House precedent indicates that such Member would be asked by the Chair to stand aside while other Members-elect are sworn in.[14] In accordance with House precedent, a House resolution may then follow, stating that: (1) there is a question of the right of a particular Member-elect to be seated in the Congress from a certain district; (2) the question of who should be seated be referred to the Committee on House Administration; (3) the Committee shall have the power to subpoena persons and documents and examine witnesses under oath; and (4) neither candidate is to be seated or sworn in until the Committee makes its report and determines which candidate has the right to the seat. Generally, the House adopts the certification of election issued by the appropriate state election official, as it carries with it a presumption in favor of the certified candidate.[15]

If the House decides to propose a resolution not to seat a Member-elect, and refers an election to the Committee on House Administration to investigate, House precedent indicates that the House resolution is voted upon. Assuming the House resolution is agreed to by a majority vote, its adoption automatically nullifies any certificate of election that was previously issued by the executive authority of the state. The adoption of the House resolution then places the responsibility on the Committee to determine the results of the contested election and report it back to the full House.[16] In the course of its investigation, the Committee has a number of alternative courses of action available, including a recommendation: (1) of dismissal upon a Motion to Dismiss by the contestee; (2) on the seating of a certain candidate on the

grounds that he or she received a majority of the valid votes cast; (3) to seek a recount and to investigate any fraud or irregularities in the voting process in various precincts; (4) to order the seating of a certain candidate after the Committee has conducted a recount and investigation; and (5) that the returns from the election be rejected, that the seat be declared vacant, and that a new election be held.[17]

Summary of Contested Election Cases Considered by the Committee on House Administration

Since 1947, the Committee on House Administration has considered the following contested election cases. The cases are summarized below, organized by the Congress during which they were considered. The term "contestant" refers to an individual who challenged the election of a Member of the House, and the term "contestee" refers to a Member of the House whose election was challenged.[18]

80th Congress (1947–1948)

Helen D. Mankin v. James C. Davis, 5th District of Georgia. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record. The report merely states that, "the aforementioned contest be dismissed as lacking in merit."

Disposition. On April 27, 1948, the House adopted H.Res. 552 (80th Congress) dismissing the contest against contestee, Davis, and declaring that he was entitled to the seat.[19]

Wyman C. Lowe v. James C. Davis, 5th District of Georgia. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record. The report merely states that "the aforementioned contest be dismissed as lacking in merit."

Disposition. On April 27, 1948, the House adopted H.Res. 553 (80th Congress) dismissing the contest against contestee, Davis, and declaring that he was entitled to the seat.[20]

Lawrence Michael v. Howard W. Smith, 8th District of Virginia. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record. The report stated that the period for taking testimony had expired and no evidence had been received by the Committee on House Administration. It recommended that the contest be dismissed for "failure to comply with the rules."

Disposition. The contestee, Smith, filed a motion to dismiss. On July 26, 1947, the House adopted H.Res. 345 (80th Congress) dismissing the contest against the contestee and declaring Smith to be entitled to the seat.[21]

Frederick M. Roberts v. Helen Gahagan Douglas, 14th District of California. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record.

Disposition. The contestee, Douglas, filed a motion to dismiss the contest, on July 24, 1947. Two days later, the House adopted H.Res. 345 (80th Congress) dismissing the contest and declaring the contestee entitled to the seat.[22]

Harold C. Woodward v. Thomas J. O'Brien, 6th District of Illinois. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record.

Disposition. On July 26, 1947, the House adopted H.Res. 345 (80th Congress) dismissing the contest of Woodward and declaring that O'Brien was entitled to the seat.[23]

David J. Wilson v. Walter K. Granger, 1st District of Utah. It was alleged that the laws of Utah, relating to the registration of voters, had been violated in numerous ways, including illegal appointment of registration officers, the manner of registration, and the failure to enter all required information upon the official register.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration found that there had been numerous and widespread irregularities and errors, revealing lack of knowledge and failure to enforce the statutes relating to registration, but that the results of the election had not been affected by such practices. The House adopted H.Res. 692 (80th Congress) on June 19, 1948, to dismiss the contest and seat Granger.[24]

81st Congress (1949–1950)

James F. Thierry v. Michael A. Feighan, 20th District of Ohio. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record.

Disposition. After more than 90 days had elapsed since the filing of the notice of contest, with no testimony having been received in support of the allegations, the Committee on House Administration recommended adoption of H.Res. 324 (81st Congress) declaring Feighan to be entitled to his seat. The House adopted the resolution on August 11, 1949.[25]

George D. Stevens v. William W. Blackney, 6th District of Michigan. Contestant sought a recount under supervision of the Committee, on the ground that there had been irregularities in the counting of ballots.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration reported that the evidence had not established the allegations in the notice of contest. It recommended, and the House adopted, on May 23, 1950. H.Res. 503 (81st Congress), a declaration that Blackney had been duly elected.[26]

Hadwen C. Fuller v. John C. Davies, 35th District of New York. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record.

Disposition. After more than 90 days had elapsed since the filing of the notice of contest, with no testimony having been received in support of the allegations, the Committee on House Administration recommended adoption of H.Res. 324 (81st Congress) declaring Davies to be entitled to his seat. The House adopted the resolution on August 11, 1949.[27]

Vincent L. Browner v. Paul Cunningham, 5th District of Iowa. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record.

Disposition. After more than 90 days had elapsed since the filing of the notice of contest, with no testimony having been received in support of the allegations, the Committee on House Administration recommended adoption of H.Res. 324 (81st Congress) declaring Cunningham to be entitled to his seat. The House adopted the resolution on August 11, 1949.[28]

82nd Congress (1951–1952)

W. Kingsland Macy v. Earnest Greenwood, 1st District of New York. Macy charged that electors had been registered who were not qualified to vote because they failed to meet the residence requirements of the state constitution. He also charged that some voters had been registered after the expiration of time allowed by law, and alleged additional miscellaneous irregularities in registration and voting.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration reported that the evidence was insufficient to support the contestant's charges, and recommended adoption of H.Res. 580 (82nd Congress) declaring Greenwood elected. The house adopted the resolution on March 19, 1952.[29]

Raymond W. Karst v. Thomas B. Curtis, 12th District of Missouri. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record.

Disposition. No testimony was taken in support of the contest and, on June 4, 1951, Karst requested that it be dismissed. On August 21, 1951, the House passed H.Res. 399 (82nd Congress) dismissing the contest.[30]

Walter B. Huber v. William H. Ayres, 14th District of Ohio. Huber contested the election of Ayres on the ground that the county boards of election had failed to rotate the names of the candidates on the ballots in the manner required by the Ohio Constitution.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration found that the names had not been rotated as required, but that Huber had an adequate remedy under state law prior to election, and that the results of the election should not be overturned due to such a pre-election irregularity. The House adopted H.Res. 400 (82nd Congress) declaring Ayres legally elected on August 21, 1951.[31]

Wyman C. Lowe v. James C. Davis, 5th District of Georgia. Lowe had been a candidate in the Democratic primary, but his name did not appear on the ballot in the general election. The nature of his charges were not set forth in the report of the Committee on House Administration.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration recommended that the contest be dismissed. It reported that nothing in the record indicated that the contestee was guilty of any acts in the primary that would disqualify him for the office of Representative in Congress, and that contestant had not complied with the statutory requirements for conducting a contest, specifically the taking of testimony pursuant to 2 U.S.C. Section 203. The House adopted H.Res. 398 (82nd Congress) dismissing the contest on August 21, 1951.[32]

Maurice S. Osser v. Hardie Scott, 3rd District of Pennsylvania. Osser charged fraud and irregularities in allowing numerous persons to register or remain registered despite the fact that they were disqualified by reason of

absence or removal from the congressional district, by permitting unregistered persons to vote on election day, and other irregularities.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration declared that the contestant had not presented satisfactory evidence clearly showing that he had received a majority of the votes legally cast or that the election was so tainted with fraud, or with the misconduct of election officers, that the true result cannot be determined. It declared that the Committee was of the opinion that Scott had been duly elected. The House adopted H.Res. 579 (82nd Congress) declaring Scott elected on March 19, 1952.[33]

83rd Congress (1953–1954)

No election contests.

84th Congress (1955–1956)

No election contests.

85th Congress (1957–1958)

James I. Dolliver v. Merlin Coad, 6th District of Iowa. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record. On January 15, 1957, Coad addressed a letter to the Clerk of the House of Representatives stating that he had received information that Dolliver intended to contest his election, but that the notice of contest required by the statute had not been served upon him. Coad requested a resolution stating whether there was any notice of contest he was required by law to answer.

Disposition. After a hearing, the Committee on House Administration reported that the purported notice of contest served by Dolliver was not a sufficient notice under the statute because it did not bear the written signature of Dolliver or that of his counsel. On April 11, 1957, the House adopted H.Res. 230 (85th Congress) declaring that the unsigned paper was not the notice required by statute.[34]

Steven V. Carter v. Karl M. LeCompte, 4th District of Iowa. Carter alleged that numerous absentee ballots had been illegally cast and illegally counted, that ballots on certain voting machines had been improperly printed, and other irregularities.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration reported that there were apparent violations of the duties imposed by law upon the election officials, but that the contestant had not shown that he had exhausted his state remedies either to prevent such infractions or to punish those responsible. It also found that fraud had not been proved, nor had it been proved that the result of the election would have been different if the alleged and proven irregularities had not occurred. It expressed the opinion that LeCompte had been elected. The House adopted H.Res. 353 (85th Congress) declaring LeCompte elected on June 17, 1958.[35]

James C. Oliver v. Robert Hale, 1st District of Maine. Oliver challenged many of the absentee ballots cast in the district and a few of the regular ballots. He alleged that certain regular ballots had been improperly marked or counted. The absentee ballots were challenged on the ground of various violations of law in the handling of the ballots and the failure of the voter to comply with the law in preparing his absentee voting material.

Disposition. A subcommittee of the Committee on House Administration examined the challenged ballots. It found that the violations by election officials were of directory, rather than mandatory, provisions of state law and, consequently, did not invalidate the ballots affected. After making a deduction for ballots of voters who had failed to comply with the statute, it found that Hale had been elected by a plurality of the votes cast. It recommended and the House adopted, on August 12, 1958, H.Res. 676 (85th Congress) declaring Hale to have been duly elected.[36]

86th Congress (1959–1960)

Dale Alford, 5th District of Arkansas. The defeated candidate did not institute a contest, but a Member of the House objected to the seating of Alford. The House then directed the Committee on House Administration to investigate his right to his seat. Various irregularities and violations of law relating to the use of unsigned circulars, campaign expenditures, and write-in ballots were charged.

Disposition. After recounting the ballots and investigating all complaints, the Committee found that Alford

had been duly elected. The House adopted H.Res. 380 (86th Congress) declaring Alford to have been duly elected on September 8, 1959.[37]

Elmo J. Mahoney v. Wint Smith, 6th District of Kansas. The contestant, Mahoney, charged miscellaneous irregularities in the conduct of the election, the counting of ballots, and the casting of absentee ballots by persons who were not entitled to cast such ballots.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration concluded that the evidence did not support the charges made and recommended a resolution declaring Smith to have been duly elected. A resolution to this effect, H.Res. 482 (86th Congress) was adopted on March 24, 1960.[38]

Carlton H. Myers v. William L. Springer, 22nd District of Illinois. Myers charged violations of the Corrupt Practices Act and the Hatch Political Activities Act. He alleged that the editor of a newspaper had been appointed acting postmaster of a post office in the district and that this newspaper failed to print his speeches. He also alleged that he had been approached and asked how much money he would take to leave the United States until after the election.

Disposition. A subcommittee of the Committee on House Administration held a hearing on May 18, 1959, and, on that date, denied the petition to inaugurate a contest.[39]

Roy A. Taylor, 12th District of North Carolina. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record. On August 18, 1960, Taylor addressed a letter to the Clerk of the House stating that he had received a letter from Tollman, who was not a candidate in the special election, stating that he might contest the election, but that no valid notice of contest had been served within the time prescribed by statute. Taylor requested a resolution stating whether there was any notice of contest he was required by law to answer.

Disposition. A subcommittee of the Committee on House Administration held a hearing on the matter on August 25, 1960, and on August 30, 1960, found that no valid notice of contest had been given.[40]

87th Congress (1961–1962)

Morgan M. Molder, 11th District of Missouri. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record.

Disposition. After having been asked to stand aside, Molder took the oath subsequent to the adoption of H.Res. 3 (87th Congress) permitting him to do so.[41]

Victor Wickersham, 6th District of Oklahoma. The nature of the contest was not disclosed by record.

Disposition. After having been asked to stand aside, Wickersham took the oath subsequent to the adoption of H.Res. 3 (87th Congress) permitting him to do so.[42]

J. Edward Roush v. George O. Chambers, 5th District of Indiana. Contestee received a plurality of three votes from the tallies as filed by the county clerks with the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State, on the basis of corrected returns to the November 15, 1960, election, certified that contestee Chambers had a plurality of 12 votes over contestant Roush. As the laws of Indiana did not provide for recounts for legislative office, the case required a recount by the Committee on House Administration. The question revolved around the rules to be applied by the Committee in determining which ballots were correctly marked and were to be counted, and which were not. The Committee adopted a set of rules for determining the validity or invalidity of questionable ballots. At the conclusion of the recount, the Committee determined that contestant Roush was the winner by 99 votes.

Disposition. On January 23, 1961, Representative Clifford Davis of Tennessee objected to the administration of the oath to Chambers. Representative Davis offered a resolution, H.Res. 1 (87th Congress) that the question of the election be referred to the Committee on House Administration, and that "until such committee shall report upon and the House decide the question of the right of either J. Edward Roush or George O. Chambers to a seat in the 87th Congress, neither shall be sworn." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 205-95.

A dissent, in part, to the Committee report (House Report 87-513, 87th Congress) took issue with the failure to follow precedent and to swear in a Member-elect for whom

credentials had been received by the Clerk of the House with a later investigation by a House Committee.

Further Disposition. After considerable debate, on June 14, 1961, the House adopted H.Res. 339 (87th Congress) declaring that contestant Roush was duly elected. The debate covered the failure to swear in Chambers as entitled to a prima facie right to the seat, as well as the method of conducting the recount and the making of an unofficial tally of the votes by the House.[43]

88th Congress (1963–1964)

Robert J. Odegard v. Alec G. Olson, 6th District of Minnesota. Contestant alleged failures of certain election officials to properly fulfill their functions in checking voter registrations, the improper counting of votes, and the denial of access to polling places to Republican poll watchers. Contestant apparently failed to file evidence with the Committee on House Administration, and contestee Olson asked that the contest be dismissed. The Committee held a hearing on February 26, 1963.

Disposition. The Committee dismissed the case on November 20, 1963.[44]

89th Congress (1965–1966)

James A. Frankenberry v. Richard L. Ottinger, 25th District of New York. This case involved a question of the standing to proceed under the House contested election statute (2 U.S.C. §§ 201-226) by a person who had not been a candidate for the House seat at the general election.

Contestant, head of a campaign committee for the defeated incumbent, Representative Robert L. Barry of New York, filed a notice of contest under the statute on December 19, 1964. The contestant alleged that approximately $187,000 had been spent on the campaign by the contestee, of which some $167,000 had been contributed by the contestee's mother and sister. Contestant alleged that this activity violated 18 U.S.C., Section 608(a), which limits a contribution by an individual during a calendar year to a candidate for election to federal office to $5,000. Contestant also alleged that the laws of New York state had been violated in that some 34 campaign committees had been created, only one of which had been registered in accordance with New York requirements. Contestant alleged that the purpose of the creation of the committees was so that the contributions from contestee's mother and sister could be distributed so as to enable them superficially to be within individual contribution limitations and gift tax limitations. Furthermore, contestant alleged that the same person was listed as assistant treasurer of almost all of the campaign committees.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration issued no report on the contest, but on January 19, 1965, reported out H.Res. 126 (89th Congress). The resolution provided that the contest be dismissed on the ground that the contestant had not been a candidate from the district in the election, and that the House did not regard the contestant as a person competent to bring a contest for a seat in the House. Under the statute, if he were successful, he would not be able to establish his right to a seat in the House. After debate in the House as to whether the statutory procedure for contesting elections to the House applied only to candidates (as adoption of the resolution would have determined), or whether non-candidates had to file petitions asking for consideration of a contest rather than utilize the statutory notice of contest route, the resolution dismissing the contest was adopted, 245 to 102.

It was argued that precedent supported limiting the use of statutory procedure to candidates alone, and that to permit non-candidates to use it would enable those without a serious interest in the actual determination of the election to carry on numerous, spurious contests.[45]

Augusta Wheadon v. Thomas G. Abernethy, 1st District of Mississippi; Fannie Lou Hamer v. Jamie L. Whitten, 2nd District of Mississippi; Mildred Cosey, Evelyn Nelson, and Allen Johnson v. John Bell Williams, 3rd District of Mississippi; Annie Devine v. Prentiss Walker, 4th District of Mississippi; Victoria Jackson Gray v. William Meyers Colmer, 5th District of Mississippi. All of the above listed contests were considered simultaneously. The questions involved failure of the contestants to avail themselves of the

legal steps to challenge: (1) alleged discrimination among voters prior to the election; (2) the issuance of the certificates of election to the contestees after the elections were held; (3) the denial of seats to Members-elect because of alleged discriminatory practices involving disenfranchised groups of voters; and (4) the standing of contestants to proceed under the contested elections statute (2 U.S.C. §§ 201-226).

The contestees had been elected at the November 1964 general election. The contestants had been selected at an unofficial "election" held by persons in Mississippi from October 30 through November 2, 1964, during which time it was alleged, "all citizens qualified were permitted to vote." The latter "election" was held without any authority of law in the state. The contestants were all citizens, none of whom had been candidates in the November elections. They alleged that disenfranchisement of African Americans in Mississippi violated the Constitution and laws of the United States and that the House had the authority to consider the contests and unseat the contestees; that the House had a duty to guarantee that the election of its Members be in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution; and that where large numbers of African Americans had been excluded from the electoral process, where intimidation and violence had been utilized to further such exclusion, and where the free will of the voters had been prevented from being expressed, the House should unseat the contestees, vacate the elections, and order new elections.

On September 13 and 14, 1965, hearings were held by the Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections. The Committee issued its report on September 15, 1965. The report noted that the contestees had been sworn in by vote of the House on January 4, 1965, after they had been asked to step aside. This established the *prima facie* right of each contestee to his seat. The report also noted that the contestants had not availed themselves of legal steps to challenge, in the courts, the alleged exclusion of African Americans from the ballot nor the issuance of the certificates of election to the contestees. The report further noted that the contestants had not been candidates at the election and thus, under House precedents, had no standing to invoke the House contested election statute. The report also stated that there had been an election in Mississippi in November 1964 for Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, under statutes which had not been set aside by a court of competent jurisdiction, and that at the same election, presidential electors and a U.S. Senator had been elected without question.

It further observed, however, that a case challenging the Mississippi registration and voter laws was progressing through the U.S. courts, and that the question of the constitutionality of the statutes was a proper one for the courts to determine. The report found that the House was the judge of the elections of its Members, and that it was doubtful that any disenfranchisement, even if proven, would have actually affected the outcome of the November 1964 Mississippi congressional elections in any district. The report concluded that the House, in following its rules and procedures, should dismiss the cases because the contestants did not qualify to utilize the House contested elections statute, and because the contestees had been elected under laws that had not been set aside at the time of the election.

The report did state, however, that in arriving at such conclusions the Committee did not condone disenfranchisement of voters in the 1964 or previous elections, nor was a precedent being established to the effect that the House would not take action, in the future, to vacate seats of sitting members. It noted that the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 had been enacted in the interim and that if evidence of its violation were presented to the House in the future, appropriate action would be taken. The report recommended dismissing the cases. A minority view recommended consideration of the cases on their merits rather than on the grounds of status of the contestants because under the laws in the state in 1964, the claimants could not have become candidates to avail themselves of the contested elections act.

Disposition. The House considered H.Res. 585 (89th Congress), dismissing the contests and declaring the contestees to be entitled to their seats, on September 17, 1965. An amendment was adopted striking out the language entitling the contestees

to their seats, as language inappropriate in a procedural matter. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 228 to 143.[46]

Stephen M. Peterson v. H.R. Gross, 3rd District of Iowa. This case involved alleged violations of state elections law. Contestee was certified to have received 83,455 votes, and contestant, 83,036 votes at the November 1964 election. Contestant filed a notice of contest on December 31, 1964, alleging violations of the laws of Iowa, including burning of some ballots the day after the election, the casting of more ballots than there were names listed on the polls, the recording of absentee ballots in a back room by one person, and disappearance of a tally sheet. Contestant requested a recount.

The Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration held hearings on the case on September 28, 1965. It issued its report on October 8, 1965. The Committee found that the proof presented did not sustain the charges brought and recommended dismissal of the contest.

Specifically, the Committee found that although there may have been human errors committed at the polls on election day, there was no evidence of fraud or willful misconduct. It found that the burned ballots were unused ballots and the practice of burning such had been a uniform one for numerous years. The allegation of more ballots cast than names listed on the polls was discharged by the conclusion that some inadvertent errors had been made, but the errors were insufficient to change the result even if all the excess ballots were added to the total of the contestant. The charge respecting the counting of absentee ballots was found to apply to one polling place, and the circumstances were such as to make it inadequate as a charge. The disappearing tally sheet was located and involved technical operation of a voting machine, not the counting of the results. It was further disclosed by the contestant that the request for a recount was in the nature of a "fishing expedition," and that he knew of no fraud by which to substantiate it.

The Committee acknowledged that Iowa had no recount statute applicable to a U.S. House election, but found that the matter had no effect on the jurisdiction of the Committee, that the Committee would proceed to a recount if some substantial allegations of irregularity or fraud were alleged, and the likelihood existed that the result of the election would be different were it not for such irregularity or fraud. Under the circumstances of the case, it declared, the evidence did not justify a recount because the contestant had not clearly presented proof sufficient to overcome the presumption that the returns of the returning officers were correct.

Disposition. H.Res. 602 (89th Congress), dismissing the contest, was reported by the Committee on House Administration, on October 8, 1965. The resolution was considered in the House on October 11, 1965, and adopted.[47]

90th Congress (1967–1968)

James A. Mackay v. Benjamin B. Blackburn, 4th District of Georgia. The issue involved the counting of so-called "overvotes" on punch card voting machines during the November 1966 election. Contestant alleged that the computers that tallied the votes erroneously failed to count about 7,000 votes, and that the procedures for duplicating defective ballots were improper. Election officials, acting in accordance with what they construed to be Georgia law, had programmed the computing machines that counted the ballots to reject those cards where a voter had punched a straight party ticket and had then also punched out the scored block for the congressional candidate of the opposing party. While the contested election case was under consideration, a lawsuit was instituted in the Georgia courts concerning the interpretation of the Georgia statutes relating to the canvassing of punch card votes. The litigation was terminated on March 30, 1967, by the Georgia Supreme Court's denial of a writ of certiorari to the Georgia Court of Appeals which, on January 25, 1967, had held in favor of the interpretation by the election officials (Blackburn v. Hall, et al., Georgia Court of Appeals, case No. 42505, decided January 25, 1967, rehearing denied February 17, 1967, certiorari denied, Supreme Court of Georgia, March 30, 1967). In effect, the judicial decision sustained the election of the contestee. On April 13, 1967, the contestant notified the House of the withdrawal of his notice of contest.

The Committee on House Administration issued its report on June 14, 1967, in conjunction with H.Res. 542

(90th Congress), stating that the contestee was the duly elected Representative from the 4th congressional district of Georgia and was entitled to his seat.

The resolution was considered and adopted by the House on July 11, 1967. During the debate, the fact that difficulties had occurred in the counting and handling of punch card ballots, and in voter use of "automatic" voting machines, was discussed. These difficulties, however, were deemed not to be crucial to the outcome of the election.

Disposition. On January 10, 1967, at the swearing in of Members-elect to the 90th Congress, the contestee had been asked to stand aside. The House then proceeded to adopt a resolution, H.Res. 2 (90th Congress), authorizing the oath of office to be administered to the contestee and providing that the question of the final right of the contest to the seat be referred to the Committee on House Administration. The resolution adopted on July 11, 1967 merely declared that the contestee had been duly elected and was entitled to his seat.[48]

Wyman C. Lowe v. Fletcher Thompson, 5th District of Georgia. This case involved the question of contestant's standing to utilize the procedures of the House contested elections statute, codified at 2 U.S.C. Sections 201-226, and the right of a primary loser in a party different from that of the contestee, to challenge the contestee. Contestant had filed notice under the contested elections statute and had subsequently filed a petition with the House requesting that contestee's seat be declared vacant on the grounds that the procedures for nomination of the candidate of contestant's party who ran in the general election in November against the contestee and was defeated, were contrary to the Georgia election statutes. The winner of the primary of contestant's party, in which the contestant had been a candidate, withdrew after the primary election and a successor nominee was substituted for the primary winner by the local county party executive committee. Contestant alleged that the Georgia statutes and the rules of the Democratic Party of Georgia authorized a county executive committee to make a substitute nomination only where the vacancy occurred after a nomination had been made by the state Democratic Party Convention. He alleged that the substitute nomination in this case had been made prior to the state convention and that in such circumstances there should have been a special election to nominate a Democratic candidate for the congressional seat.

The Committee on House Administration issued its report on June 14, 1967. The report declared that based on precedent, due to the fact that the contestant had been an unsuccessful candidate in the Democratic primary and did not claim any right to the seat, he had no standing to proceed under the contested elections statute.

Acting pursuant to the authority granted to it by House Rule XI, Section 9(k) to consider questions surrounding the election of Members of Congress (House Rules Manual, 90th Cong.; H.R. Doc. No. 529, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess.), the Committee took into consideration the petition filed with the House by the "contestant" on May 8, 1967. Precedents have authorized the Committee to consider petitions by non-candidates, (see Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives, Vol. VI, §78). The Committee noted that the contestant made no charges of fraud or irregularities by the contestee in connection with the Republic primary or the general election and the contestee received the highest vote at the general election. It then declared that, assuming for the sake of argument that the substitute nomination of the Democratic candidate for Congress was contrary to Georgia law, it did not follow that the House would unseat the Republican contestee. The Committee stated that it was unaware of any precedent for depriving a Member of his seat solely on the basis of the irregularity of the nomination of his opponent in the general election. It pointed out that this was not a case where fraud or irregularity in the returned Member's nomination was charged. The Committee then noted what it deemed the "potential danger" in declaring an election void, due to a finding of an unlawful nomination of losing candidate. According to the Committee, doing so would open the door for the party of a losing candidate in a general election to impeach the election of the winning candidate by claiming that the election was invalid because the losing candidate had not been nominated in accordance with election laws and party rules.

The Committee also noted that a suit brought in the Georgia courts by the "contestant" seeking a special primary had been dismissed. The "contestant" had been a write-in candidate in the general election, but his candidacy had been of only a few days' duration and he had publicly announced his withdrawal from the race several days prior to the general election. The Committee declared that the "contestant" had not been a candidate on election day. The Committee recommended that the case be dismissed.

Disposition. On July 11, 1967, the House adopted H.Res. 541 (90th Congress) dismissing the contest and denying the petition of Lowe.[49]

91st Congress (1969–1970)

Wyman C. Lowe v. Fletcher Thompson, 5th District of Georgia. The case involved allegations of malconduct, irregularity and fraud by poll officers in some 40 precincts in the Democratic primary in which the "contestant" had unsuccessfully sought the nomination, losing to Charles Weltner. Thompson, the winner of the general election, was the candidate of the Republican party. The major issue presented was whether a losing candidate in a primary had standing to contest the election of a Member who was the candidate of another party on the grounds that his opponent in the general election was improperly chosen. The Committee on House Administration recommended dismissal, noting that none of the irregularities alleged involved Thompson, nor did they directly involve his opponent. Additionally, the Committee found that House precedent would deny Lowe standing to contest under the statute because the "contestant" was not a candidate in the general election

Disposition. On April 23, 1969, the House adopted H.Res. 364 (91st Congress) dismissing the election contest.[50]

92nd Congress (1971–1972)

David A. Tunno v. Victor V. Veysey, 38th District of California. Contestant alleged that the affidavits of registration of some 11,137 voters in Riverside County, California, had been wrongfully and illegally canceled, depriving approximately 10,616 qualified voters of the right to vote. A motion to dismiss was filed by the contestant, based on the defense that the notice failed to state grounds sufficient to change the result of the election. (Federal Contested Election Act, Pub. L. 91-138, 83 Stat. 284, §4(b)(3) provides for a motion to dismiss on this ground.) On May 11, 1971, the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration held hearings on the motion. The Committee recommended dismissal of the contest, noting that the contestant had not made a substantial offer to prove that those whose names were stricken were qualified voters of the district; that those stricken offered to vote and were not permitted to do so; that of those who might have been improperly denied the vote of sufficient number would have voted for contestant to change the results of the election.

Disposition. On November 9, 1971, the House adopted H.Res. 507 (92nd Congress) dismissing the election contest.[51]

William S. Conover II, 27th District of Pennsylvania. No notice was filed, but suit was brought protesting the special election called to fill a vacancy, alleging large numbers of voters did not vote in the election because of inconsistencies in the voting procedures. A preliminary injunction was obtained in the state court restraining the Governor of Pennsylvania from issuing a certificate of election. The Committee on House Administration recommended administering the oath to the apparent winner, based on certified returns, referring the question of final right to the Committee (H.Res. 936, 92nd Congress). At a hearing held on the resolution the plaintiff in the suit acknowledged that he was not claiming the seat or alleging fraud.

Disposition. The House adopted H.Res. 986 and the oath was provisionally administered. It appears that no further action was taken in the matter, and Conover served the remainder of the term.[52]

93rd Congress (1973–1974)

No election contests.

94th Congress (1975–1976)

Samuel H. Young v. Abner J. Mikva, 10th District of Illinois. On December 23, 1974, Young served Mikva and the Clerk of the House of Representatives with notice of his intention to contest the election of Mikva. The contestant alleged

that votes were obtained by fraud and through widespread violations of the law. Specifically, the contestant alleged (1) that the contestee disseminated false information about the contestant prior to the election, and; (2) that the contestee accepted and failed to report a campaign contribution in violation of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

No specific evidence was offered to support the general allegations of misrepresentation and failure to report contributions, nor did the contestant sustain the burden of proof to show misconduct influencing sufficient votes to change the result of the election. The contestee moved to dismiss the contest for failure to state grounds sufficient to change the results of the election. House Report 94-759 contains a full discussion of House precedents regarding the contestant's burden of proof, the assumption of regularity of the returns, and the requirement that fraud be proven.

As to the argument that a full recount would change the result, Illinois state election law provides for a partial recount and leaves the decision as to whether or not further proceedings are warranted to the Houses of Congress. The contestant had a partial recount conducted in 124 of 533 precincts selected by the contestant. The Committee on House Administration determined that there was an insufficient showing that a full recount would change the outcome of the election because the result of the partial recount had been to reduce contestee's 2,860 vote majority by only 471 votes.

Disposition. The Committee on House Administration decided that the contestant had failed to sustain the burden of proof necessary to award the contested seat to him. On December 19, 1975, the House passed H.Res. 894 (94th Congress) dismissing the election contest.[53]

Peter N. Kyros v. Davis F. Emery, 1st District of Maine. Under Maine state law, a recount is permitted when more than 100,000 votes are cast and the percentage difference of the vote between the two candidates is ½ of 1% or less; the voting in the Emery/Kyros election fell within those requirements. Kyros requested a state recount and in the recount, both parties agreed that all questionable ballots would be set aside as disputed. Both Kyros and Emery agreed and stipulated that only the U.S. House of Representatives could determine the validity of the ballots. On December 27, 1974, the contestant filed a Notice of Contest, sending copies to the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the contestee, Emery.

The ballots under dispute were divided into three types, plus a fourth miscellaneous category. The three categories were: (1) Right Hand Ballots; (2) Apex Ballots, and; (3) Distinguishing or Irregular Marks. Where state law was uncertain, the Subcommittee on Elections used the "obvious voter intent" standard to determine the validity of ballots; where state law was certain, the Subcommittee would have been guided by those state laws only if it found a legitimate state interest, such as the safeguarding of the integrity of the electoral process. As it was, the Subcommittee found no such interest in the interpretations of state law proposed, so the Subcommittee was again guided by overriding considerations of equity and used the "obvious voter intent" standard to evaluate ballots.

Disposition. The contestant withdrew from the case in the middle of the Subcommittee's review of the ballots, and on December 19, 1975, the House dismissed the election contest.[54]

Roderick J. Wilson v. Andrew J. Hinshaw, 40th District of California. On January 6, 1975, Wilson delivered a Notice of Intent to Contest to the Clerk of the House of Representatives. The grounds of contest were numerous, including, alleged violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, specifically, receipt of contributions by federal government contractors, misuse of the franking privilege, and misconduct of the contestee.

Disposition. The Committee declared that insufficient evidence had been presented to support the contestant's allegations. The Committee stated that evidence of wrongdoing in election campaigns other than the one being contested is not relevant. The House then adopted H.Res. 896 (94th Congress) dismissing the election contest.[55]

William (Bill) Mack v. Louis A. Stokes, 21st District of Ohio. On December 10, 1974, Mack delivered a Notice

of Intention to Contest to the Clerk of the House of Representatives. As to the grounds of the contest, he questioned the qualifications of Stokes to be a Representative, rather than specific objections to the manner in which the election was conducted. Generally, the Notice alleged that Stokes was "not a bona fide inhabitant possessing the requisite qualifications set forth in Article I, Section 2, clauses 1 and 2 of the U.S. Constitution." Though the Committee stated it would have been more appropriate to have had the case raised by a petition or a memorial and presented to the House, the Committee retained the case and decided it on its merits, saying that similar standards were applicable. Under those standards, the contestant "must state adequate grounds" for disqualification "with sufficient particularity" to justify the continuance of the proceeding and make a "substantial offer to prove that contestee is disqualified."

Disposition. The Committee found that the contestant had not made any factual allegations sufficient to cast doubt upon contestee's qualifications and recommended dismissal. On December 19, 1975, the House adopted H.Res. 897 (94th Congress) dismissing the election contest.[56]

Wayne Ziebarth v. Virginia Haven Smith, 3rd District of Nebraska. On December 30, 1974, Ziebarth filed a Notice of Intention to contest stating as grounds for the contest the closeness of the election, the existence of overcounting and undercounting in precinct tallies, the opinion of a statistical recount expert that a recount would change the results of the election, and the fact that the state of Nebraska had no provisions for recounts.

In response, the contestee filed a motion to dismiss based on a failure of the notice of contest to state grounds sufficient to change the results of the election. The subcommittee gave the contestant 10 days to set forth a more definite statement, as "the House has consistently refused to grant a request for a recount solely on the grounds of a close vote and/or the absence of a state provision for recounting a congressional election."

The amended notice of the contestant did not provide the requested details of the charge. The answer to the amended notice of contest attached an affidavit from the Secretary of State of Nebraska refuting the general allegations of the overcount and undercount. The contestant furnished no more particulars nor did he substantiate any of his generalities.

Disposition. After carefully stating the reasons for rejecting a recount request merely because of closeness and/or the lack of state recount provisions, the Committee found that the contestant had not pled with sufficient particularity nor had he offered preliminary proof of mistake in the original count, and recommended dismissal of the contest. On December 19, 1975, the House adopted H.Res. 898 (94th Congress) dismissing election contest.[57]

95th Congress (1977–1978)

JoAnn Saunders v. Richard Kelly, 5th District of Florida. Contestee, Kelly, received a majority of 42,111 votes. The contestant, Saunders, challenged the election in accordance with the Federal Contested Elections Act (FCEA), 2 U.S.C. §§ 381 et seq. The contestant claimed that the Florida Ethics Commission conspired with the contestee to attack her candidacy. She further claimed that this attack led to her decline in the polls and eventual defeat. The contestee filed a motion to dismiss. The Committee on House Administration concluded that the contestant failed to meet the burden of proof, by failing to present particularized pleadings and evidence, and therefore did not warrant the continuation of the contest. The Committee therefore granted the motion to dismiss.

Disposition. On April 28, 1977, the Committee unanimously adopted a motion to report H.Res. 525 (95th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on May 9, 1977.[58]

Ron Paul v. Bob Gammage, 22nd District of Texas. The result of the November 2, 1976, election gave contestee Gammage a 236-vote majority. A recount of the vote, based on Texas state law, gave the contestee a 268-vote majority. While pursuing an election contest in state court (these proceedings were later terminated by the court), the contestant filed a notice of contest, pursuant to the FCEA, with the Committee on House Administration. A panel of the Committee met to consider a motion to dismiss. The panel concluded that although the contestant's pleadings were in proper form and

alleged instances of irregular and perhaps even illegal voting, he failed to demonstrate that any or all of the allegations would have changed the result of the election. Therefore, the Committee recommended that a resolution dismissing the contest be reported to the House of Representatives.

Disposition. The Committee, by a 16 to 6 vote, adopted a motion to report H.Res. 526 (95th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on May 9, 1977.[59]

Samuel H. Young v. Abner J. Mikva, 10th District of Illinois. The proclamation of the official canvass of the votes cast showed that Mikva had received 106,804 votes and that Young had received 106,603 votes, for a difference of 201 votes. The contestant, Young, contended that there were irregularities or errors involved in the election. Under Illinois law, the contestant was granted a discovery recount. However, the contestant was unable to secure a judicial recount. Subsequently, the contestant filed a notice of intention to contest the election. The contestant responded with a motion to dismiss. An ad hoc panel of the Committee convened to hear testimony on the motion. The panel concluded, by a 2 to 1 vote, that the contestant failed to provide sufficient and specific allegations, documents, affidavits of competent witnesses, or other materials which would enable to committee to determine that there were grounds sufficient to change the result of the election.

Disposition. The Committee, by a 16 to 6 vote, adopted a motion to report H.Res. 527 (95th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on May 9, 1977.[60]

Edward C. Pierce v. Carl D. Pursell, 2nd District of Michigan. The official canvass reported that Representative Pursell, received 95,397 votes and Pierce, received 95,053 votes. After failing to obtain an inspection and review of the tally sheets or a recount, the Pierce filed a notice of contest pursuant to the FCEA. He alleged that certain mistakes were committed in the election and asked that a recount be made in certain precincts. In response, Purcell filed a motion to dismiss. An ad hoc panel of the Committee on House Administration convened to take testimony. The panel found that Pierce did not meet the burden of proof to overcome a motion to dismiss or to order a recount. As in earlier cases, the contestant failed to show that but for specific irregularities or acts of fraud, the results of the election would have been different.

Disposition. The Committee unanimously adopted a motion to report H.Res. 528 (95th Congress) dismissing the contest against Representative Purcell. The House adopted the measure on May 9, 1977.[61]

Albert Dehr v. Robert L. Leggett, 4th District of California. The official returns showed that the contestee, Leggett, received 75,866 votes and that the contestant, Dehr, received 75,202 votes. The margin consisted of 664 votes. Upon conclusion of a recount, the tally gave the contestee a total of 75,844 votes and the contestant a total of 75,190 votes. The margin was reduced to 651 votes. The contestant filed a notice of contest, under the FCEA, claiming that 14 precincts were improperly counted. The ad hoc panel examined the allegation and concluded that there were no errors involving the ballots that would support the contestant's claim. Thus, the ad hoc panel recommended that the contest be dismissed.

Disposition. The Committee unanimously adopted a motion to report H.Res. 770 (95th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on October 27, 1977.[62]

Elsa Debra Hill and Felix J. Panasigui v. William Clay, 1st District of Missouri. In the primary election the contestee received 29,094 votes, contestant Hill received 574 votes and contestant Panasigui received 957 votes. This case was brought by the "Concerned Citizens Committee of the First Congressional District" (CCC) on behalf of the named contestants. Initially, CCC petitioned the board of election commissioners for a new primary election based on its claim that voting irregularities and fraud had occurred. After an investigation, the board of election commissioners found that the complaint was without merit. CCC then filed suit in both state and federal courts. These suits were both dismissed for

lack of subject matter jurisdiction. CCC also filed a notice of complaint pursuant to the FCEA and requested a formal investigation by the Justice Department. The Justice Department concluded that the complaint was without foundation. The Committee also found that the allegations were without foundation and that there were insufficient grounds to change the election results. Moreover, the Committee concluded that the notice of contest and subsequent pleadings did not sustain the contestant's claim of a right to the contestee's seat.

Disposition. The Committee recommended the House adopt H.Res. 822 (95th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on October 27, 1977.[63]

Wyman C. Lowe v. W. Wyche Fowler, Jr., 5th District of Georgia. In a special election contestee Fowler received 29,898 votes and the contestant, Lowe, received 276 votes. In a runoff election, which did not include the contestant, the contestee received 54,378 votes and Lewis, a non-party to this action, received 32,732 votes. The contestant filed a notice of contest under the FCEA which claimed that the contestee was ineligible to run for elected office and that there was a presumption of fraud or irregularities. The contestee filed a motion to dismiss, alleging that the contestant lacked standing and failed to state sufficient grounds to change the result of the election. An ad hoc panel found that the contestee was not ineligible to run for congressional office because he failed to resign from the City Council prior to seeking another elected office.[64] The panel also found that the disparity between the number of votes received by the contestant in his 1970 (36,194 votes) and 1977 (276 votes) election bids did not raise a presumption of fraud or irregularities. Moreover, the panel found that the minor discrepancies in the number of unused ballots returned were either explicable or normal. Thus, the ad hoc panel concluded that the allegations were unfounded and that there was insufficient evidence to overcome the contestee's motion to dismiss.

Disposition. The Committee unanimously recommended that the House adopt H.Res. 825 (95th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on Oct. 27, 1977.[65]

James Moreau v. Richard A. Tonry, 1st District of Louisiana. Reversing a lower appellate court decision, the Supreme Court of Louisiana reinstated a district court judgment dismissing plaintiff Moreau's suit. The court found that, although illegal or fraudulent votes had been cast in favor of the defendant opponent, the votes were insufficient to change the outcome of the election and therefore, as required by the applicable Louisiana contested elections statute, the election could not be nullified.[66]

Disposition. No report was filed. Contestee resigned.

96th Congress (1979–1980)

Melvin Perkins v. Beverly Byron, 6th District of Maryland. In the general election the contestee, Byron, was elected by a majority vote of 122,374 to 14,276. The contestant, Perkins, filed a notice of contest under the FCEA claiming that the contestee was improperly selected to replace her late husband, who had been nominated for reelection, as the Democratic nominee. The contestee filed three separate motions to dismiss. The ad hoc panel recommended that the first motion be granted based on the fact that the contestant failed to provide documented proof of service of the notice of contest on the contestee. The ad hoc panel also found that the contestant failed to provide any documentary evidence supporting his allegations and that he failed to demonstrate that the allegations, if true, would have changed the outcome of the election. The ad hoc panel did not deem it necessary to reach the question of whether the contestant failed to claim a right to the contestee's seat.

Disposition. The Committee unanimously adopted a motion to report H.Res. 189 (96th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on March 29, 1979.[67]

Debra Hanania-Freeman v. Parren J. Mitchell, 7th District of Maryland. The official canvass showed that the contestee, Mitchell, received 51,996 votes and the contestant, Hanania-Freeman, received 6,626 votes. The contestant first filed a petition in the Superior Court of Baltimore City for a writ of mandamus and a preliminary injunction. The court denied the contestant's petition based on its finding that no

irregularity or fraud existed in the election. Thereafter, the contestant filed a notice of intention to contest under the FCEA. Here, the contestant alleged inadequate and insufficient police protection of voting machines, conspiracy between the contestee and election officials, malfunction of voting machines due to tampering, improper and illegal certification of the contestee, and various acts of fraud, violence, intimidation, assault, theft, extortion, and "dirty tricks." The contestee made a motion to dismiss. The ad hoc panel determined that the contestant had failed to demonstrate by documentary evidence or otherwise, that the fraud, violence, intimidation, assault, theft, extortion, or "dirty tricks," as alleged to have been involved in the conduct of the election, would have changed the results of the election. The panel further concluded that the contestant had failed to meet her burden on a motion to dismiss. Thus, the panel unanimously voted to recommend that the contest be dismissed.

Disposition. The Committee adopted by unanimous vote a motion to report H.Res. 198 (96th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on June 12, 1979.[68]

A. A. Sammy Rayner, Jr. v. Bennett M. Stewart, 1st District of Illinois. The general election resulted in the contestee, Stewart, being elected by a majority vote of 47,581 to 33,540, a margin of 14,041 votes. The contestant, Rayner, originally filed a civil suit claiming that there had been errors, irregularities, fraud and mistakes which impaired his right to vote and the right to have his vote counted. The court granted the defendant's motion to dismiss based on the fact that the House of Representatives has exclusive jurisdiction of the matter. Thereafter, the contestant filed a complaint under the FCEA, making the same allegations as in the civil suit and further alleging irregularities in the vote totals displayed on the backs of the voting machines, instances of illegal assistance of voters in casting their votes, the exclusion of the contestant's vote-watchers from polling places, numerous counting errors, and electioneering. The contestee filed a motion to dismiss. The ad hoc panel recommended that the motion be granted because the contestant failed to timely file the contest; failed to name the proper party to the contest; failed to include a statement in the notice of contest that the contestee had 30 days in which to file an answer; failed to serve the contestee properly; and failed to state grounds sufficient to change the results of the election.

Disposition. The Committee unanimously voted that the House adopt H.Res. 344 (96th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on June 28, 1979.[69]

Jimmy Wilson v. Anthony Claude Leach, Jr., 4th District of Louisiana. The official canvass showed that the contestee, Leach, received 65,583 votes and the contestant, Wilson, received 65,317 votes. The contestee's majority was 266 votes. The contestant filed a notice of contest under the FCEA. The contestee followed with a motion to dismiss. The ad hoc panel delayed action on the motion to dismiss pending the outcome of a criminal investigation. Pursuant to a Federal grand jury investigation, the contestee was indicted on one count of conspiracy to pay voters in order to secure his election and 10 counts of paying voters. The contestee was later acquitted of these charges. The ad hoc panel, after reviewing information collected by the Department of Justice, did find that fraud and irregularities were involved in the election. There was, however, no finding of involvement by the contestee in any such activities. Moreover, the contestant failed to demonstrate that the fraud was of sufficient magnitude to have changed the result of the election. Based on this conclusion, the panel voted, 2 to 1, to recommend dismissing the contest.

Disposition. The Committee adopted by a vote of 11 to 8, a motion to report H.Res. 575 (96th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on March 4, 1980.[70]

Leo K. Thorsness v. Thomas A. Daschle, 1st District of South Dakota. The results of the general election returned 64,661 votes for the contestee, Daschle, and 64,647 votes for the contestant, Thorsness, a margin of 14 votes. A recount increased the contestee's election margin to 105 votes. The contestant, followed by the contestee, filed writs with the state

court. The court conducted a post-election review of 1,084 contested ballots and determined that the contestee won the election by 110 votes. Following this decision, the contestant filed a notice of contest under the FCEA. The contestant alleged that a review of more than 2,000 contested ballots would prove that he had received a plurality of the vote and that representatives of the contestee fraudulently and illegally conducted training sessions for members of the recount board. The contestee filed a motion to dismiss. Upon stipulations by both parties the second charge was dismissed. The ad hoc panel, upon unanimous vote, determined that the first count should also be dismissed because the panel was satisfied with the recount performed by the South Dakota Supreme Court. Moreover, the panel found that the contestant failed to state grounds sufficient to change the result of the election.

Disposition. The Committee unanimously adopted a motion to report H.Res. 576, (96th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on March 4, 1980.[71]

97th Congress (1981–1982)

No election contests.

98th Congress (1983–1984)

Roy "Pat" Archer v. Ron Packard, 43rd District of California. The election results showed that the contestee, Packard, received 66,444 votes, the contestant, Archer, received 57,995 votes and another candidate received 56,297 votes. This gave the contestee a plurality of 8,449 votes. The contestant initiated an election contest in both state court and in the House of Representatives, alleging a variety of inadequacies in the conduct of the election itself and in the conduct of the officials charged with overseeing the election. He also claimed that he obtained the highest number of legally cast votes. The court dismissed the case after concluding that the evidence was insufficient to show improprieties which would have changed the election. The Committee found that the contestant did not demonstrate with sufficient evidence that any of the alleged irregularities affected the outcome of the election. The Committee also found that, with the exception of the defacement of some voting machines, there were no criminal violations involved. The Committee's conclusion was based on the opinion of the superior court and the district attorney's report.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 305 (98th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on November 15, 1983.[72]

William (Bill) Hendon v. James McClure Clarke, 11th District of North Carolina. The official vote count showed that the contestee, Clarke, received 85,410 votes and the contestant, Hendon, received 84,085 votes. The contestant filed a request for a recount with five county boards of elections and the state board of elections, claiming that the ballots in these counties were ambiguous and that certain laws governing the election were unconstitutional. This request was denied. The contestant then filed suit in U.S. District Court for the Western District of North Carolina requesting a recount. The court ruled against the contestant. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, although agreeing that parts of the law governing the election were unconstitutional, refused to order a recount or invalidate the outcome of the election. The contestant then filed a notice of contest under the FCEA, claiming that the program used to tabulate the computer-counted ballots violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution and that had votes not been erroneously counted for the contestee the election result would have been different. The contestant sought either a recount or invalidation of the vote. The contestee filed a motion to dismiss. The Committee recommended dismissal on two grounds. First, the contestant's evidence was too speculative to meet the burden of demonstrating that the outcome of the election was affected by the manner in which the five counties counted ambiguously marked ballots. Second, the Committee found that a recount was an unwarranted remedy. Moreover, invalidation of the election would be improper because the contestant failed to challenge the ambiguities of the ballots in court prior to the election in question. The Committee considered the rationale of the Court of Appeals in making its determinations.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 304 (98th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on November 15, 1983.[73]

99th Congress (1985–1986)

Frank McCloskey and Richard D. McIntyre, 8th District of Indiana. The November 1984 election in the Eighth Congressional District of Indiana pitted Democratic incumbent Representative Francis X "Frank" McCloskey against Republican Indiana state Representative Richard D. McIntyre. Election night ended with Representative McCloskey ahead by 72 votes out of more than 234,000 votes cast. After a recount, however, on December 14, 1984, Indiana Secretary of State Edwin J. Simcox certified McIntyre the winner by 34 votes.[74]

The McCloskey-McIntyre contested election has been pointed to by some observers as a seminal event in the modern history of the House, one which coalesced and empowered Republicans into more aggressive action against what they perceived as the procedural abuses of the longstanding Democratic majority in the House.[75] The McCloskey-McIntyre race was up to that point, the closest House election contest of the 20th century.[76]

On January 3, 1985, the opening day of the 99th Congress, Majority Leader James C. Wright, Jr. (D-TX) objected to Mr. McIntyre taking the oath of office despite possessing the certification of the Indiana Secretary of State.[77] Instead, Representative Wright offered a privileged resolution referring the question of the proper right to the seat to the Committee on House Administration for investigation, and barring either contestant from taking the oath until the conclusion of the committee's inquiry.[78] Under the terms of the resolution, both Mr. McIntyre and Mr. McCloskey were to be paid the daily salary of a Member of Congress and be provided with limited administrative staff support until the case was decided. Furthermore, the Clerk of the House was directed to render services to the constituents of Indiana's 8th Congressional District until the election dispute was resolved.

During debate on the privileged resolution, Representative Wright asserted that the vote counting procedures in the race were "neither timely nor regular" and called into question the fairness of the outcome.[79] Representative Wright further argued that holding the seat vacant pending an investigation by the Committee on House Administration was in keeping with a chamber precedent established in the 1961 contested election case of J. Edward Roush v. George O. Chambers of the 5th District of Indiana (described below). Republicans, including Mr. McIntyre himself, responded in debate that the Roush case was not analogous, and argued that under the universal practice of the House, a certificate of election issued by the Secretary of State qualified a Member-elect to take the oath of office.[80] Representative McCloskey was present in the chamber during debate on the privileged resolution, but did not speak.[81] The House agreed to H.Res. 1 by a party line vote of 238 to 177, 11 Members not voting.

On February 6, 1985, at the Committee on House Administration's organizational meeting for the 99th Congress, the Committee appointed a Task Force to investigate the McCloskey-McIntyre election. Task Force members were Representatives Leon E. Panetta (D-CA), Chairman, as well as Representatives William L. Clay (D-MO), and William M. Thomas (R-CA). Prior to appointing the Task Force, the Committee rejected by a vote of 12-7 an effort by Committee on House Administration Ranking Member Representative Bill Frenzel (R-MN) to recommend the immediate seating of Mr. McIntyre.

On February 7, 1985, Minority Leader Robert H. Michel offered a privileged resolution[82] on the House floor authorizing and directing the Speaker to administer the oath of office to Mr. McIntyre, permitting him to serve conditionally until the completion of the Committee on House Administration election inquiry.[83] The House voted 228-180-1 to refer the resolution to the Committee on House Administration. Five Democrats, Texas Representatives Sam B. Hall, Ralph M. Hall, and Charles W. Stenholm, as well as Representatives Romano L. Mazzoli (KY) and Douglas Applegate (OH) joined all Republicans in opposing the motion to refer.[84]

The first formal investigative step taken by Chairman Panetta and the Task Force on the Eighth Congressional District of Indiana was to address the question of the security of the ballots cast in the contested election. While possessing

the authority to impound or subpoena election ballots, the Task Force chose instead to send a telegram on February 13 to all county clerks in the Eighth Congressional District asking them to maintain the security of the election-related materials in their possession in keeping with Indiana state law.[85] The first meeting of the Task Force on the Eighth Congressional District of Indiana took place on February 21, 1985. At that meeting, the Task Force adopted an organizational memorandum outlining the procedures it intended to adhere to in the course of the investigation, as well as written internal operating rules, a document outlining procedures for making claims of irregularity about ballots, and a public schedule of its future meetings.[86] These materials items were distributed to all members of the House in a February 25, 1985 "Dear Colleague" letter.[87]

On February 28, 1985, the Task Force held its second meeting at which it outlined the process for adopting rules for counting ballots which the Task Force would adhere to. These rules were further debated and formally adopted at Task Force sessions on March 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 12, 1985. The rules, as well as an update on Task Force activities, were provided to all Members of the House in a second, March 18, 1985, "Dear Colleague," letter.[88]

On March 4, 1985, Minority Leader Michel offered a second privileged resolution to permit Mr. McIntyre to serve conditionally pending the completion of the Task Force investigation.[89] Representative Michel's resolution took Democrats by surprise, being offered without notice on what was expected to be a pro forma session day with no legislative business conducted.[90] By a vote of 168-167, Democrats again stymied Michel's effort by referring the resolution to the Committee on House Administration for consideration, avoiding a straight vote on it. Representative Douglas Applegate (OH), who had supported the substantially identical resolution Representative Michel had offered on February 7, returned to the Democratic fold, casting the deciding vote to refer.[91] On April 2, 1985, Michel offered a third privileged resolution[92] to conditionally seat Mr. McIntyre. The House again chose to refer the resolution the Committee on House Administration, by a ballot of 241-183-1.[93]

In late April, Republicans engaged in several instances of what media reports described as procedural "guerrilla warfare" on the House floor, triggering time consuming votes on minor parliamentary questions to protest their dissatisfaction with the Democratic majority's handling of the McIntyre-McCloskey controversy. Minority party Members kept the House in session all night on April 22, and on April 25 succeeded in making the House adjourn without completing its scheduled legislative business.[94]

A majority of the Task Force, after finding that Indiana's election process and recount procedure were unreliable, met to develop rules which would be applied in a House recount.[95] Republican Task Force members expressed deep concern with these rules, calling them inconsistent with Indiana election law, and argued that they treated identical ballots in a non-uniform manner. Pursuant to these rules, the Task Force, with the assistance of auditors from the non-partisan General Accounting Office,[96] recounted the votes from the November 6, 1984 election. This recount gave McCloskey a four vote margin of victory over McIntyre. The Committee on House Administration adopted a motion to report H.Res. 146, a privileged resolution dismissing the election contest and declaring Mr. McCloskey as entitled to the seat.

The four months of partisan conflict ended when the House adopted H.Res. 146 on May 1, 1985, by a vote of 236-190. Immediately following adoption of the resolution, Mr. McCloskey took the oath of office in the well of the House. Upon his seating, the entire Republican membership of the House walked out of the chamber in protest.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 146 (99th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on May 1, 1985.[97]

Antonio Borja Won Pat v. Ben Blaz, Guam. The Guam Election Commission (the "Commission") reported the results as 15,725 for the contestee, Blaz, and 15,402 for the contestant, Won Pat. Due to a disparity in the vote total, the Commission ordered a recount which resulted in 15,839 votes for the contestee and 15,485 votes for the contestant. A similar disparity caused another recount which gave the

contestee 15,853 votes and the contestant 15,498 votes. The contestant filed a notice of contest under the FCEA claiming: (1) that the contestee did not win the election because he did not receive a majority of the votes cast as required by law; and (2) that the election results should be rejected because the Commission failed to comply with the requirements of the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act and the Federal Voting Assistance Act. The Committee, agreeing with the Commission's decision not to include blank ballots in the vote total, found that the contestee did receive a majority of the votes cast. The Committee also determined that the Commission did not violate either of the statutes cited by the contestant.

Disposition. The Committee unanimously adopted a motion to report H.Res. 229 (99th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on July 24, 1985.[98]

George V. Hansen v. Richard Howard Stallings, 2nd District of Idaho. The official canvass of votes showed that the contestee, Stallings, received 101,266 votes and the contestant, Hansen, received 101,133 votes. A recount of approximately 10% of the District was conducted in all the precincts requested by the contestant. The official vote tally after the partial recount gave the contestee 101,287 votes and the contestant 101,117 votes. The contestant then filed a notice of contest under the FCEA, claiming that illegal votes had been cast by persons not properly registered, which if removed would have changed the outcome of the election, and that he was denied a full recount, which would have changed the outcome of the election. The Committee found that voters were registered in accordance with Idaho law. Moreover, the Committee relied on the results of an investigation by the Idaho Attorney General which concluded that there were no instances in which an unqualified person voted. Consequently, the Committee determined that there was no basis for finding that the election was tainted by illegal votes. The Committee also found the second allegation to be without foundation. In this respect, the Committee once again relied on decisions made by state officials. Both the Idaho Attorney General and the Idaho Supreme Court denied the contestant's request for a full recount because the partial recount did not reveal sufficient material difference's in the result, when projected district-wide, to change the result of the election.

Disposition. The Committee adopted by a vote of 12 to 1, a motion to report H.Res. 272 (99th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on October 2, 1985.[99]

100th Congress (1987–1988)

No election contests.

101st Congress (1989–1990)

No election contests.

102nd Congress (1991–1992)

No election contests.

103rd Congress (1993–1994)

Bill McCuen v. Jay Dickey, 4th District of Arkansas. An unofficial canvass of votes showed that the contestee, Dickey, received 113,004 votes and the contestant, McCuen, received 102,911 votes. The certifying credentials issued by the governor gave the contestee 113,009 votes and the contestant 102,918 votes. Thereafter, the contestant filed a complaint in the circuit court seeking a protective order regarding the voting machines used in the election. The court granted the order and, subsequently, ordered several inspections of these machines. The court later dismissed the complaint, citing lack of jurisdiction, but retained jurisdiction over the voting machines. The contestant then filed a notice of contest under the FCEA claiming that the ballots and voting machines misled voters and that defective voting machines produced inaccurate totals. The Committee dismissed the first allegation, finding that no irregularity, sufficient to change the result of the election could reasonably be inferred by the design of the voting apparatus. The Committee also heard testimony concerning past problems with the programming of voting machines. However, the expert that testified did not find that such problems existed in this election. Consequently, the

Committee found that there was no merit to the contestant's second allegation.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 182 (103rd Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on May 25, 1993.[100]

104th Congress (1995–1996)

Robert Anderson v. Charlie Rose, 7th District of North Carolina. The official election returns showed that the contestee, Rose, received 62,670 votes and the contestant, Anderson, received 58,849 votes. The contestant filed a complaint with the North Carolina Board of Elections and a notice of contest with the House of Representatives alleging election irregularities and fraud. Moreover, the contestant claimed that the contestee was not a resident of the 7th District of North Carolina (the Committee left this determination to North Carolina authorities). Although the contestant presented credible allegations that spotlighted serious and potentially criminal violations of election laws, they were not sufficient to change the outcome of the election if proven true. Thus, the contestant's evidence was not able to overcome the motion to dismiss filed by the contestee.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 538 (104th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on September 26, 1996.[101]

Joseph S. Haas, Jr. v. Charles Bass, 2nd District of New Hampshire. The contestant filed a notice of contest under the FCEA claiming that the contestee failed to file an affidavit attesting to the fact that he was not a subversive person as defined by New Hampshire law. The contestant further claims right to the office because he was the only qualified candidate who submitted such an affidavit. The Committee found that the law relied upon by the contestant had been declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court and that it had been repealed by the New Hampshire legislature prior to the election.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 539 (104th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on September 26, 1996.[102]

Edward Munster v. Sam Gejdenson, 2nd District of Connecticut. After two recounts, the contestee, Gejdenson, was declared the winner by 21 votes. The contestant filed a notice of contest claiming that errors of judgment were made by the vote counters. Without alleging fraud, however, the contestant did claim that 1,200 residents had been added improperly to the voting polls. The House Oversight Task Force voted 2 to 1 against dismissing the contest. A month later the contestant withdrew his challenge.

Disposition. Challenge withdrawn by the contestant.[103]

Susan M. Brooks v. Jane F. Harman, 36th District of California. The contestant, Brooks, had been the apparent winner on election night, with 82,415 to 82,322 votes. However, after mail-in votes were counted, the result showed that the contestee, Harman, had won by 93,939 to 93,127 votes. The contestant then filed a notice of contest under the FCEA, claiming that the 812-vote margin of victory was based on illegal ballots, including votes from nonresidents, minors and voters illegally registered at abandoned buildings and commercial addresses. The contestee filed a motion to dismiss, claiming that the contestant filed her notice of contest after the statutory period had expired. After deciding that the challenge merited further investigation, the task force voted, 2 to 1, to request for more information. The contestant withdrew her challenge two weeks after the task force held a field hearing.

Disposition. Challenge withdrawn by the contestant.[104]

105th Congress (1997–1998)

Robert K. Dornan v. Loretta Sanchez, 46th District of California. The principal candidates for the November 5, 1996 election for the Forty-sixth Congressional District of California were incumbent Representative Robert K. Dornan and challenger Loretta Sanchez. On November 22, 1996 the Orange County Registrar of Voters certified Ms. Sanchez the election winner by 984 votes. Mr. Dornan requested a recount. On December 9, 1997, the Committee on House Oversight sent observers to Orange County to monitor recount procedures. As a result of that recount, Ms. Sanchez's margin of victory was reduced to 979 votes.[105]

On December 4, 1997, the California Secretary of State announced the opening of an investigation into potential

voter fraud in the Forty-sixth Congressional District election. Shortly thereafter, the Orange County California District Attorney announced that his office was undertaking a similar investigation. Both investigations focused on, among other things, allegations that non-citizens had illegally voted in the November 5 election. On December 26, 1997, Mr. Dornan filed a Notice of Contest with the Committee on House Oversight under the U.S. Constitution and the Federal Contested Elections Act (FCEA). On January 7, 1997, Ms. Sanchez was sworn in as a Member of the 105th Congress (1997–1998).

Pursuant to rule 16(b) of the Rules of Procedure of the Committee on House Oversight Committee Chairman William M. Thomas established a Task Force on January 8, 1997 to examine the documentary record, to receive oral arguments, and to recommend to the full House Oversight Committee the disposition of the election contest filed by Mr. Dornan. Task Force members were: Representatives Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI), Chairman; Robert W. Ney (R-OH); and Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD).

On January 31, 1997, Ms. Sanchez filed a Motion to Dismiss Notice of Election Contest. On February 10, 1997, Mr. Dornan submitted an Opposition to Motion to Dismiss detailing his allegations of voter fraud which he claimed occurred. On February 12, 1997, the Task Force received a letter from Ms. Sanchez requesting that the Task Force withhold consideration of her motion' until after the Task Force had conducted a hearing in Orange County, California. On February 26, 1997, the Task Force met officially for the first time. At the meeting, Task Force Chairman Ehlers acknowledged Ms. Sanchez's request for a hearing in California and recommended that the request be granted.

Ms. Sanchez's Motion to Dismiss the election contest rested on the grounds that Mr. Dornan failed to make "credible allegations of irregularities of fraud which, if subsequently proven true, would likely change the result of the election." The Task Force voted to postpone the disposition of the Sanchez motion to dismiss until a hearing on the merits. This decision was based on the Task Force's majority view that substantial and credible allegations of fraud were contained in Mr. Dornan's Notice. Under the FCEA, the postponement of a decision on Ms. Sanchez's Motion to Dismiss triggered the beginning of the process of legal discovery by Mr. Dornan, and provided him with the ability to obtain subpoenas from the Federal District Court to employ in that discovery process. Over the course of the contest, Mr. Dornan issued nearly 100 subpoenas to parties involved in the dispute.

On April 19, 1997, the Task Force held a hearing in Orange County, California, on the merits of Ms. Sanchez's motion to dismiss. During the hearing, the Task Force heard presentations from Mr. Dornan and Ms. Sanchez as well as testimony from witnesses, including California Secretary of State Bill Jones, Orange County District Attorney Michael Capizzi, Orange County Registrar of Voters Rosalyn Lever, and Director of the Los Angeles Region of the Immigration and Nationality Service, Richard Rogers.

In his presentation at the April 19, 1997 hearing, Mr. Dornan narrowed the allegations upon which his Notice was based to his charges that non-citizens voted in the election and that voting irregularities, such as the improper delivery of absentee ballots, double voting, and so-called "phantom" voting, influenced the outcome of the contest. In support of his allegations, Mr. Dornan submitted, among other things, affidavits and witness statements, charts, newspaper accounts, and correspondence.

On April 24, 1997, the Committee sent a request to the INS headquarters in Washington, D.C. asking that they perform a comparison of the Orange County voter list and several INS databases. in an effort to discern voting by non-citizens. Over the course of the next eleven months, the committee conducted an exhaustive investigation of the 46th District contest, during which it compared voter registration information with federal immigration records, made numerous demands for information from involved parties, including the issuance of multiple subpoenas. Many of the Committee's requests for information were complied with, while others were contested by groups involved in the inquiry. For example, on May 5th, Chairman Bill Thomas held a press

conference to announce that the INS had failed to cooperate with numerous requests for assistance in reviewing the citizenship status of CA-46 voters. Additionally, on September 30, 1997, The House of Representatives agreed to H. Res. 244, demanding that the Office of the United States Attorney for the Central District of California file criminal charges against Hermandad Mexicana Nacional, a private group which was alleged to have facilitated voting by ineligible persons, for failure to comply with a valid subpoena under the Federal Contested Elections Act. There were 219 votes cast in the favor of the resolution and 203 against it. During the conduct of the investigation, Committee staff expended hundreds of hours of work, including conducting detailed examinations of documents and interviewing individuals associated with the election contest. The investigation was slow and often difficult, and in 1997 and 1998, Democratic Members of the House introduced over 60 privileged resolutions that would have either required the Committee to conclude its investigation or which dealt with some aspect of the committee's work.

The Task Force on Elections, having completed an extensive comparison between the Orange County voters' registration files and INS databases, ultimately reported its findings as follows:

> The Task Force was able to clearly and convincingly document that 624 persons had illegally registered and thus were not eligible to cast ballots in the November 1996 election. In addition, the Task Force discovered 196 instances where there was a circumstantial indication that a voter registered illegally. Further, the Orange County Registrar of voters voided 124 improper absentee ballots. In total, the Task Force found clear and convincing evidence that 748 invalid votes were cast in this election. However, the number of ballots for which the Task Force and Committee has clear and convincing evidence that they were cast improperly by individuals not eligible to vote in the November 1996 election is less than the 979-vote margin in this election.[106]

Having concluded one of the most lengthy and comprehensive congressional investigations in history, on February 4, 1998, by a vote of 8-1, the full Committee on House Oversight agreed to a motion to report H.Res. 355, a resolution dismissing the contest, favorably to the House. This resolution was adopted by the House on February 12, 1998, by a vote of 378-33.[107]

106th Congress (1999–2000)

No election contests.

107th Congress (2001–2002)

No election contests.

108th Congress (2003–2004)

Steve Tataii v. Ed Case, 2nd District of Hawaii. The contestant filed a notice of contest under the FCEA asserting that when the contestant challenged the late Representative Patsy Mink in the 2002 Democratic primary, where he received 15% of the vote, Representative Mink should have been disqualified as a primary candidate because she was seriously ill at the time of the primary election and passed away one week later. Contestant argued that he should have been declared the Democrat nominee by default, and that as the nominee, he therefore would have been the inevitable winner of the general election. The Committee found that the FCEA does not contemplate considering notices of contest that are based on the conduct of primary elections. Therefore, the Committee concluded that the basis for the contestant's notice of contest was outside the scope of the FCEA, and voted to dismiss as a frivolous election contest.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 317 (108th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on July 15, 2003.[108]

J. Patrick Lyons v. Bart Gordon, 6th District of Tennessee. The contestant filed a notice of contest under the FCEA alleging that the contestee, Gordon, committed violations of the Constitution amounting to acts of insurrection because contestee, as an incumbent Member of Congress, did not resign his seat prior to seeking re-election and because as an inactive member of the Tennessee Bar, contestee violated

the separation of powers principle in the U.S. Constitution by remaining a "Judicial Officer of the Courts of Tennessee" while serving as a "Legislative Officer of the United States." The contestant made no allegations of irregularities, fraud, or wrongdoing with respect to the election.

The Committee found that in order to have standing under the FCEA, a contestant must have been a candidate for election to the House of Representatives in the last preceding election and claim a right to the contestee's seat. The Committee found that the contestant met the first prong of the two-part test. With regard to the second prong, the Committee found that by claiming a right to the contestee's seat because the contestee was ineligible/not qualified to appear on the November 5, 2003 ballot, the contestant "fails to explain the logical connection between the contestee's alleged ineligibility and the contestant's entitlement to the contestee's congressional seat." The Committee, however, chose not to resolve the issue of whether failure to explain the nexus between the alleged election deficiencies and the contestant's right to the seat is sufficient to establish standing. Instead, the Committee stated that as a threshold matter, it would proceed to consider a notice of contest only if the notice states grounds sufficient to change the result of the election. That is, the Committee found that a contestant must allege irregularities, fraud, or wrongdoing that, if proven, would likely overturn the original election outcome. Due to the fact that the contestant did not advance allegations of irregularity or fraud or objections to the accuracy of the vote totals, which showed him receiving 2% of the vote and the contestee receiving 66%, the Committee voted to dismiss as a frivolous election contest.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 318 (108th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on July 15, 2003.[109]

109th Congress (2005–2006)

J. Patrick Lyons v. Bart Gordon, 6th District of Tennessee. In a "virtually identical" notice of contest to the one filed and dismissed during the 108th Congress, the contestant filed a notice of contest, under the FCEA, asserting that the contestee, Gordon, committed violations of the Constitution amounting to acts of insurrection because, as an incumbent Member of Congress, the contestee did not resign his seat prior to seeking re-election and because, as an inactive member of the Tennessee Bar, the contestee violated the separation of powers principle in the U.S. Constitution by remaining a "Judicial Officer of the Courts of Tennessee" while serving as a "Legislative Officer of the United States." The contestant made no allegations of irregularities, fraud, or wrongdoing with respect to the election.

Similar to its finding during the 108th Congress contest, the Committee found that it would proceed to consider a notice of contest only if the notice stated grounds sufficient to change the result of an election, that is, allegations of irregularities, fraud, or wrongdoing with respect to an election that, if proven, would likely overturn the original election outcome. Absent that, the Committee noted, it would recommend dismissal of the contest. In this contest, the Committee determined that challenges to the qualifications of a Member-elect to serve in Congress generally fell outside the purview of the FCEA, which was designed to consider allegations relating to the actual conduct of an election. The Committee further noted that nothing in the contestant's notice persuaded the Committee to reconsider this established interpretation of the statute.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 239 (109th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on April 27, 2005.[110]

110th Congress (2007–2008)

Cox v. McCrery, 4th District of Louisiana. The contestant alleged that the contestee was not, when elected on November 7, 2006, an inhabitant of the state of Louisiana within the meaning of the Qualifications Clause, Article 1, Section 2, Clause 2 of the Constitution. In response, the contestee maintained that he fully satisfied the inhabitancy requirement, and provided an affidavit from the owner of the property attesting to the fact that he maintained a residence in Shreveport.

Disposition. On June 6, 2007, the Committee found that the contest should not have been brought before the House under the FCEA, and adopted a motion to report

H.Res. 462 (110th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on June 12.[111]

Jennings v. Buchanan, 13th District of Florida. On November 7, 2006, Republican Vern Buchanan and Democrat Christine Jennings competed in the general election to represent the open seat for the 13th Congressional District of Florida. Of the 238,249 votes cast, Jennings received 118,737 votes and Buchanan received 119,105, a 368-vote margin of victory. Pursuant to Florida state law, the Elections Canvassing Commission ordered a recount to verify the margin of victory. Following the recount, on November 20, 2006, the Elections Canvassing Commission certified 119,309 votes for Buchanan and 118,940 votes for Jennings, with Buchanan prevailing by 369 votes. These election results, however, were controversial, as Sarasota County reported an almost 15% undervote, an unusually high number of undervotes compared to other counties in the congressional district. Of the 123,901 ballots cast in Sarasota County, 18,000 did not show a vote cast for the District-13 congressional race.

On December 20, 2006, in addition to filing a state court suit, Ms. Jennings filed a Notice of Contest with the House of Representatives under the FCEA and pursuant to the authority vested in the House by the U.S. Constitution. On January 4, 2007, Committee on House Administration Chairwoman Millender-McDonald wrote to the Florida court to express concern whether the State's proceedings regarding access to evidence that could resolve the contested election matter at the State level would facilitate resolution of the election contest proceedings pending before the House. A complete record, she stated, would facilitate the House's consideration of Ms. Jennings' pending contest.

On January 4, 2007, Mr. Buchanan was sworn in as a Member of the 110th Congress. On January 19, 2007, Mr. Buchanan filed a Motion to Dismiss in which he argued that the contestant's case was based upon conjecture and speculation. In support of his characterization of the contest, he pointed out that the State of Florida conducted an audit of the voting systems in Sarasota County and found that they had operated properly.

On January 22, 2007, Chairwoman Millender-McDonald requested that the Sarasota County Supervisor of Elections preserve all materials utilized in the election. On March 23, 2007, Ms. Millender-McDonald established a three-member Task Force to oversee matters relating to the election contest. Chairwoman Millender-McDonald appointed Representative Charles Gonzalez as Task Force Chair and Representative Zoe Lofgren as a member. On April 16, 2007, Ranking Member Vernon Ehlers recommended that Representative Kevin McCarthy serve as the Minority member of the Task Force. Shortly after Chairwoman Millender-McDonald's death on April 22, 2007, the then-acting Chairman, Representative Robert Brady, appointed Representative McCarthy to serve as the Minority Task Force member on April 25, 2007.

The Task Force first met on May 2, 2007, when it unanimously voted to retain the Government Accountability Office (GAO) to investigate the factors that contributed to the unusually high number of undervotes in Sarasota County. The GAO was also asked to evaluate and recommend whether additional testing was needed to establish whether the voting machines contributed to the undervote.

On June 14, 2007, the Task Force unanimously approved the GAO's Engagement Plan, which detailed its scope of work and approach to determine to what extent the voting machines used in Sarasota County could have contributed to the large undervote and ascertain whether additional testing was needed to determine whether machine malfunction contributed to the undervote. The Task Force also agreed that Chairman Gonzalez would transmit the GAO Engagement Plan to both parties to the contest and provide them seven days to comment on the plan. The parties were asked to address central questions relating to the adequacy or inadequacy of prior testing of the electronic voting machines, whether additional tests were needed, and provide suggested testing protocols in the event that additional testing was required. Further, the Task Force agreed that Chairman Gonzalez should notify all individuals, offices, and entities identified in the GAO plan that the Task Force sought their full, prompt, and voluntary cooperation with the GAO.

On August 3, 2007, at a public meeting of the Task Force, the GAO provided a status report on the progress of its Engagement Plan. The GAO testified that it had been analyzing ballot results and reviewing existing testing efforts such as the Florida election audit. The GAO also offered its preliminary observations of the Florida parallel test, source code review, and audit of the Sarasota County voting systems.

On October 2, 2007, the GAO stated that further testing could provide increased assurance that the voting systems did not cause. the undervotes in Florida's Thirteenth Congressional District. During its analysis, GAO found that, while prior testing and reviews by the State of Florida and Sarasota County provided some degree of assurance that certain components of the voting systems in Sarasota County functioned correctly, such testing and reviews were insufficient to provide adequate assurance that the voting systems did not contribute to the undervotes. Following GAO's testimony, the Task Force unanimously authorized GAO to conduct its recommended testing on the Sarasota County voting systems.

On February 8, 2008, GAO provided the Task Force with the results from the additional testing it conducted on the firmware, ballot, and calibration of the touch screen voting machines. GAO concluded that the voting systems used in Sarasota County did not contribute to the undervote and further testing was not necessary. GAO also acknowledged that ballot design or voter confusion or apathy in the race could have contributed to the 18,000 undervotes. Following the GAO testimony the Task Force unanimously moved to report to the Committee on House Administration that the election contest in District-13 be dismissed.

On February 12, 2008, the Committee on House Administration met to consider the recommendation of the Task Force for the election contest. During this meeting, the Committee unanimously voted to report favorably to the House an original resolution to dismiss the election contest. February 14, reported as an original resolution. The House adopted H. Res. 989 on February 25.[112]

Gonzalez v. Diaz-Balart, 21st District of Florida. The contestant maintained that the official election results were incorrect because of irregularities associated with the electronic voting machines. Specifically, the contestant alleged that the electronic voting machines did not accurately record votes cast, producing unreliable and incorrect results, based on the theory that the machines were hacked or had their data tabulations altered by electronic means. Contestants also maintained that an accurate recount of the votes could never be conducted because the electronic voting machines were not equipped with a verified voter paper audit trail. The contestant further argued that the vote totals were unreliable because the supervisor of elections failed to comply with certain testing and operational requirements for electronic voting machines, pursuant to Florida law. In response, the contestee filed a motion to dismiss the contest based on the contestant's failure to file a timely notice of contest with the Clerk of the House, pursuant to the FCEA filing requirements.

The Committee determined that in order to survive a motion to dismiss, a contestant must proffer allegations that, if proven, would have altered the outcome of the election. In his notice of contest, the contestant relied on affidavits from voters in a precinct holding an election for another congressional district indicating a discrepancy in vote totals. The Committee concluded that the contestant's reliance on allegations of electronic voting machine error in another congressional district is irrelevant and not persuasive, and even if proven true, did not establish that the electronic voting machines used in the contestant's race are inherently unreliable and failed to record votes accurately.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 459 (110th Congress) dismissing the election contest. The House adopted the measure on June 12, 2007.[113]

Curtis v. Feeney, 24th District of Florida. The contestant maintained that the official election results were incorrect due to alleged irregularities associated with electronic voting machines. Specifically, the contestant asserted that the software of the electronic voting machines was manipulated and the machines hacked, and due to the fact that the machines did not produce a verified voter paper audit trail, an accurate count could never be discerned. The contestant further

argued that the election results were also compromised by the failure of the local boards of election to impose necessary procedural safeguards. In response, the contestee filed a motion to dismiss the contest because the contestant failed to claim a right to the office and to support the claim of voting irregularities with specific credible allegations of irregularities or fraud that if proven true, would be sufficient to change the result of the election.

The Committee found that the contestant had failed to make a credible and specific claim that he was entitled to the office, and that his claims were conjecture and speculation, unsupported by specific and credible allegations of irregularity sufficient to put into doubt the outcome of the election.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 461 (110th Congress) dismissing the contest. The House adopted the measure on June 12, 2007.[114]

Russell v. Brown-Waite, 5th District of Florida. The contestant alleged that the official election results were incorrect due to purported irregularities associated with electronic voting machines. Specifically, the contestant asserted that the electronic voting machines produced unreliable and incorrect results based on a theory that the machines were hacked or had their data tabulations altered by electronic means. The contestant further argued that an accurate recount of the votes could never be discerned because the electronic voting machines were not equipped with a verified paper audit trail. In response, the contestee filed a motion to dismiss the contest based on the contestant's failure to file a timely notice of contest with the Clerk of the House, pursuant to the FCEA filing requirements.

The Committee determined that in order to survive a motion to dismiss, a contestant must proffer allegations that, if proven, would have altered the outcome of the election. In his notice of contest, the contestant relied on affidavits from voters indicating a discrepancy of six votes between the contestant and the contestee, and therefore argued that there was sufficient evidence to place into doubt the overall results. The Committee concluded that because the contestee was certified as the winner by 53,462 votes, far exceeding the six vote differential proffered by the contestant, that his allegations were unsubstantiated speculation, insufficient to change the results of the election.

Disposition. The Committee adopted a motion to report H.Res. 463 (110th Congress) dismissing the contest. The House adopted the measure on June 12, 2007.[115]

111th Congress (2009–2010)

Tataii v. Abercrombie (H.Rept. 111-68), 1st District of Hawaii. The contestant filed a notice of contest under the FCEA alleging that the official election results should be invalidated because the contestee deliberately avoided a debate with the contestant and that but for the contestee's alleged refusal to debate, the contestant would have won the election. The Committee on House Administration found that the certificates of election were signed by Hawaii's chief election officer on November 24, 2008; therefore, in order to be timely pursuant to Section 382(a) of the FCEA, the contestant would have had to file a notice of contest by December 24, 2008. The contestant filed a notice of contest on January 16, 2009. The Committee noted that due to an elections contest filed by the contestant in the Supreme Court of Hawaii, the certificate of election was not delivered by the state to the U.S. House of Representatives until December 16, 2008, when the court made a final determination. Noting that the FCEA expressly provides that a notice of contest must be filed within 30 days of elections results being declared, the Committee announced that the contestant's notice of contest was untimely. Nonetheless, acknowledging that the contestant may have received inaccurate advice on timely filing, the Committee decided to evaluate the contestant's claims on the merits.

The Committee determined that the contestant failed to make a credible and specific claim that he was entitled to the office because in order to prevail, a contestant must proffer allegations that, if proven, would have altered the election outcome. According to the Committee, the contestant failed to provide any information demonstrating that a public debate would have altered the election outcome and submitted unsupported speculation that did not cast sufficient doubt

on the election results to merit further investigation. Drawing any other conclusion, the Committee announced, would remove the presumption of regularity that attaches to the state certification of election results. Accordingly, the Committee found that the contestant failed to meet the required burden under the FCEA.

Disposition. On March 31, 2009, the House passed H.Res. 303, dismissing the contest.

112th Congress (2011–2012)

No election contests.

Endnotes

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2 Ibid.

3 1 Stat. 537-539 (Jan. 23, 1798).

4 9 Stat. 568-570 (Feb. 19, 1851); 17 Stat. 408-409 (Jan. 10, 1873); 17 Stat. 490 (Mar. 3, 1873); 18 Stat. 338 (Mar. 2, 1875); 20 Stat. 400 (Mar. 3, 1879); and 24 Stat. 445-449 (Mar. 2, 1887).

5 83 Stat. 284-291 (Dec. 5, 1969)

6 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Federal Contested Election Act,* report to accompany 14195, 91st Cong., 1st sess., H.Rept. 91-569 (Washington: GPO, 1969), p. 2.

7 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Federal Contested Election Act,* report to accompany 18797, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., H.Rept. 1916 (Washington: GPO, 1968), p. 2. See also: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Analysis of H.R. 18104, A Bill to Revise the Law Governing Contests of Elections of Members of the House of Representatives, and For Other Purposes,* committee print, 90th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1968).

8 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Federal Contested Election Act,* report to accompany 14195, 91st Cong., 1st sess., H.Rept. 91-569 (Washington: GPO, 1969), p. 3. See also: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Analysis of H.R. 14195, A Bill to Revise the Law Governing Contests of Elections of Members of the House of Representatives, and For Other Purposes,* committee print, 91st Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1969).

9 Rep. Watkins M. Abbitt, "Federal Contested Election Act," *Congressional Record*, remarks in the House, vol. 115, Oct. 20, 1969, p. 30510.

10 "Federal Contested Election Act," *Congressional Record*, remarks in the House, vol. 115, Oct. 20, 1969, pp. 30507-30514, and Nov. 20, 1969, pp. 35071–35072; and P.L. 91-138, 83 Stat. 284-291 (Dec. 5, 1969).

11 2 U.S.C. §382(a).

12 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Federal Contested Election Act*, report to accompany H.R. 14195, 91st Cong., 1st sess., H.Rept. 91-569 (Washington: GPO, 1969), p. 4.

13 2 U.S.C. §26.

14 See McCloskey and McIntyre. "Referring Election of a Member From the Eighth Congressional District of Indiana to the Committee on House Administration," *Congressional Record*, vol. 131, Jan. 3, 1985, pp. 381–388 (hereinafter cited as McCloskey and McIntyre); U.S. Congress, *Committee on House Administration, Relating to Election of a Representative From the Eighth Congressional District of Indiana,* report to accompany H.Res. 146, 99th Cong., 1st sess., H.Rept. 99-58 (Washington: GPO, 1985), pp. 2–4 (hereinafter cited as H.Rept. 99-58); and Roush v. Chambers, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report Pursuant to H.Res. 1, A Resolution Directing an Investigation of the Question of the Right of J. Edward Roush or George O. Chambers, From the Fifth Congressional District of Indiana, to a Seat in the Eighty-Seventh Congress. Examination and Recount of the Votes Cast for Representative in Congress, Fifth Congressional District of Indiana, at the General Election of November 8, 1960. Counties of Blackford, Clinton, Grant, Howard, Huntington, Jay, Madison, Miami, Tipton, Wabash,* 2 vols., 97th Cong., 1st sess., H.Rept. 513 (Washington: GPO, 1961), p. 3 (hereinafter cited as H.Rept. 97-513).

15 McCloskey and McIntyre, pp. 381–388

16 See generally, McCloskey and McIntyre, pp. 381–388; H.Rept. 97-58, pp. 1–4; and H.Rept. 99-58, pp. 3–4.

17 See Wilson v. McLaurin: U.S. Congress, House Committee on Elections No. 3, *Joshua E. Wilson v. John McLaurin,* report to accompany H.Res. 296, 54th Cong., 1st sess., H.Rept. 1566 (Washington: GPO, 1896). See also Tunno v. Veysey: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Dismissing the Election Contest in the Thirty-Eighth Congressional District of California,* report to accompany H.Res. 507, 92nd Cong., 1st sess., H.Rept. 92-626 (Washington: GPO, 1971).

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23 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Relative to the Contested-Election Cases of Harold C. Woodward Against Thomas J. O'Brien, Sixth Congressional District of Illinois: Frederick M. Roberts Against Helen Douglas, Fourteenth Congressional District of California; and Lawrence Michael Against Howard W. Smith, Eighth Congressional District of Virginia,* report to accompany H.Res. 345, 80th Cong., 1st sess., H.Rept. 1106 (Washington: GPO, 1947); and "Election Contests," *Congressional Record*, vol. 93, July 26, 1947, p. 10445.

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27 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Relative to the Contested Election Cases of Browner Against Cunningham, Fifth Congressional District of Iowa; Fuller Against Davies, Thirty-Fifth Congressional District of New York; and Thierry Against Feighan, Twentieth Congressional District of Ohio,* report to accompany H.Res. 324, 81st Cong., 1st sess., H.Rept. 1252 (Washington: GPO, 1949); and "Election Contests Dismissed," p. 11294.

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VII. BEHIND THE SCENES: ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES

During the last seven decades, the House has become increasingly institutionalized.[1] The Committee on House Administration, as well as numerous task forces and commissions,[2] have examined internal operations, which have regularly been modified through revisions to House Rules, statutes, and operational procedures. These changes have led to increased professionalization of the administrative and support functions of the House.

The Committee has helped implement this modernization. Its work strikes at the heart of the "internal housekeeping" operation of the House and enables the House to function smoothly. In providing oversight of official House resources, the Committee has had to balance the needs of a complex legislative body, a traditional deference to the independence of Members to represent their constituents in the manner they deem most appropriate, and ensuring accountability to Members and the American public.

The administrative structure promulgated or overseen by the Committee guides how every Member, committee, and House officer conducts business each day. Through its consideration of committee funding resolutions and its regulation of Member allowances, the Committee makes decisions regarding the allocation of resources for these offices. It also has established and revised other guidelines for such office operations as staffing, travel, mail, and office space. Efforts to standardize the administrative and financial operations of the House, initially through the Committee's direct involvement in these activities, and then through oversight of appointed and elected House officers, have transformed a system based on patronage to one based on merit. The Committee reviews projects, policies, and other initiatives of these officers, as well as proposed reorganizations.

It has also worked to guide the House through the constantly changing technological landscape, considering what tools may be most useful to the chamber and weighing the desire of offices for the discretion to purchase the supplies they need while ensuring the best investment for the House and some level of standardization and compatibility. This has involved assisting the House with the transformation to the digital age, overseeing the installation and maintenance of the electronic voting system, and improving public access through the televised broadcast of floor debate and many committee hearings.

The Committee has also overseen the business-like operations of the House, including restaurants and barber and beauty shops, as well as other services to the congressional community, such as parking and administration of the office buildings, the Capitol, and the Capitol Visitor Center. The Committee has paid particular attention to services and benefits for Members, as well as preserving the institutional memory of the House through its historical artwork collection.

Funding Accounts and Staffing for Members and Committees: Overview and Development, Committee Funding Resolutions

Origins and Development

Prior to the creation of the Committee on House Administration, the Committee on Accounts (1803–1946) considered numerous funding requests from House committees. In 1945, for example, it reported more than 30 resolutions dealing with expenses for studies and investigations and other specific committee related expenses, including requests for additional staff. The approval of investigations was a two part process. Initially, the investigation had to be authorized by a resolution reported by the Rules Committee. A second resolution, reported by the Accounts Committee, contained

the maximum amount available to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House, and some specified the purpose of the expenditures.

Significance and Current Practice

The process of funding and staffing committees has evolved continuously since the establishment of the Committee on House Administration. Because committees are so integral to the operation of the House of Representatives, the Committee's jurisdiction in this area has allowed it to exert influence in many areas and placed it at the center of a number of political battles. These include questions as to the proper role of Congress in investigations; the appropriate division of resources between the majority and minority parties, as well as between committees and subcommittees; and efforts to control spending and promote transparency in the legislative branch.

The Committee calls for each committee under its purview—currently all standing and select committees with the exception of the Committee on Appropriations—to offer a single resolution proposing its funding level for each session of a Congress. This resolution is referred to the Committee, which then holds hearings during which the Chair and Ranking Minority Member from each committee are invited to testify on behalf of their budget request. In accordance with House Rule X, clauses 6 and 7, the Committee then develops an omnibus resolution covering funding for these committees. The Committee need not use a formula in determining the allocation for each committee, but rather has discretion to consider committee size and workload, the goals and priorities of the House, and the overall fiscal climate. For example, the Committee report on the funding resolution for the 110th Congress states that, because of the enactment of a year-long continuing resolution, and "with the limited resources available, the Committee was only able to recommend across-the-board inflationary adjustments of 2.64% for the personnel expenses, and 2.2% for the operating expenses in the first session, and 3.0% for the personnel expenses, and 2.4% for the operating expenses in the second session," although the Armed Services Committee received additional funding because it "bears an especially heavy burden" during a time of war.[3] The resolutions are then considered for adoption by the House, with funding provided annually through the Legislative Branch Appropriations Acts.

Procedural Evolution and Jurisdiction

The Committee has considered committee funding requests since its inception under authority currently given to it in House Rule X. Prior to the elimination of the Committee's Subcommittee on Accounts at the outset of the 104th Congress, many issues related to committee expenditures were handled by that subcommittee.

The Committee's jurisdiction over expenditures from House accounts was challenged during the 89th Congress (1965–1966) when Rules Committee Chairman Howard W. Smith of Virginia reported resolutions authorizing certain committees to conduct studies and investigations. At this time, the House first agreed to a resolution, reported by the Rules Committee, authorizing the investigation, and then considered funding for the investigation in a separate resolution, reported by the Committee on House Administration. This two-part process was required for the allocation of investigative funds until the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974 granted all committees the authority to conduct investigations and studies.[4]

In 1965, however, the Rules Committee attempted to alter this process by containing new language in committee amendments to its authorizing resolutions limiting expenditures from what was then-known as the contingent fund. The Committee on House Administration contested what it deemed a violation of its jurisdiction. In a resolution adopted by the Committee in late January and transmitted to the Rules Committee, the former insisted upon its jurisdiction over expenditures.[5]

Debate continued during the February 1965 floor consideration of Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith's resolutions. Smith argued that the Rules Committee "thought there ought to be some limitation by way of authorization on the funds that were being used by these various and sundry committees" but admitted he faced resistance from various committee chairmen as well as the Committee on House

Administration.[6] After noting that the Rules Committee had agreed to strike its language concerning funding in light of this opposition, Smith decried what he saw as a rapid rise in the cost of investigations and said that the members of the Rules Committee "express the hope that somewhere along the line somebody may pay a little attention to the amount of expenditures for this purpose."[7]

The Committee on House Administration succeeded in protecting its jurisdiction, and to assure that it would be able to continue to do so, directed, in a compilation of Committee procedures, that:

> The clerk of the subcommittee on accounts should maintain vigilance over any and all items in the Congressional Record pertaining to action of the Rules Committee in connection with legislation of interest to the Committee on House Administration as it affects Members and committees of the House. Items pertaining to foreign travel, authorization of special and select committees, etc., affect the House Administration Committee's administrative surveillance over committees, expenditures, employees, etc., in the House of Representatives.[8]

Until 1970, the Committee adopted its own procedures for considering the many expense resolutions. Procedures noted in a compilation of Committee regulations for the 91st Congress and revised on January 1, 1970, noted that the Committee requested resolutions contain the effective date of January 3 so that funds would be available retroactively. Chairmen requiring funds were also told to address their concerns in writing to the Chairman of the Committee and request a hearing. The Committee stated its preference to hear from both the majority and minority sides at the hearing. Committees receiving funds were then required to submit to the Committee monthly reports detailing progress in the studies and investigations for which funds were approved, a statement of expenses, a report of travel, a list of committee employees and their salaries, and a projected program for the following month.[9]

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, which became law in October of that year, formalized the funding process and placed it within the rules of the House.[10] It also imposed new requirements on standing committees desiring funds by establishing a new method to provide Members with basic information about the funds requested by each standing committee and a specified amount of time to study that information before voting on those funds. Each report was required to specify the total amount of funds and the amounts for each committee activity. Additional expense resolutions were to be subject to the same demands, with the added requirement of a statement containing the reasons for the failure to request these funds in the primary expense resolution.

In recent Congresses, the Committee has reported one annual omnibus primary expense resolution for most or all committees within its jurisdiction. It formerly reported separate resolutions to the House authorizing funds for each committee. Each resolution was considered and agreed to individually. This process changed, when, upon the recommendation of the Subcommittee on Accounts, the Committee reported a consolidated committee funding resolution (H. Res. 115), on March 23, 1981. The resolution was agreed to by the House on March 25 by a vote of 231 to 171.[11] This consolidated approach is still utilized, although it was not immediately embraced by the minority members of the Committee. In the report accompanying H. Res. 115, the minority members stated:

> In the past, the House has considered each committee's funding resolution separately on the floor. Although rarely was it permissible to offer amendments, there was always the opportunity to debate the merits of each funding resolution and vote on each one individually. . . . Now we are confronted with a new procedure designed to prevent careful Congressional scrutiny of each Committee's budget. All the funding resolutions have been conveniently grouped into one omnibus resolution. Whatever debate time will be provided will

> be limited at best. The intent is to make the whole package carry the big-spending Committee budgets—Rules, Post Office and Civil Service, Energy and Commerce—each of which might fail in an isolated vote. . . . This procedure is another form of 'gag-rule,' ill-suited to careful deliberation. It only hampers the responsible exercise of our legislative duties. We hope and expect that the House would reject this departure from traditional practice.[12]

Since 1995, committees of the House other than the Appropriations Committee have been funded on a biennial basis. Previously, the Committee had considered authorizations on a one year basis since at least 1963. During a heated floor debate on February 27, 1963, on the cost and sharing of committee funds, Representative Gerald Ford of Michigan stated:

> I think it is a great step forward for the Committee to have decided that all committees of the House should have only 1-year appropriations. This means that a year from now your committee can take an honest look to see whether progress has been made, whether agreements have been abided by; and if they have not then the House in its wisdom can take what action is necessary to remedy any violation of agreements or action which was not in accordance with the Committee's recommendations.[13]

On March 6, 1963, the Committee's Ranking Minority Member Paul Schenck further clarified his understanding of the change and the fiscal discipline he thought it would encourage, explaining that:

> When I first suggested to our chairman . . . the idea of making these appropriations for 1 year . . . my purpose was to give the Committee on House Administration an opportunity . . . to review the expenditures and the work done by the various committees each year and to thus establish better control over these expenditures. This was not intended . . . as an invitation to come back to the House Committee on Administration for more funds; neither was it our intention to develop studies which would take extensive time and money for staff, and then come to our committee later and say, we have only partially completed our investigation and we will need additional funds to complete our unfinished work.[14]

Three decades later, the House reevaluated the best manner to achieve fiscal control of committee expenditures, and a change to biennial funding was instituted with the adoption of the Rules for the 104th Congress (1995–1996) in an effort "to permit committee[s] to plan for a full Congress and to free-up the time otherwise consumed by the House and its committees on processing two budgets per Congress."[15] In making this switch, the House joined the Senate, which had agreed to its own biennial funding procedure in 1988.[16]

Exemption for the Committee on Appropriations

The exemption of the House Committee on Appropriations from the regular funding process was first proposed in 1946. That year, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress (JCOC) submitted a number of suggestions to Congress, including a plan for the reorganization of committees, changes in committee procedure, and modifications to congressional staffing levels and procedures. In a section offering suggestions to strengthen fiscal control, the JCOC stated its belief that "the work of the Appropriations Committee is so vital that they should be the best equipped of any committees of the Congress, for on their judgment hangs the expenditure of billions of public money."[17] It noted that the entire House Appropriations Committee had eight clerks, while the Senate Appropriations Committee had nine. It recommended that "four qualified staff assistants be assigned to each of the appropriation subcommittees to serve both the majority and minority members."[18] This allocation stood in contrast to that of other committees, for which the JCOC recommended a limit of four professional and six clerical staff.[19] In support of this difference,

the JCOC declared that "there is little hope for carefully considered reductions in appropriations without definite and fundamental improvements in both House and Senate Appropriations Committee procedures and practices."[20] The report noted the semi-autonomous nature of the subcommittees of the Appropriations Committees and argued that the full committee did not examine the bills reported from the subcommittees with enough scrutiny, and that too much of the consideration was conducted in secret sessions.

When the recommendations were considered in the House on July 25, 1946, Clarence Cannon of Missouri offered an amendment authorizing the Committee on Appropriations to conduct studies and investigations and appoint staff as it deemed necessary.[21] These actions were to be subject only to appropriations included in the appropriations bills. Speaking in support of the amendment, Cannon said that the Appropriations Committee had saved money since it began operating under this system in 1943. The amendment was agreed to and incorporated into the Legislative Reorganization Act, which passed on August 2nd of that year. The Act authorized clerks for other standing committees at the level recommended by JCOC.[22]

The House Appropriations Committee has since maintained its exemption through subsequent amendments to the funding process. The Budget Committee was provided with a similar exemption from its creation under the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 until it, too, was included in the regular funding process with the revision of the Rules at the start of the 104th Congress (1995–1996).[23]

Transparency and Accountability

An ongoing debate over the justification of committee expenses has centered both on the cost of committee operations and the transparency of the funding process. Over the years, some critics have highlighted some of the more complex features of the process, which they claimed had the effect of obscuring the true cost of committees. Others have attempted to compare costs across committees and congresses.

Some of the early confusion surrounding the funding process stemmed from a provision in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 guaranteeing each committee a certain number of staff.[24] This level of staff was expanded through subsequent acts, and prior to the 104th Congress, committees did not have to request separate funds for these staff in their primary expense resolution. The primary expense resolutions before 1995 also did not have to include certain additional non-staff expenses, such as the costs of official committee mail, supplies, computer service charges, and other administrative costs. The perceived lack of committee accountability for these funds had been noted as a concern by the then-Republican minority during funding consideration more than a decade earlier.[25] The rules adopted for the 104th Congress eliminated distinctions between statutory and investigative staff and required that certain other committee expenses be included in the expense resolutions in an effort to increase transparency. The new procedure was explained in the report accompanying the resolution, H. Res. 107, that provided for committee expenses for the 104th Congress. The report also noted that in the previous Congress "committees were funded from three sources" and "almost 55% of these committee funds were not subject to an annual, public authorization process."[26]

Prior to the rules change, the split was recognized in the annual legislative branch appropriations acts. The FY1995 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, for example, contained separate appropriations accounts for both "committee employees" and salaries and expenses of "standing committees, special and select" as authorized by the House.[27] Since the changes in House Rules adopted for the 104th Congress, these accounts have been combined, and beginning with the FY1996 Act there has been one account for employees of "standing committees, special and select."[28]

Efforts to Control Costs

Since its establishment, the Committee has had to weigh the needs of the various committees while ensuring a cost-effective operation for Congress and the nation. One way the Committee attempted to control costs and exert influence over spending began during the 88th Congress (1963–1964), when it included a provision prohibiting in the individual expense resolutions the expenditure of any authorized funds for a study or investigation in which the same subject was

already being examined by another committee. The provision also required each committee chairman to report to the Committee before initiating any study or investigation. Subcommittee on Accounts Chairman Samuel Friedel told the House that this section of the resolution was included "in order to avoid duplication and conflict of jurisdiction with other committees."[29] Similar provisions were included in many subsequent funding resolutions until 1982.

The Committee has also attempted to use its power to control committee costs, both overseeing the use of funds by other committees and leading by example through its own budget request. For example, in the report accompanying its omnibus resolution for the first session of the 97th Congress (1981–1982), the Committee recommended dramatically cutting its own funding by requesting an investigative budget that was 20% lower than the amount expended, and 30% lower than the 1980 authorization.[30] It also sought to achieve savings by eliminating the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, combining the two separate subcommittees overseeing contracts and printing into a single panel, reducing the number of staff and consultants, and limiting the amount spent on the House Information System. The Committee also indicated in its report that overall committee funding for the session was more than $1 million less than that approved by the House the previous year, and more than $4.5 million less than requested.[31] Although during its consideration the Committee had voted in a roll call vote of 8 to 10 against an amendment "to reduce the resolutions by 10 percent of the amount Committees expended in 1980," a floor amendment offered by Majority Leader Jim Wright to reduce aggregate levels to 10% below the previous year authorization levels was agreed to on March 25, 1981.[32] A motion to recommit with instructions to include further cuts, offered by the Committee's Ranking Minority Member Bill Frenzel, was subsequently defeated.[33]

Little more than a decade later, the Republican majority in the 104th Congress vowed to fulfill a campaign pledge to cut one-third of committee staff positions. Some committee chairmen, however, defended the roles of their committees in the legislative process and advocated the need for some budget increases. Committee funding resolution levels continued to be a topic of intense debate in subsequent Congresses.[34]

Further overall cuts were adopted at the start of the 112th Congress, when the House agreed to H. Res. 22, which stated that the authorized primary expenses resolutions for 2011 and 2012 should not exceed 95% of the amount provided for 2009 and 2010. The Committee reported a resolution, H. Res. 147, on March 9, 2011, that reflected this direction from the House. Following House passage of the FY2012 appropriation bill (H.R. 2551), which included a 6.4% reduction from the FY2011 level in the appropriation for House committees, the Committee held a hearing on November 30, 2011, to review committee budgets. Chairman Lungren introduced another committee funding resolution on December 14, 2011, H. Res. 496, to reflect the lower appropriations level. The resolution was considered by the Committee during a markup on December 16, 2011, and was agreed to by voice vote in the House on February 1, 2012.

Arguments during these episodes and others demonstrate the ongoing debate over the appropriate balance of power between the executive and legislative branches. Members of the House have argued the need for adequate funds to support their investigative and oversight work to provide a proper check to the executive and investigate threats to the nation. Yet Members of the House are sensitive to charges of excess and redundancy. They want to show their constituents that they appreciate the trust given them by not spending in excess, especially in lean fiscal times. The episodes also show that the managers of the internal operations of the House must engage in the same mundane yet crucial tasks of dealing with administrative regulations, creating incentives to attract and retain experienced staff, distributing limited resources, and scrutinizing the requests of colleagues.

Printed Sources on Committee Funding

The Committee updates and publishes the *Committees' Congressional Handbook* to assist House committees in understanding the funding process, staffing limitations, reporting

requirements imposed on a committee, and rules governing reimbursable expenses.

From the 83rd through the 103rd Congress, the Committee regularly listed its actions with regard to committee funding within its *Committee Calendar* in tabular form. The categories of information included in each of the tables, however, evolved over time in response to the changing concerns of the Committee and to reflect new procedures or practices stipulated in amendments to the Rules of the House. It has variously included resolutions considered by the Rules Committee authorizing a committee to conduct studies and investigations, the individual committee funding resolution number, the amount requested, authority for foreign travel, the House report number, the date reported by committee, the date passed by House, the amount authorized by committee, the amount approved by House, and the total for each session.[35]

Interim Funding

House Rules require the chamber to act by March 31 in each odd numbered year to provide operating funds for its standing and select committees (except for the Appropriations Committee). The committees of the House may operate until this date with interim funding automatically provided for in the Rules since the 99th Congress (1985–1986). Prior to the adoption of interim funding clause, the House regularly agreed to resolutions covering necessary expenses of committees from January 3 through March 31 each year. The Chairman of the Committee often offered privileged resolutions to accomplish this purpose. Although the initial interim funding Rule originally provided for nine percent of the total annualized amount provided for in the previous session to each applicable committee, reforms agreed to in the 100th Congress (1987–1988) gave the Committee on House Administration the authority to set the rate of interim funding at a lower percentage, if necessary, to comply with the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 or if insufficient funds are available.[36] It also provided automatic interim funding for the second session of each Congress, a need which was then negated with the adoption of the biennial funding procedure at the outset of the 104th Congress (1995–1996).[37] At that time, the new Republican majority also temporarily suspended automatic interim funding for the 104th Congress in favor of permitting only those expenses consistent with its goal of reducing the number and cost of committee staff.[38] Additionally, the interim period has occasionally expired without the passage of a primary expense resolution. In these cases, it has been necessary for the Committee to introduce a resolution providing for an extension of the interim funding for committees.[39]

Supplemental Resolutions and the Reserve Fund

Under the Rules, House committees that experience unanticipated expenses during a Congress may request supplemental funding through additional expense resolutions. For many years, the Committee conducted hearings on additional expenses and introduced resolutions providing supplemental funding to committees. Committees desiring additional funding had to justify their request and explain why the funds had not been requested as part of the primary expense resolution.

Changes to House Rules adopted at the outset of the 105th Congress (1997–1998) established a reserve fund which may be distributed among the committees by the Committee in the event of unanticipated expenses. The primary committee funding resolution for the 105th and 106th (1999–2000) Congresses contained $7.9 and $3.0 million for the reserve fund, respectively.[40] Through the 109th Congress (2005–2006), no additional money was specifically designated for this use in primary expense resolutions. The reserve fund became a political issue, and opponents once again traded accusations about transparency and the use of certain House funds.

In the 105th and 106th Congresses, Steny Hoyer of Maryland, then a member of the Committee on House Oversight, introduced legislation to prohibit any payment from the reserve fund without the approval of the House.[41] Both resolutions were referred to the Committee on Rules, although no further action was taken. The minority views

included in the Committee's activity report for the 105th Congress state:[42]

> . . . the temptation to use the new reserve fund, as expected, effectively short-circuited the supplemental funding process because it allowed committee chairmen to dispense with such inconveniences as consultation with the Democratic Minority, hearings, committee reports, and House votes. The House Oversight Committee approved eight reserve fund allocations during the 105th Congress, with only one supplemental funding resolution considered by the Committee and adopted in the House.

Division of Funds Between the Majority and Minority Parties

The Committee also considers the appropriate split of committee funds and staff between the majority and minority parties. Guidance in this area is found in House Rule X, clauses 6 and 9 of the 110th Congress. The House has entertained a number of proposals in this area since the committee's establishment, and the allocation has occasionally been a source of tension between the majority and minority parties.

In 1963, the minority attempted to obtain additional staffing and proposed a 60–40 split of committee funds between the majority and minority parties. Committee Chairman Omar Burleson of Texas responded to the proposal on the House floor by asking what constituted a minority on any given issue. He asserted his belief that the machinations were correct but only needed to be "fairly applied."[43] Burleson also inserted a letter from House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler to Speaker John W. McCormack into the *Congressional Record* in which he says that this split would be against the spirit of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which called for permanent professional staff not appointed or dismissed on the basis of their political affiliations. The minority's effort to achieve this split failed and informal agreements continued to determine allocations and other arrangements.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 reformed this process by ensuring that "the minority party on any such standing committee is entitled, if they so request, to not less than one-third of the funds provided for the appointment of committee staff personnel pursuant to each primary or additional expense resolution."[44] In remarks on the floor during consideration of the multiple committee funding resolutions for 1973, Chairman Wayne Hays of Ohio assured the House that the Committee had consulted with the minority during the hearings and that they were satisfied with the results, a claim supported by Ranking Minority Member William Dickinson of Alabama.[45]

Subcommittee Funding and Staffing

Over the years, the House has considered the appropriate role of its subcommittees vis-à-vis full committees. The debate has included the question of the appropriate allocation of staff and other resources. Until the early 1970s, committee chairmen, who then owed their positions of power to the seniority system, could largely utilize their subcommittees as they saw fit. Reformers, prompted by a desire to hold these chairmen more accountable, moved to redistribute power in the House. As David Rohde has argued, "this was partly done by shifting power to subcommittees" although these "subcommittees and their chairmen were constrained by the new rules imposing collective responsibility, just as committee chairmen were."[46]

In 1973, the Subcommittee Bill of Rights approved by the Democratic Caucus included provisions requiring fixed jurisdiction of subcommittees, authorizing them to meet and report legislation, and calling for each to have an adequate budget with subcommittee chairmen selecting all of their staff. The Committee Reform Amendments of 1974, which were subsequently incorporated into the House Rules for the 94th Congress (1975–1976), formally placed some of these goals within the House. The reforms authorized standing subcommittee chairmen and ranking minority members to each appoint one staff person to serve at their pleasure.[47]

The new system, and the resulting consequences for internal committee relations, did not satisfy all members. Seven years after its adoption, Bill Frenzel of Minnesota,

then the Ranking Minority Member of the Committee, stated that the change "has proved to be a mistake. It has fractionalized the staffs and caused much too large staffs."[48] When the Republican majority rewrote the rules at the start of the 104th Congress, the guarantee of one staff member was replaced with language ensuring "sufficient staff" for a subcommittee to carry out its responsibilities in an effort "to reestablish the primacy of committees over subcommittees while maintaining the ability of subcommittees to carry out their functions as arms of the parent committee."[49] Regulations in the *Committees' Congressional Handbook*[50]—including the requirement that the Committee Chair sign forms for the appointment of committee employees and vouchers for reimbursement or payment from committee funds—also highlight the authority of the Chair over the committee.

Highlights on Debates for Funding of Certain Controversial Committees and Chairmen

Through its control over the funding of House committees, the Committee has occasionally been called upon to exercise scrutiny over what was characterized as controversial activities by other committees and their chairmen. Supporters and critics of committees have long recognized the funding issue as a means to directly comment on the work of a committee and the power of its chairman. This was especially the case with: 1) the Committee on Education and Labor under Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who was chairman from the 87th through 89th Congresses (1961–1966); 2) the Banking and Currency Committee under Wright Patman, who was chairman from the 88th through 93rd Congresses (1963–1974); and 3) the House Un-American Activities (later Internal Security) Committee throughout its more than three decades of existence.

Funding for the Banking and Currency Committee Under Wright Patman. Wright Patman chaired the Banking and Currency Committee during the 88th–93rd Congresses (1963–1974). He was a vocal critic of many of the practices of the financial establishment. Political scientist John Owens has noted that the "trepidation" felt by certain members of the banking community on his ascension as chairman "seemed well justified when, on assuming the chairmanship Patman requested additional staff and budget authorizations and directed the staff to conduct investigations into different aspects of banking practice with a view to introducing legislation."[51] Stating that he didn't "think there is a committee in Congress, House or Senate, that has more potential jurisdiction than we have," Patman in 1963 requested $530,000 in a hearing before the Committee on the funding request of the Banking and Currency Committee.[52] The request represented a massive increase from the previous Congress's authorization of $5,000 for general committee investigations and studies, and prompted Patman's colleague and Ranking Minority Member, Clarence Kilburn of New York, to question the need for the money and the staff it would provide.[53] The resolution passed on March 6, 1963, after the Committee reduced the authorization to $180,000.[54] The full committee eventually received an authorization to spend $391,268 during the 88th Congress (1963–1964), while the Housing Subcommittee was authorized $311,934.[55] The committee's request for $950,000 for 1965 was reduced to $225,000 by House Administration.[56] The Committee continued to scrutinize Patman's requests until he was removed as chairman in 1975 as part of a wave of committee changes implemented in the 94th Congress.

Funding for the Committee on Education and Labor Under Adam Clayton Powell. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. chaired the House Committee on Education and Labor from the 87th through 89th Congresses (1961–1966). During his tenure, the Committee on House Administration exercised increasing scrutiny over Powell's handling of funds, particularly expenditures related to travel. The Committee also examined the employment of Y. Marjorie Flores, Powell's wife, who appeared on the clerk-hire rolls of Powell's personal office and the press reported as residing in Puerto Rico. During the March 6, 1963, House floor debate on H. Res. 254 to provide funding for the studies and investigations to be conducted by this committee, Chairman Wayne Hays referred to the alleged misuse

of funds in support of the committee amendment which pared the original $697,000 request to $200,000.[57] An investigation was initiated by the Special Subcommittee on Contracts, which reported irregularities in both travel and staffing.[58] In 1967, Powell was stripped of his chairmanship and subsequently excluded from membership in the 90th Congress (1967–1968) by House Resolution. He was subsequently elected by special election to his former seat, although he was not sworn in.

Funding for House Un-American Activities/Internal Security Committee. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities Authorized To Investigate Nazi Propaganda and Certain Other Propaganda Activities, a predecessor of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), was created in 1934.[59] This committee was followed by the House Special Committee on Un-American Activities, which was then established as a standing committee with the adoption of the rules for the 79th Congress. Its funding was the target on the House floor of critics like William Ryan of New York, who believed the committee was both excessively costly and "violating fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution and stifling freedom of dissent."[60] These critics, including James Roosevelt of California, argued that since they could not obtain a vote on a resolution eliminating HUAC because of actions of the Rules Committee, they had no choice but to attempt to express their dissatisfaction through the funding process.[61]

The House Internal Security Committee, as it was later known, was abolished in January 1975 at the outset of the 94th Congress (1975–1976) and its responsibilities were transferred to the Judiciary Committee.[62] "Contrary to expectation," according to Paul Rundquist, "the Judiciary Committee did not establish a separate internal security subcommittee, and transferred only seven of the Internal Security Committee staff to its payroll. Supporters of the Internal Security Committee sought to increase the operating budget of the Judiciary Committee by $300,000 in 1975, with the specification that the additional funds would be used to pay salaries of displaced Internal Security Committee staff. This proposal was defeated on March 21, 1975 by a vote of 169-206."[63]

Member Allowances

Origins and Development

Following World War II, Congress faced an increasingly complex workload as it dealt with substantial growth in demands for legislative responses to social issues, enhanced oversight of executive branch activities, and constituent requests for assistance in dealing with the federal bureaucracy. The growing complexity of administrative and legislative tasks placed on Congress following the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act pressured Congress to enhance its staff, infrastructure, and informational resources.

To meet the challenges posed by increasing congressional issues and areas of responsibility, the Committee on House Administration realized that it would be necessary to provide Members with additional resources. For many years, the Committee oversaw a system of multiple allowances dedicated to the various needs of congressional offices. These individual allowances, many of which preceded the establishment of the Committee, were adjusted, administered, and scrutinized separately. Today, Members are provided one official allowance to enable them to carry out their representational duties.

Committee's Role in the Development of Allowances

From 1947–1971, the Committee exercised its authority over allowances pursuant to its jurisdiction over House administrative matters generally as provided in the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act, and as further defined in the *Rules of the House of Representatives*. During this period, the Committee provided not only resources for Member office operations, but also imposed greater accountability standards on use of allowances, by exercising greater oversight of the practices and costs associated with allowances.

The Committee's role was formally recognized statutorily in 1971, when it was given authority to issue official orders setting and adjusting allowances.[64] During floor debate, supporters of this move argued that it would streamline the allowance process and eliminate the time spent by the House considering regular changes to each of the allowances. Opponents, however, including some Members of the Committee,

cautioned against allowing a portion of the House to make decisions that apply to and reflect upon all Members. The House modified the Committee's authority in 1976 to allow for adjustments in official Member allowances that reflected changes in costs of materials, services, office space, and the cost of living. Since then, the Committee has issued 42 orders affecting House allowances.

In carrying out its mandate over the regulation of allowances, the Committee currently determines the limits and structures of allowances and reviews formulas defining components of the office expense accounts, now known as Members' Representational Allowances (MRAs).[65] It also ensures compliance by Member offices with regulations governing allowances and reviews regulations on office expenditures. This role extends to drafting and reviewing regulations governing the purchase, lease, and use of House equipment; overseeing the processing of vouchers for expense reimbursements; reviewing House computer security measures; and overseeing information technology in all House offices.

Communication of Rules and Regulations for Use of the MRA and Its Predecessors. The Committee regularly adopted or communicated guidelines, procedures, announcements, and reminders to the House. These communications were issued in resolutions,[66] and "Dear Colleague" letters. Committee staff also devoted considerable attention to preparing and updating publications that explain the rules and regulations governing Members' allowances for official office operations. These rules and regulations are contained in the Committee's publication, *Members' Congressional Handbook*, which was most recently revised on December 16, 2011. Committee decisions and regulations also are contained in other Committee publications and on its website. Among those publications are *Committee Handbook, Model Employee Handbook, Telecommuting Resources, Shared Employee Manual,* and *Guide to Outfitting and Maintaining an Office of the U.S. House of Representatives*.[67] The documents follow earlier guidelines, including *Regulations and Accounting Procedures for Allowances and Expenses of Committees, Members and Employees* and Committee Orders and directives.[68]

In addition to House-wide efforts, the Committee may provide oral or written responses to requests for assistance from individual Members, committees, and congressional staff. These inquiries cover a broad range of issues, such as administration of their allowances, regulations related to employment, authority and uses of congressional mailings, limitations on printing of congressional papers and documents, and scope of services provided by House service units.

Enhancing Flexibility While Ensuring Accountability

While working to ensure accountability for the use of House funds, the Committee has also recognized the desire of Members to organize, staff, and equip their offices according to their own assessment of the needs and circumstances of the districts from which they were elected. This led to a transformation from a system in which Members received separate allowances for each category of goods and services to one in which Members receive one allowance for all types of purchases.

First Major Consolidation of Allowances, 1976–1994. On June 28, 1976, the Committee issued Committee Order No. 30 providing for the transferability of Member allowances. Under the Order, which had the full force of law, Members were permitted to transfer funds among the allowances for constituent communication, stationery, equipment lease, postage, travel, telephone and telegraph, district office rental, and computer service. Certain allowances were limited to a maximum transfer amount, including travel, telephone and telegraph, and district office rental allowances. Each Member was authorized to transfer up to $12,000 from his or her clerk hire allowance for computer services and up to $3,000 per session for office equipment leasing, each per regular session of Congress.[69]

In 1977, in a continuing effort to give Members additional flexibility in their use of office funds, the Committee agreed to allow Members to transfer office funds among their allowances. The immediate catalyst for change was a wide variance in rental costs for district offices, which varied from $4 to $13.50 per square foot, often strapping Members required to pay the higher rates.[70] With the new authorization, Members were able to transfer among seven allowances:

constituent communications; official expenses outside Washington, DC; stationery; equipment leases; travel; telephones; and district office rental. Further, the Committee permitted Members to transfer up to $12,000 each congressional session from their staff allowance to their computer and related services allowance.[71]

The new flexibility was accompanied by restrictions to enhance accountability. For example, the Committee in 1977 prohibited the withdrawal of funds authorized for individual allowances for unspecified use by Members. Until then, Members were authorized to withdraw their airmail and special delivery stamp allowances in cash. After a number of allegations were made that some Members withdrew their allowances for personal use, the Committee issued a formal order reducing the airmail and special delivery stamp allowance to token $1 per session.[72] Similarly, Order No. 29, effective January 3, 1977, required each Member to itemize all expenses for which reimbursement was requested, and to file a list of those expenses with the Committee. Failure of a Member to provide an itemized list resulted in a Committee-placed limitation on cash withdrawals from allowances for travel, stationery, and official expenses outside Washington, DC, to a token $1 per session for each allowance.[73] New allowance guidelines prohibited reimbursement for expenses incurred in hiring staff, purchasing media time, and paying fees for education and training unrelated to official House activities. Prohibitions were also placed on certain purchases (including flowers, greetings cards, donations, and trophies), that some Members had previously charged to their official allowances.[74] The Committee also banned unofficial accounts and mandated that all official expenses, including those associated with mass mailings, be financed only through official, appropriated funds. This prohibition was included in H.Res. 287 (95th Congress), which amended House Rules and was agreed to on March 2, 1977.[75]

Effective January 3, 1978, two allowances representing a consolidation of existing allowances were made available to Members in discharging their official and representational duties. The Official Expenses Allowance and the Clerk Hire Allowance were made available from noon on January 3 of one year until immediately prior to noon on January 3 of the following year. Both allowances were to be used for expenses incurred in the United States, and its territories and possessions.

The Official Expenses Allowance was comprised of previously authorized individual allowances for travel, office equipment leases, district office leases, stationery, telecommunications, mass mailings, postage, computer services, and other official expenses. The Committee excluded certain items or classes of items from those payable from the allowance. These included: expenses related to hiring staff; certain items purchased from sources other than the House stationery store;[76] holiday greeting cards, flowers, and trophies; personal advertisements (other than meeting or appearance notices); donation of any type, except U.S. flags flown over the Capitol; dues or assessments to non-legislative support organizations;[77] educational expenses for courses of study, and information or training programs, unless the benefit accrued primarily to the House; purchases of radio and television time; and parking for Members in district offices, except when included as part of a lease.

The Clerk Hire Allowance was authorized for the employment of permanent, full-time staff and could not be used for employment of temporary or contact service personnel. Payments were prohibited from the clerk hire fund to employees who did not perform the services for which they received compensation.

In 1983, House Members were granted increased authority to transfer funds between allowances.[78] Transfers could be made in either direction between the Clerk Hire and Office Expense Allowances, and without a limit on the number of transfer requests a Member made in any year so long as they did not exceed $30,000.[79] The transfer authority was intended to give Members greater flexibility in determining their staffing or expense needs. Subsequent Committee Orders in 1985, 1990, and 1991 further expanded transfer authority.[80] In 1994, all House Members received a clerk hire allowance of $557,400. A Member could choose to pay their staff more than the standard clerk hire allowance would permit if they transferred funds from the expense allowance to increase the

staff salary pool. The overall effect was a reduction in the amount available to the Member to defray official expenses. In neither case was the total amount available to a Member in clerk hire and official expenses funds increased.

Second Major Consolidation of Allowances, 1995–present. Beginning in 1995, significant reforms were set in place to help Members save taxpayers money and improve the administration of constituent services. These adjustments included important changes in the use of the representational allowances and franked mail.

Recognizing Members' needs for greater flexibility in managing their office budgets, the Committee authorized a significant consolidation of the allowances used by Members to operate their offices in 1995. A new single allowance, the Members' Representational Allowance, replaced the former clerk hire allowance, the official expenses allowances, and the official mail allowance.[81] The Committee has the authority to

> . . . fix and adjust the amounts, terms, and conditions of, and other matters relating to the MRA (including all aspects of official mail) by reason of: 1. A change in the price of materials, services, or office space; 2. A technological change or other improvement in office equipment; or 3. An increase in rates of pay under the General Schedule, e.g., a comparability and/or locality wage adjustment.[82]

Subsequently, the FY1996 legislative branch appropriations bill reflected the merger of the three previously separate allowances into one. The bill combined the separate allowances for staff, official office expenses, and mail costs into a new appropriations heading, "Members' Representational Allowances" (MRA).[83] According to the House Appropriations Committee, the move simplified Members' accounting practices, minimized the need to reprogram funds to make up for shortfalls in funding, and allowed Members to more easily show savings achieved when they did not spend all of their allowance.[84]

Consolidation of accounts in the MRA has permitted Members to tailor office operations to fit their understanding of the needs of their districts and operate their offices like individual businesses. Each Member can determine the relative importance placed on expenses like travel, staff, and equipment within the overall office budget. The establishment of the MRA also allows Members to be more accountable to the taxpayers. The quarterly *Statement of Disbursements of the House* contains a detailed breakdown – both for the quarter and for the "year-to-date" – of how much each Member spends for staff, personnel benefits, franked mail, travel, rent, utilities, communications, printing and production, supplies and materials, equipment, and various other operational expenses.

In 2009, following increased interest in the MRA, then-Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi directed the Chief Administrative Officer to make future statements available on the website of the House of Representatives. The initial release, which was made available on November 30, 2009, contained information on spending for the quarter ending September 30, 2009. Subsequent Statements have also been made available online.

Budgetary responsibility has remained an important consideration, and since the establishment of the MRA, language in the annual appropriations acts has directed that unused allowances revert to the U.S. Treasury to pay down the national deficit.[85] Numerous bills which would require amounts remaining in the MRA to be used for deficit reduction or to reduce the federal debt were also referred to the Committee on House Administration.

In the 112th Congress, the House agreed to H. Res. 22, which reduced the amount authorized for salaries and expenses of Member, committee, and leadership offices in 2011 and 2012. This resolution, agreed to on January 6, 2011, stated that the MRA allowances for these years may not exceed 95 percent of the amount established for 2010. The FY2011 and FY2012 appropriations acts (P.L. 112-10 and P.L. 112-74) also reduced the appropriation.

Additional Types of Early Allowances

Allowances provided prior to the establishment of the MRA for telephones, stationery, and equipment are discussed

below. Actions related to staffing, office space, travel, and franking are discussed further in subsequent sections.

Regulation of Payments for Members' Funeral Expenses. On July 12, 1949, the Subcommittee on Accounts adopted the first detailed regulations governing payments from the House contingent fund to Members attending the funeral service of a Member.[86] Also in 1949, payments covered reimbursements to Members for travel, lodging, and food expenses, and were made subject to Committee approval.[87] During the 84th Congress (1955–1956), the Committee was given responsibility for drafting regulations, for the first time, on use of the contingent fund to defray funeral expenses of Members who died while in office.[88]

Providing Deductions for Washington, DC Living Expenses. Recognizing the financial burden placed on most Members to maintain a second residence in Washington, DC, the Committee in 1954 supported an effort, approved by the House, to provide, for the first time, a living expense deduction to Members while in Washington.[89]

Authorization of a Formal Constituent Communications Allowance. Effective June 1, 1975, the Committee began providing each Member with a constituent communication allowance. This allowance was equivalent to the fair market value of printing and production costs of two standard 11x17 inch congressional district-wide constituent mailings each year. Within this dollar amount, Members were authorized to send newsletters, questionnaires, and any other correspondence eligible to be mailed under the frank.[90]

Telephone Allowance. Among the first actions by the Committee with regard to Member allowances were the establishment in 1949 of an official telephone and telegraph allowance for each Member, development of procedures to be followed by Members in using the allowance, and making sure that reimbursements were made only for official business use.[91] Prior to July 1, 1949, there were no official regulations applicable to telephone use and Members were not provided individual allowances. This often led to an uneven distribution of funds to Members and created uncertainty with regard to limits on Members' use. The Committee's efforts were responsible for establishing the first authorization of an annual monetary allowance for long-distance telephone calls and telegrams, limited to strictly official business.[92]

The Committee continued to consider legislation amending the telephone allowances. The following Congress, the Committee reported H.Res. 218, which would increase the allowance, and H.R. 3939, which would establish a new method for regulating monthly charges.[93] The latter was enacted on May 29, 1951.[94] Another bill, H.R. 8499, which moved the allocation cycle from a fiscal year basis to one based on sessions of Congress, was reported on July 8, 1952, and enacted the same day.[95] In the 83rd Congress (1953–1954), the Committee reported H.R. 2330, which converted the monthly limits on telephone and telegraph services to an annual limit. This bill was enacted on March 10, 1953.[96] The Committee reported legislation with similar revisions and adjustments over the next few years, many of which were enacted into law.[97] It also considered telephone allowances for district offices. In order to meet communications expenses not covered by Members' allowances for telephone expenses in Washington, DC, for example, the Committee in 1967 established the first separate allowance for telephone and telegraph expenses incurred beyond the Capitol.[98]

The Committee was also responsible for responding to questions that arose regarding telephone usage. In 1960, for example, a Member questioned if he was legally required to pay the federal excise tax on official telephone calls that exceeded his allowance. In such cases, Members had been told to pay the tax from personal funds. The Committee turned for a ruling from the Comptroller General, who responded that an Internal Revenue Service order of June 20, 1947, specifically did not exempt Members from the tax.[99]

By 1971, the Committee's recognized role was to prescribe regulations governing payment of funds, on a quarterly basis, to pay for expenses of official long-distance telephone calls, telegrams, cablegrams, and radiograms made or sent by or on behalf of Members.[100] Under the Committee's direction, any unused portion of each quarterly allowance lapsed, and was no longer available. The following elements, not set in

law, also were deemed within the authority of the Committee: (1) definition of units;[101] (2) adjustment of the number of units permitted each Member; (3) adjustment of the number of units permitted Members elected for a portion of a term; (4) conditions under which a Member could accumulate units from session to session and term to term; (5) limits on accumulations; (6) uses of allowances; (7) time periods to which the allowances for telephone calls incurred outside Washington, DC, applied; (8) sums permissible under such allowances; and (9) procedures under which allowances were to be disbursed or allowed. The Committee issued a number of orders in the 1970s pursuant to this authority.[102] For example, effective January 3, 1975, the Committee allowed telephone and telegraph allowances to be transferred between Washington, DC, and district offices.[103]

The Committee also examined Member needs and opinions regarding telephone service, including service for district offices.[104] In 1988, for example, it established a Staff Task Force on District Office Communications, which sent a survey to each Member district office. The Committee's responsibilities expanded with the availability of new technology. In April 1991, a staff task force began developing guidelines for cellular telephone service for members. A month later, the full committee continued consideration.[105] On January 22, 1992, the Committee announced its approval of an audix voice mail system for Members' offices.[106]

Stationery Allowance. In an effort to address questions on proper use of the stationery allowance that arose in the 1950s, the Committee tightened use of the allowance. It required that the allowance of a Member serving only part of a term of office be prorated to reflect that Member's time in office.[107] Earlier in 1947, funds appropriated for Members' stationery allowances were required to be deposited in a House revolving fund,[108] and, in 1956, a prorated allowance was provided for Members elected for a portion of a term.[109] The allowance levels were adjusted in resolutions reported by the Committee which were adopted by the House and in legislative branch appropriations acts.[110] To meet increasing requests for the services of the House printing clerks, the Committee in 1958 began requiring that those costs be paid by Members from their stationery allowances. The Committee required Members to include in each purchase order the type of service requested and its expense, and to retain a copy for future audit. Any expenses exceeding the amount of money remaining in a Member's stationery allowance had to be paid from the Member's personal resources.[111] In the event of a Member's death or resignation, the remaining stationery allowance was paid to the Member, his or her spouse, or estate.[112]

To provide more flexibility to Members in their use of office funds, a resolution was reported by the Committee in 1963 and adopted by the House allowing Members to withdraw money from their stationery allowances to meet other office expenses.[113] For tax purposes, the Committee noted, withdrawn cash was considered income and taxable. Subsequent press accounts of alleged personal use of withdrawn funds by some Members led the Committee in 1977 to reduce the amount that could be withdrawn to a token amount of $1 per session of Congress.[114]

Office Equipment Allowance. In order to gain greater control over the selection and cost of office equipment available to Member offices, the Committee in 1951 established a limit on the value of equipment in use at any one time. This action was one of the first steps taken by the Committee to adequately evaluate available office equipment and address current and anticipated needs.[115]

Standardization, Limitation, and Control of Office Equipment Used in the House. Since there were no limitations on the types of electrical and mechanical equipment authorized for purchase by the House prior to 1953, the Committee undertook an inventory of equipment early that year. An inventory found 1,000 items of equipment, divided into 100 types.[116] In order to standardize inventory held by the House for assignment to Member offices, the Committee reported H.J. Res. 206, which limited the purchase of equipment to five general categories, based on federal and private sector equipment standards.[117] The legislation was enacted on March 25, 1953.[118] In its report, the Committee stated that standardization limited

the amount of new equipment that needed to be purchased and minimized the accumulation of further surplus inventory. Subsequently, the Committee required reassignment of equipment transferred from the offices of outgoing members. Both actions ultimately resulted in significant cost savings through more efficient equipment management.[119]

In 1954, the Committee acted to control the rising cost of office equipment by setting limits on the cost of such purchases, and specifying the types of equipment that could be bought. Members were not permitted to have more than two addressing machines, automatic typewriters, electric typewriters, dictating and transcribing machines, and duplication machines. Additional legislation limiting or regulating equipment sponsored by the Committee in subsequent years was enacted into law.[120] The following year, the Committee established a Special Subcommittee on Office Equipment to ensure greater oversight of office equipment demands and improve administration of the equipment program. In 1957, the name of the Subcommittee was changed to the Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment.[121]

In another effort to keep office equipment costs down, the Committee in 1956 proposed a method for computing the value of office equipment. Determination of equipment value was based on purchase price less depreciation over an estimated ten-year useful life, at 10% per annum of book value.[122] Early in 1959, Committee Chairman Omar Burleson requested the U.S. Comptroller General to conduct an audit of the records and administrative procedures used by the Clerk of the House regarding House property. The audit report, issued October 20, 1960, recommended improvements in accountability by requiring the Committee, along with the Clerk of the House, to prepare a manual of accounting procedures and conduct an inventory of furniture and equipment at the end of each session of Congress.[123]

Move Toward Flexibility in Acquisition of Office Equipment. While ensuring appropriate controls of House property and funds, the Committee also sought to maximize the ability of Members to organize and equip their own offices. In 1969, the Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment, in an effort to enhance administration of the House office equipment program, made recommendations which included major adjustments in the office equipment allowance. Adopted by the full Committee, these changes: (1) consolidated equipment purchases and equipment loans under two monetary allowances, one for Members, and the second for committees;[124] (2) established a maximum value of equipment provided to Members; and (3) limited the value of each item to its initial purchase cost, less depreciation. If Members exceeded their maximum authorized limits, as determined by the Committee, the House Clerk was required to notify them that they could only keep the equipment if it was paid for from personal funds or agreed in writing that title to such equipment remain with the House.[125]

In 1969, the Committee reported H.R. 13949 (91st Congress). This bill, which was enacted on December 5, 1969, amended the types and categories of office equipment established in law in 1953. The new legislation gave the Committee authority to determine types and categories of equipment that would be provided, to issue regulations governing the use of equipment, and to establish the total value of equipment, allowing for depreciation.[126] In order to expand options for equipment selection and save money on purchases, the Committee in 1971 authorized a lease program for electrical and mechanical equipment in a Member's Washington, DC office.[127]

The Committee also provided Members with more flexibility in using office funds to purchase equipment. Knowing that many Members did not use all the clerk hire funds allocated to them and faced an increased need for new equipment, the Committee adopted an order, late in 1973, granting Members authority to use their unspent clerk hire funds, subject to a dollar cap, to lease additional office equipment for their Washington, DC offices.[128] Two years later, in response to Member requests for additional computer assistance, the Committee in 1975 authorized the use of unspent clerk hire funds to pay for computer services. This in effect established what became known as the first allowance for computers.[129]

Establishment of District Office Furnishings Guidelines and Control. Prior to August 11, 1967, the General Services Administration (GSA) provided district office furnishings and equipment on an informal basis from a limited supply list. Due to inconsistencies in the distribution of supplies and minimal accountability of their use, the Committee sought to put in place procedures guaranteeing uniformity and accountability. Taking the lead, and working with GSA, the Committee prepared formal guidelines to be followed in furnishing district offices.[130] Among them were placement of monetary limits on the value of equipment and furnishings, expansion of the definition of equipment to include furniture, and requirement that GSA purchase equipment and furnishings from federal government sources. The Committee continued to prohibit reimbursements for staff purchases, disallow furnishing of a non-government space, and authorize the use of equipment and furnishings in two district offices.

The Committee also sought to ensure accountability and control over equipment that extended across the country. Committee staff, along with staff from the General Services Administration (GSA), in 1982, for example, conducted extensive field visits to audit furnishings in Member's district offices. These audits were held in conjunction with pending revisions to a GSA order specifying regulations for such furnishings. The Committee periodically revised guidelines related to district office furnishings. New guidelines were announced, for example, in a January 5, 1988 "Dear Colleague" to all Members.[131]

Revision of Guidelines Regarding Members' Liabilities for Missing Equipment. On July 27, 1981, the Committee issued an exhaustive revision and expansion of guidelines for handling cases of missing equipment and Members' liabilities for outstanding obligations.[132] Under the procedures each Member was personally responsible for payments of expenses incurred in support of official and representational duties, which exceeded his or her authorized allowances. Among the tightened rules, Members were required to prove in their requests for payments that they exercised "reasonable diligence" in ensuring the protection and care of issued equipment.

Continued Support, Monitoring and Coordination. The Committee continued to support Members' equipment acquisitions needs by organizing equipment fairs, discussing policy recommendations and guidelines, monitoring vendors on the House approved list, and hearing.[133]

House Personnel

Origins and Development

The House of Representatives determines its own staffing policies and compensation levels in accordance with applicable law.[134] Ensuring sufficient and effective assistance for Members and committees to carry out their congressional responsibilities has been a key internal concern for over a century. The level of assistance for committees in the House has changed dramatically since the mid-1800s, when the most influential committees first requested professional staff.[135] Individual Members did not receive an allowance for assistance in their personal offices until 1893.

Role of Committee

The Committee on House Administration has been active in employment issues since its creation. Its work in this area has routinely required it to weigh a variety of factors. What is the proper balance between providing adequate resources to meet Members' needs while remaining aware of the costs to taxpayers? How should the Committee ensure the independence of Members and chairmen to retain the staff of their choosing while establishing certain basic ground rules? What actions are necessary to maintain the appropriate balance between the pay of House staff and that of the Senate, the executive and the private sector? The Committee's efforts to answer these and other questions have helped to increase the efficiency and professionalization of the House work force, and it currently oversees a much different employment structure than it initially found.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 represented the first major attempt to adequately staff all standing committees. While the act did not, contrary to calls from some contemporary observers, adjust clerk-hire allowances for

Members, it indirectly influenced this area by establishing the Committee on House Administration and according it jurisdiction over staffing matters. Evaluating the reform five years after its enactment, congressional observer George Galloway stated that "more and better staff aids for members and committees of Congress were a major objective of the Act, and much progress in the staffing of Congress has been achieved."[136] More recently, Roger Davidson, a long-time student of Congress, has written that the staffing "innovations, which have proved critical in helping Congress meet contemporary legislative challenges, are perhaps the most notable legacy of the 1946 act."[137] The Committee on House Administration has had a significant role in implementing this and other reforms and ensuring this progress.

The act authorized four professional and six clerical staff for each committee. The Appropriations Committees could set their own levels. Although the act was silent on staffing for Members, they were permitted five staff pursuant to earlier regulations.[138] The growth in the number of congressional employees after 1946 prompted studies seeking to explain the increase in staff, as well as their role and influence.[139] Among the reasons cited for the expansion was Congress' desire to develop its own source of professional expertise to assist it in its oversight duties and allow it to avoid excessive dependence upon the executive branch for information. Larger legislative and constituency workloads, the increasing complexity of legislation in the post-war era, and various attempts to ensure adequate minority and subcommittee staffing have also been cited as contributing factors to the increase. Additional space available in the Rayburn and Ford House Office Buildings, which joined the Cannon and Longworth Buildings in 1965 and 1975, respectively, also allowed the House to expand its staff capacity.

Like many other areas of internal congressional operations, staffing procedures after the 1946 Reorganization Act were significantly altered by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974, and periodic rules changes, as well as changes stipulated in resolutions and annual appropriations measures. Throughout these changes, the Committee on House Administration has maintained jurisdiction over internal employment issues under the House Rules,[140] monitoring the application of these current laws and proving an active voice during the many reforms.

While Members and committees retain significant flexibility with respect to their own employment practices, they must conform to certain guidelines and limitations established by the Committee, the House, and applicable laws. The Committee considers issues pertaining to (1) terms and conditions of employment, (2) appropriate number of staff as well as Member and committee salary allowances and (3) retention, which has been a concern of the Committee for all categories of employees. The Committee has repeatedly shown interest in the turnover of House employees, as well as in comparing the compensation and benefits offered by the House to those in the Senate, the executive branch, and the private sector.

Chamber Employment: Policies and Procedures

Some of the actions taken by the Committee in the area of employment apply to all House staff, while others may apply only to staff of Members, committees, or officers. As demonstrated below, however, the Committee fulfills a similar educational role and position within the legislative process for these groups. Additionally, while the employing authorities are given significant discretion in determining who to hire and in setting compensation, they are constrained by similar laws and internal policies that fall under the oversight of this Committee.

Relationship With Committee on Appropriations. Although committee chairs continue to have discretion in organizing and managing their own offices, the Committee maintains the legislative jurisdiction and ability to regulate the formulas and guidelines that govern the employment of staff.

The Committee shares its responsibility in this area with the Committee on Appropriations, which reports the annual appropriations measure funding the legislative branch. The two entities, however, consider the authorizing and appropriations levels for different time-frames. While the Appropriations Committee funds the committee and staff salaries for each fiscal year, the Committee on House Administration

recommends the biennial funding level for each committee (except Appropriations) in a resolution early each Congress. Funds for personnel in Members' offices, which are provided for in the Members' Representational Allowance, are announced by the Committee for each calendar year.

Members' Congressional Handbook and Committee Handbook. In addition to formulating the policies and procedures governing the internal operations of the House, the Committee works to educate and assist both employing offices and staff on their rights and duties. It currently achieves this through the issuance of "Dear Colleague" letters, answering individual questions with the assistance of its expert staff, and by frequently reviewing and revising the *Members' Congressional Handbook* and the *Committee Handbook.*

The Committee has produced these publications and their predecessors for many years. In 1965, as part of the continuing effort to strengthen and institutionalize the administration of the House, the committee published: *The Committee on House Administration: Policies, Precedents and Procedures Including Related Statistical Information, January 1947–January 1966* as a committee print. The print specified numerous rules and regulations promulgated by the Committee in carrying out its responsibilities, precedents and legislation which defined the Committee's authority or policies and procedures governing the broad spectrum of matters within its jurisdiction.[141] This publication was followed by: *Regulations and Accounting Procedures for Allowances and Expenses of Committees, Members, and Employees* which was issued by the committee in 1970.[142] These were initially reprinted in the biennial Report on Activities of the Committee on House Administration the Committee was required to produce beginning with the 94th Congress.[143]

Associate and Shared Staff. Associate and shared employees are either designated by a Member to assist in his or her committee work or are employed by multiple employing authorities. This may include, for example, staffers who are paid partly from committee funds and partly from the representational allowance of one of the committee Members. Regulations issued by the Committee on House Administration stipulate that the pay received by a shared employee from the different authorities should reflect the respective work performed and require the employee to count against each committee's staff ceiling. These employees are exempt from the requirement in the Rules that committee employees not be assigned any duties other than those pertaining to committee business, although the Committee on House Administration has authority to review the use of any "associate" or "shared" staff by any committee other than the Committee on Appropriations.

The Committee has issued additional regulations pertaining to shared employees. For example, during the 104th Congress (1995–1996), the Committee adopted regulations concerning the operation of Congressional Member Organizations (CMO), communicating them through the distribution of a "Dear Colleague" letter on February 10, 1995. The communication notes that "two or more Members may aggregate clerk hire resources to fund one or more staff positions to perform research and other duties in support," but a CMO itself cannot be a hiring authority.[144]

During the 110th Congress, the Committee examined the use of shared staff by House offices. At a hearing on May 21, 2008, the Committee heard from James J. Cornell, Inspector General of the House of Representatives, who presented his findings following an investigation. In addition to citing disparities in use of shared employees, the Inspector General report (08-CAO-07), provided recommendations to address questions of inadequate oversight, ensure compliance with current laws and House rules, and provide for appropriate separation of duties. On July 30, 2008, the Committee adopted Resolution 110-7, requiring any House employee employed by three or more offices to (1) inform each office in writing of any changes in employment status with other employing authorities, (2) acknowledge receipt of a shared employee manual and certify compliance, and (3) file an annual financial disclosure statement. Additionally, the resolution states that House employees may not, through outside business activities, sell, lease, or provide goods to the House.

Employment and Benefits for Veterans and Military Liaisons. The Committee has considered legislation and

initiatives specifically concerning veterans and the military community on Capitol hill. The Committee supported the CAO's efforts related to the "Wounded Warrior Fellowship Program." This program, which was established in the 110th Congress, provides two-year employment opportunities in the House for wounded or disabled veterans.

The Committee has also examined salary implications for House staff called to active duty. It reported a bill, H.R. 1679, on April 22, 2009, that would provide payments to House employees who are involuntarily called into active military duty equivalent to the difference between the employee's military salary and the employee's House salary prior to activation. The legislation was agreed to in the House by a vote of 423-0 on April 22, 2009, but no further action was taken in the Senate.

The Committee also worked to provide active duty members of the Armed Forces assigned to a congressional liaison office access to the House staff fitness facility. In the 110th Congress, the Committee passed a resolution granting this access. In the next Congress, the Committee worked to make that language permanent, reported H.R. 1752 and H.R. 5682.[145] The latter bill was enacted (P.L. 111-248) on September 30, 2010.

Interns. The House has benefitted from the assistance of countless paid and unpaid interns. The Committee has been charged with establishing regulations governing the employment of these individuals. It also considered the first successful resolution formalizing an internship program. This legislation, H.Res. 416 of the 89th Congress (1965–1966), allowed each Member to hire one employee known as a "student congressional intern" for no longer than two and a half months at a rate not to exceed $300 per month.[146] Funds for the interns were provided in addition to the regular clerk-hire allowance. The student intern was required to submit a certificate of study to the Clerk, but the Committee was given authority to determine additional regulations.

During the 93rd Congress (1973–1974), the Committee reported a resolution, later adopted by the House and then enacted into permanent law, repealing the earlier action and establishing the Lyndon B. Johnson (L.B.J.) Congressional Intern Program for students or secondary school teachers.[147] The program authorized each office to hire one such intern for up to two months in any year and increased the amount then available to each office for intern salaries to $1,000. It also eliminated the restriction of hosting paid interns only during the summer months. Rather, it allowed for only one such intern at a time and no more than two in a year. The maximum allowance was frequently raised under the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970, until the program was temporarily suspended in 1986 due to the Gramm-Rudman sequestration. In a "Dear Colleague" letter issued on November 18, 1986, the Committee announced that it would be reinstated the following year. It was suspended again a few years later as part of an effort to decrease the number of House personnel.[148]

In addition to the legislation dealing with the L.B.J. program, the Committee has received resolutions proposing paid internships for foreign students, veterans, and seniors. During the 95th Congress (1977–1978), the Subcommittee on Accounts, for example, heard testimony in support of the senior citizen internship program, which had been informally operated by various Members since 1973.[149] No further legislative action, however, was taken by the House although the program continued to operate for many years.[150]

The Committee has also considered legislation that would establish a congressional clerkship program that would bring up to 12 recent law graduates to Congress for one-year terms. The graduates would be split equally among the House and Senate and majority and minority offices, with the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and the Committee on House Administration serving as the selection committee, and receive compensation and benefits comparable to judicial clerks for the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. The Committee marked up bills in the 110th and 111th Congresses (H.R.6475 and H.R. 151, respectively), which were passed by the House. Both bills were referred to committee in the Senate, where companion legislation had been introduced (S. 3533 and S. 27) but no further action was taken. Chairman Lungren introduced another bill to establish this program in the 112th Congress (H.R. 1374).

An internship program for individuals with intellectual disabilities was established by Representative Gregg Harper, a member of the Committee, in the spring of 2010. The program, which the Committee administers, pairs congressional offices with students from George Mason University's Mason LIFE Program--a postsecondary education program for young adults with intellectual disabilities. The program began as a pilot with six House offices participating, grew to 20 offices by spring 2011, with 44 participating offices by December 2011.[151] As of 2012, over 52 Congressional offices from both the House and Senate had participated in the program.

The Committee has also examined the relationship of paid interns to office staffing ceilings as well as the provision of employment benefits. H.Res. 359, which was reported by the Committee on July 19, 1979 (96th Congress) and agreed to in the House the following day, exempted up to four interns, part-time, temporary, or shared employees, and employees on leave without pay, from counting toward the limitation on Members from employing in excess of 18 permanent clerks.[152] The resolution also stipulated that an intern could not be compensated for more than 120 days per year and is not eligible for employment benefits like health and life insurance. Subsequent regulations emphasized that the intern program is primarily for the educational experience of the individual.[153]

Members and committees currently hire and compensate interns at their discretion and from their regular funds. The Committee continues to assist interns by providing them with information on various opportunities. For many years, the Committee has helped enrich their educational experience by cosponsoring the summer Congressional Intern Lecture Series with the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. The Committee works with its Senate counterpart to arrange discussions with influential and informative speakers and publicizes the events within the House through the issuance of "Dear Colleague" letters and the intern webpage.

Basic vs. Gross Salary. Upon its inception, the Committee inherited a basic pay system that was established in 1945 and governed House employee pay for the next 25 years. This system initially required compensation rates to be in multiples of five dollars. Through a formula which grew increasingly complex over intervening years, this basic amount was converted into an actual dollar amount for each employee by considering increases authorized in subsequent applicable pay acts. The per Member increases proposed in resolutions reported by the Committee also reflected basic rates. This resulted in frequent discussion and confusion in the Committee and on the floor as Members tried to assess actual employment costs and the impact of various allowance adjustments.

For example, John Kyl of Iowa, a member of the Committee, objected to the 1961 allowance increase of $3,000 per Member because of costs both hidden and apparent. In remarks on the House floor, Kyl stated that "no Member of this House can tell us what this means in gross salary. That computation is almost impossible. Such a completely absurd system has developed through the years on salary computations for clerical hire that we have under discussion a mathematical monstrosity."[154]

The complexity of the procedure was again evident when the Subcommittee on Accounts considered a proposal to increase the number of allowable clerks but not funds a few years later. Omar Burleson, Chairman of the full Committee, pointed out that despite the premise, "there will be additional costs in the operation of it unless we do change these multiples of hire," before adding "how anybody has room for more employees, I don't know."[155] The Subcommittee then discussed the desirability of using multiples of 60, 120, 180 and 188. Some Members questioned the utility of the base method, with William Dickinson of Alabama noting the simplicity in a gross salary system. Samuel Devine of Ohio took his assessment of the base system a step further, stating "we can submerge the true salary from the Press and they can put it in any way. It is subterfuge, I think."[156]

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 eliminated the base system and required all employees in the House to be paid a single gross per annum salary.[157] The provision was included through an amendment on the House floor

on September 16 after some discussion of the Committee's previous actions in this area.[158] The legislation also required clerk hire allowances to be expressed in gross terms, although the corresponding section of the Code was repealed when other payroll administration reforms were adopted in 1996.[159]

Pay Ceilings. The Committee has also monitored the limits on the compensation of House employees. Legislation considered during the earlier years of the Committee specifically noted some limitations. For example, the clerk-hire adjustment adopted in 1964 specified that "no person shall be paid from such clerk hire allowance at a basic rate in excess of $7,500 per annum, and not more than one person shall be paid" at that rate at a given time.[160] In 1977, the Committee used its authority to adjust the conditions of allowances to "tie the maximum annual rate of compensation which may be paid from the clerk-hire allowance to the Executive Schedule, and . . . reestablish the previously existing parity between the maximum which may be paid a committee employee, and the maximum which may be paid a clerk-hire employee."[161] The maximum rate of pay was equal to level five of the Executive Schedule, which is the lowest-salaried of the executive levels and frequently includes directors and administrators of federal agency units. Ten years later, the FY1988 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act gave the Speaker the authority to set maximum and minimum rates of pay for employees of committees, Members, and officers. The Speaker has since issued these rates in the Orders of the Speaker of the House of Representatives.[162]

Salary Adjustments. Pay raises for committee and personal employees have been governed by the determination of the employing Member or committee in accordance with a series of pay acts and determinations by the Committee. The pay legislation includes, for example, the Legislative Pay Act of 1929 (which preceded the Committee), the Federal Legislative Salary Act of 1964, the Federal Salary Act of 1967 and the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970. The Committee has often responded to these acts by reporting resolutions or providing other adjustments to bring staff salary allowances into line with pay adjustments required by the laws or in an effort to maintain pay parity with the executive branch. As with other areas of employment, the Committee has sought a balance between the need for fiscal responsibility and accountability, incentives for staff retention, and the promotion of maximum flexibility for Members and committees.

During its history, the Committee has monitored the funds required for these committee staff compensation increases. It held a hearing on August 11, 1964 on a resolution authorizing the expenditure from the contingent fund of up to $242,549.62 to pay the increase in salaries authorized by the Federal Legislative Salary Act of 1964 for the investigative staff. The Committee reported the bill, and Samuel Friedel of Maryland explained its purpose to his colleagues in an August 14, speech stating that "under the last Federal Pay Raise Act all of the staff members of all of the committee[s] were given an automatic increase. This resolution is necessary in order to grant these committees the necessary funds with which to complete their work for the balance of the year."[163] The resolution was subsequently agreed to.

Similar efforts were made with regard to the provision of the annual clerk-hire allowance for Members. When issuing an order setting this authorization effective January 3, 1977, the Committee noted that the amount "may be adjusted by the Committee on House Administration subsequent to the adoption of this order to reflect any adjustment to federal salary levels that occur under the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1971."[164]

As one more recent report, which accompanied the funding resolution for the 108th Congress, demonstrates, the Committee considers yearly increases in the executive branch and the Senate when recommending the authorization of various funds:

> Managed properly by committee chairmen and their ranking minority members, we are confident that the proposed 9.4 percent increase will provide almost all House committees adequate resources over the next two years to match the 4.1 percent pay increase that President Bush has provided to federal employees in the Executive Branch under the

> Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1990, a decision that the U.S. Senate quickly followed with respect to its committee staff compensation policies . . . To prevent these public service professionals from flocking to the Senate, executive branch, or private sector—where the skills are highly sought-after and handsomely remunerated—and causing a concomitant 'brain-drain' in the House of Representatives, committees must have the resources to compete in the marketplace for talent and expertise. We are pleased to see that the resolution provides resources to at least keep pace with Executive Branch and the Senate.[165]

The Committee has also overseen the efforts of the House officers in this area. The Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970, as amended, requires the Chief Administrative Officer of the House of Representatives (CAO) to determine the respective amounts of pay adjustments that correspond to any increases in pay adjustments made by the President under section 5303 of title 5. The CAO transmits to the various pay-fixing authorities a copy of his calculations for their review and determination.[166]

Gratuity Payments. Like Members' heirs, survivors of deceased employees of the House may receive gratuity gifts.[167] These payments were handled through individual resolutions until the early 1950s. On July 17, 1953, the Committee favorably reported a resolution, agreed to in the House the same day, authorizing the Clerk, who then served as the disbursing authority, to provide for the gratuity during any recess or adjournment during the first session of the 83rd Congress (1953–1954).[168] The following year, the legislative branch appropriations act authorized the Clerk to pay a gratuity to the employee's heirs equal to "one month's salary for each year or part of year of the first six years service of such employee plus one-half of one month's salary for each year or part of year of such service in excess of six years to and including the eighteenth year of such service."[169] During the 104th Congress (1995–1996), the disbursement of payments to the heirs of House employees was transferred to the Chief Administrative Officer. Additionally, unlike other funds for House employees, these gratuity payments are provided for in the allowances and expenses section of the annual legislative branch appropriations bills.

The Committee has provided continuous oversight of these gifts, holding hearings on a variety of topics associated with their disbursement. These include a 1957 hearing on the payment due the heirs of Edward Joseph Marshall, a food service employee, when the Committee weighed in on the question as to whether or not the gratuity can be divided and reviewed the process for designating an heir or heirs.

The Committee also examined the distribution of gratuities to employees of the Architect of the Capitol (AOC). The 1954 legislation did not authorize payments for those employees based in the House, the Committee was told by Executive Assistant to the Architect Philip L. Roof and King Milner, the Chief of Personnel and Payroll Division of the AOC.[170] The Senate, these witnesses testified, routinely authorized such payments through specific resolutions for the heirs of deceased AOC employees that had served their chamber. The Committee held a number of hearings on the disparity in the early 1960s, evaluating this in the context of other issues relating to differential treatment of staff as well as additional personnel requests. After considering the proposals to create a uniform procedure in a hearing on June 11, 1963, the Committee reported H.Res. 291 (88th Congress), which established a gratuity system under the regulation of the Committee. The report indicated that the Committee believed that these employees "should have the same rights and privileges granted House employees accorded their fellow employees assigned to duty in the U.S. Senate."[171] Both the hearing and the report addressed the requirement that gratuities only be paid to the heirs of employees who served at least six years. The resolution was agreed to by the House on June 18 and was made permanent the following year in a provision included in the legislative branch appropriations act.[172]

Oversight of Payroll System and Guidelines. The Committee has worked to establish regulations that would simplify the rolls of the House and avail its employees of

certain automatic payroll deduction programs and benefits. On October 19, 1966, for example, Wayne Hays of Ohio announced on the floor that the Committee had unanimously passed a motion aimed at stemming the flow of people in and out of House employment. The motion directed that employees should not be placed on the payroll for less than one month and prevented any employee terminated in less than one month from being re-employed by the same Member or committee for six months. Hays explained that such a directive was necessary to resolve the practice of some offices of enrolling employees for only a day or two, which had "caused an impossible situation in the Clerk's office with regard to writing payroll checks."[173] The Committee continued to include this stipulation in many of its successive publications on allowance and other regulations.[174]

A few years later, the Subcommittee on Accounts worked to permit House employees to contribute to charitable organizations in coordination with the Combined Federal Campaign, reporting a resolution that was agreed to in the House on August 5, 1977.[175] More recently, the Committee announced in a "Dear Colleague" letter that employees of the House would be eligible to participate in the Federal Flexible Spending Accounts Program effective April 1, 2005.[176] This program allows employees to use pre-tax dollars for health and dependent care costs.

The Committee has overseen the disbursement of pay for House employees through its review of the House officers and coordination with the Committee on Appropriations. The Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) is currently responsible for the processing of the payroll and other vouchers, a responsibility transferred from the Clerk of the House in 1995. The Committee has overseen the work of the CAO, for example, by approving of the purchase of a new staff payroll system in 2001 and monitoring its implementation. The Committee also evaluated recommendations from the House Inspector General to the CAO to increase the reliability in the payroll system and reduce or eliminate errors.[177]

In recent years, the Committee has also examined the desirability of altering the pay periods of House employees, who are paid once per month. In 2001, the Committee requested the Committee on Appropriations incorporate a provision altering the statute addressing the pay day for House employees in the fiscal year 2002 legislative branch appropriations bill.[178] In the 110th Congress, the Committee reported H.R. 5493, which would grant the Committee authority to establish regulations regarding the day for paying salaries. The House and Senate both passed the bill, although they did not reconcile their differences. The Committee again considered a bill to grant this authority in the 111th Congress, reporting H.R. 1752 on June 19, 2009. The House, however, failed to pass this bill under the 2/3 vote required under suspension of the rules, on July 30, 2009.

The 110th Congress also examined ways to provide employees with electronic pay receipts. H.Res. 1207, which was introduced by Representative Virginia Foxx of North Carolina on May 16, 2008, directs the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) of the House of Representatives to provide individuals whose pay is disbursed electronically by the CAO with the option of receiving receipts of pay and withholdings electronically. The resolution was referred to the Committee on House Administration, which amended and reported it on July 30, 2008. The resolution is similar to H.R. 6073, which would require the Office of Personnel Management to ensure that all executive branch employees have the option of receiving pay stubs electronically. That bill, which was also introduced by Representative Foxx, was reported by the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on July 16, 2008. H.Res. 1207 was adopted by the House on September 11, while H.R. 6073 was enacted as P.L. 110-423 on October 15, 2008.

Provisions related to the performance of duties, division of salaries, and subletting of duties. For many years, the House maintained an official requirement that employees "only be assigned to and engaged upon the duties of the positions to which they are appointed and for which compensation is provided," as well as a prohibition on the division of salaries or subletting of duties by any employee of the House.[179] These regulations preceded the creation of the Committee on House Administration, being adopted simultaneously on March 3, 1901, with the passage of the legislative, executive, and judicial act.

The action came about during a period of intense allegations in the press of inappropriate employment practices in the House.[180] A special committee was appointed to investigate these claims pursuant to H.Res. 429, which was agreed to in the House on February, 23, 1901. Due to the impending close of the session, which was scheduled for March 3, the resolution required this special committee to make a report within six days of its appointment. It heard testimony from February 25 through 27 and examined conditions pertaining to 357 employees, including clerks and messengers to committees, but excluding Members' clerks. The subsequent report noted that while many of these employees were technically working for House Officers, the Officers had little voice in their selection, which instead owed more to the recommendation and continued support of various Members, largely from the majority party. The committee found instances of the wholesale transfer of employees from the duties to which they were appointed to other duties, the payment of compensation to employees while they were absent for extended periods or without excuse, and the division of salaries among employees.

The committee stated that the first irregularity resulted "in part, at least, from an attempt to adjust salaries so as to satisfy the members that their appointees obtain a just share of the whole appropriation, instead of attempting to apportion the compensation to the merits of the respective employees and the character of the services which they render."[181] The committee then went on to cite, for example, the case of an employee holding the place of the House telegrapher who never actually performed the duties of that position, instead serving in the stationary room and then the House library. It also found that employees were sometimes absent when their services were needed and suggested that overall recordkeeping in this area was lacking. Regarding the last charge, the committee found that more positions, or positions with higher salaries, were promised than were provided by law. Although unable to ascertain how this occurred, the special committee described a system "whereby the employees agreed to contribute greater or less portions of the salaries they received for the purpose either of paying persons not on the roll or of increasing the compensation of persons who were on the roll."[182]

Proposed remedies and recommendations of the special committee were then quickly incorporated into the pending legislative, executive, and judicial appropriations measure by the conferees after both chambers agreed to a resolution authorizing them to "include in their report such alterations, changes, and recommendations as they may deem proper" in this area.[183] The act became law on March 3, 1901. In addition to prohibitions on the division of salary or subletting of duties, the act called for monthly certifications by each officer of the House that the persons on their respective payrolls "have been actually present at their respective places of duty and have actually performed the services for which compensation is provided in said pay rolls" with any absence stated.[184] It also authorized the Committee on Accounts, a predecessor of the Committee on House Administration, to inquire into the enforcement of the law. The act also deemed violation of these provisions a cause for removal from office.

While some of the corresponding provisions in the *U.S. Code* were repealed in 1996, others remain or are covered in other sections, and the House Rule pertaining to the Code of Official Conduct continues to have a clause stipulating that a "Member, Delegate, Resident Commissioner, or officer of the House may not retain an employee who does not perform duties for the offices of the employing authority commensurate with the compensation he receives."[185] The Committee on House Administration, with authority under the Rules for matters pertaining to employment of persons by the House, could investigate or examine any issue in this area.

Nepotism. The hiring and promotion of certain federal employees, and allegations of conflicts of interest, has been a popular topic in the press for many decades. This was especially true prior to 1967, when a sweeping anti-nepotism law imposed restrictions on whom Members of Congress and other public officials could appoint to public positions.

Until the enactment of this reform, Members had near total discretion in choosing their own employees. Although the question of nepotism was not new, in the early 1950s, journalists attempted to uncover the number of Members of

the House employing relatives in their personal offices with official funds.[186] A series of resolutions aiming to prohibit such employment were soon introduced and referred to the Committee. These resolutions proposed such reforms as requiring Members to file with the Clerk a statement on each individual employed by them who was a relation or with whom they had business connections and the duties (including hours and location) of employees. The proposals also called for ensuring public access either in Washington, DC, or through public prints. The Subcommittee on Accounts examined the issue, holding hearings on April 27 and August 5, 1959. At the earlier hearing, Wayne Hays criticized the resolutions for not covering other entities, asking of sponsor John Henderson of Ohio, "you do not think that members of Congress are any worse at the business of putting relatives on the payroll than heads of corporations or heads of executive departments, do you?"[187] Hays also noted that the resolution did nothing to remedy employment practices in the Senate and executive branch, nor did it impose penalties on those who violated the prohibition or address other potential financial conflicts of interest.[188]

At the latter hearing, resolution sponsor and Committee member Robert Ashmore of South Carolina said that he did not necessarily criticize all Members who hired family and admitted that some of these staff worked hard. He did state, however, his opinion that "it is better to go ahead and reveal it all, there it is, and let the people determine whether or not they approve."[189] Questioning the propriety and cost of printing lists of employees when they were available in the disbursing office, and again defending the professional efforts of many of the employees in question, the Committee took no further action on these resolutions.

The public furor did not subside, and the following year Vance Trimble of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on the issue. Neal Smith of Iowa then began a multi-year effort to attach anti-nepotism language to various pieces of legislation. The Subcommittee on Accounts examined the issue in a hearing on May 19, 1965. During this hearing, the Subcommittee considered H.Res. 333, which proposed to prohibit compensation to any person employed by a Member if that person falls into one of seven specified categories of relation. John Ashbrook of Ohio, the sponsor of the legislation, indicated his belief that the move to prevent this employment is "not a question of competence. It is just a question of deteriorating public image of the Congress. This is one way that we can, in my humble opinion, indicate that we really have not the crows guarding the corn, that we really are interested in giving the taxpayer a fair shake."[190]

Discussion covered certain alleged abuses that tarnished the reputation of the Congress as well as the prevalence of nepotism in other areas of the government, although no further action was taken on this resolution. Press coverage by Trimble, Jack Anderson, and others continued until Smith finally succeeded in adding anti-nepotism language that would apply government-wide to the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967.[191] The language specified the numerous relations employing officials had to exclude when hiring staff. Provisions were made to permit those already employed, as well as any future employee who experiences a change in relational status to an employer, to remain in their positions. Excepted employees cannot, however, receive promotions.

The Committee currently includes provisions concerning the employment of relatives within the Members' and committee handbooks. The handbooks also indicate that every employee must certify his or her relationship to any Member of Congress on a special form available from Human Resources, while changes must be noted in amended forms. Further guidelines are included in the Rules of the House and the *House Ethics Manual*.[192]

Employment Standards: The Congressional Accountability Act. Bills to reform employment practices in the House periodically were introduced throughout the 1970s and 1980s. These were generally referred to the Committee on House Administration, although other committees also showed interested in this area, especially when the proposals contained broader internal changes or affected both the judicial and legislative branches. Aiming to improve the condition

of congressional employees or respond to calls for Congress to abide by the laws it created for the executive branch and private sector, many of these bills were not acted but did serve to further debate in this area. Occasionally paired with judicial employment reform, reform in Congress required a resolution to concerns about the separation of powers and the need to conform to the speech and debate clause of the Constitution, which grants Members of Congress immunity for their legislative acts.

The Rules for the 94th Congress included a clause providing that "a Member, officer, or employee of the House of Representatives shall not discharge or refuse to hire any individual, or otherwise discriminate against any individual with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin."[193] The 1977 Commission on Administrative Review, led by David Obey of Wisconsin included a recommendation for (1) a redesigned personnel office that could work to increase employment opportunities for women, minorities, the physically challenged, and the elderly and "report annually on progress toward relieving pay differentials between white males and women and minorities;" (2) expanded protection under the House Rules to include age and physical handicaps; (3) a grievance procedure for employees of the administrative offices; (4) the creation of a Fair Employment Practices panel comprised of Members; (5) authorization for the reimbursement of education and training expenses from the official allowances; and (6) provision for maternity and disability pay.[194]

The Rules were amended in the 100th Congress (1987–1988) to prohibit discrimination based on age. That Congress also saw significant action in the area of House employment by the Committee. The Subcommittee on Personnel and Police, which according to the Committee's activity report focused during that Congress on "developing basic civil rights protections for employees of the House of Representatives" instituted an "Adverse Action Review Procedures" adopted by the full Committee in March 1988. This procedure aimed to provide due process to employees of House officers who were terminated, suspended, or demoted. The review was to include a hearing with the officer, a written decision, and an appeals process. This procedure, however, did not silence all adverse publicity about wages and discrimination in the House, as well as the need for civil rights protection for House employees. More legislation on this topic, including H.R.4576, H.R.4821, H.R.5060, and H.Res.445 (100th Congress), was introduced and referred to the Committee.

On August 10, 1988, the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police, chaired by Leon Panetta of California, met to hear testimony on House personnel policies. Incorporating ideas from this and other discussions, H.Res. 558 was introduced by Representative Panetta on September 29, 1988, with the cosponsorship of the Majority and Minority Leaders, the Committee leadership, and other Members who had been active on the issue. On October 4, 1988, the House agreed to the resolution, which applied basic civil rights protection for House employees and established the Office of Fair Employment Practices to investigate allegations of discrimination. The employees of the office worked under the Clerk of the House, but were appointed by the chairman and ranking member of the Committee on House Administration. The measure also provided for a panel of eight individuals (including four from the Committee on House Administration) to review the decisions of the Fair Employment Office.[195] The House Rules were again amended the following Congress to incorporate anti-discrimination measures. The Subcommittee on Personnel and Police also created four staff positions within the Office of Fair Employment Practices.[196]

During the 102nd and 103rd Congress (1991–1994), several measures applying to Congress the same federal employment and labor laws that apply to private sector corporations and businesses were referred to the Committee and its Subcommittee on Personnel and Police as well as to the House Rules Committee.[197] Also included in some of the proposals was the establishment of an Office of Compliance within the Legislative Branch. The Committee held hearings on Congressional compliance on June 14 and 30, 1994. In July, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)

gave the full Committee a presentation on the application of OSHA provisions in the pending measures.[198] On July 28, 1994, the Committee marked up and favorably reported H.R. 4822 by a vote of 19-0.

The Committee filed a report on August 2.[199] Although the House passed H.R. 4822 on August 10, 1994 with a vote of 427 to 4, the measure was never considered on the Senate floor. On October 7, 1994, the House adopted H.Res. 578, amending House rules to include much of the language in the House-passed version of H.R. 4822. Final action would not come until the next Congress, when the Congressional Accountability Act was signed into law in January 1995.

Although the congressional accountability measure did not become law during this Congress, the Committee made significant contributions to the eventual Act through its views with respect to the enforcement functions of the proposed Office of Compliance. In its report, the Committee, citing separation of powers concerns, expressed strong views clearly rejecting the notion of, and arguments for, Executive Branch enforcement of these laws against the Legislative Branch. Specifically, the Committee noted its concern that "an Executive Branch provided with such enforcement powers might abuse them to the detriment of the Legislative Branch's independence and authority. The Legislative Branch must be free from Executive Branch intimidation—real or perceived—in the execution of its Constitutional role as a co-equal branch of the federal government."[200]

Another significant contribution were the Committee's views with respect to the exclusion of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)[201] and the Privacy Act[202] from among the laws the legislative branch would be required to comply with. Instead of including these laws among those that would apply to the Legislative Branch, the Committee adopted a provision that required the Office of Compliance to conduct a study to determine ways in which access to public information possessed by Congress could be improved.[203] While recognizing that more should be done to improve public access to legislative information, according to the Committee, FOIA:

> is not an employee protection or anti-discrimination law like the others to be applied by the Congressional Accountability Act. FOIA was designed specifically for the Executive Branch and may be a poor fit for the Legislative Branch because the Legislative Branch already makes a wide array of information available to the public and media. Lastly, the existing exemptions in FOIA ... if analogized to the Legislative Branch, would seem to exempt much of its operations—information in Member offices and information related to the "pre-decisional" (prior to enactment) phase of the legislative process, for instance. Much of this type of pre-decisional information is currently made public.[204]

Consideration and Passage of the Congressional Accountability Act. Introduced as separate measures in the Senate (S.2) and the House (H.R.1) on January 4, 1995, the resulting Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 (CAA) was the first measure signed into law during the 104th Congress.[205] The CAA originally applied eleven civil rights, labor, and workplace laws to employees of the legislative branch and establishes remedies and procedures for aggrieved employees in instances of violations of those laws.[206] In addition, the CAA also established an Office of Compliance within the legislative branch, which is headed by a five-member Board of Directors. Noting the quick congressional action that month, House sponsor Christopher Shays of Connecticut commended the previous Congress for its study, deliberation, committee hearings, and committee reports, and specifically mentioned the efforts of the Chairmen and Ranking Minority Members of the Committee on House Administration and the Rules Committee on H.R. 4822 (103rd Congress) in remarks on the House floor.[207]

The Committee quickly moved to educate the chamber on the impact of the new legislation by participating in explanatory seminars, issuing "Dear Colleague" letters, and developing a model employee handbook and other materials to assist offices in complying with new requirements. The Committee also monitored and reviewed the adoption

of regulations proposed by the Office of Compliance, with Chairman Bill Thomas introducing a number of resolutions offering provisional approval or directing the adoption of further regulations.[208] Through its oversight of House officers, the Committee also worked to reform the chamber's internal structure to facilitate compliance. It approved, for example, the established the Office of House Employment Counsel, to be administered by the Clerk under the bipartisan direction of the Committee Chairman and Ranking Minority Member, and the Office of ADA Services, under the Chief Administrative Officer. The House also agreed to a resolution on April 16, 1996, introduced by Chairman Thomas, requiring employing offices to obtain prior approval from the chairman and the ranking minority party member of the Committee regarding any settlement payment under the act, a sentiment incorporated into the House Rules for the 105th Congress.[209]

Subsequent Actions. In subsequent Congresses, the Committee continued to monitor implementation of the Act, provide oversight for the office, and evaluate resources available to it and House employing offices. It held an oversight hearing on March 19, 1997, and considered proposals to amend the Act. In 1998, the Congressional Accountability Act was amended to include select provisions of the Veterans Employment Opportunities Act.[210]

The Board of Directors, Proposed Rules and Rulemaking. The Committee was involved in the organization of the first Board of Directors of the office and monitored the transition of new board appointees. Pursuant to legislation introduced by Chairman Bob Ney on September 22, 2004, which became law on October 21, 2004, the Board of Directors of the Office of Compliance are now permitted to serve for two terms.[211] On September 18, 2007, Chairman Robert Brady introduced a bill, H.R. 3571, permitting previous Office of Compliance employees to serve as Executive Director, Deputy Executive Director, or General Counsel of the Office. Since most individuals who have been employed by the legislative branch in the previous four years are ineligible for these offices, this legislation allows for internal promotions within the Office of Compliance. The legislation also allows persons appointed to these positions to serve one additional term. The bill became law later that year.[212]

The Act provides a role for congressional stakeholders in its implementation by requiring the Board to transmit notices of proposed rulemaking for procedures and substantive regulation to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate for publication in the *Congressional Record*.[213] A comment period of at least 30 days is required. The Committee, along with other interested parties in the House and Senate, has since remained involved with the rulemaking process by submitting comments on proposed amendments to the Office of Compliance. For example, in response to notices placed in the *Record*, Chairman Bob Ney and Ranking Member John Larson forwarded letters on October 6, 2003, and March 29, 2004, indicating the Committee's opinion on proposed changes to the Office's procedural rules. During the 111th Congress, the Committee consulted with the Clerk's Office of the House Employment Counsel regarding proposed regulations issued by the Office of Compliance for implementing the Veterans Employment Opportunities Act (VEOA) and the Uniformed Services Employment and Reemployment Rights Act (USERRA). In December 2010, Chairman Brady introduced a resolution (H.Res. 1757) providing for the approval of the VEOA regulations that apply to the House of Representatives and employees of the House of Representatives. This resolution, along with a technical correction (H.Res. 1783), was agreed to in the House.

Leave and Other Personnel Policies. Members and committees determine their own annual and sick leave policies, subject to applicable House Rules and federal laws. The handbooks printed by the Committee, as well as advice provided by Committee staff and the House Employment Counsel, inform Members and committees about these regulations, including the Family and Medical Leave Act. The Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 extended to eligible employees of the House coverage under section 202 of this act, entitling them to a total of 12 workweeks of unpaid family and medical leave during a 12-month period.

Telecommuting. The Committee considered and approved a telecommuting policy on October 21, 1999.[214] Telecommuting, which was defined by the Committee as "a working arrangement, mutually agreed upon by the employee and the employing office, whereby the employee works at an alternative work site on specified days and/or for specified hours," had been a topic of interest in the federal workplace for some time.[215] Supporters have cited the potential environmental and personal benefits of working at an alternative site close to or in an employee's home, as well as the increased feasibility of telework in the electronic age.

In anticipation of the policy, a provision then included in the Rules requiring House employees to perform duties commensurate with the compensation received "in the offices of the employing authority" was modified to permit telework.[216] In approving the policy, the Committee emphasized that the implementation of a telecommuting program is entirely at the discretion of the employing offices. The Committee imposed certain restrictions—for example, by stating that the "alternative work site may not be a political, campaign, or commercial office."[217] It also addressed security concerns and made expenses associated with telecommuting reimbursable.

Telework took on new significance in terms of congressional emergency preparedness and continuity of operations after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the discovery of anthrax spores in the Hart Senate Office Building in October, 2001. The latter required Members of both chambers, committees, and staff to temporarily vacate portions of the Capitol complex for anthrax testing and decontamination. Responding to the challenges highlighted by this situation, the House managers of the conference on the FY2002 Legislative Branch Appropriations bill inserted language into the conference report urging the House officers to develop a means of providing permanent remote access to House computer systems and requiring the Chief Administrative Officer to report to the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on House Administration progress in this area.[218]

Accessibility. The passage of the Congressional Accountability Act in 1995 made the House of Representatives subject to the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990. The Committee has periodically monitored compliance with this act within the House, addressing the issue during hearings evaluating progress on the 15th anniversary of the passage of the ADA and in the response to an evacuation on May 11, 2005 prompted by a Cessna that entered restricted airspace above Washington, DC, after the pilots became lost.[219] In his opening remarks for the earlier hearing, Chairman Robert Ney underscored the importance of accessibility both in emergency situations and for daily operations, stating:[220]

> When we talk about accessibility, my perspective is that a facility isn't truly accessible unless it is accessible to everyone, especially an important institution like ours, where all people must be able to access their elected Representative on issues affecting the citizenry of the United States and, frankly, issues affecting people around the world. When constituents visit their Members, they should have an easy time in doing so, regardless of their relative abilities. That must be the manner in which the people's House operates.

Ranking Minority Member Juanita Millender-McDonald echoed this sentiment in her opening remarks, saying that: "In retrospect, it seems incredible that Congress did not cover itself from the start, but it did not . . . . In my view, accessibility means ensuring that everyone can enter the House facilities readily, conduct his or her business while there, whether it be for work or pleasure, and then leave the facility safely, especially in the event of a dire emergency or necessity."[221] The Committee heard testimony from James R. Langevin of Rhode Island, the first quadriplegic to serve in the House, as well as the congressional officials charged with ensuring accessibility and preparedness, including Chief of the Capitol Police, the Architect of the Capitol, and the House Chief Administrative Officer, and outside experts.

Committee Staff

While some of the employment regulations overseen by the Committee apply to staff for both Members and committees,

some areas apply solely or at least generally to committees. For example, the Committee has separately considered items such as committee staffing growth and salary structure, as well as the appropriate split of staffing resources between subcommittees and the full committee, the majority and minority interests. While the Committee's employment rules generally apply to the whole House, separate regulations may apply to select committees, and the Committee on Appropriations.[222]

Staff Levels and Distinctions. A series of actions in Congress since 1947 has raised the number of employees initially authorized for each committee. The House formerly maintained a distinction between staff based on appointment authority. Statutory staff positions, were provided at a certain level for all committees (except Appropriations) and did not have to be authorized in the committee funding resolutions. These positions were supplemented with staff employed pursuant to the approval of additional funding resolutions and commonly referred to as investigative staff. The distinction was eliminated during the 104th Congress (1995–1996).

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 authorized each committee to appoint up to 10 statutory staff members.[223] These positions were to be divided, with six for clerical staff and four designated for professional staff. In the 1970s, increased distrust of the executive as well as a movement to reform the House propelled a further expansion of committee staff allowances. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 increased the number of professional positions, raising the total statutory staff for each committee to 12. The number was again modified in 1974 with the passage of the Committee Reform Amendments, which increased the overall number of statutory staff to 30, with 18 slots stipulated for professional staffers with the remainder being filled by clerical staff.

The distinction in the duties of clerical and professional staff was blurred on many committees and eventually eliminated altogether when the House adopted its Rules for the 104th Congress. Another change to the Rules adopted at that time also effectively eliminated the distinction between statutory and investigative staff by requiring that the committee funding resolutions contain funds for all committee staff. The committees continue to have a baseline of 30 staff, although additional staff may be employed at levels set for each committee by the Speaker.

After nearly tripling in size in the 1970s as the result of new legislation and leveling off in the 1980s, House committee employment began to decrease in the early 1990s.[224] The overall number of committee staff employed by the House was of frequent concern to the House as well as outside observers. The Committee, through its oversight of committee budgets, has been responsible for monitoring the allocation of funds for committee staffs. Over the years, the Committee has taken numerous additional actions to examine the staffing levels and slow their growth or even reduce overall numbers.

Following a mandate for a four percent decrease in full-time equivalent employees in the FY1994 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, for example, the Committee worked to ensure the implementation of this requirement, focusing on committee staff levels in particular.[225] As reported by *Roll Call* on April 28, 1994:

> In a rare move, the House Administration Committee is negotiating the distribution of staff positions among 19 House committees in order to avoid requiring Members to cut staff in their personal offices to comply with a House-wide personnel reduction plan.
>
> House Administration began talks this month with staff directors to distribute available staff slots to those panels whose workloads are the greatest while asking less busy committees to remain frozen at current levels.

More severe cuts soon followed. In the 104th Congress, the new Republican majority promised to decrease the total number of staff of House committees in keeping with its campaign platform. The Committee quickly moved to make this promise a reality through its scrutiny of the committee funding process, and its report for that Congress indicates that it saved "over $60 million in taxpayer dollars through

reduced committee funding levels and mandating 1/3 fewer House committee staff, abolishing over 600 positions."[226]

Additional Staff by Resolution. During its early decades, the Committee occasionally reported resolutions approving additional statutory employees for certain committees.[227] As opposed to staffing funded through additional funding resolutions and requiring annual justification, these resolutions contained language granting indefinite authorization and were frequently made permanent in subsequent acts. One of the earliest resolutions was reported on April 14, 1949, by Chairwoman Mary Norton of New Jersey. It authorized the Judiciary Committee "to employ one additional clerical assistant, to be assigned to handle legislation pertaining to private claims."[228] The resolution was agreed to on that date and made permanent on June 22, 1949.[229] The Committee reported another resolution which was subsequently adopted providing for an additional two clerks for Judiciary the following year, stating in its report that: "The Committee on House Administration, having held a hearing on this resolution . . . is of the opinion that two additional clerks are necessary to handle the more than 1,000 private immigration bills and over 5,000 individual cases referred to the committee by the Attorney General."[230] The Committee continued to recommend similar expansions in dedicated resolutions through the 1960s. Committee staffs are now covered by the House Rules.

The jurisdiction of the Committee over these issues was reaffirmed during a 1966 episode. On February 7, Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith of Virginia told the House that "House Resolution 640 was inadvertently referred to the Committee on Rules and it should be referred to the Committee on House Administration."[231] He asked unanimous consent that it be re-referred. The resolution, which provided an additional five professional and three clerical employees, was considered and reported by the Committee before being approved by the House on February 9.

Continuation of Committee Staff to the Next Congress. The authority of standing committees to approve the continued employment and compensation of their own employees in a new Congress from "the effective date of the beginning of each Congress, or such subsequent date as their service commenced" was stipulated in a resolution agreed to by the House on January 3, 1961, and incorporated into permanent law later that year.[232] This action ended a question arising from the passage of the 1946 reorganization act that governed the appointment of committee employees. While not directly acted upon by the Committee on House Administration, it had important implications for House employment practice.

Similar resolutions concerning the authority to approve employment of House committee staff had been passed during the first session of each Congress beginning in 1953. These resolutions began after questions were raised regarding the authority of the House to compensate committee employees who worked in the 82nd Congress (1951–1952) prior to the election of the standing committees of the 83rd Congress (1953–1954), even if they were to continue in service, since the House is not a continuing body. The resolution agreed to on January 22, 1953, was offered by Majority Leader Charles Halleck. It granted authority to standing committees to approve employment and compensation retroactive to January 3, which is the date that the terms of office of Members began under the 20th Amendment to the Constitution.[233]

After the resolution was agreed to, Clare Hoffman of Michigan indicated that he had intended to offer a more comprehensive resolution. Hoffman detailed his correspondence with Acting Comptroller General Frank Yates on the legality of compensation disbursed to committee employees after the end of one Congress but before the appointment of committees for the following Congress. Yates indicated that "from noon on January 3 until such time as a new committee is elected by the Eighty-third Congress there is no committee in legal existence" and "since the question [of compensation] is not entirely free from doubt, the House may wish to consider taking action specifically providing for payment to employees of standing committees of the Eighty-second Congress" before providing drafts of three possible remedies.[234]

Interim Funding for Investigative Staff Compensation. Interim funding for committees, the development of which is described in the committee funding section, held particular importance during the years prior to 1995 when committees maintained a distinction between statutory and investigative staff. The salaries of the statutory employees were provided for in the annual legislative branch appropriations bills. Particularly after the House moved to verify the legality of the continued employment of holdover committee staff prior to the establishment of committees in a new Congress, the continued compensation of these employees was ensured. The investigative employees, however, were faced with a potential gap in employment as a new session of Congress commenced and they awaited the then-annual committee funding resolutions that provided their compensation.

The Committee worked to remedy this issue, and on January 29, 1965, Subcommittee on Accounts Chairman Samuel Friedel called up a privileged resolution enabling the payment of holdover employees for 30 days at the same salary they enjoyed on the last day of the previous session upon the certification of the chairmen of the appropriate committees that the employees performed services during this time.[235] Similar resolutions, covering varying lengths of time, were considered and agreed to in subsequent years. In response to a question during the consideration of the 1973 resolution from Harold Royce Gross of Iowa on the ability of committees to use this funding to augment their staffs, Chairman Wayne Hays indicated that committees could only "fill vacancies but not add to" them.[236] The provision of interim funding was made automatic with a Rules change in the 99th Congress (1985–1986).

Majority and Minority: Staff Allocations. The fair and equitable allocation of staff among the majority and minority parties has been a controversial issue since the establishment of the modern committee staffing system in 1946. The Reorganization Act signed into law that year authorized committees to appoint, by a majority vote, professional and clerical staff "on a permanent basis without regard to political affiliations and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of office."[237] Such staff were to be "assigned to the chairman and ranking minority member of such committee as the committee may deem advisable." The Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, in its recommendation for the authorization of four professional and six clerical staff, indicated its intention that two of the latter be attached to the chairman, ranking minority member, and professional staff of each committee.[238]

While some committees maintained a nonpartisan staff, staff for other committees was allocated according to informal agreements. Calls for additional minority staffing steadily increased in the House beginning in the late 1950s, especially after actions taken on the Senate floor by Senate Rules and Administration Ranking Minority Member Carl Curtis of Nebraska on January 30, 1957.[239] This only increased in the early 1960s, and according to congressional staff observer Kenneth Kofmehl, "the start of the 87th Congress (1961–1962) saw the beginning of a campaign to obtain comparable action by the minority membership of the Committee on House Administration."[240] Pressure on these committee members only increased after the publication of an article by columnist Roscoe Drummond on February 18, 1961, in which he wrote that "the Republican members of Congress are literally throwing away one of their most effective instruments of party strength" by not demanding additional and more competent staff and quoted a letter from Thomas Curtis of Missouri to House Minority Leader Charles Halleck urging more effort by the minority members of the Committee in this area.[241]

Paul Schenck of Ohio, the Ranking Minority Member on the Committee, took exception to the insinuation that he and his colleagues could be more effective in this area. Defending himself on the House floor on February 28, Schenk referenced the ongoing dialogue and reminded his colleagues that "the Committee on House Administration has no discretionary power in the naming of any member of any staff . . . the responsibility for naming members of the professional and clerical staffs of each committee is vested in the majority vote of the committee concerned."[242] The Committee, he stated, exerts

influence the only way it can when it insists upon having both majority and minority representatives at the hearings on each committee's budget request.

A lengthy discussion followed on staff services as the House proceeded to consider the separate resolutions providing for the studies and investigations expenses of individual committees. Clare Hoffman of Michigan argued that: "there would appear to be no reason why committee employees should not be allocated to the majority in the same ration that the leadership has fixes as to the representation on regular standing committees, that is, the 6-to-4 ratio."[243] Committee on House Administration member John Kyl questioned the minority staffing on the Committee on Public Works before then-Majority Leader John W. McCormack indicated his belief that:

> there is a great deal of misunderstanding about the makeup of the staffs of the committees. Reference is made as to what the minority has and the assumption is that everybody who is not directly identified as a minority member of the staff is a Democrat. I do not think this is correct. Most of these staffs continue from Congress to Congress. The chairman of the committee wants to have a staff composed of people who understand government and the business of the committee.[244]

McCormack cites his own experience employing a staffer for a Committee on Government Operations subcommittee he chaired who had previously worked for one of the subcommittees when the other party was in control. "I am not even drawing an inference from that," he said, "but the probability is that he is a Republican, although, as I say, I do not know and furthermore I am not interested in knowing."[245]

The debate over the allocation of committee employees grew more heated two years later during the committee and floor consideration of the 1963 funding resolutions and included many prominent voices on both sides. The Committee defeated an attempt to increase staffing for the minority. Describing the action of the minority in the Committee as "not revolutionary" or even a partisan concern, John Kyl told his House colleagues that they were merely attempting to enforce the rules and ensure adequate staffing for committee members. He admitted that "perhaps the technique we have selected to secure adequate staff assistance is not the most feasible or proper. At the present time, it is the only alternative afforded."[246]

This route, however, is exactly what some of the other members of the Committee took issue with. Chairman Omar Burleson told the House that he had "disagreed with the method, leaving less emphasis on the merits of this proposition. The better procedure would be to introduce a resolution, have it referred to the Rules Committee and if cleared for floor action, that it be brought here for debate on the direct issues and not presented as an amendment to an appropriations resolutions."[247] Burleson also included in the *Record* a lengthy analysis of the merits of the issue written by House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler. Former Committee on House Administration member and then-Majority Leader Carl Albert of Oklahoma also weighed in, articulating on popular arguments that included (1) emphasizing the nonpartisan language contained in the Legislative Reorganization Act; (2) reminding the House that a number of employees appointed by Republicans were maintained on the rolls during the Democratic rule; (3) questioning the practicality of minority employees since each committee consisted of both partisan and ideological minorities, the latter of which could change across issues and bills; (4) stressing the idea that any significant split would be "unworkable and impracticable" since it would divide the staff, increasing partisanship and possibly even patronage; (5) emphasizing the responsibility of the chairman for his committee; and (6) expressing a recognition of some problems in implementation of the current system but a desire to address those concerns rather than abandon them.[248]

These arguments were countered by Republicans including Minority Leader Charles Halleck of Indiana, who noted that he also had served on the Committee on House Admin-

istration. While recognizing that some committees were functioning adequately, he argued that what the minority really desired was staff they could turn to with confidential matters. He referenced a subcommittee of the Republican Conference which had been working to increase minority staffing. This effort was led by Fred Schwengel of Iowa, who would later join the Committee and spoke on behalf of legislation he proposed to alter the staffing situation. Despite the lack of legislative action in this area at this time, some relief was apparent, and Gerald Ford of Michigan complimented the Accounts Subcommittee for its hearings and declared that "the record shows that because the hearings were in greater depth there has been substantial progress made in the number of positions available to the minority."[249] Ranking Minority Member Paul Schenck, who had noted the minority's failed attempts to amend the resolutions in Committee, concludes the funding debate by thanking Burleson and Albert "when they indicate to the House that the majority party does assume and will assume the responsibility for the proper administration of these various staffing questions."[250]

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 increased the number of professional statutory staff for each committee to six, and stipulated that two could be selected by the minority upon the request of a majority of the minority members.[251] The minority could select one clerical staffer, provided that staffer was acceptable to a majority of the committee. The act also guaranteed equal treatment in pay, facilities, and access to committee records.

The act included a provision allowing for one-third of the investigative funds for the minority upon their request. This provision was offered as an amendment on the floor by Frank Thompson, a majority party Committee member from New Jersey, on July 15.[252] A lengthy debate ensued and continued the following day, with a number of the members of the Committee sharing observations gained from their work on the Committee. The amendment was agreed to on July 16, 1970, and included in the act that became law on October 26. The following year, however, House Rules were amended to state that the "minority party on any such standing committee is entitled to and shall receive fair consideration in the appointment of committee staff personnel pursuant to each such primary or additional expense resolution."[253]

The Committee Reform Amendments of 1974, which were agreed to on October 8, expanded the statutory staff authorization of each committee to 30.[254] This included 18 professional and 12 clerical staff, with six and four of those staff, respectively, designated for selection by the minority upon their request and subject to the approval of the majority of the committee. The requirement that professional staff be appointed without regard to political affiliation was eliminated. The minority was also entitled under this legislation to one-third of the staff funds provided in any primary or additional expense resolution. The Rules adopted the following year for the 94th Congress (1975–1976) eliminated this guarantee, but did include a new provision authorizing subcommittee chairmen and ranking minority members to each appoint one staff person,[255] an authority that existed until the 104th Congress (1995–1996).

In the years after the passage of this new legislation, the Committee would frequently hear calls for more resources for minority employees. During the 103rd Congress (1993–1994), for example, Republican members attempted to affect staffing provisions during a markup in the Subcommittee on Accounts. *Roll Call* quoted then-Committee member John Boehner of Ohio as saying: "We still have some committee chairmen who dominate and decide how money is spent for the minority," and are attempting to secure 25% of investigative funds for the ranking minority member of each committee.[256] The same article indicated that Committee member "Rep. Pat Roberts (R-Kan) offered an amendment to cut by 10 percent the funds of committees that failed to allocate 25 percent of their resources to the minority."[257] Upon taking control of the House in 1995, the Republicans stated their goal of providing one-third of committee funds to the minority. After initial disagreements over the funding resolutions, staff positions, and the use of the reserve fund, a more bipartisan consensus was achieved beginning in the 107th Congress (2001–2002).[258]

Subcommittee Staffing. Beginning in the 94th Congress (1975–1976), the chairman and ranking minority member of each standing subcommittee was authorized to appoint one staff member to serve at his or her pleasure.[259] In an effort to reassert the primacy of committees over their subcommittees and strengthen the power of the chair over the committee staff, this requirement was eliminated during the 104th Congress (1995–1996) and replaced with the requirement that the chair ensure that the subcommittees have sufficient staff to engage in their responsibilities.[260]

Select Committee Staffing. Select committees have long been subject to different staffing procedures than standing committees. All committees must obtain their spending allocations through primary and additional expense resolutions reported by the Committee on House Administration. The funding differences were more significant prior to the elimination of the distinction between statutory and investigative staff in 1995, because select committees were precluded from obtaining the former and had to rely on resolutions providing the latter. Select committees are also exempt from rules pertaining to minority staffing. Detailees and consultants have assisted select committees in the past, subject to the regulations of the Committee on House Administration. Staffing provisions—including authority to utilize the staffs of those committees from which Members have been selected for membership on the select committee, to hire and terminate additional staff, and to establish salaries for staff within certain limitations—were also frequently included in the administrative section of the resolutions reported by the Rules Committee establishing the select committees.[261]

Oversight of Contractors, Consultants, and Detailees. Over the years, House committees have benefitted from the expertise of contractors and consultants, as well as detailees from government agencies. Members do not share this benefit: the *Members' Handbook* compiled by the Committee specifies that they may not accept detailees or consultants, and may enter into short-term contracts only for "general, non-legislative, office services."[262] The Committee remains actively involved in approving and overseeing the procurement of both governmental and non-governmental temporary assistance for committees.

The procedure by which House committees may receive temporary assistance from experts detailed from any government agency was established by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Written permission from the Committee is required for a detail.[263] A detail agreement cannot exceed 12 months, although extensions have been permitted. The Committee requires documentation from the requesting committee chair, the agency or department head, and any reimbursement agreements.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 formalized the procedure by which the House committees may procure temporary assistance or outside contractors and consultants, although agreements for such services had been approved for many years. The act specified that committees are permitted to procure services with respect to any matter within its jurisdiction. It also placed limits on their compensation, and, as with detailees, a 12 month limitation was imposed.[264] Along with their request for approval, committees were also required to submit to the Committee "information bearing on the qualifications of each consultant whose services are procured," and stipulated that "such information shall be retained by that committee and shall be made available for public inspection upon request."[265]

During the 104th Congress (1995–1996), the House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act changed the approval procedure for certain non-House employment activities. When reporting the bill on March 14, 1996, the Committee indicated that it included a change "allowing committee chairmen to approve staff training and removing the requirement that the committee funding resolution specify the maximum amount allowable for staff training and consultants" and stipulating instead that "such limitations will depend on Committee on House Oversight [now House Administration] regulations."[266] The following Congress, in an effort to clarify its intentions and increase accountability for committee funding, the Committee agreed to alter the detailee policy by voice vote. The new

policy indicated that reimbursement would be required for detailees from the Government Printing Office, and the number of non-reimburseable detailees was required to remain below 10% of the committee staff ceiling.

Since its creation, the Committee has exercised its jurisdiction over detailees, contractors, and consultants through different organizational structures. During the 87th Congress (1961–1962) the Special Subcommittee on Contracts was established to oversee committee requests for consultants as requests for such services increased dramatically. The Subcommittee, which was reauthorized the following Congress was charged with reviewing all requests, and no contracts could be paid without its authorization. The 89th Congress (1965–1966) saw the Special Subcommittee becoming increasing involved in the allegations against Adam Clayton Powell of New York involving the alleged misuse of funds by the Committee on Education and Labor, which he chaired. The following Congress, Chairman Wayne Hays announced to the House that the Committee had voted to establish a Permanent Subcommittee on Ethics and Contracts to incorporate a role he claimed was the "business and duty of the Committee on House Administration."[267] That new Subcommittee was short-lived, and a special subcommittee was once again established. It then enjoyed status as a standing subcommittee from the 93rd (1973–1974) until the 96th Congress (1979–1980), until merging with the Subcommittee on Printing to become the Subcommittee on Contracts and Printing for the next two Congresses. Renamed the Subcommittee on Procurement and Printing for the 99th Congress (1985–1986), its responsibilities were transferred to the Subcommittee on Accounts for the 101st Congress (1989–1990) before all subcommittees were eliminated at the start of the 104th Congress (1995–1996).

Committee Business Hours. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 stipulates that "professional staff members shall not engage in any work other than committee business and no other duties may be assigned to them." This language was incorporated into the Rules of the House, and subsequently rephrased and amended in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 and the Ethics Reform Act of 1989. The latter revised the Rule, according to the Bipartisan Task Force on Ethics, to "clarify that the existing prohibition against professional committee staff engaging in any work other than committee business applies only during congressional working hours."[268] The exceptions for certain committees, as noted above, were eliminated and replaced with language concerning associate and shared staff beginning with the 104th Congress.

Personal Staff

Size and Funding. The number of personal staff permitted each Member, and the related funds available to employ them, was a topic of great interest to many Members even before the creation of the Committee.[269] Members were first provided with an allowance for clerks in 1893.[270] The funds were payable to the Members upon certification that they had obligated the amount to their employees. The staff allowance was periodically adjusted until 1919, when it was replaced by a system allowing each Member to designate up to two clerks to be placed directly on the House rolls as employees, at a total annual rate of not more than $3,200. The salary allowance and clerk ceiling was periodically adjusted in the years prior to the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 and the creation of the Committee on House Administration. Effective January 1, 1945, Members were provided $9,500 per year for a new clerk-hire "basic pay" system,[271] and permitted up to six employees. In 1946, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress included in its report a recommendation that each Representative and Senator be "authorized to employ a high-caliber administrative assistant at an annual salary of $8,000 to assume nonlegislative duties now interfering with the proper study and consideration of national legislation."[272] This provision was not included in the law, although the Senate subsequently adopted its substance in the First Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1947, eventually eliminating any ceiling on the number of staffers allowed and providing each Senator with an aggregate authorization in 1949.[273]

Inheriting this legacy, the Committee faced calls from Members for additional funds for assistance almost from its

inception in 1947. The Subcommittee on Accounts heard from a number of these Members at a hearing on May 3, 1949 and examined the arguments used to support an expansion, many of which would reappear over the years. At the hearing, Laurie Battle of Alabama stated his belief "that everybody in my District has got a typewriter and a stenographer because they are all writing me profusely," and Thurmond Chatham of North Carolina spoke on behalf of an association of the newest Members of Congress, who supported an increase despite the objections of some of the more senior Members.[274]

The Subcommittee then discussed with Gordon Cranfield of New Jersey his troubles in covering staff pay out of funds then available, the difficulty in retaining experienced staff, and the practice of some Members paying for additional assistance at their own expense. The discussion also revealed that the Committee was still attempting to determine its role in relation to the Appropriations Committee, as Chairman Thomas Stanley of Virginia questioned whether the increase would be best located within a deficiency appropriations bill or a dedicated bill and indicated the other committee's preference for the latter.[275] The increase became law on June 23 in an act focused on regulating the telephone, telegraph, and clerk-hire allowances of Members. The act raised the rate per Member to $12,500, although each employee was limited to a basic salary of $5,000.[276]

The number of allowable employees was revised in 1949, 1954, 1955, and 1961, each time increasing the ceiling by one.[277] Records in the National Archives from during this period indicate that the Committee considered tables detailing how many clerks each Member employed, the number of Members paying the maximum permissible salary to one employee, and the number not utilizing the entire clerk-hire allowance to them.[278] In 1956, the House approved the practice of permitting one additional employee plus additional funds for those Members from districts with a constituency of 500,000 or more.[279]

The question of authorizing an administrative assistant repeatedly arose over the next few years. Following discussions in the 84th Congress (1955–1956) during which Members weighed the benefits of this assistance versus the potential objections of others who thought that might delegate too much power to staff, the Committee reported three bills during the 85th and 86th Congresses (1957–1960) supporting the creation of this position. Each contained language in the report indicating that "the Committee on House Administration, after numerous requests made in response to a questionnaire submitted on the subject, and in letters and personal contact concluded after due deliberation that there was an urgent need on the part of many Members of the House of Representatives for expert assistance not now provided."[280] No further action was taken, however, and the House continued to allocate funds and positions using its prior method.

Additional funds were provided along with each of these staffing revisions. Increases were accomplished usually either through resolution by the Committee on House Administration, provisions in the Legislative Branch Appropriations bills, or a combination with resolutions made permanent by the annual bills. The Committee continually had to balance its desire to provide necessary funds while remaining cognizant of political and economic considerations. These considerations were evident in the hearing held March 14, 1961, when the Subcommittee on Accounts considered H. Res. 219 (87th Congress), allowing each Member an additional $3,000 in basic pay along with provision for an additional employee than previously permitted. Chairman Samuel Friedel of Maryland indicated that he had spoken with the leadership of both parties, and although he "had two resolutions ready to introduce yesterday, one for $3,000 basic, and one for $3,500 basic," he thought that the lower sum was the most they would support.[281] During debate, Friedel reminded his colleagues that the money would remain unspent unless a Member specifically allocated it in an effort to placate concerns about differing workloads and district sizes.[282]

Similar adjustments, in resolutions reported by the Committee and agreed to by the House, provided one additional clerk for each Member in 1965, 1966, and 1969.[283] On November 25, 1970, the Committee reported a resolution, H. Res. 1264, authorizing each Member three addi-

tional employees, bringing the total to 15 or 16 employees depending on district size.[284] It also set a minimum gross per annum rate of $2,000 for any employee, a move Samuel Friedel told the House was necessary "to keep away these $1 a year or other token-type employees" who otherwise might "be entitled to health and life insurance, plus retirement benefits out of proportion to their salaries."[285] The resolution was adopted on December 7, became effective the same date as the Legislative Reorganization Act, January 3, 1971, and was soon made permanent law.[286]

This action took place shortly after the House declined to address the issue directly in the Reorganization Act. The House Rules Committee and its Special Subcommittee on Legislative Reorganization had examined staffing issues in 1969 and 1970 in preparing the reorganization bill, noting in its report that "the House permits higher salaries for committee staff than does the Senate, but the Senate permits higher salaries for its Members' top office staff than does the House," leading to a "state of affairs . . . both inequitable and obnoxious."[287] The report recommended equity for House Members' personal staff as compared to a Senators as well as the formal designation of "Administrative Assistant" for the top employee. Andrew Jacobs of Indiana moved to strike this provision on the floor on September 16, prevailing after a debate concerning the relative duties of Congressmen and Senators, clerk-hire and salary adjustments, and committee jurisdiction involving Richard Bolling of Missouri, James Cleveland of New Hampshire, Harold Royce Gross of Iowa, H. Allen Smith of California and Wayne Hays of Ohio.[288]

In 1971, the Committee was given the authority to adjust certain allowances.[289] The following year, the Committee recognized the need to end the practice of differential staff allowances and ceilings after the decennial census and in reaction to redistricting reforms required following Supreme Court rulings indicating that legislative districts should be approximately equal in size.[290] Using its newly acquired power, the Committee moved to equalize clerk hire allowances by declaring that "effective March 1, 1972 . . . each Member, the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico, and the Delegate from the District of Columbia shall be entitled to an annual clerk hire allowance of $157,092 for not to exceed 16 clerks."[291] The Committee subsequently issued another order effective May 1, 1973, increasing the annual clerk hire amount by $20,000 for those Members who chose to employ a research assistant in lieu of one of the 16 permitted slots, before revising this upward to 18 effective March 6, 1975.[292]

The 18-person limit has remained in effect ever since, although certain exceptions and reforms have been adopted. On July 20, 1979, John Brademas of Indiana, then Chairman of the Subcommittee on Accounts, rose to explain to his colleagues on the House floor a measure reported by the Committee.[293] The resolution, he stated, retained the 18 person limitation on staff members but provided exceptions for up to four part-time, temporary, or shared employees, interns, and employees on leave without pay, all without increasing the clerk-hire allowance. Over the objections of some Members who saw this measure as an attempt to pave the way for a future staff expansion, the resolution passed and became permanent law, before being repealed and replaced with the House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act in 1996, which continued similar ceilings and exceptions.[294]

Members' Representational Allowance and Its Predecessors. The Committee issued an order on August 3, 1995, creating the Members' Representational Allowance (MRA), effective September 1, 1995.[295] This move combined the Clerk Hire Allowance, the Official Expenses Allowance, and the Official Mail Allowance, and came as a result of recommendations issued after the first House audit, which was conducted by Price-Waterhouse. The House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act made this provision permanent law. The act also revised the 1971 resolution granting the Committee authority to "fix and adjust the amounts, terms, and conditions of, and other matters relating to, allowances of the House of Representatives" subject to certain conditions first established in 1976.[296] Speaking to his colleagues on the House floor on behalf of

the bill, Representative Vernon Ehlers of Michigan stated that the reform provides Members with authority to determine the manner in which they allocate the funds within these various accounts which are now combined into one account.[297]

The enhanced flexibility followed upon years of oversight by the Committee of transfers affecting the clerk-hire allowance. The disbursement regulations for 1979, for example, indicate that the Committee permitted Members to transfer up to $15,000 from the clerk-hire allowance to the official expense allowance.[298] The Committee also issued an order in this area in 1983, allowing each Member to allocate up to $30,000 to transfer funds between the clerk hire and official expense allowances, this time in either direction, with the provision that the monthly clerk hire disbursements not exceed ten percent of the total of that allowance. The limit was raised to $40,000 two years later, $50,000 in 1990, and $75,000 in 1991.[299]

Staffing for Delegates and the Resident Commissioner. Non-voting Delegates and the Resident Commissioner have occasionally received differing staffing authority than their House colleagues. In the early legislation from the Committee regarding staff allocations, Member was defined as any Representative, Delegate, and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.[300]

In 1972, Congress passed a bill authorizing the territories of Guam and the Virgin Islands to elect a Delegate to represent them. The legislation specified that the clerk hire allowance of these Delegates was to be set at 60 percent of that authorized for a Member, although other benefits, like compensation, were to be equal.[301] The Committee was guided by this legislation when considering subsequent staff adjustments. Committee Order 16, which on March 6, 1975, raised the ceiling for Members, the Resident Commissioner, and the Delegate from the District of Columbia to 18. It authorized 11 staff for the Delegates from Guam and the Virgin Islands. Two months later, that discrepancy was eliminated with the passage of legislation reported by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and signed by the President on May 27, 1975.[302]

The introduction of a new Delegate, representing the Territory of American Samoa, reopened the question of clerk-hire for non-voting Members. The bill providing for the new Delegate, again originating in the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, specifically limited the clerk-hire allowance of the incumbent to half of that permitted to other Members.[303] This limitation was eliminated effective January, 1, 1983, and clerk-hire for all Members, Delegates, and the Resident Commissioner has since been authorized equally by the Committee on House Administration.[304]

Location of Employment. The employment of staffers outside of either Washington, D.C. or the Member's state or district, became a topic of interest for the Committee in the 1960s. The interest was ignited in part because of publicity surrounding the employment of the wife of Adam Clayton Powell of New York, who continued to receive compensation despite residing in Puerto Rico.[305] Powell insisted that his wife earned her pay by responding to the Spanish language correspondence of his Harlem-area constituents and that his finances were singled out for special attention.

Language prohibiting such employment was first proposed in a Committee amendment to resolution, H.Res. 294 (88th Congress), adjusting the basic clerk hire allowance and staff ceiling for Members. The amendment stating that "no person shall be paid from any clerk hire allowance if such person does not perform the services for which he receives such compensation in the offices of such Member of Resident Commissioner in Washington, District of Columbia, or in the State or the district which such Member or Resident Commissioner represents" was included in the resolution agreed to on August 14, 1964.[306] Carl Albert, then the House Majority Leader, offered a resolution early the next Congress to maintain the provisions of this resolution.[307]

The Subcommittee on Accounts revisited this issue in a hearing on May 19, 1965 to consider H.R. 7572 (89th Congress). This bill, which was offered by Lionel Van Deerlin of California, proposed the location restriction for employees earning more than $1,500 a year. Although no further action on this bill was taken, the Subcommittee did agree to discuss

this issue further with the chairman, and the provisions of the earlier resolution were made permanent in the next legislative branch appropriations bill.[308] The provision was modified in 1999 to permit telework by House employees.[309]

House Employees Position Classification Act

The House Employees Position Classification Act of 1964 was devised as a means to ensure "the equitable establishment and adjustment of rates of compensation, and for the efficient utilization of personnel in, certain positions under the House of Representatives."[310] Initially the classification system covered approximately 435 employees then under the Clerk of the House, the Sergeant at Arms, the Doorkeeper, the Postmaster, the minority pair clerk,[311] the House Recording Studio, the House Radio and Television Correspondents' Gallery, and the House Periodical Press Gallery. Specifically excluded were telephone operators and the Capitol Police.

Prior to the passage of this act, the salary of House employees in these offices was raised in an *ad hoc* manner, invoking questions of fairness and burdening the Committee with an inundation of disparate as well as particularistic requests. Recalling the impetus behind the classification efforts in a hearing in 1966, Subcommittee on Accounts Chairman Samuel Friedel noted that the system was the "brain child" of Chairman Omar Burleson, who wanted to establish a system of equal pay for equal work in these administrative positions.[312]

Many of the employees originally covered by the act had received their positions through patronage. *Deschler's Precedents of the U.S. House of Representatives* notes that as early as 1911 an informal Patronage Committee, nominated by the Committee on Committees and elected by the majority caucus, divided patronage positions among the majority Members, excluding chairmen and varying with the size of the party majority.[313] Congressional employees could be removed from their positions by the Patronage Committee for cause, or by the appointing Member at will. *Cannon's Precedents* cites majority caucus resolutions and letters to illustrate the mechanics of this appointment process as well as the effect of the alternation in partisan control of the House. These indicated that positions were distributed based on the size the state delegations relative to the party membership in the House and that the elective officers of the House could only appoint employees named by this committee.[314]

When party control changed in 1918 and 1931, further instructions on the assignment of patronage positions were issued from the majority party to its members.[315] Patronage allocations have sharply declined over time. According to *Congressional Quarterly*, "the Republicans disbanded their [patronage] committee in the early 1980s; the Democrats later abolished their patronage committee" as well.[316] "Today on Capitol Hill," the article continues, "the only jobs remaining under patronage are those that do not require specialized skills or technical knowledge."[317]

The need for a more professional system of congressional employment was noted by scholars as early as 1941.[318] The Committee's records at the National Archives indicate that it was examining these issues soon after its creation, with Committee member Thomas Stanley writing on August 24, 1950 to Chairwoman Mary Norton thanking her for appointing him chairman of "a subcommittee to make an overall study of the salary structure of the personnel of the House of Representatives."[319] Committee records for the 84th Congress (1955–1956), include a letter to Clerk of the House Ralph Roberts dated May 10, 1955 in which Samuel Friedel indicated that the Committee was "conducting a study and survey of the various positions in the House of Representatives" and that "as chairman of the Subcommittee on Accounts in charge of this preliminary survey, [he] would appreciate it very much if [the Clerk] would submit recommendations covering the employees" in his office, including what statutory positions existed and any proposals for changes in salaries, titles, or the elimination of positions.[320] These studies were soon followed by bills seeking to bring more order to the pay of House employees, and in 1957, H.R.7683, the House Employees Payroll Simplification Act, was introduced by Jesse Arthur Younger of California and referred to the Committee. Younger and others introduced similar bills over the next few years, although none were reported by the Committee on House Administration.[321]

Bill Passage. The House Employees Position Classification Act, H.R. 12318, was introduced by Subcommittee on Accounts Chairman Samuel Friedel of Maryland on August 11, 1964. The Committee reported the bill the following day, although during floor debate, Committee on House Administration Chairman Omar Burleson noted that the bill was the culmination of 10 months of study. In the report accompanying the bill, the Committee stated that its purpose was to provide equal pay for substantially equal work, and to establish (1) a logical and appropriate relationship between certain House positions, (2) a system that could recognize tenure, and (3) organizational tables reflecting staffing and responsibilities.[323] The Committee also aimed to correct the labeling of position titles, which had in some cases become obsolete. In an effort to improve the "confused situation," the Committee had initiated a comprehensive study of positions in the four departments then under consideration.[324]

The bill proposed to give the Committee the authority to establish a schedule known as the "House Employees Schedule," or "HS." The per annum schedule was to consist of as many compensation levels as the Committee deemed appropriate, with each level consisting of 12 compensation steps, each set by the Committee at rates not exceeding the Classification Act of 1949. The Committee was also called on to establish a "House Wage Schedule," or "HWS", which would classify certain positions in accordance with prevailing hourly or annual rates. Rates in both systems could be adjusted by the Committee without the need for the enactment of new legislation. The bill also aimed to ensure that the Committee would have current information with respect to all positions within its purview.

H.R. 12318 addressed the step advancement of employees, specifying that HS employees at steps two, three, and four would advance to the next step after one year. Steps five, six, and seven would be reached after two years at the previous step. The next three steps required three years, while the last two each required five. The movements were also conditional on the service in the lower step being completed satisfactorily and without a break in service greater than 30 months. The bill also indicated that there should be no reduction in compensation level based on this act, either at the time of enactment or in the event an employee gained promotion to the next level. New employees were to be placed at the minimum step of the compensation level.

Although it altered the compensation system, the bill specified that it did not affect appointment authority. During debate in the Committee of the Whole, Chairman Burleson indicated that the bill would not alter the patronage system.[325] Burleson noted that the Patronage Committee and leadership on both sides of the aisle supported the bill, and he verified that officers of the House would still have control of their staffs. Acknowledging that "it does place quite an obligation on the Committee on House Administration to see that this system does work," Burleson expressed his hope that it would "do away with some of the haphazard handling" he saw in the pay system then employed.[326] The bill passed the House and Senate on October 2, and was signed into law on October 13, 1964.[327] It became effective on January 1, 1965.

Oversight and Revision. Over the next few years, the Committee monitored the implementation of the provisions of the act and considered possible revisions. The Committee considered three bills the following Congress that aimed to alter the new system, including H.R. 12606, H.R. 12688, and H.R. 13239. In a comparative analysis of the law and new proposals contained in a March 1966 committee print, the Committee notes that, if incorporated, the major changes would: 1) transfer the authority (with exception of establishing the pay rates) for the management and administration of the act from the Committee to House officers; 2) reduce the length of service required for longevity pay increases; 3) permit the appointment of new employees above the minimum step of a particular level; 4) exempt employees of the House Recording Studio from the jurisdiction of the act; and 5) authorize the Doorkeeper to establish a compensation system for extra services performed by employees of the Publication Distribution Service.[328]

The Committee examined these proposals in hearings on March 22 and June 15, 1966. Congressional supporters of

a revised bill, along with Clerk of the House Ralph Roberts, appeared before the committee. They argued that the officers should have the power to classify those under them, asserted that some positions were classified too low, cited difficulties encountered in replacing departed staff because of the need for reclassification, and questioned the decision to include some offices under the act while excluding others.

The Committee defended its efforts from the previous Congress. Committee member Joe Waggonner, Jr. of Louisiana, emphasized that any officer who had a problem with the application of the act could have appeared before the Committee.[329] Committee colleague John Dent of Pennsylvania explained his belief in the necessity of the act, saying that with its passage he had "hoped we were setting up a system whereby strictly personal prestige of a member does not set a rate base for one person over another simply because the other person might be as hard working and attending to his duties . . . but he does not have a powerful member of Congress behind him to call up and say 'Give him a 1,000 raise or $2,000."[330] Subcommittee Chairman Friedel noted that only the Clerk's office had not signed off on the classification system.[331] No further action was taken on these bills.

Although the House has not undertaken major revisions in the act since the 1966 effort, the Committee has remained heavily involved in its implementation by revising the schedules, providing oversight of the classification system, and reviewing the officers' personnel practices. Responsibility within the Committee over the classification system has shifted as the organization and jurisdiction of its subcommittees has been altered. Originally within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Accounts, implementation of the act became the responsibility of the Subcommittee on Personnel during the 93rd Congress (1973–1974), which was consolidated into the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police the following Congress. The Subcommittee reviewed personnel policy for employees under the act, publishing guidelines in 1979.[332] The Subcommittee on Personnel and Police also reviewed numerous reclassification requests, noting in its activities report for the 99th Congress (1985–1986) that "each month the Subcommittee reviews and approves appointments, salary adjustments, and terminations of positions in the offices of the House officers," acting on "more than 1000 personnel actions" during that Congress.[333] The Committee eliminated the use of subcommittees beginning with the 104th Congress (1995–1996) and compliance with the act is now monitored by the full committee.

The Committee has also considered attempts to revise the act to include other offices. In 1995, the act was amended to reflect changes in the House officers, including the elimination of the Doorkeeper and Postmaster positions and the creation of the Office of the Chief Administrative Officer and the Inspector General.[334] In 2000, the House approved legislation permitting new employees to begin their service above the minimum step of a compensation level.[335]

Official Reporters

The Committee on House Administration has been responsible for the employment of the official reporters since its inception.[336] This responsibility includes both the reporters of debates, who have transcribed the floor debates for the *Congressional Record* since 1873, and the stenographers of committees, who cover committee hearings and meetings.

As with many other areas under the jurisdiction of the Committee, other entities have historically had an interest in the reporters. The reporters are currently appointed by the Clerk of the House subject to the direction and control of the Speaker under House Rule VI. This power was vested in the Speaker from 1874 until the House authorized the transfer by agreeing to H.Res. 959 of the 95th Congress on January 23, 1978.[337] Majority Leader Jim Wright, who introduced the resolution, explained the attempt to amend the Rules of the House by noting:

> The Speaker understandably has been loath to exercise or presume to exercise direction or jurisdictional authority over all of the Reporters of Debates and deliberations in committees and feels that the Clerk of the House, having broad administrative jurisdiction over the personnel and the legislative

> support functions of the House, is the proper person to exercise this control and to make the determinations as to whom we should employ, when, and to what extent those persons are adequately fulfilling their duties.[338]

Wright also explained that this change would allow reporters to receive the cost-of-living adjustments provided other House employees without the need for a specific resolution. In addition to leadership and officer involvement, other congressional committees have been involved in this area. In 1947, for example, the former Committee on Post Office and Civil Service examined a bill from the Senate extending the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act to the official reporters of debates in the Senate. The report issued by the Committee notes that the Official Reporters of the House, as legislative branch employees, were already accorded the privilege of coming under the act, while the Senate had previously only appropriated a lump sum to be equally divided each month for these services.[339] Perhaps more significantly, the Committee on Appropriations considers funding for the office, contained within the request of the Clerk of the House, when it marks up the annual legislative branch appropriations bills.

The Committee on House Administration periodically has examined the number of reporters necessary to keep up with a growing workload, the requisite salary to attract and retain qualified staff, and the need to maintain the appropriate pay relationship between positions. In one of the early instances of the Committee's oversight of the reporters, Chairwoman Mary Norton of New Jersey introduced H.Res. 103 on February 15, 1949 (81st Congress). The resolution, which provided for an additional transcriber in office of Official Reporters of Debates to be compensated at the rate of $2,300 per annum, was agreed to by the House on April 14, 1949. Three years later, the House separately approved compensation for the employment of two additional official reporters for committees.[340]

The discussion over employee pay also demonstrates the institutional rivalries between the House and Senate. On May 14, 1958, Subcommittee on Accounts Chairman Samuel Friedel of Maryland presided over a hearing during which Lanham Connor, then the dean of the official committee reporters, requested an increase in basic salary from $2,500 to $3,500 for each of the expert transcribers. He testified that, over the years, he had lost some reporters to the Senate and House floors. He testified that four of his most capable employees had gone to the Senate because of the pay differential between the positions and said that the increase was necessary to retain his employees. After determining that a base of $3,600, and a total gross of $6,762, would allow the House to pay these employees a little more than the Senate, John Ray of New York indicated his preference for the higher figure, saying that "we certainly should not invite raiding of that sort of the employees of the House."[341] Although Mr. Connor did indicate that the increase would not cover the floor transcribers and thereby break the pay parity between the offices that then existed, the Subcommittee was unanimous in supporting the request. Friedel introduced a resolution raising the basic compensation of these employees on May 18, although no further action was taken on that resolution.[342]

The Subcommittee on Accounts considered two separate resolutions related to the reporters the following year. The first, H.Res. 197 (86th Congress), adjusted the basic rate of compensation for the expert transcribers in the Office of Official Committee Reporters and the Office of Official Reporters Of Debates of the House. These employees were to receive $3,450 per annum effective March 1, 1959. The Committee reported the resolution favorably and without amendment on March 13, and it was agreed to by the House that day.[343] A second resolution, H.Res. 335, raised the basic compensation of the clerk to the Official Reporters of Debates, the clerk to the Official Committee Reporters, and the first and second assistants. It was reported by the Committee and agreed to on August 18, 1959.[344]

On October 10, 1968, Subcommittee on Accounts Chairman Friedel reported a resolution raising the basic annual compensation of expert transcribers of debates and for committees.[345] In 1970, the Committee reported a resolution raising the basic compensation paid to the clerk of

the Official Reporters of Debate and the first and second assistant clerks.[346] After submitting the Committee report, Joseph Waggonner of Louisiana responded to a question on the necessity of a resolution that relates to only three positions. He stated that although the committee had the authority to establish salaries for employees in various departments, "there is a statutory provision that certain employees of the House must, to get pay raises which involve not just a raise, but a reclassification of their positions, which this truly, in effect, is, we must have the approval of the House."[347] Waggoner also argued that this adjustment was necessary to maintain the proper pay relationship between various positions in the House.

Over the next few years, the Committee also reported resolutions, agreed to by the House, to expand the reportorial corp. A 1970 resolution provided for two additional official reporters to committees and two additional expert transcribers to official committee reporters, while in 1973 the committee recommended the addition of one official reporter of debates.[348]

The official reporters of debates, the official reporters to committees, and the transcribers and clerks to both groups, along with the majority pair clerk, the minority floor assistants, and the staff of the House Press Gallery, were accorded a six percent pay raise when the House agreed to H.Res. 282 of the 92nd Congress (1971–1972) on April 27, 1971. The report accompanying the resolution indicates that this resolution was necessary to grant raises to those employees not covered by the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-656), which granted a similar adjustment to many other House employees.[349]

No action was taken on two resolutions in 1975, one which would have made the reporters subject to the House Employees Position Classification Act and another which aimed to the increase their pay.[350] The following year, the Committee reported H.Res. 1495 (94th Congress), a resolution to increase the gross salary of the official reporters of debates and for committees by five percent of the per annum gross rate. The resolution also provided for subsequent increases equal to the average percent increase made in the pay rates of Federal statutory pay systems. During debate on the floor, Chairman Frank Thompson of New Jersey noted that the reporters had not had a salary adjustment since 1971. Speaking in support of the resolution, he argued it would balance the growing pay inequality and provide for future increases. Thompson also cited increases in workload and improved service of the reporters, which he described as superior to commercial contractors because of quality and the top secret clearances maintained by some of the employees. Arguing that "most reporters cannot meet our demanding standards and schedules," he also referenced the need to increase the salary to mitigate recruitment problems. The resolution was agreed to on September 30, 1976.[351]

After this adjustment, and the transfer of appointing authority from the Speaker to the Clerk in 1978, the Committee continued to provide oversight for the reporters. Various Committee reports cite instances of the committee reclassifying numerous positions within the Office of Official Reporters to Committees and Official Reporters of Debate, which are now combined under the Office of Official Reporters.[352] In 1996, during the consideration of the numerous changes included in the House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, the Committee reaffirmed the authority of the Clerk of the House over the official reporters.[353]

The Committee also informs Members and their staff about the regulations governing the stenographic reporting of committee hearings. The current regulations, illustrated in the *Committee Handbook*, stipulate that "all transcription services covering a hearing, mark-up or other bipartisan meeting of Members of the committee called by the Chair of a committee or subcommittee, must be arranged through the Office of Official Reporters to Committees. Such transcription services are provided at no cost to committees."[354] The Committee Handbook also informs chairs of the appropriate procedure for obtaining coverage of field hearings and indicates that the Office of Official Reporters to Committees will arrange for outside vendors if the official reporters are not available to cover a particular hearing or meeting.

House Office Space

Origins and Development

The House Office Building Commission (HOBC), which was established on March 4, 1907, has authority to issue rules and regulations that govern the use and occupancy of all rooms in the House Office Buildings.[355] An act approved on May 28, 1908 established an elaborate procedure by which Members of the House can chose their office space.[356] This act guaranteed Members the right to maintain their personal office, once acquired, for the remainder of their time of service or until they chose to relinquish that space. For anyone wishing to change rooms, the act required a Member or Member-elect to file with the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds a written request for a vacant room. If multiple requests were received for the same room, preference would go to the Member with the longest continuous service. If Members had equal terms of service, preference would then go to the Member who first placed the request. Unoccupied space was to be assigned by the Superintendent of the Capitol Building and Grounds, renamed the Architect of the Capitol in 1921, under the direction of the House Office Building Commission.[357]

The Committee on Accounts, a predecessor to the Committee on House Administration, also became involved in the designation of space issues through its jurisdiction over legislation in this area.[358] For example, during the 56th Congress it considered a 1901 resolution that directed changes to the "lobby of the House as will provide an additional room for the use of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, adjoining and communicating with that now occupied by him."[359] It also reported a resolution, H.Res. 247 (67th Congress), that reflected the Committee's "careful survey of present conditions" and its attempt to provide more space for the Committee on Appropriations and "plenty of light and ventilation" for the file and bill clerks.[360] The resolution agreed to on December 20, 1921 assigned an additional room on the House side of the Capitol to the Committee on Appropriations, removed various clerks to the rooms then occupied by the House library on the gallery floor, and provided that "the contents of the House library be removed to such available space in the House Office Building as may be selected by the House Office Building Commission."[361]

Coordination Among House Entities

The Committee on House Administration's authority over the assignment of office space for Members, Delegates, the Resident Commissioner and committees is found in House Rule X, clause 1(j).[362] This is a responsibility first noted in the language creating the Committee in 1946.[363] The Committee, which considers issues pertaining to both district and Washington offices, shares this responsibility with the House Appropriations Committee, through its responsibility for consideration of the annual spending measure for the legislative branch, and the House Office Building Commission.[364]

The legislative branch appropriations bill, with the approval of the Committee on House Administration, periodically contains certain administrative provisions related to the House Office Buildings. While the jurisdiction for these issues may fall under the Committee, and the Committee staff may be heavily involved in the research prior to enactment of the provision and the subsequent implementation, the annual appropriations bill provides a useful vehicle for such changes. One reason is that an administrative provision in the appropriations act allows the Committee to avoid multiple battles on the floor on the same issue. This may be particularly useful when both an authorization and large sums of money are needed for repairs to the House complex, for example. The bill also allows the Committee to make permanent certain internal House policies. The House Office Building Commission, on the other hand, has been given powers in statute but has no legislative authority. Any bill introduced regarding the House office buildings would be referred to the Committee. The House Office Building Commission, however, consists of the leadership from both parties, and the Committee has generally deferred to its wishes on internal housekeeping matters.[365]

Assignment of Rooms in House Office Buildings

The Superintendent of House Office Buildings, an employee of the Architect, currently supervises office moves and officiates

at the office lottery, in which Members with equal lengths of service draw numbers to determine order of selection. Speakers of the House, as chairs of the House Office Building Commission, have periodically issued updates to the regulations initially promulgated in 1908. The changes adopted reflect a need to address the office moves after an election and the occupancy of personal offices when a Member leaves the House before the end of a Congress. For example, in 1978 and 1980, Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill requested Members not returning to the next Congress vacate their suites by noon on December 15th after the election so that the space could be readied for the next occupants.[366] In regulations promulgated on October 7, 1996, that date was changed to December 1.[367]

These regulations also incorporate provisions of law adopted with regard to office vacancies occurring during a session of Congress. Rod Grams of Minnesota offered an amendment to the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of FY1994 banning the use of House funds included in that measure for the relocation of any Member's office. Speaking in support of the amendment on June 10, 1993, Grams noted multiple mid-session office moves after four Members left Congress that year.[368] This amendment was adopted and became law on August 11, 1993.[369] The following year, noting that the provision would expire in November, Grams told the House that he would "urge the House Building Commission to make this commonsense reform a permanent change that does not need to be renewed annually."[370] The Legislative Branch Act for FY1996 also included a prohibition against using funds provided within it for Member office moves. Revised regulations subsequently issued by the House Office Building Commission on October 7, 1996 incorporated this sentiment against mid-session moves.[371] The regulations issued during the 110th Congress continued this policy, stating that any Members elected to vacant seats will temporarily occupy their predecessors' office until they may choose a suite during the regular lottery following the next general election according to their length of service.[372]

As security concerns prompted Congress to consider the possibility that a terrorist action or other event could prevent the occupation of the House office buildings for a lengthy period, the Committee examined efforts to ensure continuity of operations. At a September 10, 2002 hearing held to assess security upgrades since the terrorist attacks the previous year, Chief Administrative Officer James Eagen testified that "it is clear that we need to establish prearranged office facilities with the necessary infrastructure to enable short setup time when Members, leadership, committees and their staffs are unable to access current facilities."[373] He then informed the Committee that complete office space assignments for the alternate House offices had been made.

District Office Space

In addition to overseeing the distribution of office space in Washington, DC, the Committee has examined the procurement and use of offices in congressional districts. Language in the Legislative Branch Appropriations Acts in for fiscal years 1953, 1954, and 1955, authorized and directed the Sergeant at Arms to secure office space in U.S. post offices or other Federal buildings in each district for use of the Member.[374] If no suitable space was available in such buildings, and a Member chose to lease or rent space elsewhere, the Sergeant at Arms was authorized to approve payment from the contingent fund in an amount not to exceed $900 per year for such space. In the latter Act, the Clerk was also permitted to reimburse a Member for official office expenses incurred in the district in an amount not to exceed $150 each quarter.

During the 85th Congress (1957–1958), the Committee considered legislation to amend this arrangement. On May 16, 1957, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Accounts Samuel Friedel of Maryland submitted a report to accompany H.R. 790, which the Committee had considered and reported favorably with amendments. The bill aimed to clarify authorized locations for district offices. In an explanatory statement in the report, the Committee indicated that a number of Members occupied offices outside their districts.[375] In larger cities with multiple congressional districts, the Committee reported, "several Members may occupy offices in the same Federal building which, actually, would not be located within the boundaries of their respective districts." The bill

reported by Committee made these Members eligible for the reimbursement of up to $150 quarterly for official offices expenses incurred outside of Washington, rather than only in the Member's district. This bill was approved and became law on June 13, 1957.[376]

That year, the Committee also worked to clarify language concerning the number and size of offices to which a Member was entitled. On February 20, 1957, Robert Ashmore of South Carolina, a member of the full Committee, introduced H.R. 5100 (85th Congress). Appearing before the Subcommittee on Accounts on March 8, 1957, to discuss his bill, Representative Ashmore mentioned a source of confusion for himself and other Members. He noted that at the time he had one office, which was located in a federal building, although he claimed that he and his predecessor had previously had two offices for many years. When he tried to arrange for an additional privately secured office, he was told by the Sergeant at Arms that the General Services Administration (GSA) had interpreted the law as indicating that Members could only have one office, whether in a public building or privately leased. He found this limiting, especially in a district with two towns of comparable size.[377] Members of the Committee noted their own experiences in obtaining district space and discussed billing issues and whether or not the allowance needed to be raised.

The Committee continued its examination of district office space on August 22 when it reported another bill introduced by Representative Ashmore, H.R. 9282, which amended the 1955 act so each Member could procure up to two district offices. It also permitted the Sergeant at Arms to secure office space in post offices or federal buildings. Members with space not secured by the Sergeant at Arms could present vouchers to the Clerk of the House, and the Committee opted to raise the limit on reimbursements from $900 to $1,200 per annum.[378] The bill became law on September 7, 1957.[379]

The issue of district office space persisted in the next Congress, as numerous articles in the press questioned the practices by which Members chose privately secured space. Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance reporter Vance Trimble, who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1960 for his work, charged some Members with nepotism in a series of articles. Accusations arose of Members employing relatives and charging the government for district office space in their own homes.[380]

The Committee proceeded to hold two hearings on bills introduced to resolve this issue. In a April 27, 1959, hearing the Committee considered H.Res. 229 (86th Congress), which sought to require each Member acquiring district office space, that was paid for from the contingent fund, to file a report with the Clerk of the House containing the amount of the rent, the recipient of the rent, and any relationship between that recipient and the Member. These reports were to remain open for public inspection. Disbursement would be prohibited if a report was not filed. During the second hearing, on August 5, 1959, Robert Ashmore testified on behalf of a bill he had introduced on July 28 that also required disclosure of the amounts charged for district office space and the relationship of the rent recipient. Speaking in support of H.R. 331 (86th Congress), Ashmore acknowledged the "recent unfavorable publicity" in this area and discussions among Committee members of the problem. He also acknowledged certain obstacles to reform, including comparisons to reforms undertaken by the Senate. Subcommittee chairman Samuel Friedel of Maryland defended the current system, noting that records were open for inspection in the Disbursing Office. Friedel said that the House made full disclosure, "but what we do not do is just hand them the information without them working for it."[381] He objected to spending additional money to assist the journalists. Ashmore countered by noting that many journalists had trouble accessing the information, which Friedel blamed on reporters who had "ganged up and were living in the Disbursing Office. . . . These people ran there continuously, morning, noon and night." Friedel proposed leaving the decision up to constituents as to whether or not it is acceptable to employ or rent from a relative or business associate. Ashmore favored full disclosure, and Willard Curtin of Pennsylvania echoed his support, saying "I think

you are protecting yourself against possible criticism in the future." Friedel, however, lectured his colleagues on the dangers of the hostile press which could distort the information. George Rhodes of Pennsylvania voiced his agreement, saying "we are not going to make the press clean, and we are not going to make Congress perfect, and we are not going to get anywhere with legislation like this."[382] He would favor the legislation, he said, if "stiff criminal penalties" were added.[383] No further action was taken on either resolution.

Six years later, the Committee again considered legislation further amend the laws governing the procurement of district office space. Introduced by Augustus Hawkins of California on July 22, 1965, H.R. 10014 (89th Congress) was favorably reported by the Committee without amendment on August 4.[384] The bill proposed to double the allowable authorized rent for district offices to $2,400 per year. It also corrected language in the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1955 by recognizing the achievement of statehood by Alaska and Hawaii and striking references to their Delegates. Speaking to clarify the provisions of the bill on the House floor, Samuel Friedel indicated that Members would remain limited to two district offices, regardless of whether or not space could be provided by the Sergeant at Arms in a post office or other federal building.[385] He also reminded Members that the new allowance could only be used in the congressional district and certified leases must be presented to the Clerk before any payment could be made. The bill was agreed to by the House that day, and on September 29, 1965, was signed into law.[386]

In a guidance to Members on regulations concerning various expenses issued by the Committee for the 91st Congress (1969–1970), Members were reminded that they were entitled to not more than two offices in the district and of the $2,400 per annum limit on space not secured by the Sergeant at Arms.[387] Leases for rental office space, they were informed, were to be submitted to the Finance Office, which would certify voucher payments directly to the lessors.

The Committee issued a series of committee orders over the next few years to revise the manner in which funds for district office space were allocated.[388] In a revised order printed in the Congressional Record on January 26, 1972, the Committee specified that not more than two spaces could be secured in post offices or other Federal buildings and that the General Services Administration (GSA) could provide furnishings for no more than three district offices.[389] The Committee retained the $2,400 annual limit on rents, although it allowed Members to certify to the Committee if they were unable to procure office space in their districts at that rate. The Committee could then, as it considered appropriate, direct the Clerk to approve amounts not exceeding $350 per month. In another order issued two years later, the Committee raised this ceiling to $500. If a Member certified that rental office space could not be secured at this higher rate, the Committee could direct the Clerk to approve payment for office space "not exceeding approximately 1,500 square feet at rates not to exceed the highest applicable rate charged to Federal agencies in the district established by regulations issued by the Administrator of General Services."[390] In 1976, the Committee adopted another regulation which eliminated a specific dollar allowance for district offices and permitted all Members to secure space at an amount equivalent to 1,500 square feet at the highest allowable General Services Administration rate. This order also permitted Members to transfer the authorization to expend funds among various allowances, including the District Office Rental Allowance.[391]

The next Congress, the Committee considered H.Res. 687 (95th Congress), which increased the multiplier from 1,500 to 2,500 square feet effective January 3, 1978. In the report accompanying the legislation, the Committee referenced their study of Members' utilization of office space and belief that failure to raise the multiplier "may result in a substantial disruption of constituent services, reduction in the accessibility of Members to their constituents, overcrowding of staff in district offices, and other hardships impinging each Members ability to carry out his representational duties."[392] The resolution was agreed to by the House on September 20, 1977, and made permanent by the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1979.[393]

The Committee has since provided oversight of the CAO's assistance in securing and furnishing the district offices, for example, by approving revisions to the district office lease form in October 2004 and reviewing recommendations for improved district office transitions presented by the House Inspector General in March 2005.[394] It has also monitored the efforts of House officers to ensure continuity of operations and security in district offices. For example, following the January 8, 2011, shooting that killed six people and wounded Representative Gabrielle Giffords, the House Sergeant at Arms established the Law Enforcement Coordinator program and coordinated physical security assessments for district offices. A new *Members' Congressional Handbook*, adopted December 16, 2011, also contains new language regarding district offices, particularly related to district office security improvements.

The Members' Representational Allowance for 2011 continues to provide "the dollar equivalent of 2,500 square feet multiplied by the applicable General Services Administration (GSA) rental rate" charged by GSA to Federal agencies in the Member's district, although there is no other limit on the number or size of district offices.[395] Leases, and any substantive amendments, must be approved by the Administrative Counsel in the Office of the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) prior to the disbursement of any funds.[396]

Official Travel

Origins and Development

In the early years of Congress, the travel of Representatives between the Capitol and their districts was often a long and arduous journey. In fact, when the first federal Congress was set to convene in New York on March 4, 1789, only 13 of the 65 Representatives were in attendance. The others, notes Historian Robert Remini, "were delayed on account of roads frequently mired in mud, riddled with potholes or washed away by floodwaters," or because they "had to slog their way through a wilderness because there were no roads at all."[397] The House did not achieve a quorum to conduct business until April 1. Although travel conditions would improve over the course of the next century, the ability of Members to return home at the end of a session, maintain contact with their families and constituents, and obtain timely news from across the nation and abroad, remained an important concern.

By 1947, when the Committee on House Administration was established, technological advances had made travel more routine. Aviation, which had only been invented 44 years earlier, had drastically reduced the length of time it would take Members to reach their constituents and far-flung corners of the world. Along with the greater ease of travel, America's overseas obligations increased in the post-War era, and interest among Members in gaining first-hand insight rose accordingly. Such travel had the potential to impact the nation's post-war foreign policy. One news account in 1947 praised congressional trips and described how some Members "abandoned narrow provincialism and rose to leadership stature on their return, softening the hard core of isolation that is still latent in both Houses."[398] The abandonment of geographic limitations on Congress was not without issue, and it soon became evident that it would mean a greater need for input and guidance from the Committee concerning foreign and domestic official travel qualifications, reimbursement limits and procedures, and reporting requirements.

Jurisdictional History

Prior to the creation of the Committee in 1946, questions pertaining to travel had been handled by either the Committee on Mileage (1837–1927) or the Committee on Accounts (1803–1946). The Committee on House Administration has exercised jurisdiction since then, although legislation considered by other committees—notably the House Appropriations Committee, the House International Relations Committee, and the House Rules Committee—has affected the boundaries of its power and the duties incumbent upon it.

Initially, legislation pertaining to travel referred to the Committee was occasionally handled at the full committee level, while subcommittees were utilized during some periods for certain issues. In the 86th Congress (1959–1960), the Committee established a Special Subcommittee on Travel,

although its name was soon changed to the Special Subcommittee on Audit. This Special Subcommittee was appointed the following two Congresses. During this time, travel issues were either referred to the Special Subcommittee, the Subcommittee on Accounts, or the full Committee. Committee records from the 88th Congress (1963–1964) provide some insight into the rationale behind this jurisdictional overlap. On July 18, 1963, Chairman Omar Burleson of Texas wrote to Samuel Friedel of Maryland, a member of the Committee who served as the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Accounts that:

> in order to keep a closer check on voucher payments I feel it wise to continue the Audit Subcommittee separate from other subcommittee responsibilities.... As Chairman of the Accounts Subcommittee, it would seem this would naturally fall under your direct interest, and I hope that you will so act as Chairman."[399]

After noting the two other Members he asked to serve on the panel, Burleson suggested that the Special Subcommittee on Audit interpret regulations and review travel vouchers, ruling on vouchers of doubtful validity. He indicated the Subcommittee could also interpret and rule on questions relating to travel by Members and employees both inside the United States and abroad and supervise the publication of the Clerk's report on expenditures. The Audit Subcommittee subsequently worked with Members on issues including excessive taxicab travel in Washington, DC, disallowing reimbursement for overweight luggage charges, and rectifying the incorrect classification of a consultant as a witness for travel reimbursement purposes. The full Committee as well as the Subcommittee on Accounts also examined regulations concerning the use of funds for travel, particularly that outside the United States. The Subcommittee on Audit was not reappointed in the 89th Congress, and legislation pertaining to travel was subsequently either referred to the Subcommittee on Accounts or handled at the full committee level. The Subcommittee on Accounts, in turn, was eliminated at the beginning of the 104th Congress and measures pertaining to travel are now examined by the full committee.

The Committee's authority over the travel of Members, Delegates, and the Resident Commissioner is found in House Rule X.[400]

Overseas Travel

Overseas travel of Members and staff since 1948 has been paid for with either appropriated or counterpart funds, depending upon the availability of the latter in a particular destination. These counterpart funds included local currency accounts established by the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 and were negotiated as part of various foreign assistance agreements.[401] Under the act, countries receiving mutual security aid are required to deposit an equivalent of their own currency in a special account to be used within that country. An amendment to the act in 1949 stipulated that five percent of this account "shall be allocated to the use of the United States Government for expenditure for materials which are required by the United States as a result of deficiencies or potential deficiencies in its own resources or for other local currency requirements of the United States."[402] Further amendments specified that appropriate congressional committees should have access to these funds in carrying out their duties and raised the amount to ten percent of the local currency.[403]

The State Department made these funds available to Members of Congress traveling with the authorization of a committee chair. In January 1954, Chairman Karl Le Compte of Iowa received a response from House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Robert Chiperfield of Illinois in regards to his inquiry into the Foreign Affairs Committee's use of these counterpart funds. Chairman Chiperfield indicated a provisional total, pending final accounting by the State Department, of $27,221.73 in counterpart funds used for study missions conducted by his committee during the first session of the 83rd Congress. He noted the savings this provided to the taxpayer "is one of the few ways in which the American people can get some return for the grant aid which they have given those countries."[404]

Later that year, Congress increased its accountability

for the use of counterpart funds in the Mutual Security Act of 1954, which provided a first step in addressing this issue. The act, reported by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 25, 1954, became law on August 26, 1954.[405] It retained the availability of local currencies owned by the United States to "appropriate congressional committees," but required that any committee using these funds file a report with the Committee on House Administration or the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, as appropriate.[406] These reports were to contain the total currency expended and for what purpose it was used.

Beginning with the 83rd Congress (1953–1954), the Committee began to list which committees had authority to conduct foreign travel in the committee expense section of its *Committee Calendar*. This authority was granted in simple resolutions considered by the Rules Committee and agreed to by the House. These resolutions sometimes specified the size of the committee delegation, the destinations to which it could travel, and the purpose of the travel.[407] Amendments to the Mutual Security Act in 1958 altered the reporting requirements, stipulating that any Member or employee traveling on official committee business file an itemized report of expenditures to the chair of that committee. Both the amounts and dollar equivalent values of each foreign currency expended were to be listed, along with the purpose of the expenditure. The chairman, in turn, was required to make a consolidated report for the committee and forward it to the Committee on House Administration or Senate Committee on Appropriations within the first 60 days that Congress was in session in each calendar year. These reports would then be published in the *Congressional Record* within ten days of receipt by the respective committees.[408]

On March 9, 1959, H.R. Gross of Iowa introduced H.R. 5401, which aimed to broaden foreign travel disclosure requirements. The Subcommittee on Accounts held hearings on the bill on May 21 and June 30. Gross emphasized that he did not intend to criticize all trips abroad, but rather noted that "certain practices have cast a shadow over the entire Congress."[409] Gross argued that the reports required by the Mutual Security Act of 1958 did not go far enough in the requirements for itemization by not requiring the publication of each Member's expenses but rather allowing for a consolidated report of the committee and by not taking into account the accompanying spouses for whom expenditures were made. Chairman Samuel Friedel countered by citing incidences in which he believed the press misrepresented the disclosures. For example, he noted occasions in which the press reported foreign currency spending without citing dollar equivalents. Friedel indicated that "the committee felt that the press can do a Member of Congress a lot of damage and harm."[410]

At the June 30th hearing, Omar Burleson, Chairman of the full committee, reminded his colleagues of earlier efforts by the Committee to address this topic. He said that around the 84th Congress (1955–1956), he and then-Chairman Karl Le Compte of Iowa attempted to:

> prevail upon the Chairmen of the various committees to report to this committee and to make public expenditures of counterpart funds or appropriated funds or any funds expended by Members traveling overseas, but we ran into considerable difficulty even with regard to the cooperation of the Chairman, although we think, probably there were different opinions as to how those efforts should be conducted.[411]

Burleson also pointed out the difficulty in accounting for appropriated or counterpart funds that various executive branch agencies, like the State Department, may have used to support congressional travel. The Committee had also encountered difficulty in assessing some expenses, like the cost per passenger on a special mission plane from the Defense Department, and assigning this to particular Members.

In 1960, two acts were passed containing additional changes to travel reporting requirements. The first, another amendment to the Mutual Security Act, passed on May 14, required the reporting of appropriated funds as well as counterpart funds.[412] An additional provision concerning foreign travel became law on July 12, with the passage of the

Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1961.[413] This provision required delegations to the Interparliamentary Union, the NATO parliamentarian's conference, the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group, the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Group or any similar interparliamentary organization to file itemized reports of the expenditures of each participant with the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate or Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, as appropriate. The chairmen of these committees were then required to consolidate these reports and file them with either the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate or the Committee on House Administration. The consolidated committee reports were to be printed in the Congressional Record within ten days of receipt.[414]

During the 88th Congress (1963–1964), both the full Committee and the Subcommittee on Accounts focused on alleged abuses of travel funds. The Committee considered reducing appropriations for foreign travel and applying additional foreign travel guidelines. With the approval of the Committee on House Administration, which retained responsibility for supervising expenditures of the House, the House Rules Committee approved a number of resolutions specifying whether or not a committee, as part of its investigative duties, had authority for foreign travel or access to counterpart funds on January 30, 1963.[415] The House considered many of the resolutions for this Congress on January 31, 1963.[416] An additional resolution authorizing the Committee on Agriculture to conduct investigations only in the United States and prohibiting its access to counterpart funds was agreed to on February 18, 1963.[417] In all, eight committees were specifically limited to investigations within the United States, while two were permitted to travel to specific overseas areas.[418] All ten were prohibited from using counterpart funds. Five resolutions specified approval of foreign travel for certain committees.[419] The Rules Committee actions did not extend to committees that did not require specific authorization to conduct studies and investigation or did not plan to.[420] Committees authorized to travel abroad were instructed to use counterpart funds whenever possible, and expenditures were limited to the maximum per diem set forth in the Standardized Government Travel Regulations, as revised and amended by the Bureau of the Budget. The resolutions prohibited an employee from receiving or expending an amount for transportation in excess of actual transportation costs. They also contained additional requirements. The resolution covering travel of Armed Services Committee members, for example, states that:

> each member or employee of said committee shall make to the chairman of said committee an itemized report showing the number of days visited in each country whose local currencies were spent, the amount of per diem furnished, and the cost of transportation if furnished by public carrier, or if such transportation is furnished by an agency of the United States Government, the identification of the agency.[421]

These reports were to be filed with the Committee on House Administration and remain available for public inspection.

On February 7, 1963, Chairman Omar Burleson sponsored legislation that would further regulate travel funds. In a hearing on the bill on March 14, he announced that the leadership and numerous Members favored its passage as a way to simplify the regulations.[422] The report that accompanied H.J. Res. 245 when it was reported by the committee two months later noted what they considered to be lacking in existing law, including:

> Individuals or groups are authorized to travel on the basis of broad language which provides little control over who may travel or the purpose of such travel; there is no specific ceiling or limitation on the amount of funds available for expenses of travel overseas; the reporting requirements do not specify that the length of time spent in each country be shown; no supporting documentation of expenditures is required; transportation is in no way controlled; and there is no check or audit available in connection with reported expenditures.[423]

The Committee noted the amendments adopted by the Committee on Rules earlier in the session addressed some of these issues, but argued that this action neither extended to the committees that did not require the specific authorization to conduct studies and investigations, nor were the restrictions extended to Members and employees of the Senate. The Committee argued that their bill corrected for these defects and others by requiring specific resolutions authorizing travel from the House of Representatives or the Senate, reporting of dates of travel, limiting transportation costs to "that which may be established as reasonable," and requiring executive branch agencies to file detailed reports, which were to be printed in the *Congressional Record*, on funds expended on behalf of a congressional delegation.[424] The House approved H.J. Res 245 by a vote of 387-2 on May 7, 1963. The Senate, however, took no action during the 88th Congress. The Committee continued to monitor travel and amend voucher forms and regulations in the House, periodically updating the publication, "Regulations: Travel and other Expenses of Committees and Members."[425]

In the 1970s, a series of actions and reforms affected the duties of the Committee on House Administration with respect to the reporting of travel. The requirement that reports on travel be published in the *Congressional Record* was dropped in the State Department authorization act of 1973.[426] A provision the following year in the Legislative Branch appropriations bill for FY1975 replaced the printing with language requiring reports be made available in the Office of the Clerk.[427] The Committee Reform Amendments of 1974, adopted on October 8, 1974, dropped the requirement that committees obtain separate authorization for travel, and the 93rd Congress was therefore the last time such authority was separately listed in the *Committee Calendar*.[428] The Legislative Branch Appropriations Act for FY1976 provided for the filing of consolidated reports on the travel of interparliamentary delegations, prepared by the chairman of the House Committee on International Relations, with the Committee on House Administration and required they remain open for inspection.[429] This law brought reporting requirements for travel for interparliamentary conferences into conformity with other foreign travel expense reporting requirements and into conformity with House Rules.[430] A provision in the FY1977 State Department authorization act reinstated the requirement that consolidated foreign travel reports be printed in the *Congressional Record* within 10 days of receipt by the Clerk of the House.[431]

The passage of the International Security Act of 1978 further altered reporting procedures. Committee chairmen were thereafter required to file quarterly reports on travel with the Clerk of the House, and Members traveling with the authorization of the Speaker were required to file reports within 30 days of completion of travel.[432] The Clerk was directed to prepare a consolidation of these reports which was to remain open for public inspection and be printed in the Congressional Record within ten legislative days after its completion.

Reimbursement levels were further clarified in the Rules of the House (H. Res. 5) for the 95th Congress (1977–1978), approved on January 4, 1977 and H. Res. 287, approved March 2, 1977. H. Res. 5 stipulated that "no appropriated funds . . . shall be expended for the purpose of defraying expenses of members . . . in any country where local currencies are available for this purpose" and further clarified spending and reporting requirements.[433] H. Res. 287, which was introduced on February 16, 1977, by Representative Lee Hamilton, was referred to the Committees on Rules, House Administration, and Standards of Official Conduct. Title V, which was referred to the Committee on Rules, pertained to foreign travel of Members and employees. It stipulated that Members and employees of the House of Representatives, whether traveling with counterpart or appropriated funds, shall not expend or be reimbursed for an amount in excess of the maximum per diem set forth in applicable Federal law. Additionally, any traveler being reimbursed for expenses for such day was to receive "the lesser of the per diem or the actual, unreimbursed expenses."[434] These guidelines have been adopted into the Rules of the House in subsequent Congresses.[435]

Title V also resolved an issue that had periodically come before the Committee on House Administration. Prior to its passage, retiring or defeated Members of Congress were

permitted to travel overseas at taxpayer expense. The issue was a favorite topic of criticism in the press, which liked to highlight the cost of trips and argue, as *Washington Post* columnist Drew Pearson did, that the Members had "no real reason to take the trip since they can't use their knowledge for the benefit of the taxpayers who finance it."[436] Numerous bills aiming to prevent these trips, which had become derisively known as "lame-duck junkets," flooded the House beginning in January, 1973. The majority of these bills were referred to the Committee, although the issue also arose during floor consideration of the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974. Title V prohibited the use of appropriated, counterpart or contingent funds by Members who had not been re-elected. It was adopted when the House approved the resolution on March 2, 1977 with a roll call vote of 402–22. The prohibition was subsequently contained in House Rules.[437]

Administrative Oversight: Revising Reimbursement Rates and Monitoring Use of Travel Agents, Credit Cards, and Voucher Forms

The Committee has also overseen the development of regulations for the procurement of travel. This oversight has included an examination of reimbursement rates and the use of travel agencies, special negotiated airfares, and credit cards.

On April 19 and May 3, 1967, the Subcommittee on Accounts considered recommendations made in the report of the Special Subcommittee on Contracts, which examined expenditures made during the 89th Congress (1965–1966) by the House Committee on Education and Labor. The Special Subcommittee had recommended "the elimination of the purchase of transportation through travel agencies and that no credit cards be issued to any committee without prior approval of the Committee on House Administration."[438] The Committee on House Administration weighed the relative merits of using credit cards, travel agencies, and government transportation requests before settling on the latter. The use of outside travel agencies, they concluded, made difficult any attempt to audit expenses. The credit cards in turn, created more of an "administrative burden" and were criticized as equivalent to "having cash floating around."[440]

In revised regulations for 1970, the Committee loosened the restriction and announced that "each standing and select committee of the House of Representatives may have issued to it *one* universal airline credit card in the name of the chairman or a Member or staff employee designated by the chairman."

The Committee also worked to obtain reasonable airfare for Members and staff traveling on official business. In a "Dear Colleague" letter of May 18, 1981, Chairman Augustus Hawkins announced new arrangements, saying that:

> since November 1980, the Committee on House Administration has been working with the General Services Administration on House participation in their contract air fare program. I am pleased to advise you that GSA has successfully negotiated with seven airlines to provide discount air fares for Committees, Members and employees of the House when traveling on official business."[441]

Hawkins noted that participation had been mandatory for most of the executive branch since July 1, 1980. The General Services Administration (GSA) modified the contracts to allow the House to participate on a non-mandatory basis, provided that travelers use a special "official travel authorization form." Advanced payment was required in the form of cash, check or money order. The use of credit cards or travel agents was left to the discretion of the contract airline carriers.

As the use of credit cards grew more widespread, the Committee would periodically monitor this situation, updating the *Members' Congressional Handbook* and *Committee Handbook* and issuing "Dear Colleague" letters to remind card holders on their proper use.[442] In a letter issued August 3, 1995, Chairman Bill Thomas wrote that "effective September 27, the Finance Office will provide timely reimbursement to Members and staff for travel expenses charged to the American Express travel card; in turn, you will be responsible for paying American Express directly for charges to the card."[443] In a clarifying letter issued the following month, the Chairman indicated that this change was adopted in accordance with a recommendation included in

an audit conducted by Price Waterhouse.[444] Both letters also addressed the use of standard and trip envelope vouchers to summarize expenses. In March 2002, the Committee approved the implementation of direct travel card payments.[445] The Committee has since considered recommendations included in the House Inspector General's report on the House Travel Card program and amended the Citibank travel card policies.[446]

The Committee has also regularly adjusted mileage reimbursement rates for personally owned or leased automobiles and aircraft, often following rulings issued by the General Services Administration (GSA) amending the Federal Travel Regulations applicable to the mileage reimbursement rates for travel performed by U.S. government employees.[447] The Committee also worked to update the *Committee Handbook* and the *Members' Congressional Handbook* to reflect new regulations and House Resolutions. For example, following changes to the House Rules restricting certain types of privately funded travel, the Committee worked to incorporate language into its publications. It has also examined voucher documentation standards, proposing changes when needed and adopting committee resolutions.[448]

Franking

Origins and Development

The congressional franking privilege, which allows Members of Congress to send mail at government expense, has existed in the United States since 1792[449], when Congress passed legislation granting Members of Congress the privilege to send and receive letters and packets of up to 2 ounces free of postage during sessions of Congress and for 20 days afterwards.[450] During the 19th century, Congress amended the franking statutes numerous times,[451] in some cases expanding the period of time, the type of material allowed to be franked,[452] or the recipients of the privilege,[453] while in other cases reducing it.[454]

In 1873, the general franking privilege was abolished for Members of Congress.[455] In 1874, Congress partially restored the privilege by allowing Members to send public documents at a reduced rate.[456] In 1895, Congress restored the general franking privilege for Members, allowing them to *send* under their frank "any mail matter related to official business."[457] However, unlike the pre-1873 legislation, Members were not allowed to *receive* mail free of postage.

The 1895 statute—with occasional minor amendment—governed Member use of the franking privilege during most of the 20th century. Because the statute was vague about the definition of "matter related to official business," it became the practice of the Department of the Post Office to offer advisory opinions to Members of Congress on the frankability of individual mailings.

Beginning in 1968, a series of events led Congress to revise the franking statutes. First, the Post Office indicated that it would no longer offer advisory opinions to Members on the use of the frank; Members would themselves need to determine the proper use of the frank.[458] Second, several groups filed lawsuits against individual Members of Congress, arguing that their use of congressional franking privilege during campaigns was unconstitutional.[459] These events led Congress to pass comprehensive franking reform legislation in 1973.[460] The vague definitions of the 1895 statute were replaced with specific limitations on what Members could and could not frank, mass mailings were restricted prior to elections, and both chambers of Congress empowered bodies to produce regulations regarding the franking privilege for their Members.

Since 1973, the franking statutes and chamber rules have been amended to further restrict use of the frank, including prohibitions of the use of private money in the production of franked mail material,[461] limits on overall franking expenditures,[462] public disclosure of individual member franking expenditures,[463] expanded pre-election restrictions on mass mailings,[464] and restrictions on the franking privileges of congressional committees.[465]

Jurisdictional History

Since the creation of the Committee in 1946, its role in the production of franking legislation can be divided into four time periods. From 1946 until 1974, the Committee handled no bills related to franking. Between 1974 and 1984, the

Committee occasionally was referred bills that contained amendments to the franking statutes, when such amendments were contained in larger bills related to the regulation of federal elections. Between 1984 and 1994, proposals for individual accounting of Member franking created an additional jurisdiction for the Committee, and the number of franking bills referred to the Committee increased. Since 1995, the Committee has had greater general jurisdiction over franking legislation, including jurisdiction over the Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards.

The Committee had no role in the production of franking legislation until almost 30 years after its creation in 1946. From the 80th Congress until the 93rd Congress, all bills related to franking were referred to either the Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service, the Ways and Means Committee, or the Rules Committee. Additionally, adjustments to franking statutes were occasionally handled in appropriation acts. Although the Committee's control over legislation related to elections provided plausible jurisdiction over some potential matters related to the franking privilege, between 1946 and 1974 the Committee did not handle any franking legislation.

The passage of comprehensive franking reform in 1973 included, for the first time, specific restrictions on the use of the frank during pre-election campaign periods. During the same period, the Committee was routinely handling legislation regulating federal elections in general, many seeking to amend the Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1971. Often, these bills contained provisions altering the franking statutes in regard to election-year restrictions. Consequently, the Committee began to handle some franking legislation. However, most bills related to the franking privilege—and all bills in which franking was the only subject matter—continued to be referred to other Committees, mainly the Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service.

Beginning in the 99th Congress (1985–1986), legislative proposals for franking reform began to focus on restricting individual Members' overall use of the franking privilege. Typically, the proposals called either for limited funding in individual Member franking accounts, or for public disclosure of franking costs for individual Members. The Committee was referred both types of legislation, under its jurisdiction over "appropriations from the contingent fund," "expenditure of contingent fund," and "measures relating to accounts of the House generally."[466]

The Committee's increased role over franking legislation initially reflected legislative developments of franking regulation. As noted above, since 1973 Congress has placed greater restrictions on Member use of the frank. Many of these restrictions—particularly election-year restrictions and individual accountability—overlapped with existing jurisdictions of the Committee over allowances and expenses of Members and over "election of . . . Members; . . . corrupt practices; contested elections; and Federal elections generally."[467] Beginning in 1989, the Committee's jurisdiction over the franking privilege was explicitly expanded by law. In the FY1990 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, the Committee was given regulatory authority over the expenditure of funds appropriated by Congress for Official Mail Costs.[468]

In 1995, changes in the rules of the House increased the Committee's role over franking. At the beginning of the 104th Congress, legislators chose to abolish the Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service.[469] Matters formerly referred to the Committee on the Post Office were redirected to the Committee on House Administration (which was called the Committee on House Oversight at the time). This placed jurisdiction over the House Commission on Mailing Standards (the "Franking Commission") with the Committee on House Administration. The Committee also continued to consider franking through its traditional jurisdiction over elections and member allowances.

The current jurisdiction of the House Committee on Administration over the franking privilege is found in House Rule X, clause 1(j).[470] Committee jurisdiction exists over "appropriations from accounts for...allowances and expenses of Members" as well as the "expenditure of [such] accounts."[471] The Committee also has legislative jurisdiction over "election of . . . Members . . . corrupt practices; contested elections; and Federal elections generally."[472] Clause 1(j)(7) gives the Committee jurisdiction over the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards. Use of the frank by a House

Member is governed by statutory provisions, House rules, regulations of the Committee, and regulations of the Commission on Congressional Mailings Standards.

Despite its increased jurisdiction over the franking privilege, most current franking law was not produced by the Committee. Many of the statutes were enacted prior to the Committee gaining a role in the production of franking legislation. Many of the franking statutes passed since 1995 have been placed in Legislative Branch Appropriation Acts. However, the Committee has taken the leading role in non-legislative aspects of franking. Jurisdiction over the Franking Commission gives the Committee day-to-day oversight of franking operations, and jurisdiction over Member accounts allows the Committee to set overall franking expenditures in the Member Representational Allowance (MRA).

Committee Activity, 1974–1984

During the 93rd Congress, the Committee was referred five bills containing provisions related to the franking privilege. Three of the bills sought comprehensive revision of the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA), and included provisions to extend the 28-day pre-election period during which Members were prohibited from making mass mailings. Two of the bills[473] specified a 60-day pre-election prohibition; the third bill[474] provided for a 90-day ban. The Committee did not take action on any of the bills.

The amendments to FECA reported out of the Committee during the 93rd Congress—H.R. 16090, whose companion bill (S. 3044) was enacted into law[475]—contained one provision related to the franking privilege. Sec. 319 prohibited Members from using franked mail to make any solicitation of funds. Although such solicitations were arguably already prohibited under the franking statute passed earlier in the 93rd Congress,[476] this prohibition was apparently added to insure that the practice would be specifically prohibited by statute.[477]

The Committee was also referred a bill to extend the franking privilege to former Speakers of the House.[478] The Committee took no action on the bill.

During the 94th Congress, the Committee was referred three bills that contained provisions on the franking privilege. H.R. 11702 and H.R. 11915 were similar measures, both of which sought to reform FECA. Each contained a provision extending the pre-election mass mailing prohibition from 28 days to 60 days. The third measure, H.R. 11941, provided that candidates for federal office (both incumbents and challengers) could make bulk mailings up to 14 days prior to an election at the same rate of postage charged to non-profit educational organizations. The Committee took no action on the bills.

During the 95th Congress, the Committee was again referred three measures with provisions on the franking privilege. A bill to amend FECA, H.R. 11315, contained provisions that would have prohibited Members from making mass mailings using computer lists established or maintained from campaign contributions. After hearings, the bill was amended and reported out of the committee with by a vote of 16-9, but the House took no action on it.[479] H.R. 5338 would have allowed candidates to mail campaign mail at the non-profit rate, but the committee took no action.[480] H.Res. 287, based on the recommendations of the House Commission on Administrative Review, contained a series of provisions to limit Member use of the franking privilege.[481] However, jurisdiction over these sections of the resolution was given to the Rules Committee. The House agreed to H.Res. 287 on March 2, 1977.

Only two measures on franking were referred to the Committee between 1979 and 1984, both during the 96th Congress. The first bill, H.R. 1951, provided for free bulk mailing for all candidates for federal offices. The Committee took no action on the measure. The second bill, H.R. 5010, proposed amendments to FECA and contained a provision to repeal the prohibition on Members using the frank to solicit campaign funds. The Committee reported the measure on September 7, 1979; it was enacted into law four months later.[483]

Committee Activity, 1985–1994

Beginning in the 99th Congress, proposals in both chambers to reform Member use of the franking privilege were introduced with greater frequency, arguably in response to increased Member use of the frank and public attention to the costs of the franking privilege.[484] Because many of these proposals sought to reform franking by limiting its cost or

ensuring public accountability through public disclosure, the Committee was referred franking legislation more often than in previous Congresses. In addition, appropriation acts in FY1990 and FY1991 gave the Committee new authority to regulate Member use of the franking privilege.

During the 99th Congress, the Committee was referred four bills with franking provisions. One of the bills sought to limit the total amount of money individual Members could use on franked mail during each fiscal year. At the time, funds for Member franking were contained in a single general appropriation, "Official Mail Costs," against which Members were not restricted in their use. H. Con. Res. 352 (and companion S. Con. Res. 139) would have established a formula for allocating a portion of the appropriation to each Member and required the quarterly publishing of individual Member franking expenditures. A second reform bill, H.R. 5172, would have prohibited federal funds from being used for the mass mailing of congressional newsletters, effectively ending most mass mailings.[485] Both measures were referred to the subcommittee on Accounts, but no further action was taken.[486]

Another measure referred to the Committee, S. Con. Res. 91, called for public disclosure in the *Congressional Record* of the individual Member costs of mass-mailings. The resolution passed the Senate and was referred to the Committee. The Committee referred it to the subcommittee on Procurement and Printing, but no further action was taken.[487]

Finally, the Committee was referred one piece of legislation during the 99th Congress, S. 1995, which was enacted into law.[488] The bill provided for the use of franked mail in the location and recovery of missing children. Members who chose to participate in the program could have the names and pictures of missing children placed on the outside of franked mail envelopes. Although the Committee was referred the legislation,[489] it was reported out of the Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service, to which it was also referred.[490]

During the 100th Congress, the Committee was only referred one measure related to the franking privilege, H. Con Res. 54, which was identical to H. Con Res. 352 in the 99th Congress, and which would have limited individual Member franking and provided for public disclosure of individual Member franking expenditures. The committee took no action on the resolution.[491]

During the 101st Congress, a number of changes involving mailings and use of the frank were made in appropriations bills, and specific authority was granted to the Committee on House Administration. In 1989, the postmaster general was directed to provide various reports on the costs of franked mail to, in the House, the clerk of the House, Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards (then under the Post Office and Civil Service Committee), and Committee on House Administration. The Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards, and the Committee on House Administration were directed to "consider promulgating such regulations" that would ensure total mailing costs would not exceed amounts made available for a fiscal year.[492]

In 1990, House spending of appropriated funds for franked mail were made subject to specific regulation by the Committee on House Administration.[493] The postmaster general was directed to report on individual Member's spending for franked mail, and the Postal Service, in consultation with the Committee on House Administration, was prohibited from delivering franked mail in excess of a Member's allocation.[494] An Official Mail Allowance was established in the House for Members, officers, and employees entitled to use the frank, subject to regulations promulgated by the Committee on House Administration with respect to the allocation and expenditures relating to the allowance and to regulations promulgated by the Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards relating to matters under 39 U.S.C. §3210(a)(6)(D).[495] Prior to individual franking accountability, the Postal Service had charged Congress for franked mail by weight, using formulas to approximate cost. After the switch to an individual system, the Committee implemented first a manual accounting system,[496] and then a centralized automated system.[497] After implementation of these reforms, overall spending on franked mail decreased.[498]

Between the 101st and 103rd Congress, 54 bills related to the franking privilege were referred to the Committee. The bills included such provisions as abolishing the franking privilege,[499] barring mass mailings during election years,[500]

limiting the size of each Member's mail cost allowance,[501] extending the franking privilege to non-incumbent candidates for federal office,[502] and barring mass mailings outside of a Member's own district.[503] The Committee reported only two of the measures, H.R. 3750 of the 102nd Congress and H.R. 3 of the 103rd Congress. In both instances, the committee struck language prohibiting use of the frank outside of a Member's own district before reporting the bill.

During the 102nd Congress, the House directed the Committee to conduct an investigation of illegal activities within the House Post Office, including abuse of the franking privilege granted to the Postmaster.[504] The investigation concluded that the Postmaster had loaned his frank to Members in violation of the 1991 legislation requiring individual accountability.[505] The investigation also found that the Postmaster had systematically overstated the volume of incoming mail to Congress in order to justify hiring additional employee, inadvertently affecting congressional debate over franking costs and potential reforms.[506]

Committee Activity, 1994-present

When Republicans organized the House in the 104th Congress after winning a majority of House seats in the 1994 election, they made a number of changes in committee organization. In agreeing to rules changes for the 104th Congress (1995–1996),[507] the House reconstituted its standing committees, including renaming the Committee on House Administration as the House Oversight Committee. Jurisdiction over the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards[508]—popularly known as the Franking Commission—was transferred to the House Oversight Committee from the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which was not reconstituted as a committee.

The commission implements federal law on use of the franking privilege (especially 39 U.S.C. §3210), applicable rules and orders of the House, and regulations that the commission has promulgated. After the Post Office Department ceased issuing advisory opinions on the frankability of mail and the general use of the franking privilege in 1968, Congress sought to curtail what was seen as improper use of the frank, passing a comprehensive franking law in 1973.[509] The law created the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards (the "Franking Commission"), which was to be composed of three members of each party, chosen by the Speaker of the House, and chaired by a member of the Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service, also chosen by the Speaker.

The Commission, which was created on December 18, 1973, is authorized "to (1) issue regulations governing the proper use of the franking privilege; (2) to provide guidance in connection with mailings; (3) to act as a quasi-judicial body for the disposition of formal complaints against Members of Congress who have allegedly violated franking laws or regulations."[510] The commission consists of six Members chosen by the Speaker, three from each major political party, as well as a chairman selected by the Speaker from among the Members on the Committee on House Administration.[511]

In practice, the Committee on House Administration and the Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards have been largely integrated. The Speaker appoints three members of each party to the Franking Commission, and designates one as chair. While members of the commission, except the chair, do not under federal law have to be members of the Committee on House Administration, Speakers since the 104th Congress have often appointed members of the Committee on House Administration to the commission. The professional staff of the Committee work closely with the staff of the Commission, which currently numbers six. Staff of the Commission share office space with the Committee, and are paid through funding allocated to the Committee.

The day-to-day operations of the Franking Commission are extensive. The Commission offers both formal and informal advisory opinions on the frankability of roughly six to eight thousand pieces of mail each year.[512] Since its establishment in 1973, the Commission has issued regulations and made rulings regarding, among other things, the allowable content of franked mail, the size, number, and placement of photographs in franked newsletters, and the public inspection of Member mass mailings.[513]

The Commission also handles, on average, about four or five complaints each year about particular pieces of franked mail. After a finding of fact, the Commission is empowered to punish Members if appropriate. Inadvertent violations usually result in the Member simply reimbursing the House for the cost of the mailing. More serious violations can result in Members losing a portion of their representational allowance, or referral to the House for further action.[514]

The Committee also has the regular responsibility to keep Members informed of the various seasonal rules and deadlines associated with franking. The Committee sends out several "Dear Colleague" letters each year regarding franking, asking Members to submit their mass mailing information each quarter, informing them of upcoming mass mail election year cutoffs, and reminding them about the frankability status of seasonal items, such as holiday cards. After assuming jurisdiction over the Franking Commission, the Committee began holding occasional seminars to train staff about franking regulations, distributing information to Member offices on regulation changes, and preparing updates to the "Red Book," the official regulations on the use of the frank.

During the 104th Congress, the Committee made several adjustments to Member franking privileges. The total amount available in Members official mail allowance was set at 45% of the statutory maximum,[515] which represented a 1/3 reduction from the previous maximum, which had been set in 1992.[516] Official mail costs for each Member were combined with clerk-hire and the official expense allowance into one account, the Member's Representational Allowance (MRA). Total expenditures on franking were still limited to the official mail cost portion of the MRA, plus up to $25,000 that Members could transfer from the rest of the account.[517]

Finally, the Committee adopted a ban on all unsolicited mass mailings occurring within 90 days of an election.[518] In April 1995, the Committee held a hearing on franking reform, to gather ideas for legislation related to the use of the frank.[519] The Committee took testimony from eight House Members on a variety of plans to reform Member use of the franking privilege.[520] No bills related to the franking privilege were referred to the committee during the 104th Congress. However, several of the committee regulations were enacted into law in appropriations acts.

During the 105th Congress, the Committee issued Committee Order No. 42, which removed the Official Mail Cost sub-limit from the Members Representational Allowance. Beginning with FY1999, Members were allowed to use any portion of their official budget for franked mail costs.[521]

During the 106th Congress, the Committee adopted a policy requiring advisory opinions for all unsolicited mass communications.[522] The Committee was also referred three bills related to the franking privilege. H.R. 1739 would have banned mass mailings in election years. H.R. 596 would have prohibited most mass mailings by Members. The Committee did not take action on either measure. A third measure, H.R. 417 was reported unfavorably by the committee. As part of a larger set of campaign-finance reforms, the legislation would have prohibited mass mailings 180 days prior to the general elections and 90 days prior to primary elections.

During the 107th Congress, the committee established new franking regulations regarding email. The new policy required that Members treat mass email communications in the same manner as mass mailings. The committee was referred five bills related to the franking privilege. Two of the measures, H.R. 833 and H.R. 380, were identical in respects to franking as legislation introduced in the 106th Congress (H.R. 596 and H.R. 417, respectively). The Committee took no action on H.R. 833. Further action on H.R. 380 was taken in the form of H.R. 2356, which did not contain the provisions related to the franking privilege.[523]

The Committee was also referred H.R. 533, which would have redefined mass mailing to include all mailings of more than 250 (instead of 500) pieces, prohibited candidates from making mass mailings less than 180 days before the general election, and required publication of MRA expenditures in the *Congressional Record*. Finally, the Committee was referred H.R. 1637, which contained provisions that would have restricted election year mass mailings during the period beginning 90 days prior to a Member's primary election and

ending on the day of the general election. The Committee took no action on either bill.

During both the 108th and 109th Congress, the committee was referred two bills related to the franking privilege, both similar to legislation previously introduced. H.R. 3641 and H.R. 3099 (108th and 109th Congress, respectively) contained provisions that would have restricted election year mass mailings during the period beginning 90 days prior to a Member's primary election and ending on the day of the general election. The Committee took no action on either bill. H.R. 820 and H.R. 3121 would have prohibited most mass mailings by Members. During the 108th Congress, the Committee also developed new regulations for Member use of constituent communications via electronic mail, which had formerly been treated the same as regular mail.[524]

During the 109th Congress, in response to allegations of misuse, the committee also passed a resolution restricting mass mailings made by House committees.[525] The committee funding resolution for the 109th Congress (H. Res. 224) limits House committees to an aggregate franking cost of $5,000, and prohibits the use of committee funds for the production of material for a mass mailing unless the mailing falls under specific exceptions related to committee business. Before mailing, the chairman or ranking minority member of the committee must submit a sample of the material to the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards for approval. In addition, no committee may frank into a Member's district within 90 days of an election to which the Member is a candidate.

During the 110th Congress, the committee was referred three bills related to the franking privilege. H.R. 1614, as part of a series of campaign finance reforms, would have restricted election year mass mailings during the period beginning 90 days prior to a Member's primary election and ending on the day of the general election. H.R. 2788 would have required each mass mailing to be labeled with the cost of the mailing. H.R. 2687 would have effectively prohibited Representatives from mass mailing newsletters, questionnaires, or congratulatory notices. The Committee took no action on any of the bills. The committee also amended disclosure regulations, requiring Members to report mass communication activity to the Finance Office.[526]

During the 111th Congress, the committee was referred two bills related to the franking privilege. H.R. 2056 would have restricted election year mass mailings during the period beginning 90 days prior to a Member's primary or general election. H.R. 5151 would have prohibited any use of the MRA for all official mail expenses except those transmitted under official letterhead, and also would have required the quarterly breakdown of official mail expenses be separated by method of mass communication. Committee took no action on any of the bills.

During the 112th Congress, the Commission agreed to several changes to the *Regulations on the Use of the Congressional Frank By Members of the House of Representatives and Rules of Practice in Proceedings Before the House Commission on Congressional Mailings Standards* (Franking Manual), the principal document which regulates the Congressional franking privilege.

The main principle behind this update is to allow Members of Congress to best communicate with constituents while preserving accountability for the use of the frank through increased transparency.

Concurrent with the passage of this manual, the Commission will implement a completely paperless franking review/advisory system and an online public archive of franking request via the new Franking Commission web site, which will enables the American people to quickly and easily reference their Member of Congress' use of the frank. All three components will be fully operational and effective at the start of the 113th Congress.[527]

Some of the revision to the new franking manual includes:

- The Commission's authority to regulate mass communication content and then sets forth the guidelines and procedures for mass communications.
- As passed by the Committee on House Administration on July 14, 2010, an expansion of categories added to

the list authorized advertisements.

- Members are authorized to determine what constitutes a public distinction. The Commission emphasizes that the matter should related to some public purpose.
- Letters consisting solely of birthday, wedding, anniversary, retirement, or personal achievement are only frankable when in direct response to a specific request.
- Monumental life events may be recognized in direct response to a request, to bring policy in line with other government officials such as the White House (Ex. 80th birthday, 50th wedding anniversary, etc.).
- A holiday greeting is allowable only when incidental in a communication that is otherwise official in nature.
- Personally phrased references contained in a mass mailing should not appear on average of more than eight times per page. Pronouns will not count as personal references.
- The number of photos the Member may appear on per page was increased to three. The total area of a page that may be covered by photographs remains at 20% of the page.
- The strict restriction on two party labels per page has been replaced with a general caution on the excessive use of party labels.
- Codifies existing policy on the use of quotations in context from the original source.
- A "Procedures and Reporting" chapter was added to the Manual as a one-stop resource for Members and staff to reference the required franking processes and public reporting procedures. This includes procedures for requesting an Advisory Opinion and how to complete a mass mailing in the House office building complex. Finally, the two main franking reports, the *Monthly District Mass Mailing Report*, and the *Quarterly Mass Mail and Communications Report* have been added for convenient reference.
- Staff Advisory Opinions will now be issued electronically and posted for public disclosure on the Franking Commission's website.

The Committee also directed that, beginning in the second quarter of 2011, the CAO of the House provides separate mass mailing and mass communication data in the quarterly Statement of Disbursements disclosure of Member use of official mass mailings and mass communications.

Administrative and Financial Operations: Oversight of Officers and a Changing Role for the Committee

Role of Committee

Since 1947, the Committee on House Administration has played a unique role in shaping the House through its authority to oversee the administration and management of services provided to Members, congressional staff, and Capitol Hill visitors. The Committee's responsibilities as chief overseer are delineated in House Rules and statute, as well as language in reports accompanying the annual legislative branch appropriations bills.

In its Rules, the House specifically gives the Committee jurisdiction over "[a]ll bills, resolutions and other matters relating to . . . services to the House, including the House Restaurant, parking facilities, and administration of the House Office Buildings and of the House wing of the Capitol."[528] Pursuant to this language, the Committee reviews projects, policies, and other initiatives of House officers; the House Inspector General; House Information Resources; the Architect of the Capitol; and the U.S. Capitol Police. Among the hundreds of measures referred to the Committee relating to House services – many of which are more fully detailed in other sections of this committee history – have been proposals modernizing food service operations, reorganizing the House Barber and Beauty Shops, limiting use of official automobiles by Members and officers, establishing guidelines for use of House supplies and office equipment, use of the frank, House pages, parking, administration of office buildings; and access and security.

The Committee has continually reexamined the administrative and financial support structure of the House and instituted reforms in response to events both within and beyond Congress, a role which has frequently involved approving changes to the House staffing structure. One of the first actions taken by the Committee was to approve, on April 29, 1947, the establishment of a new Office of Coordinator of Information for the House. The proposal was adopted by the House on May 2, 1947. The Coordinator, who was appointed by the Speaker, had primary responsibility to collect, analyze,

coordinate, and make available in digests or compilations, non-partisan data on legislation for use by House Member offices and committees.[529] The position was abolished in 1967. As with this early example, the Committee has been involved in the establishment of numerous House positions and in the oversight of their duties, reorganization, and occasionally their dissolution.

Unsuccessful Attempt to Expand into Ethics. Although the Committee has provided oversight of the operations of the House, it historically has not been responsible for investigating alleged ethics violations. The Committee did, however, attempt to gain entry into this area on at least one occasion. In the late 1960s, the Committee held hearings on allegations of improper use of House contract money. The hearings were the outgrowth of an effort in 1966 by Chairman Omar Burleson to rename the Special Subcommittee on Contacts the Permanent Subcommittee on Ethics and Contracts and to redefine the Subcommittee's jurisdiction to include oversight of alleged ethics violations by Members. This move was primarily in response to allegations of improper use of congressional personnel by Adam Clayton Powell of New York.[530]

During debate on the Committee's funding in 1967, some Members expressed opposition to the development. Charles E. Bennett of Florida argued that the Committee did not have such jurisdiction and it was inappropriate for the House to allocate funds in the resolution specifically for ethics investigations by the Committee on House Administration. Burleson responded that in changing the Subcommittee's title to include the word "ethics," the Committee deemed it appropriate to investigate ethics issues and intended to use Committee funds for this purpose.[531] Bennett's position prevailed and the resolution, as adopted, did not recognize the new Subcommittee and specifically prohibited the use of funds in the resolution to investigate ethics issues under consideration in another House committee.

Although these provisions in effect prohibited the Subcommittee on Contracts from formally investigating alleged violations of the House Code of Conduct, they did not prevent the Subcommittee from conducting hearings on individual cases of alleged misconduct. Subsequently, the House adopted H.Res. 418 (90th Congress), which created a new House committee to enforce standards of official conduct and draft a new Code of Official Conduct.[532] The Committee on House Administration, however, retained its authority to investigate and recommend actions to be taken with regard to the misuse of House operating funds.

Oversight of Officers: Committee's Evolving Outlook

Since 1947, the Committee's oversight of the House officers has gone through two fairly well defined phases – from policy administrator to policy advisor.

Policy Administrator. From 1947 to 2001, the Committee served as the primary House entity responsible for providing policy direction to the House officers, ensuring the proper implementation of those policies, and approving requests on a range of personnel issues.[533]

During this period, the Committee routinely considered: (1) requests from officers for permanent and temporary employee positions; (2) adjustments in employee pay and related benefits; reorganizations of staff in administrative offices; (3) reclassifications of positions; and (4) changes in job titles and duties. In the first session of the 98th Congress (1983–1984), for example, the Committee received and approved requests from the House Clerk: (1) to reorganize the Legislative Office; (2) to review and reclassify supervisory personnel; (3) to reclassify and change the titles of two positions in his immediate office; (4) to abolish two House telephone operator positions; (5) to create 20 temporary summer clerks; (6) to reorganize the Finance Office; (7) to reclassify one additional position; and (8) to abolish four other positions. The Committee also approved requests by the Doorkeeper to establish three positions for the new, bi-partisan Cloakroom, and a request from the Sergeant at Arms for four additional sergeant positions.[534]

In the first session of the 99th Congress (1985–1986), the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police was required to act on more than 1,000 personnel requests placed by officers. The Subcommittee did so while handling a number of other non-personnel requests from not only the officers, but also

Members and committees. Among these proposals were those for assistance in securing additional equipment, setting policy guidelines on equipment use, limiting television sets in committee offices, and changing the types of equipment on the House "approved equipment" list.

The Committee's far-reaching authority over daily operations of the House was formally granted on April 9, 1992, when the chamber adopted H.Res. 423 of the 102nd Congress (1991–1992), the House Administrative Reform Resolution of 1992. The resolution amended House Rules by formally adding to the duties of the Committee the responsibility of providing "policy direction for, and oversight of, the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, Doorkeeper, Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services, and Inspector General."[535]

The resolution also contained detailed policy direction instructions to the Committee for the operations of the Office of the Inspector General, which had been newly created,[536] and the Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services.[537] The Director was: (1) "subject to the policy direction and oversight of the Committee on House Administration" in carrying out his "operational and financial responsibility for functions assigned by resolution of the House," and (2) "subject to the policy direction and oversight of the Committee on House Administration" in the development of "employment standards that provide that all employment decisions for functions under the Director's supervision be made in accordance with the non-discrimination provisions of [House Rules]."[538] The House placed full authority in the Committee for oversight and regulation of the transfer of selected jurisdictions from the House officers to the Director.

H.Res. 423 contained similar policy direction and oversight language with respect to the Inspector General (IG), whose responsibilities would include conducting audits of financial activities of the Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services, Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper.

At the beginning of the 104th Congress (1995–1996), the Committee's jurisdiction over these four officers was reinforced in H.Res. 6, which amended the Rules to implement a number of reforms in House operations. A major provision of these reforms replaced the Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services with the position of House Chief Administrative Officer, who was given operational and financial management responsibilities for House operations. H.Res. 6 made the Chief Administrative Officer "subject to policy direction and oversight of the Speaker and the Committee on House Oversight.[539]

The House inserted language further strengthening the oversight role of the Committee over officers by placing very specific reporting requirements on the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Chief Administrative Officer. The resolution required them to:

> report to the Committee on House Oversight not later than forty-five days following the close of each semiannual period ending on June 30 or on December 31 on the financial and operational status of each function under [the officer's jurisdiction] . . . Each report shall include financial statements, a description or explanation of current operations, the implementation of new policies and procedures, and future plans for each function . . . [each officer] shall fully cooperate with the appropriate offices and persons in the performance of reviews and audits of financial records and administrative operations.[540]

Other House reforms adopted at the beginning of the 104th Congress (1995–1996): (1) directed that audits of House financial and administrative functions be conducted by the Inspector General; (2) abolished the Office of Doorkeeper, transferring most of its duties to the Chief Administrative Officer; and (3) directed the House Clerk to "fully cooperate with the appropriate offices and persons in the performance of reviews and audits of financial records and administrative operations."[541] Concurrently, the name of the Committee was changed to Committee on House Oversight to reflect its expanded role in supervisory review of House operations. The positions of Chief Administrative Officer and Inspector General were partially designed to remove the time-consuming

administrative and auditing responsibilities the Committee previously had performed.

Policy Advisor. In 2001, when allegations arose of abuse in the use of House services, the Chamber became more interested in freeing the Committee from daily operational concerns and allowing it to assume a broader, more analytic, approach to oversight of the officers' activities.[542] The Rules deleted references to the Committee's responsibility for policy direction for the Clerk, Chief Administrative Officer, and Sergeant at Arms, while retaining it for the House Inspector General. The Committee retains authority for oversight for all of these offices.

The shift to general oversight of the House officers' operations since 2001 is evident from a review of the Committee's oversight plan for House officers in the 108th Congress (2003–2004). The plan called on the Committee to:

- "analyze management improvement proposals and other initiatives submitted by the House Officers, the Inspector General and the Architect of the Capitol;
- coordinate with the [Committee on Appropriations] on matters impacting operations of the House and joint entities;
- provide policy guidance to the House Officers, Inspector General and the Joint entities as appropriate;
- oversee compliance with the House Employee Classification Act, 2 U.S.C. § 291, et seq.;
- assure coordination among officers and joint entities on administrative matters;
- continue review of "congressional continuity" issues, including organizing sessions of Congress at alternate locations and technological support for Member communications and chamber operations; and,
- provide policy guidance and conduct oversight of security and safety issues and congressional entities charged with such roles."[543]

These plans further called for specific reviews by the Committee of the activities of individual officers, some of which, for example were detailed in the committee's activity report for the 108th Congress:

Chief Administrative Officer (CAO). Exercising its revised oversight authority, the Committee reviewed a variety of areas, including: procedures for processing contracts between the House and private sector entities exceeding $250,000; the operation of the CAO's financial management system; alternatives in the House mail delivery procedure; new technology initiatives; and the operation of House Information Resources.[544]

Clerk of the House. In its oversight of the Clerk's activities in 2003-2004, the Committee reviewed: the administration of House floor audio transmission system; contracts pending before the Clerk's office; requests for contract proposals exceeding the $250,000 threshold; and operations of the document management system. In related actions, the Committee reviewed and revised definitions of "standards" for the electronic exchange of legislative information among Congress and legislative branch agencies; functions and administrative operations assigned to the Clerk; and semi-annual financial and operations status reports.[545]

Sergeant at Arms. With House security measures a top priority of both the Committee and the Office of the Sergeant at Arms, the Committee reviewed (1) security operations in the House, including those of the House Chamber, galleries, Capitol building, House office buildings, and grounds adjacent to these structures; (2) security procedures in House garages and parking lots; (3) regulations for allocation and use of House parking spaces; (4) impact of electronic access to secured space in the House side of the Capitol and the House office buildings; and (5) Capitol Police security plans, with emphasis on policies governing visitor access to the Capitol.[546] The Committee further examined the semi-annual financial and operations status reports of the Sergeant at Arms, and the functions and administrative operations assigned to him, and recommended changes.

Inspector General. In setting policy direction for the Inspector General (IG), the Committee reviewed proposed audit plans for the Congress; examined completed audit reports; and oversaw implementation of a Committee directive requiring the IG to issue advisories to the House, in which the IG made suggestions on improvements in House operations.[547]

Influence of Administrative Reform and Impact of Legislative Action

The Committee has played a pivotal role in: (1) developing House administrative reform proposals; (2) supporting study commissions and the House as they considered the consequences of changes in the House service structure; and, (3) providing key direction in implementing and oversight management of number of reforms with major impact on House operations. Faced with increased demands on its time and services the House in the 1960s and 1970s began a major review of its administrative organization. Its goal was to attempt to turn the House of Representatives into a more efficient, modern entity that could keep pace with the considerable demands placed on the institution by its own growth and by the information age.

1970 Legislative Reorganization Act. The 1970 Legislative Reorganization Act, which addressed a number of issues that had been considered by the Committee on House Administration, began with the creation of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress in March 1965, and concluded when the House concurred in Senate amendments to H.R. 17654 on October 8, 1970. Congress then sent the measure to the President, who signed it on October 26, 1970.[548]

The directive to the 1965 Joint Committee was the same essentially as that given to the 1945 Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, which had led to the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act creating the Committee on House Administration. The resolution creating the 1965 Joint Committee stated that the joint committee was to "make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress . . . [and] recommend improvements in such organization and operation with a view toward strengthening the Congress, simplifying its operations, improving its relationship with other branches of the United States Government and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the Constitution." The Joint Committee issued its final report on July 28, 1966, with 120 recommended changes to the operation of Congress, ranging from those affecting the committee system to the imposition of fiscal controls to increases in staffing.[550] Although legislation was introduced in both houses, no further action was taken that session.

In 1969, the House Rules Committee Special Subcommittee on Legislative Reorganization considered some selected reform recommendations of the 1965 joint committee and reported H.R. 17654, the Legislative Branch Reorganization Act of 1970.[551] Although most of the legislation addressed the committee system and budget matters, it also contained administrative proposals conferring additional authorities on the Committee on House Administration.

The 1970 Act ensured the prominent role of the Committee in future House reform efforts by directing it to support the newly-created Joint Committee on Congressional Operations. The Joint Committee was instructed to continue Congress' study of its organization and operations, to recommend improvements, and to oversee the Office of Placement and Office Management.[552] Further, the Committee on House Administration's oversight of accountability in House operations was supplemented by the granting of authority to the General Accounting Office[553] to conduct annual audits of private organizations performing services, or conducting activities, within the Capitol Complex buildings and grounds.

Additional provisions affecting pay impacted the Committee's oversight duties in this area. These provisions converted the existing "base" pay system for employees of the House and Architect of the Capitol to a "gross" pay system, making it easier to determine employee salary rates, and required the Committee on House Administration to approve deadlines set by the House Clerk for Member notification to the Clerk of changes in staff salaries.

1973 Select Committee on Committees. The Committee continued to exercise its influence in reform efforts by pushing for administrative changes not addressed in the 1970 Reorganization Act when the House created a new Select Committee on Committees in 1973. The Select Committee was established by H.Res. 132 (93rd Congress, 1973–1974) in response to widespread Member dissatisfaction with the existing committee structure. Designed primarily to study

House committee operations, the Select Committee conducted exhaustive studies of jurisdictions, staffing, space, equipment, and other issues.[554] Although directed to make recommendations primarily on the House committee system organization, the Select Committee made a number of recommendations in 1974 on House administrative operations.

Among changes recommended by the Select Committee and contained in H.Res. 988, adopted by the House on October 8, 1974, were those expanding the House Administration's jurisdiction to include responsibility for parking facilities and the management and administration of House restaurants, while eliminating the Committee's jurisdiction over arrangements for memorial services for deceased Members. The resolution also required the House Information Systems, under direction of the Committee on House Administration, to make available a committee and subcommittee scheduling service to minimize meeting conflicts. It also required committee chairmen to file foreign travel reports with the Committee on House Administration, which was directed to maintain them for public inspection.[555]

Another provision of H.Res. 988 provided for a Commission on Information and Facilities, which, after its establishment in December 1974,[556] relied primarily on the support of the Committee on House Administration. The Commission's creation reflected a growing concern on the part of some Members that the increasing range of issues being considered by Congress was straining available information and analysis and that the necessary increase in staff to support Members had surpassed physical space and facilities. To facilitate the Commission's work, the Committee, along with House Information Systems, provided resources to two task forces of the Commission – the Task Force on Information Resources and the Task Force on Facilities and Space Utilization. From this collaborative effort, the group produced an inventory of information sources available to the House, oversaw the permanent installation of a 30-terminal system of computers available to Members and committees that provided access to a legislative statutes service, Library of Congress databases, and databases at the Departments of Justice and Agriculture.[557]

One of the Select Committee proposals, which was not adopted at the time, was to establish a commission to conduct a comprehensive study of the internal House administration system, to be composed of Representatives and private citizens.[558]

1976 Commission on Administrative Review. On July 1, 1976, the House adopted H.Res. 1368 (94th Congress), which authorized a 15-member Commission on Administrative Review to conduct a thorough and complete study the chamber's administrative operations and make recommendations concerning these operation no later than December 31, 1977. The Committee on House Administration was represented on the Commission by Representative Bill Frenzel.[559]

The idea for the Commission "originated with the Select Committee on Committees, under the chairmanship of Congressman Richard Bolling, and was again supported by the Task Force on House Accounts, headed by Congressman David Obey, in June 1976."[560] The idea of such a commission had begun to gain momentum after Representative Wayne Hays, Chairman of the Committee on House Administration, was accused of employing a woman on the staff of the Committee who did little or no work. Bowing to pressure from the House Democratic leadership, Hays resigned as chairman of the Committee on House Administration on June 18. Two-and-a-half months later, he gave up his seat in the House after the House Select Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (Ethics Committee) voted to begin hearings into his personal relationship with the former staff member.[561]

The Commission on Administrative Review spent more than a year gathering data on a wide variety of aspects of the administration of the House, relying on the in-depth research of the House Administration members and staff, the Committee's recommendations at various stages of the Commission's work. Chaired by David Obey of Wisconsin, the Commission issued three reports, with the third containing recommendations for a consolidation of administrative responsibilities among elected officers in the House, and a strengthening of management and financial controls.[562]

The Commission recommended the creation of a new officer, a House Administrator, who would be in charge of

most of the House administrative functions, from payment of House bills and preparation of financial reports to maintenance of furniture and equipment, to personnel assistance for Members and operation of the telephone and computer networks. It also recommended hiring an auditor to perform regular reviews of House operations, a long-time, key proposal of the Committee on House Administration. Included in the Commission's report was a large section on personnel issues, which echoed recommendations from the 1970 Legislative Reorganization Act when it called for a central, professional office to help recruit staff for Members and committees. It also called for the creation of a grievance panel to hear discrimination complaints from administrative staffers and a fair employment practices panel to be composed of sitting Members who would review staff grievances from Member and committee offices.[563]

The Commission issued its report on "Administrative Reorganization and Legislative Management" in September 1977, but the recommendations were never considered on the floor because the House rejected the rule for its consideration (H.Res. 766).[564] Although the House did not adopt the proposals, a few realignments in the jurisdictions of House officers were agreed to informally. More importantly, the Commission's recommendations laid the groundwork for adoption of a number of significant changes in the administrative structure of the House in the 1980s and 1990s.

1981 Committee on House Administration Reorganization. At the beginning of the 97th Congress (1981–1982), Chairman Gus Hawkins of California initiated an internal reorganization of the Committee to enable it to operate more efficiently, reduce expenses, and streamline its managerial jurisdiction within the House. His concept emphasized that: (1) specific duties be assigned to each Committee employee, with each to report to a supervisor; (2) duties performed by staff must fall within the Committee's jurisdiction; and (3) future responsibilities assigned to the Committee be integrated into its structure so as to minimize the need for additional staff.

Chairman Hawkins recommended a 20% reduction in the Committee's budget for calendar year 1981, which was agreed to by the House that March. At his request, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials was eliminated and the Subcommittee on Contracts and the Subcommittee on Printing combined; all staff positions on the Policy Group on Information and Computers were eliminated;[565] the House Information Systems Staff Orientation and Training Programs were terminated, since similar services were provided by the Congressional Research Service; and a Task Force on Committee Organization was established to study, and make recommendations on, the internal organization and jurisdiction of the Committee. The Task Force was directed to study only housekeeping functions carried out by the Committee, and not those of the Speaker, House officers, and Architect of the Capitol.[566]

On April 1, 1981, the Task Force proposed several administrative changes, which were unanimously approved by the full Committee. These called for a reduction in the Committee's staff; realignment of subcommittees; elimination of the Office of Management Services; restructuring the Congressional Placement Office (renamed the House Placement Office, to reflect its new service to the House exclusively); transfer of the Placement Office's operations to the Clerk, who was directed to submit his request for staff to the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police; elimination of the Professional Development Program; transfer of Management Consultation Service functions to the Office of Member Services of House Information Systems; and transfer of publication of the House Telephone Directory and other documents to the Publications Division of the Clerk's Office.[567]

Another set of Task Force recommendations, approved by the Committee on May 6, 1981: (1) consolidated the technical services of House Information Systems (H.I.S.) into one unit to reduce staff; (2) required Committee approval of new development projects; (3) changed the emphasis of the Members Services Division, from public relations to provision of office automation services; (4) authorized professional staff to provide technical and training assistance to Members and staff; (5) required establishment of a permanent "Model Office" to demonstrate office automation capabilities; and

(6) established a policy for reimbursement to the House by Members for H.I.S. services.[568]

During a Committee meeting on July 27, 1981, Chairman Hawkins announced the opening of an Office of Management Demonstration and Training Center to provide more efficient, cost-effective support services to Members, by providing a central location to display computer equipment on the House-approved equipment list.[569]

1991–1992 Administrative Reform Resolution. Almost two decades later, during the 102nd Congress (1991–1992), allegations of mismanagement and other improprieties led House Speaker Tom Foley and House Minority Leader Bob Michel on March 25, 1992, to appoint a 16-member task force to look into the internal problems of the House and to development a management reform proposal for the House. One of the lead members of the task force was Committee Chairman Charles Rose of North Carolina. For two weeks, the task force met daily to discuss management reform options. Early on, the major disagreements between the majority and minority parties centered around the degree to which the majority would need the concurrence of the minority in overseeing House management operations under any future reorganization. Ultimately, in order to comply with the deadline set by the Speaker, the Democratic members of the task force recommended a proposal which became H.Res. 423, and the Republican task force members endorsed a proposal encompassing both administrative reorganization proposals as well as a number of additional changes in House and committee legislative and oversight procedures.[570]

On April 7, the Rules Committee agreed to allow only one amendment to H.Res. 423, which would be offered by the Minority Leader, Bob Michel of Illinois. On April 9, 1992, attempts were made to delay action on H.Res. 423. Two resolutions on the privilege of the House were offered, and under House *Rules* given priority over efforts to turn attention to H.Res. 423. First, the House agreed to require an explanation from the chairman and vice chairman of the Committee on House Administration Task Force on the House Post Office on allegations of disruptions in the Task Force's investigation. Next, the House agreed to a motion to table a resolution to require an investigation into published reports of illegal hiring practices in the House. After these resolutions were acted upon, the House agreed to H.Res. 423, after rejecting the Michel substitute.[571]

H.Res. 423 established the position of Director of Non-Legislative Services, to be appointed by the Speaker on the joint recommendation of both party leaders; created the positions of Inspector General and General Counsel; and transferred certain functions from the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper to the new Director. The Committee on House Administration was given authority to determine what additional duties could be transferred to the Director, and to establish an oversight subcommittee composed of equal numbers of Members from both parties to review administrative services of the House.[572]

1995 Administrative Changes. Beginning in 1995, the Committee adopted a management philosophy which placed greater emphasis on setting policy and exercising oversight, with policy implementation delegated to the officers. This effort, begun in the months following the 1994 election, led to a sweeping reorganization of the management of the House. Under the new administrative structure: (1) the Office of the Doorkeeper was eliminated and its primary functions transferred to the Sergeant at Arms; (2) a new office, the Chief Administrative Officer, was created for the day-to-day management of House operations, assuming duties held previously by the Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services; (3) some House operations were privatized, such as the Beauty Shop, Barber Shop, postal operations, and shoeshine service; and (4) a standardized process was put into place to enforce open and fair procurement and bidding by ensuring the most competitive offers won the House's business.[573]

The Clerk of the House and the Committee agreed to reorganize certain information functions within the Clerk's Office. A new unit, the Legislative Resource Center, was established, combining the Office of Historian, House Document Room, House Library, and Office of Registration and

Records, "to make the living history of the House easily accessible and on-line for members, staff, and the public."[574] All House officers were required to report semiannually to the Committee on the financial operations of their offices, the performance of statutory duties, and the development and implementation of new performance plans.[575] The Committee acquired jurisdiction over franking and congressional mail regulations from the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which was abolished.[576]

New regulations issued by the Committee banned informal Member groups from obtaining their own office space in House office buildings. The Committee required all activities of an informal group be held in the personal office of a sponsoring Member, and all expenses to be paid from Members' official personnel and office accounts.[577]

These reforms by the Committee were intended to: (1) reduce the cost of maintaining necessary services for House offices; (2) ensure the equitable enforcement of regulations governing House accounts; (3) identify potential savings and streamline administration; and (4) provide for the transfer, consolidation, and restructuring that would increase efficiency and accountability in House operations.

Next, the Committee quickly adopted a plan that proposed a review and evaluation of the functions and administrative activities assigned to the Clerk, Chief Administrative Officer, and Sergeant at Arms; the transfer, consolidation, and restructuring of House operations, to increase efficiency and accountability; and a regular, on-going House audit procedure.[578]

Following these actions, the Committee conducted an exhaustive survey of public laws applicable to the Committee, and House officers and their administrative functions. This effort culminated in the August 1996 enactment of the House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, which clarified, changed, or repealed more than 250 ambiguous or unnecessary statutes.[579]

Other changes in administrative policies in 1995 that affected House services and Members' allowances resulted from an in-depth examination by the Committee on House Administration, House Appropriations Subcommittee on Legislative Branch, and the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO). In June 1995, the Committee acted to:

- terminate the House Folding Room, which prepared printed Member mailings for delivery by the U.S. Postal Service (effective August 31, 1995, the Committee required mailing services to be handled in Member offices or by private sources);
- terminate subsidies for the House Recording and Photography Studies, requiring Members to pay expenses from their office allowances;
- downsize personnel and budgets of two support offices in votes held on June 14, 1995, by reducing the House Recording Studio staff to 16 from 34, and its budget by $1.2 million, and the House Photography Studio staff to six from 14, and its budget by $325,000;
- support an action by the House Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Legislative Branch, to achieve savings by reducing printed material, including a limit on printing of the *Congressional Record* and a requirement that Members' copies of the *U.S. Code* published in paperback rather than embossed hardback; and
- support an action of the Subcommittee on Legislative Branch to deny funds for printing of U.S. Capitol calendars in the FY1996 legislative branch appropriations bill, and to deny funds for operations of the Flag Office of the Office of the Architect of the Capitol, transferring both operations to the privately funded U.S. Capitol Historical Society.[580]

Regular Oversight and Implementation of Changes. Following the changes in 1995, the Committee has continued to provide oversight of House operations and officers, consulted on a wide variety of policies and decisions, and responded to organizational changes initiated by the House or its leadership. The Committee has held multiple oversight hearings, including one on April 28, 2010, during which the Clerk, House Sergeant at Arms (HSAA), Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), and Inspector General all testified. The Committee has overseen reorganizations in the HSAA, CAO, and Clerk's offices. For example, in the 111th Congress, the Committee approved a HSAA Senior Management Expansion/Reorganization Plan in order for the HSAA to better manage emergency evacuation

planning and operations. It also monitored the merger of the Office of Emergency Planning, Preparedness and Operations (OEPPO) in the HSAA office as the Office of Emergency Management. The functions of OEPPO, which was established by P.L. 107-117, were officially transferred to the HSAA by P.L. 112-74. The Committee has also authorized reorganizations of the CAO leadership team in July 2006,[581] as well as a reorganization and elimination of some CAO business units in 2011.[582]

The Committee has overseen the reorganization of historical, research, and preservation efforts. House Rule II, originally adopted during the 101st Congress, provides for the establishment of an Office of the Historian, although the position was vacant for many years. Although some historical functions after 1995 were performed by the Legislative Resource Center, in a business meeting on June 26, 2002, the Committee on House Administration passed a committee resolution approving the proposal for the office as a new division within the Clerk's office for history and preservation.[583] Under the Committee's oversight, the Office of History and Preservation (OHP) completed the House publications, *Women in Congress, 1917–2006*, and *Black Americans in Congress, 1870–2006*, both authorized by the House in 2001. Two additional publications, including a new edition of *Hispanic Americans in Congress*, and a new publication to be entitled *Asian and Pacific Islander-Americans in Congress* are also in progress. Dr. Robert V. Remini was appointed Historian by Speaker Hastert in 2005, and in the 111th Congress, amid concern about possible competition and duplicative functions, the relationship between OHP and the Historian's office received renewed attention. Following Dr. Remini's retirement, Speaker Pelosi named Dr. Matthew Wasniewski Historian on October 20, 2010. According to its first semi-annual activities report, "on May 31, 2011, the Committee approved the creation of a new division within the Office of the Clerk titled Office of the Historian Staff (OHS). This new division, which became effective June 1, 2011, includes the historical research staff from both the Office of Art and Archives (OAA) and the Office of the Historian, thus eliminating duplicative positions."[584]

Ongoing Focus on Financial Audits

In passing legislation that became the Chief Financial Officers Act of 1990[585] and the Government Management Reform Act of 1994,[586] the House demanded executive branch agency accountability for efficient and cost-effective management. This was to be achieved through comprehensive financial statements, subject to scrutiny by an independent auditor. In 1995, the House, with the Committee's support and direction, took the bold step of applying this standard to itself. Section 107 of H. Res. 6, gave the House Inspector General (IG) a broad mandate to conduct a comprehensive audit of House operations, and to contract with independent auditing firms to accomplish the task.[587] The information, findings, and recommendations that followed provided a sweeping blueprint for management improvement that transformed the House from a patchwork of administrative irregularities and management inefficiencies to a professionally run institution, regularly exposed to outside scrutiny.

The change was not an easy one. First, the groundwork needed to be laid: while the first House IG had been named in November 1993, his responsibilities were not clear, and with a staff of only three, the office's capability was limited. On January 11, 1995, the IG presented a proposal to the Committee on House Administration for authority to fill 18 permanent positions and to enter into contractual agreements with independent accounting firms, subject to the availability of funds and approval of the Chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee. The IG's request was approved shortly thereafter.[588]

Within five weeks, the firm of PriceWaterhouse LLP was selected competitively to carry out a comprehensive audit of the financial records and administrative operations of the entire House (as of the end of 1994). By mid-February, PriceWaterhouse was at work. For five months, as many as 125 Price Waterhouse professionals, supplemented by IG staff, poured over all aspects of House administrative operations. On July 18, 1995, the auditors reported to the Committee on House Administration. The picture they presented was alarming. Deficiencies were found in virtually all aspects

of administrative operations, with auditors detailing systematic deficiencies that contributed to inefficiency, waste, and poor internal controls. The Office of the Chief Administrative Officer of the House concurred in the findings and recommendations of auditors. Leadership of both parties also stressed their support for Price Waterhouse's recommendation that the "paper-intensive" and "archaic" House accounting system be replaced with a modern accounting system.[589]

Under continuous monitoring by the Committee on House Administration and expanded investment in cost-effective information management tools, progress continued. On September 24, 1999, the Committee Chairman, William Thomas of California, announced achievement of a notable goal: the Price Waterhouse audit "found significant improvements in House accounts record keeping, and the company pronounced the new financial management practices instituted under the Committee's oversight in keeping with standard accounting practices."[590]

The Committee has continued to oversee the financial operations of the House, particularly through the contracting of annual outside audits and reviewing the Inspector General's audit plans and reports, investigating any irregularities uncovered, and monitoring suggested improvements. In the 110th Congress, the Committee directed the expansion of the Inspector General's work to include management advisory services. The Committee's activity report says: "These services have assisted the Committee tremendously in supervising many of the activities of the Officers, from development of a new House accounting system to securing the information systems of the Sergeant at Arms to 'greening' the Capitol," and provides "expertise that assists in reconciling conflicting views regarding the appropriate course of action in House management."[591]

The Inspector General's duties were amended with the adoption of the Rules of the House for the 111th Congress. The section-by-section analysis of the Rule explains that the change was made at the recommendation of leadership of the Committee on House Administration "to clarify the non-traditional audit work that the Inspector General does in the areas of business process improvements, services to enhance the efficiency of House support operations, and risk management assessments. The change also will allow the Inspector General to implement guidance and standards published in the Government Accountability Office's *Government Auditing Standards*."[592]

Transparency and Technology Computerization

Introduction

Since 1947, the Committee on House Administration has been responsible for overseeing the introduction and integration of several generations of information technology into the House, from the allocation of mechanical typewriters in the post World War II era, to the issuance of a BlackBerry® to every Member at the beginning of the 21st century. As this evolution has unfolded, the Committee role has progressed from: (1) allocating allowances for mechanical machinery such as typewriters, addressing machines, and dictation equipment; (2) to introduced mainframe computers and, later, personal computers in Congress, and (3) then to keeping pace with the rapid development of the Internet as a mass media, as well as a potential tool for ensuring the continuity of government in the event of an emergency.

1947–1968 - Wane of the Mechanical Age

Pursuant to the mandate for creating the Committee, to oversee the operations of the House, at the beginning of the 83rd Congress in 1953, the Committee conducted an inventory of mechanical office equipment and found the House had over 1,000 items representing more than 100 different types of equipment. Up until this point, there had been essentially no limitations on the types or amount of office equipment that could be purchased by Member offices or other House entities. Prompted by the results of the survey, the Committee changed regulations regarding office equipment used in Members' offices, limiting purchases to the five following general categories: addressing machines, automatic typewriters, electric typewriters, dictating and transcribing machines, and duplication machines. By stan-

dardizing the type of equipment used in Members' offices, the House was able to minimize the amount of surplus equipment leftover after the equipment from outgoing Members' offices was reassigned to other offices.[593] Also in 1953, legislation reported by the Committee was enacted which set a limit of $2,500 on the electrical or mechanical purchases Members, officers, and committees might make at any one time.[594]

In 1955, the commencement of the 84th Congress signified the creation of a Special Subcommittee on Office Equipment for the first time,[595] and the rules governing the office equipment purchase allowance were twice altered by Committee bills which became law. Among the rule changes was a requirement that members use a prescribed method for calculating the value of office equipment, and authorization for the Clerk of the House to provide each Member office with two electric typewriters without charging the Member's equipment allowance.[596]

For the next several years, the Committee continued to make changes to upgrade and expand the types and allocations of office equipment used in Member offices, as well as provide increases in telephone and telegraph allowances. Near the end of the 89th Congress (1965–1966), however, a legislative proposal was introduced for the first time to bring computing capability to Congress. Against the backdrop of a larger debate over congressional reorganization, which would continue for several more years, Representative Robert T. McClory introduced H.R. 18428 on October 18, 1966. The bill would have created the first congressional automatic data processing (ADP) center, to be housed at the Legislative Reference Service (the forerunner of the Congressional Research Service). According to Representative McClory's related news release, the proposed ADP center was intended to focus on four applications:

- the processing of federal budgetary data;
- the collection, formation and maintenance of key information relating to each public bill before the Congress, including the legislative history of such bills;
- the automated compilation of the Digest of Public General Bills, published by the Legislative Reference Service [now the Congressional Research Service]; and
- a general repository of vital government data. This could include current information on issues up for a vote, an index of Congressional documents and even the entire U.S. Code.[597]

H.R. 18428, which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, would have authorized $1.25 million toward the establishment of such a center for the fiscal years 1967 and 1968. The following Congress (90th Congress, 1967–1968), nearly two dozen Members, including McClory, introduced separate bills supported the concept of an automated data processing (ADP) facility exclusive dedicated to serving Congress.[598]

1969–1992 - Congress Turns to Computers

By the 91st Congress (1969–1970), the automated data processing bills Members were introducing "reflected a transition from a period devoted to the development of tentative proposals and a greater understanding of the nature of computer hardware and software to one featuring a resolve to create a tangible computer-centered support capability."[599] Early in the first session, the House Democratic Caucus approved a resolution offered by Representative John Brademas and seven House colleagues calling upon Democrats to support action in the Committee on House Administration to "improve the efficiency of operations in the House of Representatives," and urged "that these efforts include, but not be limited to the use of computers and of a centralized processing system."[600]

Subsequently, the Committee delegated oversight of its jurisdiction in computer development to its Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment. On July 1, 1969, the subcommittee established the Working Group on Automatic Data Processing for the House of Representatives, chaired by Representative Joseph D. Waggonner, Jr. The Working Group was charged with, among other responsibilities, identifying answers to three primary questions:

- What specific computer applications will be most useful

and suitable to Congress?

- How and by whom shall these be put into operation and maintained, and in what order?
- What arrangements should be made for the continuing general oversight of computer policy for the Congress, and for the coordination of future planning and development?[601]

The Working Group included staff from the Library of Congress, the General Accounting Office, and the Clerk of the House.[602] In October 1969 the Working Group issued its First Progress Report, which "consisted primarily of a review of prior and current suggestions and recommendations for the use of computers by the Congress and of possible approaches toward providing for the design and establishment of the system of data flow and related data management and retrieval capability that would be needed to make the system operational."[603]

As part of its proposal for the second phase of the study, the report made two suggestions that continue to shape House information technology operations today. The first was to adopt the operating assumption that while information obtained from the executive branch and the private sector was useful, "that Congress needs more information specially tailored for its own use. It needs to have information available that has been collected, structured, processed, and maintained in a more suitable form." The second suggestion was the ultimate need to hire "highly qualified individuals" as permanent staff to design, develop, implement, and operate information resources for the House of Representatives.[604] During the first session of the 91st Congress, the Subcommittee held 11 different hearings on the activities being undertaken by the Working Group.[605]

The following February, the Work Group presented to the Subcommittee a special report which contained "detailed information relative to the initial plans and research for the development of an automated addressing and mailing system for House."[606]

In October, 1970 the Working Group's Second Progress Report was presented to the Subcommittee. The objectives of the report were as follows:

- to establish, under master planning concepts, a recommended approach for the development of a unified, compatible system geared to serving the Congress but recognizing the requirement for compatibility and standardization with executive branch systems;
- to provide at the earliest date possible for the establishment of a time-phased schedule for, and the implementation of, those services which will provide an improvement over existing informational arrangements and which will be feasible for early application, recognizing the relationships to master planning concepts;
- to use, to the extent possible, the information already developed and established in computer supported executive branch information systems and/or to develop methods of accessing such data for Members of Congress;
- to establish a plan which will provide a capability to analyze, summarize, select, and process information, using a systems approach, encompassing cost/benefit and other analytical techniques, to provide a means of selectively studying proposed legislative or executive branch actions and estimate possible results of such actions on a national, state, or possibly a congressional district level;
- to develop a plan for the coordination of all congressional computer support activities for the House of Representatives, thus avoiding unnecessary duplication and wasteful efforts in providing computer support;
- to provide an open-ended design for the computer based system so that in terms of a total system concept segments may be added to the system without performing a complete or major systems redesign; and
- to provide for the necessary interfacing of the computer based system with all organizations making use of and providing input to the system, and to serve as a focal point for the establishment of computer based informational requirements for the House of Representatives in relation to planned major computer based efforts to the executive branch.[607]

This report included the results of interviews and a survey of the staff of 284 member, committee and House officer offices, and 105 Members of the House, as well as information drawn from meetings with "executive agencies, state legislative and executive officials, and many private organizations that

provide information support for the House." Simultaneously, the "Special Subcommittee and the Working Group held over 100 formal meetings and reviewed extensive documentation in the evaluation of the experience and capabilities of 65 companies for potential use in developing long-range plans and in the subsequent implementation of new services." Additionally, the "Committee on House Administration awarded $450,000 in contracts to eight companies" for a continuing study of the information and analysis needs of Congress, and the development of systems designed to meet these needs.[608]

Based on analysis of this research, the Working Group drew several "general conclusions" regarding the information needs and services of the House. These included:

> First. The need for evaluative and interpretive information is very intensely felt. Information covering national issues and possible alternative solutions was held out as the most pressing area in need of attention. Examples of expressed needs follow:
>
> - impact of proposed legislation on existing Federal law and programs, and the economy in general;
> - impact of proposing legislation on Congressional districts;
> - impact of existing Federal programs on each district;
> - information for evaluation of Federal programs;
> - information on the availability of alternative information sources and the expansion of these to meet Members' and committees' needs;
> - expansion of independent analysis capabilities;
> - identification of knowledgeable and responsible sources of information with up-to-date names, addresses, and telephone numbers; and
> - Supreme Court decisions relevant to pending legislation.
>
> Second. The need for procedural information was less intensely felt but was given the highest priority for early implementation. This type of information is susceptible of conversion to automatic handling more easily than is the broader based information on national issues involving the evaluative and interpretive services.
>
> - an information system to maintain current, reliable, complete and accessible information about the status and content of each item of legislation before the House and in House committees; and to provide more expeditious access to legislative histories. Summaries of the status and groupings of measures by subject must be provided;
> - status of legislation affecting the congressional district; and
> - information about Federal grants, projects, loans and contracts for the congressional district—programs in existence, availability of funds, and status of individual applications by constituents.
>
> Third. The need for the actual content of documents is far less than for evaluative, interpretive and procedural information—Congressmen and key staff are unable, in the available time, to read all the actual documents that are provided to them. On the other hand, the committees, the offices of the House, the Legislative Reference Service, the General Accounting Office, and the Government Printing Office are concerned with content and historic information and maintain records and files on these matters.[609]

Crosscutting concerns included the potential effects of information systems on "organizational relationships within the legislative branch, the confidentiality of some types of information, the accuracy and reliability of data, and the compatibility of legislative data systems with executive and private sector systems."[610]

During the second session of the 91st Congress, the Subcommittee held seven additional hearings on the activities being undertaken by the Working Group.[611] Other actions by the full Committee during the 91st Congress resulted in the House approving H. Res. 710, which provided funding from the contingent fund not in excess of $500,000 for the Committee to develop a computer system for the chamber. The Committee also reported a bill which consolidated all equipment purchases under one monetary allowance, improved accountability of equipment, facilitated the disposal of equipment, and permitted more flexibility to Members and committees in obtaining equipment.[612]

House Information Systems (H.I.S.). Subsequently in April 1971, the Committee on House Administration "established the House Information Systems (HIS) Staff to provide

a professional base for computer activities. Responsibility for the design, development, and operation of all computer applications for the House [were] vested in this staff, acting under the guidance and leadership of the Committee on House Administration." During the remainder of the 92nd Congress (1971–1972), "computer support to the House expanded rapidly to meet legislative and administrative needs of the House," and the H.I.S. staff continued to grow.[613] Under the direction of H.I.S., a number of major computer systems were developed, including (1) an electronic voting system, (2) a bill status system, (3) a committee calendar system, 4) a data analysis services (for legislative and investigative analytical tasks by committee's staff), and (5) "administrative support systems including the House payroll, Members' allowance statements, office equipment support, and support to the Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1971."[614]

During the 93rd Congress (1973–1974), the effort to establish strong computer support for the House continued to grow with the implementation of the electronic voting system in January 1973 and the bill status system a month later, expansion of committee calendar system, and specialized data analysis projects for particular committees. H.I.S. also (1) continued production support for a number of systems including the House payroll, Members' allowance, House restaurant payroll, and office equipment purchases; (2) developed a carpool system to meet the commuting needs of congressional staff; and (3) began work on a "general financial system," which would allow many of the financial functions of the Clerk of the House to be automated. H.I.S. acted on each of these initiatives only after it received guidance and direction from the Committee on House Administration, and "no commitments on new work [was] undertaken with specific authorization by the Committee." Neither the Committee on House Administration nor H.I.S. staff, however, sought to "dictate user requirements or to design systems without user agreement, within the bounds of practicality and resource availability. The user—Member, Committee, or other House unit," the Committee explained, was "expected to provide expertise on the substantive details of the information system that satisfies a need expressed and defined by the user."[615]

From 1971–1976, the activities of H.I.S. grew rapidly in size and scope. As House computer operations evolved from studies and demonstration projects to initiatives with significant institutional impact, the level and responsibility of committee oversight also grew. H.I.S. maintained a direct reporting relationship with the full committee. At the beginning of the 94th Congress (1975–1976), the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Computers was established to address the "regular" and "frequent" need for "considered legislative judgments concerning computer applications."[616] Recognizing that the "information explosion," was inundating Members with too much data, and showed "no signs of abating," the Ad Hoc Subcommittee requested the Congressional Research Service to prepare a report on the "Library of Congress Information Resources and Services for the U.S. House of Representatives." The committee print was designed to provide a "handy guide to the role the Library [was] playing in meeting the needs of Congress and the Nation in providing timely and useful information."[617] The Ad Hoc Subcommittee also published a committee print that provided Members with information about the range of on-line computer services and data bases available for their use. This latter print was prepared in conjunction with the issuance of Committee Order No. 23, which permitted Members of the House "to allocate a portion of the funds they receive for staff salaries for 'computer services.'"[618]

At the beginning of 1976, the H.I.S. staff included "101 computer professionals—information and computer systems specialists, system factors specialists, analysts and programmers—and 27 operations personnel, in addition to [35] managerial and clerical staff." By the end of November 1976, the H.I.S. staff had grown from 163 to 210. In calendar year 1976, $6,626,000 in funding was provided in support of computer activities for the House.[619]

In 1977, at the beginning of the 95th Congress (1977–1978), the Committee established the Policy Group on Information and Computers to oversee "the activities of [H.I.S.] and make recommendations to the full committee concerning information policy for the House of Representatives."[620] Also in 1977, the Subcommittee for Electrical

and Mechanical Office Equipment, which was responsible for matters relating to the provision and use of electrical and mechanical office equipment in Member, Officer, and Committee offices, was renamed the Subcommittee on Office Systems.[621] While the Policy Group's jurisdiction focused specifically on H.I.S. activities, the Subcommittee's jurisdiction focused on the broader use of technology by Members and Committees. In 1983, for the 98th Congress (1983–1984), the Policy Group was eliminated and oversight responsibilities were folded into the regular committee/subcommittee structure.

Following the initial shockwaves created by the introduction of computers to the House of Representatives, both the administrative and technological infrastructure of the legislative body continued to develop and mature at a steady pace for the rest of the 1970s and 1980s. During the 94th Congress (1975–76), H.I.S. continued to expand the capabilities of House legislative, administrative, and Member systems. In 1975, a pilot of the Member Information Network (MIN) was initiated by H.I.S. in conjunction with the House Commission on Information and Facilities. With 23 offices participating, the MIN pilot was to test and evaluate the "benefits of a general retrieval network for Members."[622] Compared to contemporary networking capabilities and resources, the pilot project started modestly, providing access to the bill status database and a Library of Congress database. It prefigured, however, the coming revolution of microcomputers in 1980s and Internet accessible computers in the 1990s.

Also at this time, new features were added to the electronic voting system, such as the ability to retrieve historical vote information and the addition of more issue information related to specific votes. The bill status system, which served as the "principal legislative information system" at that time, was extended through the creation of the Legislative Information and Status System (LEGIS) in 1976. Among other features LEGIS brought both House and Senate resources together, and included new information such as the status of Presidential messages and communications, nominations, treaties, petitions, and memorials. Access to LEGIS was enabled through remote terminals located in Member, Committee, and other offices in an attempt to decentralize access. However, reflecting both the largely centralized nature of House information resources and the still-novel nature of computing in the House, staff and Members could still submit requests for information by telephone to the bill status office, where computer operators would run queries and return the information to the requestor. Also in 1976, the Committee Meeting Information System (COMIS) began as a pilot project. Reflecting the ever growing workload and schedules of the Members, COMIS was created to schedule "committee meetings to diminish the frequency of schedule conflicts for Members, and provide a readily accessible database of information about committee meetings."[623]

The 95th Congress (1977–78) brought a continued expansion of pilot projects and information services for both legislative and administrative functions. At the start of the Congress, 30 offices were participating in the MIN pilot, and by the end of the Congress more than 230 offices were participating.[624] Beyond increased participation, however, were a substantial increase in new services and expansion of existing services. By this time MIN provided access to many different types of information, including, but not limited to, legislative information, federal budget information, the Summary of Proceedings and Debates (SOPAD) system, the Library of Congress databases via SCORPIO, the Federal Assistance Programs Retrieval System (FAPRS) database, and the Justice Retrieval Inquiry System (JURIS), which included the United States Code.[625]

Other ongoing enhancements to the House computing capabilities included a calendar preparation system, a precedents preparation system, a federal elections system which enabled the Clerk to process campaign contribution and expenditure data, online processing of payroll, automated management of the Member allowance system, and the congressional carpool system.[626] Reflecting the centralized mainframe nature of House computing at that time, by the end of 1978 House computing capacity had grown to three times its 1977 capacity.[627]

To assist House Members and committees in selecting computer services and terminals most suitable for their particular needs, the Policy Group on Information and Computers in 1977 published two committee prints designed to make the transition to computers easier. These included a guidebook that provided "a fundamental knowledge of basic computer technology and capabilities," a directory "of computer-based and information-oriented resources and services available through private sector corporations which [might] prove beneficial in Capitol Hill legislative and administrative application areas."[628]

Additionally, the Policy Coordination Group for Technology Development was formed in May 1977 to "coordinate the development of technology-supported information systems" for Congress, including efficient use of computer installations. The group, which was composed of the one senior staff member and one alternate each from the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, Committee on House Administration, and the Congressional Research Service, was charged with ensuring "that unnecessary duplicate and counterproductive efforts [were] avoided among the Senate , House, and Library of Congress computer activities," and their "efforts in subjects of joint interest [were] coordinated in a cost-effective manner." Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, and Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., Chairman of the Committee on House Administration, emphasized in the forward of the group's *First Annual Report* that the "benefit to Congress which [was] being derived from the ad hoc joint effort in developing the Legislative Information and Status System (LEGIS) [was] an example of the success" Congress could expect to "accrue from the efforts of the Policy Coordination Group."[629]

The focus of the Policy Group on Information and Computers in the 96th Congress (1979–1980) was wide ranging. Among the H.I.S. projects given particular attention by the group were those relating to the 1980 budget, the Member orientation program, the network project, information and office automation processing needs, the district office communication project, and conversion of the House Electronic Voting System to modern computer equipment to improve the overall capabilities of the system. A considerable effort was also expended in efforts to implement a policy whereby the Legislative Information and Status System (LEGIS) could be made available to the public, and serving as a liaison among various Legislative Branch entities, the Committee on House Administration, and the Executive Branch in the implementation of information policy and data processing development.

Early in 1980, House committees started to reimburse H.I.S. for computer services in accordance with policy established by the policy group and the full Committee. The reimbursement policy was extended to House officers, joint committees, and support offices in October 1980 and Members in December 1980. Under the guidance of the policy group, H.I.S. tested and prepared to implement an Electronic Mail System (EMS) operation for the House, and worked to determine the feasibility of using a non-computer language system to communicate with a computer, which would be able to translate ordinary English into computer commands and queries. The Group approved two funding resolutions (H. Res. 129 and H. Res. 574) to cover the expenses the Committee on House Administration incurred in providing computer service to the House during the 96th Congress, and held 17 formal hearings in overseeing the funding and operations of H.I.S.[630]

Entering the 1980s, training, the development of e-mail systems, and the more direct use of technology to facilitate casework began to take center stage. While training had always been a significant element in the H.I.S. mandate, both the quantity and variety of training classes continually increased as new technologies and applications were introduced and there was greater buy-in from Member and Committee offices and staff. On July 15, 1981, the H.I.S. Office Management Demonstration and Training Center was opened "to provide a convenient facility to display computer technology and techniques in a simulated congressional environment."[631]

Also in 1981, at the direction of the Policy Group on Information and Computers, H.I.S. tested and evaluated

several electronic mail systems and conducted a pilot test that included 340 staff from 197 offices. Some executive branch agencies, such as the Departments of Defense and Commerce, and the Social Security Administration, were also included because of their ability to "provide House staff the necessary information to process constituent casework."[632] Following the pilot study the Policy Group and the Committee proposed that H.I.S. develop and operate an in-house electronic mail system that would be tailored to House users.[633] Development of such a system was completed by the end of 1982 and deployed for all House users in early 1983. Also at this time, H.I.S. completed development of a correspondence management system (CMS), that the Committee had directed H.I.S. to develop in 1980.[634] Early in 1981, the policy group received two days of testimony from a technical advisory panel on the feasibility of a H.I.S. computer communications network, and recommend that the full committee accept a data processing agreement between H.I.S. and the Congressional Budget Office.[635]

As both the number and sophistication of applications continued to increase, so did interest in microcomputers and recognition of a future convergence between telecommunications and computing. In 1983, the full committee established the Task Force on Telephone Configuration, to be administered by the Subcommittee on Office Systems. Based on recommendations provided by the Task Force, the Subcommittee began work to coordinate and optimize House telephone service, billing, long distance service, and the use of the House Cable Network for telecommunications functions.[636]

During the first session of the 98th Congress (1983), a microcomputer support area established in the H.I.S. Office Management Demonstration and Training Center made "just over 200 contacts with Members and committee offices concerning information and training on computers." In 1984, "there were approximately 1150 contacts made, involving equipment and software demonstrations and selections." Similarly, H.I.S. began to field an increasing number of inquiries from Member and Committee offices about establishing local area networks (LANs) with their microcomputers. Along with the rollout of the H.I.S.-developed CMS system and the H.I.S. e-mail service, H.I.S. also implemented TYMNET and UNINET ACCESS, which enabled district offices to more easily connect to the House Cable Network and the Member Information Network (MIN).[637] Other new or enhanced H.I.S. services in the 98th Congress included a Legal Retrieval System to aid congressional offices in legislative research, drafting, and investigations; an updated U.S. Code data base; an on-line automated system for Reports Due to Congress; and an Uninterruptible Power Supply (UPS), which was designed to provide electrical current to mainframes in the event of a power failure. Installation of UPS was completed during the following Congress.[638]

Reflecting a continuing shift away from mainframe applications toward PC-based applications, H.I.S. introduced MICROMIN in October 1986, near the end of the 99th Congress (1985–1986). MICROMIN was designed to run on a single PC or on a small PC network, such as those beginning to be used in Member offices. MICROMIN was described as providing:

> a full range of integrated information management and office automation functions that include correspondence management, Member scheduling, casework tracking, and direct communications with the large data bases on the Member Information Network (MIN) that are available via HIS's mainframe computers.[639]

The 99th Congress also saw the continued automation of legislative information, designed, in part, to "enhance legal research capabilities for House Staff."[640] Among these changes was the final testing of an online version of the full text of the *Congressional Record*, which became operational at the beginning of the 100th Congress. H.I.S. also added several legislative functions to the Legislative Information Management System (LIM), which made House and Senate Floor activity "available to on-line users on a realtime basis." These functions included Senate Action Reporting, Committee Action Reporting, Floor Action Reporting, Executive Action Reporting, Reports Due to Congress, House Calendar, House

Journal, Bill Briefs, and the Legislative Activity Guide which provided Members with a record of all of their individual votes. Installation of the Public Data Network (PDN) allowed district office users for the first time to connect to the H.I.S. mainframe in Washington.[641]

The 100th Congress (1987–1988) brought further signs of the growing importance of technology to the House. In addition to its responsibilities for overseeing the Approved List of Office Equipment and H.I.S., the Subcommittee on Office Systems was actively involved in the replacement of the House phone system in favor of an electronic private branch exchange (PBX) telephone system. The new telephone system provided enhanced functionality and security while also saving money.[642] In 1987, the Subcommittee also adopted new policies designed to streamline the purchase of upgraded versions of approved software packages and in 1988, in recognition of security concerns related to cellular phones, it opted to include proactively a notice about "the lack of security of these conversations" with each approval of a purchase request.[643]

Throughout the 100th Congress the Subcommittee on Office Systems maintained a close relationship with H.I.S., and held an oversight hearing on H.I.S. in April of 1987 to review the administration and operation of information management, data processing, and telecommunications in the House. At the hearing, "HIS personnel presented a brief historical overview of the services currently being provided, an explanation of the organization of HIS with a presentation by each divisional manager on the activities of each division, and a planning projection for the future." A year later, the Committee on House Administration published a comprehensive guide to H.I.S. computer and information services available to Members of House.[644]

As the activities and accomplishments of H.I.S. continued to grow, the integration of computing into House activities could be seen in the sharp increase in the number of PCs being used by Member and Committee offices, and a growing demand for both customized applications and Apple Macintosh computer support. In one resource-intensive example, the Iran-Contra Investigation Committee had H.I.S. coordinate data processing and printing services, including the development of databases to help index and analyze more than 250,000 subpoenaed documents.[645]

In addition, H.I.S. continued its support of LEGIS, designed and developed a Correspondence Management System for the Apple Macintosh; designed and installed a class scheduling system for the Page School, a comprehensive patient management system for the Office of the Attending Physician, and a scheduling system for the Press Gallery; provided training for nearly 3,000 employees; responded to nearly 12,000 troubleshooting requests; and developed a new Committee Calendar System for deployment during the 101st Congress.[646]

H.I.S., in forward looking effort to develop a "new technological foundation for the House," also launched four major initiatives in the 101st Congress (1989–1990) that were designed "to provide the House superior information technology capabilities for years to come." These included:

- CASE (Computer-Aided Software Engineering). A methodology adopted "both as a basis for [HIS] strategic planning and for the design of individual application systems" that could provide the "rigor and discipline to insure that resources [were] directed efficiently toward needs in a prioritized and cost-effective manner."
- Client/Server Computing. A client/server model adopted by H.I.S. "as its architecture of choice for new systems development." This arrangement made it possible for "PCs and Macintoshes" to use the H.I.S. central facilities (and other computers as well) as extensions of their own capabilities," and for "information throughout the network" to be instantly available in an integrated fashion."
- Communications Networking. A Wide Area Network designed and implemented by H.I.S. to "provide reliable, high-speed, and cost effective access for District Offices" that it was felt would "largely eliminate distance and geography as a factor in distributing workload in Members offices."
- X.400 Messaging. An message handling system adopted by H.I.S. "for all of its system development work." Adoption of X.400 "provided a compatible means to move information from any person, computer or system to any

other person, computer or system." X.400 "together with the Client/Server architecture and the communications network that" L.I.S. had built, it was felt would "set the stage for 'Total Creativity' within the House. Members and staffers in the future [would] each have the information and processing function they [needed] directly at their fingertips."[647]

The 101st Congress also brought further progress in the effort to develop the "new technological foundation for the House, resulting in expanded usage of H.I.S. Systems and services."[648] By 1989, many of the most heavily used House IT systems continued to run on technology set up in the early 1970s when H.I.S. was first created. Consequently, there was a strong need to rebuild and update House IT by moving away from an environment dominated by mainframes and toward a client-server computing model running on wide and local area networks using PCs. Toward this goal, the Subcommittee on Office Systems approved a proposal to develop a wide area data communications network that would enable Members to access all available House information resources from both their Washington and district offices. The network became available in 1991.[649] Similarly, H.I.S. began to replace the centrally-managed Member Information Network with the client-server based Integrated System and Information Service (ISIS). By moving away from a mainframe model focused on custom made software that could be cumbersome to update, ISIS was based on an "open systems" design that utilized common standards and allowed "vendor-supplied office automation systems to incorporate its information and functionality."[650] This would ultimately enable users to select software packages based on their needs, rather than try to fit their needs around a limited set of options.

Reflecting both an evolving sophistication of users' needs and the capabilities of technology, the 102nd Congress (1991–1992) "witnessed unusual growth in House automation, information, and communication."[651] One such area of growth was the implementation of a wide area network, begun in the previous Congress, that connected over 100 Washington offices to their district offices. Another area of development was the implementation of a House-wide e-mail system intended to interconnect the existing collection of e-mail systems, and enable them to exchange mail with users outside the House computing environment, including the Senate and other federal agencies. The House also contributed to efforts to develop CapNet, a high speed network designed to connect all legislative branch organizations together.[652] Another major advance was the creation of the first compact disc (CD-ROM) version of the U.S. Code in 1992 by H.I.S. In printed form, the U.S. Code spanned more than 30 hardbound volumes, while in digital form it was put on a single compact disc.[653] Other advances included the upgrade and expansion of many back office applications including maintenance of the National Mailing System, development of an "Electronic Fund Transfer capability for the Member Payroll System," development and installation of "an identification and security system," development of "specifications for an ID-Badging and Access Control system for the House and other Capitol Hill entities," increased staffing of the central computing facility to provide 24/7 operations support, and development of the ability to electronically transfer some House publications to the Government Printing Office (GPO) for printing.[654]

1993–2008 - Congress Goes Online

The 103rd Congress (1993–1994) marked an important turning point for the House of Representatives. Representative Charles G. Rose, chairman of the Committee on House Administration, "the mastermind behind the influx of new technology . . . himself a high-tech junkie . . . took special interest" in H.I.S. As chairman, Rose "was able to personally oversee the development and use of new technologies within the House, and his own experience helped chart the course."[655]

Following several years of transition from a mainframe to a desktop computing environment, the House began to embrace the convergence of computers and telecommunications, in the form of the Internet. Representative of this historic transition, "the House Calendar became the first document transferred directly from the H.I.S. mainframe (or any government computer) to the Government Printing Office

(GPO) electronically."[657] In another acknowledgment of the issues the House would need to address, at a full committee meeting held March 9, 1994, the Committee on House Administration appointed the Task Force on the Internet, chaired by Representative Thomas Manton. The Task Force would later develop a report, although it does not appear to have been publicly printed.[658]

The Subcommittee on Office Systems continued its oversight of House Information Systems (H.I.S.). In addition to negotiating price changes with vendors and approving additions and exceptions to the House Approved List of Equipment and Services, the Subcommittee approved the use of pager services for Member and committee staff; lifted the rules limiting the number of television sets allowed in Members and committee offices; and continued oversight of development of CapNet.[659]

H.I.S. also implemented a number of initiatives that contributed to the transformation of the House computing environment. Most significantly was providing Internet access to Members and enabling public access to House information via the Internet. As part of this effort H.I.S. set up a number of basic Internet services to enable the access and transfer of information and files, including Telnet, File Transfer Protocol (FTP), UseNet, Gopher, and Wide Area Information Server (WAIS). During this time, prior to the advent of graphic Internet browsers, Gopher was one of the most widely used methods of sharing information via the Internet. The WAIS server provided "public access to the full text of House bills and resolutions."[660] In addition, H.I.S. implemented a House-wide electronic mail (e-mail) capability that connected the various House e-mail systems and supported mail exchange with external users. Public e-mail boxes were also established allowing constituents to send messages to Representatives.[661] Even at this early stage, there was an awareness of potential security concerns regarding the Internet, and H.I.S. established "a secure firewall between the Internet and House networks."[662]

Nearly a decade before concerns about homeland security and continuity of operations would take on renewed meaning, H.I.S. was working to upgrade its own disaster recovery capabilities. Up until this time, the House manually transported backup tapes of critical files to an off-site vault in a House office building. Working with the Library of Congress, the House "installed an electronic robotic tape subsystem in the Library's Computer Center."[663] H.I.S. also conducted several disaster recovery tests at hotsites located away from Capitol Hill.[664] In later October 1993, the Committee on House Administration held an oversight hearing on H.I.S. to keep committee members abreast of ever expanding work of the service.[665]

Still, prior to 1995, the House "was almost exclusively a 'paper-based' institution. While computers and electronic document applications were used, they were largely limited to stand-alone computers or text-only 'dummy terminals' not connected to any House-wide network and the mass distribution of documents was possible only through hard-copy means." At the time, only 53 "House members had Internet access and there were virtually no personal office or committee Web sites. Electronic connections between members' Capitol Hill and district offices were limited, with fewer than thirty legislators using high-speed network connections. Finally, the House supported nine disparate and effectively uninteroperable e-mail systems."[666]

The opening of the 104th Congress (1995–1996), marked a historic shift in majority control of both houses of Congress from the Democrats to the Republicans, and significant changes that further propelled the House in the information age. Under the direction of Committee Chairman Bill Thomas and Speaker Newt Gingrich, the House "began an ambitious program to upgrade all of its computer systems," and "adopted a set of Internet email standards ensuring full interoperability." By the end of the second session, "222 members had high-speed network connections between their Washington, D.C. and district offices, and more than 222 member offices and 27 full committees had established Web sites on the House Web server."[667]

As part of a larger reform agenda that changed the Committee's focus the name of the Committee on House Administration changed to the Committee on House Oversight.

For the Committee this involved the delegation of many of its administrative responsibilities to the House Officers. As part of this shift, House Information Systems was combined with the Office of Telecommunications. The combined unit was renamed House Information Resources (HIR) and placed under the auspices of the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO). Perhaps most notably though, THOMAS, a new Library of Congress legislative information retrieval system went online on January 4, 1995.[668] THOMAS, which was named in honor of Thomas Jefferson, provide the public a broad range of information about Congress heretofore unavailable on the Internet.

In February 1995, the Committee established a Computer Information and Services Working Group to undertake a comprehensive study of all House computers, networks, and user requirements with the goal of developing an implementation plan that was popularly referred to as the "CyberCongress" project. Implementation of the CyberCongress would increase staff efficiency through "paperless administrative functions," "increased the speed of administrative transactions, and reduce overall central administrative costs." The functions involved were to "include payroll administration, travel vouchers, and ordering office supplies. By having a common hardware platform in each office, HIR can provide the easiest-to-use software at the lowest cost for the House."[669]

On May 10, 1995, the Committee approved a significant change in the procedures for purchasing computer and office equipment, including software and services. Previously the Committee maintained an approved list of specific products from specific vendors, exceptions to which required the Chairman's approval. Also software could only be purchased through the Office Supply Store. The new procedures, which went into effect September 1, 1995, directed the House chief Executive Office (CAO) to develop minimum technical standards for equipment and maintain a list of preferred vendors. The CAO also negotiated bulk pricing discounts on "common equipment such as printers and copiers, and develop an official process for tracking and resolving vendor complaints." Offices were then allowed to purchase any hardware or software from any vendor that met the minimum standards.[670]

At a June 14, 1995 meeting, the Committee approved the concept of one element of the CyberCongress project, the "Office 2000" initiative, which was intended to "develop standardized office electronic communications, adopt a standardized groupware platform, and provide advanced database and communications management."[671] Also at this meeting, the Committee agreed to a resolution renaming House Information Systems to House Information Resources.[672]

The formal *House Information Systems Program Plan* developed by the working group was adopted by the House Oversight Committee in November 1995. The plan called for a "*robust, coherent, unified multimedia network, with sufficient software and modern compatible equipment, with which the U.S. House of Representatives may effectively function to best serve the American public, the Members of the House, and other government institutions*." The plan, which "became the blueprint for implementation of the major information technology initiatives during the 104th Congress." called for:

- infrastructure upgrades of the House network;
- replacing outdated computer hardware and software with advanced desktop computers and fully integrated office systems software capable of handling information in text, audio, and video formats;
- developing a comprehensive security program for the House of Representatives to ensure the integrity and authenticity of electronic information;
- improving support and training;
- developing an Internet presence on the World Wide Web for the House of Representatives, including public access to House documents and public e-mail from constituents to their Representatives;
- implementing new computer applications and technologies to support House operations; and
- collaboration among all legislative branch organizations to develop joint research capabilities to support Members and committees.[673]

Specifically, the Committee approved a decision to provide each Member office one "standard" (a private line

or frame relay service up to 56kbps in speed) data network connection between Washington and a district office, at no charge to the Members Representational Allowance (MRA). For Members who were then paying for such a data network connection, the average savings to their MRAs was $6,000.[674] Also at this time, the Committee decided to provide each Member office with "one Pentium-class IBM-Compatible desktop computer" in 1996.[675]

The Committee also approved regulations governing the content of Member and committee official web sites. A July 31, 1996 Dear Colleague letter from Chairman Thomas summarized the regulations as follows:

> The creation and operation of Members' official Web sites must be in support of the Members' official and representational duties to the district from which elected. Office Web sites may not: include personal, political, or campaign information; include advertisements or endorsements for private individuals or entities; and directly link to Web sites created or operated by campaign or partisan political organizations. H.I.R. will display an exit notice stating that users are leaving the House of Representatives, prior to linking to a non-House Web site. This notice will include a disclaimer that neither the Member nor the House are responsible for the content of linked sites. For security purposes, all official Web sites must be located on the HOUSE.GOV host-domain. Member offices may choose between maintaining their sites in their office or through the use of H.I.R. services.[676]

Following the dramatic technology changes introduced during the 104th Congress, the Committee continued its oversight and steady modernization of the House technology infrastructure. In the 105th Congress (1997–1998), oversight focused on activities such as deployment of the House messaging system; implementation of the Legislative Branch Information Technology Exchange (LBITE) to facilitate the sharing of information technology plans among legislative branch agencies; Year 2000 preparation and remediation; implementation of a data standard for information exchange within the legislative branch; development of a fax gateway pilot; and the issuance of regulations regarding the house.gov Internet domain.[677] In the 106th Congress (1999–2000), oversight continued to focus on several of these issues, including overseeing, in conjunction with the Senate, the Legislative Branch Telecommunications group; overseeing implementation of House Rule XI 2(e)4 requiring committee documentation to be made available electronically, to maximum extent possible; overseeing continuing Year 2000 preparation and remediation activities; and developing common data standards to be used through the legislative branch. Other activities included the implementation of a new legislative information system, the enhancement of House information security policies, ongoing efforts to introduce and integrate new technologies and upgrades; and continued development of the means to disseminate information to the public electronically.[678]

During the 107th Congress (2001–2002), the Committee continued to address many of these same issues while continuing to support the development of the House IT infrastructure. Some of the activities approved by the Committee included the development of a virtual private network (VPN) pilot; enabling the capability to order office supplies via the House intranet; updating minimum standards for hardware and software purchases; and upgrading the House Staff Human Resources/Payroll System and the financial management system.[679]

Response to September 11 Terrorist Attacks. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, and the subsequent anthrax incidents, also brought a renewed urgency to the security and continuity of congressional operations. Perhaps most notably, after the attacks, the Committee quickly purchased and issued a BlackBerry® to each Member of the House of Representatives, and provided training for using the devices. This focus on continuity and emergency preparedness continued throughout the rest of the 107th Congress with activities such as the creation of the Office of Emergency Preparedness; improvements to the telecommunications systems; and continuing efforts to back up House e-mail systems.[680]

At a May 1, 2002, hearing the Committee also considered the controversial idea of developing the capability to convene an electronic Congress (E-Congress) that would allow Members to serve the American people in the event it was not possible to meet in person in Washington, DC. Reiterating the technology theme, one witnesses participated via video conference from Prague. In addition to considering the technical feasibility of such a "virtual Congress," hearing witnesses raised questions about potential negative implications for the deliberative process, historical precedent, House rules that do not allow remote voting, and constitutional requirements that Congress assemble (in person) at least once a year. Alternatives to an E-Congress, such as changing quorum rules, broadening the ability of Congress to convene itself in a location other than the Capitol, and expediting the process for filling Member vacancies were also discussed.[681]

A year after the terrorist attacks, the Committee held a hearing on "Security Updates Since September 11, 2001." This session was intended to be a retrospective of the actions taken over the past year to improve the security and continuity practices of the House and a look forward at what actions still needed to be completed. While a significant portion of the hearing focused on physical security, Chief Administrative Officer James M. Eagen III reported on a number of actions taken to improve communications and data availability in the event of an emergency. Some of these activities included, but were not limited to, the establishment of an off-site mail center; creation of an off-site computing center to provide redundancy and automatic "fail over" capability for data systems; preparation of a digital mail pilot program; increasing remote access capacity; integration of emergency notification systems; an emphasis on mobile solutions; upgrading the voice mail and telephone exchange system; the distribution of Government Emergency Telecommunications Services (GETS) cards to Members; and diversification of the data lines to remove single points of failure.[682] While the first half of the hearing was held in open session, due to the sensitivity of the topic, the Committee conducted the second half of the hearing in executive session.

During the 108th–109th Congresses (2003–2006), the Committee continued its stewardship of House information technology resources through activities such as oversight of House Information Resources; updating minimum requirements; oversight of the Committee hearing room upgrade program; approval and oversight of the upgrade and/or replacement of administrative systems (i.e., payroll, financial management, etc.); oversight of computer security measures; oversight and implementation of the disaster recovery program for House, Member, and Committee offices; and update the approved list of software and minimum equipment standards, to name a few.[683]

With the integration of the Internet and other information technologies evolving from the exceptional to the routine, the Committee began looking ahead at the next phase of technology adoption in the House. On September 26, 2006, the Committee held a hearing entitled "The IT Assessment: A Ten-Year Vision for Information Technology in the House." The hearing served as an opportunity both to review past achievements and practices and look ahead to future goals and challenges. The hearing focused on "several key business decisions called To-Be Visions, which the House [needed] to agree upon before implementing a strategic technology plan."[684]

To this end, the hearing focused on the latest findings of a multi-phase assessment commissioned by the Committee in August 2004. The assessment, conducted by Gartner Consulting and the Congressional Management Foundation (CMF), identified six factors that were "exerting pressure on the House to more quickly and thoroughly integrate technology." These forces included:

- a "budget crunch, which was placing pressure on the House to minimize costs;"
- future security crises in which technology will play a significant role;"
- increased comfort of new Members with technology, since the businesses and State legislatures they are

coming from use technology significantly different from the House:"

- increasing demands by constituents and the press for information, which technology can help meet;"
- continuing integration of technology into society, which is placing pressure on all institutions for use technology more effectively;" and
- increasing demands of the legislative cycle which technology can help members and staff meet as effectively as they would like to."[685]

The four factors representing the greatest hurdles to technology were identified as:

1. "the lack of standard legislative document formats and policies make it difficult to implement technology to increase sufficiency, enhance access, or reduce the cost of producing legislative documents;"
2. "the lack of House-wide technology coordination sometimes leads to conflicts, redundancies, and higher costs because offices often implement technology in a vacuum;"
3. "the fact that the House operates disparate systems throughout the institution, which prevents it from taking advantage of economies of scale, shared support services and enhanced capabilities provided by enterprise systems;" and
4. "the general lack of resources in House offices. Although technology has placed all kinds of demands on Members and staff, their resources aren't keeping pace with the demands."[686]

The assessment concluded with several specific recommendations for each of five key business processes of the House, including the legislative process, member office operations, institutional operational support, Member activities, and party organization. Taken together, the report's recommendations emphasized some common themes, including the need for improved access to electronic information during committee and floor activities; automation of the management and production of legislative documents; adoption of common electronic format standards across legislative organizations; inclusion of electronic documents as part of the official legislative record; adoption of a centralized administrative and cost model for technology deployed to Member offices; a greater technical integration and support of district offices; and improved mobile access to information and staff when Members are traveling or are unable to be physically present in their offices. The report also observed the importance of not allowing the adoption of new technologies to unduly change some of the intrinsic characteristics of the House, including the role deliberation and debate, opportunities for face-to-face interaction among Members, and the Members' relationship to their constituents.[687]

During the 110th Congress (2007–2008), the Committee "placed a high priority on monitoring technology that supports Member office and House operations, believing that broader technology improvements and greater investments by the House can provide substantial productivity gains, cost savings, and enhanced security." In support of this effort, the Committee:

- approved numerous technology upgrades that increased the transparency of committee proceedings;
- "approved a policy allowing for engagement and maintenance of an unlimited number of unofficial web presences" ("allowed Members to place official information in the virtual world, such as Facebook, YouTube, etc.");
- oversaw "various continuity of operations exercises and worked with the CAO, the Architect of the Capitol, and the House Inspector General to identify any possible areas of systems failure and correct them;"
- "approved a transfer and expansion of wireless antennae throughout the House campus and the Visitor Center" in an effort to extend the reach of wireless communication devices;
- conducted a campus-wide survey of dead zone problems and worked with a private sector consortium of wireless providers to expand coverage without incurring any cost to taxpayers;
- saved (together with HIR) significant funds by entering into blanket purchases agreements with two major

vendors of computer equipment; and

- started (with the CAO) a training series that provided congressional staff with "access to information about technology efficiencies already in place in congressional offices, many of which were unused or overlooked because of a lack of training."[688]

2009–2011: Consolidation and Oversight

During the 111th and 112th Congresses, the use of computerization was consolidated and the Committee undertook efforts to extend and oversee that consolidation.

Oversight of House Information Resources

The Committee provided bipartisan oversight of House Information Resources (HIR), one of the largest units within the office of the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO). Committee staff and CAO managers met weekly to review and discuss new initiatives, issues, and opportunities for HIR service to Members, committees, Leadership, and other support offices of the House.[689]

Support for New Members

As part of the 112th Congress transition, the Committee oversaw HIR's setup of new Members offices in Washington, D.C. and in their home districts. Setup comprised website development, telecommunications, and general systems support.[690] As part of HIR's support for new members, its Security Office briefed freshman Member offices on House IT security policies and best practices.

Enhanced HIR Services to the House

During 2011, the Committee and HIR worked together to enhance the technical services available to the House by expanding participation in the House Cloud; permitting the use of Skype® and ooVoo®.[691] In May 2011, HIR also stressed the importance of IT security by beginning to publish a monthly IT security newsletter .

Enhancing support for mobility was an important focus. HIR continued to install wireless access points for the use of Members, committees, and staff of the House.[692] The Committee requested that the Library of Congress provide an official application for the iPad to provide electronic access to the Congressional Record which was first released in January 2012.

HIR evaluated and supported several mobility management solutions to allow non-Blackberry devices to be supported on the House network. The House began to support devices with specific versions of the iOS and Android operating systems for iPhone, iPad, and Android smart phones.

The so called *House Cloud* offers House offices a centralized, secure, and highly available computer infrastructure and hosted services. Hosted services are a cost-effective alternative to traditional, individual in-office servers. A major advantage is that life-cycle replacement of systems is centrally funded; and updates, patches, and backups are centrally managed. This service includes continual monitoring, maintenance, security, and file replication to support business continuity and disaster recovery in a secure data center environment. Security was enhanced by providing backup servers at a second location. By the end of 2011, 318 House offices were using centrally hosted services of the *House Cloud*.[693] Among that number were the offices of Members new to the 112th Congress.

Oversight Hearing: Subcommittee on Oversight

Modernizing Information Delivery in the House. On June 16, 2011, and in anticipation of the 20th anniversary of the GPO Electronic Information Access Enhancement Act of 1993, the Committee's Subcommittee on Oversight held a hearing on modernizing information delivery in the House. In his opening statement, Representative Gingrey, who chaired the hearing, identified the purposes of the hearing by saying, "Today, we are interested in learning from our witnesses . . . how we can improve information delivery in the House, how we can improve the way we create and distribute legislative documents, and how we [can] reduce costs and increase transparency."[694]

In preparation for the hearing, the committee reached out to and received statements from the chairs of other House panels whose work bore upon the topic of the hearing: the Rules Committee; the Natural Resources Committee; and the Energy and Commerce Committee, Subcommittee on Communications and Technology. Panel discussions touched

on a variety of themes, among which were the following:

- the extent to which congressional documents need to be maintained in hard copy and which can be made available only in electronic form so as to achieve cost savings;
- the use of open standards to create interoperable, accessible legislative information;
- the development of clean, well documented, timely; and authoritative data;
- the development of frameworks for accessibility and use of legislative, legal, and other data both in and out of Congress;
- facilitating the work of Congress;
- meeting the needs of legislative work flow;
- use of database management software to track committee work on bills before Congress;
- use of technology to manage documents and testimony submitted by witnesses at committee hearings;
- document management and bill tracking;
- data consistency over time;
- the role of mobile computing;
- meeting archival requirements—paper v. electronic storage; and
- data security

Clerk of the House

During the 112th Congress, the Committee worked with the Clerk of the House, as well as with the Majority Leader, the Rules Committee, and the Parliamentarian, to support a new and transparent process for House documents. Subsequently the Office of the Clerk:

- eliminated mailing to each Member paper copies of the Legislative Activity Guides, which summarize the legislative actions of the House and present each Member's cumulative voting record, and began emailing the Guides in electronic PDF format—for a savings of more than 350,000 sheets of paper each Congress and several thousands of dollars every year;
- enhanced the HouseLive.gov website by making significant improvements;
- provided technical leadership in developing standards for electronic posting of House and committee documents and data; and
- established docs.house.gov as the first phase of a permanent document repository for documents relating to floor consideration; and
- worked with five pilot committees on requirements for posting committee documents electronically. A naming standard and format requirement was established for specific committee documents after the Committee and the Office of the Clerk worked with all House Committees. The Clerk planned software development to expand the docs.house.gov portal for planned release in early 2013.

Electronic Voting in the House

Origins and Development

The electric vote recorder was first invented by Thomas Edison in 1869.[695] In Edison's system "each legislator moved a switch to either a yes or no position, thus transmitting a signal to a central recorder that listed the names of the members in two columns of metal type headed 'Yes' and 'No.'"[696] Edison demonstrated his system to the House of Representatives, where he was turned away by a committee chair, who told him:

> Young man, that won't do at all! That is just what we do not want. Your invention would destroy the only hope the minority would have of influencing legislation. It would deliver them over, bound hand and foot, to the majority. The present system gives them a weapon which is invaluable, and as the ruling majority knows that at some day they may become a minority, they will be as much averse to change as their opponents.[697]

In 1886, electric and mechanical voting was proposed for the House with the introduction of two separate resolutions. Representative Lewis Beach of New York introduced a resolution in February directing the Committee on Rules to "inquire into the feasibility of a plan for registering votes. . . . "[698] In June, Representative Benjamin Le Fevre of Ohio submitted a resolution on the electrical recording of the yeas and nays.[699] The resolutions were referred to the

Committee on Rules. No further action was taken on either resolution.

As early as 1903, *The New York Times* reported that the House was again discussing the installation of an instrument to record votes.[700] In 1912, Representative Ira Copley introduced H.Res. 385 "providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate and report whether it is practicable to install an electrical voting device in the House of Representatives for the purpose of recording the aye-and-nay votes of the Members."[701] In the third session of the 62nd Congress (1911–1913), Representative Finis J. Garrett introduced H.Res. 768 "authorizing the Committee on Rules to investigate as to the advisability, practicability, and expense of installing some mechanical device for recording the vote of Members."[702] Both resolutions were referred to the Committee on Rules, and neither received further consideration.

In the 63rd Congress (1913–1914) Representative Allan Walsh, an electrical engineer, introduced H.Res. 513, authorizing the purchase and installation of an automated voting system.[703] A similar proposal, H.Res. 223, was introduced in the 64th Congress (1916) by Representative William Howard.[704] Hearings were held in the 63rd Congress on H.Res. 513 and in the 64th Congress on H.Res. 223.

During the hearings on H.Res. 513 and H.Res. 223, Members' statements and questions focused on the length of time needed to vote in the House, the accuracy of such roll-call votes, and the cost of developing and implementing an electrical vote recording system. In the 63rd Congress, Representative Walsh testified that "taking 45 minutes as the average time consumed in a roll call, the time consumed in the Sixty-second Congress in roll calls was 275 hours, or 55 legislative days." However, members of the Committee on Accounts were concerned that shortening votes could "flood the country with legislation" and disrupt then-used delaying tactics, "filibuster by means of roll calls."[705]

The hearings also addressed Members' concerns that voting mistakes could be made using an electrical and mechanical system. In the hearings on H.Res. 513, Representative Walsh testified that the voting system he envisioned would automatically cut off the circuit after a prescribed time to end a vote.[706] In the instance where a Member missed a vote, Representative Walsh left to the Speaker the decision whether the Member would be allowed to vote. In the 64th Congress, H.Res. 223 sought to overcome this perceived deficiency and allowed for vote changes either through the mechanical system or through a more traditional paper method.

Although the report on H.Res. 223 recommended the resolution's adoption, there was still division in the Committee on Accounts over the desirability of such a voting system. A majority found that an electrical and mechanical system could help Members save time and avoid what was then the practice of reading each name twice for every roll-call vote and quorum call:

> From the statements of the experts before the committee it is evident that such a device can be constructed. From a view of the working model of one device, it is evident that a practical voting system can be instituted, and from the statements of various Members of the House, it is evident that there is a very strong desire for some means of saving the time of Members. . . . Believing that a system can be adopted which will save time, encourage the regular attendance of Members, and insure absolute accuracy in registering and recording the votes of the Members, the adoption of this resolution is recommended.[707]

A minority opposed the concept of an electronic system and the potential loss of floor time to review proposals before casting a vote:

> It must be frankly admitted that the proposed device, if properly installed in the House, will rapidly record the vote if all Members are present. Voting, however, is the most important function of a Member of Congress, and we seriously question the wisdom of hurrying this branch of the work. It frequently happens under the present system that Members are required to vote before they have fully

> formed their judgment. The time taken in voting is obviously time of deliberation, of conference, of quiet discussion, and of interchange of views. Often, under the present system, before the voting has closed, Members change their votes. It is not an unreasonable thing to require a half hour or more to take the votes of 435 men who, as frequently happens, have been engaged in debate on an important question for weeks. . . . Speed is not the most necessary thing in legislation.[708]

Proposals to install automatic, electrical, or mechanical vote counting systems were introduced in the years following. Besides H.Res. 513 introduced by Representative Walsh in 1915 and H.Res. 223 introduced by Representative Howard in 1916, only H.Res. 497 introduced by Representative Melville Kelly in 1923 received committee attention. The Committee on Accounts made no recommendation regarding H.Res. 497. However, the report notes "that all Members could vote simultaneously, if so desired. It was also shown that a great saving in times could be affected in the calling of the roll in the House by the use of one of these voting machines."[709] Table 1 lists each of the proposals to install automatic, electrical, mechanical, or electronic voting in the House of Representatives, prior to 1970.

Table 1. Electrical, Mechanical, Automated, and Electronic Voting Bills and Resolutions in the House of Representatives Before 1970

CONGRESS (YEARS)	DATE INTRODUCED	BILL NUMBER	SPONSOR (PARTY-STATE)
49th (1885–1886)	Feb. 1, 1886	N/A a	Beach (D-NY)
49th (1885–1886)	Jun. 7, 1886	N/A b	Le Fevre (D-OH)
50th (1887–1888)	Jan. 14, 1889	N/A c	Cogswell (R-MA)
51st (1889–1890)	Jan. 8, 1890	N/A d	Cogswell (R-MA)
51st (1889–1890)	Aug. 14, 1890	N/A e	Gifford (R-SD)
52nd (1891–1892)	Jan. 25, 1892	N/A f	Oates (D-AL)
62nd (1911–1912)	Jan. 23, 1912	H.Res. 385	Copley (R-IL) g
62nd (1911–1912)	Jan. 7, 1913	H.Res. 768	Garrett (D-TN)
63rd (1913–1914)	Apr. 1, 1913	H.Res. 15	Copley (P-IL)
63rd (1913–1914)	Jun. 26, 1913	H.Res. 187	Walsh (D-NJ)
63rd (1913–1914)	Mar. 2, 1915	H.Res. 513	Walsh (D-NJ)
64th (1915–1916)	Jul. 10, 1916	H.Res. 223	Howard (D-GA)
67th (1923–1924)	Jan. 29, 1923	H.Res. 497	Kelly (P-PA) h
75th (1937–1938)	May 25, 1938	H.R. 10756	Hill (D-WA)
77th (1941–1942)	Jan. 1, 1941	H.R. 984	Hill (D-WA)
79th (1945–1946)	Oct. 15, 1945	H.Res. 372	Bennett (R-MO)
79th (1945–1946)	Jan. 29, 1946	H.R. 5263	Buck (R-NY)
80th (1947–1948)	Jan. 29, 1947	H.R. 1433	Buck (R-NY)
80th (1947–1948)	Nov. 24, 1947	H.R. 4557	Miller (R-NE)
81st (1949–1950)	Jan. 2, 1949	H.R. 37	Davis (R-WI)
81st (1949–1950)	Jun. 7, 1949	H.R. 5030	Bennett (D-FL)
81st (1949–1950)	Jun. 13, 1949	H.R. 5121	Noland (D-IN)
81st (1949–1950)	Jun. 21, 1949	H.Res. 261	Bennett (D-FL)
81st (1949–1950)	Feb. 27, 1950	H.Res. 491	Noland (D-IN)

Table 1. Electrical, Mechanical, Automated, and Electronic Voting Bills and Resolutions in the House of Representatives Before 1970			
CONGRESS (YEARS)	DATE INTRODUCED	BILL NUMBER	SPONSOR (PARTY-STATE)
82nd (1951–1952)	Jan. 3, 1951	H.R. 171	Davis (R-WI)
82nd (1951–1952)	Jan. 4, 1951	H.R. 931	Le Compte (R-IA)
82nd (1951–1952)	Jan. 12, 1951	H.R. 1326	Denton (D-IN)
82nd (1951–1952)	Jun. 22, 1951	H.R. 4578	Jarman (D-OK)
83rd (1953–1954)	Jan. 6, 1953	H.R. 988	Bennett (D-FL)
83rd (1953–1954)	Jan. 6, 1953	H.R. 1039	Johnson (R-CA)
83rd (1953–1954)	Jan 7, 1953	H.R. 1246	Davis (R-WI)
83rd (1953–1954)	Jan. 9, 1953	H.R. 1397	Le Compte (R-IA)
83rd (1953–1954)	Jan. 15, 1953	H.R. 1811	Dawson (R-UT)
83rd (1953–1954)	Jan. 26, 1953	H.R. 2090	Elliott (D-AL)
83rd (1953–1954)	Mar. 12, 1953	H.R. 3920	Jarman (D-OK)
84th (1955–1956)	Jan. 5, 1955	H.R. 92	Denton (D-IN)
84th (1955–1956)	Jan. 5, 1955	H.R. 128	Le Compte (R-IA)
84th (1955–1956)	Jan. 5, 1955	H.R. 651	Davis (R-WI)
85th (1957–1958)	Jan. 28, 1957	H.R. 3758	Denton (D-IN)
85th (1957–1958)	Feb. 27, 1957	H.R. 5387	Jarman (D-OK)
85th (1957–1958)	Jan. 3, 1958	H.R. 10436	Glenn (R-NJ)
86th (1959–1960)	Jan. 7, 1959	H.R. 754	Denton (D-IN)
86th (1959–1960)	Jan. 7, 1959	H.R. 814	Jarman (D-OK)
86th (1959–1960)	Jan. 15, 1959	H.R. 2537	Glenn (R-NJ)
87th (1961–1962)	Jan. 3, 1961	H.R. 954	Glenn (R-NJ)
87th (1961–1962)	Feb. 7, 1961	H.R. 3966	Denton (D-IN)
87th (1961–1962)	Jul. 10, 1961	H.R. 8047	Tupper (R-ME)
88th (1963–1964)	Feb. 27, 1963	H.R. 4311	Glenn (R-NJ)
89th (1965–1966)	Jan. 14, 1965	H.R. 2805	Denton (D-IN)
91st (1969–1970)	Jan. 3, 1969	H.R. 397	Bennett (D-FL)
91st (1969–1970)	Jan. 14, 1969	H.R. 3340	Davis (R-WI)

a. Representative Beach's resolution was not assigned a number in the 49th Congress. The resolution can be found in U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Plan to Register Votes, Etc., 49th Cong., 1st sess., Mis.Doc. 98, Serial Set 2415 (1886), p. 1, and in the *Congressional Record*, vol. 17, part 1 (Feb. 1, 1886), p. 1037.

b. Representative Le Fevre's resolution was not assigned a number in the 49th Congress. The resolution can be found in U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Electrical Recording of Yeas and Nays*, 49th Cong., 1st sess., Mis.Doc. 315, Serial Set 2418 (1886), p. 1, and in the *Congressional Record*, vol. 17, part 5 (Jun. 7, 1886), p. 5365.

c. Representative Cogswell's resolution was not assigned a number in the 50th Congress. The resolution can be found in the *Congressional Record*, vol. 20, part 1 (Jan. 14, 1889), p. 761.

d. Representative Cogswell's resolution was not assigned a number in the 51st Congress. The resolution can be found in the *Congressional Record*, vol. 21, part 1 (Jan. 8, 1890), p. 474.

e. Representative Gifford's resolution was not assigned a number in the 51st Congress. The resolution can be found in the *Congressional Record*, vol. 21, part 9 (Aug. 14, 1890), p. 8585.

f. Representative Oates's resolution was not assigned a number in the 52nd Congress. The resolution can be found in the *Congressional Record*, vol. 23, part 1 (Jan. 25, 1892), p. 517.

g. Representative Copley represented an Illinois district from 1911 to 1923 and was a member of the Republican Party during the 62nd, 63rd and 65th through 67th Congresses. During the 64th Congress, Representative Copley represented the Progressive Party.

h. Representative Kelly was initially elected to the 63rd Congress as a member of the Republican Party. He was not re-elected to the 64th Congress, and was re-elected to the 65th Congress as a Progressive.

Between 1945 and 1970, Members of the House testified at both House and Senate hearings on the need for an automated voting system. During 1945 hearings held by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, two members of the House testified in favor of an electronic voting system, but the idea did not generate enough support to be included in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.[710] Subsequently, when Congress again turned its attention to the reorganization of Congress in 1965, a substantial majority of those testifying before the Committee on the merits of an electrical voting system advocated the installation of such a plan.[711]

Role of the Committee

The Committee on House Administration began its formal involvement in the discussions of electronic voting in 1969. During the Democratic Caucus's organizational meeting for the 91st Congress (1969–1970), Representative Charles Price introduced a resolution on vote recording procedures in the House of Representatives. The resolution stated:

> RESOLVED: That it is the sense of the caucus that the Speaker of the House shall immediately proceed to take such steps as may be necessary to improve the vote recording procedures in the House of Representatives.[712]

The resolution was agreed to and sent to the Speaker of the House. In response to the resolution, Speaker John McCormack of Massachusetts sent a letter to the Committee on House Administration asking it to examine automated voting. In his letter, Speaker McCormack indicated that he was sure, while the resolution was adopted by the Democratic Caucus, "that all of our Republican colleagues would approve of the same."[713]

The Committee on House Administration's special subcommittee on electrical and mechanical office equipment held a hearing in April 1969 on electrical and mechanical voting.[714] During the hearing, Representative Frederick Schwengel of Iowa, the ranking member, seemed to sum up the Subcommittee's desire for an electronic voting system: "On electronic voting, I think this is something we can do now which will improve the effectiveness and efficiency, particularly the efficiency, of our operations. So I am all for moving forward as fast as we possibly can to the consideration of the matter."[715]

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, as introduced and reported in the House, did not mention electronic voting.[716] Representative Robert McClory offered a floor amendment to authorize the development of an electronic voting system and to amend then House Rule XV to allow the system to be used to conduct votes and quorum calls after its development.[717] The amendment, agreed to by voice vote, is contained in Section 121 of the Act. As part of his floor speech in support of the amendment, Representative McClory acknowledged the work done on the subject of automated voting by other Members and the Committee on House Administration:

> I should like to point out that a report on this subject was made by a member of the original Reorganization Committee, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. HALL). It is also the subject of legislation at this session introduced by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BENNETT), and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. DAVIS). I know that the Committee on House Administration has already undertaken studies. I know that the Clerk has made recommendations to the Committee on House Administration, and I feel that this amendment is an expression of support of the House for the work of the Committee on House Administration and perhaps to emphasize the need to bring their recommendations to the floor of the House in the form of a more specific and detailed change at the earliest possible time. It does not specify a particular system.[718]

President Richard M. Nixon signed the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 into law on October 26, 1970.[719]

Designing the Electronic Voting System. In December 1970, the Clerk of the House contracted with Informatics

Inc. to design the voting system. Guided by instructions from House Information Systems (H.I.S.) and the Committee on House Administration, Informatics set five objectives and guidelines for designing the system. They were:

- The system should significantly reduce the time required to vote and also meet the information needs of system users.
- Each system user, Representative, Tally Clerk, press, etc. should have a simple and consistent interface with the system from both a hardware and software viewpoint.
- The system should have a very high degree of reliability with appropriate levels of automatic testing.
- Hardware should be highly compatible with the Chamber decor so as to be as unobtrusive as possible and still function properly.
- Absolute lowest cost is not a prime consideration when weighed against other design objectives; however, costs should be handled prudently.[720]

Informatics estimated that completing these objectives would cost a total of $900,000.[721]

Informatics worked on the preliminary design concept for the electronic voting system until September 1971 when H.I.S. recommended the termination of its contract. H.I.S. then took Informatics' design and continued to refine and develop the electronic voting system. In November 1971, Representative John Dent introduced and the House agreed to H.Res. 601. This resolution authorized $1.5 million for the maintenance and improvement of existing computer systems and the creation of a computer systems staff,[722] whose primary task was the creation of the electronic voting system.[723] Also in November 1971, the Committee on House Administration approved a contract with Control Data Corporation to "develop a fully operational electronic voting system"[724] based on the work of Informatics and H.I.S..

Instead of having an electrical and mechanical system, the House chose a fully electronic, computer-based system with an electronic display board "which flashes a running tally and records each member's vote on an overhead scoreboard and a computer printout."[725] The electronic voting system consisted, in part, of voting stations located throughout the House, in contrast to earlier proposals that linked voting to individual voting boxes that were affixed to desks in the House chamber. In this respect, the system was unlike those used in many state and local legislative bodies. Representative Joseph D. Waggonner enumerated the impracticality of returning to the pre-1913 practice of assigning seats[726] as a function of the number of seats in the House chamber and the imbalance between Democrats and Republicans in a Congress. "How many Democrats are in the House of Representative today? It was 244, I believe. . . . How many seats are there on this side of the aisle? There are 224. And there are 224 over there."[727]

In preparation for the use of electronic voting, the House adopted H.Res. 1123, which amended House rules to provide for electronic voting in the next Congress in October of 1972.[728] On January 23, 1973, the House conducted its first vote by electronic device, a quorum call.[729]

In March 1973, Chairman Hays, in a letter to Control Data Corporation, wrote that final system acceptance would not be completed until a "list of system deficiencies are corrected." The deficiencies were divided into two categories, items that had yet to be completed and items that were unacceptable. These items included hardware maintenance documentation, delivery of card reader machines, creation of an installation plan for the Speaker's CRT monitor, installation of the Speaker's CRT monitor, installation of five additional voting stations, programmer training, preventative maintenance schedules, warping panels, CRT monitor malfunctioning, and insufficient inventory of maintenance parts, and non-English error messages on CRT monitors.[730] These issues prevented the Committee on House Administration from authorizing final payment to Control Data Corporation until October 1974.[731]

Operation of Voting Equipment. House Members may vote at any station located throughout the chamber.[732] To vote, a Member inserts ". . . a little plastic card which is punched on either end identically, so you can put it in upside down or backwards . . ."[733] into one of the voting stations and presses one of three buttons: Yea, Nay, or Present. A

Member's vote is then displayed in panels above the press gallery seats, directly above the Speaker's dais. A green light indicates a Member voted Yea, a red light indicates a Member voted Nay, and an amber light indicates a Member voted Present.[734] Today, Member voting cards have magnetic strips that contain identification information. To vote a Member follows the same procedure as before.

Two summary displays, on the balconies to the right and left of the Speaker's dais, keep a running total of votes cast and how much time remains for a vote.[735] Members, in general, today have a minimum of 15 minutes to record a vote.[736]

Once he or she has voted, a Member may check his or her vote by reinserting the card and noting which light is illuminated at the voting station. A Member may also change his or her vote in the same manner by depressing the corresponding button. If a Member wishes to change his or her vote after the first 10 minutes of a 15-minute vote, the Member must use a teller card (well card) in the well of the House.[737] These teller cards are manually entered into the electronic voting system by a tally clerk. Members' votes so recorded are reflected on the panels above the Speaker's dais (along with the votes of Members who voted at the voting stations), in the running total display boards on either side of the chamber, and as a vote change in the *Congressional Record*.[738] For a five-minute or two-minute vote, changes may be made electronically throughout the voting process.

Between the 93rd and 97th Congresses (1973–1982), House Information Systems staff put the electronic voting system through a daily four-step process to ensure it was working properly.[739] First, the electronic voting system was initialized each morning of a legislative day and tests were conducted on all chamber equipment, including the main display panels, summary display panels, voting stations, and video consoles. Second, the electronic voting system was placed in production mode and made available for votes. Third, during use, a computer technician monitored the system to ensure the system remained operational. Finally, a member of the clerk's office acted as a floor monitor to assist Members in use of the system and to close down inoperable voting stations as necessary.[740]

System Maintenance. Since 1973, the Committee has taken an active role in updating and upgrading the electronic voting system. These upgrades and updates include changes in voting information retrieval, how votes are displayed on closed-circuit television, how Members may change their votes during a vote, and computer equipment and programming upgrades. Upgrades, updates, and changes were initially handled by House Information Systems (H.I.S.). During the 104th Congress (1995–1996), the Committee on House Administration, then called the Committee on House Oversight, approved the transfer of legislative operations on the House floor to the Clerk of the House.[741] This action included the transfer of the electronic voting system from H.I.S. to the Clerk's Office of Legislative Computer Systems (LCS). LCS continues to operate and maintain the electronic voting system, with the Committee on House Administration providing oversight.

Upgrades to the electronic voting system were made multiple times in recent years. For example, in the 97th Congress (1981–1982), the voting system software was migrated to "more modern computer equipment,"[742] and in the 99th Congress (1985–1986), a microcomputer was installed by H.I.S. to act as backup system.[743] Further updates and maintenance of the voting system continued to be performed throughout this time period.[744]

In January 2004, the computer hardware that runs the electronic voting system was upgraded in the House. That upgrade was "the fourth major upgrade of the EVS [electronic voting system] since its inception in 1972." Details of the upgrade were not provided by the Office of the Clerk, although it was reported that the electronic voting equipment was located in the Rayburn House Office Building and was connected to the Capitol and the House Chamber through a secure connection.[745]

In the 109th Congress (2005–2006), the Committee on House Administration took two actions related to the electronic voting system. First, the Committee authorized

the release of a House Inspector General report on the voting system entitled "General and Application Controls in the House Electronic Voting System." Second, the Committee approved a purchase order for a voting display system for the Capitol Visitor Center auditorium.[746]

During the 111th Congress (2009–2010), the Clerk of the House upgraded and modernized the Electronic Voting System's infrastructure. The upgrades included computerizing all electronic display boards, including how names are displayed on the boards. Computerizing the boards "...makes it easy to add or remove names, or to redistribute the complete list among the remaining display boards if one of them should fail." Additionally, the upgrade enhanced the summary display boards to allow for "additional legislative information" and brought the voting technology into compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act.[747]

Televised House Floor Debate

Origins and Development

In 1944, Senator Claude Pepper of Florida offered the first proposal to open the chambers of Congress to television cameras. S.J. Res. 145 directed the Architect of the Capitol to aid the major broadcasting companies in establishing a system of broadcasting from the House and Senate Chambers. The "Pepper Resolution," one scholar observed, "fathered the modern legislative efforts to implement congressional television. Between 1944 and 1977, 54 additional resolutions were introduced in Congress calling for some form of congressional broadcasting."[748]

The years immediately after World War II ushered in television as a new broadcasting medium that would touch the lives of millions of Americans and profoundly affect journalism's relationship with Congress. From 1948 to April 1952, at least 15 Senate committees and four House committees held hearings that were televised or photographed by newsreel cameras, a Library of Congress study found.[749] The potential impact of television coverage on Congress, however, perhaps was not fully appreciated until March 1951, when live coverage of the Senate Select Committee to Investigate Crime in Interstate Commerce was broadcast to an estimated 20 to 30 million television viewers along the eastern seaboard and the Midwest. The hearings, by virtue of being televised, "catapulted into national prominence" the Committee's chairman, Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, who "almost overnight became a leading contender for the presidency."[750]

Television also provided news coverage of dramatic House committee hearings, including those of the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948. The possibility of further televised hearings of House committees, however, was cut short in 1952 when Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas held in a floor ruling that neither the proceedings of the full House nor those of individual House committees could be permitted without House adoption of a rule to that effect.[751] The prohibition against radio and television coverage of House committee hearings remained in effect until 1970, while the bar against coverage of House floor sessions would not be lifted until October 1977.

During the interim, broad network television coverage of such prominent Senate hearings as the Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954, labor racketeering hearings in 1957, Senate Rules and Administration Committee hearings on Bobby Baker in 1964, and Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Vietnam in 1966, attracted millions of television viewers. The coverage of Senate hearings, and the closeness with which television brought Senate committees to the American viewer, were contributing factors to the gradual change in the attitude of the House toward television coverage of committee proceedings. In 1965, several witnesses supported proposals to broadcast floor proceedings in testimony before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. The matter was also considered at some length during the hearings on the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 by that Committee's Special Subcommittee on Legislative Reorganization. Although the final version of the Act did not provide for broadcasting floor proceedings, it did authorize broadcasting of House committee hearings for the first time.[752] Over the next few years, nearly every House committee changed its rules to allow broadcasting.

In 1973, network television devoted hundreds of hours of live coverage to the Senate Watergate hearings, and six days to comprehensive live coverage of the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry into the conduct of President Richard M. Nixon in July 1974. As these proceedings were capturing the attention of the nation, the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations undertook a two-year study of the question of broadcasting floor proceedings. Extensive investigation and hearings led the Joint Committee to issue a report in October 1974 strongly recommending the idea. Early in 1976, the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting of the House Committee on Rules came to the same conclusion following its own examination. Both committees determined that: (1) broadcasting offered great potential for educating millions of Americans about the business and functions of Congress; (2) broadcasting technology was sufficiently advanced to provide for televising or recording unobtrusively without disrupting floor proceedings; (3) if the experience of State legislatures (almost all of which allowed broadcast coverage of their Chambers) was any indication, broadcast coverage of the House and Senate in the long run would encourage dignified Member conduct on the floor rather than flamboyant "grandstanding."[753] These recommendations were supported by numerous meetings, extensive staff work, exhaustive studies, and hearings by the House Rules Committee on April 16 and June 17, 1975, and by the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting on December 9, 1975.[754]

On the basis of its conclusions, the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting completed its final markup of H.Res. 875 (94th Congress), and on February 4, 1976, voted to report the resolution, with amendments to the full Committee on Rules. A subsequent meeting with House Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma and House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts late in February prompted the Ad Hoc Subcommittee to issue two supplemental reports that sought to address concerns raised by the party leaders. "The two main concerns expressed were that the resolution did not adequately reflect the Speaker's prerogatives for the control of the Chamber of the House, and that the resolution mandated the Clerk to enter into a contract with a specified party." Although the Ad Hoc Subcommittee devoted considerable effort to revising the resolution, it was never reported by the Rules Committee.[755]

The following March, however, Representative O'Neill, who had become Speaker at the beginning of the 95th Congress (1977–1978), authorized a 90-day test using closed-circuit telecasts of House floor proceedings to Members' offices. This move was to serve as a possible prelude to a House broadcasting system to which the electronic news media would be allowed access. The experiment was labeled a success, and on October 27, 1977, the House passed H.Res. 866, authorizing the Speaker to implement a permanent system for distribution of House floor broadcast proceedings to the broadcast news media.[756]

Before the House established its broadcasting system, however, the Senate set a broadcasting precedent on February 2, 1978, when it passed S. Res. 268, allowing broadcast news organizations sound access to the floor debate on the Panama Canal Treaty.[757] The action made the Senate the first of the two houses ever to allow radio broadcasts of its regular floor proceedings. After the Panama debate, however, the Senate declined to allow any further broadcasts of its floor sessions for a considerable period of time.[758]

The House, meanwhile, addressed a remaining controversial issue—whether employees of the House or an outside entity would operate the television cameras of the soon-to-be established House broadcasting operation. In June 1978, the House voted to fund a television system with cameras under the control and operation of House employees. In a separate action, the same June 1978, the House's voice amplification system was made accessible to broadcasters, and, for the first time in history, voice excerpts of the House floor debates began to appear in radio news reports.

Role of the Committee

Also in June 1978, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill appointed an Ad-Hoc Advisory Committee on Broadcasting. The three-member Committee consisted of Representatives Charles Rose of North Carolina (chairman), Jack Brooks of Texas, and Gillis Long of Louisiana. A fourth member,

David Stockman of Michigan, was added in early 1979. Representatives Rose and Stockman were drawn from the membership of the Committee on House Administration to serve on the Speaker's Advisory Committee. "The responsibility of the Speaker's Advisory Committee was two-fold: (1) to develop a system for closed-circuit viewing in the three House office buildings and the House side of the Capitol; and (2) to make available to the electronic news media top-quality audio and video broadcast signals." The staff of the Committee on House Administration "worked closely with the office of the Architect of the Capitol and with the Clerk of the House, since much of the work was done by personnel of the House of Representatives."[759]

Initially, in June 1978, "news organizations began broadcasting House proceedings over radio," and in late February 1979, floor proceedings began to be televised "on a closed-circuit basis to the House office buildings." Following a four-week trial period, the television signal was made available to the broadcast media on March 19, 1979. "The Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN), the private non-profit cooperative of the cable television industry, was launched in 1979 with the express purpose of televising Congress. House employees remained in control of the cameras." Within a year, "C-SPAN was telecasting the House in action to more than 1,000 systems reaching 7.2 million homes in all 50 states."[760]

Prior to the initial live broadcast from the House Chamber, the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting contracted with experts in the areas of lighting, sound systems and television systems design in an effort to "apply broadcasting technology as effectively as possible to the unique requirements of the House chamber." The Advisory Committee authorized the "Clerk to employ persons having professional backgrounds in broadcasting; and it purchased and installed television and associated equipment which met high industry standards." Costs incurred by the Advisory Committee "in establishing the House television system including the purchase of equipment, relighting the House chamber and designing a television operation center in the House side of the Capitol, came to approximately $1.2 million."[761]

Later in 1979, at the request of the Speaker, the Committee on House Administration "conducted a study into the impact of television broadcasting of floor proceedings on the House of Representatives." He asked that the Committee: (1) "assist his Advisory Committee on Broadcasting in determining if the House Broadcasting System was being developed in the best possible way;" (2) "look into the impact that television is having on the legislative process;" and (3) "determine the best procedure for developing the House Television System that will be of greatest benefit to the institution."[762]

The Committee's findings were based "upon the results of a questionnaire which was mailed to every House member late in 1979; 297 Members responded to the survey, giving their views about attitudes toward television cameras and about possible expansion of the system to include broadcasts of committee hearings and increased programming of an educational nature. Follow-up interviews were made and a detailed analysis of the" *Congressional Record* was conducted. The *Record* analysis compared "one-minute speeches, special orders, and regular debate—before and after the House began television broadcasts of its floor proceedings." As a consequence of the study, the Committee "recommended that the Committee on Rules review three areas where potential problems existed—discrepancies between the printed RECORD and video recordings, unauthorized copying of broadcast tapes for commercial or political uses, and the use of exhibits to illustrate remarks on the floor." In addition, the study recommended that greater use be made of the closed-circuit system by supplying additional informational and educational programming to Members and staff.[763]

The House Administration survey was subsequently cited during 1981 Senate Rules and Administration hearings on the question of providing television and radio coverage of proceedings in the Senate Chamber. "In specific terms, the survey found that House members perceived television as having had a greater effect on their colleagues than on themselves. Sixty-eight percent of those surveyed felt that television's presence had had no influence on their floor attendance, but 17 percent felt that other House members were spending

more time on the floor." With regard to floor debate, "20 percent said that debate was less substantive, whereas 15 percent said it was more substantive. Eighty-eight percent said that television's presence had not induced them to make floor speeches that otherwise would not have been made, but 77 percent said their colleagues had increased their speechmaking." Interestingly, "[f]ifty-six percent of the survey respondents said they felt better informed on issues after listening to floor speeches on their office television sets. And a surprising 25 percent said they had increased their familiarity of floor proceedings by observing television debate."[764]

While "[t]here is no indication that public esteem for either the House or the Senate has improved as a result of television," plenty of evidence exists "that the public has benefitted from televised House and Senate proceedings. Congressional television has increased awareness of particular issues, allowed the public to hear a wide spectrum of views on these issues, and instructed viewers in the fundamentals of the legislative process."[765]

Since the first regular broadcast of House floor proceedings on March 19, 1979,[766] the Committee on House Administration has maintained oversight authority over maintenance and contracts related to television infrastructure. For example, in the 108th Congress (2003-2004), the committee authorized the release of a request for proposal (RFP) seeking bids for high definition television design and engineering.[767] Similarly, in the 109th Congress, the committee authorized a RFP and contract for closed captioning services for the House floor[768] and the issuance of a RFP for the high definition television conversion project.[769]

Beginning in the 110th Congress (2007–2008), the committee adopted a committee rule on the broadcasting of committee hearings and meetings.[770] In the 112th Congress (2011–2012), the rule reads as follows:

> Whenever any hearing or meeting conducted by the Committee is open to the public, those proceedings shall be open to coverage by television, radio, and still photography, as provided in Clause 4 of House Rule XI, subject to the limitations therein. Operation and use of any Committee Internet broadcast system shall be fair and nonpartisan and in accordance with Clause 4(b) of Rule XI and all other applicable rules of the Committee and the House.[771]

Additionally, in the 111th Congress (2009–2010), at the direction of the Speaker of the House and chair of the committee, the Clerk of the House implemented a web-based streaming service, called HouseLive and located at www.houselive.gov, "that offers real-time video of House sessions back to the beginning of the 111th Congress, accessible to the public, and which has a search feature to easily locate particular speeches and appearances of Members."[772]

Video Records of Committee Proceedings

Origins and Development

Committees began to install permanent committee-operated webcasting equipment beginning with the Committees on Science and International Relations in the 107th Congress (2001–2002).

As additional hearing rooms were equipped with audio and video equipment as part of the hearing room upgrade process the House Recording Studio began broadcasting hearings on House Cable in addition to the committee operated web casting over the Internet.

In the 112th Congress (2011–2012) House Rules were amended to require each Committee, to the maximum extent practicable, to provide audio and video coverage of each committee hearing or meeting and maintain recordings that are easily accessible to the public.

Role of the Committee

As part of the hearing room upgrade process the Committee managed the installation of audio and video equipment. During the initial process control stations were built adjacent to each hearing room equipped with audio and video equipment. In May 2005, the House Judiciary and Committee on House Administrations started using the prototype booths as proof on concept. From late 2005 through 2007 the design and build-out of the media center and ancillary rack space

and connectivity was completed as part of the House Recording Studio.

In the 110th Congress (2007–2008) Committees transitioned to being operated out of the Media center booths which increased the productivity of the House Recording Studio staff.

In the 112th Congress (2011–2012) the Committee worked with the Library of Congress and the House Recording Studio to centralize the webcasting of committee proceedings. The House Recording Studio built a set of centralized web casting equipment to support archiving and standardized internet availability by the Library of Congress.

Services

Administration and Operation of House Office Buildings, the House Wing of the Capitol, and the Capitol Visitor Center

The Committee's authority over the administration of House Office Buildings and the House wing of the U.S. Capitol is found in House Rule X, clause 1(j).[773] This is a responsibility first noted in language creating the Committee in 1946.[774] The Committee shares this responsibility with the House Committee on Appropriations and the House Office Building Commission. The Commission, which was first created on March 4, 1907, issues rules and regulations that govern the use and occupancy of all rooms in the House Office Buildings.[775] The Commission consists of the Speaker and two other appointed members, traditionally the House Majority and Minority leaders.

In fulfilling its duties with respect to the daily administration of the House office buildings, the Committee has held hearings on various matters and examined bills and resolutions. Over the years, it has become involved in issues related to general maintenance, recycling, the use of the Rotunda and other areas for ceremonial occasions and activities, and especially in recent years, overseeing improvements to security and the construction and administration of the Capitol Visitor Center.

Maintenance, Modernization, and Fire and Life-Safety Oversight

The Committee works with the Architect of the Capitol (the Architect) to ensure the smooth operability of House facilities. The Architect is responsible for maintaining the buildings and grounds of the U.S. Capitol. The Architect is authorized to employ a Superintendent of the House Office Buildings (the Superintendent) to assist in these duties and serve under the Architect's jurisdiction. The Superintendent is responsible for maintenance of the Ford, Rayburn, Longworth, and Cannon House Office Buildings, as was formerly responsible for the House Page Dormitory as well. The Superintendent also supervises the biennial office lottery and moves.

Over its history, the Committee has worked with the Architect and the Superintendent on fire and safety issues in the office buildings.[776] The Committee has also worked with the Office of Inspector General, which sought the views of the Committee in 1998, for example, during preparation of a maintenance audit for the House buildings. The Committee has also authorized the Inspector General to prepare a series of reports on the implementation of corrective actions in this area.[777] The Committee held a hearing on May 6, 2009, with then-Acting Architect Stephen T. Ayers, to discuss major renovations to the House office buildings. The Committee has since monitored progress on the East House Underground Garage renovation, for example, and has monitored planning for the Cannon House Office Building renovation, which is scheduled to begin in 2016.

The Committee also has monitored the installation of multimedia equipment and communications devices throughout the House buildings and upgrades in committee hearing rooms. These upgrades have included enhanced wireless access throughout the House office buildings and the Capitol Visitor Center.

Use of Rotunda for Ceremonial Occasions

In recent congresses, a number of concurrent resolutions have been agreed to authorizing activities in the Capitol Rotunda. The resolutions have authorized ceremonies related to the awarding of congressional gold medals and commemorations,

and as well as use for presidential inaugurations and for individuals to lie in state or honor. Although the Committee has jurisdiction over legislation concerning the use of this space, these noncontroversial resolutions were brought up either after the Committee was discharged or by suspension of the rules.

Access and Security

The Committee has also overseen security and access issues concerning the House side of the Capitol. In a hearing held on September 10, 2002, to examine upgrades to Capitol security since the terrorist attacks of the previous year, Chairman Robert Ney noted that "the Committee has been actively and consistently engaged in new security measures and the approval of the security-related devices installed in the Capitol buildings and the surrounding House office buildings."[778] The Committee has also worked with the House and Senate Sergeants at Arms, the Capitol Police, and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration to develop new guidelines for visitors on official business wishing to access the Capitol from the tunnels in the Rayburn and Russell office buildings, issuing a "Dear Colleague" letter to communicate new procedures.[779] Finally, the Committee provides oversight of the Office of the Sergeant at Arms.[780] The Sergeant at Arms, who coordinates daily security needs of the House of Representatives with the Capitol Police and is a member of the Capitol Police Board, coordinates protective details for House leadership, requests security clearances for appropriate staff, and issues identification badges and pins to Members and staff.

Capitol Visitor Center

While the possibility of a new structure to enhance visitor safety and comfort had been discussed for many years, the violence at the Capitol on July 24, 1998 that left two U.S. Capitol Police officers mortally wounded, as well as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, refocused attention on the need for greater screening of visitors to the Capitol Complex.[781] When it opened to the public on December 2, 2008, the 580,000 square foot Capitol Visitor Center (CVC) represented the largest-ever addition to the Capitol.

CVC Planning and Construction

Since the initial discussions, the Committee on House Administration, the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, and others were involved in planning for the CVC and overseeing its administration. The Committee also participated in CVC planning through the work of some of its members who also served on the United States Capitol Preservation Commission (CPC).[782] The CPC is an 18-member bipartisan, bicameral, board of congressional leaders, including the Committee's chair and ranking member, and is chaired by the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Funding was provided in the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for FY1999, which was enacted on October 21, 1998 (P.L. 105-277) for the "planning, engineering, design, and construction of a Capitol visitor center."[783] The following year, construction approval authority for the center was statutorily given to the CPC.[784]

During the planning stages, the Committee on House Administration worked with the Architect of the Capitol (AOC), the House Sergeant at Arms, and the Capitol Police to develop and implement plans for the construction of the CVC, to determine staffing needs following the opening of the new facility, and examine expected security enhancements benefits. These benefits were discussed during a September 10, 2002, hearing, for example, when Architect of the Capitol Alan Hantman told the Committee that:

> . . . the CVC will greatly improve the ability of the Capitol Police and the Capitol Guide Service to regulate and to respectfully manage the large flow of visitors to the Capitol, which will improve both security and safety for all. Further, the CVC also will facilitate evacuation out of the Capitol Building if necessary.[785]

CVC Governance and Operations

As the CVC neared completion, the Committee began to focus on issues related to its governance and opening. In January 2008, Chairman Brady introduced H.R.5159, to address issues related to the management and operation of the CVC. The bill established the Office of the Capitol Visitor Center within the Office of the Architect of the Capitol, headed by the Chief Executive Officer for Visitor Services, to provide for the effective management and administration of the CVC. The bill also (1) stated that the Committee on House Administration and the Committee on Rules and Administration shall provide policy review and oversight of the CVC, (2) provided for the gift shops, restaurants and catering, and established a CVC revolving fund, (3) transferred the Capitol Guide Service to the CVC, (4) addressed room assignment authorities and regulations, and (5) established the Office of Congressional Accessibility Services. The bill was marked up by the Committee on February 12, which then favorably reported it as amended. The House report on the bill contains a lengthy letter, dated March 30, 2007, signed by the Speaker and House Minority Leader and Senate Majority and Minority Leaders to Acting Architect Ayers, explaining the leadership's rationale for this organizational structure:

> The bi-cameral and bi-partisan Leadership of the 110th Congress has concluded that the management of the operations and administration of the CVC, including the administration and management of its facilities and visitor services, should be carried out within the Architect of the Capitol's (AOC) organization. That conclusion is based on the condition that managing the operations and administration of the CVC shall be carried out as a separate, self-contained line of business for the AOC, independently run under the direct management of a Chief Executive Officer for Visitor Services (CEOVS), who reports to the AOC, as well as to the Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate with responsibilities for the operation, management and funding of the CVC. Although the Architect will be responsible for the CVC, we expect the CEOVS to: conduct both long term planning and day-to-day operations; interact and be the CVC point person with leadership and oversight committees; develop and prepare the CVC budget; be responsible for the efficiency and effectiveness of the visitor experience; and be the outside spokesperson for the CVC. The annual rate of pay for the CEOVS shall be equivalent to that of the AOC's Chief Operating Officer . . ."[786]

On March 5, the House passed the bill by voice vote. On September 27, the Senate adopted an amended version of H.R. 5159. On October 2, the House concurred with the Senate amendment, and President George W. Bush signed it into law on October 20, 2008 (P.L. 110-437).

On September 26, 2008, Chairman Brady introduced H. Con. Res. 435, the first concurrent resolution authorizing the use of Emancipation Hall. The resolution, which was agreed to in the House on October 2 and in the Senate on November 20, allowed the space to be used for ceremonies and activities held in connection with the opening of the CVC.

Since that time, the Committee has also provided guidance related to staffing and improved signage. The Committee has also worked with the Capitol Police and Sergeant at Arms to monitor the timing of security screening; with the CAO to enhance cellular phone access in the CVC; with the Architect to implement an inclement-weather policy, ensure American-made goods in the gift shop to the greatest extent possible, and develop guidelines and training for staff-led tours; and with the Government Printing Office (GPO) to maximize CVC use of the GPO and to oversee supporting publications.[787]

Tours and the Visitor Experience

In an October 17, 2007, hearing, the Committee examined plans related to the visitor experience at the CVC.[788] Witnesses included CVC Chief Executive Officer Terrie Rouse, U.S. Capitol Director of Visitor Services Tom Stevens, and U.S. Capitol Police Chief Phillip Morse. During the hearing, questions were raised regarding the future of Capitol tours

led by congressional staff, with members discussing the need to ensure security and historical accuracy while providing personalized and accessible tours for constituents.

Two days after the hearing, the Committee was referred H. Res. 815, a resolution with 74 co-sponsors in favor of preserving staff-led tours. On December 11, 2008, the Senate agreed to a concurrent resolution, S. Con. Res. 107, also expressing support for Member and staff-led tours. No further action was taken on either measure, but legislative branch appropriations acts since FY2008 have contained language affirming the use of staff-led tours.[789]

In the weeks leading up to the opening of the CVC on December 2, 2008, the Committee issued a number of "Dear Colleague" letters to inform Members and staff of opportunities to visit and learn about the new facility and efforts to improve the scheduling of Capitol tours through the CVC's Advance Reservation System.[790]

The Committee has since worked with CVC staff on special exhibits and tours, including those related to "Congress and the Civil War," as well as the production of an online orientation video.

The Committee has also helped to ensure access for all visitors. CVC modifications include the widening of the Orientation Theater doors to eliminate an accessibility barrier for oversize wheelchairs, strollers and scooters, and a new life-cycle program for the assisted-listening devices available for tours. The Committee also meets regularly with staff from the Office of Congressional Accessibility Services to discuss further improvements.

Efforts to Acknowledge the Use of Slave Labor to Construct the Capitol

Along with the House Appropriations and Transportation and Infrastructure Committees, the Committee on House Administration also has examined ways to recognize the use of slave labor in the construction of the Capitol in the new Capitol Visitor Center. The Committee held a hearing on November 7, 2007, during which they heard recommendations from members of the Slave Labor Task Force and from other historians and officials.[791] These recommendations included the renaming of the Great Hall of the Capitol Visitor Center "Emancipation Hall," as well as the inclusion of additional educational information such as commemorative plaques and brochures.

A bill to rename the hall, H.R. 3315, was also introduced and referred to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, and similar language was included in the House-passed version of H.R. 2771, the FY2008 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act. H.R. 3315 was passed by the House, and the Senate, after passing its own Emancipation Hall bill (S. 1679), agreed to the House bill by unanimous consent on December 6. President George W. Bush signed the bill into law on December 18.[792]

On June 12, 2009, the Committee on House Administration favorably reported H. Con. Res. 135, which directed the Architect to place a marker in Emancipation Hall acknowledging the role that slave labor played in the construction of the Capitol. The report stated that, in developing the marker, the Architect was to "consider the recommendations of the Slave Labor Task Force Working Group; ensure that the marker includes stone quarried by slaves in the construction of the Capitol to the greatest extent possible; and ensure that the marker includes a plaque or inscription that describes the purpose of the marker."[793] On July 7, 2009, the House agreed to H. Con. Res. 135 under suspension of the rules. It was agreed to in the Senate by unanimous consent on July 10.[794]

On February 28, 2011, Chairman Lungren approved a design which "features a bronze plaque mounted above a block of sandstone that was quarried by slaves and originally part of the Capitol's East Front," and a location on the "western end of the northern wall of Emancipation Hall."[795]

On February 9, 2012, H. Con. Res. 99 was introduced by Representative John Lewis and agreed to by unanimous consent, authorizing the use of Emancipation Hall to unveil this marker on February 28, 2012. The House agreed to the resolution on February 9, with the Senate following on February 15, 2012.

Other Statues and Engravings

The CVC houses 24 statues from the National Statuary Hall Collection as well as other works of art.[796] Through its participation in the Joint Committee on the Library, which approved a plan for relocating statues to locations in the CVC on July 31, 2008, the Committee helped shape the look of this new facility.

Subsequently, on June 12, 2009, the Committee favorably reported H. Con. Res. 131, which directed the Architect to engrave the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag and the National Motto of "In God We Trust" in the CVC. The resolution, the committee report stated, "fulfill[ed] a commitment made by the Committee during the 110th Congress to recommend adding an engraved inscription of the motto, which is set forth in 36 U.S.C. § 302, and the Pledge, which is set forth in 4 U.S.C. § 4, in the CVC." On July 7, 2009, the House agreed to H. Con. Res. 131 under suspension of the rules. It was agreed to in the Senate by unanimous consent on July 10.

House Restaurant System

Origin and Development

Food service in the Capitol dates back to the early years of the Capitol when a small bar was located in the crypt beneath the Capitol Rotunda. Later, a tiny room near the old Supreme Court and Senate Chamber was set aside as an eating place, known as "a hole in the wall." After the Senate and House wings were completed, restaurants were authorized to be operated in both.[797]

By 1828, prepared food was available in the Capitol for Members of both houses. "Rules and Regulations" signed by Vice President John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and House Speaker Andrew Stevenson of Virginia, directed the Commissioner of Public Buildings:

> not [to] permit refreshments to be sold in any part of the [Capitol] building or its appendages except in the rooms on the ground floor appropriated to that purpose. These rooms [are] to be opened on days when Congress are sitting only, and to be closed on each day as soon after adjournment of both Houses as may be practicable. Bills of rate are to be made out by the restaurateurs and after being approved by you to be printed and kept posted up in each room.[798]

In the middle of the 19th Century, a separate House dining room was established.[799] Records also indicate that "the restaurant was established for the use and convenience of Members of the House of Representatives . . . and not [as] a public restaurant nor was it intended by the House that it should be operated as such."[800]

The Speaker of the House apparently maintained overall supervision of the House facilities until 1875, and again from 1904 to 1921, by appointing the manager.[801] It is unclear whether any House committee exercised jurisdiction over the restaurant prior to the Committee on Revisal and Unfinished Business, which was authorized to do so in 1867.[802] In 1869, the supervision of the restaurant, which continued to be privately operated for profit, was transferred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds when the Committee on Revisal and Unfinished Business was dissolved.[803] The Committee on House Administration, and its predecessor, the Committee on Accounts, have had jurisdiction over and been involved in the operation of the restaurant system in the House of Representatives since at least 1904.

On April 2, 1904, the House authorized the Committee on Accounts to look into the "desirability and feasibility of conducting the restaurant of the House of Representatives by other business methods than those in vogue." Near the end of April, the Committee on Accounts reported "that the House restaurant [had] not been conducted satisfactorily either to its patrons or its manager." The manager had lost considerable money, and as a consequence there had been a "marked deterioration in service and quality of food," and "noticeable decline in patronage during the current Congress." The Committee recommended adoption of a less "elaborate bill of fare," and a "simpler plan of luncheon rooms, such as are found in the business centers of our large cities." The full House concurred with the recommendations later the

same day.[804] Shortly thereafter, the Committee on Accounts became involved in the operations of the House restaurant, but not until June 1921 were all matters relating to the facility officially transferred to the Committee.[805]

From 1921 until 1940, the restaurants functioned under the control of the Committee on Accounts, and its chairman made and enforced the rules for management of the House restaurant.[806] Between 1940 and 1971, the Architect of the Capitol assumed management and direction of the House restaurant system, subject to the authority of the House.[807]

Role of Committee

The Committee on Accounts retained oversight jurisdiction over the House restaurant system until January 1947, when it was abolished by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, and its oversight responsibilities were assumed by the Committee on House Administration.[808] The Architect of the Capitol continued, under the oversight of the new Committee, to be responsible for the management of the House restaurant. The Architect also subsequently managed the cafeteria in the Longworth House Office Building, which began operation in 1942; the cafeteria, known as the Congressional Coffee Shop, which opened in February 1947; the Members' private dining room in the Capitol, which opened in March 1947; and the Rayburn Cafeteria, which opened in 1965.

1954 House Food Facilities Survey. Initially, the Committee had to deal with relatively routine matters related to House food facilities; but in 1954 a resolution was offered by Clare Eugene Hoffman of Michigan which called for a survey of food service facilities in the House. The purpose of the survey, Hoffman explained in introducing H. Res. 692 (83rd Congress, 1953–1954), was "to provide adequate facilities so that the Members of the House, their constituents, and perhaps legislative employees, could be properly served the food for which it was necessary they must have if they are to perform their daily tasks." Hoffman went on to say that:

> Few people realize that meeting at 12 noon, as the House usually does, and continuing in session until late in the afternoon and sometimes late in the evening, members have no place where they can conveniently obtain either a lunch or a meal other than in the Capitol Building. A stranger viewing the situation might conclude that it was the intention of those who control the situation to require Congress to bring a lunch in a paper sack, their drink in a thermos bottle.[809]

The survey undertaken by Nationwide Food Service, Inc., of Chicago, was completed early in December 1954. Nationwide recommended that "a dining facility with sufficient seating to accommodate the Members of both Houses . . . be considered." First, however, the "Architect of the Capitol [needed to] make a survey in order to locate sufficient area which may necessarily have to be in the form of an addition, before any food service planning is done."[810]

Special Restaurant Subcommittee Provides Motivation for East Front Extension. At the outset of the 84th Congress (1955–1956), the Committee established a Special Subcommittee on the House Restaurant. It existed for only one Congress, and was set up to assist the Committee in studying the shortage of restaurant space. Ultimately, this shortage proved to be a motivating factor for the Committee on House Administration introducing, and the House approving, a resolution calling for the long-proposed extension of the East Front of the Capitol.[811]

In February 1955, John Lesinski, Chairman of the Special Subcommittee, solicited suggestions from his House colleagues "as to improvements or changes that could be made to improve service" in the House dining facilities. More than 60 Members responded. The most influential of those who replied apparently was Walter Horan of Washington, who suggested that the "subcommittee look into the possibility of completing the construction of the Capitol. This would mean the building of what is known as the eastern front of the Capitol. This construction would provide a considerable space, part of which could be actually planned for a truly modern restaurant service." Subsequently, on March 1, 1955, the Subcommittee, after discussing various possibilities for finding additional space, concluded that the "most feasible

suggestion appeared to be the idea to complete construction of the East side of the Capitol."[812]

Within two months, the Committee reported two related bills—H. Res. 218 and H. Res. 219 (84th Congress, 1955–1956). In its report on H. Res. 218, the Committee unanimously approved Subcommittee Chairman Lesinski's recommendation that "additional space was the only practical solution to the problem of providing adequate dining facilities for Members and employees of the House." In order to obtain the needed additional space, the Committee recommended completion of the East Front of the Capitol, which had been discussed since 1863. The second report, on H. Res. 219, called "for the extension of the cafeteria in the New House Office Building northward to include rooms . . . occupied by the beauty shop and the House office Buildings Superintendent,"[813] which would be relocated. Both resolutions were approved by the House on April 21, 1955. That August, Congress authorized the "Architect of the Capitol under the direction of a Commission for Extension of the United States Capitol . . . to provide for the extension, reconstruction, and replacement of the central portion of the United States Capitol," and appropriated $5 million for the project.[814]

As a consequence of these actions, Committee on House Administration Chairman Omar Burleson of Texas was able to include in his report of the Committee's activities in 1955 the following paragraph:

> One of the most important pieces reported by the Committee . . . was the recommendation for expanding the facilities of the House Restaurant. The committee's report to the House resulted in action of both the House and Senate in recommending completion of the east front of the Capitol in accordance with the architectural plans which had been approved many years before. When completed the addition to the Capitol will include ample restaurant facilities for Members and employees of both Senate and House."[815]

Actual construction of the east front extension was begun in 1958. It involved the construction of a new east front 32 feet 6 inches east of the old front, faithfully reproducing the sandstone structure in marble. Ninety new rooms were created by the extension, which was completed in 1962, including two new dining rooms for Members of the House and Senate, respectively.[816]

Select Committee Created to Supervise Management of Restaurants. Faced with financial losses in the House restaurant system, Committee Chairman Wayne Hays of Ohio, in January 1969 introduced H. Res. 71 (91st Congress, 1969–1970), which called for the termination of the management of the House restaurant and the cafeteria by the Architect of the Capitol and transfer of that responsibility to the Committee.[817] The measure was referred to the Committee, but it took no action on the resolution.

Instead, the House that July adopted H. Res. 472 (91st Congress), which was sponsored by Ray Madden of Indiana. H. Res. 472 created a Select Committee on the House Restaurant to supervise the Architect of the Capitol in the management of the House food facilities, subject to oversight and policy direction by the Committee on House Administration. The resolution, effective only for the 91st Congress, stipulated that management of the House Restaurant would continue under the direction of the Architect of the Capitol, subject to the direction of the new Select Committee.[818] That November, the Subcommittee on Accounts held two days of hearings on measures (H. Res. 493 and H. Res. 494) to provide collective bargaining rights for House food service employees. No further action was taken on either resolution.[819]

During the 92nd Congress (1971–1972), new allegations of mismanagement of the House restaurant system led Chairman Hays to propose continuation of the Select Committee on the House Restaurant. H. Res. 317, which was cosponsored by John Kluczynski of Illinois, Chairman of the Select Committee, was adopted on March 25, 1971. It authorized the Select Committee to "exercise direction and immediate management and operation of the House Restaurant and cafeteria and other food facilities of the House of Representatives, subject to

the authority of the Committee on House Administration." The resolution directed the Architect to transfer all accounts, records, supplies, and assets of the food facilities to the Committee on House Administration. This change acknowledged the capability of the Committee to more closely audit the various accounts of the House restaurant and cafeteria facilities. Committee members noted in the debate that the move would save the House money because the Committee had sufficient auditors to supervise the restaurant accounts, and auditing staff of the Architect's office would be reduced or eliminated.[820] Chairman Hays left the day-to-day operations in the hands of the Select Committee on the House Restaurant, and gave it the authority to replace personnel.[821]

The following Congress, the Subcommittee on Accounts considered resolutions for the funding of the Select Committee on the House Restaurant, which was reestablished in February 1973 for the 93rd Congress (1973–1974).[822] In favorably reporting the Select Committee's funding request a month later, the Committee on House Administration indicated that the Select Committee had made considerable progress during the previous year "in reducing the House food service operating deficit, while at the same time improving the food and service. With the innovation of modern service techniques, greater efficiency in the food service operation was initiated with the installation of modern kitchen preparation and service equipment throughout the facilities." Other accomplishments included the introduction of a fast food carry-out facility in the Longworth House Office Building, considerable redecorating to improve the interiors of the House Restaurant and Speaker's Dining Room, computerization of the restaurant bookkeeping system, and significant progress in on-the-job training.[823]

In 1974, during floor consideration of funds for the Select Committee, Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey, a member of the Committee on House Administration, told his House colleagues that a majority of the Committee had expressed its intent not to approve any funds for Select Committee in the 94th Congress. William L. Dickinson of Alabama, also a member of the Committee, further emphasized the Select Committee had "done a good job, but we think its existence has run its full course." Another member of the Committee, Frank Annunzio of Illinois, however, took exception with his colleagues remarks reminding them that it was the Speaker who had the authority to terminate the Select Committee on the House Restaurant.[824] Instead of reauthorizing the Select Committee, the House adopted the recommendations of the 1974 House Select Committee on Committees and added to the jurisdiction of the Committee on House Administration, management and administration of the House Restaurant.[825]

A year later, in 1975, the Committee established an Ad Hoc Restaurant Subcommittee to provide direct supervision over the House restaurant facilities. And in July of that year, the Subcommittee held an informal discussion on the House restaurant employees, but no formal witnesses appeared.[826]

Subcommittee on Services. Following the 93rd Congress, management of the House restaurants was returned to the Committee on House Administration at the recommendation of the House Select Committee on Committees.[827] To manage its new responsibility over the House restaurants, the Committee on House Administration created an Ad Hoc Restaurant Subcommittee during the 94th Congress (1975–1976).[828] In the 95th Congress (1977–1978), the committee transferred the supervision of the House restaurants to the Subcommittee on Services.[829]

During this time, the panel exerted increasing influence in the day-to-day operations, eventually making all administrative decisions. In 1979, the Subcommittee on Services, following a July 24 hearing, "voted to instruct the Architect of the Capitol to develop detailed plans and financial analysis for the renovation of the Longworth Cafeteria dining area," and instructed the "Subcommittee and full Committee staffs to advance a study to develop more space in the House Restaurant System."[830]

Through a series of meetings the Services Subcommittee continued its review of the House restaurant system in the 97th Congress (1981–1982). At a February 18, 1981 meeting, the Subcommittee reviewed the restaurant equipment budget.

On May 19, the subcommittee discussed four matters: options under which the Members' Private Dining Room might be reopened; a report by House Information Service describing how the Restaurant System could promote more effective use of equipment; a proposal to remodel the Rayburn Carryout; and the possible purchase of a Regethermic Food System.[831] In July, the Subcommittee again considered the purchase and installation of the Regethermic Food System for the Rayburn Cafeteria, and decided that this piece of equipment would be beneficial to the restaurant system. The Subcommittee also requested that the Architect of the Capitol render several plans to remodel the Rayburn Cafeteria, and asked the General Accounting Office (GAO) to prepare a study on the Restaurant System Wage Scale. In November, the Subcommittee dealt with the Members' Private Dining Room and extension of hours of the Congressional Dining Room.[832]

In March 1982, the Subcommittee was provided with an update of all facilities under its jurisdiction. During that meeting, a new wage scale for the House Restaurant System was approved. Also, during the 97th Congress (1981-1982), the Subcommittee published the *Catering Guide of the House Restaurant System*, and oversaw the completion of the renovations to Rayburn Carryout and H-131 to provide additional catering capacity in the Capitol.[833]

In the 98th Congress (1983–1984), the Subcommittee's primary activities included monitoring financial records of all food service facilities on a regular basis, overseeing the renovation of the commissary area in HOB Annex II (the Ford Building), remodeling of the Longworth Carryout, completion of necessary repairs and equipment replacements, and enforcement of employment policies and regulations. In addition, the *Catering Guide* was revised and reissued, and the financial status of the House restaurant system was reviewed.[834]

Privatization of the House Restaurants. In June 1986, Representative Frank Annunzio, chair of the Committee on House Administration, introduced a committee resolution to create an "ad hoc Food Service Task Force for the purpose of facilitating the letting of a contract for the provision of food services to the House of Representatives."[835] The ad hoc task force that was created, in accordance with committee rule 16(b),[836] was directed to work with the Architect of the Capitol to "carry out functions of the resolution and to report back to the full Committee thereafter."[837] The committee agreed to the resolution by unanimous voice vote.[838]

In an August 1986 report to the Committee, Representative Leon Panetta, chair of the ad hoc Food Service Task Force,[839] "briefly reviewed the task force's effort to date regarding the letting of a contract for food services to the House of Representatives." Representative Panetta "reported that a 'Statement of Principles' had been agreed upon by the Members of the Task Force which would direct the Architect's Office to incorporate the 'Principles' into the contract for restaurant services, and sets a fixed timetable to report back to the Task Force of its progress."[840]

In September 1986, Representative William Frenzel, acting in Representative Panetta's absence, provided the committee with a status report "on the bidding process of a food service contract for the House of Representatives."[841] The bidding process was completed that November. At that time, the Architect of the Capitol, George White, provided the results of the bidding process to Representative Panetta. White reported that the Food Service Selection Panel (FSSP) had received bids from three companies, Greyhound Food Management Inc., APA Services Inc., and Service America Corporation.[842] The FSSP reported that they asked for and received additional information and clarification from Service America Corporation and concluded that Service America Corporation "ha[d] the experience, resources, and finances to manage and operate the House Restaurant System."[843] FSSP recommended to the ad hoc task force the consideration of Service America Corporation as the House Restaurant System (HRS) manager.[844]

House Restaurants Since 1986. The House has contracted with a total of four vendors to run the House Restaurant System (HRS) since privatization in 1986. These vendors were Service America Corporation (December 1986–August 1991), Thompson Hospitality Services and Marriott Management Services Corporation (July 1994–December 1997), Guest

Services (January 1998–December 2007), and Restaurant Associates (December 2007–present). Between August 1991 and July 1994, the committee ran the House restaurants.

Since signing the contract with Restaurant Associates in December 2007, the Committee has provided oversight over the contract and restaurant operations. In the 110th Congress (2007–2008), the committee supported the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) of the House exercising an option and entering into a food service contract with Restaurant Associates, the food service vendor selected by the Architect of the Capitol to run the cafeteria in the Capitol Visitor Center. As part of the Committee's oversight of the Restaurant Associates' contract, it ensured that employees were treated fairly during the transition between restaurant vendors.[845] Review of the restaurant contract continues in the 112th Congress (2011–2012).[846]

Service America Corporation. Following the Architect of the Capitol's recommendation of Service America Corporation as the House Restaurant System manager, the Architect on behalf of the committee negotiated a three-year contract with Service America Corporation. The contract provided that Service America Corporation would provide food and vending services for the House wing of the Capitol, the Rayburn Building, the Longworth Building, the Cannon Building, and House Office Building Annex Number 2 (Ford House Office Building) for three years. The contract also required Service America Corporation to pay a commission of one percent of gross profit.[847]

On January 3, 1990, Service America Corporation's initial contract with the House expired. Following a bid process by the Architect, the Committee on House Administration announced its earlier approval of a second three-year contract for Service America Corporation to operate the HRS, through 1993.[848] The contract was subsequently terminated by mutual agreement on August 4, 1991.[849]

Committee on House Administration. In August 1991, as a result of the termination of Service America Corporation's contract, the Committee on House Administration assumed daily management and operation of House food services.[850] At that time, the Committee was also dealing with press accounts revealing that several Members owed the House restaurant thousands of dollars in overdue bills. In response, the Committee discontinued the practice of allowing Members to sign for their meals, and instead required that they pay either in cash or with a credit card.[851]

The Committee continued to manage the day-to-day affairs of the HRS system through May 1993. In early May, the Committee began discussions to transfer HRS operations to the newly created Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services. On June 1, 1993, the director assumed day-to-day control over the HRS.[852] The Committee, however, continued to maintain oversight authority over the restaurants.[853]

Thompson Hospitality and Marriott Management Services Corporation. Early in 1994, the Committee on House Administration agreed to a committee resolution authorizing the Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services, General Leonard P. Wishart, to solicit bids for the operations of the HRS from outside vendors.[854] After the bid process was completed, Thompson Hospitality L.P. and Marriott Management Services Corporation were awarded a contract to jointly operate the HRS beginning in July 1994.[855] In addition, the re-privatization of the HRS transferred restaurant employees from the House payroll to the private sector. The employee transfer aided the House in compliance with budget reductions and job cuts mandated in the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1994.[856]

Guest Services. In June 1997, the Committee on House Oversight[857] reviewed a draft request for proposal (RFP)[858] prepared by the Chief Administrative Officer of the House (CAO) following notification by Thompson Hospitality and Marriott Management Services Corporation of their intention to terminate the HRS food service contract at the end of 1997.[859] The RFP was issued in August,[860] with proposals due in October. On November 25, the Committee approved the CAO's proposal for a food service contract[862] and in December the Committee formally approved Guest Services as the new vendor.[863]

Restaurant Associates. In 2005, the Architect of the Capitol (AOC) began the search process to choose a food service vendor for the Capitol Visitor Center, being constructed beneath the Capitol Plaza.[864] As part of the search process, the House and the Senate were provided the option of contracting with the AOC's vendor for House and Senate food services operations, respectively. In August 2007, the AOC chose Restaurant Associates of New York City as the official food vendor for the Capitol Visitor Center. Following the Architect's decision, the House independently contracted with Restaurant Associates to provide food service in the Longworth, Rayburn, and Cannon House Office Buildings, the House wing of the Capitol, and the Members' Dining Room.[865] The contract went into effect in December 2007.

Conservation and Sustainability

Origins and Development

Conservation and sustainability efforts in the House of Representatives began in the 1980s with the creation of the House recycling program. In recent years, efforts to conserve resources have expanded to other aspects of House operations. These include management of the Capitol Power Plant, refinement of the recycling program, the creation of a "Waste-to-Energy" initiative and other conservation programs.

Recycling

The first proposals to create a House-wide recycling program were introduced in the 93rd Congress (1973–1974), when 10 bills and resolutions were introduced in the House. Nine of these bills were referred to the Committee on House Administration and one was referred to the Committee on Government Operations.[866] These initial proposals focused on requiring the use of recycled paper to produce congressional documents.

Establishing the House Recycling Program

In the 93rd–94th Congresses (1973–1976), an additional 16 recycling bills were proposed. All but three were referred to the Committee.[867] No action was taken on any of the measures.

On March 7, 1989, Representative William Green introduced a resolution which provided for a voluntary paper recycling program in the House, administered by the Architect of the Capitol. Representative Green's resolution placed responsibility for the recycling in the House with the Architect of the Capitol and made it a voluntary program. H.Res. 104 required the Architect of the Capitol to establish and implement a voluntary program for recycling paper that is disposed of in the operation of the House of Representative no later than six months after the bill became law. The recycling program was to be designed to encourage separation of paper by type at the sources of the generation (including offices of Members of the House) and to sell such paper for the purpose of recycling.[868]

H. Res. 104 was referred to the Committee on House Administration, where it was then referred to the Subcommittee on Procurement and Printing. On July 25, 1989, the Subcommittee, chaired by Representative Jim Bates, held a hearing on H. Res. 104.[869] The hearing included testimony from the Office of Technology Assessment, Architect of the Capitol, General Services Administration, a private sector waste management firm, and local governments with established recycling programs.[870]

As a result of the hearing, the Subcommittee supported the use of "source separation" techniques.[871] The Committee in reporting H. Res. 104 argued that: "[s]ource separation makes sense both environmentally and economically. For example, the House currently receives $1 per ton for its recycled trash. Source separation would generate $80 per ton for Grade 1 paper and $40 per ton for Grade 2 paper."[872]

On July 25, 1989 the Subcommittee recommended the approval of H. Res. 104 to the full Committee.[873] On July 26, the full Committee agreed to the resolution and reported the measure favorably, without amendment. In its report, the Committee raised concern that dividing paper into as many as five source separation categories could discourage staff and Member participation in the pilot program. As a result, the Committee encouraged "the Architect to consider a phased-in approach, beginning with the separation of Grade 1 and Grade 2 paper."[874]

On August 1 during House floor debate on H. Res. 104, Representative Bates stated that the resolution was the

beginning of a larger recycling effort in the House. "Mr. Speaker, I think this is just the beginning of a much-needed recycling program here in the House of Representatives.[875] H. Res. 104 was agreed to by voice vote later that day.[876]

Recycling Oversight

By virtue of its authority to oversee the Architect of the Capitol, the Committee has closely monitored the House recycling program.[877] The Committee actively assisted the Architect in establishing the pilot recycling program and implementing general changes to the program. The following are the recycling activities the Committee on House Administration has undertaken.

Following the passage of H. Res. 104 (101st Congress), which established voluntary House recycling, the Committee held a series of meetings with recycling experts from Prince George's County Maryland, the General Services Administration, and San Diego County, California to solicit recommendations on establishing a recycling program. These recommendations were provided to the Architect's office. The Committee also sent Member offices a "Dear Colleague" letter questionnaire on the recycling program and held a forum for the Office Waste Recycling Pilot Program.[878] On July 17, 1993, the Committee issued a "Dear Colleague" letter to summarize the ongoing efforts of the recycling program and the impact of the Office Waste Recycling Program on recycling efforts in the House.[879]

In May, June, and August 1998, the Committee met with the staff of the Architect of the Capitol, and the House Superintendent to discuss the recycling program. According to the Committee's activity report, in each instance the discussion dealt with unspecified proposed improvements.[880]

In the 110th Congress (2007–2008), the Committee "further supervised other greening measures by the Architect, including expansion of the House recycling services."[881]

Currently, the House of Representatives recycles a number of products including paper, cans, bottles, and toner cartridges. In December 2007, the House also began to compost food waste, sugar cane-based food and beverage containers, and corn-based plastic forks, spoons, and knives used in the House restaurants.[882]

Renewable Resources Programs Management

Implementation of renewable resource programs in the House is divided between the Architect of the Capitol and the House Chief Administrative Officer (CAO). Oversight of most of these projects is conducted by the Committee on House Administration.

Creation and Operation

In the 110th Congress (2007–2008), the Committee was involved in several initiatives to promote the wise use of resources. In March 2007, Committee Chairwoman, Juanita Millender-McDonald, joined Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Majority Leader Steny Hoyer in signing a letter asking the Chief Administrative Officer to undertake an initiative to ensure that the House instituted the most up-to-date industry and government standards for green building and green operating procedures."[883] The letter also asked that the CAO provide a preliminary report by April 30, 2007, and a final report, with recommendations, by June 30, 2007.

Subsequently, the CAO conducted a study to understand "House operating procedures with respect to energy conservation, sustainability and related matters."[884] The results of the study were presented to the House in two reports and became the "Green the Capitol" initiative.[885] In announcing the release of the final report, Speaker Pelosi summarized the initiative and its importance: "This plan is an essential first step, because it not only will make the House a better place to work and live near, but it will also make our institution a model—one that cares about what kind of planet our children will inherit."[886]

Some of the program elements executed by the CAO included initiating a study to relight the Capitol Building Dome, purchasing carbon credits on the Chicago Climate Exchange, holding an Expo to highlight alternative forms of transportation and initiating a car sharing program, serving "fair trade" coffee in House food service venues, and composting food and material waste from the House cafeteria.

Additional energy and cost-saving initiatives executed by the Architect of the Capitol included:

- switching to compact fluorescent light bulbs;
- phasing out the use of coal in the Capitol Power Plant;
- purchasing wind power;
- using green cleaning supplies; and,
- recycling office supplies during the transition to the 111th Congress.

Waste-to-Energy Program

In the 112th Congress (2011–2012), the House instituted additional efforts to reduce energy consumption and waste. On January 25, 2011, Committee Chairman Dan Lungren announced that the House composting program had been suspended after a review of the program conducted by the House Inspector General and the Architect of the Capitol proved the program to be costly and ineffective. In the press release announcing the suspension, Lungren explained that the program, which cost an estimated $475,000 annually, actually increased the House's energy consumption and yielded nominal reductions in carbon emissions equivalent to removing only one car from the road each year.[887]

In August 2011, the Committee directed the Architect of the Capitol's Office of Energy and Sustainability to take over and expand the sustainability efforts previously conducted by the CAO. Two months later, the Committee directed the AOC to enter into a new waste removal contract which would result in the burning of non-recyclable solid waste to generate heat, and in turn, produce steam and electricity. The goal of the program was to create usable energy from items which would otherwise simply be placed in landfills. The new initiative was designed to complement the AOC's existing recycling programs. The new Waste-to-Energy contract diverted "up to 90 percent of the Capitol Complex's non-recyclable solid waste from landfills through the utilization of local waste-to-energy facilities." At the time of its signing, the contract was expected to "save taxpayers approximately $60,000 annually."[888]

A one-year review of the Waste-to-Energy program released in September 2012 showed that the initiative had successfully diverted approximately 5,000 tons of solid waste from local landfills and resulted in environmental benefits equating to the removal of 890 cars from the road annually.

Capitol Power Plant

Since 1909, the Capitol Power Plant, which is located four blocks from the Capitol building has provided steam and chilled water to the Capitol Complex. The Capitol Power Plant provides steam to 28 Capitol Hill facilities; chilled water, to 23. The plant site consists of a main plant (built in 1909), the East Refrigeration Plant (built in 1938), an operations building (built in 1978), the West Refrigeration Plant (built in 1978 and expanded in 2007), and a coal yard (transferred from the General Services Administration in 1987). The plant's seven boilers burn either natural gas, low-sulfur coal, or fuel oil to generate the steam used to heat Capitol complex office buildings. The Capitol Power Plant transports steam and chilled water to the buildings it serves by means of utility tunnels built between 1908 and 1955.

Most of the modifications and improvements to the plant have been handled by the House Committee on Public Works—now the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. In the 108th Congress (2003–2004), however, the Committee on House Administration authorized the House Inspector General to study and report on the fire protection system of the Capitol Power Plant.[889]

House Parking

When the House meets to conduct business, 435 Members, four delegates, one Resident Commissioner, and just over 10,500 employees[890] descend upon the House side of the U.S. Capitol Complex. They are joined by countless tourists, journalists, lobbyists, and other visitors. When nearby residential neighborhoods, other government entities, and the expanse of the National Mall to the west of the Capitol Complex, are considered it is easy to see how parking is a constant cause for concern. The problem of how best to solve the shortage of parking is not a new one.

Members were first issued tags permitting them parking privileges around the District of Columbia while on official

business in 1931.[891] These tags, alone, however, did not resolve the issue. More than a half-century ago, Paul F. Schenck of Ohio, and other members of a Special Subcommittee on Parking appointed by House Administration Chairman Karl M. Le Compte, conducted a thorough review of parking needs on Capitol Hill and concluded that "the task of pleasing every individual is practically impossible under the circumstances. Nevertheless, we have sought a workable plan that will improve a chaotic situation to the maximum extent within the physical limitations that we face."[892] Their lengthy letter to the Chairman included an analysis of all spaces available for Members, the press, and visitors, as well as a plan to eliminate unauthorized individuals from using spaces and a proposal for new space designations and construction. Other documents available in the National Archives for this Congress show that the Committee considered the roles of the different offices in coordinating and enforcing parking policy and concerns from local citizens who might have been affected by any changes.

During the ensuing five decades, the Committee has revisited this issue to accommodate the changing needs of Members and staff. It has also responded to new proposals and developments, including encouraging fuel conservation and the use of mass transit as well as responding to increased security and access concerns.

Jurisdictional History

For much of its existence, the Committee has influenced parking issues on the House side of the Capitol. A Special Subcommittee on Parking was authorized by the full committee in the 84th through the 88th Congresses (1955–1964). Subcommittee records indicate the overlapping jurisdictional and operational responsibilities at that time: "the Architect of the Capitol [controlled] parking areas contained inside the Cannon and Rayburn Office Building, the House Office Building Commission [controlled] surface areas in the parking lots and curb side areas, with the administration of the parking program generally in the hands of the House Sergeant at Arms. The Subcommittee on Parking [set] the overall basic policy and [considered] any legislation pertaining to parking matters. The Subcommittee so [sic] [set] space quotas for Congressional Offices and [reviewed] situations which [could not] be resolved by the Sergeant at Arms."[893]

On June 28, 1967, the House adopted H. Res. 514 (90th Congress), which created the Select Committee to Regulate Parking on the House Side of the Capitol. The resolution, which was not referred to the Committee on House Administration, authorized the three members of the Select Committee to exercise direction over the Sergeant at Arms in the assignment of outdoor parking spaces. The resolution also authorized the House Office Building Commission to delegate its responsibility for supervising the Architect of the Capitol in his assignment duties for spaces inside the House garages to the Select Committee. Speaking in support of the resolution, B.F. Sisk of California noted that it had gained the approval of both the House Office Building Commission and the Speaker. After adoption of the resolution, Sisk, Wayne Hays of Ohio, and Harold Gross of Iowa were appointed to the Select Committee. A similar resolution was agreed to during the subsequent three Congresses.[894]

The Committee Reform Amendments of 1974 (H. Res. 988, 93rd Congress), altered this arrangement, returning jurisdiction over parking and other services to the Committee on House Administration. Agreed to on October 8, 1974, the change was effective at the beginning of the 94th Congress (1975–1976). H. Res. 208 (94th Congress), agreed to on February 24, 1975 and introduced by Wayne Hays, gave the Chairman of the Committee additional authority to "to lease or to otherwise provide additional indoor and outdoor parking facilities for employees of the House of Representatives in an area or areas in the District of Columbia outside but adjacent to the limits of the United States Capitol Grounds."[895] Hays explained that the resolution would allow the Committee to place a bid for parking space then available near the Rayburn Building.[896] The FY1976 legislative branch appropriations act made this resolution permanent. That act also solidified the Committee's authority over parking in general, stating that "no part of the funds appropriated in this Act shall be used for the maintenance or care of private

vehicles except for emergency assistance and cleaning as may be provided under regulations relating to parking facilities for the House of Representatives issued by the Committee on House Administration."[897] A similar provision, which now additionally refers to Senate parking regulations developed by the Committee on Rules and Administration, continues to be provided for in the annual legislative branch appropriations acts.[898]

During the 94th Congress (1975–1976), parking issues were referred to Subcommittee on Parking except for the coordination of the Capitol Hill Employees Carpool Program, which was handled by the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police, which also dealt with matters pertaining to staff of the House Officers. Beginning with the 95th Congress, responsibility for regular parking issues was subsequently transferred to a consolidated Subcommittee on Services, which also oversaw the House restaurants, barber and beauty shops, and other services. This subcommittee existed through the 99th Congress, after which parking issues were addressed by the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police, until its abolishment after the 103rd Congress. These issues are now addressed by the full committee.

Developments, Legislation and Activities

Upon regaining jurisdiction over parking issues, the Committee on House Administration created a Subcommittee on Parking. During its first Congress, the Subcommittee held two hearings, on June 25, 1975, and September 22, 1976. Superintendent of House Garages Mike Preloh testified on both occasions.[899] The first hearing focused on parking in the Rayburn House Office Building and at the F.B.I. lot. The second dealt with the allocation of spaces for the next Congress.

The issues of space allocation, lot improvements and availability, which the Committee examined during this initial Congress, were repeatedly revisited over the next several decades. For example, the Subcommittee on Services studied a plan to open a new lot and close an older one during the 97th Congress (1981–1982).[900] When another lot was closed in 1989 to allow for repairs to an overpass on the Southeast-Southwest freeway, the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police worked with the Architect of the Capitol to reorganize the remaining lots so that they could accommodate more vehicles and accommodate displaced parkers.[901] In 1995, the Committee worked to lower parking costs and make additional space available for public use.[902] The Committee also monitored renovations of the Cannon garage during the 107th Congress (2001–2002) and the East and West House Underground Garages in the 112th Congress (2011–2012). The Committee has regularly considered amendments to the House parking policy, including resolutions adopted on January 27, 2009, and on January 25, 2011.[903] Throughout this time, the Committee reviewed additional regulations and space allocations and answered questions from Members and staff.

Passage of the Energy Policy Act of 1992 instituted a significant change in parking fee policy.[904] This act reevaluated two fringe benefits offered by employers: the market value of employer- provided parking and mass transit benefits. Prior to the act's passage, direct parking benefits were completely excluded from taxation, while a limit was imposed on the amount of mass transit subsidies an employee could receive tax free. The 1992 act altered this balance by raising the limit of maximum allowed tax-exempt mass transit benefits, while imposing a limit on the parking subsidy an employee could receive free of tax. The House parking policy was revised to include a provision indicating that persons with reserved indoor spaces would incur additional taxable income as a working condition fringe benefit.

A few of the House Inspector General's initial reports related to streamlining various aspects of congressional operating activities, including the parking process. The Office of the Inspector General (IG) was first established in the 103rd Congress (1993–1994), gaining the authority to conduct additional audits that had previously been the responsibility of the Government Accountability Office (then General Accounting Office) during the 104th Congress (1995–1996).[905] Jointly appointed by the Speaker, Majority Leader, and the Minority Leader, the IG is subject to the policy direction and oversight of the Committee.[906]

On May 23, 1995, the Committee agreed to transfer operational and financial responsibility for parking from the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) to the Sergeant at Arms. Supervision of parking personnel was transferred from the Architect to the Sergeant at Arms during the previous Congress.[907] The IG worked with the Sergeant at Arms to continue an initiative developed by the CAO, and approved by the Committee, to ensure a uniform parking permit distribution process and prevent the issuance of multiple permits to one individual. The IG also examined the duties, hours worked, and benefits offered to garage personnel in a report issued July 18, 1995. The IG continued to examine the effectiveness of House parking operations and the disbursement of permits, issuing additional reports and recommendations on February 13, 1997, and February 8, 2002.

As part of its oversight of parking issues, the Committee has also examined the security of the House garages. This has required the Committee to work with other committees and legislative officers with responsibilities in this area. For example, the Capitol Police, under the direction of the Capitol Police Board, is delegated responsibility for the security of the Capitol Complex.[908] The design, installation, and maintenance of security systems around the Capitol is under the jurisdiction of the Board, subject to the direction of the Committee on House Administration and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. The approval of the Architect of the Capitol is also required before any alteration of the Complex may be made. Changes also require funding from the House and Senate Appropriations Committees.[909]

In 1986, two subcommittees of the Committee held hearings on parking security procedures. The Subcommittee on Personnel and Police met on August 7 to discuss security arrangements for House buildings and garages, including the installation of hydraulic gates. On September 24, the Subcommittee on Services heard from both the Chief of the Capitol Police and the Sergeant at Arms concerning unauthorized parking on the Capitol Plaza.

Upon the transfer of supervision of congressional parking employees from the Architect of the Capitol to the Sergeant at Arms, and amid heightened awareness of vulnerabilities after the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, Sergeant at Arms Wilson Livingood established the Garages and Parking Security Office.[910] Employees of this office were trained to assist the Capitol Police with vehicle, permit, and identification checks, as well as enforcing rules and regulations established by the Committee.[911]

The Committee has since included an examination of the security of the House parking facilities in its general oversight plan. On September 10, 2002, the Committee held an oversight hearing on upgrades in security around the Capitol instituted after the terrorist attacks the previous year. In his introductory remarks, Chairman Robert Ney noted that the Committee had "been actively and consistently engaged in new security measures and the approval of the security-related devices installed in the Capitol buildings and the surrounding House office building," noting in particular that the "underground parking facilities in the House office buildings, although convenient, pose some serious challenges."[912] The Committee also heard from various House officers, including Sergeant at Arms Wilson Livingood, who discussed measures his office had taken to enhance vehicle security.[913] In June 2004, the Committee authorized an additional Inspector General Report entitled, "Changes to House Garages and Parking Security Procedures Resulted in Significant Improvements."[914]

In April 2008, the Committee established an Alternate Ride Home Program for all House offices. The program authorized Members and all other employing authorities of the House to reimburse an employee for alternative transportation expenses when they were required to work unscheduled overtime, or report to work early or to stay late outside their regular work hours. To qualify, expenses incurred need to be used for a taxi, a bus, a train or Metro, a registered ridesharing program (carpools, van pools, etc.), or by means other than the employee's vehicle for which a House parking permit was issued.[915]

House Barber Shop

Origins and Development

At least as early as 1876, Congress made space available in the Capitol Building for the operation of a barber shop for use by Members of the House.[916] During this early period there were barber shops located in various locations in the Capitol. On December 3, 1880, the *New York Times* reported that a barber shop, which was located in "one the cloak rooms opening into the hall of the House" had caught on fire during the previous evening. Although the contents of the room were destroyed, fortunately the room was shut up and its "walls and floor" were fire-proof. Consequently, the fire did not spread to the floor of the House. "No material damage was done" to the rest of the Capitol. The news account went on to say that there were two other House barber shops, "in the rooms known as retiring and coat rooms for Representatives occupying fully one-third of the space devoted to this class of rooms."[917] During the 19th century, House barbers charged for their services, but according to contemporary press accounts, Senators received "[f]ree shaves and haircuts."[918]

In 1908, another barber shop was opened in the newly-completed Cannon House Office Building.[919] Five years later, during floor consideration of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation bill for FY1915, the House adopted an amendment introduced by Representative Woodson P. Oglesby prohibiting use of House appropriations to pay most operational expenses of the two barber shops. The amendment, which was subsequently enacted into law, provided that:

> hereafter it shall be unlawful for the Clerk of the House to pay out of any moneys of the House of Representatives any bills for laundry, furniture, supplies, or utensils used in the barber shops of the House Office Building or the House side of the Capitol.[920]

There were no significant changes in the shops' operations and supervision for the next several years. The barber shops operated with the support of the House, which paid the barbers' salaries and associated expenses, such as utilities, and provided space for their operations. Jurisdiction responsibility for the shops continued, without interruption, to be the responsibility of the House Committee on Accounts.

Role of Committee

When the new Committee on House Administration assumed most of the jurisdictions of the former Committee on Accounts, oversight of the barber shops became one of its many responsibilities. This jurisdiction resulted primarily as an extension of the Committee's role in oversight of employees and activities of the Doorkeeper and the Architect of the Capitol (AOC). The Doorkeeper supervised the shops located in the House side of the Capitol and the Cannon House Office Building, and paid those salaries and expenses from his office budget. The Architect of the Capitol supervised a third shop, opened in the Longworth House Office Building, the salaries and expenses of which were paid from his office appropriation.[921]

The barber shop system operated without notable change from 1947 until the early 1970s, with one exception. "On July 1, 1965, the House Office Building Commission directed that all barbers be placed under the jurisdiction of the Doorkeeper," who was authorized to pay the barbers directly from appropriations made available to him by the House.[922] This shift did not affect the authority of the Committee on House Administration, which continued its oversight role. Management matters were primarily those involving personnel issues. Committee approval was required for new positions in the shops, elimination of existing positions, determination of salaries, reclassification of positions, and decisions on all other aspects of employment by the House.[923]

Committee action in the 1970s resulted in two jurisdictional changes. First, in 1971, the Committee assigned oversight, review, and management duties to its Subcommittee on Accounts, pursuant to an agreement between the Committee and the Doorkeeper.[924] Six years later, at the beginning of the 95th Congress (1977–1978), a reorganization of the Committee on House Administration resulted in the transfer of jurisdiction from the Subcommittee on Accounts to the newly created Subcommittee on

Services.[925] Throughout these jurisdictional changes within the Committee, the barbers remained on the payroll of the Doorkeeper.

Also, in 1974, at the Committee's suggestion, the House Appropriations Committee adopted, the idea of establishing a "revolving fund to handle the receipts and disbursements of the House Barber Shops." The fund was subsequently incorporated into the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1975, which was signed into law on December 27, 1974. In establishing the House Barber Shops Revolving Fund, Congress stipulated that:

- "The amount on deposit in the suspense fund maintained by the Clerk of the House for the barber shop receipts of the effect date of this act shall constitute the capital of the fund;"
- "All moneys thereafter received by the House Barber Shops from fees for services or from any other sources shall be deposited in such fund;" and
- "moneys in such fund shall be available without fiscal year limitation for disbursement by the Clerk of the House of Representatives."[926]

By 1977, the barbers were receiving not only their House salaries, but also commissions determined by the type of services provided. For example, for a $3.00 haircut, a barber received $1.25. In addition, the barbers received commissions from the Barber Shop Revolving Fund, which was financed by income received from their clients. The commissions were calculated by the House Finance Office. Before vouchers for the commissions could be issued, however, they had to be approved by the Committee, as well as the House Clerk.[927]

When jurisdiction over the shops was transferred to the Subcommittee on Services in 1977, it was automatically shared to some extent with the Committee's Subcommittee on Personnel and Police because of the latter's oversight responsibility for House employees. During the next 10 years, the Subcommittee on Services appears to have assumed a more active oversight role by providing daily oversight and [review of] routine daily barber related problems," maintaining necessary records "for factual accumulation of monthly receipts of all employees,"[928] improving records keeping "to give better insight into production of each Barber," and making "routine changes in "each Shop to better equip [the Subcommittee] to meet demands from customers."[929]

Among its actions, the Subcommittee, on May 19, 1981, directed the Assistant House Clerk to meet with barbers to inform them of the Subcommittee's request "that there be more uniformity in pricing.[930] On June 28, 1983, the Subcommittee met to review the shops' financial records, and discuss a proposed unisex hair care facility in House Annex 2, which was approved a year later.[931] During 1985, Subcommittee made the decision to eliminate the Cannon barber shop, and move its personnel to a shop that had been opened in the Rayburn House Office Building.[932]

When the Subcommittee on Services was abolished by the Committee in 1987, oversight was transferred to the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police, which retained that authority until 1995, when the barber shop operation was privatized.

Privatization

The move to privatize the barber shops began soon after the 1994 mid-term congressional elections. On January 4, 1995, the House approved H.Res. 6 (104th Congress), which, among other things, created the position of Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), who assumed the duties previously performed by the director of non-legislative and financial services, and responsibility for managing the operations of other House administrative offices and support services. H. Res. 6, also redesignated the Committee on House Administration as the Committee on House Oversight.[933]

On May 23, 1995, the "Committee on House Oversight directed the CAO to issue, within 30 days, a request for proposals to contract out the House Barber Shop, "subject to review and approval of the Committee Chairman in consultation with the Ranking Minority Member."[934] Although the barber shop had taken in $50,600 in 1994, it lost an estimated $50,000.[935] In August 1995, the CAO announced a management contract with Gino Morena Enterprises, which

at the time operated 600 hair cutting establishments in the United States, many on military bases.[936]

A decade later, Congress established the House Services Revolving Fund in the FY2005 Consolidated Appropriations Act.[937] The act creating the fund terminated three existing revolving funds—the House Barber Shops Revolving Fund,[938] the House Beauty Shop Revolving Fund (which had been in existence since 1969), and the House Restaurant Revolving Fund—and transferred remaining deposits in those funds into the new fund.

Privatizing the barber shop reflected a House decision to have the Committee's role become one of oversight rather than administrative management, an approach that continued through the 112th Congress (2011–2012).[939] The barber shop, even though privatized, continued within the Committee's oversight authority, through required review and approval of contracts for services authorized by the Chief Administrative Office, who serves as the contract authority.

House Beauty Shop

Origins and Development

Although the House established a barber shop in the early 1800s, it did not approve a beauty shop until 1932.[940] Created as a private corporation, the shop compensated its manager and other employees from fees that they charged their clients. Initially, the House apparently provided space for the shop without charge and paid the utilities from appropriations made available for House operations. The Committee on Accounts was responsible for its operations by virtue of its oversight role of House services, including employees. Public records indicate the Committee, while playing an active role in oversight, did not handle any significant issues related to the beauty shop during the following 15 years, when the Committee ceased to exist in January 1947.

Establishment of Select Committee on the Beauty Shop

When the Committee on House Administration assumed many of the duties of the former Committee on Accounts in 1947, it inherited general oversight of the beauty shop's activities. Until late 1967, no significant issues, or House concerns, arose regarding the shop.

In 1967, however, general dissatisfaction with the beauty shop operation reportedly led Speaker John McCormack to appoint a two-person select committee to study the situation and propose needed improvements. There is, however, no record of the appointment of the select committee either in the *House Journal* or *Congressional Record*.[941]

On December 6, 1967, the House assumed ownership of the beauty shop, pursuant to H. Res. 1000 (90th Congress, 1967–1968), which placed responsibility for the shop's day-to-day operations with a newly-created Select Committee on the House Beauty Shop. The resolution, sponsored by Representative Martha W. Griffiths, directed that:

> The management of the House Beauty Shop and all matters connected therewith shall be under the direction of the Select Committee herein created and shall be operated under such rules and regulations as such Committee may prescribe for the operation and the employment of necessary assistance for the conduct of said Beauty Shop by such business methods as may produce the best results consistent with economical and modern management.[942]

H. Res. 1000 made $15,000 available from the House contingent fund for the purchase of equipment and supplies necessary to establish a new shop. Representative Griffiths, speaking in support of the measure on the House floor, explained to Members, that "the $15,000 advanced to reestablish the House beauty shop will be in the course of the next year, barring unforeseen circumstances, be returned to the contingency fund, and it is my earnest hope that the next time you hear from the select committee, it will be for the pleasant task of returning money to the Treasury of the United States."[943] Upon House agreement to the provisions of H. Res. 1000, the Speaker appointed Representative Griffiths as Chair of the new three-member Select Committee.[944] Representatives Edith Green and Catherine May were the other two members appointed to the Committee. During the next

week, the "Select Committee hired a professional manager, purchased the necessary equipment and supplies," and at 7:00 am on Monday, December 11, the House Beauty Shop reopened in the basement of the Longworth House Office Building.[945]

With expiration of the Select Committee's authority at the end of the 90th Congress (1967–1968), the House reauthorized it for the 91st Congress (1969–1970), by agreeing to H. Res. 258.

Within a few months of the reauthorization contained in H. Res. 258, however, Chairman Griffiths requested that the House Committee on Appropriations consider adding language to the pending FY1970 legislative branch appropriations bill establishing a permanent Select Committee, along with a financial accountability system for beauty shop operations. Her proposal was accepted by the Appropriations Committee, which referred to her request, and the Committee's concurrence, in its report on H.R. 13763:

> *In connection with the House Beauty Shop*, the Committee, at the request of the chairman of the select committee in charge, has included language in the bill to put the shop on a financial accounting basis somewhat similar to that on which the House Recording Studio has been for many years.

The first paragraph of the language would make permanent the select committee arrangement, but otherwise comports in all respects with H. Res. 258, of February 19, 1969, re-creating the select committee and prescribing its duties. Other parts of the language establish a self-sustaining revolving fund into which all receipts are to be deposited and from which all disbursements are to be made; make the Clerk of the House the disbursing agency for the fund; require establishment of a system of accounts; provide for audits by the General Accounting Office (GAO); and provide that any net profit in the fund, after restoration of any capital impairment and equipment replacement, shall be transferred to the general fund of the Treasury.[946]

H.R. 13763 was signed into law by President Richard Nixon on December 12, 1969. In addition to establishing a permanent Select Committee on the House Beauty Shop, the provisions in the 1970 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act:

!established a self-sustaining House Beauty Shop Revolving Fund supported by fees that were charged clients and used by the House Clerk to disburse funds to meet all expenses of the Shop for the "care, maintenance, and operation of the Shop, procurement of supplies and equipment, and compensation of personnel;"

- required that an "adequate system of accounts for the revolving fund shall be maintained and financial reports prepared on the basis of such accounts;"
- required that the "activities of the Shop be subject to audit by the General Accounting Office at such times as the select committee may direct, and reports of such audits be furnished to the Speaker of the House, to the select committee, and the Clerk of the House;"
- required that the "net profit established by the General Accounting Office audit, after restoring any impairment of capital and providing for replacement of equipment, shall be transferred to the general fund of the Treasury."[947]

Jurisdiction Transfer to House Administration

In 1977, the House adopted language authorizing the transfer of all responsibility for beauty shop operations to the Committee on House Administration. Contained in H. Res. 315 (95th Congress, 1977–1978), the transfer in effect eliminated the need to reauthorize the Select Committee. Support by the House for the transition responded primarily to those advocating improved employment conditions for the shop's personnel by giving them the status of House employees. By placing shop employees on the House payroll, the House extended to them the same benefits already afforded House employees, including the House barbers.

On May 10 and June 28, 1977, the Committee on House Administration's Subcommittee on Services held hearings on H. Res. 315,[948] and the full Committee reported the bill on October 26. Included in the Committee amendments was a requirement that Beauty Shop employees must be on the

House payroll for a minimum of five years before they could be eligible to receive retirement benefits made available to other House employees.

Seeking to further enhance oversight, the Committee required the General Accounting Office (GAO) to conduct annual audits of the shop's business activities, and semiannual reviews of prices charged, and to report their findings to the Committee "along with any suggestions they find pertinent."[949]

House floor debate on H. Res. 315 dealt primarily with the need to address "allegations of discrimination on the 'Hill'" by ensuring that female employees in the House Beauty Shop receive the same income and benefits as the male employees of the House Barber Shop.[950] Later that day, the House adopted H. Res. 315, which took effect January 3, 1978.[951]

Role of Subcommittee on Services

When the Committee on House Administration assumed responsibility for the beauty shop in 1978, its Subcommittee on Services began a consistent review of the shop's operations, finances, renovations, pricing, and salaries. During the 96th Congress (1979–1980), the Subcommittee reviewed records of employee receipts, managed a remodeling of the shop in 1980, and acted to complete an update of equipment.[952]

During the 97th Congress (1981–1982), the Subcommittee on Services conducted routine oversight of shop activities in order to determine possible improvements in operations, and to study proposed renovations of the shop's space. On March 16, 1982, the Subcommittee held a meeting to update its members on operations of the shop, and to consider proposed price increases, which were subsequently approved.[953] Continuing it oversight in the 98th Congress (1983–1984), the Subcommittee met on June 28, 1983, to review and discuss the shop's financial status and management changes. Later, on May 23, 1984, the Subcommittee approved the transfer of $41,000 from the beauty shop revolving fund to the general U.S. Treasury pursuant to a GAO recommendation. On June 28, 1984, it approved a motion to proceed with a unisex hair salon in House Office Building Annex 2.[954] During the 99th Congress (1985–1986), Subcommittee staff reviewed the shop's financial records on a regular basis, and continued to discuss possible improvements and expansion.[955]

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police Assumes Jurisdiction

When the Subcommittee on Services was abolished by the Committee in 1987, oversight was transferred to the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police, which retained that authority until 1995, when the beauty shop operation was privatized. From the 100th Congress through the 103rd Congresses (1987–1994), the Personnel and Police Subcommittee continued the Committee's close oversight through a series of staff meetings. During the 100th Congress, in 1987, for example, Subcommittee Chairman Leon Panetta of California conducted a closed door oversight hearing on both the beauty and barber shops to "sort through the traditions and finances of the barbers and hairdressers."[956] Two years later, the full committee pursuant to a Subcommittee recommendation, "approved by unanimous consent a request to revise the House Beauty Shop Pay Schedule."[957]

On October 21, 1990, Representative Mary Rose Oakar, Chairman of the Personnel and Police Subcommittee, led efforts on the House floor to retain money for renovation of the beauty shop in the FY1991 legislative branch appropriations bill. In her support of the renovation, Oaker noted that she, along with ranking member of the Subcommittee Representative Pat Roberts, and Committee Chairman Frank Annunzio of Illinois, "with the able help of the Speaker, and his staff and our staffs," had "set a course to achieve fairness for the people who work in and around the Capitol." Along the way, one of the things she realized along the way was "that the people who worked at the beauty shop did something very unique: They do not cost the taxpayers 1 cent. . . . As a matter of fact, they have paid back to the Treasury $120,000 in the last couple of years." The problem now, she continued, is that the shop was not safe because the "electrical outlets and the electrical system [had] not been replaced in 30 years."[958] Attempts to delete the renovation were defeated later that day, and $375,000 was included in the FY 1991 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act for the renovation.[959]

On April 8, 1992, Representative Oakar introduced H. Res. 423 (102nd Congress), a resolution to amend the "Rules of the House of Representatives to provide certain changes in the administrative operations of the House. Included among the resolution's provisions was language assigning operational and financial responsibility for the House Beauty Shop to a new Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services, subject to policy direction and oversight by the Committee on House Administration. The following day, the House agreed to the transfer to the Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services.[960]

Privatization

The move to privatize the barber shops began soon after the 1994 mid-term congressional elections. On January 4, 1995, the House approved H.Res. 6 (104th Congress), which, among other things, created the position of Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) who assumed the duties previously performed by the director of non-legislative and financial services, and responsibility for managing the operations of other House administrative offices and support services. H.Res. 6, also redesignated the Committee on House Administration as the Committee on House Oversight.[961]

On May 23, 1995, the "Committee on House Oversight directed the CAO to issue, within 30 days, a request for proposal (RFP) to contract out" the House Beauty Shop, "subject to review and approval of the Committee Chairman in consultation with the Ranking Minority Member." The request for proposal was issued on June 28, 1995.[962] In August 1995, the CAO announced a management contract with Gino Morena Enterprises, which at the time operated 600 hair cutting establishments in the United States, many on military bases.[963]

A decade later, Congress established the House Services Revolving Fund in the FY2005 Consolidated Appropriations Act.[964] The act creating the fund terminated three existing revolving funds—the House Barber Shops Revolving Fund, the House Beauty Shop Revolving Fund (which had been in existence since 1969), and the House Restaurant Revolving Fund[965]— and transferred remaining deposits in those funds into the new fund.

Privatizing the beauty shops reflected a House decision to have the Committee's role become one of oversight rather than administrative management, an approach that continued through the 112th Congress (2011–2012).[966] The beauty shop, even though privatized, continued within the Committee's oversight authority, through required review and approval of contracts for services authorized by the Chief Administrative Officer, who serves as the contract authority.

Miscellaneous Duties Member Compensation

Origins and Development

Article 1, section 6, of the Constitution stipulates that the compensation given Members of Congress be determined by law and paid out of the U.S. Treasury–thereby giving Members a role in determining their own salary. The appropriate compensation for Members has been a topic of heated debate throughout the nation's history. In fact, political scientist John Hibbing has written, "None of the legislation dealt with by members of Congress elicits more emotion, bitterness, and controversy than that pertaining to their own renumeration."[967] Historically, the challenge for Members has been to adjust their compensation in a manner that attracts responsible citizens to public service while avoiding the appearance of excess. Factors taken into consideration have included the costs associated with maintaining two residences—one in a congressional district or state and a second in the nation's capital, comparable compensation in the private and public sector and various regions, and the political sensitivities surrounding this issue as well as the potential electoral consequences of any adjustment.

Members were initially provided with a salary of $6 a day. This was raised to an annual rate of $1,500 with the passage of the Compensation Act of 1816, which made the adjustment retroactive to December 4, 1815. This act was quickly repealed the next year following intense public outrage. A salary of $8 dollars a day was agreed to on January 22, 1818, although that was again retroactive, taking effect on March 3, 1817. The per diem system remained in effect for many years despite occasional criticism of its potential

effects on the length of deliberations. The per diem system was abandoned with the adoption of an annual salary, set initially at $3,000, which was agreed to on August 16, 1856. This raise was also retroactive, becoming effective on December 3, 1855, the first day of the 34th Congress. A public uproar over backdating pay raises erupted in 1873, after the passage of legislation that was retroactive to the beginning of the 42nd Congress (March 4, 1871). Member pay was adjusted a number of times over the next few decades, even being temporarily lowered for a time in the early 1930s.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which established the Committee on House Administration, raised Member pay from $10,000 to a rate of $12,500 per annum effective with the start of the 80th Congress (1947–1948).[968] The act also provided Members with "an expense allowance of $2,500 per annum to assist in defraying expenses related to or resulting from the discharge of his official duties, to be paid in equal monthly installments," a provision repealed in 1955 when salaries were raised to $22,500 in a bill also affecting the pay of federal judges and U.S. Attorneys.[969] Pay adjustments for Members since then have frequently been combined with adjustments for other government employees and officials and have been achieved through stand-alone legislation, recommendations from the President based on those made by a quadrennial salary commission (first established in 1967), or through annual pay comparability adjustments that are automatic unless denied or modified. The latter, first established in 1975, is currently the most common method for adjusting Member pay.

History of Committee's Jurisdiction Over Member Pay Issues

The involvement of the Committee on House Administration in Member pay issues may be traced back to a change in the Rules of the House for the 94th Congress (1975–1976). The Rules were amended to give the Committee jurisdiction, along with the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, over Members' compensation and retirement, as well as the compensation of House officers and employees.[970] The move sparked debate among Members who questioned both the necessity of this change and the motives behind it.

During debate, Robert Bauman of Maryland asked why the House saw the need to give two committees concurrent jurisdiction "over these goodies and what this is eventually possibly going to cost the taxpayers."[971] Phillip Burton of California responded that it may be "desirable to have more than one avenue for the consideration of this type of legislation," adding that since "the Committee on House Administration does work on the salaries of Members and staff, they could better coordinate all of these matters by also having jurisdiction along with the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service."[972] Further questions and statements by Bauman, Edward Derwinski of Illinois, C. W. (Bill) Young of Florida, and others, demonstrate that the minority was less than convinced. Opponents argued that pay raises could be achieved more easily with this arrangement. They also pointed out that Members' pay was often in parity with that of certain executive and judicial officials, thereby making the role and potential impact of the Committee on House Administration in this area less clear.

The Committee's authority over various money issues was challenged five years later during the height of the scandal involving Wayne Hays and Elizabeth Ray, which revolved around allegations that the latter was the Chairman's mistress and retained on the House payroll despite having few, if any, official duties. According to historian Julian Zelizer, in 1976, "Sensing another opportunity to put Democrats on the defensive about corruption, Republicans proposed removing the power over member benefits and salaries from Administration."[973] A resolution was soon introduced to address the issue of perquisites, although not pay directly. Congressional Quarterly reported that the "House Republicans made their first move June 3 to capitalize on the Hays scandal by asking the House in a resolution (H. Res. 1247) to take back the responsibility for voting on increases in the allowances and perquisites for House members."[974] The House had previously given the Committee the authority to increase the perquisites without any floor vote or debate in 1971. H. Res. 1247 was

referred to the Committee on June 3, 1976. In remarks on the floor that day, then-Minority Whip Bob Michel of Illinois referenced the earlier allowance move as one of "excess."[975] After Wayne Hays resigned from the Committee on June 18, the Committee then proceeded to reform the allowance system, issuing six Committee Orders and two resolutions, although the Committee retained jurisdiction in this area.[976]

Process, coordination with other entities, and oversight

The pay of Members of Congress may be adjusted through automatic annual adjustments that take effect unless disapproved by Congress, recommendations from the President based on the findings of a special pay commission, and stand-alone legislation. Automatic adjustments, which were first introduced in 1975, have become the most common method for varying member pay. These adjustments are now governed by the Ethics Reform Act of 1989, which amended the Ethics in Government Act of 1978.[977] Stand-alone legislation was last used to provide increases in 1990 and 1991. The last pay increase under the commission procedure was in 1987.

During recent Congresses, numerous bills and resolutions dealing with Member pay have been introduced and referred to the Committee, which has taken no further action on the vast majority of these. The scant legislative action emanating from the Committee in this area, however, belies its involvement in more indirect ways. The Committee remains heavily involved through its oversight of the issue and the behind-the-scenes efforts and staff expertise.

Coordination with other Committees and leadership is another important role of the Committee. While the Committee, through its jurisdiction in this area, continues to receive measures that solely deal with Member pay, many pay measures also deal with subjects under the jurisdiction of other committees and are multiply referred. The Committee has shared referrals, for example, with the House Committee on Government Reform (House Post Office and Civil Service prior to the 104th Congress), the Committee on Rules, and the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

The legislative history of the Ethics Reform Act of 1989, which included government-wide pay and ethics reforms, exemplifies the complex confluence of interests, institutional entities, and political and personal sensitivities. That measure tied the annual adjustment of Member pay to the changes in the Employment Cost Index, banned honoraria, and revised the rules governing outside earned income and employment after government service. When it was introduced in the House on November 15, 1989, it was referred to multiple House committees including Rules, Post Office and Civil Service, House Administration, Standards of Official Conduct, Judiciary, Ways and Means, and Government Operations. It passed the House the following day. The seemingly expeditious passage was possible because of the prior negotiations and recommendations of a bipartisan House Ethics Task Force chaired by Vic Fazio of California, who also served as the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on the Legislative Branch, and Lynn Martin of Illinois, who was the ranking minority member on the Subcommittee on the Legislative Process of the House Rules Committee. The reform also succeeded in part, as noted by *Congressional Quarterly*, because "House Speaker Thomas S. Foley of Washington and Minority Leader Robert H. Michel of Illinois put the full weight and prestige of their offices behind the pay raise, in a show of bipartisanship and leadership force" that had been missing in earlier failed attempts.[978]

Numerous bills and resolutions dealing with Member pay, including many aiming to alter the automatic adjustment procedure, have been referred to the Committee since the passage of the 1989 act. Very few, however, were the subject of additional consideration. Those that were include an act making technical changes to the Ethics Reform Act of 1989, and the House Administrative Reform Resolution of 1992.[979]

Other printed government sources do not shed much light on the Committee's activities. Biennial Committee activity reports indicate that the Committee has coordinated with other committees and participated in information sharing. For example, the Committee's Activity Report for the 101st Congress (the Congress that saw the passage of the Ethics Reform Act) notes that "On March 26th, staff of

the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct briefed the entire Committee on House Administration staff on highlights of the Ethics Reform Act of 1989."[980] The report includes no further information on the discussion or the act itself, but it does record the numerous Member pay bills referred to the Committee that Congress.[981]

Other measures have dealt tangentially with Member pay, focusing on aspects other than an annual salary adjustment. The Committee also has received bills proposing deductions in Members' pay for the use of the attending physician, funds for survivors of deceased Members, and efforts to limit congressional pay in the absence of a balanced or timely budget. The Committee has also provided administrative oversight in this area. The Committee's Activity Report for the 102nd Congress, for example, notes that the House Information Systems (H.I.S.) "developed an Electronic Fund Transfer capability for the Member Payroll System."[982]

Another example of this includes the House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, which the Committee marked up and reported during the 104th Congress. The Corrections Act transferred responsibility for various House functions, including the administration of Members' pay and mileage, to the newly-created position of Chief Administrative Officer (CAO).[983] The Committee's report on the bill noted that the "responsibility for deductions of pay for absence of Members under the provision codified as section 39 of title 2, United States Code, has been transferred from the Sergeant at Arms to the Chief Administrative Officer upon certification by the Clerk of the House."[984] This provision is notable because all three of these elected House officers fall under the oversight responsibility of the Committee. The Committee also has received bills proposing deductions in Members' pay for the use of the attending physician, funds for survivors of deceased Members, and efforts to limit congressional pay in the absence of a balanced or timely budget.

When reviewing legislation concerning Member pay, the Committee must now also take into consideration the constitutional obligations imposed by the ratification of the Twenty-Seventh Amendment. The amendment says "No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened."[985] Originally proposed on September 25, 1789, along with the 10 amendments that became the *Bill of Rights*, the amendment was ratified in May 1992, after receiving the approval of the requisite number of states. No additional consideration by Congress was required.

The Amendment was a matter of discussion early in the 112th Congress, when a lapse in appropriations appeared possible. Member pay is part of a permanent appropriation and would not have been affected,[986] but a number of Members expressed interest in stopping the distribution of their salaries. Legislation was introduced, and the House and Senate each passed a bill (H.R. 1255 and S. 388, respectively). No further action has been taken on either bill. On April 8, 2011, the Speaker of the House issued a "Dear Colleague" letter indicating that in the event of a shutdown, Members would be paid pursuant to the 27th Amendment, although Members could elect to return any compensation to the Treasury. According to its semiannual report, the Committee participated in this discussion by advising "Members of methods to return their salary to the Treasury should they wish to do so in the event of a lapse in appropriations."

Government Shutdown

Under the Antideficiency Act, federal agencies must cease operations, except in emergency situations, during a funding gap.[988] The most recent legislative branch funding gap occurred between November 13–19, 1995.[989]

On November 13, 1995, Committee on House Administration Chairman Bill Thomas issued a "Dear Colleague" letter stating:

> In the event that there is a lapse in appropriations relating to the Legislative Branch of the Federal Government, it will be necessary to shut down nonessential House operations effective on November 14, 1995. However, the Committee on House Oversight has determined that any disruption in

> legislative activities of the House would result in an inability to exercise the powers specified in Article I of the Constitution of the United States . . . Therefore, in accordance with the authority vested in the Committee on House Oversight under House Rule X, clause 1(h), the Committee directs that upon a lapse in appropriations for the Legislative Branch, each House employing authority shall designate as essential personnel only those employees whose primary job responsibilities are directly related to legislative activities. All other House personnel shall be placed in a furlough status by the appropriate employing authority until appropriations are made available. Each employing authority who furloughs employees shall submit to the Finance Office an "Authorization for Furlough of Employees" form by November 15, 1995. . .[990]

Another "Dear Colleague" letter, issued by Chairman Thomas two days later provided "further definition of the meaning of 'essential' and 'non-essential' employees for the House of Representatives, including an opinion from the Congressional Research Service about the fundamental role of the House under Article I of the U.S. Constitution."[991] Following the enactment of appropriations, the Chairman and Ranking Member Vic Fazio issued a "Dear Colleague" letter on November 20, 1995, explaining the return of employees from furlough status and the implementation of legislation included in the appropriations act requiring pay for all employees during the shutdown period.[992]

In April 2011, when continued funding for the federal government following the expiration of a fiscal year 2011 continuing resolution appeared uncertain, the Committee again worked to determine how the House would uphold its Constitutional responsibilities in the event of a lapse of appropriations.

At the time, in response to a perceived need, the Committee issued a document entitled *Legislative Operations During a Lapse in Appropriations: Guidance Issued by the Committee on House Administration*. The document examines various operational, pay and benefits issues. It provides guidance to Members in understanding the distinction between "essential" and "non-essential" employees, clarifies the responsibilities of the "employing authority," and discusses procedures and regulations related to furloughed employees. The Committee also was involved in the development of a "Sample Notice to Outside Vendors, Consultants and Contractors," sample notices to essential and non-essential employees, and a voluntary furlough form.

On April 8, 2011, the Speaker of the House issued a "Dear Colleague" letter indicating that in the event of a shutdown, Members of Congress would be paid pursuant to the 27th Amendment to the Constitution, which states: "No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened"—although Members could elect to return any compensation to the Treasury. The Committee responded to requests from Members inquiring about this procedure.

Any lapse in funding would have had consequences across the Capitol Complex. The Committee held oversight meetings with House officers to ensure the security of the Capitol and the continuance of legislative operations. It also met with agency officials to determine, for example, "how the potential government shutdown would have affected the Library [of Congress], the Law Library, the Office of Congressional Information and Publishing, the Legislative Information Systems Office, and Human Resources."[993] Some congressional offices and agencies issued guidance regarding how they would operate and what services would be available to Congress. For example, the Architect's guidance addressed closures in the Capitol Visitor Center (CVC), the suspension of tours and flag office operations, and limited trash removal and cleaning services. The Committee also distributed information regarding how any lapse would limit access to parking and building entrances and close facilities like the restaurants.

Art In The Capitol and House Office Buildings

Origins and Development

Although artwork had been earlier displayed in the Capitol, it was not until 1872 that Congress identified a congressional entity to accept, maintain, and display artwork.[994] In an 1872 statute, Congress assigned jurisdiction to the Joint Committee on the Library, which had been established in 1802,[995] directing that:

> The Joint Committee on the Library, whenever, in their judgment, it is expedient, are authorized to accept any work of the fine arts, on behalf of Congress, which may be offered, and to assign the same such place in the Capitol as they may deem suitable, and shall have the supervision of all works of art that may be placed in the Capitol.[996]

In 1875, the Committee's authority was expanded further when Congress required that:

> . . . no work of art not the property of the United States shall be exhibited in the Capitol, nor shall any room in the Capitol be used for private studios or works of art, without permission from the Joint Committee on the Library, given in writing; and it shall be the duty of the Architect of the Capitol . . . to carry these provisions into effect.

The Committee's role with regard to artwork was further defined by the House in 1908, when the Chamber agreed to a resolution clarifying that matters involving certain types of art, namely "statuary and pictures," fell within the jurisdiction of the Joint Committee.[998] In 1933, the Joint Committee's authority over statues in the Capitol was further expanded, when the House, in H. Con. Res. 47 (73rd Congress, 1933–1934), required the Joint Committee to approve or disapprove actions taken by the Architect of the Capitol (AOC) with regard to the display of statues. A second section of the resolution addressed the role of the Architect, by authorizing and directing the AOC "to relocate within the Capitol any of the statues already received and placed in Statuary Hall, and to provide for the reception and location of the statues received heretofore from the States."[999]

Legislation referred to the Joint Committee prior to 1947 related primarily to the purchase, acceptance, and creation of artwork, including statues, paintings, and other types of art.[1000] In 1910, for example, the Joint Committee authorized an expression of appreciation to Italy for its gifts of rare works of art, and, in a separate action, authorized the House Committee on the Library to employ artists to paint portraits of former House Speakers. In 1926, the Joint Committee approved a measure allowing it to purchase both an oil painting of former President Harding and a replica of a bust of George Washington.[1001]

The following year, the Joint Committee authorized the first comprehensive compilation of artwork in the Capitol, led by Charles E. Fairman, Capitol Curator.[1002] Prior the Fairman compilation, "there were only occasional compilations made, none of which followed any definite pattern, or standard, and most of which contained only general, incomplete, and oftentimes unsubstantiated information."[1003] Four decades later, House Administration Chairman Omar Burleson of Texas would praise the Fairman compilation as the "most comprehensive history of the accumulation and development of art in the Capitol ever prepared. This voluminous work, undoubtedly, is the most valuable writing presently available concerning this particular subject matter. Its historical and encyclopedical usefulness cannot be overestimated."[1004]

It appears that the Joint Committee, working with the Architect of the Capitol, retained sole authority over receipt and display of art until the passage of the 1946 Reorganization Act, which directed that jurisdiction over certain artworks be shared with the Committee on House Administration.[1005] Language still in effect today made the new Committee responsible for "matters relating to . . . statuary and pictures [and] acceptance or purchase of works of art for the Capitol."[1006]

Role of Committee

While congressional oversight of Capitol artwork was placed under the Committee's mandate in the 1946 Act, its role in decisions affecting art was strengthened by another sec-

tion of the Act, which permanently placed the Committee Chairman, and four other Committee members, on the Joint Committee on the Library.[1007] In granting this authority to the Committee, Congress did not change the primary role of the Joint Committee, allowing it to continue its broader, statutorily defined jurisdiction over Capitol artwork. Since 1947, jurisdiction of the Committee over Capitol and House Office Building artwork evolved into a significantly larger role, particularly in the late 1980s. Until then, the Committee periodically considered and reported relevant legislation, such as that, for example, authorizing temporary placement in the Capitol Rotunda of a statue of Brigham Young, "in order that suitable acceptance ceremony can be arranged for the acquisition of the statue . . . the permanent place for the statue will be in Statuary Hall."[1008]

An achievement of the Committee with regard to the Capitol's art collection, was its role in support of updating, completing, and printing a 1952 compilation of art prepared by the Architect of the Capitol. H. Con. Res. 350 (88th Congress, 1963–1964), which was introduced by House Administration Chairman Omar Burleson of Texas,[1009] directed the Architect to undertake this task. The result was a 426-page book, entitled *Compilation of Works of Art and Other Objects in the United States Capitol*. Chairman Burleson, while praising the earlier 1927 compilation by the Capitol Curator, wrote the following in the book's foreword:

> By 1952, it had been apparent for some time ... that simple, concise, comprehensive, and factual cataloging of these works of art had been long overdue. [The earlier work] was by then approximately a quarter of a century out of date; it is narrative in form; it was written primarily from an artist's perspective; and consequently, it does not contain factual information which, though unimportant to the artist or art critic, is most important to the cataloger. The impelling need in 1952 for a current official cataloging culminated in the Architect of the Capitol compiling in concise form a complete list of all the art in the Capitol, together with the date and manner of acquisition, the location of each and the names of the respective painters and sculptors.[1010]

The new *Compilation* contained detailed information on 744 works of art, complete with pictures. Included were 128 portraits, 54 paintings (other than portraits), 75 marble and bronze busts, 95 statues in the Capitol, one sculptured marble portrait monument, 23 relief portraits of "lawgivers," 67 sculptured reliefs, 165 frescoes, murals and lunettes (partial listing), 120 miscellaneous works (interior), 14 exterior works of art, 2 monuments and memorials on the Capitol grounds, 51 portraits, paintings, photographs and busts (property of House and Senate committees), and 46 works of art transferred from the Capitol. Additionally, the volume refers to 1,239 works of art lost in fires, 48 works of art (not carried in the records of the Architect of the Capitol, as a part of the Capitol Art Collection), three paintings on indefinite loan, four portraits carried in 1952 and returned to owners, and 1,390 "other works of art and objects."[1011]

Membership of the House Fine Arts Board. In late 1988, the House gave the Committee a central role in congressional oversight of artwork when its Chairman was statutorily made Chairman of the newly–established House Fine Arts Board and three other Committee members, also serving on the Joint Committee on the Library, were permanently named to the Board.[1012] Along with the Committee's legislative jurisdiction over the Board, this legislation placed the Committee on House Administration in position as the primary House entity responsible for art and related work in the Capitol and House buildings.

The Board was given statutory authority over "all works of fine art, historical objects, and similar property that are the property of the Congress and are for display or other use in the House of Representatives wing of the Capitol, the House of Representatives Office Buildings, or any other location under the control of the House of Representatives."[1013] Due to their shared chairmanships, the law also gave the Board and the Committee direct oversight of the administration of art activities assigned to the House Clerk and Architect of the Capitol.

With regard to the House Clerk, law required the Board to "supervise and direct" the House Clerk in "the administration, maintenance, and display of the works of art and other property [owned by Congress]," and in his consultations "with the Architect on matters of repair, renovation, conservation, or display of objects in the Registry."[1014] Four years later, the House transferred the Clerk's responsibilities to the new Director of Non-Legislative and Financial Services.[1015] In 1995, these functions were again transferred when the position of Director was replaced by the newly-created House Chief Administrative Officer (CAO),[1016] who remains under the Board's supervision.

The Architect was required to advise and assist the Board and the Clerk "in preservation and cataloging as well as design and construction of displays, especially for buildings and structures and similar cataloged objects permanently attached to, or integrally part of, buildings and structures . . . through contract, curatorial, conservation, and other services." The Board was also authorized to "assign direct responsibility to the Architect for renovations, repairs, or conservation, especially for architectural elements and permanently affixed objects."[1017]

In the 110th Congress, the Board accepted six portraits of committee chairs, and organized portrait funds for five additional chairs.[1018] In the 111th Congress (2009–2010), the Board accepted six portrait requests and reported on the status of five additional portraits.[1019] In the first session of the 112th Congress (2011–2012), three portraits were accepted into the collection and requests were made to fund portraits for an additional six portraits.[1020]

Membership on the Capitol Preservation Commission. The Committee's role over artwork was augmented further in 1988 when its Chairman and Ranking Minority member were permanently appointed to membership on the newly-created Capitol Preservation Commission.[1021] Established in response to concerns of congressional and private interests in ensuring the proper future preservation of the Capitol and its art, the Commission was empowered (1) to secure private funds for the acquisition of art for the Capitol; (2) to accept gifts of art to Congress; and (3) to coordinate activities of the House Fine Arts Board, the Joint Committee on the Library, and the Senate Commission on Art. The Act creating the Commission defined its purposes as:

> . . . providing for improvements in, preservation of, and acquisitions for the United States Capitol . . . providing for works of fine art and other property for display in the United States Capitol and at other locations under the control of Congress, and . . . conducting other activities that directly facilitate, encourage, or otherwise support any of the [above] purposes.[1022]

According to the Commission, its members "may fund or assist in the funding of improvements to the Capitol Building and surrounding grounds if such improvements are authorized, undertaken, and completed under the procedures established by the Congress for such purposes," and funds may be used for:

> . . . purchase of art, furnishings, or items of historical interest, provided that such expenses are approved by a majority of the Members of the Committee from the body of Congress for which such purchases are made. The Commission may not maintain any collection of fine and other property that it receives or acquires. Instead, it may assist in the transfer of such items to a congressional entity (such as the Senate Commission on Art, the House of Representatives Fine Arts Board, or the Joint Committee on the Library) or dispose of such property by sale or other transaction.[1023]

Participation of the Committee on House Administration Chairman and ranking minority Member on the Commission since 1988 gave it an even more prominent role in policies governing the administration of art in the Capitol, and, since 1999, in the selection and future display of art in the new Capitol Visitor Center. The Committee's influence, through its membership on the Commission, has allowed it

to play an active role in the planning, engineering, design, and construction of the Capitol Visitor Center (CVC).[1024]

Oversight of the Architect of the Capitol. In exercising its general oversight of House services, the Committee reviews activities of the Architect of the Capitol (AOC) as they pertain in particular to maintenance of art in House office buildings, their grounds, and the House side of the Capitol. Authority over the AOC is derived not only from the Committee's review of House services, but also (1) membership of its Chairman and ranking minority member on the House Fine Arts Board, which receives advice from the AOC on purchase and disposition of art and assistance in displays, repairs, conservation, and renovations and (2) membership on the Joint Committee on the Library, which oversees maintenance and repair of art, including murals and architectural elements in the Capitol.

In addition to its oversight authority, the Committee considers legislation modifying the Architect's role in his administration of art. For example, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials met to report H.R. 60 in the 100th Congress (1987–1988), which gave permission to the AOC to accept "gifts and bequests of personal property and money for the benefits of the Capitol Buildings Art Collection."[1025] The bill, as amended, was ordered reported by the Committee on June 24, 1987, passed by the House on July 21, 1987, and the Senate, amended, on December 19, and incorporated into S. 2840, which was signed into law as P.L. 100-696 on November 18, 1988.[1026]

Authority Over Funding of Art. Finally, the Committee's authority over art has also been influenced by its right to approve expenditures from "appropriate accounts of the House," which has permitted the Committee to approve House funds to meet costs associated with artwork. In 1999, for example, Committee members agreed to a funding resolution using House appropriations for acquisition of portraits of former Speakers.[1027] It appears that this authority, however, is not often used.

Capitol Artwork Collections. In recent years, the Committee on House Administration has played an active role in accepting statues donated to Congress by the states as part of the National Statuary Hall Collection, commissioning artwork for placement in the Capitol, and consideration of proposals to expand the National Statuary Hall Collection.

Acceptance of Statues for National Statuary Hall. The National Statuary Hall Collection "is comprised of statues donated by individual states to honor persons notable in their history,"[1028] and includes 100 statues, two from each state. Historically, the Committee has considered legislation authorizing the acceptance of statues, provided by the states, for inclusion in the National Statuary Hall collection. In recent years, several states have donated a statue to complete their contribution to the collection or provide a statue to replace an existing National Statuary Hall Collection statue previously donated by the state.

In the 109th Congress (2005–2006), two states, which had previously donated one statue to the collection, donated a second. The State of Nevada donated a statue of Sarah Winnemucca and the State of New Mexico donated a statue of Po'Pay. In both cases, the Committee considered and agreed to concurrent resolutions accepting the donations.[1029]

In July 2008, the Joint Committee on the Library (JCL) approved a major relocation plan for the statues in the Statuary Hall Collection.[1030] This plan provided for the incorporation of several statues in the new Capitol Visitor Center (CVC) and established a collection of statues from the original thirteen colonies to be arranged in the Crypt of the Capitol.[1031]

Also, during the 110th Congress, the JCL approved for installation in the Statuary Hall Collection statues of former President Ronald Reagan, abolitionist and women's rights advocate Sojourner Truth, former President Gerald Ford, and activist Helen Keller.[1032]

The 112th Congress, acting on a bill introduced by Committee on House Administration Chairman Daniel E. Lungren, approved the permanent display of a statue in Emancipation Hall of the United States Capitol of Frederick Douglass, who escaped from slavery and became a leading writer, orator, and publisher, and one of the Nation's most

influential advocates for abolitionism, women's suffrage, and the equality of all people.[1033]

Commissioning Artwork. The Committee on House Administration has considered bills to directly commission artwork for the United States Capitol Building. Most often, these bills direct the Architect of the Capitol to contract for a new statue or to update an existing piece of artwork. In the 109th Congress, the Committee considered bills to revise the "statue commemorating women's suffrage," to include the likeness of Sojourner Truth, to commission a statue of Rosa Parks, and to obtain a statue of Constantino Brumidi.[1034] The legislation ordering the commissioning of a statue of Rosa Parks (H.R. 4145) was signed into law by President George W. Bush on December 1, 2005.[1035] In the 111th Congress, the Committee determined the winner of a nationwide contest to select the Rosa Parks statue and approved the final clay sculpture model.[1036]

In November 2007, the Committee on House Administration, in cooperation of the House Fine Arts Board, sponsored the unveiling of the official portrait of Representative Dalip Saund of California, the first Asian American to serve in Congress.[1037] This ceremony was part of a program first developed by the Board in 2002 to include additional works of art in the Capitol representing historically important Members of the House. Overall, six portraits were added to the Capitol collection pursuant to this program.[1038]

Expanding National Statuary Hall. In recent years, several bills have been introduced to alter the size of the National Statuary Hall collection through expanding the number of permitted statues per state or providing the District of Columbia and the U.S. Territories with statues in the collection.

Expansion of Permitted Statues Per State. Since the creation of National Statuary Hall in 1864, each state has been allowed to place two statues in the National Statuary Hall collection. As the union has grown from 35 states in July 1864 to 50 states today, the number of statues in the collection has reached 100. Supporters of providing a third statue to each state argue that the additional statues would provide an opportunity to increase the diversity of the National Statuary Hall Collection, which currently includes only 16 statues or women or minorities.[1039]

The concept of adding a third statue per state was first introduced in 1993 by Representative Douglas (Pete) Petersen. The bill (H.R. 3368) would have provided a third statue to each state and restricted the ability of states to furnish an additional statue or replace existing statues for "100 years after the date on which it furnishes its third statue. . . . "[1040] H.R. 3368 was referred to the Committee on House Administration and did not receive further action.

In the 112th Congress (2011–2012), Representative Steve Cohen introduced a bill (H.R. 1289) to expand the National Statuary collection—from two statues per state to three—to encourage more diversity within the collection. In his introductory remarks on the bill, Representative Cohen summarized his thoughts on the current diversity of the collection and why better descriptive representation of women and minority groups is appropriate.

> Currently, there are 100 statues on display given by the States, and only 16 are women or minority groups. Ten are women with three Native-Americans; three statues are Native-American males, two are Hispanic, and one is a Pacific Islander. Although there have been many noteworthy African Americans and Asian Americans in our history, no State has submitted a statue honoring one of them. This disparity must be rectified.
>
> If you walked through the Capitol and looked at the statues, you would think all the heroes and leaders were granite white men. This bill is to express that equal representation of all Americans is essential in our historical perspectives and the educational value that the Capitol offers its thousands of visitors.[1041]

H.R. 1289 was referred to the House Administration and has not received further action.

Adding Statues for the District of Columbia and U.S. Territories. Legislation designed to allow the District of Columbia, the U.S. Territories, or both to place statues in the National Statuary Hall collection has been introduced since the 1970s. In the 99th Congress (1985–1986), H.R. 3788 was introduced

by Delegate Ben Blaz from Guam. The bill would have provided for statues from the U.S. Territories. H.R. 3788 was referred to the Committee on House Administration and did not receive further attention.

The Committee was again referred legislation to expand the National Statuary Hall Collection to the District of Columbia and the U.S. Territories in the 109th Congress (2005–2006). Delegate Eni Faleomavaega of American Samoa. introduced H.R. 4070 which would have provided the U.S. Territories—American Samoa, Guam, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the United States Virgin Island—with one statue each in the National Statuary Hall collection. To allow for the addition of statues for the territories, the bill would have amended 2 U.S.C. § 2131 to redefine the term "state" to include the territories. In his introductory remarks on H.R. 4070, Delegate Faleomavaega stated:

> On July 2, 1864, Congress enacted a law creating the National Statuary Hall. In the debate over what to do with the old House Chamber, Mr. Morrill in the House of Representatives proposed, "To what end more useful or grand, and at the same time simple and inexpensive, can we devote the Chamber than to ordain that it shall be set apart for the reception of such statuary as each State shall elect to be deserving of in this lasting commemoration?"
>
> At the time of enactment, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and Puerto Rico were not a part of the U.S. and were not included in Mr. Morrill's proposal. For this reason we come before you today to introduce legislation that would extend this same courtesy to Americans who live in the outlying areas of our great country. Each of our outlying areas has a unique history and a unique relationship to the United States. The annals of our territorial histories are replete with examples of outstanding leaders. To allow this legislation would be to honor these great citizens' contributions.
>
> Also, this legislation would symbolically acknowledge that our U.S. Territories are an important, integral part of our national heritage. Imagine the pride a young person would feel, traveling here to our nation's capital from American Samoa, or the Virgin Islands, or Guam, or Puerto Rico, and seeing a statue of a person from their own territory's history, side by side with many of America's other significant historical figures.
>
> Because this legislation provides a simple and inexpensive method for us here in Congress to educate Capitol visitors about the contributions of our outlying areas to our great nation, I urge my colleagues to support this bill.[1042]

H.R. 4070 did not receive further action in the 109th Congress.

In the 111th Congress (2009–2010), two pieces of legislation were introduced that would have provided statues for the District of Columbia and the U.S. Territories in the National Statuary Hall collection. H.R. 5493, introduced by Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton of the District of Columbia, would have provided for statues for the District of Columbia, and H.R. 5711, introduced by Delegate Eni Faleomavaega of American Samoa, would have provided statues for the U.S. Territories in the National Statuary Hall collection. In July 2010, the Committee on House Administration held a markup on both bills. After an attempt to merge the bills was unsuccessful, the Committee reported both bills.[1043]

Between the reporting of H.R. 5493 and H.R. 5711 by the Committee on House Administration and the consideration of these bills in the House, Chairman Robert Brady helped negotiate a merger of the bills. Subsequently, a single bill that would permit both the District of Columbia and the territories to place statues in the collection, H.R. 5493, was debated in the House. The bill passed the House, as amended, under suspension of the Rules.[1044] No further action was taken in the Senate.

In the 112th Congress, Representative Dan Lungren introduced H.R. 3106, which would permit the District of

Columbia and the territories to place statues in the National Statuary Hall collection.[1045] The bill is virtually identical in language as the merged bill considered by the House at the end of the 111th Congress. Upon introduction, the bill was referred to the Committee on House Administration. By the end of 2011, no further action had been taken.

House Pages

Origin and Development

Since the First Congress, messengers, now known as pages, have been employed to assist Members of the House and Senate in performing their duties. Pages serve principally as messengers who carry documents, letters, and notes between the House and Senate, Members' offices, committees, and the Library of Congress. "Before the Capitol was wired for electricity and signal bells were installed," historian Donald Ritchie writes, "pages raced from room to room to summon members to vote. Before telephones, pages rode horseback to the White House and executive departments, delivering bills and correspondence. Pages also worked as the first telephone operators in the Capitol. Although technology replaced these functions, pages can still be seen darting through the Capitol carrying messages for the members."[1046] Before being discontinued in the 112th Congress (2011–2012), the House page program was a integral and historic feature of life in the chamber and an important oversight responsibility of the Committee on House Administration.

Initially adults served as the messengers, but by the 20th Congress (1827–1829) boys, who were called pages, had begun to serve as "runners" or errand boys in the House.[1047] A 1842 report by a House select committee established in the 27th Congress (1841–1843) to study the contingent expenses of the House provides the following summary of the history of pages up to that point:

> From the origin of the present Government in 1789, to the present time they [messengers] have been employed under the orders and resolutions of the House, and experience has attested the necessity of their services. The use of boys, or pages, was introduced at a later period; but from the first session of Congress held at the city of Washington, they have continued to be employed, with approbation in the House. The ready transaction of the business of the House, the Committee believes, indispensably requires the service of such attendants.[1048]

Statistics included in the Committee's report indicate that the number of young pages employed by the House had grown from three in the 20th Congress (1827–1829), to 12 in the 27th Congress (1841–1843).[1049]

John Quincy Adams, the only former President ever elected to be a Member of Congress, once described the pages who dashed about the House Chamber in the 1830s as "tripping Mercuries," little messengers of the "gods" of Congress. "In those days," pages were seated at the front of the House Chamber, "as pages in the Senate still are, directly facing the members." They "sat on the low steps at each side of the House Speaker's chair." Eventually the pages "lost their seats on the crowded steps of the [S]peaker's rostrum and were moved to side benches at the rear" of the chamber.[1050] Many of the boys who served as pages were orphans or children of poor families." When their plight came to the attention of a Senator or Representative, the boys were given a job running errands for them. "Members often paid the boys a bonus if they performed their duties well, but this practice was discontinued in 1843," following the report of the House select committee's review of contingent expenses.[1051]

Although it is unclear who had initial jurisdiction over the messengers, responsibility for paying them was given to the Committee on Accounts, when it was created in 1803, "to superintend and control expenditures of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives."[1052] In 1845, House officers were made accountable to the Committee on Accounts for employees under their direction and for the use of the contingent fund to operate their offices, and to investigate activities of House officers and their employees.[1053] The Committee on Accounts' jurisdiction over pages was further broadened in the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriations Act of 1901, which provided that "No person should be employed

as a page in the service of the House of Representatives who is under twelve years of age or more than eighteen years of age," except for "chief pages, riding pages, and telephone pages." The act also required the Committee on Accounts to "inquire into the enforcement or violation" of the age requirement.[1054] During the next six decades, several resolutions to change the ages of the pages was introduced and referred to the Committee on Accounts, and later the Committee on House Administration, but no action was taken until 1965.

There were congressional "pages for 125 years before there was any law that required them to go to school," writes Bill Severn in his history of pages. "From 1880 to 1925 they had no organized schooling. Many went to grammar school before becoming pages, but whatever education they got depended on the boy and whether he had money to pay for it." With the enactment of the Compulsory School Attendance Act for the District of Columbia in 1925, the "minimum age at which a boy could quit school and go to work was increased from twelve to fourteen." This requirement meant that a number of younger pages could not continue to serve on Capitol Hill unless they attended a school or received instruction from a tutor for a specific number of hours each week. Since their duties in Congress prevented pages from attending school during the day, Bert Kennedy, the Doorkeeper of the House, arranged for them to attend a private school in a basement room of the Capitol beginning in 1926, where a Baltimore educator David J. Laupheimer was their principal as well as their lone teacher.[1055]

When Laupheimer left in the Spring of 1929, "arrangements were made for a private school in Washington, the Devitt Preparatory School, to take over education of the pages." That arrangement proved impractical and the basement school was revived with the "approval and cooperation" of the House Patronage Committee in December 1931, under the direction of Ernest Kendall, a young Oklahoma school teacher. Kendall devoted the next 15 years to developing the school, which eventually included House, Senate, and Supreme Court pages. Within a year, his goal of meeting the standards of the District of Columbia school board for an accredited private school was achieved, and soon many of its graduates continued their education at an institution of higher learning. "As a private school, it had no government financial support and all expenses had to be paid for out of tuition fees." Not until 1942, through the efforts of Senator Harold H. Burton and House Majority Leader John McCormack, did Congress finally approve an appropriation for making long-needed improvements to the school. Burton, in arguing for the appropriation, described the school's classrooms as being in a "scandalous condition."[1056] Also through Senator Burton's efforts, the Senate in August 1945 approved a joint resolution calling for an investigation of the entire page system.[1057]

The following March, the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress reported that its hearings had "developed much evidence that the present [page] scholastic facilities provided in the basement of the Capitol are not only unhealthful but extremely ill-adapted to use as classrooms." The Committee's report suggested several alternative plans and strongly recommended that the time had come for Congress to change the page school system.[1058]

Role of the Committee

With passage of the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act, Congress for the first time accepted responsibility for the schooling of its pages, and the old page school system was ended. Under the new organization, the Capitol Page School became a tuition-free school funded by Congress with pages no longer having to pay for their schooling. The act directed the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate to enter into an arrangement with the District of Columbia Board of Education for the education of the congressional pages. It also included a requirement that reimbursement be made to the District for additional expenses incurred by its public school system in implementing the arrangement.[1059] Initially, pages were bused to the YMCA in downtown Washington for classes until 1949, when the Page School

was established on the third floor of the Thomas Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress.[1060]

From 1947 until 1983, the Committee on House Administration, by virtue of its jurisdiction over funds spent by the House, was also responsible for review of the page education contracts with the Washington, D.C. Board of Education.

Reform of Page Program. Between January 3, 1947, when the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 became operative, and the elimination of the House Page Program in 2011, the Committee on House Administration and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration provided legislative oversight of the congressional page system. In exercising that authority, the Committee on House Administration considered a number of measures regarding congressional pages. Frequently, the Committee shared its interest in the page system with other committees which conducted special inquires of various aspects of the program.

Change in Age Requirements. During the 88th and 89th Congresses (1963–1966), two separate congressional committees—the House Select Committee on Welfare and Education of Congressional Pages in 1964, and the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress in 1965—studied the age requirements for pages, and housing and education of pages. Both Committees recommended changes in the age requirement. The House Select Committee advocated that all congressional page appointments be limited to either high school juniors and seniors or college age individuals. The Joint Committee called for the appointment of college-age pages, a move that would have eliminated the need for a proposed residential page school.[1061] Although no further action was taken on the idea of changing the age requirements at the time, subsequent decisions by the Committee on House Administration, together with advisory assistance from the House Democratic Patronage Committee, resulted in House page appointments being restricted to 11th and 12th graders (ages 16–18) beginning in January 1966.[1062]

When the House took up the age matter during its consideration of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 it voted to retain the existing age limitation of 16 to 18, with the additional requirement that pages could not be appointed to serve during a session of Congress which began after their 18th birthday.[1063]

Discussion of Housing, Enhancement of Supervision. In January 1956, and again in early May 1957, the Committee on House Administration held hearings on measures relating to the appointment and supervision of Capitol pages, establishment of a page residence, provision for a page matron, and establishment of an academy for pages.[1064] On May 21, 1959, and June 6, 1959, the Committee's Subcommittee on Accounts held hearings on a bill providing for a page residence under the supervision of a Capitol Pages' Residence Board.[1065] Subsequently, in May 1965, the Subcommittee heard testimony regarding proposals on the housing and supervision of pages.[1066]

Not until the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, however, did Congress actually approve legislation authorizing the Architect of the Capitol (AOC), under joint supervision of the House and Senate Office Building Commissions, to acquire property in the vicinity of the Capitol Complex on which could be constructed a building containing a dormitory and classrooms for congressional and Supreme Court pages. The act designated the facility the John W. McCormack Residential Page School.[1067]

Subsequently, funds were appropriated in the Supplemental Appropriations Act for FY1971 for the Architect of the Capitol to develop studies, and prepare preliminary plans and cost estimates for acquisition of a site and construction of a suitable dormitory, classrooms, and related facilities for pages.[1068] Two years later, Congress used the Supplemental Appropriations Act for FY1973 to appropriate funds for the Architect to acquire property for a residential page school subject to approval of the House and Senate Building Commissions.[1069] Although the House Office Building Commission subsequently approved a site for construction of the school, its Senate counterpart did not.

In 1979, the Committee's Subcommittee on Personnel and Police and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration jointly formulated a first-time contract with the

District of Columbia outlining provisions for the education of pages. As a consequence of these meetings there was mutual agreement that House and Senate officers needed statutory authority to carry-out shared responsibilities for the care and supervision of pages. Also, at the request of the House Doorkeeper, the Subcommittee approved a new job description and classification for House page supervisors to include additional responsibilities for the off-duty hours of pages.[1070]

A year earlier, with action still pending on a page residence and several other page-related issues, David Sharman, clerk of the Committee on House Administration's Subcommittee on Personnel and Police, prepared a memorandum for Subcommittee Chairman Frank Annunzio of Illinois on how to resolve the most urgent and immediate needs of the program. Sharman concluded that the "most immediate and practicable approach for implementation of the actions proposed [for reorganizing the page system] would appear to be by way of directives from the Chairmen of the Committee on House Administration and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration to their respective officers." Of course, the House and Senate Legal Counsels would first have to agree that there were no legal impediments to such action, Sharman explained, without elaborating on what such impediments might be.[1071] Subsequent legislative initiatives obviated Sharman's administrative solution, but those adjustments did not materialize for another four years.

1982–1983 Reforms. Several reforms were instituted in the page program in the early 1980s, after 1982 news accounts reported accusations by two unidentified pages of House Members having inappropriate sexual contact with pages. Later, following a House investigation, the two pages recanted their stories. In response to the allegations, the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct conducted an intensive investigation of the charges. Joseph A. Califano, Jr., a former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who headed the inquiry, concluded that most of the allegations and rumors of misconduct by House Members "resulted either from out-and-out fabrication, overactive teenage imagination stimulated by conversations with a journalist, or teenage gossip, which [had] in virtually every case proven to be utterly inaccurate."[1072] Six months later, however, the House censured a member of the House, who admitted he had an affair with a 17-year-old female page, and another House member, who was found to have had a relationship a decade earlier with a 17-year-old male page.[1073]

A separate examination charged with reviewing the "page system in all its aspects including whether it should be continued, the need for supervised housing or improved education" was ordered by Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. of Massachusetts in July 1982. The Speaker's Commission on Pages held five days of hearings during July and August of that year before issuing its report on August 16. The Speaker's Commission concluded that pages were "essential to the official functioning of Congress and that service as a Page [was] a uniquely valuable experience to those selected." They had performed their "service admirably, but under conditions which need[ed] improvement."[1074] Several of the Commission's recommendations, which dealt primarily with the ages, supervision, and education of pages, were subsequently adopted by the House.

In the aftermath of the so-called page scandal, the House on November 30, 1982, established the House Page Board "to ensure that the page program is conducted in a manner that is consistent with the efficient functioning of the House and the welfare of the pages." The Board, which was established by a resolution (H.Res. 611, 97th Congress, 1981–1982) offered by Majority Leader James C. Wright, consists of two Members of the House appointed by the Speaker, one Member of the House appointed by the Minority Leader, the House Clerk, the House Sergeant at Arms, and the Architect of the Capitol. The House Doorkeeper was also a member of the Board until that position was eliminated in 1996. The Board is charged with ensuring the "welfare of pages," and is authorized "to proscribe such regulations as may be necessary."[1075] Initially, the Board was chaired by Joseph Minish, a member of the Committee on House Administration. Early in 1983, the House approved a resolution (H.Res. 64, 98th Congress, 1983–1984) sponsored by Minish, which established a revolving fund for

administration of a House page residence school and a page meal program.[1076]

Subsequently, two other page-related resolutions sponsored by Representative Minish also were passed by the House. The first (H.Res. 279, 98th Congress, 1983), restricted admission to the House Page School to pages only. Other minor employees, who worked for Members and committees, were prohibited from attending the school. The resolution was necessary, Minish explained, "to clear up questions that had arisen concerning this policy." Minor employees had "in the past made page education more complex because they often were younger than the pages and were here for only a short time. Consequently, the resolution [was] an important part of the Page Board's commitment to provide our pages with a quality formal education."[1077] The second resolution (H.Res. 234, 98th Congress), allowed only high school juniors to be appointed as House pages. The full Committee on House Administration met on June 29, 1983, and voted unanimously to favorably report the latter measure. H.Res. 234 passed the House the same day.[1078] Congress also established a House Page Residence Hall and set curfews for pages in early 1983. Previously, pages were required to find their own housing and provide their own meals.[1079]

During the summer of 1983 a number of important steps were taken to establish a House Page School. A principal, an administrative assistant, and six instructors were hired; the House Page School facilities in the Library of Congress were renovated, and the facilities were furnished. The House Page School opened on September 6, 1983, and gained accreditation by the Middle School Association in January 1984. The personnel positions at the Page School had been created by Committee on House Administration Subcommittee on Personnel and Police and subsequently approved by the full Committee several months earlier.[1080]

The House Page Board, in its final report of December 11, 1984, noted several significant improvements in the page education program during the school's first year including: (1) dramatic increases in S.A.T. scores, school attendance, average G.P.A. of entering students; (2) receipt of credit by pages for the for their work experience as pages; (3) establishment of a Summer Page Education Program; (4) establishment of a sustained relationship with the home schools of pages; (5) expansion of the school's language and mathematics courses; and (6) an increase in educational experience of instructors (all now having a minimum of a Master's Degree).[1081]

Between 1983 and the opening of the 104th Congress, on January 4, 1995, the Doorkeeper of the House was responsible for the pages and the administration of the House page program. When the position of Doorkeeper was abolished in January 1995, responsibility for the pages was assumed by the Clerk of the House.[1082] During the 99th Congress (1984–1985) and again in the 101st Congress (1988–1989), the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police considered and approved requests from the Doorkeeper for additional temporary page positions, a revision in the job description of the Director of the Page Resident Hall, and the reclassification of positions in the Page School.[1083]

In 1999, Congress approved a $3.76 million appropriation "to renovate and furnish the House-owned property at 501 First Street S.E., for the purpose of relocating a dormitory necessary to accommodate the House pages." Previously, the pages had occupied "two floors at the O'Neill House Building which had been converted to dormitory space." The move to First Street was necessitated after an "audit conducted by the House Inspector General . . . revealed fire safety issues." Also, the Architect of the Capitol had "long held that the building was not structurally suited for its current use." Appropriators concluded that the "facilities at 501 First Street [were] suited for conversion to dormitory space." The "building was originally constructed as a residence hall," and the "basic mechanical and life safety features of the building [were] satisfactory and within the various regulations that govern comparable applications."[1084]

Under Rule X, clause 1(j)(3), the Committee on House Administration in the 111th Congress had jurisdiction over the page program by virtue of its oversight role over employ-

ees of the officers of the House and the internal administrative operations of the Chamber. The Committee also served an advisory role in appraisal of the page program through the audits and operational reviews of the House Inspector General, whose policies are determined by the Committee. Day-to-day management of the page program, House Page School, and House Page Dormitory continue to be the responsibility of the Clerk, who is one of the five members of the House Page Board. The House Committee on Appropriations alone had the authority to appropriate funds for the page system, upon conducting financial oversight of the page program through its annual hearings on appropriation requests.

Discontinuation of the House Page Program. In the 110th Congress (2007–2008), at the request of then House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Republican Leader John Boehner, the House inspector general (IG) conducted an inquiry into the supervision and operation of the House Page Residence Hall, and subsequently issued a confidential report recommending changes. In 2008, an independent study, conducted by consultants to the House, was conducted. In response to the findings of those efforts, the House implemented new policies to enhance the safety and supervision of the pages and oversight of the page program. These changes followed investigations of allegations related to the page program participants, including the exchange of inappropriate communications between a Member of the House and former pages,[1085] and of misbehavior by a few pages in the 109th and 110th Congresses.

A follow-up review of the page program was carried out in the summer of 2010 by the same independent consultants. According to House leaders, concerns raised in 2008, including costs and the need for the program, remained. In August 2011, Speaker John Boehner and Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi announced the termination of the House page program effective August 31. In a dear colleague letter, the leaders cited both changes in technology obviating the need for most page services, and the program's costs as reasons to discontinue the program.[1086]

Regulating Unofficial Member Caucuses and Legislative Service Organizations (LSOs)

Introduction

Beginning in the mid-1970s, the Committee on House Administration took the first in a series of steps to regulate numerous unofficial Member groups and caucuses that had formed in the House of Representatives.[1087] In subsequent years, such groups—made up of lawmakers representing the same region of the country or sharing some common attribute, interest, or policy goal—would be known as Legislative Service Organizations (LSOs) and later, Congressional Member Organizations (CMOs). At the time, however, they were known only by generic terms such as 'caucuses,' 'coalitions,' or 'ad-hoc task forces.' The committee's efforts over two decades to establish clear rules governing such Member-created unofficial organizations were taken in response to a rapid proliferation of such groups on Capitol Hill and a growing concern that such entities might not fully comply (or appear to comply) with the letter and spirit of House rules relating to conflict of interest, responsible use of taxpayer funds, and the integrity of the legislative process. Between 1977 and 1995, the Committee would act often in a bipartisan fashion, to bring such unofficial entities under the formal supervision of the House and to regularize and professionalize their operations.

1970s: The Growth of Unofficial Member Groups

Prior to 1970, there were only three unofficial caucuses organized to provide legislative support to Members of the House: the Democratic Study Group (DSG), made up of self-described liberal House Democrats; the House Wednesday Group, a coalition of moderate Republicans; and the Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, a bicameral caucus focused on the issues of arms control and foreign policy. Beginning in the 1970s, however, the number of such caucuses exploded reflecting the broad ideological, regional, industrial, and legislative interests of Members and pushed the number of unofficial Member groups to nearly 50, with participation by more than 400 Representatives by the end of the decade.[1088]

The proliferation of such unofficial entities was no doubt spurred on by the rise of "single-issue" voters outside Congress

and a desire by newer Members inside the institution for opportunities to affect policy—opportunities their committee assignments and junior status did not afford them. Unofficial caucuses helped Members join together in common legislative purpose and demonstrate to constituencies their interest in, and advocacy for, particular issues.

Many unofficial groups also filled a legitimate need that existed among less senior Members for information about policy and the legislative schedule. While party and committee leaders always knew what was occurring in the chamber, such information was not always available to, or shared widely with, the rank-and-file. While in previous eras, junior Members of Congress might have been content to wait quietly for leaders to issue them marching orders, the new breed of Members elected in the 1970s wanted to know about, and be involved in, legislative activities at a high level. Unofficial caucuses like DSG and the House Wednesday Group kept Members informed on complex policy issues and helped prepare them for action in committee and on the floor. As one Member observed:

> Caucuses were formed to fulfill needs Members felt were not otherwise being met. Overall, caucuses . . . have strengthened the House and enabled Members to more efficiently carry out their official duties.[1089]

One newspaper account noted this rapid increase in the number and diversity of such unofficial Member groups in the institution, observing:

> Caucuses are a recent phenomenon on Capitol Hill. . . . there are caucuses for women and Hispanics, shipyards and steel, textiles and coal. There are caucuses for solar energy, mushrooms, the arts, jewelry manufacturers, the Irish, the Sun Belt, New Englanders, westerners, civil servants, senior citizens, suburbia, rural America, liberal Republicans and conservative Republicans, and Democrats of every stripe.[1090]

Some of the caucuses and unofficial groups which formed in the 1970s were small and loosely structured—nothing more than voluntary associations of like-minded House Members, having no staff, office space, or budget. Others were large and well organized, employing separate staff, creating and distributing legislative analyses and other material, and occupying space in the House office buildings.

While caucuses and other unofficial entities had arguably formed in response to a legitimate need, as informal entities, not provided for in chamber rules, they raised a number of difficult questions which cried out for clarification. Of concern to many was that fact that the activities of some unofficial groups were paid for with a mix of official House funds supplied by Members' dues and, money from outside special interest groups and individuals.

Both the standing rules of the House and federal law barred individual Members of Congress from accepting money from corporations or trade groups interested in legislation; Caucuses, however, were not specifically barred from accepting outside funds. A similar loophole permitted unofficial caucuses to accept money from foreign governments, something Members of Congress clearly could not do as individuals.

The fact that some unofficial Member groups were financed by money from outside interests raised concerns that the groups might act as in-house "lobbying shops" which, in light of their physical proximity to Members and staff, could exercise (or appear to exercise), an unfair influence on the legislative process. One reporter raised just this potential appearance of conflict of interest, noting of one of the larger unofficial caucuses:

> The Travel and Tourism Caucus, for example, works as the eyes and ears of the tourist industry on Capitol Hill. House records show it received more than $480,000 during the last 18 months from the giants of that industry: Holiday Inns, Howard Johnson [Hotels], Pan American Airways, Eastern Airlines, Greyhound [Bus], Trailways Bus, Hilton

[Hotels], Sheraton [Hotels], Resorts International and Creaser's Palace Hotel among them.[1091]

Another observer argued that some unofficial Member organizations had become "lobbying groups financed by industry or special interests and thinly cloaked in the imprimatur of Congress."[1092]

In short, a proliferation of increasingly powerful but unofficial and unregulated Member groups were operating in multiple legal grey areas, areas the Committee on House Administration judged to have the potential to skirt the letter and spirit of House rules and federal law or, at the very least, create an appearance that might injure the reputation of the House and its Members.

1977: The Commission on Administrative Review

The first attempts by the Committee on House Administration to define the operating parameters of informal Member groups and caucuses occurred as an outgrowth of the work of the 1977 Commission on Administrative Review.

In 1976, Representative Wayne Hays, chairman of the Committee on House Administration, was accused of employing a woman on the professional staff of the Committee who did little or no work for her congressional pay. Chairman Hays eventually resigned his congressional seat over the scandal. Concern over these revelations involving the institution's "housekeeping" committee and over the operations of the chamber in other contexts contributed to the creation of a commission to investigate House administration and ethics issues.

On July 1, 1976, the House of Representatives voted 380-30 for H.Res. 1368, which established a Commission on Administrative Review. This resolution directed the Commission to make a complete review of the administrative operations of the House of Representatives, its personnel policies, accounting procedures, including Member allowances and record-keeping practices. The 15-member commission was chaired by Representative David R. Obey, and for that reason, the commission is often popularly referred to as the "Obey Commission."[1093]

The commission spent more than a year gathering data on a wide variety of aspects of the administration of the House, undertaking several surveys of Members and staff, and hiring an outside consulting firm to conduct another survey. As an outgrowth of the Obey Commission's study, a series of recommendations relating to unofficial member groups and caucuses was included in a larger package of reforms reported by the Committee on House Administration in a resolution, H.Res. 766, on September 20, 1977.[1094]

The primary goal of these recommendation was to institute accountability for the spending of taxpayer dollars by those unofficial groups receiving House funds. As recommended, any caucus of Members using publicly-financed resources of the House of Representatives or its Members, such as Clerk Hire funds, office space, or official equipment, and which also received monetary assistance from sources outside the House, would be required to file an annual report with the Committee on House Administration. Among other information, the report was to include a list of all receipts and disbursements aggregating $100 or more during the year and the names of all caucus employees.

The Committee's recommendation further provided that a caucus which met certain criteria could request certification as an official Legislative Service Organization (LSO). As a condition of receiving this certification, Member groups would be prohibited from receiving monetary or in-kind contributions from sources outside the House. Groups designated as LSOs would, however, be permitted to establish Clerk Hire accounts under the supervision of the Chief Financial Officer of the House. Members would also be allowed to allocate a portion of their Clerk Hire allowance to such accounts from which the salaries of LSO staff could be paid.

Ultimately, the proposed reforms contained in H.Res. 766 were never considered by the House because on October 12, 1977, by a vote of 160-252, the House rejected the procedural resolution which would have brought the reform package to the floor.[1095]

1979: First Successful Regulation of Unofficial Member Groups

While the Obey Commission reforms were not considered in 1977, the Committee on House Administration remained interested in addressing issues related to unofficial Member groups. On July 18, 1979, the Committee, acting on the recommendations of its Subcommittee on Accounts, adopted a committee order which promulgated the first successful regulations governing the conduct of House caucuses and unofficial groups. These regulations mirrored in part the Obey Commission recommendations previously reported by the Committee, but not acted upon by the House.

The Committee's July 18 order applied only to some unofficial groups, those which were designated as "Legislative Service Organizations (LSOs)," which the order formally defined as:

> . . . any organization, committee, commission, coalition, caucus or similar group consisting in whole or in part of Members of the House, designed primarily to provide legislative services and assistance to the members of such organization, which has no official status under the Rules of the House or of the majority or minority caucuses, but receives, directly or indirectly, support from the House of Representatives and such support shall include, but not be limited to, disbursements from a Member's Clerk Hire Allowance or Allowance for Official Expenses, office space controlled by the House Office Building Commission or furniture, supplies or equipment.[1096]

The Committee order established a monthly certification process whereby those working for LSOs and paid from a Member's Clerk Hire Allowance could only receive their salary if the identification of their LSO, the amount of their salary, their physical work location, the regular performance of their duties, and the relationship of the employee to any current Member of Congress, was certified each pay period by the Member chairing the LSO. The order further required each LSO to submit to the Clerk of the House a semi-annual report including the LSOs name, address, officers and employees, a summary of the funds received and disbursed by the organization during the reporting period, and a disclosure of the specific source or use of any receipts or disbursements in excess of $1,000.

1981: Additional LSO Reforms Enacted

In the 97th Congress (1981–1982), the Committee on House Administration Acted again to regulate LSOs. In early 1981, Committee Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins directed the Committee's professional staff to undertake a comprehensive study of Legislative Service Organizations, and to evaluate the efficacy of the regulations that had been adopted governing their conduct. In response to this directive, the panel's professional staff prepared a draft reform proposal which was circulated for comment on September 11, 1981, among committee members and among the LSOs themselves.

The committee's actions were prompted by continued concern, both on and off Capitol Hill, that not enough had been done to regulate LSOs or eliminate the appearance of impropriety in their operations. In the Fall, the Better Government Association, a private government watchdog group, released the findings of a four-month investigation of congressional caucuses which raised questions about possible violations of federal law and House rules by some groups. "By forming a caucus," said Peter Manikas, head of the association, "legislators are permitted to do everything that they are prohibited from doing by the House ethics code."[1097] In fact, the Better Government Association study documented that in 1980 alone, LSOs had raised more than a million dollars from corporations, private individuals, labor unions, and other sources and co-mingled those funds with taxpayer monies. In at least once documented case, an LSO has solicited and received donations from a foreign government.

In response to the work of the professional staff, at a regular business meeting on September 22, 1981, the Committee on House Administration formally established an Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Legislative Service Organizations. The

Ad Hoc Subcommittee was directed to look into questions about LSOs, particularly whether they were in compliance with the rules of the House, and whether a limitation or outright prohibition should be imposed on the receipt of outside money by such organizations. This sub-panel was made up of Representatives William R. Ratchford, Al Swift, and Gary A. Lee.

The Ad Hoc Subcommittee was directed by the full committee to complete its investigation within thirty days. The Members quickly discovered that while the belief was generally held among the LSOs and outside groups that the existing regulations were inadequate, there was no immediate consensus on what changes ought to be instituted. Some observers supported banning unofficial groups entirely. Others, including Representative Bill Frenzel, the ranking Member of the Committee on House Administration, argued that LSOs should be barred from receiving all private funds. In conducting their deliberations, the Ad Hoc Subcommittee received testimony from individual Members affiliated with LSOs, from the House Minority Leader, from representatives of outside good government groups and from the Chairman of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, all who expressed views on how to regulate non-official Member organizations.

Despite the initial wide disparity in views, the Ad Hoc Subcommittee was able to reach consensus on several core issues. On October 21, 1981, by voice vote, the Committee on House Administration adopted regulations based on its recommendations. Most significantly, these regulations codified the fundamental idea that LSOs, as their name implied, were groupings of Members voluntarily pooling their resources to pursue a common legislative goal. As such, the organizations were to be considered extensions of Members' offices, and be generally bound by the same rules and regulations governing Members' use of congressional financial allowances.

Under the 1981 regulations, LSOs would be forced to make an "irrevocable election," stating whether they intended to register or re-register as an LSO. Groups which did register as an LSO would have to cease outside fundraising and terminate all private support by January 1, 1982. If, on the other hand, an LSO wanted to continue to raise or accept private money, they would have to vacate the House office buildings and stop using congressional funds to pay staff.

The regulations, as adopted, also established stricter reporting requirements on LSO spending, lowering the threshold for disclosure to expenditures in excess of $200 during a reporting period and requiring quarterly, rather than biannual, filings.

In response to a letter from Chairman Hawkins announcing the new regulations, 25 of the 26 existing LSOs indicated they would elect to continue as LSOs under the new, stricter regulations.[1098]

Continuing Concerns in the 1980s About LSOs

Although the 1981 regulations were generally viewed as providing significant reform, as the 1980s wore on, concerns about LSOs continued among many Members both on, and off the Committee. Many concerns centered on the existing and potential future cost to taxpayers of LSO operations. In response to these concerns, the Committee on House Administration imposed a hard ceiling on the total number of LSOs it would permit to be registered with the House. One Member estimated this ceiling to be 30 LSOs.[1099]

Others Members remained worried about what they characterized as LSOs' potential to fragment policymaking and dilute the power of party leaders and the standing committee system. Still other Members focused their attention on developments which had occurred subsequent to, and in some instances, in response to, the adoption of the Committee's 1981 LSO regulations. While, as has been noted, most LSOs had chosen to re-register under the 1981 guidelines, and thus renounce the raising and receipt of private funds, several LSOs had created outside affiliated private institutes which did raise private money. Some were concerned that LSOs having a close affiliation with such outside private institutes might defeat one of the 1981 regulation's fundamental goals—to eliminate the co-mingling of public and private funds.

At a March 11, 1987 meeting of the Committee on House Administration, Chairman Frank Annunzio announced the formation of another Task Force on Legislative Service Organizations to review the regulations and procedures applicable to LSOs and to determine their effectiveness. The Task Force was directed to report back to the full Committee no later than September 1987 with any findings or proposed recommendations. Representatives Jim Bates, Mary Rose Oakar, and Pat Roberts were appointed to serve on the Task Force.[1100]

On September 16, 1987, the deadline for receiving the Task Force report was extended. A preliminary report was received by the full Committee in January 1988, and the final Task Force recommendations were submitted on September 14, 1988. Among the recommendations made, were that LSOs should file more complete disclosures of their expenditures, should file these disclosures on a monthly (instead of quarterly) basis, and should be assigned office space in House Annex II, instead of in the more desirable locations in the three main House office buildings.

In response, Chairman Annunzio instructed the Committee professional staff to prepare draft legislative language amending the 1981 regulations as suggested by the Task Force and to circulate the draft for comment among Members. No further action was taken by the full committee. According to that year's committee activity report, the task force report was "taken under advisement."[1101]

1990s: New Calls for Reform and New Regulations

As the 1990s dawned, Congress was beset by a string of high-profile institutional scandals, beginning in 1989 with the resignation of House Speaker Jim Wright, followed in 1990 and 1991 by allegations that a small group of Senators had improperly influenced federal regulators on behalf of a campaign contributor. Additional public scandals relating to management problems at the House Bank and the House Post Office received widespread media attention and led to the resignation of the House Sergeant at Arms and the House Postmaster. Against this backdrop, calls that the institutional entities and mechanisms of Congress, including LSOs, be subjected to examination and reform were heard both on and off Capitol Hill.

In light of these calls for change, another Committee on House Administration Task Force was created in 1990 to examine LSOs and report recommended reforms to the Committee. Included in the 1990 Task Force recommendations were that LSOs be audited annually by the General Accounting Office (since renamed the Government Accountability Office), that the services of House Information Systems (H.I.S.) services be made available to LSOs, that a study be conducted to determine how to provide retirement benefits to LSO staff, and end once and for all the practice of mingling public and private funds. The Task Force also suggested that the Committee on House Administration dedicate at least one staffer as a liaison to the LSOs. As with the 1987 Task Force, the full committee never acted on these proposals.

Still, calls for reform persisted, most notably from minority party members of the Committee on House Administration and the House. At a May 21, 1992 meeting of the full Committee on House Administration, Chairman Charlie Rose agreed to examine the operation of federally funded House caucuses after Republican Members on the panel asked for increased supervision of the groups.

Calls for reform were not limited to the Committee, however. On June 24, 1992, the House rejected an amendment to H.R. 5427, the FY 1993 Legislative Branch Appropriations bill, offered by Representative Pat Roberts, a Committee member and leading critic of LSOs, which would have prohibited the use of funds in Members' Clerk Hire and official expenses accounts to pay any of the costs of legislative service organizations. Representative Roberts argued that the 1981 LSO reforms, which tried to solve the problems at the time by making LSOs rely entirely on taxpayer (official) funds, had in fact, led to more spending of taxpayer dollars, and made some LSOs create closely-aligned private foundations which were still able to coordinate with LSO and co-mingle funds. Representative Roberts also expressed additional concerns that House rules relating to nepotism and dual employment of staff

did not apply to LSOs.[1102] Other Members expressed concern that some LSOs had established outside, interest bearing bank accounts in which they had deposited official funds, something Members were not permitted to do.[1103]

Although it rejected the Roberts amendment, a provision in the Joint Explanatory Statement accompanying the conference report for the FY 1993 Legislative Branch Appropriations bill approved by the House directed the General Accounting Office to develop "accounting standards and guidelines" for the House LSO "in cooperation with" the Committee on House Administration.

In February, 1993, Republicans on the Committee on House Administration again raised the issue of LSOs, asking Chairman Rose for detailed information on the progress of the new accounting standards for legislative service organizations (LSOs) which, by law, the General Accounting Office and the Committee were ordered to develop.[1104] In a letter to Chairman Rose, the ranking member of the Committee on House Administration, Representative Bill Thomas, along with Representative Pat Roberts, demanded "to know the structure, status, and timetable for development of the accounting standards."[1105]

Additional demands were made. Raising the issue of the interest-bearing accounts established by some LSOs, Representative Thomas, in a March 10 letter to Comptroller General Charles Bowsher, argued that "potentially millions of taxpayer dollars have been placed in reserve accounts without oversight. These reserve accounts may be lost unless a quick GAO review takes place."[1106]

In response to these repeated calls for reform, and after considerable study, based in part on the work of the 1992 Committee Task Force, on August 5, 1993, The Committee on House Administration adopted significantly stricter financial accounting rules for legislative service organizations and opened the door to annual audits of the groups by the General Accounting Office.[1107] As one journalist noted of the Committee's action:

> The voice vote to approve the new regulations and a new handbook for LSOs ended weeks of acrimonious debate between the executive directors of the taxpayer-funded LSOs and the bipartisan staff working on the new rules.[1108]

Under the new Committee regulations, LSOs had to file proposed budgets starting in January 1994, including a statement of purpose and a list of all employees and members. In addition, LSOs employees would immediately be subject to House ethics rules, and LSOs were henceforth required to conduct all of their financial activities through the House Finance Office, including payroll and expense vouchers. Finally, the new regulations instituted requirements directing the LSOs to file annual year-end statements disclosing cash-on-hand, expenses and receipts.

While these regulations constituted the House's strongest action to reform LSOs in over a decade, many Republicans on the Committee and in the House were not satisfied, calling for even stricter oversight, and increasingly, an outright ban on the use of taxpayer funds by LSOs.

1995: Republican Majority Eliminates LSOs

In the 1994 congressional elections, Republicans won a majority of seats in both chambers of Congress, ending four decades of Democratic House majority. As part of a sweeping series of institutional changes embraced by the new majority, the House Republican Conference voted in December 1994 to amend chamber rules in the upcoming 104th Congress (1995–1996) to prohibit taxpayer funding for LSOs. This recommendation was carried out as part of the opening day rules package adopted by the House.[1109]

On February 8, 1995, the Committee on House Oversight adopted formal regulations governing informal Member organizations created to pursue common legislative goals, organizations the Committee identified as Congressional Member Organizations (CMOs). Under these new provisions, CMOs had to register with the Committee on House Oversight by March 1, 1995 and each Congress thereafter.

Under the new structure, Members were still permitted to form caucuses and informal Member groups, but the entities would no longer be allowed to occupy separate House

office space or employ separate staff. Unlike LSOs, CMOs could not receive money from Member's official accounts, although they could, share some official resources. These requirement continue in force today.[1110]

According to a 1997 Committee account, the change made by the House relating to unofficial member groups reduced congressional "staff by 96 positions and [set] the course to return over $1 million to the U.S. Treasury."[1111]

Endnotes

1 See, for example: Nelson W. Polsby, "The Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 62, Mar. 1968, pp. 144–168; and David W. Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago: 1991.

2 These include, for example, the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress (78th–79th; 89th–90th and 102nd–103rd Congresses); Joint Committee on Congressional Operations (91st–95th Congresses); the House Select Committee on Congressional Operations (95th Congress); the Commission on Administrative Review (94th Congress).

3 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing for the Expenses of Certain Committees of the House of Representatives in the One Hundred Tenth Congress*, report to accompany H. Res. 202, 110th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 110-29 (Washington: GPO, 2007), p. 4.

4 H. Res. 988 (93rd Cong.).

5 The resolution is reprinted in: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Policies, Precedents, and Procedures Including Related Statistical Information (Jan. 1947–Jan. 1966)*, committee print, 89th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1965), p. 67.

6 Rep. Howard Smith, "Creating a Select Committee on Small Business," *Congressional Record*, vol. 111, Feb. 16, 1965, p. 2701.

7 Ibid.

8 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Policies, Precedents, and Procedures Including Related Statistical Information (Jan. 1947–Jan. 1966),* committee print, 89th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1965), p. 526.

9 See for example: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Regulations: Travel and Other Expenses of Committees and Members, January 1, 1970 (Revised)*, committee print, 91st Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1969), pp. 12–14 (Committee Studies and Investigations).

10 P.L. 91-510, 84 Stat. 1151, sec. 110 (Oct. 26, 1970).

11 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the Ninety-Seventh Congress*, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-990 (Washington: GPO, 1982), pp. 17–18.

12 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing for the Expenses of Investigations and Studies to be Conducted by the Standing and Select Committees of the House*, report to accompany H. Res. 115, together with Minority Views, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-11 (Washington: GPO, 1981), p. 168.

13 "Expenses of Committee on Armed Services," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Feb. 27, 1963, p. 3053.

14 "Committee on Banking and Currency," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Mar. 6, 1963, p. 3525.

15 "Section-by-Section Analysis of House Rules Resolution," *Congressional Record*, vol. 141, Jan. 4, 1995, p. 472.

16 S. Res. 479 (100th Cong.).

17 U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, *Organization of the Congress*, 79th Cong., 2nd sess., S. Rept. 79-1011 (Washington: GPO, 1946), p. 21.

18 Ibid., p. 20.

19 Ibid., p. 9.

20 Ibid., p. 20.

21 "Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946," *Congressional Record*, vol. 92, July 25, 1946, p. 10085.

22 P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 834, ch. 753, sec. 202 (Aug. 2, 1946).

23 P.L. 93-344, 88 Stat. 297 (July 12, 1974); and "Section-by-Section Analysis of House Rules Resolution," *Congressional Record*, vol. 141, Jan. 4, 1995, p. 472.

24 Provision is contained in: P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 834, ch.753, sec. 202 (Aug. 2, 1946). For additional information on the employment of committee staff, see chapter on employment of staff for committees and Members.

25 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing for the Expenses of Investigations and Studies to be Conducted by the Standing and Select Committees of the House*, report to accompany H. Res. 115, together with Minority Views, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-11 (Washington: GPO, 1981), p. 162.

26 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Oversight, U.S. Congress, *Providing Amounts for the Expenses of Certain Committees of the House of Representatives in the One Hundred Fourth Congress*, 104th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 104-74 (Washington: GPO, 1995), p. 6.

27 P.L. 103–283, 108 Stat. 1429 (July 22, 1994).

28 P.L. 104–53, 109 Stat. 519 (Nov. 19, 1995).

29 "Expenses of Committee on Armed Services," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Feb. 27, 1963, p. 3051.

30 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing for the Expenses of Investigations and Studies to be Conducted by the Standing and Select Committees of the House*, report to accompany H.

Res. 115, together with Minority Views, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-11 (Washington: GPO, 1981), p. 85.

31 Ibid., p. 2.

32 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the Ninety-Seventh Congress*, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-990 (Washington: GPO, 1982), pp. 17–18; "Providing for Expenses of Standing and Select Committees of the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 127, Mar. 25, 1981, p. 5228.

33 Ibid., p. 5238.

34 For press reports on the views of various Members regarding subsequent adjustments, see: Gabriel Kahn, "House Votes Overwhelmingly to Slash Committee Budgets, Staff by One-Third," *Roll Call*, Mar. 16, 1995, pp. 1, 18; Ethan Wallison, "Panel Chairmen Want 11% Increase, Conservatives Aghast; Hastert, Thomas Seek Compromise," *Roll Call*, Mar. 8, 1999, pp. 1, 20; Lauren W. Whittington and Ben Pershing, "After the Revolution, GOP Retreats on Cuts," *Roll Call*, Mar. 29, 2001, pp. 1, 24; and Suzanne Nelson, "House Panels Seek Big Funding Boosts," *Roll Call*, Mar. 12, 2003, pp. 1, 19. See also CRS Report RL32794, *House Committee Funding Requests and Authorizations, 104th–112th Congresses*, by Matthew Eric Glassman.

35 House Rule XI, clause 1(b)(1), which was first incorporated into the Rules under the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974, authorizes all committees to conduct investigations and studies and incur travel expenses in connection with them, eliminating the need for the related authorization columns. U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Ninth Congress,* compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, 108th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 108-241 (Washington: GPO, 2005), sec. 788.

36 "Rules of the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 133, Jan. 6, 1987, p. 7.

37 H. Res 5 (100th Cong.); and H. Res. 6 (104th Cong.).

38 "Rules of the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 141, Jan. 4, 1995, p. 462.

39 See for example: H. Res. 133 (109th Cong.), and "Providing Amounts for Continuing Expenses of Standing and Select Committees of the House From Apr. 1, 2005, Through Apr. 30, 2005," *Congressional Record*, vol. 151, Mar. 8, 2005, p. H1001.

40 H. Res. 91 (105th Cong.); and H. Res. 101 (106th Cong.).

41 H. Res. 387 (105th Cong.); and H. Res. 38 (106th Cong.).

42 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fifth Congress,* 105th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 105-850, Jan. 2, 1999 (Washington: GPO, 1999).

43 "Expenses of Committee on Armed Services," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Feb. 27, 1963, p. 3055.

44 P.L. 91-510, 84 Stat. 1150, sec. 110(c) (Oct. 26, 1970).

45 "Providing Funds for Committee on House Administration," *Congressional Record*, vol. 119, Mar. 20, 1973, p. 8632.

46 David W. Rohde, *Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1991), p. 31.

47 U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. *House Rules and Manual*, H. Doc. 94-663, 94th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1977), p. 468.

48 "Providing for Expenses of Standing and Select Committees of the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 127, Mar. 25, 1981, p. 5207.

49 "Rules of the House" [H. Res. 6 (104th Cong.)], *Congressional Record*, vol. 141, Jan. 4, 1995, p. 472.

50 Committee activity reports use the title *Committees' Congressional Handbook*. The document available on the Committee's website at this writing uses the title *Committee Handbook*. See http://cha.house.gov/handbooks/committee-handbook.

51 John E. Owens, "Extreme Advocacy Leadership in the Pre-Reform House: Wright Patman and the House Banking and Currency Committee," *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 15, April 1985, pp. 187–206.

52 Testimony of Wright Patman, *Justification for the Appropriation of the Committee on Banking and Currency*, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, unpublished hearings, 88th Cong., Feb. 7, 1963 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-No: 88 HHad-T.6), p. 1.

53 Authorizing resolutions and funding were handled separately for the Housing Subcommittee and the full Committee.

54 "Committee on Banking and Currency," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Mar. 6, 1963, p. 3523.

55 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Funds Authorized and Expended for Studies and Investigations by Standing, Special, and Select Committees of the House of Representatives,* 79th Congress through the 89th Congress, Jan. 1945–Dec. 1966, committee print, 89th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1967).

56 "Committee on Banking and Currency," *Congressional Record*, vol. 111, Feb. 24, 1965, p. 3425.

57 This consideration preceded the current omnibus resolution process. "Expenses for Studies and Investigations to be Conducted by the Committee on Education and Labor," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Mar. 6, 1963, pp. 3525–3531.

58 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Contracts, *Report of the Special Investigation into Expenditures During the 89th Congress by the House Committee on Education and Labor and the Clerk-hire Status of Y. Marjorie Flores (Mrs. Adam Clayton Powell),* 89th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 89-2349 (Washington: GPO, 1967).

59 H. Res. 198 (73rd Cong.).

60 "Committee on Un-American Activities," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Feb. 27, 1963, p. 3065.

61 "Committee on Un-American Activities," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Feb. 27, 1963, pp. 3063-3078.

62 The Committee's name was changed to Internal Security pursuant to H. Res. 89 (91st Cong.).

63 CRS Report 88-203 GOV, *Abolition of the House Internal Security Committee*, by Paul Rundquist, p. 13. See also the Ashbrook motion to recommit H.Res 267 (the annual committee funding resolution) with instructions: *Congressional Record*, vol. 121, Mar. 21, 1975, pp. 7921, 7924–7927.

64 2 U.S.C. § 57; H. Res. 457 was agreed to July 21, 1971, "Expenditures From Contingent Funds for Allowances to Members, Offices, and Standing Committees," *Congressional Record*, vol. 117, July 21, 1971, pp. 26446–26451, and enacted into permanent law by P.L. 92-184, 85 Stat. 636 (Dec. 15, 1971).

65 2 U.S.C. § 57. The Committee's jurisdiction also applies to all aspects of official mail of the House (2 U.S.C. § 59e; P.L. 101-520, Nov. 5, 1990 (104 Stat. 2278).

66 For example, on July 14, 2010, the committee adopted a resolution allowing funds from the MRA to be used for online advertisements (Committee Resolution #111-9).

67 This document superseded the *Guide to Equipment Software and Related Services*.

68 Directives were used by the Committee primarily from 1947 until 1972, when they were replaced by Committee Orders. These Orders are notifications to the House from the Committee of adjustments in Members' official allowances. The Committee was required to issue Orders in H. Res. 457, agreed to July 21, 1971, and enacted into permanent law by P.L. 92-184, 85 Stat. 636 (Dec. 15, 1971).

69 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the 94th Congress*, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 94-1790 (Washington: GPO, 1977), p. 3.

70 H. Res. 687 (85th Cong.) was agreed to by the House on Sept. 20, 1977. "Providing for District Office Space for Members of the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 123, Sept. 20, 1977, pp. 29962-29967. Its provisions were incorporated into P.L. 95-391, 92 Stat. 778 (Sept. 30, 1978).

71 Committee Order No. 30, Committee on House Administration, Jan. 3, 1977, in 2 U.S.C. § 57.

72 Committee Order No. 25, Committee on House Administration, Jan. 3, 1977, in 2 U.S.C. § 57.

73 Committee Order No. 29, Committee on House Administration, Jan. 3, 1977, in 2 U.S.C. § 57.

74 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the 95th Congress,* 95th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 95-1836 (Washington: GPO, 1979), p. 166.

75 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending the Rules of the House of Representatives,* report to accompany H. Res. 287, H. Rept. 95-212, Part II, 95th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington: GPO, 1977), pp. 1-2; "Providing for the Consideration of House Resolution 287, to Amend the Rules of the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 123, Mar. 2, 1977, pp. 5885-5953. Its provisions were incorporated into P.L. 95-94, 91 Stat. 668 (Aug. 5, 1977). An effort to reverse the prohibition was defeated later the same day.

76 Such items included those with a useful life in excess of the current term of the Member and with a residual value of more than $25 upon the expiration of the Member's current term.

77 To qualify for eligibility, each non-legislative support organization had to be approved by the Committee.

78 Committee Orders 35, 38, 39, and 40. These are reprinted within the notes for 2 U.S.C. § 57.

79 Committee Order No. 35. This Committee Order, as well as those in the following note, are reprinted within the notes for prior versions of 2 U.S.C. § 57.

80 Committee Orders No. 38, No. 39, and No. 40.

81 Committee Order No. 41, Committee on House Administration, Sept. 1, 1995, in 2 U.S.C. § 57.

82 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *First Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the 112th Congress*, 112th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 112-137 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 5.

83 P.L. 104-53, 109 Stat. 519 (Nov. 19, 1995).

84 U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 1996*, report to accompany H.R. 1854, 104th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 104-141 (Washington: GPO, 1995), p. 10.

85 Annual legislative branch appropriations bills with this language include P.L. 104-53 (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1996), P.L. 104-197 (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1997), P.L. 105-55 (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1998), P.L. 105-275 (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1999), P.L. 106-57 (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2000), P.L. 106-554 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2001), P.L. 107-68 (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2002), P.L. 108-7 (Consolidated Appropriations Resolution, 2003), P.L. 108-83 (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2004), P.L. 108-447 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2005), P.L. 109-55 (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2006), P.L. 110-161 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2008), P.L. 111-8 (Omnibus Appropriations Act, 2009), P.L. 111-68 (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2010), and P.L. 112-74 (Consolidated Appropriations Act,

2012). The two long-term Continuing Resolutions (also known as CRs) enacted during this period—including P.L. 110-5 (Revised Continuing Appropriations Resolution, 2007) and P.L. 112-10 (FY2011 Full-Year Continuing Appropriations Act)—continued this language from prior years.

86 81st Congress, Records of the Committee on House Administration, RG Group 233 (House of Representatives), National Archives, Washington, DC.

87 P.L. 81-118, 63 Stat. 222 (June 22, 1949).

88 P.L. 84-242, 69 Stat. 513 (Aug. 5, 1955).

89 P.L. 83-178, 67 Stat. 332 (Aug. 1, 1953), provided that the place of residence of Members within the districts they represent be considered home for income tax purposes, and that up to $3,000 in living expenses outside their congressional districts be tax deductible.

90 Committee Order No. 21, Committee on House Administration, June 1, 1975, in 2 U.S.C. § 57.

91 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Relating to Telephone and Telegraph Service and Clerk Hire for Members of the House of Representatives*, report to accompany HR. 4583, 81st Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 81-577 (Washington: GPO, 1949); and P.L. 81-121, 63 Stat. 264-265 (June 23, 1949).

92 P.L. 81-121, 63 Stat. 264-265 (June 23, 1949). Also, see letter from the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to the Committee addressing telephone and telegraph allowances, Apr. 20, 1949, 81st Congress, Records of the Committee on House Administration, RG Group 233 (House of Representatives), National Archives, Washington, DC.

93 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Committee on House Administration to Increase the Telephone and Telegraph Allowance for Members of the House of Representatives for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1951*, report to accompany H. Res. 218, 82nd Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 82-439 (Washington: GPO, 1951); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Telephone and Telegraph Service for Members of the House of Representatives*, report to accompany H.R. 3939, 82nd Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 82-4409 (Washington: GPO, 1951); "Congressional Record," May 10, 1951, vol. 97, p. 5229.

94 P.L. 82-42, 65 Stat. 47 (May 29, 1951).

95 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending the Act of June 23, 1949, as Amended, With Respect to the Accumulated Balances of Telephone and Telegraph Accounts of members of the House of Representatives*, report to accompany H.R. 8499, 82nd Cong., 2nd sess, H. Rept. 2469 (Washington: GPO, 1952); and "Telephone and Telegram Accounts of members of the House of House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, July 3, 1952, vol. 98, p. 9219; and P.L. 82-466, 66 Stat. 443, July 8, 1952.

96 "Removal of Monthly Limitations on Official Telephone Calls and Telegrams," *Congressional Record*, Feb. 24, 1953, vol. 99, p.1357–1358; and P.L. 83-6, 67 Stat. 5 (Mar. 10, 1953).

97 P.L. 84-422, 70 Stat. 31 (Feb., 1956); P.L. 85-289, 71 Stat. 614 (Sept. 4, 1957); P.L. 86-340, 73 Stat. 605 (Sept. 21, 1959); and P.L. 89-131, 79 Stat. 544 (Aug. 21, 1965).

98 H. Res. 161 was agreed to by the House on May 11, 1967. "Payment From the Contingent Fund of the House of Representatives for Official Office Expenses of Members of the House Incurred Outside the District of Columbia," *Congressional Record*, vol. 113, May 11, 1967, pp. 12325-12326. It was enacted into permanent law in P.L. 90-392, 82 Stat. 318 (July 9, 1968).

99 U.S. Comptroller General, Letter to Omar Burleson, Chairman, Committee on House Administration, Oct. 3, 1960, 86th Congress, Records of the Committee on House Administration; RG Group 233 (House of Representatives), National Archives, Washington, DC.

100 H. Res. 1270 (91st Cong.) was agreed to by the House on Dec. 2, 1970. "Telephone, Telegraph, and Radiotelegraph Allowances for Members, House of Representatives, and Resident Commission, Puerto Rico," *Congressional Record*, vol. 116, Dec. 2, 1970, pp. 39448–39449. It was enacted into permanent law in P.L. 91-665, 84 Stat. 1990 (Jan. 8, 1971).

101 Telephone time was translated to telephone "units" for purposes of the allowance.

102 Committee Orders 7, 9, 22, and 30. These are reprinted within the notes for 2 U.S.C. § 57.

103 Committee Order No. 22, Committee on House Administration, Jan. 3, 1975, in 2 U.S.C. § 57.

104 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the 100th Congress*, 100th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 100-1112 (Washington: GPO, 1988), pp. 52–56.

105 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Second Congress*, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 102-1083 (Washington: GPO, 1992), pp. 18–19.

106 Ibid., p. 25.

107 P.L. 84-421, 70 Stat. 31 (Feb. 27, 1956).

108 P.L. 80-197, 61 Stat. 366 (July 17, 1947).

109 P.L. 84-422, 70 Stat. 31 (Feb. 27, 1956).

110 See notes in former section 2 U.S.C. § 46b; H. Res. No. 1029, 89th Cong, Oct. 5, 1966; H. Res. 112, 90th Cong., Mar. 8, 1967, enacted into permanent law by P.L. 90-21, 81 Stat. 38 (May 29, 1967).

111 Memorandum issued by the Committee on House Administration on Aug. 13, 1957, 85th Congress, Records of the Committee on House Administration, RG Group 233 (House of Representatives), National Archives, Washington, DC.

112 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Regulations: Travel and Other Expenses of Committee and Members, April 1, 1974 (revised)*, p. 23.

113 "Providing an Additional Stationery Allowance for Members of the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, Oct. 2, 1963, vol. 109, p. 18585; made permanent by P.L. 88-454, 78 Stat. 550 (Aug. 20, 1964).

114 Committee Order No. 29, Committee on House Administration, Jan. 3, 1977, in 2 U.S.C. § 57.

115 H. Res. 318 was agreed to by the House on Sept. 27, 1951. "Electric Office Equipment for Members," *Congressional Record*, vol. 97, Sept. 27, 1951, pp. 12289-12292. It was enacted into permanent law in July 1952 (P.L. 82-471, 66 Stat. 470 (July 9, 1952)). The value of all equipment in each Member's office was limited to $1,500. Prior to 1951, office equipment was provided to Members from available supplies with no specific limitation on the value of such equipment in an office at any one time.

116 "Authorizing the Clerk of the House to Furnish Certain Electrical or Mechanical Office Equipment for the Use of Members," report to accompany H.J. Res. 206, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 162, (Washington, GPO: 1953), p 2.

117 "Congressional Office Equipment," *Congressional Record*, Mar. 16, 1953, vol. 99, p. 1990.

118 P.L. 83-10, 67 Stat. 7 (Mar. 25, 1953).

119 "Authorizing the Clerk of the House to Furnish Certain Electrical or Mechanical Office Equipment for the Use of Members," report to accompany H.J. Res. 206, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 162, (Washington, GPO: 1953).

120 P.L. 84-15, 69 Stat. 13 (Mar. 25, 1955); P.L. 84-420, 70 Stat. 30 (Feb. 25, 1956).

121 "History of the Committee on House Administration, 1946-1984," unpublished, Nov. 17, 1987, p. 60.

122 This method was established pursuant to authority in P.L. 84-420, 70 Stat. 30 (Feb. 25, 1956).

123 Audit report on House property for FY1959 from Frank Weitzel, Comptroller General of the U.S. to Chairman Omar Burleson, Oct. 20, 1960, 86th Congress, Records of the Committee on House Administration, RG Group 233 (House of Representatives), National Archives, Washington, DC.

124 H.R. 13929 (91st Cong.) was enacted into P.L. 91-139, 83 Stat. 291 (Dec. 5, 1969).

125 Decision of the Committee on House Administration, June 30, 1969. 91st Congress, Records of the Committee on House Administration, RG Group 233 (House of Representatives), National Archives, Washington, DC.

126 P.L. 91-139, 83 Stat. 291 (Dec. 5, 1969), which repealed, in part, P.L. 83-10, 67 Stat. 7 (Mar. 25, 1953).

127 Internal unnamed records, 92nd Congress, Records of the Committee on House Administration, RG Group 233 (House of Representatives), National Archives, Washington, DC

128 Committee Order No. 6, Committee on House Administration, May 1, 1973, in 2 U.S.C. § 57.

129 Committee Order No. 17, Committee on House Administration, Mar. 1, 1975, in 2 U.S.C. § 57.

130 The Committee's recommendations were contained in Order ADM 7800.5 of GSA, issued and effective on Aug. 11, 1967.

131 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the 100th Congress,* 100th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 100-1112 (Washington: GPO, 1988), pp. 40–43.

132 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the 97th Congress*, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-990 (Washington: GPO, 1982), pp. 27–31.

133 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the 100th Congress*, 100th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 100-1112 (Washington: GPO, 1988), pp. 19, 23, 31.

134 For a discussion of the early insistence of the House of its right to determine the compensation of its own officers and employees, see: Asher C. Hinds, *Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States* (Washington: GPO, 1907), vol. V, sec. 7241.

135 For additional information on staffing prior to 1946, see: Lindsay Rogers, "The Staffing of Congress," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 56, Mar. 1941, pp. 1–22.

136 George B. Galloway, "The Operation of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 45, Mar. 1951, p. 53.

137 Roger H. Davidson, "The Advent of the Modern Congress: The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 15, Aug., 1990, p. 367.

138 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *committee print, Policies, Precedents, and Procedures Including Related Statistical Information (Jan. 1947–Jan. 1966)*, committee print 89th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington: GPO, 1965), p. 44.

139 See, for example: Harrison W. Fox, Jr. and Susan Webb Hammond. *Congressional Staffs: the Invisible Force in American Lawmaking* (The Free Press, New York: 1977), pp. 12–32. See also Hammond's later surveys of studies on legislative staffing: "Legislative Staffs," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (May, 1984), pp. 271–317, and "Recent Research on Legislative Staffs," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Nov., 1996), pp. 543–576.

140 U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Tenth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian,

109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 109-157 (Washington: GPO, 2007), sec. 724.

141 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Policies, Precedents, and Procedures Including Related Statistical Information (Jan. 1947–Jan. 1966),* committee print 89th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1965).

142 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Regulations: Travel and Other Expenses of Committees and Members; Committee Studies and Investigations, Revision of Jan. 1, 1970,* committee print, 91st Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1969).

143 For examples, see: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Fourth Congress*, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 94-1790 (Washington: GPO, 1977); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Fifth Congress*, 95th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 95-1836 (Washington: GPO, 1979).

144 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Oversight, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fourth Congress,* 104th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 104-885 (Washington: GPO, 1997), pp. 37–38.

145 This language was also included in the FY2011 and FY2012 budget requests.

146 H. Res. 416 (89th Cong.). Made permanent by the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, FY1967, P.L. 89-545, 80 Stat. 369, sec. 103 (Aug. 27, 1966).

147 H. Res.420 (93rd Cong.). Made permanent by the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1974, P.L. 93-245, 87 Stat. 1079 (Jan. 3, 1974); 2 U.S.C. § 60g-2.

148 Mary Jacoby, "LBJ Interns Officially Get the Ax This Year But Members Who Haven't Maxed Out At 22 Slots Can Still Pay Summer Staffers," *Roll Call*, May 19, 1994, p. 10.

149 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Fifth Congress*, 95th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 95-1836 (Washington: GPO, 1979) p. 179.

150 The Senate agreed to S.Res. 219 (95th Congress), which established the Senate senior citizen internship program, on May 5, 1978.

151 U.S. Congress, House, *First Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, H. Rept. 112-137, 112th Congress, July 7, 2011 (Washington, GPO: 2011), pp. 20–21; and U.S. Congress, House, *Second Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, H. Rept. 112-360, 112th Congress, Dec. 30, 2011 (Washington, GPO: 2011), p. 8.

152 Enacted into permanent law by P.L. 96-536, 94 Stat. 3167, sec. 101(c) (Dec. 16, 1980), 2 U.S.C. § 92.

153 This language appears in the House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act, which repealed the earlier law (P.L. 104-186, 110 Stat. 1720, title I, sec. 104(e)(2), (Aug. 20, 1996) 2 U.S.C. § 92).

154 "Clerk Hire Allowance, House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 107, Mar. 15, 1961, p. 4059.

155 Testimony of Omar Burleson, Chairman of the Committee on House Administration, *Additional Employees Paid from a Member's Clerk Hire Allowance*, unpublished hearings, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Accounts, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., Mar. 27, 1968 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-NO: 90 HHad-T.19), p. 2.

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182 Ibid, p. VI.

183 "Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill," *Congressional Record*, vol. 32, Feb. 26 and 27, 1901, pp. 3071, 3098. This measure was necessary to overcome procedural barriers regarding the inclusion of new matter in a conference report and legislation on an appropriations bill.

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185 P.L. 104-186, 110 Stat. 1734, Aug. 20, 1996; U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Tenth Congress,* compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 109-157 (Washington: GPO, 2007), sec. 1095. Some of the provisions referenced formerly appeared in 2 U.S.C. § 85 to 88a, 90, 91, now repealed.

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203 Ibid, p. 27.

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205 P.L. 104-1, 109 Stat. 4 (Jan. 23, 1995); 2 U.S.C. § 1301 *et seq.*

206 The eleven laws originally included in the act are: The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (P.L. 90-202, 29 U.S.C. § 621 et seq.); The Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-336, 42 U.S.C. § 12101 et seq.); Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P.L. 88-352, 42 U.S.C. § 2000e et seq.); The Employee Polygraph Protection Act of 1988 (P.L. 100-347, 29 U.S.C. § 2001 et seq.); The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (52 Stat. 1060, 29 U.S.C. § 201 et seq.); The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 (P.L. 103-3, 29 U.S.C. § 2611 et seq.); Chapter 71 (relating to Federal service labor-management relations) of Title 5 of the U.S. Code; The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-596, 29 U.S.C. § 651 et seq.); The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (P.L. 93-112, 29 U.S.C. § 701 et seq.); Chapter 43 (relating to veterans' employment and reemployment) of Title 38 of the U.S. Code; and The Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act (P.L. 100-379, 29 U.S.C. § 2101 et seq.).

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251 P.L. 91-510, 84 Stat. 1177, sec. 302 (Oct. 26, 1970).

252 "Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970," *Congressional Record*, vol. 116, July 15, 1970, p. 24483. The debate continues on July 16, 1970, pp. 24582–24590.

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290 These rulings included *Baker v. Carr* in 1962 (369 U.S. 186), which was extended to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1964 with *Wesberry v. Sanders* (376 U.S. 1).

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292 Committee Order No. 5, May 1, 1973; and Committee Order No. 16. These are reprinted within the notes for 2 U.S.C. § 57.

293 "Relating to Intern Programs and the Clerk Hire Allowance," *Congressional Record*, vol. 125, July 20, 1979, p. 19693.

294 P.L. 104-186, 110 Stat. 1720 (Aug. 20, 1996), 2 U.S.C. § 92.

295 Order No. 41, which is reprinted within the notes for 2 U.S.C. § 57.

296 P.L. 104-186, 110 Stat. 1720 (Aug. 20, 1996); 2 U.S.C. § 57a et seq.

297 "House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act," *Congressional Record*, vol. 142, Mar. 19, 1996, p. 5280.

298 See: *Regulations and Accounting Procedures for Allowances and Expenses of Committees, Members, and Employees of the House of Representatives*, July 1, 1979, p. 136, included in the U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Sixth Congress*, 96th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 96-1558 (Washington: GPO, 1981), p. 163.

299 Committee Orders 35, 38, 39, and 40. These are reprinted within the notes for 2 U.S.C. § 57.

300 63 Stat. 265, P.L. 121, ch. 238, sec. 4 (June 23, 1949).

301 P.L. 92-271, 86 Stat. 119 (Apr. 10, 1972).

302 P.L. 94-26, 89 Stat. 94 (May 27, 1975).

303 P.L. 95-556, 92 Stat. 2078, sec. 5 (Oct. 31, 1978).

304 P.L. 97-357, 96 Stat. 1711, Title IV, sec. 401 (Oct. 19, 1982).

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306 "Clerk-Hire Allowance for Members of the House of Representatives and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico [H. Res. 294]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 110, Aug. 14, 1964, p. 19710.

307 "Clerk Hire [H. Res. 7]," *Congressional Record*, vol. 111, Jan. 4, 1965, p. 21.

308 *Relative to Limitation of Compensation Paid to Certain Employees in Members' Offices*, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, unpublished hearing, May 19, 1965 (Congressional Information Service, Inc, CIS-NO: 89 HHad-T.17); and P.L. 89-90, sec. 103, July 27, 1965, 79 Stat. 281.

309 "Rules of the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 145, Jan. 6, 1999, H. Res. 5, p. 80. The modified provision is contained within: U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Tenth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 109-157 (Washington: GPO, 2007), sec. 1095.

310 P.L. 88-652, 78 Stat. 1079, sec. 2 (Oct. 13, 1964), 2 U.S.C. ch. 10.

311 The incumbent of this position formerly assisted Members of the minority party in vote pairing. For more information on the history of this position and vote pairing see: Clarence Cannon, *Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States* (Washington: GPO, 1935), vol. 8, pp. 625–638. The position has been eliminated, and the House Rule referring to vote pairing was amended in the 106th Congress. U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Tenth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 109-157 (Washington: GPO, 2007), sec. 1015.

312 *Personnel Matters*, unpublished hearing, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, 89th Cong., June 15, 1966 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-NO: 89 HHad-T.8), pp. 124–125.

313 Lewis Deschler, *Deschler's Precedents of the United States House of Representatives* (Washington: GPO, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 199–200.

314 Clarence Cannon, *Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States* (Washington: GPO, 1935), vol. 5, pp. 964–965.

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317 Ibid.

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319 Thomas Stanley, to Mary Norton, Chairwoman of the Committee on House Administration, Aug. 24, 1950, Employment files, HR84A-F8.14, 84th Congress, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233; National Archives, Washington, DC.

320 Samuel Friedel, Committee on House Administration, to Ralph Roberts, Clerk of the House, May 10, 1955, Employment files, HR84A-F8.14, 84th Congress, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233; National Archives, Washington, DC.

321 See, for example: H.R. 7683 (85th Cong.); H.R. 988 (86th Cong.); H.R. 1244 (87th Cong.); H.R. 6135 (87th Cong.); and H.R. 13236 (87th Cong.).

322 "Classification of Certain Positions Under House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 110, Oct. 2, 1964, p. 23686.

323 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Classification of Certain Positions Under House of Representatives*, 88th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 88-1771 (Washington: GPO, 1964).

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325 "Classification of Certain Positions Under House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 110, Oct. 2, 1964, p. 23687.

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327 P.L. 88-652, 78 Stat. 1079 (Oct. 13, 1964), 2 U.S.C. ch. 10.

328 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Accounts, *Comparative Analysis of Existing Law (Public Law 88-652) with H.R. 12606, H.R. 12688, and H.R. 13239*, committee print, 89th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1966).

329 *To Amend the House Employees Position Classification Act,* unpublished hearing, Committee on House Administration, 89th Cong., Mar. 22, 1966 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-NO: 89 HHad-T.11), p.19.

330 Ibid., p.7.

331 *Personnel Matters*, unpublished hearing, Committee on House Administration, 89th Cong., June 15, 1966, (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-NO: 89 HHad-T.8), p. 125.

332 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the Ninety-Sixth Congress,* 96th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 96-1558 (Washington: GPO, 1981), p. 192.

333 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the Ninety-Ninth Congress*, 99th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 99-1028 (Washington: GPO, 1987), p. 70.

334 FY1996 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, P.L. 104-53, 109 Stat. 522 (Nov. 19, 1995).

335 P.L. 106-554, sec. 1(a)(2) [title I, sec. 102(b)], Dec. 21, 2000, 114 Stat. 2763, 2763A-100.

336 U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Tenth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 109-157 (Washington: GPO, 2007), sec. 724.

337 The Speaker had exercised the power of appointment since at least Jan. 15, 1874, when the House agreed to add the following addition to the Rules of the House: "The appointment and removal of the official reporters of the House shall be vested in the Speaker; and, in addition to their other duties, the reporters of the House proceedings and debates shall prepare and furnish for publication a list of the memorials, petitions, and other papers, with their

reference, each day presented under the rule," *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*, Jan. 15, 1874, 43rd Cong., 1st sess., p. 242. On that day, Speaker James Blaine of Maine indicated that he would appoint the "existing reporters, and will consider that the power of removal is only vested in him for cause, which he will have entered upon the Journal" and indicated his belief that appointments would continue across Congresses. "Official Reporters," *Congressional Record*, vol. 2, Jan. 15, 1874, p. 681.

338 "Administration of Official Reporters of Debates and of Committees Vested in Clerk," *Congressional Record*, vol. 124, Jan. 23, 1978, pp. 431–432.

339 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as Amended, so as to Extend the Benefits of Such Act to the Official Reporters of Debates in the Senate and Persons Employed by Them*, 80th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 80-456 (Washington: GPO, 1947).

340 H. Res. 732 (82nd Cong.); and H. Res. 739 (82nd Cong.).

341 *Pending Matters*, U. S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, unpublished hearing, 85th Cong., May 14, 1958 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-No: 85 HHad-T.46), p. 5.

342 H. Res. 568 (85th Cong.).

343 "Basic Compensation of Expert Transcribers," *Congressional Record*, vol. 105, Mar. 13, 1959, p. 4096.

344 *Basic Compensation of the Clerk to the Official Reporters of Debates, and Assistant Clerks and Clerk of the Official Committee Reporters*, unpublished hearing, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, 86th Cong., Aug. 5, 1959 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-No: 86 HHad-T.29); and "Official Reporters of Debates and Official Committee Reporters," *Congressional Record*, vol. 105, p. 16198.

345 H. Res. 995 (90th Cong.)

346 H. Res. 1241 (91st Cong.). Compensation figures after the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 appear higher because the act required that they be stated at a single per annum gross rates (P.L. 91-510, 84 Stat. 1193, title IV, sec. 471 (Oct. 26, 1970); 2 U.S.C. § 331).

347 "Relating to Compensation of Clerks to Official Reporters of Debates," *Congressional Record*, vol. 116, Dec. 1, 1970, p. 39342.

348 H. Res. 865 (91st Cong.); and H. Res. 13 (93rd Cong.).

349 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing Pay Comparability Adjustments for Certain House Employees Whose Pay Rates are Specifically Fixed by House Resolutions,* 92nd Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 92-65 (Washington: GPO, 1971).

350 H. Res. 703, and H. Res. 900 (94th Cong.).

351 "Providing Salary Adjustments for Official Reporters of Debates and Official Reporters to Committees," *Congressional Record*, vol. 122, Sept. 30, 1976, pp. 34107–34108.

352 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing Amounts from the Contingent Fund of the House for the Expenses of Investigations and Studies by Certain Committees of the House in the First Session of the 103rd Congress*, 103rd Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1993); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Second Congress*, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 102-1083 (Washington: GPO, 1992); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred First Congress*, 101st Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 101-1005 (Washington: GPO, 1991).

353 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Oversight, Report to Accompany H.R. 2739, *the House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act*, 104th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 104-482 (Washington: GPO, 1996).

354 The regulations are now included in the *Committees' Congressional Handbook*. These regulations formerly appeared in the "Regulations and Accounting Procedures for Allowances and Expenses of Committees, Members, and Employees" document which was issued by the committee. Many of these were reprinted in the biennial *Report on Activities of the Committee on House Administration* (for examples, see U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Fourth Congress* , 94th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept.94-1790 (Washington: GPO, 1977) p. 56; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Fifth Congress*, 95th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 95-1836 (Washington: GPO, 1979) p. 86).

355 34 Stat. 1365, ch. 2918 (Mar. 4, 1907), 2 U.S.C. § 2001 et seq. The commission consists of the Speaker and two other appointed members, traditionally the Majority and Minority Leaders.

356 35 Stat. 578 (May 28, 1908); 2 U.S.C. § 2004 et seq.

357 41 Stat. 1291, ch. 124 (Mar. 3, 1921).

358 Asher C. Hinds, *Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States* (Washington: GPO, 1907), vol. 4, p. 838.

359 U.S. Congress, Committee on Accounts, *Changes in the Lobby of the House*, report to accompany H. Res. 322, 56th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 56-2643 (Washington: GPO, 1901).

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362 U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Tenth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, H. Doc. 109-157, 109th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 2007), sec. 724.

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366 "There's Some Movement, Here," *Roll Call*, Dec. 21, 1978; and "Rules and Procedures Governing the Selection and Assignment of Suites in the House Office Buildings," *Congressional Record*, Mar. 25, 1980, vol. 126, p. 6599.

367 Rule 3, "Rules and Procedures Governing the Selection and Assignment of Suites in the House Office Buildings," House Office Building Commission, Oct. 7, 1996, contained in letter from Superintendent of House Office Buildings Robert R. Miley to Members on Nov. 7, 1996. U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Tenth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, H. Doc. 109-157, 109th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 2007), sec. 1114.

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369 P.L. 103-69, 107 Stat. 712, sec. 312 (Aug. 11, 1993).

370 "Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1995," *Congressional Record*, vol. 140, May 26, 1994, p. 12000.

371 P.L. 104-53, 109 Stat. 537, sec. 307 (Nov. 19, 1995).

372 U.S. Congress, House Office Building Commission, "Rules and Procedures Governing the Selection and Assignment of Suites in the House Office Buildings," Sept. 26, 2008.

373 Statement of James Eagen, Chief Administrative Officer of the House, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Oversight Hearings on Capitol Security, Emergency Preparedness and Infrastructure Upgrades Since September 11, 2001*, hearing, 107th Cong. 2nd sess., Sept. 10, 2002 (Washington: GPO, 2003), p. 7.

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388 Authority for the Committee on House Administration to fix and alter allowances was granted in H. Res. (92nd Cong.) and made permanent by P.L. 92-184, 85 Stat. 636 (Dec. 15, 1971).

389 "Allowance for Rental of District Offices," Committee Order No. 1 (Revised), *Congressional Record*, vol. 118, Jan. 26, 1972, p. 1293; and 2 U.S.C. § 57.

390 "Change in Allowances for Members," Committee Order No. 12, *Congressional Record*, vol. 120, Mar. 5, 1974, p. 5357; and 2 U.S.C. § 57.

391 "House Administration Committee Reforms," Committee

Order No. 30, *Congressional Record*, vol. 122, June 30, 1976, p. 21624; and 2 U.S.C. § 57. The formula, as well as information on mobile office leases, examples of lease agreements, and a requirement that payment for commercial leases be issued at the end of each month, is contained in the committee publication "Regulations and Accounting Procedures for Allowances and Expenses of Committees, Members, and Employees," which was reprinted in: U.S. Congress, *Committee on House Administration, Report on Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Fourth Congress,* 94th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 94-1790 (Washington: GPO, 1977).

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397 Robert V. Remini, The House: *The History of the House of Representatives* (New York: Smithsonian Books in association with HarperCollins, 2006), p. 12.

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399 Chairman Omar Burleson, Committee on House Administration to Samuel Friedel, Committee on House Administration, July 18, 1963, Committee on House Administration, Special Subcommittee on Audit, 88th Congress, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233; National Archives, Washington, DC.

400 110th Congress, House Rule X, clause 1(j); 111th Congress, House Rule X, clause 1(j); 112th Congress, House Rule X, clause 1(k).

401 P.L. 472, 62 Stat. 151-152, ch. 169, sec. 115(b)(6) (Apr. 3, 1948).

402 P.L. 47, 63 Stat. 54, ch. 77, sec. 9(h) (Apr. 19, 1949).

403 P.L. 165, 65 Stat. 385, ch. 479, title V, sec. 527 (Oct. 10, 1951); and P.L. 402, 66 Stat. 150, ch. 449, sec. 9 (June 20, 1952).

404 Chairman Robert Chiperfield, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to Chairman Karl Le Compte, Committee on House Administration, Jan. 16, 1954; Committee on House Administration, HR83A-F8.2, 83rd Congress, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233, National Archives, Washington, DC.

405 P.L. 83-665, 68 Stat. 832 (Aug. 26, 1954), 22 U.S.C. § 1754.

406 P.L. 83-665, 68 Stat. 850, sec. 502 (Aug. 26, 1954).

407 See for example, H. Res. 319 of the 86th Congress, which permitted the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries to travel abroad to attend steamship conferences.

408 P.L. 85-477, sec. 401, 72 Stat. 268 (June 30, 1958).

409 *To Require Full Disclosure of Expenditures of Government and Counterpart Funds by Members of Congress Traveling in Oversea[s] Areas*, unpublished hearing, Committee on House Administration, 86th Cong., May 21, 1959 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-NO: 86 HHad-T.19), p. 3.

410 T*o Require Full Disclosure of Expenditures of Government and Counterpart Funds by Members of Congress Traveling in Oversea[s] Areas*, unpublished hearing, Committee on House Administration, 86th Cong., 1st sess., May 21, 1959 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-No: 86 HHad-T.19), p. 7.

411 *To Require Full Disclosure of Expenditures of Government and Counterpart Funds by Members of Congress Traveling in Overseas Areas*, unpublished hearing, Committee on House Administration, 86th Cong., 1st sess., June 30, 1959 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-No: 86 HHad-T.20), p. 18.

412 P.L. 86-472, sec. 401, 74 Stat. 138 (May 14, 1960).

413 P.L. 86-628, sec. 105, 74 Stat. 460 (July 12, 1960).

414 Participation in the North Atlantic Assembly (now NATO Parliamentary Assembly) was authorized in a law passed in 1956 (P.L. 689, 70 Stat. 523, ch. 562, sec. 1 (July 11, 1956), 22 USC § 1928a). Wayne Hays, in addition to his work on the Committee on House Administration, was a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and led the delegation to the assembly from its inception until 1976. Charlie Rose, who served as Chairman of the Committee on House Administration during the 102nd and 103rd Congresses (1991–1994), was also a long-time member of the congressional delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly. Information on authority for participation in other interparliamentary groups is found in Title 22 of the U.S. Code (Foreign Relations and Intercourse).

415 For discussion of the relationship between the Committee on Rules and the Committee on House Administration in authorizing and appropriating the use of funds, see the point of order made concerning the reporting of H. Res. 84 (88th Congress), which permitted overseas travel and use of counterpart funds by the Armed Services Committee, by the Rules Committee. "The Committee on Armed Services," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Jan. 31, 1963, p. 1547.

416 Consideration begins with: "Authorization for the Committee on Banking and Currency," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Jan. 31, 1963, p. 1547.

417 "Authorizing Committee on Agriculture to Conduct Studies and Investigations," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Feb. 18, 1963, p. 2463.

418 The eight committees limited to the United States were the Committees on Agriculture, Banking and Currency, District of Columbia, Education and Labor, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Judiciary, Post Office and Civil Service, and Veterans' Affairs. The Committee on Public Works was authorized to travel to Canada, and the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries was authorized to travel to the Panama Canal Zone. Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith, in response to a question from Emanuel Celler, did indicate that these committees could appear before his committee and ask for additional travel authority, which a few did. Rep. Howard Smith, "Committee on Banking and Currency," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Jan. 31, 1963, p. 1549; and H. Res. 510, 514, and 515 of the 88th Congress, for example).

419 These included the Committees on Armed Services, Foreign Affairs, Government Operations, Interior and Insular Affairs, and Science and Astronautics.

420 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing that Members of Congress Shall be Limited to Per Diem Allowances and Necessary Transportation Costs in Connection with Travel Outside the United States, and for Other Purposes*, report to accompany H.J. Res. 245, 88th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 236 (Washington: GPO, 1963), pp. 2–3. This included the Committees on Appropriations, House Administration, House Un-American Activities, Rules, and Ways and Means.

421 "Authorization for the Committee on Armed Services," *Congressional Record*, vol. 109, Jan. 31, 1963, p. 1547.

422 *Per Diem and Transportation Costs for Members of Congress*, unpublished hearing, Committee on House Administration, 88th Cong., 1st sess., Mar. 14, 1963 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-No: 88 HHad-T.56), p. 3.

423 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing that Members of Congress Shall be Limited to Per Diem Allowances and Necessary Transportation Costs in Connection with Travel Outside the United States, and for Other Purposes*, report to accompany H.J. Res. 245, 88th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington: GPO, 1963), p. 2.

424 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing that Members of Congress Shall be Limited to Per Diem Allowances and Necessary Transportation Costs in Connection with Travel Outside the United States, and for Other Purposes,* report to accompany H.J. Res. 245, 88th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 236 (Washington: GPO, 1963), p. 3.

425 See for example: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Regulations, Travel and Other Expenses of Committees and Members*, *Revision of Jan. 1, 1970,* committee print, 91st Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1969). For later versions, entitled "Regulations and Accounting Procedures for Allowances and Expenses of Committees, Members, and Employees," were reprinted in: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Reports on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration for the Ninety-Four, Ninety-Fifth, and Ninety-Sixth Congresses*, 94th Cong, 2nd sess.–96th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 94-1790, H. Rept. 95-1836, H. Rept. 96-1558 (Washington: GPO, 1977, 1979, and 1981).

426 P.L. 93-126, 87 Stat. 452, sec. 5 (Oct. 18, 1973).

427 P.L. 93-371, 88 Stat. 444, sec. 107 (Aug. 13, 1974).

428 H. Res. 988 (93rd Cong).

429 P.L. 94-59, 89 Stat. 299, sec. 1104 (July 25, 1975), 22 U.S.C. § 276c-1.

430 22 U.S.C. § 276c-1 note.

431 P.L. 94-350, 90 Stat. 833, sec. 402 (July 12, 1976) 22 U.S.C. § 1754.

432 P.L. 95-384, 92 Stat. 742, sec. 22 (Sept. 26, 1978). The Speaker of the House may designate a Member or employee to travel on official business pursuant to House Rule I, clause 10. U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Ninth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, H. Doc. 108-241, 108th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 2005), sec. 636. This clause was adopted in the 94th Congress (H. Res. 5, Jan. 14, 1975), Ibid.

433 "Rules of the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 123, Jan. 4, 1977, p. 54.

434 "Providing for Consideration of House Resolution 287, to Amend the Rules of the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 123, Mar. 2, 1977, p. 5941.

435 House Rule X, clause 8, 109th Congress. U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Ninth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, 108th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 108-241 (Washington: GPO, 2005), sec. 769.

436 Drew Pearson, "Lame Ducks Also Flying South," W*ashington Post*, Dec. 5, 1948, p. M29. See also, for example: Editorial, "Duty Above All," *Washington Post*, Nov. 17, 1964, p. A16; Associated Press, "Lame Duck Junkets Hit," *Washington Post*, Jan. 19, 1973, p. A14; and Chicago Tribune Press Service, "Lame Duck Junkets Still Safe," *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 9, 1973, p. A12.

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440 U.S. Congress. Committee on House Administration. *Regulations—Travel and other Expenses of Committees and Members,* January 1, 1970 (Revised), committee print, 91st Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1969).

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443 For example, see: Dear Colleague letter of Aug. 3, 1995; Reprinted in: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fourth Congress*, 104th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 104-885 (Washington: GPO, 1997), p. 55.

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447 For example, according to the committee activity reports and Dear Colleague letters, new rates were effective Feb. 1, 2007, Mar. 19, 2008, Aug. 1, 2008, Jan. 1, 2009, Jan. 1, 2010, Jan. 3, 2011, and Apr. 12, 2012.

448 Committee Resolution # 111-6, *Voucher Documentation Standards*, Oct. 21, 2009.

449 Franking privileges were also given to Members of the national legislature prior to the adoption of the Constitution. The first such privilege was granted to Members of the First Continental Congress in 1775.

450 Act of Congress, Feb. 20, 1792, ch. 7, 1 Stat. 232 (1792).

451 For example, Act of Congress, Apr. 9, 1816, ch. 43, 3 Stat. 264 (1816), granted the franking privilege to the Members thirty days prior to and thirty days after each session of Congress.

452 For example, Act of Congress, Mar. 3, 1825, ch. 64, 4 Stat. 102 (1825), limited franked mail to documents 2 ounces in weight or less.

453 For example, Act of Congress, Mar. 2, 1799, ch. 43, 1 Stat. 733 (1799), which extended the franking privilege to various executive officers of the federal government.

454 For example, in 1863 Congress abolished the franking privilege for former Members. Act of Congress, Mar. 3, 1863, ch. 71, 12 Stat. 701 (1863).

455 Act of Congress, Jan. 31, 1873, ch. 82, 17 Stat. 421 (1873).

456 Act of Congress, June 23, 1874, ch. 456, 18 Stat. 231 (1874).

457 Act of Congress, Jan 12, 1895, ch. 23, 28 Stat. 601 (1895).

458 Letter of Timothy J. May, General Counsel, Post Office Department, Dec. 26, 1968 and Letter of David A. Nelson, Senior Assistant Postmaster General and General Counsel, Aug. 12, 1971, reprinted in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, *Law and Regulations Regarding Use of the Congressional Frank*, committee print, 92nd Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1971), pp. 5–7.

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462 S. Con. Res. 139, May 14, 1986; P.L. 104-197, 110 Stat. 2401, sec. 311, Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, FY1977.

463 P.L. 101-163, 103 Stat. 1052, Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, FY1990; P.L. 101-520, 104 Stat. 2279, sec. 311(c), Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, FY1991.

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465 H. Res 224, Apr. 27, 2005.

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537 H. Res. 423 specified that the Director be paid the same rate as an elected officer of the House. The Director was to be appointed by the Speaker, Majority Leader, and Minority Leader, subject to removal by the House or the Speaker.

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704 "Public Bills, Resolutions, and Memorials," *Congressional Record*, vol. 53, part 8 (May 4, 1916), p. 7438. See also, "National House May Vote By Power Method," *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 8, 1916, p. 6.

705 U.S. Congress, House Committee on Accounts, *Electrical and Mechanical System of Voting*, hearing on H. Res. 513, 63rd Cong., 2nd sess., July 31, 1914 (Washington: GPO, 1914), p. 9.

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707 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Accounts, *Electrical and Mechanical System of Voting*, report to accompany H. Res. 223, 64th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 940, part 1 (Washington: GPO, 1916), p. 2.

708 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Accounts, *Electrical and Mechanical System of Voting*, report to accompany H. Res. 223, 64th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 940, part 2 (Washington: GPO, 1916), p. 2.

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711 U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, *Organization of Congress*, hearings pursuant to S. Con. Res. 2, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., May 10, 17–19, 27, 1965, June 2, 1965, Aug. 10, 16–17, 1965 (Washington: GPO, 1965), pp. 6, 12, 37–38, 198, 244–245, 247–250, 283, 290, 293-295, 518, 525–526, 529–534, 1494–1497, 1600–1601, 1611–1615, 1617.

712 Meeting, Records of the House Democratic Caucus, Minutes of Jan. 9, 1969, container 2, folder 5, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

713 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment, *Computer System-Vote Recording Procedures*, unpublished hearing, 91st Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 1, 1969, p. 4.

714 In the 86th Congress (1959–1960) the Committee on House Administration renamed the Subcommittee on Office Equipment as the Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment. The Subcommittee on Office Equipment had been created during the 84th Congress (1955–1956).

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716 U.S. Congress, House Committee on Rules, *Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970*, report to accompany H.R. 17654, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 91-1215 (Washington: GPO, 1970).

717 "Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970," *Congressional Record*, vol. 116, part 19 (July 27, 1970), pp. 25818–25829.

718 "Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970," *Congressional Record*, vol. 116, part 19 (July 27, 1970), p. 25818.

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725 David S. Broder, "The House: A New Era," *Washington Post*, Feb. 18, 1973, p. B6.

726 "Seating of Members," *Congressional Record*, vol. 50, part 1 (Apr. 7, 1913), pp. 68–69. The assigning of seats in the House of Representatives was abolished during the 63rd Congress (1913–1914).

727 "Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970," *Congressional Record*, vol. 116, part 19 (July 27, 1970), p. 25825.

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729 "Call of the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 119 part 2, (Jan. 23, 1973), p. 1793.

730 Letter from Wayne L. Hays, chairman, Committee on House Administration, to Melissa L. Hogan, contract administrator, Control Data Corporation, Mar. 27, 1973, located at the Center for Legislative Activities, National Archives and Records Administration.

731 Letter from Wayne L. Hays, chairman, Committee on House Administration, to O.M. McCall, marketing representative, Control Data Corporation, Oct. 1, 1974, located at the Center for Legislative Activities, National Archives and Records Administration.

732 The number of voting stations in the House of Representatives has been placed at between 44 and 47 by various sources since 1973. In committee prints published in 1972, 1975, 1977, and 1982, the Committee on House Administration listed 44 voting stations. See U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *The Electronic Voting System for the United States House of Representatives*, committee print, 97th Cong. 2nd sess., Aug. 30, 1982 (Washington: GPO, 1982), p. 2. Currently, the clerk of the House reports that there are 46 voting stations. See U.S. Congress, House Select Committee to Investigate the Voting Irregularities of August 2, 2007, *Member Briefing on Voting in the House of Representatives—The Rostrum and the Electronic Voting System: A "Walkthrough" by the Clerk of the House Lorraine C. Miller*, unpublished hearing, 110th Cong., 1st sess., Oct. 18, 2007, p. 7.

733 "Electronic Voting in the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 118, part 27 (Oct. 13, 1972), p. 36006.

734 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *The Electronic Voting System for the United States House of Representatives,* committee print, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., Aug. 30, 1982 (Washington: GPO, 1982), p. 4.

735 Ibid.

736 Pursuant to Rule XX, cl. 2 (a), the minimum time for a recorded vote or quorum call is 15 minutes, except as authorized under Rule XX, cl. 8 or cl. 9, or Rule XVIII, cl. 6, where the Speaker (or chairman in the Committee of the Whole) may reduce to five minutes the minimum time for electronic voting on any question arising without intervening business after an electronic vote on another question if notice of possible five-minute voting for a given series of votes was issued before the preceding electronic vote.

737 Pursuant to Speaker's voting policies in effect since 1975, vote changes can be made electronically for the first 10 minutes of a vote. After 10 minutes, changes must be made using a teller card in the well. For votes of fewer than 15 minutes, changes can be made electronically at any time during the vote.

738 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *The Electronic Voting System for the United States House of Representatives*, committee print, 97th Cong. 2nd sess., Aug. 30, 1982 (Washington: GPO, 1982), p. 4.

739 The Committee on House Administration printed *The Electronic Voting System for the United States House of Representatives* in the 92nd Congress (Sept. 19, 1972), the 94th Congress (Jan. 31, 1975), the 95th Congress (Sept. 1, 1977), the 96th Congress (Apr. 15, 1979), and in the 97th Congress (Aug. 30, 1982). The committee has not printed this guidebook since the 97th Congress.

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741 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Oversight, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight*, 104th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 104-885 (Washington: GPO, 1997).

742 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-990 (Washington: GPO, 1982), p. 99.

743 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 99th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 99-1028 (Washington: GPO, 1986), p. 108.

744 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 100th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 100-1112 (Washington: GPO, 1988), pp. 73, 101.

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746 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration,* 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 109-752 (Washington: GPO, 2007), p. 21.

747 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 111-715 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 5.

748 Ronald Garay, "Implementing Televised Coverage of Sessions of the U.S. Congress, *Journalism Quarterly*, v. 55, Autumn 1978, p. 527. See also: U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Rules, *Broadcast Coverage of House Floor Proceedings: Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting to the Committee on Rules on H. Res. 875*, committee print, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., Feb. 23, 1976 (Washington: GPO, 1976), p. 3.

749 Rep. George Meader, "Televising Committee Hearings," *Congressional Record*, vol. 98, May 8, 1952, pp. A2836-A2837 (extension of remarks).

750 Newton N. Minow, John Bartlow Martin, and Lee M. Mitchell, *Presidential Television* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 107.

751 Rep. Samuel T. Rayburn, "Televising of Committee Hearings," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 98, Feb. 25, 1952, pp. 1334–1335.

752 U.S. Congress, House Committee on Rules, *Broadcast Coverage of House Floor Proceedings: Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting to the Committee on Rules on H. Res. 875*, committee print, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., Feb. 23, 1976 (Washington: GPO, 1976), p. 3. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, included a provision changing the *Rules of the House* to permit individual committees to allow broadcasts of their hearings. P.L. 91-510, 84 Stat. 1153-1155, sec 116 (Oct. 26, 1970).

753 U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, *Broadcasting House and Senate Proceedings: Interim Report on Congress and the Mass Media*, 93rd Cong, 2nd sess., S. Rept. 93-1275 (Washington: GPO, 1974), pp. 1–2; and U.S. Congress, *House Committee on Rules, Broadcast Coverage of House Floor Proceedings: Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting to the Committee on Rules on H. Res. 875*, pp. 1, 7.

754 U.S. Congress, House Committee on Rules, *Broadcast Coverage of House Floor Proceedings: Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting to the Committee on Rules on H. Res. 875*, p. 3.

755 U.S. Congress, House Committee on Rules, *Broadcast Coverage of House Floor Proceedings: A Supplemental Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting to the Committee on Rules on H. Res. 875*, p. 1. See also: U.S. Congress, House Committee on Rules, *Broadcast Coverage of House Floor Proceedings: A Second Supplemental Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting to the Committee on Rules on H. Res. 1502*, committee print, 94th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1976); Bruce F. Freed, "House Leadership Opposes Broadcast Plan," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 34, Mar. 20, 1976, p. 623; Bruce F. Freed, "Rules Panel Kills Plan to Televise Debates," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 34, Mar. 27, 1976, p. 690; and Donald Smith and Thomas P. Southwick, "Senate Likely to Outstrip House in Reforms," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 34, Nov. 27, 1976, pp. 3236–3237.

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758 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Sixth Congress*, 96th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 96-1558 (Washington: GPO, 1981), p. 7; and *Guide to Congress,* 5th ed., 2 vols. (Washington: CQ Press, 2000), v. 1, p. 482.

759 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Sixth Congress*, p. 7.

760 Quotes are found in: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Sixth Congress*, p. 7; *Guide to Congress*, 5th ed., 2 vols. (Washington: CQ Press, 2000), vol. 1, p. 482; and *Congress and the Nation: Vol. V, 1977–1980* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1981), p. 920.

761 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Sixth Congress*, p. 8.

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765 Ronald Garay, "Broadcasting of Congressional Proceedings," in Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Congress*, 4 vols. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), pp. 202–203.

766 Rep. Al Gore, "First Day of Televising of House Proceedings A Historic Occasion," *Congressional Record*, vol. 125, part 5 (Mar. 19, 1979), p. 5411.

767 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report of the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 108th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 108-816 (Washington: GPO, 2005), p. 23.

768 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration,* 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 109-752 (Washington: GPO, 2007), p. 23.

769 Ibid., p. 24.

770 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 110th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), p. 56; U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 111-715 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 43; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *First Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 112th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 112-137 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 31.

771 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *First Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 112th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 112-137 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 31. Clause 4(b) of House Rule XI states: "In addition, it is the intent of this clause that radio and television tapes and television film of any coverage under this clause may not be used, or made available for use, as partisan political campaign material to promote or oppose the candidacy of any person for elective public office." See, U.S. Congress, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States One Hundred Twelfth Congress*, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., H.Doc. 111-157 (Washington: GPO, 2011), § 807, p. 602.

772 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 111-715 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 7.

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774 60 Stat. 826 (Aug. 2, 1946).

775 34 Stat. 1365, ch. 2918 (Mar. 4, 1907); 35 Stat. 578 (May 28, 1908); 2 U.S.C. § 2001.

776 U.S. Congress, House Office of Inspector General, *Audit Report—Improvements are Needed in the Architect of the Capitol's Cost and Work Order Management Processes for House Office Buildings*, Report No. 98-AOC-10, Sept. 1, 1998, p. 3.

777 U.S. Congress, House Office of Inspector General, *Advisory Report on the Fire Protection Systems in the House Complex,* Report No. 02-HOC-02, Feb. 7, 2002; U.S. Congress. House Office of Inspector General, *Advisory Report on the Fire Protection Systems in the House Complex*, Report No. 00-HOC-02, May 1, 2000; and U.S. Congress, House Office of Inspector General, *General Fire Protection Systems Do Not Adequately Protect the House*, Report No. 98-HOC-20, Dec. 18, 1998.

778 Testimony of Robert Ney, *Oversight Hearings on Capitol Security, Emergency Preparedness and Infrastructure Upgrades Since September 11, 2001*, pp. 2–3.

779 Dear Colleague letter of Apr. 29, 2005, available on the website of the Committee on House Administration at [http://cha.house.gov/services/dear_cols.aspx], accessed Jan. 9, 2006.

780 U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Ninth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, H. Doc. 108-241, 108th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 2005).

781 The idea for a center dates at least to the mid-1970s, when the Architect of the Capitol issued *Toward a Master Plan for the United States Capitol*. Additional momentum came in the early 1990s, when the Architect was authorized to use funds to develop a design concept, and the United States Capitol Preservation Commission was established. Multiple attempts to authorize construction preceded appropriations eventually provided in 1998 (P.L. 105-277). For example, during the 104th Congress, bills were introduced in both the House (H.R. 1230) and Senate (S. 954) which would have authorized a Capitol Visitor Center, with one House hearing held on June 22, 1995. In the 105th Congress, bills were again introduced (H.R. 20, H.R. 4347, and S. 1508), with one House hearing held on May 22, 1997. During the FY2000 House and Senate legislative branch appropriations hearings, concern was raised about the Architect's projected construction schedule. On Mar. 3, 1999, another CVC bill (H.R. 962) was introduced, but no further action was taken.

782 The United States Capitol Preservation Commission was established under Title VIII of P.L. 100-696 (102 Stat. 4608-4609; 2 U.S.C. § 2081) in November 1988 for the purpose of providing for the improvements in, preservation of, and acquisitions (including works of fine art and other property display) for the United States Capitol.

783 U.S. Congress, Conference Committees, 1999, *Making Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1999*, conference report to accompany H.R. 4328, 105th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 105-825 (Washington: GPO, 1998), p. 590.

784 P.L. 106-57, 113 Stat. 427, Sept. 29, 1999. This language had been included in the Senate-reported version of the FY2000 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act (S. 1206).

785 Testimony of Robert Ney, Chairman of the Committee on House Administration, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Oversight Hearings on Capitol Security, Emergency Preparedness and Infrastructure Upgrades Since September 11, 2001*, hearings, 107th Cong., 2nd sess., Sept. 10, 2002 (Washington: GPO, 2003), p. 15.

786 U.S. Congress, *Capitol Visitor Center Act of 2008*, report to accompany H.R. 5159, 110th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 110-535 (Washington: GPO, 2008), pp. 13–14.

787 U.S. Congress, House, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the One Hundred Eleventh Congress*, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 111-715 (Washington: GPO, 2011), pp. 10, 16–17, 50–51.

788 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *The Capitol Visitor Center: The Visitor Experience*, hearing, Oct. 17, 2007 (Washington: GPO, 2008).

789 P.L. 110-161, Dec. 26, 2007, 121 Stat. 2252; P.L. 111-8, Mar. 11, 2009, 123 Stat. 831; P.L. 112-10, Apr. 15, 2011, 125 Stat. 103 (by reference to P.L. 111-68); and, P.L. 112-74, Dec. 23, 2011, 125 Stat. 1136.

790 Dear Colleague letters of Oct. 10, Oct. 23, and Oct. 29, 2008.

791 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *The Construction of the United States Capitol: Recognizing the Contributions of Slave Labor*, hearing, Nov. 7, 2007 (Washington: GPO, 2008).

792 P.L. 110-139, 121 Stat. 1491, Dec. 18, 2007. See also: U.S. Congress, House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, *Designation of the Great Hall of the Capitol Visitor Center as Emancipation Hall*, report to accompany H.R. 3315, 110th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 110-436 (Washington: GPO, 2007); U.S. Congress, House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, Subcommittee on Economic Development, Public Buildings and Emergency Management, *Emancipation Hall: A Tribute to the Slaves Who Helped Build the U.S. Capitol*, hearings, 110th Cong., 1st sess., Sept. 25, 2007 (Washington: GPO, 2007).

793 These efforts followed the work of the Slave Labor Task Force, including a hearing before the Committee on House Administration on Nov. 7, 2007, and the publication of the "History of Slave Laborers in the Construction of the United States Capitol," by William C. Allen, Architectural Historian, Office of the Architect of the Capitol, June 1, 2005, at the direction of S. Rept. 108-307, report to accompany the FY2005 Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill (S. 2666) available at: http://artandhistory.house.gov/art_artifacts/slave_labor_reportl.pdf. U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Directing the Architect of the Capitol to Place a Marker in Emancipation Hall in the Capitol visitor Center Which Acknowledges the Roles that the Slave Played in the Construction of the United States Capitol, and for Other Purposes*, report to accompany H.Con.Res. 135, 111th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 111-153 (Washington: GPO, 2009). Other legislation was also introduced (S. Res. 53, S. Con. Res. 24, H. Con. Res. 125).

794 "Providing for Design of Slave Labor Marker in Capitol Visitor Center," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 155, part 100 (July 7, 2009), pp. H7719-H7721, and "Directing the Architect of the Capitol to Place a Marker in Emancipation Hall in the Capitol Visitor Center," *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 155, part 103 (July 10, 2009), p. S. 7372.

795 U.S. Congress, *First Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, H. Rept. 112-137, 112th Congress, July 7, 2011 (Washington, GPO: 2011), p. 12.

796 For a list of these statues and additional information, see: http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/index.cfm. A map is available at: http://www.visitthecapitol.gov/brochures/pdfemancipation_hall.pdf, p. 4.

797 U.S. Congress, House, *Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States*, vol. 5 (Washington: GPO, 1907), sec. 7244, note 3.

798 Robert Mills, *Guide to the Capitol of the United States, Embracing Every Information Useful to the Visiter* [sic] (Washington: 1834), pp. 6, 64. The "Rules and Regulations" are also found in: Clyde Wilson and W. Edwin Hemphill, eds., *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*, 28 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959-2003), vol. X (1825-1829), pp. 386-387.

799 The dining room is discussed in the 1902 case of *Page v. District of Columbia* involving the managers of the House and Senate restaurants, who had been convicted for selling liquor in those establishments. The D.C. Appeals Court said: "These restaurants have been in use and operation for near a half century." *Page v. District of Columbia*, 20 App. DC. 475 (1902).

800 U.S. Congress, House, Special Committee Appointed in Pursuance of House Resolution 236, *Authority of the Committee on Accounts, House of Representatives*, 73rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1920 (Washington: GPO, 1934), p. 2. See also, John B. Ellis, *The Sights and Sounds of the National Capitol* (Chicago: Jones, Junkin & Co., 1869), p. 112.

801 "House Restaurant," *Congressional Globe*, vol. 39, part 1 (Dec. 4, 1867), p. 27; "Sale of Liquor in the Capitol," *Congressional Record*, vol. 7, part 1 (Dec. 4, 1877), pp. 10–11; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Rules, *House Restaurant*, 50th Cong., 1st sess., Mis. Doc. 65 (Washington: GPO, 1888); [Report from the Committee on Accounts], *Congressional Record*, vol. 37, part 6 (Apr. 25, 1904), p. 5581. In 1877, Speaker Samuel J. Randall stated on the House floor that his "immediate predecessor declined to exercise the right of appointing the keeper of the House restaurant and handed it over to the care of the Committee on Buildings and Grounds," and he also had declined to make the appointment as well. "Sale of Liquor in the Capitol," *Congressional Record*, vol. 7, part 1 (Dec. 4, 1877), p. 10. On Apr. 25, 1904, the House approved H. Res. 356, which stated in part that the "privilege of conducting said luncheon rooms shall be granted by the Speaker of the House to such person or persons as he shall select, who shall be subject to removal by him and who shall be governed by such rules for the conduct of said luncheon rooms as he may prescribe." *House Journal*, 58th Cong., 2nd sess., Apr. 25, 1904 (Washington: GPO, 1904), p. 680.

802 "The House Restaurant," *Congressional Globe*, vol. 39, part 1 (Dec. 17, 1867), p. 232.

803 "House Restaurant," *Congressional Globe*, vol. 41, part 3 (Apr. 8, 1869), p. 644. Some of the problems associated with the House Restaurant are discussed in reports issued by the committee in 1894 and 1896; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, *House Restaurant*, report, 53rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 534 (Washington: GPO, 1894); and U.S. Congress, House ,Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, Additional Room for House Restaurant, report to accompany H. Res. 118, 54rd Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 74 (Washington: GPO, 1896). Also, at one point, the Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics was called upon to deal with a restaurant related matter. U.S. Congress, House Committee on Ventilation and Acoustics, *Ventilation of Dining Room, House of Representatives*, report to accompany Mis. Doc. 92, 52nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 2595 (Washington: GPO, 1893).

804 "House Restaurant," *Congressional Record*, vol. 38, part 3 (Apr. 2, 1904), p. 4199 ("In vogue" appears to refer to selection of the manager by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.); U.S. Congress, Committee on Accounts, *Restaurant of the House of Representatives*, report to accompany H. Res. 356, 58th Cong., 2nd sess, H. Rept. 2849 (Washington: GPO, 1904), pp. 1–2; and *House Journal*, 58th Cong., 2nd sess., Apr. 25, 1904 (Washington: GPO, 1904), p. 680.

805 "House Restaurant," *Congressional Record*, vol. 61, part 2 (June 2, 1921), pp. 2034–2035. See also: U.S. Congress, Special Committee Appointed in Pursuance of House Resolution 236, *Authority of the Committee on Accounts, House of Representatives*, report, 73rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1920 (Washington: GPO, 1934).

806 "House Restaurant," *Congressional Record*, vol. 62, part 1 (Dec. 22, 1921), pp. 706–709; "House Restaurant," *Congressional Record*, vol. 62, part 1 (Jan. 4, 1922), pp. 780–783; and U.S. Congress, House Committee on Accounts, *Control of the House Restaurant*, report to accompany H. Res. 254, 67th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 542 (Washington: GPO, 1922).

807 Initially, the Architect's responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the House restaurant was approved in H. Res. 590 (76th Cong.). "Operation of House Restaurant," *Congressional Record*, vol. 86, part 10 (Sept. 5, 1940), p. 11552. A month later, H. Res. 590 was made permanent in: 54 Stat. 1056-1057, sec. 208(a), Oct. 9, 1940.

808 60 Stat. 826, Aug. 2, 1946. The act further authorized and directed the Architect of the Capitol to prepare plans and submit them to Congress for remodeling several rooms in the Capitol and House and Senate office buildings, including the House Restaurants [60 Stat. 838. Aug. 2, 1946].

809 Rep. Clare Eugene Hoffman, "Food Facilities of the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, remarks in the House, vol. 100, part 11 (July 30, 1954), p. 14842.

810 See: Letter from Executive Vice President Nationwide Food Service, Inc., to Lyle Snader, Clerk of the House of Representatives, Dec. 10, 1954, 83rd Congress, file HR 84A-F8.8, Records of the Committee on House Administration, Records of the House of Representatives, Record Group 233, National Archives, Washington, DC. A copy of the survey is found in the same file.

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815 Rep. Omar Burleson, "Report of the Activities of the Committee on House Administration, 1st Session, 84th Congress," extension of remarks, *Congressional Record*, vol. 101, part 10 (Aug. 2, 1955), p. 13149.

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822 "Select Committee on the House Restaurant," *Congressional Record*, vol. 119, part 3 (Feb. 7, 1973), p. 3680.

823 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing Funds for Expenses Incurred by the Select Committee on the House Restaurant*, report to accompany H. Res. 202, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 93-60 (Washington: GPO, 1973), pp. 3–4.

824 "Providing Funds For Expenses Incurred by the Select Committee on the House Restaurant," *Congressional Record*, vol. 120, part 9 (Apr. 29, 1974), p. 12020.

825 "Committee Reform Amendments of 1974," *Congressional Record*, vol. 120, part 25 (Sept. 30, 1974), p, 32961; "Committee Reform Amendments," *Congressional Record*, vol. 120, part 26 (Oct. 8, 1974), pp. 34469–34470.

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827 "Committee Reform Amendments," *Congressional Record*, vol. 120, part 25 (Sept. 30, 1974), p. 32961; and "Committee Reform Amendments," *Congressional Record*, vol. 120, part 26 (Oct. 8, 1974), p. 34470.

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831 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Seventh Congress*, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-990 (Washington: GPO, 1982), p. 85. Regethermic systems allowed advance preparation of food items, which are then chilled until needed.

832 Ibid, pp. 85–86.

833 Ibid, pp. 86–87.

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841 Ibid, p. 50.

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843 Ibid, p. 103.

844 Ibid, pp. 102–103.

845 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 110th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), pp. 10–11.

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867 Two bills and one resolution were referred to the Committee on Government Operations. These measures dealt with federal government-wide recycling, which would have also included Congress. These measures were: H.R. 3952 (93rd Congress), H.R. 594 (94th Congress), and H. Con. Res. 397 (94th Congress). H. Con. Res. 397 was also referred to the Committee on House Administration. The Committee on Government Operations did not take further action on these proposals.

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870 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Requiring the Architect of the Capitol to Establish and Implement a Voluntary Program for Recycling Paper Disposed of in the Operation of the House*

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904 P.L. 102-486, 106 Stat. 3012, Title XIX (Revenue Provisions), sec. 1911 (Oct. 24, 1992).

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907 This transfer was authorized by the Architect of the Capitol Human Resources Act, a section of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1995 (P.L. 103-283, 108 Stat. 1423, July 22, 1994) pursuant to direction of the House Committee on Appropriations (U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 1995*, a Report to accompany H.R. 4454, 103rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 103-517 (Washington: GPO, 1994).)

908 P.L. 570, 60 Stat. 718 (July 31, 1946); 2 U.S.C. § 1961. The Capitol Police Board consists of the Architect of the Capitol, the House Sergeant at Arms, the Senate Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper, and the Chief of the Capitol Police (acting in an ex-officio, non-voting capacity).

909 The Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1997 transferred responsibility for the maintenance of security systems from the Architect to the Capitol Police Board and clarified the resulting delineation of responsibilities, effective Oct. 1, 1996 (P.L. 104-197, 110 Stat. 2413 (Sept. 16, 1996), 40 U.S.C. § 212a-4a).

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934 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report of the Activities of the Committee of the Committee on House Administration During the One Hundred Fourth Congress*, 104th Congress, 2nd sess., H. Rept. 104-885 (Washington: GPO, 1997), p. 10.

935 Juliet Eilperin, "Privatizing House Haircutting Shops: Getting Away from 'Blue-Hair' Image," *Roll Call*, July 13, 1995, p. 3.

936 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the One Hundred Fourth Congress*, 104th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 98-885 (Washington: GPO, 1997), pp. 21, 57–58. See also: Juliet Eilperin, "House Picks Barber Shop Proprietor," *Roll Call*, Aug. 7, 1995, p. 11; Kathy Kiely,.

937 Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2005, P.L. 108-447, Division G, Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2005, Title I—Legislative Branch Appropriations, House, sec. 105, 118 Stat. 3175-3176, Dec. 8, 2004.

938 These funds had been created in P.L. 93-554, 88 Stat. 1776, Dec. 27, 1974; P.L. 91-145, 83 Stat. 347, Dec. 12, 1969; and P.L. 812, 54 Stat. 1056, Oct. 9, 1940.

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943 Rep. Martha Griffiths, "Composition of a Select Committee on the House Beauty Shop," *Congressional Record*, remarks in the House, vol. 113, Dec. 6, 1967, p. 35143; "House Beauty Shop [H. Res. 1000]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1967*, 90th Cong. 1st sess., Dec. 6, 1967, p. 1324.

944 "Appointment of Select Committee on House Beauty Shop," *Congressional Record*, vol. 113, 90th Cong., 1st sess., Dec. 6, 1967, p. 35143.

945 Rep. Catherine May, "House Beauty Salon Back in Business," *Congressional Record*, extension of remarks in the House, vol. 113, Dec. 11, 1967, p. 35922. See also: Marie Smith, "Capitol Hill's Sleeping Beauty Wide Awake," *Washington Post*, Dec. 12, 1967, p. D1. The $15,000 advanced to the Committee from the House contingent actually constituted a loan which was to be repaid within a 18 months. $7,500 was repaid with the first year of the Committee's existence. The remainder was repaid on May 13, 1969. See: "Providing for Partial Repayment to Contingent Fund, House of Representatives, to Cover Certain Expenses of House Beauty Shop," *Congressional Record*, vol. 114, Oct. 10, 1968, p. 30560; and "Select Committee on House Beauty Shop," *Congressional Record*, vol. 115, May 13, 1969, p. 12331.

946 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriation Bill, 1970*, report to accompany H.R. 13763, 91st Cong. 1st sess., H. Rept. 91-487 (Washington: GPO, 1969), p. 8.

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950 Rep. Helen Meyner, "House Beauty Shop Employee Benefits," *Congressional Record*, remarks in the House, vol. 123, Nov. 1, 1977, p. 36302.

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953 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Seventh Congress*, 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-990 (Washington: GPO, 1982), p. 86.

954 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the Ninety-Eighth Congress,* 98th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 98-1173 (Washington: GPO, 1983), pp. 82.

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958 For quotes, see Rep. Mary Rose Oakar, "Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1991," *Congressional Record*, remarks in the House, vol. 136, Oct. 21, 1990, pp. 31691–31692. See also: "Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1991," *Congressional Record*, vol. 136, Oct. 21, 1990, pp. 31689–31695.

959 The appropriation is not itemized in Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1991, P.L. 101-520, 104 Stat. 2268, but the budget justification for 1992 indicates that $375,000 was provided for the revocation the Beauty Shop as part of the appropriations for the Architect of the Capitol under the House Office Buildings account. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Legislative Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1992: Part 1, Justification of Budget Estimates*, hearings, 102nd Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1991), pp. 671, 704.

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961 "Rules of the House [H. Res. 423]," *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1995*, 104th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 4, 1995, pt. 1, pp. 11–23.

962 U.S. Congress, House, Office of Inspector General, *Audit Report: The House Beauty Shop's Management Controls Do Not Adequately Safeguard Assets or Ensure Compliance with the Law*, Report

no. 95-CAO-21, July 18, 1995, p. 1; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report of the Activities of the Committee of the Committee on House Administration During the One Hundred Fourth Congress*, 104th Congress, 2nd sess., H. Rept. 104-885 (Washington, GPO, 1997), p. 10.

963 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the One Hundred Fourth Congress*, 104th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 98-885 (Washington: GPO, 1997), pp. 21, 57-58. See also: Juliet Eilperin, "House Picks Barber Shop Proprietor," *Roll Call*, Aug. 7, 1995, p. 11.

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965 These funds had been created in P.L. 93-554, 88 Stat. 1776, Dec. 27, 1974; P.L. 91-145, 83 Stat. 347, Dec. 12, 1969; and P.L. 812, 54 Stat. 1056, Oct. 9, 1940.

966 In 2009, the Chief Administrative Officer of the House signed a new agreement for operation of the House beauty salon with Tides LLC. Subsequently, the beauty salon was renovated. See U.S. Congress, Chief Administrative Officer of the House of Representatives, *CAO Semiannual Report: January–June 2009*, p. 13 at http://cao.house.gov/sites/cao.house.gov/files/2009-jan-jun-SAR.pdf.

967 John R. Hibbing, "Washington on 75 Dollars a Day: Members of Congress Voting on Their Own Tax Break," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 8, May 1983, p. 219.

968 P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 850, ch. 753, title VI, sec. 601 (Aug. 2, 1946).

969 P.L. 9, 69 Stat. 11 (Mar. 2, 1955).

970 Rep. Thomas (Tip) O'Neill, "Rules of the House," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 121, Jan. 14, 1975, p. 22. During the 110th Congress, this authority is noted in House Rule X, clause 1(j)(16). U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Tenth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, H. Doc. 109-157, 109th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 2007), sec. 724.

971 Rep. Robert Bauman, "Rules of the House," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 121, Jan. 14, 1975, p. 26.

972 Rep. Phillip Burton, "Rules of the House," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 121, Jan. 14, 1975, p. 26.

973 Julian E. Zelizer, *On Capitol Hill: The Struggle to Reform Congress and its Consequences, 1948–2000* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004), p. 183.

974 "Democrats Move to Strip Hays of Power," *Congressional Quarterly*, vol. 34, June 5, 1976, p. 1415.

975 Rep. Robert Michel, "Committee on House Administration Has Too Much Authority," *Congressional Record*, vol. 122, June 3, 1976, pp. 16491-16492.

976 Committee Orders 25-30 were issued on June 30, 1976 and addressed the allowance for airmail and special delivery stamps, the clerk hire allowance, the required use of a standardized voucher form, the telecommunications allowance, transportation and lump sum travel costs, and the transfer among certain allowances. "House Administration Committee Reforms," *Congressional Record*, vol. 122, June 30, 1976, pp. 21623-21624; and 2 U.S.C. § 57 notes.

977 P.L. 101-194, 103 Stat. 1716, sec. 704 (Nov. 30, 1989); and P.L. 95-521, 92 Stat. 1824 (Oct. 26, 1978).

978 "Congress Hikes Pay, Revises Ethics Law," *1989 CQ Almanac* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc, 1989), p. 51.

979 P.L. 101-280, 104 Stat. 149 (May 4, 1990); and H. Res. 423 (102nd Cong.). Section 11 directed that "The Committee on House Administration shall, in accordance with directives received from the Speaker, take such action as may be necessary to eliminate designated perquisites in the House."

980 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred and First Congress*, 101st Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 101-1005 (Washington: GPO, 1991), p. 78.

981 Ibid, p. 105.

982 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Second Congress*, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 102-1083 (Washington: GPO, 1993), p. 83.

983 P.L. 104-186, 110 Stat. 1718 (Aug. 20, 1996).

984 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Oversight, *A Report to Accompany H.R. 2739, the House of Representative Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act*, 104th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 104-482, (Washington: GPO, 1996), p. 30.

985 106 Stat. 5145-5146 (May 18, 1992).

986 P.L. 97-51, 95 Stat. 966 (Sept. 11, 1981). See also, for example: "Table 33-1. Federal Programs By Agency and Account," in *Analytical Perspectives, Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2012* (Washington: GPO, 2011), pp. 2, 3. Members of Congress received their salaries during the Nov. 14–19, 1995, and Dec. 16, 1995–Jan. 5, 1996, shutdowns. Numerous measures were introduced during the 104th Congress to prevent pay for Members of Congress in the event of a shutdown (H.R. 2281, H.R. 2639, H.R. 2658, H.R. 2671, H.R. 2373, H.R. 2855, H.R. 2828, H.R. 2882, S. 1220, S. 1428, S. 1480, and H. Con. Res. 113). These bills were referred to committee, and amendments were adopted in the Senate (to S. 1244, S. 1357, and S. 1396) but this provision was not enacted.

987 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *First Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Twelfth Congress Together with Minority Views,* 112th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 112-137, (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 20.

988 This act, as well as subsequent opinions of the Attorney General, memoranda from the Department of Justice Office of Legal Counsel (OLC), additional information on funding gaps, and historical developments and documents, are discussed in CRS Report RL34680, *Shutdown of the Federal Government: Causes, Processes, and Effects*, by Clinton T. Brass; CRS Report RS20348, *Federal Funding Gaps: A Brief Overview*, by Jessica Tollestrup; and CRS Report R41759, *Past Government Shutdowns: Key Resources*, by Jared Conrad Nagel and Justin Murray.

989 The FY1996 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, P.L. 104-53, was enacted on Nov. 19, 1995.

990 U.S. Congress, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight During the One Hundred Fourth Congress*, H. Rept. 104–885, 104th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1997), pp. 65-66.

991 U.S. Congress, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight During the One Hundred Fourth Congress*, H. Rept. 104–885, 104th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1997), pp. 67–70.

992 U.S. Congress, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight During the One Hundred Fourth Congress*, H. Rept. 104–885, 104th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1997), p. 72.

993 U.S. Congress, *First Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the One Hundred Twelfth Congress*, H. Rept. 112-137, 112th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 13.

994 17 Stat. 362 (June 10, 1872).

995 2 Stat. 129 (Jan. 26, 1802). The Joint Committee was composed of three Members of the House and three Members of the Senate.

996 Ibid.

997 18 Stat. 376 (Mar. 3, 1875).

998 H. Res. 43 (60th Cong.), agreed to by the House on Jan. 6, 1908.

999 H. Con. Res. 47 (73rd Cong.), agreed to by the House on Feb. 24, 1933. See: 47 Stat. 1784 (Feb. 24, 1933).

1000 Clarence Cannon, C*annon's Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States*, vol. VII (Washington: GPO, 1935), p. 850.

1001 Ibid.

1002 Charles E. Fairman, *Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States*, 69th Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 95 (Washington: GPO, 1927). 526 p.

1003 U.S. Architect of the Capitol, *Compilation of Works of Art and Other Objects in the United States Capitol*, prepared by the Architect of the Capitol Under the Direction of the Joint Committee on the Library 88th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 88-362 (Washington: GPO, 1965), p. v.

1004 U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, *Compilation of Works of Art and Other Objects in the United States Capitol*, H. Doc. 88-362, 88th Cong., 2nd sess., prepared by the Architect of the Capitol under the Direction of the Joint Committee on the Library (Washington: GPO, 1965), p. v.

1005 Research indicates the Committee on Accounts, predecessor of the Committee on House Administration, did not have jurisdiction over artwork in the Capitol and House office buildings. See: "Rules of the House of Representatives, First Session, Seventy-Ninth Congress," *Journal of the House of Representatives*," 79th Cong., 1st sess., 1945 (Washington: GPO, 1946), p. 821.

1006 P.L. 80-601, 60 Stat. 826 (Aug. 2, 1946).

1007 P.L. 80-601, 60 Stat. 838 (Aug. 2, 1946). Other Joint Committee members were the Chairman and four members of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

1008 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing Rotunda Ceremonies for Statue of Brigham Young*, report to accompany H. Con. Res. 184, 81st Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 81-1813 (Washington: GPO, 1960), p. 1.

1009 H. Con. Res. 350 (88th Cong.) was agreed to by the House on Aug. 20, 1964.

1010 Ibid., p. v.

1011 U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, *Compilation of Works of Art and Other Objects in the United States Capitol*, H. Doc. 88-362, 88th Cong., 2nd sess., prepared by the Architect of the Capitol under the Direction of the Joint Committee on the Library (Washington: GPO, 1965), 426 pp.

1012 P.L. 100-696, 102 Stat. 4611 (Nov. 18, 1988). The Board was also required to consult with the House Office Building Commission.

1013 P.L. 100-696, 102 Stat. 4611 (Nov. 18, 1988).

1014 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 101st Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 101-1005 (Washington: GPO, 1991), pp. 51–52.

1015 H. Res. 423 (102nd Cong.), agreed to by the House on Apr. 9, 1992.

1016 H. Res. 6 (104th Cong.), agreed to by the House on Jan. 4, 1995.

1017 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 101st Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 101-1005 (Washington: GPO, 1991), pp. 51–52.

1018 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 110th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), pp. 33–34. Portraits accepted in the 110th Congress were for Rep. James Nussle (Budget Committee), Rep. Eligio (Kika) de la Garza (Agriculture), Rep. Thomas Davis (Government Reform), Rep. Robert Goodlatte (Agriculture), Rep. Joe Barton (Energy and Commerce), and Rep. James Oberstar (Transportation and Infrastructure). Portrait funds were organized for Rep. Duncan Hunter (Armed Services), Rep. Jerry Lewis (Appropriations), Rep. Donald Manzullo (Small Business), Rep. Howard "Buck" McKeon (Education and Workforce), and Rep. Charles Rangel (Ways and Means).

1019 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 111-715 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 19. Accepted portraits were for former Rep. Duncan Hunter (Armed Services Committee), Rep. Jerry Lewis (Appropriations), Rep. Vernon Ehlers (House Administration), Rep. Buck McKeon (Education and Labor), Rep. Bart Gordon (Science and Technology), and Rep. Donald Manzullo (Small Business). The five portraits that were in progress were of Rep. Christopher Cox (Homeland Security), the late Rep. Tom Lantos (Foreign Affairs), Rep. Colin Peterson (Agriculture), Rep. Chris Smith (Veterans' Affairs), and Rep. Nick J. Rahall II (Natural Resources).

1020 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *First Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 112th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 112-137 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 15; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Second Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 112th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 112-360 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 7. Portraits were accepted for Rep. Collin Peterson (Agriculture), Rep. Edolphus Towns (Oversight and Government Reform), and Rep. Charles Rangel (Ways and Means). Requests for portraits were made for Rep. Ike Skelton (Armed Services), Spencer Bachus (Financial Services), Rep. John Mica (Transportation and Infrastructure), Rep. George Miller, and Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald (House Administration).

1021 P.L. 100-696, 102 Stat. 4608 (Nov. 18, 1988). Commission membership also consists of the Senate President Pro Tempore, the House Speaker, the chairmen and ranking members of both the Joint Committee on the Library and the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, the House and Senate Majority and Minority Leaders, and a House or Senate member appointed by either body to be co-chairman of the Commission, one Senator appointed by the President Pro Tempore, one Senator appointed by the Senate Minority Leader, one House Member appointed by the Speaker, and one House Member appointed by the House Minority Leader. The Architect of the Capitol serves as an ex-officio member.

1022 Ibid.

1023 U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Capitol Preservation Fund: Audit of Fiscal Years 2008 Through 2010 Transactions*, GAO-12-85R, Oct. 14, 2011 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 4.

1024 P.L. 106-57, 113 Stat. 427 (Sept. 29, 1999). P.L. 106-57 amended P.L. 105-277, 112 Stat. 2681-569, 570 (Oct. 21, 1998), which had required approval of the Committee on House Administration, Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, House and Senate Committees on Appropriations, and other "appropriate" committees, for the expenditure of funds made available to the Architect of the Capitol for the Capitol Visitor Center. The amendment required approval by the new Capitol Preservation Commission, in lieu of these committees.

1025 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundredth Congress*, 100th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 100-1112 (Washington: GPO, 1988), p. 28.

1026 P.L. 100-696, 102 Stat. 4612 (Nov. 18, 1988).

1027 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fifth Congress*, 105th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 105-850 (Washington: GPO, 1999), p. 16.

1028 U.S. Congress, Architect of the Capitol, *The National Statuary Hall Collection*, http://www.aoc.gov/cc/art/nsh/index.cfm.

1029 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 109-752 (Washington: GPO, 2007), pp. 12–13.

1030 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 110th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), p. 32.

1031 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 110th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), p. 32.

1032 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 110th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), pp. 32–33.

1033 H.R. 6336, 112th Congress.

1034 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration,* 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 109-752 (Washington: GPO, 2007), pp. 25–26, 39, 45–48, 55, and 58.

1035 P.L. 109-116, 119 Stat. 2524, Dec. 1, 2005.

1036 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 111-715 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 19.

1037 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 110th Cong., 2nd sess. H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), pp. 33–34.

1038 Portraits added to the collection were: John Quincy Adams, James Madison, Abraham Lincoln, Jeannette Rankin, Joseph H. Rainey, and Romualdo Pacheco. U.S. Congress, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration*, 110th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), p. 33.

1039 Rep. Steve Cohen, "Support More Diversity in the United States Capitol," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 157, daily edition (Mar. 30, 2011), p. H2049.

1040 H.R. 3368 (103rd Congress), introduced Oct. 26, 1993.

1041 Rep. Steve Cohen, "Support More Diversity in the United States Capitol," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 157, daily edition (Mar. 30, 2011), p. H2049. See also, Representative Steve Cohen, "Cohen Introduces Bill to Bring More Diversity to U.S. Capitol," press release, Apr. 1, 2011, http://cohen.house.gov/press-release/cohen-introduces-bill-bring-more-diversity-us-capitol.

1042 Del. Eni Faleomavaega, "Bill Permitting Each of the Territories of the United States to Provide a Statue to be Placed in Statuary Hall," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, daily edition, vol. 151 (Oct. 18, 2005), p. E2120.

1043 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Markup of H.R. 5493, H.R. 5711, H.R. 5681, H.R. 5682, H.R. 5717, and Two Committee Resolutions*, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., July 14, 2010 (Washington: GPO, 2010), pp. 31–48; U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *To Provide for the Furnishing of Statues by the District of Columbia for Display in Statuary Hall in the United States Capitol*, report to accompany H.R. 5493, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., July 22, 2010, H. Rept. 111-561 (Washington: GPO, 2010); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing for the Furnishing of Statues by the Territories of the United States for Display in Statuary Hall in the United States Capitol*, report to accompany H.R. 5717, 111th Cong., 2nd sess., July 30, 2010, H. Rept. 111-583 (Washington: GPO, 2010).

1044 "Authorizing Statues in Capitol for District of Columbia and Territories," *Congressional Record*, House debate, vol. 156, daily edition (Dec. 15, 2010), pp. H8492–H8495.

1045 "Public Bills and Resolutions," *Congressional Record*, vol. 157, daily edition (Oct. 5, 2011), p. H6624.

1046 Donald A. Ritchie, *The Young Oxford Companion to the Congress of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 141–142.

1047 The House appointed its first three pages, Charles B. Chambers, Edward Dunn, and John C. Burch in 1827. Ritchie, *The Young Oxford Companion to the Congress of the United States*, p. 141.

1048 U.S. Congress, House Select Committee on the Contingent Expenses of the House, *Report on the Contingent Expenses of the House of Representatives*, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 30 (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1842), p. 6.

1049 Ibid.

1050 Bill Severn, *Democracy's Messengers: The Capitol Pages* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1975), pp. 9, 33.

1051 *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to Congress*, 5th ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 2000), vol. 2, pp. 802–803.

1052 *Annals of Congress*, vol. 13, Dec. 27, 1803, p. 790.

1053 *Congressional Globe*, vol. 14, Jan. 17, 1845, p. 147.

1054 Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriations, FY1902, 31 Stat. 968 (Mar. 3, 1901).

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VIII. CAPITOL HILL SECURITY: PROTECTING CONGRESS AGAINST EVOLVING THREATS

Origins and Development

On May 14, 1800, the Congress of the United States met for the last time in Philadelphia. The second session of the Sixth Congress, scheduled to begin on the third Monday in November, would be held in the city of Washington. Eighteen months later, John Golding was hired as a night watchman for the Capitol grounds. Golding's authorization was limited. He could only "temporarily detain" persons "suspected of damaging or threatening to damage the property of the United States." A sustained detention required the assistance of the Marshall of the District of Columbia. By order of President James Monroe, the watchman at the Capitol in 1823 was reinforced by a detachment of U.S. Marines. The Marines, like the watchman, had to rely upon District of Columbia law enforcement officers to detain persons accused of criminal activity on federal property. In 1824, the first two bills to establish a Capitol police force were introduced in Congress, but Congress took no action on them. Three years later, President John Quincy Adams dismissed the Marines assigned to the Capitol and increased the number of Capitol watchmen to four. Legislation was passed in 1828 authorizing the presiding officer of each house of Congress to preserve peace and order to the Capitol grounds. This 1828 legislation is generally regarded as the foundation of the U.S. Capitol Police (USCP). By 1841, another member had been added to the Capitol police force, bringing the total to five.[1]

Not until March 1851 were the Capitol Police first mentioned as a specific expense of the House of Representatives. The first line item for the police appeared in an appropriation act a year later. During the next two decades from 1852 to 1872 the force grew from eight (officers and watchmen) to 40 (one captain, two lieutenants, 28 privates, eight watchmen, and one special policeman for the Senate). In 1861, when Congress created the Metropolitan Police Force for the District of Columbia, DC laws and regulations regarding the preservation of peace and order continued to be extended to Capitol Square, the existence of the Capitol Police notwithstanding.[2]

Congress instituted an important administrative change in 1873 by vesting authority for Capitol Police appointments with the House Sergeant at Arms, Senate Sergeant at Arms, and the Architect of the Capitol. These three officers would later become the Capitol Police Board, which continues to this day to be administratively responsible for the Capitol Police. A year later, the Capitol Police were given a new office near the rotunda of the Capitol. The *Revised Statutes* published in 1875 reaffirmed statutes that (1) specified how the members of the Capitol Police were to be appointed; (2) fixed the size and salaries of the force; (3) authorized the Captain of the Police to suspend a member of the force with the approval of the House Sergeant at Arms, Senate Sergeant at Arms, and Architect of the Capitol; (4) authorized the three above named officers to select and regulate the pattern of the Capitol Police uniform; (5) authorized the same three officers "to make such regulations as they may deem necessary for preserving the peace and securing the Capitol from defacement, and for the protection of the public property therein," and to arrest and detain violators of such regulations; and (6) extended the authority of the Capitol Police to include the Botanic Gardens.[3]

Within a year, however, the number of men on the force was reduced from 39 to 32; and the salaries of those retained were decreased as a consequence of an economic depression. Over the next several years the number of Capitol Police officers remained in the low 30s, except for a brief period during the election controversy over the popular and electoral vote in the 1876 presidential election between Samuel J. Tilden of New York and Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. At the time, 50 additional men were appointed "to serve as a special police at

the Capitol during the canvassing [counting] of the votes for President and Vice President." When the Capitol was enlarged in 1890 and 1891 additional police were added, bringing the force to 36. During the remainder of the 1890s the force grew fairly rapidly, reaching 67 by the turn of the century.[4]

Also, during the latter part of the 19th Century, Congress passed two important administrative statues relating to the Capitol Police. The first sought to prevent disturbances in the Capitol and preserve as well as protect the grounds by spelling out the specific duties of the Capitol Police and directing them to handle national occasions and celebrations at the Capitol. The second specifically authorized the Capitol Police Board to expend money for the first time.[5]

The first mention in law of separate police forces for the House and Senate, in addition to main Capitol Police force, appeared in a March 4, 1909, appropriations act, which provided funds for the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1910. The act included 18 positions each under the House and Senate Sergeants at Arms respectively, and 73 positions for the main force. The additional chamber positions were for policing the new House (Cannon) Office Building and new Senate (Russell) Office Building. With this enactment the total number of Capitol Police numbered 109.[6] Four years later, Congress reduced the size of the House force by seven, the Senate force by one, and main force by 35. Later in 1913, a deficiency appropriations bill added 15 additional positions to the main force to bring the total for fiscal 1914 to 81. The force for fiscal 1915 remained the same.[7]

Between 1915 and 1935, when Congress for the first time authorized the Capitol Police Board to establish a standard of qualifications for appointment to the force, the strength of the USCP grew from 81 to 133. Although the 1935 "limitations" bill did not "remove policemen" from patronage appointment, Louis Ludlow of Indiana, a member of the House Committee on Appropriations, explained during floor debate that it allowed "Members of Congress to say to applicants for policemen's jobs that it will be useless for them to apply unless they measure up to a certain standard of qualifications." The qualifications stipulated that an individual should be at least 21 and no older than 50, be at least 5 feet 7 inches in height, and weigh at least 145 pounds. A preference was to be given to those who had served in the military.[8]

Two years later, appropriators included language in the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1938, stipulating that an officer or member of the Capitol Police (including those in House and Senate Office Buildings) appointed after June 30, 1935, who did not meet the requirements prescribed for appointees by the Capitol Police Board, would not be paid. This provision became standard in subsequent appropriation bills. Also in 1937, legislation was passed that extended the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act of 1930 to the Capitol Police force. A year later, the Capitol Police Board was authorized to detail police from the House and Senate Office Buildings for duty on the Capitol Grounds. This provision was also included in later appropriation bills.[9]

In June 1940, nine months after the outbreak of World War II in Europe, Congress provided supplemental funds "to the Capitol Police Board to provide additional protection during the present emergency for the Capitol Buildings and Grounds, including the Senate and House Office Buildings and the Capitol Power Plant." The bill stipulated that these funds could "only be expended," however, "for payment for salaries and other expenses of personnel detailed from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service of the Treasury Department, and the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia." Similar language appeared in Legislative Branch appropriations bills passed in 1941-1946. The 1943-1946 acts also included a provision for the first time specifying that any persons detailed from the DC Metropolitan Police would retain their rank, pay, privileges, and benefits during the detail.[10]

Enactment of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945, assured USCP officers, as well as other legislative branch employees, that they would be paid for overtime, night, and holiday work, and provided for within-grade increases as well as payments for accrued annual leave. The Federal Employees Pay Act of 1946 increased the compensation for members of the force and other federal employees. A second act passed in

1946 defined the area of the Capitol Grounds under USCP jurisdiction; and spelled out the rules and regulations governing the Capitol grounds, the power of the Capitol Police, and authority of the Capitol Police Board.[11]

Committee on House Administration Assumes Oversight Responsibility

A number of the forgoing pieces of legislation originated with or were reported by the Committee on Accounts, which had been created on December 27, 1803, and made a standing committee in 1805. The jurisdiction of the Committee on Accounts included among other things, all subjects "touching the expenditure of the contingent fund of the House, [and] the auditing and settling of all accounts which may be charged therein to the House." Since the Capitol Police were historically paid out of the House contingent fund, the Capitol Police as well as other House employees, fell under the Committee's jurisdiction. At the beginning of the 80th Congress (1947–1948), when the Committee on House Administration was created as provided for in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, among the functions and jurisdictions it assumed were responsibility for "employment of persons by the House," and "expenditures of the contingent fund of the House."[12] During the first seven years of its existence, however, it neither considered nor was referred any legislation dealing with Capitol Police matters. Related legislation dealt primarily with appropriations issues and as a consequence was handled by the House Committee on Appropriations.

Proposal to Professionalize the Capitol Police. From 1801, when Congress acquired its first night watchman, through the 19th century and into the first half of the 20th century, members of the Capitol Police were selected through individual patronage. In 1954, however, five Representatives were wounded when three Puerto Rican nationalists using automatic weapons fired shots from the visitors' gallery down into the House chamber. Subsequently, Chairman Karl M. Le Compte introduced a bill to replace the patronage system with a merit-based system designed to create a more professional policy force. The bill proposed selecting police officers based on their fitness to perform the duties of their position, without regard to their political affiliation. The Committee's Subcommittee on Accounts held a hearing on the measure in June 1954 and favorably reported the measure on July 16.[13] The House passed the measure on July 29; but the Senate took no action, and the bill died at the close of the 83rd Congress.

Le Compte's bill called for uniform mental and physical standards, and established retirement age, work week, and uniform sick and annual leave policies. Other provisions called for a training program, and authorization for the Capitol Police to call upon all executive branch departments and agencies and the District of Columbia government to furnish police force services as requested by the Capitol Police Board. Also, all powers vested in the USCP were to be transferred to the Capitol Police Board.[14]

Establishment of a Merit System. Similar measures to establish the Capitol Police as a professional police force were introduced in 1963, 1965, and 1966–one measure in each of those years.[15] The first two were referred to the Committee but not reported. The third, H. Res. 796 (89th Congress, 1965–1966), ultimately resulted in the first step toward the establishment of a Capitol Police Force based on a merit system. Chairman of the Subcommittee on Accounts, Samuel N. Friedel of Maryland, the author of the resolution, served on the Committee on House Administration during his entire tenure as a member of the House (83rd–91st Congresses, 1953–1970), and as chairman of the full Committee for the 91st Congress. H. Res. 796, which was favorably reported by the Committee and approved by the House on June 29, 1966, authorized the establishment of 72 new Capitol Police positions (69 privates and three sergeants), "for duty under the House of Representatives." Previously, "all of the members of the Capitol Police force were political appointees" except for D.C. Metropolitan Police personnel detailed to the force.[16]

The previous March, prior to the introduction of H. Res. 796, Representative Paul Findley of Illinois had called for "sweeping changes in the Capitol Police system" following an attack on Representative James Cleveland of New

Hampshire on the evening of March 21, 1966, in his office in the Longworth House Office Building. In a House floor speech the next day, Findley declared, "no self-respecting village in America would put up with the so-called security system that is used in the House of Representatives." Capitol Police officers, he told his House colleagues, are not required to have professional training, and many "are college students who have no interest whatever in a police career. Almost all of them get—and keep—their jobs under an unbelievable system of personal patronage. Under it, senior Congressmen are each assigned a police position and given the privilege of selecting the person to fill it." As a consequence, "effective discipline" is impossible. "If superior police officers attempt to require standards or impose punishment for infractions, it is an easy matter for the officer involved to run to his patron for intercession. Although a number of the present officers are excellent—indeed superior—much of the force is indifferent, ineffective, unqualified, and of little security value." In order to improve the capability of the force, Findley urged that (1) the Capitol Police personnel system be abolished and "all policemen [be] selected on the basis of professional competence and aptitude," and (2) all present and new members of the force be required to complete successfully the six-week course at the Washington Metropolitan Police Academy.[17]

H. Res. 796 specified that the new appointments were to be "made by the Capitol Police Board, subject to the approval of the Committee on House Administration, without regard to political affiliation and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of the position." Compensation for these additional positions was to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives. In October 1966, additional funds were provided for the new policemen, and the provisions of H. Res. 796 became permanent law with their inclusion in the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1967.[18]

During the 90th Congress (1967–1968), the Committee created a Special Subcommittee on Police with jurisdiction over legislation relating to the number of positions and the salaries of the Capitol and Library of Congress police forces, jurisdictions formally held by the Subcommittee on Accounts. The Subcommittee on Accounts, however, retained primary jurisdiction over the Capitol Police force.[19]

In May 1967, eleven months after authorizing 72 new nonpartisan Capitol Police positions for the House, the chamber acted upon the favorable recommendation of the Committee and authorized an additional 77 new positions (73 privates and four sergeants). Representative Samuel N. Friedel, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Accounts, introduced H. Res. 464 in the 90th Congress. Like its predecessor, H. Res. 464 required that the appointments be approved by the Capitol Police Board subject to the approval of the Committee. Compensation for the new positions was to be paid out of the House contingent fund. Representative Friedel saw H. Res. 464 as means for doing away with the "antiquated system of a 6-day workweek and putting policemen on a 5-day week." It was also a way to gain the additional police needed "for the new parking facilities soon to be opened south of the Rayburn and Longworth Building."[20] Together, the resolutions passed in 1966 and 1967 created 149 new, permanent, non-patronage Capitol Police positions.[21]

The effort to create a permanent nonpatronage Capitol Police force continued in 1968, when the Committee and the House approved an additional 62 permanent USCP positions for the House detail.[22] Prior to reporting the resolution to further increase the House force, however, the Subcommittee on Police held a hearing on several different personnel issues. The most delicate of these involved the approximately 29 percent of the force who were members of racial or ethnic minorities (24 held permanent and 30 patronage). The majority of those occupying patronage positions were students at Howard University who had been on the force for only three or four months. Recently, they had gone to the Chief of the Capitol Police and stated that they "wanted to elect a sergeant so they could get a fair shake." Chief James M. Powell advised them that he had "tried to be fair," and neither the Committee or the House Sergeant at Arms had "considered race, color or creed in any promotion." Altogether, Powell indicated that there were 131 members of the force occupying patronage

positions, while 142 held career positions. The dissent, he explained, was only coming from the minorities in patronage positions, and he was trying several things to resolve their concern. Other issues introduced by Chief Powell dealt with the need for additional personnel to fill security and administrative positions, and to allow for those already on the force to be able to use annual and sick leave. Also, the Capitol Police pay raise that became effective on July 1, 1968, still left Capitol Police salaries $1,300 lower than those of the Metropolitan Police.[23]

Two years later, the House authorized seven more Capitol Police positions,[24] and 214 additional positions in 1971. The latter resolution increased the House Police to 569. Among the new positions established were "several new categories of technical jobs, including those of dog handlers." In each instance, the Committee was responsible for reporting the resolutions. The latter of the three resolutions was introduced after a bomb was set off in the Capitol on March 1, 1971, arousing increased concern over the protection of the Capitol and other congressional office buildings.[25]

In order to accommodate the additional security needs resulting from the acquisition of a former Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) building at Second and D Streets SW (first called House Office Building Annex No. 2 and then the Gerald R. Ford House Office Building), the Committee approved a resolution in 1975 which authorized an additional 73 Capitol Police positions under the House. These new positions included 53 privates, seven technicians, three detectives, seven sergeants, two lieutenants, and one captain. The House passed the resolution, and it was subsequently incorporated into permanent law as part of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1976.[26]

Subsequent Committee action in 1977 led to the creation of two new Capitol Police positions—General Counsel to the Chief of the Capitol Police and a Deputy Chief of the Capitol Police. Previously, "the U.S. Attorney's office, the Department of Justice, the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia, and in some instances the legal counsels of several committees had been helpful in advising the Chief of the Capitol Police on legal problems." Since none of these agencies or individuals were in a "position to view the entire operation of the Capitol Police force," the "committee felt that it would be more desirable to have a counsel to the Chief and to the Police Board, who would be directly responsible to them in matters pertaining to the operation of the Capitol Police force." Until April 1977, a member of the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police force served as Deputy Chief of the Capitol Police. The Committee felt, following the death of the officer who held that position, it was an appropriate time to designate a USCP officer to take his place, and at the same time reduce the number of Metropolitan Police assigned to the Capitol Police.[27]

The Committee continued its effort to make the Capitol Police into a nonpartisan independent force in 1979 when it approved Chairman Frank Annunzio's proposal to establish by law the position of Chief of Capitol Police, and to provide an equitable system for the assimilation of officers detailed to the force by the District of Columbia. Annunzio's bill made the Police Chief a congressional employee appointed by the Capitol Police Board, who served at the pleasure of the Board. Heretofore the position of Chief had been held by a member of the Metropolitan Police Department. The bill allowed for the continuation of incumbent Chief, James M. Powell, a 38-year veteran of the Metropolitan Police Department, who held the rank of Assistant Chief in the Department, and had served as Chief of the Capitol Police since 1965. Within two months after the bill was introduced it was signed into law by the President on December 20.[28]

Also in 1979, the Committee, as well as the full House, approved a resolution establishing 15 additional Capitol Police positions under the House, 10 of which would be used to provide security in the galleries and areas adjacent to the House chamber, in compliance with a recommendation of outside police experts including the Secret Service and the FBI. At the time, the security in the galleries was being provided by assignment of off-duty officers at overtime rates of pay. Four of the five remaining new positions were created "to provide technical expertise in the radio maintenance, vehicle

maintenance, and budget and finance control units of the police force." The other position filled "a vacancy created by the retirement of a Metropolitan Police inspector . . . assigned to the Capitol Police Force," who had commanded "all plain-clothes officers, including those officers providing security to the House and Senate Chambers."[29]

During the more than half century it has had jurisdiction over the Capitol Police, the Committee, in addition to being instrumental in establishing a nonpartisan merit system, has devoted considerable attention to a number of significant related issues.

Provision for Overtime Pay (1968). In 1968, the Committee reported an amended concurrent resolution (H. Con Res. 785, 90th Congress) authorizing additional pay for the members of the force when the Capitol Police Board determined an emergency existed that required longer hours on duty. The resolution passed both the House and Senate in the aftermath of civil disturbances in the District of Columbia triggered by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and subsequent demonstrations by anti-poverty demonstrations on Capitol Hill that necessitated additional working hours for many Capitol Police officers. H. Con Res. 785 was effective from June 28 through August 31, 1968.[30] Overtime pay was again approved in 1971, after anti-war protesters detonated a bomb "in a first floor men's room in the Senate side of the Capitol."[31]

Continuing security needs on Capitol Hill prompted Committee approval of a resolution in 1974 designed to rectify a situation in which a number of members of the Capitol Police had accumulated as much as six months of compensatory time for overtime duty. Prior to the passage of the resolution, members of the force were "compensated for overtime duty with an equal amount of time off (compensatory time)." The Committee noted, that "100,125 overtime hours [had] been accumulated [by] the men assigned to stations on the House side during the year 1973, with an average of four hours per week." The resolution proposed to correct the situation, as the Senate had already, by giving members of the House force the option of receiving compensation for overtime in lieu of time off.[32]

Emerging Security Challenges (1967–2000)

Beginning in the late 1960s changes in American politics and society posed new challenges for the Committee has it reflected on how best to protect the U.S. Capitol and Members of Congress.

Demonstration Preparedness Review (1967). In December 1967, following an announcement that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was planning a camp-in demonstration the following spring on Lafayette Square in Washington, the Subcommittee on Police held a hearing on the capability of the Capitol Police to deal with possible associated sit-in demonstrations on Capitol Hill.[33] The concerns expressed at that session were realized the following spring. On April 22, 1968, 39 people were arrested "on charges of unlawful assembly after they tried to hold an all-night vigil on the Capitol grounds." The protesters, which included "33 welfare mothers and six men, came from as far Los Angeles to voice their objection to recent welfare legislation and to honor the memory of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.," who had been assassinated three weeks earlier, on April 4, while standing on the balcony of his motel room in Memphis, Tennessee. A little more than a month later, 300 demonstrators of the Poor People's Campaign were denied admission to the House Visitors Gallery because they did not have the required gallery passes.[34]

Reaction to Capitol Bombing (1971). Early on the morning of March 1, 1971, "17 years to the day after Puerto Rican nationalists had shot up the U.S. House of Representatives, wounding five members of the House," an unidentified caller warned the Capitol switchboard that a bomb would go off in the building in 30 minutes. "This is the real thing," they warned. "This is in retaliation for the Laos decision." "Thirty-three minutes later, at 1:32 a.m., an explosion ripped through the ground floor of . . . the Senate (or north) wing, just opposite the Old Supreme Court chamber." In the aftermath of the bombing, the Committee held a hearing on proposals to improve security at the Capitol and surrounding buildings. Issues discussed at the session included providing "additional help for the Capitol Police force, possible instal-

lation of a closed circuit television system or other electronic device that would be required by the Police Board, provision for overtime compensation for the police who" worked during the March 1 emergency, and the "development of dog teams for the Capitol Police."[35]

Installation of Security Systems (1972). Following the Capitol bombing that caused about $300,000 in damage to the Senate wing of the building, the Special Subcommittee on Police conducted a year-long study of the Capitol security system. In March 1972, Subcommittee Chairman Kenneth J. Gray of Illinois, in behalf of the full Committee, reported a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 550, 92nd Congress) sponsored by Chairman Wayne Hays, and several other members of the panel, which authorized and directed the Architect of the Capitol "to procure and install security apparatus for the protection of the Capitol, including the procurement and installation of a video surveillance system, an intrusion system, and a parcel inspection system in the Capitol." During House debate on the resolution, Gray told House colleagues that since the "March 1, 1971 bombing, we had 31 bomb threats in the month of April," and "have had an average of 6 to 10 a month since that time. . . . I want to make it absolutely clear," Gray continued, "that we are not installing a peeping device in the Capitol building. We are installing device to protect the security of the building. No sound monitoring will be allowed." The concurrent resolution specified that the work was to be done under the direction of the Committee on House Administration and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, and the acquisition and installation of the systems should not exceed $3 million. The resolution was approved by the House and Senate shortly after being reported.[36]

Also in 1972, the Special Subcommittee on Police held a hearing on the establishment of stronger security measures for congressional offices following an incident in which a group of approximately 50 Washington, D.C. teenagers entered the office of Representative Pierre S. du Pont of Delaware in the Longworth House Office Building and "engaged boisterous and disorderly conduct, emptying the contents of [an] icebox on the floor, going through [the Member's] desk drawers, and emptying the contents of a staff member's pocketbook on the floor, and a ring and wallet were found to be missing." Although two plainclothes policemen and one uniformed policemen apparently followed the group to Representative du Pont's office and could see what was happening, according to a letter written to the Subcommittee by Du Pont, "they made no effort to detain any of the individuals nor any effort to search the individuals for the missing items, nor did they give the members of [his] staff any opportunity to identify those responsible for the acts of vandalism." The Chief of the Capitol Police, and other members of the force, in questioning by members of the Committee explained that they had lost many cases during the past few years in attempting to maintain order on Capitol Hill, and as a consequence individuals were only arrested following a solid complaint from a congressional office. In this case no such complaint was lodged until after the unruly group had already left the building.[37]

Reorganization of Capitol Police Supervisory Positions (1973). A study by the Special Subcommittee on the Police in 1973 resulted in a resolution introduced by Subcommittee Chairman Kenneth J. Gray to reorganize the supervisory positions of the Capitol Police under the House. The purpose of the resolution, which was approved by the House on June 4, 1973, was "to establish for the U.S. Capitol Police under the House a ratio of supervisory personnel to subordinates which [was] intended to create a more effective supervisory capacity for [the] force in the interests of a more effective police organization and greater security on Capitol Hill." The resolution provided for 32 promotions to the positions of inspector (2), captain (3), lieutenant (3), sergeant (20), and detective (4). Once the promotions were completed, a total of 47 private positions previously authorized for the House were to abolished.[38]

Security Enhancements Following Foreign Terrorist Attacks (1985–1986). The hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro in 1985 by four heavily armed terrorists representing the Palestine Liberation Front (PDF) in Egyptian

waters, and 1986 Libyan terrorist attacks against the United States as well as Great Britain, where some U.S. planes were based, focused renewed attention on ensuring proper security on Capitol Hill. During the 99th Congress (1985–1986), the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police worked with House and Senate leadership and "other committees with jurisdiction in developing plans to improve security around the Capitol. These efforts lead to the appropriation of $13 million for security improvements."[39]

Reforms of 1990. Following a March 1990 Subcommittee on Personnel and Police hearing, the Subcommittee Chaired by Representative Mary Rose Oakar of Ohio drafted resolutions designed to create a single retirement system to replace the separate House and Senate systems, compress then-current pay schedules so that officers could reach the highest pay levels in 14 year rather than in 26 years, and create a civilian ombudsman position to handle complaints. Adding support to the resolutions was Representative Pat Roberts of Kansas, the Subcommittee's Ranking Member.[40]

Establishment of Position of Director of Employment Practices. First, the House on June 26, 1990, approved an Oakar resolution establishing a civilian position of Director of Employment Practices under the Capitol Police Board. The new position, according to Oakar, was created to assist individuals involved in the grievance process, and "enhance the integrity and credibility of the grievance procedures process for the U.S. Capitol Police."[41]

Enhancement of Capitol Police Retirement System. Second, on October 15, 1990, President George H.W. Bush signed the Capitol Police Retirement Act, which provided the members of the force with a retirement package comparable to those offered by law enforcement agencies in the surrounding Washington metropolitan area. The reform measure developed by Representative Oakar's Subcommittee was based on consultations with officers of the Capitol Police, Capitol Police Board, and the House Sergeant at Arms, and hearings that included testimony by the members of the Capitol Police Board, the Chief of the Capitol Police, and more than 400 Capitol Police officers. It also included a study of the retirement packages provided by 10 Washington metropolitan area law enforcement agencies.[42]

Creation of Civilian Support Positions (1991). Eleven months later, on August 1, 1991, the House passed H. Res. 199 (102nd Congress) by unanimous consent after the Committee was discharged from further consideration. H. Res. 199, which was introduced by Chairman Dakar, authorized the Committee to establish 144 civilian support positions under the Capitol Police civilian pay schedule, and, as each position was filled, to abolish a Capitol Police administrative positions filled by a private. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimated the resolution would "save the U.S. taxpayer an estimated $9.7 million over five years."[43]

Expansion of Jurisdiction and Establishment of a Unified Payroll (1992). Early in October 1992, legislation became law (P.L. 102-397) that expanded the jurisdictional boundaries in which the Capitol Police have law enforcement authority, enhanced the arrest authority of the Capitol Police, established a joint or unified payroll, and provided for a lump sum payment for retiring members of the force. This reform measure, like those approved in 1991 and 1992, were spearheaded by Representative Mary Rose Dakar. The Committee, in reporting the House version of the bill (H.R. 5269) in July, emphasized that a number of congressional buildings and areas were located beyond the original jurisdictional boundaries enacted in 1946. "While the police [had] jurisdiction within these buildings, it [was] the area surrounding these buildings and grounds that [presented] the problems the Capitol Police" currently faced. The proposed new boundaries, the Committee believed, "reflect the realities facing the Capitol Police . . . in carrying out their mission." Enhancing the USCG's arrest authority to allow them to make arrests and enforce Federal and District of Columbia laws in the District under specified circumstances was intended not to "expand the basic mission or law enforcement role of the Capitol Police," but "to assist the Capitol Police in better performing the current mission."[44]

Also, under the new act, "a single disbursing authority for all members of the Capitol Police force [was] established."

Previously, "members of the Capitol Police Force [were] paid either by House or Senate funds." In addition, the statute authorized lump-sum payments for USCG officers who retired on or before October 31, 1992, in accordance with the Capitol Police Retirement Act of October 15, 1990. This latter provision allowed for the retiring officers to be paid for their accumulated annual leave and compensatory time in lieu of taking leave for several months prior to their retirement.[45]

On July 7, 1992, after the House passed the Committee's version of the bill, it was laid on the table, and the House struck all after the enacting clause of the Senate version of the bill (S. 1766) and inserted in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 5259, and passed S. 1766. Subsequently, the Senate accepted the House-passed version of S. 1766, except for a section changing the composition of the Capitol Police Board to include the Chair and Ranking Minority Party members of the Committee on House Administration and Senate Committee on Rules and Administration for the first time. The House concurred, and the bill became law on October 6, 1992.[46]

As a consequence of this legislation (P.L. 102-397), supported by the Committee and passed by the 102nd Congress (1991–1992), the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police instituted the following reforms for the Capitol Police:

- changed the retirement requirements to 20 years of service as prescribed in the Capitol Police Retirement Act;
- made all "technical positions competitive," establishing "continuous and ongoing training seminars . . . to enhance interpersonal skills;"
- began offering "educational assistance seminars . . . prior to each exam for respective levels to promotion;"
- instituted "civilian support positions . . . on the House side;"
- compressed the Capitol Police Pay Schedule "from a 26-longevity scale to a 17-year longevity scale;"
- expanded the "Capitol Police geographic jurisdiction;"
- enhanced the "Capitol Police arrest authority;"
- instituted "lump-sum payments to retiring members of the force;" and
- established and administered a "joint House-Senate" Capitol Police payroll.[47]

Impartial Promotion Testing (1993–1994). In the 103rd Congress (1993–1994), the Subcommittee on Personnel and Police "worked with the Capitol Police to develop an impartial promotion testing process. The written and oral promotional examinations" were contracted out, and a "contract with a consultant was let to perform an equal opportunity employment validation of the exam process."[48]

Designation of Officer Responsible for Citation Releases (1996). A provision of the House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act reported by the Committee on House Oversight on March 14, 1996, authorized the Chief of the Capitol Police, with the approval of the Capitol Police Board, to designate a member of the "Capitol Police to take bail or collateral, and to issue citations compelling appearance in court, in the same manner as may be done by an official of the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia." The provision "permits, but does not require, the judges of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to accept" the designation.[49]

Significant Enhancement of Capitol Campus Security Authorized (1999). Subsequently, in the 104th–108th Congresses (1997–2004), the Committee reviewed security operations in the House, including the House chamber, the galleries, the Capitol, House Office Buildings, parking facilities, and Capitol grounds. Also, in the 106th–108th Congresses (1999–2004), the Committee monitored the Capitol Police Board plans on spending the $106.7 million authorized by the Omnibus Appropriations Act of 1999 for enhancement in Capitol campus security.[50]

Committee Response to 9/11 Terrorist Attacks

"The events of September 11, 2001 brought about a renewed focus and emphasis on" the Committee's oversight responsibilities for "physical security, information security, and emergency preparedness for the House and Capitol complex, as well as oversight of the House officers as they perform their duties related to these issues." The Committee implemented

new security measures, oversaw the deployment and exploration of new technologies, and accelerating efforts to ensure the continuity of legislative activities as well as constituent services. The Committee also worked closely with the Sergeant at Arms, Chief Administrative Officer, the Inspector General, and the Clerk of the House on issues related to emergency preparedness, business continuity, and security.[51]

Enhancements to Retention and Recruitment Program (2001). During the months "following the terrorist attacks of 2001, the U.S. Capitol Police experienced a severe rise in its attrition rate for officers, as trained personnel were recruited to potentially more lucrative employment in the new Transportation Security Administration and elsewhere in the expanding security sector." In an effort to assure proper security for the members, staff, and visitors to the Capitol complex, the Committee proposed legislation (H.R. 5018, 107th Congress) authorizing an increase in compensation and other incentives designed to enhance the ability of the capitol police to recruit and retain personnel. H.R. 5018 passed the House unanimously on June 26, 2002. Although the Senate did not act on H.R. 5018, most of the individual incentives contained in the bill were included in the Consolidated Appropriations Resolution, 2003, which was signed into law on February 20, 2003.[52]

Hearings on Security Concerns (2002). Three security-related hearings were held by the Committee in 2002. These sessions focused on: "E-Congress—Using Technology to Conduct Congressional Operations of Congress in Emergency Situations," "Congressional Mail Delivery," and "Security Updates Since September 11, 2001."

E-Congress. The terrorist attacks of 2001, Chairman Robert W. Ney emphasized at a May 1, 2002, hearing on E-Congress, "forced our country and [Congress] to reexamine and reconsider long-held assumptions about how we are going to live, work, and conduct business on the Hill." The terrorist attacks and the subsequent anthrax attacks directed at Congress made "clear the necessity of developing plans for Congress to operate in the event of a catastrophic situation that either destroyed or made uninhabitable the buildings" used for conducting its business. The hearing focused on "how technology can help Congress operate in an emergency."[53]

Congressional Mail Delivery. A week later, the Committee held its second 2002 security oversight hearing. This session centered on congressional mail delivery eight months after the devastating attacks of September 11, and seven months after "mail delivery to the House of Representatives ceased and [congressional] office buildings were evacuated as a result of the discovery of the anthrax in the congressional mail system." At the hearing, considerable attention was given to the steps that had been taken to ensure that essential functions of the chamber such as mail delivery. Prior to the anthrax attack, House Chief Administrative Officer, James M. Eagen, told the Committee that House mail operations were focused solely on speed and accuracy. While the mail had been x-rayed for bombs and protected from theft, these precautions did not significantly add to the processing time. Following the anthrax incidents, concerns "about biological contaminants in the mail—including anthrax and other pathogens—resulted in significant changes in the mail delivery process at the House." Now House mail is sterilized and quarantined until it is delivered. It was also determined that "it was no longer appropriate to conduct mail operations in an office building that houses several hundred House employees as well as the House Child Care Center." To resolve this problem, the Committee "approved an occupancy agreement for an offsite mail processing facility" in Capitol Heights, Maryland, and the Postal Service implemented new safety procedures "to ensure the safety of government officials and employees" processing mail.[54]

Security Updates Immediately Following 9/11. The Committee's third security oversight hearing in 2002 focused on the progress and direction of Capitol security, emergency preparedness, and infrastructure upgrades in the House since the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington. In his opening remarks, Chairman Bob Ney told those assembled on September 10 that the Committee had been actively and consistently engaged in the adoption of new security measures, installation of new security-related devices in the Capitol and House office buildings, and accelerated efforts to ensure the continuity of operations. In addition to work-

ing closely in planning and coordinating the security efforts of the Sergeant at Arms, Chief Administrative Officer, and the Clerk of the House, Chairman Ney in the fall of 2001 "convened a working group comprised of the House officers, the Architect of the Capitol, the Capitol Police, representatives from House leadership, and the Appropriations Committee . . . to work together to identify objectives and focus solutions in response to the attacks."[55]

At the same hearing, James M. Eagen, House Chief Administrative Officer, testified that the his office had carefully evaluated how improvements could be made in the House's ability to conduct its business in the event of future circumstances similar to the September 11th and anthrax attacks. Eagen devoted considerable attention to explaining what had already been done to address the continuity of operations, communications, and technology concerns that had been raised as well as the "additional business continuity and disaster recovery improvements" that were anticipated.[56]

Jeff Trandahl, Clerk of the House, told the Committee that his office was "very prepared to respond decisively and effectively should the operations of the House of Representatives be threatened again with serious disruption," and the recently established House Office of Emergency Planning, Preparedness and Operations had helped further this effort. Architect of the Capitol Alan Hantman emphasized that significant progress had been made in completing the Capitol Square perimeter security plan, finishing the Library of Congress perimeter security improvements, and incorporating additional screening in the construction of the Capitol Visitor Center. Other security enhancements included increasing the capabilities of an emergency public address system, replacing antiquated emergency generators, and assisting the Capitol Police in making a number of security upgrades. Wilson Livingood, the House Sergeant at Arms, emphasized that since the terrorist and anthrax attacks, those responsible for House security had:

- amended traffic regulations for the Capitol complex;
- rerouted trucks around the Capitol complex;
- installed additional vehicular barriers around Capitol Square and House office buildings;
- closed streets around the House office buildings; denied pedestrian access to [House] building office garages;
- updated the Capitol and House office building emergency preparedness plan;
- conducted both announced and unannounced evacuation drills; procured additional escape masks and trained 6,000 House Members and staff on how to use them;
- developed new guidelines for Capitol tours; developed and implemented tactical training; designated an initial security plan for the Capitol Visitor Center; and
- hired more than 200 Capitol Police officers.[57]

Oversight and Approval of Security Efforts (2003–2004). Early in February 2003, the Committee approved the House perimeter security plan. Chairman Bob Ney emphasized that adoption of "this plan represents only one of a series of steps which began at this committee months ago towards greater physical security and ensuring the continuity of operations for the institutions." Prior to Committee voting on the plan, Representative Vernon J. Ehlers of Michigan expressed deep concern that the Botanic Gardens had not been included in the plan. There are several events at the Botanic Gardens each year, Ehlers stressed, that a majority of House Members attend. The Botanic Garden "is a very vulnerable spot," and "should be included within the House perimeter plan." The Committee agreed to return to the Botanic Garden question later, but felt this issue should not stop the security plan from going forward.[58]

Also during the 108th Congress (2003–2004), the Committee was actively involved in the adoption of new security measures in the Capitol and House office buildings. These efforts focused on both preparedness and security as the Committee oversaw the "deployment and exploration of new technologies," "accelerated efforts to ensure the continuity of legislative and constituent service operations," and efforts of the Capitol Police to secure the Capitol complex, while working to maintain open access to Members, congressional staff, citizens, and visitors. The Committee's oversight concentrated "on the mitigation of threats from terrorist organizations." It approved the installation of security technologies that enhanced the "law enforcement and

threat deterrent capabilities of the Capitol Police," "monitored efforts to attract and retain highly qualified police personnel," and "worked to ensure that all Capitol Police officers are properly trained." Additionally, the Committee monitored and evaluated "results analysis to determine ideal staffing levels to meet security needs, especially with the advent of the Capitol Visitors' Center and responsibility for the Botanic Garden."[59]

Review of House Emergency Preparedness (2005). In 2005, the Committee held an oversight hearing on the security and preparedness efforts of the House that emphasized considerable progress had been made in managing potential threats to Capitol Hill. The Capitol complex is different now than it was prior to September 11, 2001, Capitol Police Chief Terrance W. Gainer told the panel. "We have worked very hard to provide necessary security enhancements without creating the appearance of building a fortress." While enhanced physical barriers provide visible evidence of the commitment to keep the Capitol Complex secure, Gainer explained, numerous other, not so obvious, security measures have also been put in place. There had been "technological improvements, enhancements and new implementations of state-of the-art security to deter, detect, and delay unlawful acts using a risk-analysis process to determine appropriate application." Also, "superb working relationships" had been established within the congressional community and with federal, state, and local experts "to improve current procedures and investigate and incorporate emerging best emergency management practices." Besides receiving testimony from the Capitol Chief of Police, testimony was also taken from the House Sergeant at Arms, House Chief Administrative Officer, and a panel of experts on "emergency preparedness, threat assessment, evacuation procedures, and movement of large crowds."[60]

Safety, Emergency Evacuations Drills, and Security (2007–2008). During the 110th Congress (2007–2008), the Committee devoted significant attention to working with the House Sergeant at Arms, the Architect of the Capitol (through his Superintendent of the House Office Buildings), and the Capitol Police to improve safety in House office buildings, especially with respect to emergency evacuations. These efforts included: 1) convening meetings of the legislative agencies involved in emergency evacuations and determined what changes needed to be made in the physical plant as well as operations of the House, and 2) supporting plans to add a new emergency exit to the Longworth House Office Building and increase the safety of stairwells in both the Cannon and Longworth House Office Buildings without detracting from the historic architecture of the buildings.[61]

"Upon recommendation from the Committee, the Speaker of the House designated the Sergeant at Arms (HSAA) as the lead entity for coordinating evacuation procedures in House buildings." Also, the Committee approved the House Sergeant at Arms Senior Management Expansion/Reorganization Plan so the HSAA could better manage emergency evacuation planning and operations. Under the Committee's oversight, the HSAA "took on a lead role in a cross-jurisdictional approach to addressing the House's safety concerns. This emphasis led to installation of improved signage, enhanced training for employees, and identification of a need for improved communications with evacuated employees." In support of this effort, "Committee staff oversaw evacuation drills and tabletop exercises conducted by the HSAA, and the Committee approved plans for conducting more frequent evacuation drills, both announced and unannounced."[62]

Also during the 110th Congress, the Committee closely observed the Chief Administrative Officer's "contributions to the security of House operations, including security of mail deliveries and continuity of operations in the event of an emergency. In addition to receiving regular reports on these operations, Committee staff visited CAO facilities and overseen practical exercises intended to ensure that House operations can be maintained in any eventuality."[63]

Subcommittee on Capitol Security Created (2007–2008). At the outset of the 110th Congress, the Committee created a Subcommittee on Capitol Security that for the next two years devoted a great deal of its time to the U.S. Capitol Police. The Subcommittee on Capitol Security was given jurisdiction over "matters pertaining to operations and security

of the Congress, and of the Capitol complex including the House wing of the Capitol, the House Office Buildings, the Library of Congress, and other policies and facilities supporting congressional operations; the U.S. Capitol Police."[64] The Committee and the Subcommittee's activities took the form of regular, detailed oversight meetings, briefings, and hearings. The Committee also developed and reported legislation related to the Capitol Police.[65]

Because of the sensitive nature of Capitol security issues being discussed, the Committee and Subcommittee held several private briefings with U.S. Capitol Police leadership, and Committee staff met almost weekly with the police for briefings on operational matters. Management and administrative issues, long-term strategic planning, and agency progress in implementing Government Accountability Office (GAO) management recommendations were addressed in regular briefings and ad-hoc meetings. In addition, Committee staff toured the Capitol Police training facilities and observed practice police exercises on the Capitol campus.[66]

Hearing on the Administration and Management of U.S. Capitol Police (2008). On May 1, 2008, the Subcommittee on Capitol Security met to hear testimony on the administration and management of the U.S. Capitol Police. The hearing primarily focused on how well the force had responded to administrative and management recommendations of the Government Accountability Office. GAO testified that the Capitol Police had made significant progress in response to their recommendations. Subsequently, the Subcommittee obtained a further review from GAO of the ELS [Enlightened Leadership Solutions] labor management study obtained by the Capitol Police.[67]

Hearing on U.S. Capitol Police Radio Upgrades (2008). In mid-June 2008, the Subcommittee on Capitol Security held a hearing to consider upgrades for the U.S. Capitol Police's radio communications that would allow the department to work more effectively with other law enforcement agencies. Witnesses testifying included Phillip D. Morse, Sr., Chief of the U.S. Capitol Police; James Crane, Commander, Special Operations Division, Metropolitan Police Department appeared on behalf of Chief Cathy L. Lanier, Chief of Police, Metropolitan Police Department; Dr. David G. Boyd, Command, Control and Interoperability Science and Technology, U.S. Department of Homeland Security; and Steve Souder, Director, Department of Public Safety Communications, Fairfax County, VA.[68]

U.S. Capitol Police Administrative Technical Corrections Act of 2008. Between 2001 and 2008, Congress enacted numerous individual provisions affecting the administration of the U.S. Capitol Police, many of which were substantive requirements added to appropriations acts. Because many of these "provisions conflicted with other laws, were duplicative or caused other administrative problems for the agency," on May 6, 2008, Committee Chairman Robert A. Brady , with the co-sponsorship of the Ranking Minority Member Vernon J. Ehlers and Chairman of the Capitol Security Subcommittee Michael Capuano introduced the United States Capitol Police Administrative Technical Corrections Act of 2008 (H.R. 5972). The intent of the proposal was to make technical changes in existing laws and thereby streamline U.S. Capitol Police administration. The bill was favorably reported by the Committee on June 4 and passed the House with an amendment later the same day. The Senate took no action on the measure in the 110th Congress.[69]

By law, the Committee (along with its Senate counterpart, the Committee on Rules and Administration), is required to approve certain personnel actions taken by the Chief of the Capitol Police. The Committee discharged this responsibility in a timely manner throughout the 110th Congress, and approved a U.S. Capitol Police reorganization plan creating a "Mission Assurance Bureau."[70] The Committee:

- reviewed an analysis of the department's uniformed officer post/duty assignments to determine and authorize force levels to meet the agency's security requirements, especially with the advent of the Capitol Visitors Center and responsibility for U.S. Botanic Garden;
- monitored the department's human-resources, including civilian component, attrition rates, recruitment efforts and incentive programs for officers and civilian employees;

- reviewed the Capitol Police new recruit and in-service training programs;
- reviewed the department reorganizations, rational for new positions, appointments, terminations, and certain promotions;
- authorized and oversaw the installation and maintenance of new security systems and devices proposed by the U.S. Capitol Police Board;
- reviewed and authorized regulations prescribed by the U.S. Capitol Police Board "for use of law enforcement authority by the Capitol Police;"
- examined the role of the Capitol Police in assuring accessibility to the House wing of the Capitol, House Office Buildings, and other facilities consistent with the Americans with Disabilities Act; and
- reviewed the "use of technology generally in the protection of the House of Representatives."[71]

Capitol Visitor Center Experience (2007–2008). On October 17, 2007, the Committee held a hearing on the Capitol Visitor Center (CVC) and the visitor experience. The hearing covered security at the CVC as well as the future of tours at the center. Witnesses included: Phillip D. Morse, Sr., Chief of the U.S. Capitol Police; Terrie S. Rouse, CEO for Visitor Services, Capitol Visitor Center; and Thomas L. Stevens, Director of Visitor Services, U.S. Capitol Guide Service.[72]

Subsequently, on January 29, 2008, Committee Chairman Robert A. Brady introduced H.R. 5159, the Capitol Visitor Center Act of 2008, which the Committee had worked closely with the Sergeant at Arms in developing. H.R. 5159 provided for governance and operation of the Capitol Visitor Center (CVC), which opened to the public in the following December. The Committee favorably reported the bill on March 3, 2008, and the House passed the bill by voice vote two days later. On September 27, the Senate approved an amended version of the bill. The House agreed to the Senate amendments on October 2, and the President signed H.R. 5159 a week later.[73]

During the 110th Congress, the Committee also devoted considerable attention to overseeing and providing policy direction for the House Sergeant at Arms in his role as the House's representative on the Capitol Police Board. The Committee consulted regularly with the HSAA regarding policies adopted by the Board.[74]

Hearing on Securing Personal Identifiable Information Within the U.S. Capitol Police (2009). On October 10, 2009, the Subcommittee on Capitol Security held an oversight hearing on the status efforts by the United States Capitol Police to "address privacy concerns and put in place a system for the protection of personally identifiable information (PII)[75] within the department. At the hearing, the Subcommittee received testimony from Phillip D. Morse, Sr., Chief of the U.S. Capitol Police, and Carl W. Hoecker, Inspector General of the U.S. Capitol Police.

Chief Morse detailed for the Subcommittee the department's privacy protection policies and the work it had being doing to address the recommendations of the Inspector General. Mr. Hoecker's testimony focused on an "Audit of UCSP Privacy Program" report his office had completed in March 2009 and subsequent communications with the Capitol Police about improving its policies and procedures.

"Technological advances and the pervasiveness of data collection technologies," Chief Morse told the Subcommittee, "have further increased the need to be vigilant in the effort to safeguard all PII contained in an agency's various data and records management systems." Although the department did maintain some U.S. Capitol Police employment PII, its "most sensitive information is primarily maintained by cross-serving partner agencies." He emphasized that only "very limited personal identifiable information" was maintained on Members of Congress. Since receiving the Inspector General's report, Morse said, the department had taken steps to address a number of issues the report raised, and was actively developing plans to address the remaining issues.[76]

Mr. Hoecker noted "no instances of either intentional or inadvertent releases of PII" by the U.S. Capitol Police, but he did stress the need for the department to "improve the internal efficiency and effectiveness of its PII program." In conclusion he also told the Subcommittee the department had taken steps toward improving PII programs, but work still needed to be done.[77]

Hearing on U.S. Capitol Police Budget Concerns (2010). On July 29, 2010, the Subcommittee on Capitol Security held a hearing on concerns about the U.S. Capitol Police budget after the Capitol Police Board revealed to the House Administration that it had substantially miscalculated basic elements of its recent budget submission, resulting in a several million dollar shortfall. Following that disclosure, the Committee on House Administration, along with the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, directed the U.S. Capitol Police Inspector General to review the budget development, formulation and execution process for the Capitol Police. The Inspector General's report was completed in June 2010.

Upon learning of the department's FY2010 salary shortfall, U.S. Capitol Police Chief Philip D. Morse, Sr. explained, he "took immediate action to assess the issue, coordinate with the Capitol Police Board, notified our oversight committees, stabilized our budget execution, and developed a plan to address the problem." He also "asked the U.S. Capitol Police Inspector General to conduct an audit of our fiscal year 2010 and 2011 budget formulation processes and provide me with a report as soon as possible so that I can take any necessary or immediate action." The IG's report contained "several recommendations to assist the Department in strengthening its financial management practices, to include our future budget formation processes." To ensure that situation does not occur again, Morse said, "[W]e are actively realigning our processes to adopt those suggestions from the report. We are developing standard operating procedures to formalize our budget formulation processes and we are working in a collaborative manner with the Capitol Police Board to implement their guidance and recommendations."[78]

Inspector General Carl W. Hoecker, who also testified at the hearing, "found that the [Capitol Police] Department did not have adequate controls over the budget formulation process to ensure that adequate data was collected and developed. The Department's policies and procedures did not accurately document or define its budget formulation processes. And the budget execution and monitoring standard operating procedures are incomplete and outdated." He concluded that the "overarching root cause is the Department's administrative management has allowed inadequate financial weakness to persist, neglected to hold individuals accountable for implementation of GAO and OIG recommendations, and ineffectively managed its workforce." To address these concerns, OIG had made eight recommendations to "strengthen controls over the processes involved in budget formulation."[79] In 2001, the USCP implemented the Force Development Standard Operating Procedure, a threat based budget projection process, to correct the major issues with budget projection.

During follow-up questioning, Representative Daniel E. Lungren, a member of the Subcommittee, asked Inspector General Hoecker to whom he was referring when he said "that the Department's administrative management has allowed inadequate financial weakness to persist." Hoecker responded: "That would be the CAO, everything under the CAO's office." A few weeks later, the Chief Administrative Officer announced her retirement.[80]

Capitol Police Administrative Technical Corrections Act (P.L. 111-145). Over the years, Congress has enacted numerous provisions governing the administration of the U.S. Capitol Police (USCP). Many of these provisions, including some that addressed single purposes without examining their full ramifications for the Capitol Police, contain drafting errors, conflict with previous laws, or have other technical flaws. Such flaws can confuse the interpretation of the law and deplete the limited resources of the agency by creating uncertainty for management, the officers and employees about precisely what Congress intended.

To address a number of those flaws, Committee Chairman Robert Brady introduced H.R. 1299, the "Capitol Police Administrative Technical Corrections Act of 2009," on March 4, 2009. The bill was cosponsored by the Ranking Minority Member, Representative Daniel Lungren, and the Chairman of the Capitol Security Subcommittee, Representative Michael Capuano. H.R. 1299 called for repeal of obsolete or duplicate provisions of existing law, and

correction of drafting errors and clarification of the meaning of other provisions. In developing the bill, the three Committee members had worked with the Chief of U.S. Capitol Police, Phillip D. Morse, Sr.; his General Counsel, Gretchen DeMar; and others. As introduced, the bill made no change to the terms and conditions of employment, access to public services, or accommodations in the Legislative Branch.[81]

After considering the bill, the Committee ordered H.R. 1299 reported to the House on March 30, 2009, with a favorable recommendation and without amendment. H.R. 1299 passed the House on March 31, 2009 by a vote of 416 to 1 and was sent to the Senate for consideration. On October 29, 2009, the Senate passed the measure by unanimous consent with an amendment in the nature of a substitute. The Senate substitute added language to the bill stipulating that the position of General Counsel to the Chief of Police and the United States Capitol Police created by H.R. 1299 would report to and serve at the pleasure of the Chief of Police. The Senate amendment also added a new section to the bill which granted additional law enforcement authority to certain employees of the House Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, including the ability to carry firearms. On November 6, 2009, the House amended the bill once again to attach unrelated provisions which would create a nonprofit corporation to promote the United States abroad as a travel destination. The Senate eventually agreed to this final House version on February 25, 2010. H.R. 1299 was approved by the President and became Public Law 111-145 on March 4, 2010, exactly a year to the day after it was introduced.[82]

Tackling another aspect of security, the Subcommittee on Capitol Security requested and reviewed a report from the House Chief Administrative Officer on potential improvements to the handling of mail. In consultation with the U.S. Capitol Police, the Committee directed the CAO to implement some modest changes that improved productivity without compromising security. In addition to receiving regular reports on these operations, Committee staff visited CAO facilities and oversaw practical exercises intended to ensure that House operations could be maintained in any eventuality.[83]

Security Enhancements Following the Shooting of Representative Gifford. "At 10:10 am on Saturday, January 8, 2011, a lone gunman killed six people and severely wounded" Representative Gabrielle Gifford during a public meeting with constituents in a supermarket parking lot in Casas Adobes, near Tucson, Arizona. "This horrific event drew an immediate reaction by the security apparatus for the Congress. In concert with the bipartisan leadership and the federal law enforcement community, the Committee commenced initiatives to improve security for Members in their district offices. The Committee directed the House Sergeant at Arms to look at security enhancements for district offices, starting with vulnerability and physical security assessments conducted by the private security company ADT with the option to have security systems installed." In 2011, 254 Member offices requested physical security surveys and all were completed.[84]

Additionally, the Sergeant-at-Arms designed a new program, the Law Enforcement Coordinator Program, for Member District offices that initiated and improved their communications with local law enforcement agencies. Under the program, Law Enforcement Coordinators are responsible for working with local law enforcement agencies to establish security arrangements for their Member's events, identifying the various security elements that may be needed for the event, and identifying the various other site considerations to be addressed when requesting security for upcoming events. By the end of 2011, 99 percent of the Member district offices had established a law enforcement coordinator to establish security arrangements for Member events.[85]

During 2011, the Committee also directed the House Sergeant-at-Arms to plan and execute multiple emergency response drills for all of the House Office Buildings and several alternate chamber exercises. These exercises validated current emergency response planning and execution capabilities and the ability of the Sergeant-at-Arms and U.S. Capitol Police to manage a crisis. Additionally, the Office of Emergency Management in the Office of the House Sergeant-

at-Arms examined new evacuation modeling software that would be able to streamline evacuation drills and refine emergency response course of action development for the U.S. Capitol Complex.[86]

Meanwhile, the U.S. Capitol Police continued to work on systems to reduce the time between the beginning of an emergency and the notification of Members, staff and visitors of important information. Completion of the Radio Modernization Project undertaken by the Capitol Police will substantially upgrade their communications capabilities. The Radio Modernization Project is tentatively scheduled to be completed in 2013.[87]

In May, 2011, the Chairman of the Committee on House Administration, Daniel E. Lungren directed the committee to assess the U.S. Capitol Police in order to ensure the USCP have the right people, equipment and training following the Gifford shooting, and to ensure that Members, Staff and visitors to the Capitol were provided an appropriate level of security and protection.

Committee's Role in Library of Congress Security

More than a half century earlier, in 1950, the Subcommittee on Library, Disposition of Executive Papers, Enrolled Bills, and Memorials favorably reported legislation subsequently enacted into law that provided additional security for the buildings and grounds of the Library of Congress. The measure made it unlawful to sell, advertise, or solicit in Library of Congress buildings or on its grounds; to climb upon, remove, or injure any statue, seat, wall fountain, or other erected item or architectural feature, or any tree, shrub, plant, or turf in the Library buildings or on its grounds; to discharge firearms, fireworks, or explosives; to parade, stand or move in assemblages; or to display flags, banners, or devices designated or adapted to bring into public notice any party, organization, or movement. Under the act, the Librarian of Congress was authorized to designate employees of the Library as special policemen to enforce these provisions, and to make whatever other regulations were deemed necessary for adequate protection of Library buildings and grounds.[88]

Subsequently, in 1968, the Committee reported legislation providing salary increases for members of the Library of Congress Police, noting the relatively low pay scale of the force and its difficulties in recruiting and retaining personnel. A comparison of the salaries of the Library of Congress Police with those of the Capitol Police and Supreme Court Police, the Committee found, demonstrated the need for adjustment was acute. The bill passed the House on October 7, 1968, and became law two weeks later.

A critical component of the new law removed the Library Police from coverage under the Classification Act of 1949, which had made them "subject to the general schedule job evaluation and pay standards supervised" by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. This placed them "for pay purposes in the same category as some 3,300 other guards in the General Services Administration, Department of Defense, and other governmental agencies," thereby imposing limits on pay increases for Library Police. The Civil Service Commission had been opposed to exceptions for the Library of Congress Police within the framework of the Government classification structure. The Commission's "understandable" opposition, however, had made it difficult for the Library of Congress Police force to recruit and retain an adequate number of personnel.[89]

Even with the 1968 salary adjustment for the Library of Congress, the Committee found in 1973 that in the intervening five years "police officers in other forces in the metropolitan area [had] received paying increases leaving the library in a poor competitive position to recruit and retain first-rate personnel." In order to address this problem, the Committee reported a bill calling for another pay increase for the Library of Congress Police, and it was approved by both houses of Congress and became law on December 5, 1973.[90]

In 1987, legislation reported by the Committee and later signed into law language to change the "title of employees designated by the Librarian of Congress for police duty and to make the rank structure and pay for such employees the

same as the rank structure and pay for the Capitol Police." The bill also contained a four-year phase-in period that called for annual pay increases that would allow the force to reach equivalency with the Capitol Police force by September 30, 1990. Representative Mary Rose Oakar, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials and the bill's author, told House colleagues during floor debate that the Library of Congress Police had "not received a salary adjustment in 14 years—besides mandated COLA's." Since 1973, however, the Library of Congress Police force had "substantially increased in size, professional skills and responsibilities," and a "1981 Office of Personnel Management study of Federal police and guard occupations found the job requirements for Supreme Court Police, Capitol Police and Library of Congress Police essentially similar." She went on to explain that the Supreme Court Police had "been traditionally paid at the rate of paid to Capitol Police."[91]

The jurisdictional authority of the Library of Congress Police was further expanded through legislation introduced by Chairman Bill Thomas in 1997 as a consequence of the acquisition of approximately 41 acres located near Culpeper, Virginia, for the Library of Congress Audiovisual Conservation Center. The legislation "amended the act entitled 'An Act relating the policing of the buildings of the library of Congress' approved August 4, 1950 (2 U.S.C. 167(j))," to include the newly acquired property in Culpeper.[92]

Merger of the U.S. Capitol Police and Library of Congress Police (2007–2010). "Upon organizing in 2007, the Committee made legislation to complete the merger of the Library of Congress Police with the USCG [U.S. Capitol Police] a top priority." Although Congress had provided for the merge in 2003 "subject to further legislation, for a "variety of reasons, the effort had languished during the preceding four years." During the 110th Congress, in response "to strong encouragement by the Committee, the two agencies developed an implementation plan and a draft of legislation necessary to accomplish it."[93] On June 27, 2007, the Committee held a hearing on the implementation of the merger of the two forces. Witnesses testifying at the hearing who endorsed the draft bill included: Phillip D. Morse, Sr., Chief of Police, U.S. Capitol Police; Jo Ann C. Jenkins, Chief Operating Officer, Library of Congress; Wilson Livingood, House Sergeant at Arms, and Michael Hutchins, Chairman of the Library of Congress Fraternal Order of Police. The Committee held a mark-up of H.R. 3690 on November 7, 2007, and favorably reported an amended bill on December 4, 2007. The bill passed the House the following day. An amended version of H.R. 3690 was approved by the Senate on December 17, and the house concurred in the Senate amendment on December 18. The U.S. Capitol Police-Library of Congress Police Merger Implementation Act of 2007 was signed on January 7, 2008 and the merger process was begun.[94]

Endnotes

1 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *A Statutory History of the United States Capitol Police Force*, committee print, 99th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington: GPO, 1985), pp. 1–4.

2 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *A Statutory History of the United States Capitol Police Force*, committee print, 99th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington: GPO, 1985), pp. 5–13; and 9 Stat. 599 (Mar. 3, 1851). Specific information regarding the personnel of the Capitol Police first appeared in the *Congressional Directory* in the 39th Congress (March 1865–March 1867) and continued in the *Directories* for the next 28 years (until 1893). The list included officers, privates, and watchmen together with their home addresses. Since 1894 (53rd Cong., 2nd sess), *Congressional Directories* have only listed selected officers of the Capitol Police force.

3 17 Stat. 488 (Mar. 3, 1873); and A *Statutory History of the United States Capitol Police Force*, pp. 13–15.

4 19 Stat. 143-144 (Aug. 15, 1876); "Additional Temporary Police," *Congressional Record*, vol. 5, Jan. 30, 1877, p. 1109, and Jan. 31, 1877, p. 1138; 26 Stat. 91 (Mar. 3, 1891); and 31 Stat. 90 (Apr. 17, 1900).

5 22 Stat. 126-127 (July 1, 1882); and 22 Stat. 337 (Aug. 7, 1882).

6 35 Stat. 838, 850, 853 (Mar. 3, 1909).

7 37 Stat. 741-743, 745 (Mar. 4, 1913); 38 Stat. 226 (Oct. 22, 1913); and 38 Stat. 457-458, 460 (July 16, 1914).

8 49 Stat. 462, 465, 468 (July 16, 1935); and Rep. Louis Ludlow, "Legislative Branch Appropriations, 1936," *Congressional Record,* remarks in the House, vol. 79, May 16, 1935, pp. 7396–7397. For details on the growth of the force between 1915 and 1935 see: *A Statutory History of the United States Capitol Police Force*, pp. 35–54.

9 50 Stat. 178 (May 18, 1937); 50 Stat. 513-514 (July 13, 1937); and 52 Stat. 389-390 (May 17, 1938).

10 54 Stat. 629-630 (June 27, 1940); P.L. 145, 55 Stat. 456 (July 1, 1941); P.L. 600, 56 Stat. 340-341 (June 8, 1942); P.L. 96, 57 Stat. 230-231 (June 28, 1943); P.L. 354, 58 Stat. 345-346 (June 26, 1944); P.L. 85, 59 Stat. 250 (June 13, 1945); and P.L. 479, 60 Stat. 399, 408 (July 1, 1946).

11 P.L. 106, 59 Stat. 301-302 (June 30, 1945); P.L. 389, 60 Stat. 217 (May 23, 1946); H. Res. 691 (79th Cong.); "Adjusting Salaries of Certain Employees of the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 92 , July 2, 1946, pp. 8151-8153; and P.L. 570, 60 Stat. 718, 719, 720, 721 (July 31, 1946). The salary adjustment was later enacted into permanent law. P.L. 80-197, 61 Stat. 377 (July 17, 1947).

12 P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 825-826 (Aug. 2, 1946).

13 Clayton Knowles, "Five Congressmen Shot in House By 3 Puerto Rican Nationalists; Bullets Spray From Gallery," *New York Times*, Mar. 2, 1954, pp. 1, 16; H.R. 9413 (83rd Cong.); "House Gets Bill to Reorganize Police Force on Hill," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, June 3, 1954, p. 22; U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Capitol Police Reorganization Act of 1954*, hearings on H.R. 9413, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., June 22, 1954 (Washington: GPO, 1954); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Capitol Police Reorganization Act of 1954*, report to accompany H.R. 9413, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 2267 (Washington: GPO, 1954).

14 H.R. 9413 (83rd Cong.).

15 H.R. 9324 (88th Cong.); H.R. 10719 (89th Cong.); and H.Res. 796 (89th Cong.). The Committee's Subcommittee on Accounts did hold a hearing on H.R. 10719 in September 1965, but took no further action. U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Accounts, unpublished hearings, 89th Cong., 1st sess., Sept. 7, 1965 (Congressional Information Service, Inc, CIS-No: 89 HHad-T.47).

16 *Guide to Congress*, 6th ed., 2 vols. (Washington: CQ Press, 2008), vol. 2, p. 865; "Authorizing the Employment of Additional Capitol Police for Duty Under the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 112, June 29, 1966, p. 14624; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Employment of Additional Capitol Police for Duty Under House of Representatives*, report to accompany H. Res. 796, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1675 (Washington: GPO, 1966).

17 Rep. Paul Findley, "Security System for the House of Representatives," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 112, Mar. 22, 1966, p. 6546; and "Attack on Hill Stirs Hill, Professional Policemen Asked to Guard Capitol," *Washington Post, Times Herald*, Mar. 23, 1966, pp. A1, A4. See also: Rep. Paul Findley, "Capitol Police," remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 112, Apr. 18, 1966, p. 8199.

18 P.L. 89-697, 80 Stat. 1063 (Oct. 27, 1966); U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittees of the House Committee on Appropriations, *Supplemental Appropriation Bill, 1967*, hearings, part 2, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., Oct. 10, 1966 (Washington: GPO, 1966), pp. 104–106; and U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Supplemental Appropriations Bill, 1967*, report to accompany H.R. 18381, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 2284 (Washington: GPO, 1966), pp. 21–22. Also, in the second session of the 89th Congress, both houses approved language in the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1967 authorizing additional positions for the Capitol Police force for the Senate and required that the appointees have the equivalent of at least one year of police experience. The Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1967, was the first statute to require that applicants for the Capitol Police force have prior law enforcement experience. P.L. 89-545, 80 Stat. 355 (Aug. 27, 1966).

19 U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, *History of the Committee on House Administration*, by Paul Dwyer (Washington: Nov. 1987), pp. 143, 148.

20 "Authorizing the Employment of Additional Capitol Police for Duty Under the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 113, May 11, 1967, pp. 12326–12329. See also: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Accounts, unpublished hearings, 90th Cong., 1st sess., May 3, 1967 (Congressional Information Service, Inc, CIS-No: 90 HHad-T.5), pp. 24–28.

21 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Special Subcommittee on Police, unpublished hearings, 90th Cong., 1st sess., June 28, 1967 (Congressional Information Service, Inc, CIS-No: 90 HHad-T.3), pp. 3–4. On Aug. 30, 1967, James M. Powell, Chief of the U.S. Capitol Police, sent a letter to Rep. John W. Davis, Chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Police, stating that the "total authorized positions for the Capitol Police on the House" was 292. Of that number, 150 were permanent positions (142 privates and eight officers), and 132 were patronage positions (131 privates and 11 officers). For a copy of the letter see: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Special Subcommittee on Police, unpublished hearings, 90th Cong., 1st sess., Aug 24, 1967 (Congressional Information Service, Inc, CIS-No: 90 HHad-T.8), attachment to hearing record.

22 H. Res. 1211 (90th Cong.); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing for an Additional Number of Positions on the Capitol Police Force for Duty Under the House of Representatives,* report to accompany H. Res. 1211, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1973 (Washington: GPO, 1968); and "Additional Positions on U.S. Capitol Police Force for Duty Under the House of Representatives," *Congressional Record*, vol. 114, Oct. 11, 1968, pp. 30762–30763.

23 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Police, Unpublished hearings, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., May 13, 1968 (Congressional Information Service, Inc, CIS-No: 90 HHad-T.21).

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25 H. Res. 449 (92nd Cong.); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Creating Additional Positions on the U.S. Capitol Police Force for Duty Under the House of Representatives and providing a System of Overtime Pay for the U.S. Capitol Police,* report to accompany H. Res. 449, 92nd Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 92-244 (Washington: GPO, 1971); "Creating Additional Positions and Providing a System of Overtime Pay for the U.S. Capitol Police Under the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 117, June 2, 1971, pp. 17497–17504; "U.S. Capitol: Scene of Violence Since 1814 Fire," *CQ Weekly Report*, vol. 29, Mar. 5, 1971, pp. 503–505; and "Capitol Police Expansion," *CQ Weekly Report*, vol. 29, June 11, 1971, p. 1266.

26 H. Res. 360 (94th Cong.); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Creating Additional Positions on the U.S. Capitol Police Force for Duty Under the House of Representatives*, report to accompany H. Res. 360, 94th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 94-118 (Washington: GPO, 1975); "Creating Additional Positions on the U.S. Capitol Police Force," *Congressional Record*, vol. 121, Mar. 26, 1975, pp. 8894–8895; and P.L. 95-59, 89 Stat. 282 (July 25, 1975).

27 H. Res. 661 (95th Cong.); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing for Two Additional Positions on the Capitol Police, and for Other Purposes,* report to accompany H. Res. 661, 95th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 95-522 (Washington: GPO, 1977); and "Providing for Two Additional Positions on the Capitol Police," *Congressional Record,* vol. 123, July 29, 1977, pp. 25650–25652.

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30 H. Con. Res. 785 (90th Cong.); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Relating to the Pay of the U.S. Capitol Police Force for Duty Performed in Emergencies*, report to accompany H. Con. Res. 785, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1545 (Washington: GPO, 1968); and "Relating to the Pay of the U.S. Capitol Police Force for Duty Performed in Emergencies," *Congressional Record,* vol. 114, June 17, 1968, p. 17428.

31 H. Res. 449 (92nd Cong.); "Creating Additional Positions and Providing a System of Overtime Pay for the U.S. Capitol Police Under the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 117, 92nd Cong., 1st sess., June 2, 1971, pp. 17497–17504; and "Capitol Police Expansion," *CQ Weekly Report*, vol. 29, June 11, 1971, p. 1266.

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39 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House*

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IX. OVERSIGHT OF LEGISLATIVE BRANCH ENTITIES

Library of Congress
Joint Committee on the Library

One of the world's leading cultural institutions, the Library of Congress began in late 1800 as a collection of 740 volumes and three maps located in a portion of the newly completed north wing of the Capitol. From these modest origins, the Library has come to serve in many roles:

> a legislative library and the major research arm of the U.S. Congress; the copyright agency of the United States; a center for scholarship that collects research materials in many media and in most subjects from throughout the world in more than 450 languages; a public institution that is open to everyone over high school age and serves readers in twenty-two reading rooms; a government library that is heavily used by the executive branch and the judiciary; a national library for the blind and physically handicapped; an outstanding law library; one of the world's largest providers of bibliographic data and products; a center for the commissioning and performance of chamber music; the home of the nation's poet laureate; the sponsor of exhibitions and of musical, literary, and cultural programs that reach across the nation and the world; a research center for the preservation and conservation of library materials; and the world's largest repository of maps, atlases, printed and recorded music, motion pictures and television programs.[1]

A Library for Congress. In the course of its development, the Library has been guided by the venerable Joint Committee on the Library (JCL), as well as the Committee on House Administration and certain of its predecessor committees. The origins of the Library can be traced to a April 24, 1800, statute allocating $5,000 "for the purchase of such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress at the said city of Washington, and for fitting up a suitable apartment for containing them and for placing them therein." The statute called for a select joint committee to carry out the provisions of the act.[2] Two years later, administrative arrangements were prescribed for the Library in a statute of January 26, 1802, authorizing the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House to establish regulations and restrictions for the Library; providing for the appointment of a Librarian "by the President of the United States solely;" proscribing the removal of maps from the Library and limiting book borrowing to the President, Vice President, and Members of Congress; and establishing a second select joint committee to direct the purchasing of books for the Library.[3] A third select joint committee was created in 1806 to be responsible for purchasing additional books for the Library.[4]

The Joint Committee on the Library became a permanent standing committee in 1811.[5] Initially consisting of three members each from the House and the Senate, the JCL is one of the oldest permanent committees of Congress. In 1902, the membership of the JCL was increased to five members from each chamber,[6] and the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 specified that the House members would consist of "the chairman and four members of the Committee on House Administration."[7] It also appears that, beginning in 1888, House members appointed to the JCL also constituted the membership of a standing House Committee on the Library.

The infant Library suffered the loss of its home and part of its collections during the War of 1812. A substantial British expeditionary force disembarked from ships anchored in the Chesapeake Bay, marched across eastern Maryland, and invaded Washington where, on August 24, 1814, the intruders burned the White House, the Capitol, and the department

buildings. This action was taken partly in retaliation for the burning of the public buildings at York (Toronto) in Canada by American troops in late April of the previous year. Awareness of this history prompted government clerks, notified of the invaders advance, to begin removing official documents, records, and files from the city, including congressional materials. Some committee papers and Library volumes, however, could not be removed before the British arrived and these were consumed in the Capitol fire.[8]

Learning of the destruction in Washington, former President Thomas Jefferson, knowing it would be exceedingly difficult to resupply the Library due to the continuing war and the riskiness of commerce with Europe, indicated his willingness to sell his own collection of books to Congress. This prospect soon prompted congressional action.

> On October 7, the Joint Committee on the Library offered a resolution authorizing and empowering it to "purchase . . . the Library of Mr. Jefferson." The committee sent a delegation to Monticello, where the collection was counted and found to contain 6,487 volumes. Appraisers costed the volumes at $3 each for the common-sized books, $1 for the very small ones, and $10 for the full-scale folios. The total came to $23,950, and the Senate promptly passed a bill to buy the collection.[9]

Critics and opponents in the House, however, objected to the cost of the purchase and questioned the usefulness of some of the books. Eventually, however, the purchase was authorized,[10] as was the preparation of a library room to receive the collection.[11] The incumbent "Librarian of Congress (and clerk of the House) Patrick Magruder never recovered from the loss of the Capitol, and he . . . resigned under pressure before Jefferson's books arrived." His successor, George Watterston, survived a Library fire that occurred just before Christmas in 1825 in which "only a few sets of duplicate government documents were lost." He fared less well, however, with the arrival of President Andrew Jackson. Several weeks after the inauguration, Watterston, who had opposed Jackson's election, was dismissed. Watterston's departure led to an important result: "His experience was not lost on his successors, and without exception, the Librarians of Congress since that time have been as dispassionate and detached in their political careers as the Speaker of the House of Commons."[12]

The Law Library. A separate, specialized Law Library within the Library of Congress was statutorily mandated in 1832. The statute also gave justices of the Supreme Court access to the Law Library and authorized them to prescribe rules and regulations not only for their own use of it, but also for use by attorneys and counselors during the sitting of the Court.[13] In 1840, Congress authorized the Librarian of Congress, under the supervision of the JCL, to exchange duplicate books and public documents for foreign publications, and provided for the production of 50 additional copies of the documents ordered to be printed by either house of Congress for use in this international exchange program.[14] An 1846 statute chartering the Smithsonian Institution provided that persons obtaining a copyright for any book, map, chart, musical composition, print, cut, or engraving under federal law was obligated to deliver one copy of same to the librarian of the Smithsonian and the Librarian of Congress.[15]

Fire again ravaged the Library of Congress in December 1851, destroying some 35,000 of the 55,000 volume collection (including two-thirds of the Jefferson library), almost all of the map collection, and several works of art. The following year, "a total of $168,700 was appropriated to restore the Library's rooms in the Capitol and to replace the lost books." This effort, however, was an attempt at maintaining the status quo: "the books were to be replaced only, with no particular intention of supplementing or expanding the collection." This view reflected the position of the incumbent Librarian, John S. Meehan, and the chairman of the JCL, Senator James A. Pearce, "who favored keeping a strict limit on the Library's activities."[16]

There were other setbacks for the Library, not the least of which was the 1859 transfer of public document distribution responsibility to the Secretary of the Interior and, as the result of an effort to centralize copyright administration at

the United States Patent Office, the loss of copyright deposit materials.[17] In May 1861, President Abraham Lincoln relieved Librarian Meehan, replacing him with John G. Stephenson, who served until late 1864, when he resigned under a cloud of suspicion concerning fraudulent activities.[18]

Toward a National Library. Succeeding Stephenson was his Assistant Librarian and an ardent bookman, Ainsworth Rand Spofford, who would be one of the longest serving Librarians of Congress (1864–1897), second only to Herbert Putnam (1899–1939). Early on, the new Librarian cultivated good relations not only with the members of the Joint Committee,[19] but also other Members of Congress, with the result that in 1865 he obtained $160,000 for the expansion of the Library in the Capitol[20] and succeeded in getting the copyright deposit restored to the Library.[21] In 1866, Spofford reached an agreement for transfer to the Library of Congress of the entire library of the Smithsonian Institution, a collection that included many scientific works and the publications of learned societies.[22] In 1867, he arranged for copies of United States public documents at the disposal of the JCL to be used by the Library in exchange for foreign public documents through the Smithsonian Institution's document exchange system.[23] During the same year, he convinced the JCL to purchase the personal library of historian and archivist Peter Force for $100,000.[24] The Force library became the foundation of the Library's Americana and incunabula collections.

Later, in 1870, a statute revising, consolidating, and modifying patent and copyright law transferred all United States copyright registration and deposit activities to the Library, where they still remain.[25] As the collections of the Library rapidly expanded during Spofford's tenure, it became apparent that, for this and other reasons, new facilities were needed.[26] In 1875, a report from the House Appropriations Committee said:

> The library has already become a thing whose growth is beyond control. So long as our country prospers and maintains its place among civilized and enlightened nations, its national library will grow under laws of accretion which it would scarce be possible, even were it desirable, to control.[27]

As early as 1873, Congress recognized that the burgeoning size of the congressional library located in the Capitol would require a comprehensive solution. In that year Congress authorized a design competition for a new library facility and appointed a commission to select a plan.[28] A decade later, the Committee on the Library reported that the conditions of the collections had become intolerable:

> The result is seen in the books stowed rank behind rank, so that their titles are concealed instead of exhibited, in alcoves overflowing into every adjacent space and corridor, and in floors heaped high with books, pamphlets, musical compositions, and newspapers, from the ground floor of the Capitol to the attic.[29]

Initial design suggestions contemplated an expansion of the Capitol building itself. Based upon the projections of the Library's rapid growth, the Architect of the Capitol estimated that it would not be long before "all the available space now occupied by the Senate, the House and the rotunda," would be needed to store the collections.[30]

Attention then turned to selection of a suitable site for a separate library building. Several locations were considered and rejected. A site west of the capitol occupied by the Botanic Gardens was disapproved when it was determined that the new library building could not be erected there because "the grounds were mainly composed of rather soft soil and were full of treacherous bogs."[31] Similarly, sites at Judiciary Square and at New York Avenue and North Capitol Street were deemed to be at such a distance as to be inconvenient to Members.

The decision to locate the Library outside the Capitol marked the beginning of a process to relocate other Capitol tenants: the Supreme Court and House and Senate Committee offices relocated to new facilities on land surrounding the Capitol. As such, it was the first step toward creating the extended Capitol complex we know today.

In April 1886, a new building for the Library of Congress was authorized, the structure to be located on First Street, S.E., east of the Capitol grounds.[32] Construction began in earnest in 1889, and the new facility was opened to the public in 1897, the year in which Spofford relinquished his position as Librarian, but he continued as Chief Assistant Librarian until his death in 1908.

In the period of transition from Spofford to his successor, John R. Young, legislation was enacted reorganizing the Library, making the presidential appointment of the Librarian subject to Senate approval, and vesting the Librarian with sole responsibility for making its internal rules and regulations.[33] A journalist and former diplomat, Young was a skilled administrator and "he initiated some of the most progressive programs of any comparable period in the Library's history."[34] His tenure, however, would be brief. In failing health, he suffered a fall on Christmas Eve in 1898, and died shortly thereafter on January 17, 1899, after 19 months as Librarian.[35]

Young's successor, Herbert Putnam, would prove to be the longest serving Librarian to date. At the time of his appointment by President William McKinley, Putnam was in his fifth year as librarian of the Boston Public Library and was president-elect of the American Library Association. The former librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library from 1884 to 1891, he was the first experienced librarian to direct the Library of Congress. During his 40-year tenure, Putnam took many actions aimed at bringing about better service by the Library to Congress, to the profession, and to patrons. Among his first efforts were eliminating the cataloging arrearage that resulted from Spofford's active acquisitioning, pursuing Young's program of converting the existing book catalogs to cards, and obtaining congressional authorization for the sale of Library cataloging cards to libraries in the United States and abroad.[36]

Institutionalizing Legislative Reference. Concurrently, Putnam was also given responsibility for operating the library of the House of Representatives.[37] This development suggested that the Librarian was positively regarded as a manager, but congressional unhappiness about the Library's role in the legislative process remained. A congressional reference facility was maintained in the Capitol, and the new Library building had special rooms set aside for the use of Senators and Representatives, but they were little used. "By 1912, when a congressional committee queried Putnam about congressional use of the Library," according to one account, "he could point to an average of only 'three or four' telephone calls a day from congressmen during the session. Only 93 members out of 490," it continued, "had used the Library in any way the previous year, and that figure included all requests for novels and magazines as well as official business."[38]

At the time, however, Putnam was aware of state efforts, beginning with the Progressives in Wisconsin in 1901, to create Legislative Reference Bureaus, which, at a minimum, would support state legislators with ready reference services utilizing state library holdings. Indeed, "Putnam had resigned himself to the inevitability of the added service and . . . did a detailed analysis of the work and organization of all the known state bureaus and . . . described what would be required to set up a similar service in the Library and sent the completed report of over 20,000 words to Congress."[39] Several bills on the matter were offered[40] but, in the end, the new reference service came to be realized in 1914 through a Senate floor amendment, readily accepted in the House, to the Library's budget for the next fiscal year. It enabled the Librarian "to employ competent persons to prepare such indices, digests, and compilations of law as may be required for Congress and other official use."[41] Thus was established the base for what would become the Legislative Reference Service (LRS), which would undergo further development until it was reconstituted with a modified mandate in 1970 as the Congressional Research Service (CRS).[42]

> The experience clearly impressed itself on Putnam's mind, and he never again slighted his legislative ties. From this point on, his congressional relations were flawless, so much so that by the 1920s, a conservative legislature was appropriating $1.5 million to buy the Vollbehr [early printing] collection of 3,000 rare books, and by the 1930s, Putnam's

> appropriation requests were being passed exactly as he requested them, frequently with only the most cursory review.[43]

A Trust Fund and Growing Library. Working with the JCL, Putnam obtained congressional support for the establishment of a Library of Congress Trust Fund in 1925, which enabled the acceptance of gifts and bequests from private persons and created a new cultural role for the Library, particularly concerning music and the performing arts.[44] He also convinced Congress to build an annex to contain the Library's ever growing collections. Legislation to acquire land for the new structure, to be located in the next block directly behind the original Library building, was adopted in 1928,[45] and an edifice was authorized in 1930.[46] Construction proceeded slowly during the Great Depression years, but the facility was completed in 1938 and was opened to the public the following year. Putnam was ready to retire, but he remained in office until his successor, the poet and writer Archibald MacLeish, assumed his duties. Putnam then held the position of Librarian Emeritus, which had been especially created for him.[47] He continued with the Library through the period of World War II and a few years thereafter, maintaining regular office hours until he died in August 1955.

A surprise nominee, MacLeish initially was strongly opposed by the American Library Association (ALA); but, after "a remarkably short time, he . . . endeared himself to the Library's staff, earned their warm loyalty, and had been so forgiven by the profession at large that he was accorded a standing ovation at a subsequent ALA Convention, where he was introduced as the best friend American libraries had."[48] During his brief tenure, he streamlined the internal organization of the Library, "and he faced up to the need for a rationalized order of not only what materials the Library should seek and keep, but—possibly more important from a working librarian's point of view—what it could throw away."[49] MacLeish commenced his duties as Librarian in October 1939, but took two leaves of absence, one to serve as the director of the Office of Facts and Figures (1941–1942) and another to serve as the assistant director of the Office of War Information (1942–1943), before resigning in December 1944 to become Assistant Secretary of State for Public and Cultural Relations.

Disagreement on Missions. President Franklin D. Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945, without having nominated a successor to MacLeish. That task fell to President Harry S. Truman, who selected Luther H. Evans, a political scientist whom MacLeish had initially hired to direct the LRS and had subsequently made his deputy. A skilled administrator, Evans had managed the Library during MacLeish's two absences during the war years, and had been recommended to Truman by MacLeish. An internationalist, Evans was of the view that the war had opened the world to American observation and interest. He developed an ambitious plan for the Library to serve the nation with greater knowledge of the world, a plan that required an increase in the Library's annual appropriation from $5.1 million to $9.8 million. Appropriators declined to support the increase, explaining:

> The original purpose in establishing the Library was to serve Congress; however, it would seem that the Library has evolved not only into a Congressional library but a national and international library as well. . . . If it is the desire to build and maintain the largest library in the world which, according to testimony, the Library of Congress is at present, that is one matter, and if it should be the policy to maintain a library primarily for the service of Congress, it is quite another matter from the standpoint of fiscal needs.[50]

This disagreement and the differing viewpoints underlying it, according to one assessment, "characterized Evans's tenure."[51] On another matter:

> Evans believed that since the Library was the largest government library at the federal level, it should play a unifying role among federal libraries and provide single-point acquisition for all, shared cataloging, and union records for the individual agencies. Congress was distressed at his apparent

> inability to understand the principle of separation of powers—his eagerness "to give the Congressional library away to the Executive." As time went on, the mutual hostility went from distrust to resentment to the outright baiting of one another.[52]

A New House Administration Committee

Amidst this climate of deteriorating relations between Congress and its Librarian, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 was implemented. The statute established the Committee on House Administration; vested it and the other standing committees with authority to make investigations into any matter within their jurisdictions and with responsibility to "exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee"; and directed the Librarian "to establish in the Library of Congress a separate department to be known as the Legislative Reference Service" (LRS).[53] The new Committee on House Administration had both legislative and oversight jurisdiction over the Library, including the separately constituted LRS. Continuing as something of a "board of directors" for the Library was the JCL, which could advise and guide the Librarian on administrative matters, but exercised no legislative authority.

Oversight on a Broad Range of Issues. During the latter half of the 20th century, and into the initial years of the next century, the Committee on House Administration dealt with a broad variety of legislation and policy pertaining to the Library. Among the subjects the Committee addressed were the following: the microfilming of the Library's presidential papers; Library Trust Fund gifts and bequests; increased availability of books and music for the blind and handicapped; an American Folklife Center; a Center for the Book; distribution of congressional documents overseas; electronic information technologies, applications, and studies; financial support for the Law Library of the Library of Congress; reauthorizing appropriations for the Library of Congress sound recording and film preservation programs; a National Recording Registry; minority hiring and employment at the Library; the Library's financial and administrative operations; designation of a Librarian of Congress emeritus; commemoration of the bicentennial of the Library of Congress; finding innovative and affordable ways to make the Library's collections accessible to every American; Library administration of the Speaker's Civic Achievement Awards Program; preparation, printing, and distribution of a history of the House of Representatives by the Library of Congress; and establishment a Civil Rights oral history project at the Smithsonian Institution and Library of Congress. *The Committee's activities involving the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress and the Library of Congress Police Force are detailed in sections of this history devoted to those topics.*

Financial and Administrative Operations. On May 21, 1957, the Committee reported legislation drafted by the Librarian of Congress fixing the responsibilities of the certifying officers and disbursing officer of the Library of Congress, and authorizing the Comptroller General to grant certifying officers of the Library relief (in its discretion and under certain conditions) and advance decisions. In favorably reporting H.R. 7234, the Committee "believe[d] that the Government should no longer be without the bonding protection at the Library which it requires of other agencies certifying to the disbursing of Federal funds."[54] The bill was signed into law on June 13, 1957.[55]

Three months later, the Committee's attention shifted to the consideration of H.J. Res. 352, a bill authorizing and directing the Architect of the Capitol to prepare preliminary plans and estimates of the cost for an additional building for the Library of Congress. While the bill was referred to the Committee, it was studied and considered by the Joint Committee on the Library. During the previous three years, the Joint Committee, in conjunction with the Librarian of Congress, had "carefully analyzed the acute space shortage of this important function of Congress."[56] H.J. Res 352, which the Committee favorably reported, was signed into law on May 14, 1960.[57] Those preliminary plans and estimates subsequently led to the design and construction of the Library's James Madison Memorial Building, which was authorized

by legislation referred to the House Committee on Building and Grounds.[58]

Abolishment of the position of the Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds in the Office of the Architect of the Capitol prompted legislation in 1970 to transfer from the Architect to the Librarian of Congress authority to purchase office equipment and furniture for the Library of Congress. The transfer was supported by the Committee on April 14, and the House and Senate subsequently concurred later that month. The change in purchasing authority became law on June 12, 1970.[59]

In mid-June 1976, the Committee cleared, and the House approved, a Senate-passed bill renaming the Library of Congress Annex as the Library of Congress Thomas Jefferson Building, which was signed into law by President Gerald R. Ford on June 21.[60]

A decade later, the Joint Committee on the Library held a May 7, 1986 hearing on the impact of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law on the 1986 budget of the Library of Congress. The statute, formally known as the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, established new budget procedures intended to balance the federal budget by fiscal year 1991. To achieve that goal, the law set annual maximum deficit targets and mandated automatic across-the-board spending cuts, called sequesters, by the President to enforce the limits. At the hearing, the Joint Committee on the Library focused on the implications and impact of these new arrangements for the Library.[61]

Late in the second session of the 101st Congress (1989–1990), the Committee considered legislation establishing a national policy on acid-free permanent papers. S.J. Res. 57 recommended that "federal agencies require the use of acid free permanent papers for publications of enduring valued produced by the Government Print Office or produced by Federal grant or contract, using the specifications for such paper established by the Joint Committee on Printing." The joint resolution further stipulated that the Librarian of Congress, the Archivist of the United States, and the Public Printer shall jointly monitor the Government's progress in implementing" this policy. The Committee was discharged on September 17, 1990, when the measure was called up under a suspension of the rules and approved by the House. That same day, however, the House also passed a Senate counterpart proposal containing the text of the House measure as an amendment. The Senate agreed to the version of the proposal as amended by the House on September 26, 1990. This bill was signed into law by President George H.W. Bush on October 12, 1990.[62]

During the 102nd Congress (1991–1992), the Committee's Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials held a November 12, 1991, hearing on Library of Congress financial management operations, receiving testimony from a General Accounting Office audit team, Librarian James H. Billington, and other Library officials. The Committee and the Joint Committee on Printing jointly held a field hearing at the Robeson County Public Library in Lumberton, NC, on September 21, 1992, concerning libraries and library services. Shortly thereafter, on October 2, 1992, the Committee reported a bill authorizing certain uses of property acquired by the Architect of the Capitol for use by the Library as a Special Facilities Center. The House approved the legislation that same day under a suspension of the rules, and the Senate passed the measure on October 7, 1992. This bill was signed into law by President George H.W. Bush on October 23, 1992. [63]

Representative William M. Thomas, Committee Chairman (then called House Oversight Committee) introduced legislation in early November 1997 to authorize the acquisition, by transfer of title from the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, parcels of land in Culpeper County, VA, to be used as the Library of Congress National Conservation Audio-Digital Preservation Center. H.R. 2979 also established a fund in the Treasury for gift and trust funds transferred to the Architect of the Capitol for structural and mechanical work, and for refurbishment of the property. The bill, which was referred to the Committee, was called up for a vote under a suspension of the rules on November 11 and approved by the House that day. The Senate passed the

bill the following day by unanimous consent. The President signed the bill on December 15, 1997.[64]

In the 106th Congress (1999–2000) the Library of Congress Fiscal Operations Improvement Act of 2000, was introduced on October 6, 2000, and referred to the Committee the same day. The act was taken up for consideration by the House under a suspension of the rules and approved by the House on October 17. The Senate passed the measure on October 31, 2000. On November 9, 2000, President William Jefferson Clinton signed the act. It established three revolving funds for services provided by the Library and for the Federal Library and Information Network Program (FEDLINK) and related research activities.[65]

At a July 2006 Committee oversight hearing, Dr. James H. Billington laid "out his vision for how the Library of Congress will continue to transform itself in order to continue their goal being America's premier library in the 21st century." The hearing provided Committee members an update on the operations of the Library and the ways in which the Library was preparing for the future through its ongoing strategic planning, technology, design, and preservation initiatives.[66]

Thirteen months later, on October 24, 2007, a second oversight hearing on the management of the Library of Congress was held. This latter hearing focused on "three important issues facing the Library: inventory of the collection, cataloging, and the status of the Law Library." Chairman Robert A. Brady pointed out in his opening remarks that the Library of Congress was "unique," and the "only institution of its type." The Library was, he reminded those in attendance, "the largest repository of books, films, photograph, maps, music, and priceless artifacts in the world. It is the premier destination for researchers, both nationally and internationally. The Library is the research wing of the U.S. Congress, providing information and guidance daily to Members and staff alike. A collection of this size, however, can be both a blessing and a curse." Through this hearing, the Committee sought to ensure that the Library developed adequate ways to keep track of the Library's "precious collection," new strategies were developed and implemented for cataloging in the every-changing digital environment, and the Law Library continued "to serve as the reference of record for legal research."[67]

On July 14, 2010, the Committee held a markup of H.R. 5681, which would improve certain administrative operations of the Library of Congress. These operations included permitting the Librarian of Congress to dispose of surplus or obsolete property and use of the proceeds thereof, restructuring the Library's student loan repayment program, and a provision to allow unobligated balances of expiring appropriations to be used for LOC obligations to the Department of Labor's Workers Compensation Fund. The bill passed the House on July 27, 2010 and was subsequently referred to the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, but did not receive Floor consideration in the Senate prior to adjournment of the Congress.[68]

Less than a year later, in 2011, the Committee revisited the proposal permitting the Librarian of Congress to dispose of surplus or obsolete property. Once again the Committee did a markup session on the bill, and favorably reported H.R. 1934. On June 16, the bill, which was considered by unanimous consent, passed the House without objection. At the end of the first session of the 112th Congress, H.R. 1934 awaited Senate action.[69]

Most recently, the Committee's Subcommittee on Oversight turned its attention to ensuring continuity and efficiency at the Library of Congress during leadership transitions. Appearing before the Subcommittee on April 18, 2012, were David Mao, appointed the 23rd Law Librarian of Congress three and a half months earlier; Dr. Mary Mazanec, who was appointed Director of the Congressional Research Service on December 5, 2011; Maria Pallante, appointed the 12th Register of Copyrights and Director of the United States Copyright Office in June 2011; and Roberta Shaffer, Associate Librarian for Library Services, who served as Mr. Mao's predecessor as the 22nd Law Librarian. The four witnesses, Subcommittee Chairman Philip Gingrey pointed out, represented the four service units that are "arguably the core" of the Library of Congress, and "comprise almost 70 percent of its budget." Chairman Gingrey emphasized that it was important for

the Subcommittee to hear from the "witnesses how they are managing these resources, how they are finding greater efficiencies, and how they will continue to meet their collective and individual missions in the future."[70]

Also during the first session of the 112th Congress (2011–2012), Committee oversight staff held fifteen oversight meetings with various Library of Congress staff, including representatives from, and regarding issues related to, the Copyright Office, the Office of the Inspector General, the Budget Office, the Congressional Research Service, the Library's Surplus Books Program, the Law Library, the Office of Congressional Information and Publishing, the Legislative Information Systems Office, and Human Resources.[71]

Minority Hiring and Employment. An equally critical aspect of the Committee's oversight responsibility is monitoring the Library's personel practices. On April 26, 1990, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials held a hearing on the hiring practices and the under-representation of minorities in senior-level[72] and higher positions at the Library. Opening statements were made by Subcommittee Chairman William L. Clay and Representative Gerry Sikorski, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Civil Service. Witnesses included Representative Major R. Owens, Librarian of Congress James H. Billington and other library officials; and Marc L. Fleischaker, attorney at law, Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn.

In his opening remarks, Subcommittee Chairman Clay stressed that the subject of the hearing was "of great concern to both the subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials and the Subcommittee on Civil Service of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. That is why were are jointly considering this matter today." The Chairman continued by pointing out that the "library's most recent affirmative action report reveals that within all job categories at the Library, with the exception of the police unit, whites are more highly graded than minorities. This disparity in grade levels between minorities and white male employees is most evident in the Supergrade positions." In the past, the Library's affirmative action programs have been some the "finest . . . ever committed to paper," and "while minorities comprise 43 percent of the total work force, minorities make up less than 12 percent of the Supergrade positions."[73]

The "principal propose" of the hearing, Chairman Clay explained, was not only to review the new affirmative action plan recently drafted by the Library, "but to help facilitate the establishment of a definite timetable to end the vestiges of past discrimination." "Today, as we examine affirmative action at the senior levels of the Library of Congress, Chairman Sikorski stressed, "we have to keep in mind that a particular employment practice may not be inherently wrong in itself, however, where that practice has a disparate impact on the hiring of a minority, it's time to consider who it effects, how it discriminates, and why we allow the practice to continue."[74]

Subsequently, on March 18 and 24, 1993, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, together with the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, jointly held hearings on the Library's progress in implementing affirmative action policies and procedures to address under-representation of African-Americans and other minorities in senior-level positions at the Library.[75] In 1994, Subcommittee Chairman William L. Clay issued a report highly critical of minority employment conditions at the Library and offering eight recommendations to remedy the situation, beginning with the development and effective implementation of a written affirmative action plan to address the problem of under-representation and under-utilization of minorities.[76]

On July 29, 2009, the Committee held a hearing on issues facing the Worklife Services Center at the Library. The Center, a division of Human Resources Services, is responsible for many critical aspects of employment administration including the processing of all personnel requests, such as awards and salary increases; counseling employees on retirement issues and providing information on benefits; and processing all leave requests and managing the Library's leave bank. The intent of the hearing was to eliminate the deficiencies in the Worklife Services Center in order to provide more efficient and accurate means of managing employees at the Library of Congress.[77]

Library Trust Fund Gifts and Bequests. In 1962, the Committee considered legislation to increase the statutory limit on gifts and bequests to the Library of Congress held in the Trust Fund on deposit with the Secretary of the Treasury from $5 million to $10 million. Reported from Committee and approved by the House on June 22, 1962, the measure was enacted into law on July 3.[78]

During the 1970s, at the request of the Library's Trust Fund Board, two bills were introduced and reported by the Committee to make amendments to the Board's enabling legislation. The first, H.R. 8627 (94th Congress), allowed there to be an adjustment in the rate of interest paid by the U.S. Treasury to the permanent loan account of the Trust Fund Board. The existing rate, established in the 1925 Library of Congress Trust Fund Act, limited the annual rate to four percent. H.R. 8627 amended the 1925 law to allow a rate of interest to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, who is Chairman of the Library Trust Fund Board, based upon the current average yield comparable to an interest equal to that of similar federal trust funds. Following a November 11, 1975, hearing by the Committee's Subcommittee on Library and Memorials, the full Committee reported the bill on December 16. In February 1976, the House took up and amended a similar Senate bill, S. 2619 with the text of H.R. 8627, and passed the Senate legislation, as amended. When S. 2619 and the House amendment thereto were returned to the Senate, the Senate proposed additional changes to the legislation. On May 10, 1976, the House accepted the Senate's additional changes and the bill was presented to the President on May 12, 1976. The President signed S. 2619 on May 22, 1976, resulting in P.L. 94-289.[79]

The second bill, S. 2220 (95th Congress), authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to designate an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to serve in his place as a Member of the Library of Congress Trust Board. The Committee reported this bill, without amendment on April 18, 1978, the House passed the bill on May 1, 1978. It became law on May 12, 1978.[80]

On February 4, 1992, the Committee reported, and the House completed action on, a Senate bill providing for additional membership on the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board. S. 1415 was signed into law by President Richard M. Nixon on February 18, 1992.[81]

Books and Music for the Blind and Other Handicapped Persons. A House bill to establish within the Library of Congress a library of musical scores and other instrumental materials for further educational, vocational, and cultural opportunities in the field of music for the blind was reported by the Committee on September 4, 1962. A Senate-passed version of the legislation was taken up by the House, however, and adopted by the House with amendments on September 17. After the Senate agreed to the House amendments, the measure was enacted into law on October 9, 1962.[82]

In 1966, the Committee considered a House bill to enable the Library of Congress to make books available to quadriplegics, the near blind, and other handicapped persons. Statements and testimony were taken from Librarian of Congress L. Quincy Mumford, Members of Congress, and representatives of national organizations for the blind and the handicapped during hearings held on March 29, 1966. Although the House measure was reported on June 2, a Senate counterpart proposal was passed in lieu on June 18, and was enacted into law on July 30, 1966.[83]

American Folklife Center. Beginning in 1971, "measures to increase the role of the federal government in folklife" started to attract congressional sponsors. "The initial impetus came from individuals and groups concerned primarily with the cultures of the Appalachian region, the South, the West, and native Americans. They were soon joined by proponents of the so-called 'ethnic,' black, and Hispanic cultures who [had] rejected the total assimilation of the American 'melting pot.'" By the 93rd Congress (1973–1974), more than "200 Members of Congress and more than half of the Senate [had] cosponsored bills" providing for the establishment of an American Folklife Center.[84]

The issued was revisited by the Committee's Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials in May 1974 during two days of extensive hearings on H.R. 17382, a bill to establish such a center in the Library. Witnesses included the Librarian of Congress, spokesmen for the Smithsonian Institution and the National Endowment for the Arts, and scholars and

representatives of folk and ethnic organizations. At the time, a "consensus was reached that the federal government has an appropriate role in the fostering and preservation of folk and ethnic traditions and that the federal government's effort thus far in this regard has been clearly inadequate." The Committee agreed that a serious federal effort was need to preserve the folk and ethnic cultures of Americans. While the Committee was aware that the National Endowments' enabling legislation permitted activities in the folklife area, it opted for a separate Folklife Center in the Library that "could become a focal point for federal efforts and for private participation." Following the hearings, the Committee favorably reported H.R. 17382.[85] Neither the House nor Senate took any subsequent action on bill, however, prior to the adjournment of the 93rd Congress eleven days later.

Not to be deterred, the Committee thirteen months later favorably reported yet another bill to mandate creation of an American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress. H.R. 6673 called for a Board of Trustees, reflecting an appropriate regional balance and with no more than three of four appointees from the same political party, to direct Center operations. The Center was authorized to enter into contracts, make grants, and award scholarships to encourage research, scholarship, training, performance, and workshops. It was also directed to establish and maintain a national archive and center for American folklife.[86] Approved by the House on September 8, the measure was passed by the Senate, with amendments, on December 11, 1975, and was subsequently enacted into law on January 2, 1976.[87]

On February 3, 1978, the Committee reported legislation to extend the authorization of appropriations for the American Folklife Center for a three-year period. The measure also stipulated that an appointee to the Center's Board of trustees was to serve for only such time as he or she remained an official with an agency concerned with folklife matters. It cleared the House on February 28. The bill passed the Senate passed on April 4, and it was signed into law by the President on April 17, 1978.[88]

The Committee again took up authorization of appropriations for the American Folklife Center in 1986. Following a June hearing on H.R. 4545 (99th Congress), the bill was favorably reported on August 15. H.R. 4545 passed the House on September 16 and the Senate on October 3, and became law on October 16, 1986.[89]

Center for the Book. Legislation providing for the establishment of a Center for the Book in the Library of Congress was reported by the Committee on July 12, 1977. Although it was approved by the House on September 26, the bill was tabled and a Senate-passed counterpart proposal was accepted in lieu with amendments. Subsequently, the Senate agreed to the House amendments, and the measure was enacted into law on October 13, 1977.[90]

Distribution of Documents Overseas. In May 1983, the Committee distributed a "Dear Colleague" letter to Members and committees clarifying procedures to be used in sending congressional documents overseas. The letter indicated that, in the future, the Exchange and Gift Division of the Library of Congress would distribute documents, such as congressional hearing transcripts, reports, and committee prints. Previously, distribution of such documents overseas was handled by the Smithsonian Institution. The letter noted that the Library also would ship congressional publications not available for sale through the Government Printing Office as a courtesy to Members and committees.[91]

Electronic Information Technologies, Applications and Studies. Later in 1983, the Committee considered a Senate concurrent resolution authorizing the Librarian of Congress to study the changing role of books in the future, focusing on new electronic techniques affecting creation and use of information traditionally published in printed books. On October 31, the Committee reported the measure; and on November 1, the House approved it with amendments. The Senate concurred with the House amendments on November 18, 1983.[92]

A proposal by the Librarian of Congress to implement a pilot program that would assess a fee for a service providing remote access between the Library's databases and 50 state libraries was a principal topic of discussion a September 18, 1990, meeting of the Joint Committee on the Library.[93]

On April 29, 2009, the Committee held a hearing on the Library's information technology strategic planning. During

the session, Committee members were briefed on the latest IT initiatives undertaken by the Library, including plans for increasing digital security, expanding Library's internet presence and the digitization of the Library's inventory.[94]

Law Library. The Committee was one of two House panels to which legislation providing financial support for the operation of the Law Library of the Library of Congress was referred. The Committee marked up the bill and ordered it reported on July 30, 2008. A written Committee report was filed on September 27, at which time the other Committee was discharged from further consideration of the legislation, and the bill was placed on the Union Calendar, but no further action was taken.[95]

Sound Recording and Film Preservation Programs. In 2008, the Committee acted on legislation offered by the chairman preauthorizing appropriations for the Library of Congress sound recording and film preservation programs through fiscal year 2016. The Committee marked up the proposal and ordered it to be reported on May 7, 2008. The House, acting under a suspension of the rules, approved it on June 4. The Senate passed the bill without amendment on September 16, clearing the legislation for the President, who signed it into law on October 2.[96]

National Recording Registry. A proposal establishing a National Recording Registry in the Library of Congress to maintain and preserve sound recordings that are culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant was introduced in mid-July 2000, and received House approval on July 25. The bill was referred to the Committee, but taken up for consideration by the House under a suspension of the rules. The Senate passed the measure, with amendments, on October 25. Shortly thereafter, on November 1, the House disagreed to the Senate amendments, and the Senate receded on its amendments, clearing the bill for the President's signature.[97]

Presidential Papers. The Committee's Subcommittee on the Library held hearings in 1957 on legislation authorizing the Librarian of Congress to arrange, index, and microfilm papers of the Presidents of the United States held by the Library of Congress. At the time the bill was being considered, the Library collection included the papers of 23 Presidents, ranging from those of George Washington to those of William Howard Taft.[98] Former President Harry S Truman strongly supported the measure, as did Librarian of Congress L. Quincy Mumford and Archivist of the United States Wayne C. Grover.[99] The bill was reported to, and approved by, the House on July 15, 1957, and subsequently enacted into law on August 16, 1957.[100]

Four years later, the Committee returned to the 1957 statute authorizing the Librarian of Congress to arrange, index, and microfilm papers of the Presidents of the United States held by the Library of Congress. Under consideration was a bill amending the statute by providing that officers or employees of the United States not be liable for damages for infringement of literary property rights by reason of any activity authorized by the 1957 law. Passed by the House on August 21, 1961, the amending legislation was enacted into law on September 21, 1961.[101]

Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church Records in Alaska. A major source of the vital records of Alaska, the records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church, also captured the attention of the Committee in 1961. On June 28, the Committee reported a bill supported both by the Governor of Alaska and the Librarian of Congress directing the Librarian "to arrange and prepare the Church's records for study and research, and to render accessible to the State and Federal agencies concerning the information contained therein relative to births, marriages, and deaths in Alaska."[102] Following House and Senate passage of S. 1644, the bill became law on July 31, 1961. [103]

Librarian of Congress Emeritus. On July 13, 1987, the Committee reported a House joint resolution conferring the honorary status of Librarian of Congress Emeritus on Daniel J. Boorstin. Although the House adopted this measure on July 21, this passage was subsequently vacated and a similar Senate-approved bill was adopted in lieu with amendments the same day. On May 12, 1987, the Senate passed the bill into law when agreeing to the House version.[104]

Library of Congress Bicentennial Commemorative Coin Act of 1998. To commemorate the bicentennial of

the Library of Congress, Committee Chairman William M. Thomas introduced the Library of Congress Commemorative coin Act of 1998. The act, which required the Secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the bicentennial of the Library, was not referred to the Committee. It was, however, actively involved in reviewing drafts of act as it was being considered. On six different occasions discussed the legislation at Committee meetings in 1998.[105]

Commemorating the Library's Bicentennial. In March 2000, a House concurrent resolution commending the Library of Congress and its employees, both past and present, on 200 years of service to Congress and the nation and encouraging the American public to participate in activities to commemorate the Library's bicentennial was introduced and referred to the Committee on House Administration. On March 28, the measure was called up for consideration under a suspension of the rules and, subsequently, was approved by the House. The Senate adopted the proposal on April 13, 2000.[106]

State of Our Nation's Libraries. Seeking to share the wealth of the collections of the Library of Congress more broadly throughout the United States, the Joint Committee on the Library held a hearing on the Library's "links to the Nation's state and local libraries." The purpose of the April 21, 1993, hearing was to "finding innovative and affordable ways to make the vast and unparalleled collections [of the Library of Congress] accessible to every American." Chairman Charlie Rose in his opening remarks stressed that providing "such access through our public library system, universities and research institutions, home computers and other off-site locations is an exciting task for the Library of Congress with oversight by the Joint Committee."[107]

Speaker's Civic Achievement Awards Program. On July 13, 1987, the Committee reported a House joint resolution establishing the Speaker's Civic Achievement Awards Program to be administered under the Librarian of Congress to recognize achievement in civic literacy by students, classes, and schools throughout the United States in grades five through eight. The House approved the measure on July 21; the Senate adopted the proposal with amendments on October 1; the House agreed to the Senate amendments on October 27; the President signed the modified bill into law on November 9, 1987.[108]

History of the House Representatives. Legislation introduced in late June 1999 directed the Librarian of Congress to arrange for the preparation, printing, and distribution of a history of the House in consultation with the Committee. Although this proposal was referred to the Committee, the House took it up for consideration under a suspension of the rules and passed it on October 25. The Senate passed it by unanimous consent on October 29, 1999, and the President signed the bill on November 11, 1999.[109] The history was published in 2006.[110]

Civil Rights Oral History Project. On September 15, 2008, the Committee reported legislation requiring the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and the Librarian of Congress, within the limits of available funds, to carry out a joint project to collect video and audio recordings of the personal histories and testimonials of individuals who participated in the civil rights movement from the 1950s through 1960s. The bill called for the two entities to survey existing collections of audio and video recordings of the reminiscences of civil rights movement participants, to collect additional recordings and relevant visual and written materials, and make the resulting collection available for public use through the two institutions. Under a suspension of the rules, the House approved the bill on September 17 but no further action was taken on the proposal during the 110th Congress.[111]

Early in the 111th Congress, however, the Project was revisited and this time the effort proved successful. On May 12, 2009, President Barack Obama signed the Civil Rights History Project Act of 2009. The law directs the Library of Congress (LOC) and the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) to conduct a survey of existing oral history collections with relevance to the Civil Rights Movement (CRM), and to record new interviews with people who participated in the Movement. The survey information

and portions of selected interviews are to be made available worldwide through the Project website. The interviews will become a permanent part of the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution. The act was marked up on March 25, 2009. The House suspended the rules and passed the bill on April 22 by a 422-0 vote. Two days later it passed the Senate without amendment by unanimous consent.[112]

Congressional Research Service

Origins and Development

The idea that legislators should have informational and reference services available to support their policymaking efforts was first acted upon in the late 19th century, when the new Director of the New York State Library in Albany, New York, Melvil Dewey, established a "legislative reference section."[113] While this service chiefly involved indexing and comparison of legislation, it was arguably the forerunner of similar library services today. The idea gained ground when taken up by some in the Progressive Movement[114]—first in Wisconsin, where reform proposals had the support of Governor Robert LaFollette. After the state legislature authorized, in 1901, the establishment of a library in the state capitol for legislator use, Charles McCarthy, the newly designated "document cataloger," became an active purveyor of information to state legislators. By 1903, the state legislature began appropriating funds for a designated "legislative reference service."[115]

Soon thereafter, a handful of federal legislators sought to provide Congress with a similar resource. Several Members of Congress proposed various versions of such a service between 1907 and 1911, but, not surprisingly, the concept was pushed most strongly by two legislators from Wisconsin—Senator Robert LaFollette, the former governor, and Representative John Nelson. As a result of one of their proposals, Congress formally mandated legislative reference services in 1914 legislation funding operations of the Library of Congress.[116] Although Librarian of Congress Herbert Putnam had established some limited reference assistance to Congress in 1901, the 1914 act allowed for expansion of this role. The act authorized establishment of what later became the Legislative Reference Service (LRS), which was directed to supply Congress with information to support its legislative role. This support consisted largely of providing legislative tracking services, summarizing facts, and transmitting publications from the Library's holdings, as well as research and analysis produced by other government agencies, and private and scholarly sources.[117]

In 1946, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress recommended sweeping changes in the internal structure of Congress and its support agencies, which were adopted in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.[118] This act gave permanent authority to LRS as a separate entity within the Library. One concern that prompted the reorganization—and the authority it provided to LRS—was the need for Congress to be independent of the executive branch for competent, high-level policy analysis and research. In order to address this concern, the act directed LRS to hire policy specialists who could provide expertise to Congress within each of the subject fields covered by the newly streamlined committee system also provided for in the act. As a result, LRS evolved further from being a reference service to something closer to its current incarnation as a corps of issue experts. The Committee on House Administration, which was established by the 1946 act, was given legislative and oversight jurisdiction for the Library of Congress and LRS. At that time, LRS employed 66 staff and received $178,000 in annual appropriations.[119]

The next time Congress significantly changed its internal organizational structure—with passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970—it once again directed LRS to redefine itself to better serve the informational and analytic needs of Congress.[120] The act renamed the Legislative Reference Service the Congressional Research Service (CRS) to emphasize the agency's role in serving only the Congress and its importance as an analysis resource with complete research independence, not simply as a reference service. The Service was also directed to provide core support to standing and select committees of each chamber, in addition to individual Members. The act explicitly addressed the Service's relationship with the Library of Congress, mandating that CRS be provided "maximum practicable administrative independence."[121]

While the House and Senate currently coordinate their supervision of the Library and its components through the Joint Committee on the Library (JCL), the Committee on House Administration retains House legislative and oversight jurisdiction for CRS.[122] For example, since 1972, the Director of CRS has submitted annual reports to the JCL, in accord with the 1970 act. In addition to the Committee on House Administration jurisdiction detailed in House Rule X, the annual legislative branch appropriations bill includes language that precludes CRS from publishing reports (other than the *Digest of Public General Bills*) without prior approval from either the Committee on House Administration, or its counterpart, the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.[123]

At the conclusion of the 110th Congress, the Service had some 675 employees and an annual budget of approximately $102 million.[124] CRS continues to serve a variety of legislative needs, producing oral and written responses to inquiries from congressional committees and Member offices, writing in-depth analyses of and conducting briefings on pending legislation and policy issues of congressional interest, providing orientation to new Members, training for congressional staff on legislative procedures, and compiling and organizing data on legislative activity. In each of these functions, CRS operates under its congressional mandate for strict confidentiality, accuracy, authoritativeness, timeliness, objectivity, and nonpartisanship.

LRS/CRS and Committee on House Administration

Since its first years in existence, the Committee on House Administration has provided guidance and oversight of CRS, and its predecessor, the Legislative Reference Service (LRS). It has also engaged in a productive working relationship with the Service on a wide variety of initiatives and projects that have significantly aided the House in its legislative and administrative functions. When the Committee was established, management at LRS looked to it for policy guidance, especially with regard to interpretation of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.[125] Committee members responded by undertaking a study in 1948 of the work of LRS and its relationship with standing committee staff, testifying at legislative branch appropriations hearings, issuing directives on the appropriate content of LRS reports, and by providing clear protocols for LRS staff loaned to House committees.[126] As part of ongoing efforts to understand and address the challenges of LRS, the Committee printed a 1958 report from then-LRS Director, Dr. Ernest Griffith, entitled *The Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress: A Memorandum on Its Achievements, Problems and Potential, With Recommendations for Its Improvement,* which addressed many of the issues with which the Committee would concern itself in coming years.[127]

As House committees and Members' offices placed increased emphasis on receiving relevant and timely legislative and policy information, the Committee helped guide the Service in making its expertise more valuable and accessible to Members, committees, and staff. In recent years, for example, the Committee has worked with the CRS Director to ensure that the services to Congress include economic, social, and political forecasting on issues relating to racial minorities.[128] The Committee further worked with CRS on its plan to streamline access to CRS resources by closing the underutilized Ford Reference Center, changing the hours of operation at other reference centers, and ensuring CRS's congressional focus by restricting the Service's briefings to non-congressional audiences.[129] In addition, the Committee has been instrumental in facilitating the availability of the new CRS product homepage and demonstrations of its uses to staff.[130] In recent years, CRS has participated in a Committee Task Force that examined CRS on-line issues and worked with the Committee on the implementation of THOMAS and the new Legislative Information System (LIS).[131] CRS has also supported the Committee's work relating to House Information Resources (and its predecessor, House Information Systems).

Beyond overseeing and streamlining CRS services to committees and Members, the Committee has also been instrumental in encouraging and facilitating an enhanced role for CRS in legislative process training and policy briefings for congressional staff. For example, the Committee

co-sponsored CRS's newly established Legislative Institutes when they began in FY1977, and co-sponsored District/State Staff Institutes in FY1980 (in conjunction with the committee's Office of Management Services).[132] In the latter case, the Committee staff assisted CRS in offering institutes to staff in selected locations outside the Washington, DC, metropolitan area. Soon afterwards, the Committee took a comprehensive look at possible overlap in such orientation and training efforts. As a result of the study, the Committee helped streamline such efforts by discontinuing certain duplicative training offered by the Office of the Clerk of the House in the 97th Congress (1981–1982), for example.[133] The Committee facilitated the popularity of these training opportunities with staff by actively disseminating information to them (including district staff) about available CRS programs.[134] Recently, the Committee noted that CRS had been doing work in presenting new Member orientations over the years; beginning in the 105th Congress, the Committee, in collaboration with joint House leadership, designated the Service's programs as the official seminar on congressional issues for new House Members.[135]

Additionally, the Committee has relied on CRS for assistance with various reports and directives to House committees and Members on organizational issues. In 1978, the Committee printed a compilation of CRS reports that documented changes in the budget, staffing, and administration of the House during the post-WWII era.[136] Experts from LRS/CRS wrote additional specialized reports at the request of the Committee, including *History of the House of Representatives* in 1962, an expanded and revised version of the same *(History of the United States House of Representatives: 1789-1994)* in 1994, and a history of all congressional actions pertaining to the Capitol Police force from 1789–1984 (1985).[137] Over the years, LRS/CRS also assisted with the preparation of other reports printed by the Committee, as well as the activity of special task forces. For instance, CRS helped prepare *Committee Records Guidelines: Guidelines for Standing and Select Committees in the Preparation, Filing, Archiving, and Disposal of Committee Records,* published in 1979,[138] and supported a Member Task Force established by the Committee in 1990 to suggest guidelines to the House in implementing the Fair Labor Standards Act for the chamber.[139]

The JCL held a meeting on September 18, 1990, to consider several matters including: (1) approval of proposed guidelines for seeking private funding for programs of the Congressional Research Service (CRS); (2) approval of a proposal, presented by the CRS director, to establish an information and research exchange program between CRS and the legislature of the Soviet Union; and (3), pursuant to the recommendations of the Speaker's task force on the development of parliamentary institutions in Eastern Europe, the appropriateness of the Library, particularly its CRS, to participate in the congressional effort to assist the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe.[140]

While the Committee has helped provide valuable guidance to CRS regarding its services to Congress, it has also looked at various CRS management issues—for example, with regard to hiring and workforce issues. This oversight has usually been in the context of personnel issues within the broader context of the Library of Congress. In 1990 and 1993, the Committee held joint hearings with the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on minority underrepresentation at the Library, including CRS.[141] In the 109th Congress (2005-2006), the Committee conducted an oversight hearing on current Library of Congress initiatives, which included some attention to CRS workforce issues—specifically, a reduction-in-force action relating to support personnel.[142]

During the 112th Congress, as directed by law, the Joint Committee on the Library began consultations regarding the search for a new Congressional Research Service Director.[143] Subsequently, on December 5, 2011, Librarian of Congress James H. Billington appointed Dr. Mary B. Mazanec as CRS Director.

Congressional Printing, Document Distribution, and Records Management

Origins and Development

Congress has a long history of providing for the official printing and publishing of not only the literature of the House

of Representatives and the Senate, but also the literature of the executive branch and the Supreme Court.[144] Key players in this policymaking and administration were the printing committees of Congress, the Joint Committee on Printing (JCP), and, since 1947, the Committee on House Administration. Five senior members of the Committee on House Administration serve, by law, as the House members of the Joint Committee.

Establishing Printing Arrangements. Beginning in 1789, the new federal Congress quickly provided for the printing and distribution of the laws and treaties,[145] the preservation of state papers,[146] and the maintenance of official files in the new departments.[147] The printing and distribution of both the House and Senate journals was authorized in 1813.[148] Congress arranged for a contemporaneous summary of chamber floor proceedings to be published in the *Register of Debates* beginning in 1824. It then switched in 1833 to the weekly *Congressional Globe,* which sought to chronicle every step in the legislative process of the two houses, and then established a daily publication schedule for the *Globe* in 1865.[149] Subsequently, the *Congressional Record,* produced by the new, statutorily mandated Government Printing Office (GPO), succeeded the *Globe* in March 1873 as the official congressional gazette.[150]

Provision was initially made in 1846 for the routine printing of all congressional reports, special documents, and bills.[151] While these responsibilities were met for many years through the use of contract printers, such arrangements proved to be subject to considerable political manipulation and abuse. Consequently, in 1860, Congress established the GPO to produce all of its literature and to serve, as well, the printing needs of the executive branch.[152] Additional aspects of government-wide printing and publication policy were set with the landmark Printing Act of 1895, which is the source of much of the basic policy still found in the printing chapters of Title 44 of the *United States Code.*[153]

Establishing Distribution Arrangements. In addition to providing for the publication of the statutes and a variety of legislative literature (including executive branch materials, which were initially produced as House or Senate documents), promoting newspaper reprinting of federal laws and treaties, and circulating printed documents through official sources, Congress also developed a depository library program to further facilitate public knowledge of government actions. In 1859, the Secretary of the Interior was statutorily tasked with distributing all books printed or purchased for the use of Congress or executive branch entities.[154] A decade later, in 1869, a subordinate officer in the department—the Superintendent of Public Documents—was charged with this responsibility.[155] Distributions were made to certain libraries located throughout the country which were designated as depositories for government documents. The arrangement had begun in 1813 with congressional materials,[156] and was extended in 1857 to include other federal literature.[157] The Printing Act of 1895 relocated the Superintendent of Public Documents, making the position, retitled the Superintendent of Documents, an integral and important element within the GPO.[158]

In the relocation process, the Superintendent was also given responsibility for managing the sale of government documents and preparing periodic indices of GPO products. Until 1904, the sale stock available to the Superintendent derived entirely from such materials as were provided for this purpose by the departments and agencies or were returned from the depository libraries. The situation was altered when the Superintendent was granted authority to reprint any departmental publication, with the consent of the pertinent Secretary, for public sale.[159] Congress legislated comparable discretion to reproduce its documents in 1922.[160]

Created in 1947 under the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946,[161] the Committee on House Administration succeeded the House Committee on Printing (1846–1946) as committee of jurisdiction for various aspects of government printing. These included GPO operations and management, amendment and modification of the printing chapters of Title 44 of the *United States Code,* and printing and correction of the *Congressional Record.* This statute also made the chairman and two members of the Committee on House

Administration members of the Joint Committee on Printing (discussed below),[162] which was increased to 10 members of evenly divided bicameral representation in 1981.[163] Of the five Committee on House Administration membership positions, three seats are represented by the majority and 2 by the minority. Oversight of government printing was vested in both panels.

Contract Printers and Printing Act of 1819. In the initial years of its operations, the federal government relied upon contract printers to produce its initial public documents. Until 1794, such printing was paid for from the contingent fund of Congress and the executive departments, but that year it was included in a line item concerning "firewood, stationary, and printing-work."[164] When the government moved to Washington in 1800, some Philadelphia printers followed it and other printing shops sprang up in the city, producing newspapers and other literature. As a consequence of the personal politics of some of these printers, their newspapers became unofficial party organs, and the production of public printing was transformed into a form of spoils. This development contributed oftentimes to problems concerning the quality, pricing, and timely production of public printing. Such problems, however, appear to have existed to some extent from the outset of the letting of printing to the lowest bidder. "The work was done in a very imperfect manner," according to one assessment of the situation during the early Washington years, "and excited from time to time an endless amount of unfavorable criticism; it was also very expensive and unsatisfactory because of delays and inaccuracies in its execution."[165]

A joint investigating committee established in December 1818 proposed a National Printing Office as a remedy, but qualified this recommendation as requiring "some deliberation" which neither the congressional schedule nor the press of other business would allow.[166] Instead, Congress approved the hastily drafted Printing Act of 1819, which established a schedule of prices, authorized each house to elect a printer to execute its work, and permitted the same elected printer to serve both the House and the Senate.[167] The law was flawed in two regards: its fixed rates for printing did not anticipate printing technology advances, and its institutionalization of congressional printers further entrenched partisan politics in the production of public printing. As experience was gained under the 1819 statute, "it was evident that the rates fixed by that law were too high and that printing profits were large."[168]

An investigation of the situation by a House committee during the first three months of 1840 resulted in a recommended reduction in printing rates by 15% and closer attention to improved printing techniques on production costs. Minority members of the panel, however, sought a deeper cut in printing rates; revived the idea of a National Printing Office; and "showed that current Government printing at 1819 rates had cost $150,000, but under Government supervision would have cost $80,000."[169] Eventually, printing rates were reduced by 20%, but legislation establishing a government printing facility was rejected.

Joint Committee on Printing. Two years later, Congress restored lowest bidder contract printing for the production of congressional and executive department stationary and all other executive job printing.[170] Congress next restored the contract system for all of its public printing in 1846, and established, as well, a bipartisan, bicameral, six-member joint committee "to remedy any neglect or delay on the part of the contractor to execute the work ordered by Congress, and to make a *pro rata* reduction in the compensation allowed, or to refuse the work altogether, should it be inferior to the standard."[171] This was the mandate for the Joint Committee on Printing. While promising, this "system, which proved the most expensive of any tried up to this time, and perhaps the most unsatisfactory, remained in operation until 1852."[172] That year, Congress repealed the 1846 statute, returned to each house electing a printer, and created a Superintendent of the Public Printing with a two-year term to supervise work ordered by the congressional printers.[173] The Superintendent was to be "a practical printer, versed in the various branches of the arts of printing and book-binding, and . . . not . . . interested directly or indirectly in any contract for printing for Congress or for any department or bureau of the government." The Joint Committee on Printing was continued, and was empowered to decide disputes between the Superinten-

dent and the congressional printers. One of the subsequent House printers, Cornelius Wendell, shortly after his election to his position in February 1856, established a modern printing plant at North Capitol and H Streets in northwest Washington, which would later become the home of the Government Printing Office (GPO).[174]

Government Printing Office. Congressional investigations in 1858 and 1860 revealed exorbitant cost, profiteering, and poor quality in the production of public printing. Both inquiries recommended the creation of a government-owned printing office to remedy the situation.[175] In June 1860, Congress, after some bitter debate, mandated the establishment of the GPO by joint resolution. Scheduled to begin operations on March 4, 1861, the new office was under the general direction of the Superintendent of Public Printing, with the Joint Committee on Printing setting paper standards.[176] The former Wendell printing facility was purchased as the home for the GPO. Shortly after the office opened for business, rebellion erupted in South Carolina, and the nation prepared for civil war. Government Printing Office employees not only set type day and night, but also drilled as soldiers to protect the building and the city.

> Government printing orders mushroomed. Presses jammed every corner. Machines in private shops were rented. Paper doubled, trebled in cost, and became almost unobtainable, and in 1864 sold for $560 a ton. Printers demanded $24 a week. A private firm lent payroll money to the GPO. Yet in the first six months of operation, the Office saved more than its purchase cost of $135,000.[177]

The Government Printing Office fared well during the war years. In 1865, funds were appropriated for an expansion of the printing facility, the addition providing space for nearly 1,000 workers. The dollar value for printing production was a little over $2 million, and the Superintendent announced that, while executive department requisitions had decreased considerably with the cessation of warfare, "the large amount of deferred printing for Congress and that which will be ordered at the present session . . . will doubtless be enough to work the whole establishment up to its full capacity for the next 2 years."[178]

In February 1867, the head of GPO was designated the Congressional Printer, who was to be elected by, and was to be deemed an officer of, the Senate. Candidates for the new position were to be a "competent person, who shall be a practical printer," and would "manage the government printing office." The Superintendent of Public Printing position was abolished.[179]

When the GPO began operations in 1861, the production of the *Congressional Globe,* the official congressional gazette reporting House and Senate floor proceedings, remained in private hands—the contract printers Blair & Rives. A decade later, criticism was mounting over the bulk and excessive cost of *Globe* printing. There was reluctance in some quarters to renew the *Globe* contract, which was due to expire on March 4, 1871. When the Joint Committee on Printing invited proposals for the production of the congressional gazette, among those submitting a bid was Congressional Printer Almon W. Clapp. Subsequently, provision was made in the civil expenses appropriation act of March 3, 1873, indicating that, "until a contract is made, the debates shall be printed by the congressional printer, under the direction of the joint committee on public printing on the part of the Senate."[180] On March 5, 1873, the first GPO-produced edition of the *Congressional Record*—the name selected by the Joint Committee on Printing for the new gazette—made its appearance (discussed below).[181]

In 1876, the head of GPO was designated the Public Printer, who was to be appointed by the President with Senate confirmation. An appointee to the position was to be "a suitable person, who must be a practical printer, and versed in the art of book binding."[182]

Entering the Modern Era. The landmark Printing Act of 1895 consolidated and revised fragmented printing law made during the previous 50 years. It relocated the Superintendent of Public Documents from the Department of the Interior to the GPO, where the position was retitled the Superintendent of Documents and made responsible for the distribution of public documents, as well as their sale. This

official would also prepare periodic indices of GPO products, and would manage the depository library program. In addition, the statute officially recognized the apprentice system at the GPO, and fixed the compensation of printers, pressmen, and bookbinders.[183] These provisions, however, would soon be tested and outstripped by advancing technology, new labor demands, and burgeoning costs. One important development was the Kiess Act of 1924 which authorized the Public Printer to regulate and fix rates of pay for GPO employees through a wage conference with each of the trade unions. Rates agreed upon were subject to approval by the Joint Committee on Printing before becoming effective.[184]

Earlier, in 1917, the Joint Committee on Printing in view of its administrative responsibilities, had been authorized to exercise, when Congress was not in session, all of its powers and duties as provided by law in the same manner as when Congress was in session.[185] The Joint Committee on Printing was particularly beleaguered during the period of World War II. The departments of War and Navy, as well as the emergency war agencies, pressed the Joint Committee for waivers to have their many printing needs met by contractors without supervision by, or conformity with the requirements of, the GPO. When these entities, and other government organizations, found that their greatly expanded printing needs were frustrated by slow deliveries, poor quality of work, multiple typographical errors, flimsy grades of paper, and damaged products, they heaped their many complaints on the Joint Committee on Printing, "whose lot during the war was not a happy one."[186]

In 1946, as part of the post-war conversion of the federal government, the Bureau of the Budget (BOB), predecessor to the current Office of Management and Budget, transferred a number of agency field printing facilities to the GPO with attendant equipment and personnel problems and private printer concerns regarding their continued operations. Public Printer Augustus B. Giegengack, working with the Joint Committee on Printing, sought to consolidate and eliminate these field plants, to make operational changes in those remaining, and to induce BOB participation in a study leading to the revision and codification of the printing laws.[187] While Public Printers, with Joint Committee on Printing support, enjoyed some success in paring down inherited printing field plants during the next several years, revision of the printing laws would not occur until 1968 when Title 44 of the *United States Code* was recodified.[188]

A New House Administration Committee

It was also in 1946, of course, that the Committee on House Administration was established by the Legislative Reorganization Act, and the chairman and two members of that panel were made the House members of the Joint Committee on Printing.[189] The Committee on House Administration exercised both legislative and oversight authority regarding the GPO and public printing policy. While it lacked any legislative authority, the Joint Committee on Printing functioned as a corporate board of directors for GPO operations—approving or disapproving, among other matters, requisitions of machinery, material, equipment, and supplies; contract and field plant printing; and paper standards—and otherwise prescribed printing and binding regulations for almost all public printing. Later, in 1983, the authority of the Joint Committee on Printing to exercise broad remedial powers and issue regulations came under constitutional challenge (discussed below).

From its earliest days, one of the recurring activities of the Committee was to consider and act on resolutions for the production of congressional documents having educational or otherwise informative value. Such resolutions might authorize the production of an original study, history, or compilation, or printing of an updated version of an existing work. In the 80th Congress (1947–1948), such literature included studies of the tactics and strategy of communism and fascism, the effectiveness of anti-racketeering laws, economic concentration and monopoly, and housing in America. Assessments of fascism and communism continued to be documents of publication attention in the 81st Congress (1949–1950), as well as studies of American foreign policy, Korea, executive reorganization, and fair labor standards, and a biographical directory of all Members of Congress, including those who had served as

recently as through the previous Congress. Authorization to print and bind a revised edition of *Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives* was reported and adopted by the House on August 21, 1950, and enacted into law on August 30, 1950.[190]

Resolutions in the 82nd Congress (1951–1952) reported by the Committee and approved by the House authorized the printing of a compilation of federal laws pertaining to veterans for the period 1914-1950; documents and studies concerning Communist subversion and infiltration; a review of congressional actions concerning housing from 1892 to 1951; briefs and documents filed with the Supreme Court concerning the steel seizure case;[191] a complete collection of presidential inaugural addresses; the report of the Architect of the Capitol on remodeling the House chamber and reconstruction of the roofs and skylights over the House wing of the Capitol; and reports of the Comptroller General of the United States.

In 1953, for the first time, the Committee authorized the printing of United States wall maps for use in the offices of members of the House and Senate.

Printing resolutions reported by the Committee and approved during the 84th Congress (1955–1956) included the production of additional copies of hearing transcripts concerning civil defense (held by a subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations); medical, biology, and agriculture research using radioactive isotopes (held by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy); and automation and technological change (held by a Senate committee).

The range of topics addressed in studies and reports approved for printing by the Committee and the House during the 86th Congress (1959–1960) included the Code of Ethics for government service, a space handbook on astronautics and its applications, a projected assessment of the next 10 years in space, patterns of espionage, an assessment of American foreign aid activities, and the organization and management of missile programs.

The topical diversity of the studies and reports approved for printing by the Committee and the House continued to expand with succeeding Congresses, reflecting the broad interests, concerns, and policy pursuits of the committees of the House and the Senate. During the 90th Congress (1967–1968), the Committee reported 49 resolutions authorizing the production of studies and reports as House documents. While this was a demanding task for the committee, considering and approving the publication of congressional studies and reports continues to be an important responsibility in furtherance of the informing function of Congress.

The Committee, since its inception, has also considered most general measures relating to printing. In mid-March 1949, the Committee reported a bill amending the Printing Act of 1895 to regulate increasing printing costs by requiring that authorization for the printing of extra copies of a House or Senate document require a formal vote. Extra copies costing up to $1,200 would be authorized by either house by a vote on a simple resolution. If the cost were higher, extra copies would be authorized by a vote on a concurrent resolution (both houses approving). Should the resolution be self-appropriating, a joint resolution would be necessary (both houses approving and the President signing). The Committee on House Administration and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, when reporting such resolutions, were directed to provide an estimate of the probable cost of the proposed printing. If the cost did not exceed $700, the printing of additional copies could be ordered by the Joint Committee on Printing. Earlier, such resolutions had been referred to the House and Senate Committees on Printing, which had been abolished by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The legislation amending the Printing Act was approved by the House on March 14, 1949, and was enacted into law on April 19, 1949.[192]

Shortly thereafter, on June 15, the Committee reported, and the House passed, a bill providing that certain federal government printing, binding, and blankbook work could be contracted outside, but through, the GPO, if such action was approved by the Joint Committee on Printing. The bill was subsequently enacted into law on July 5, 1949.[193]

In 1951, the Committee considered and reported a Senate-passed measure amending a 1935 law pertaining to the publication of the *Official Register of the United States.*[194] The legislation set a definite time of publication—on or before December 31 of each year. The House passed the bill on August 20, and the proposal was enacted into law a week later on August 27, 1951.[195]

A decade later, the Committee reported and the House passed on June 29, 1961, a Senate-approved bill increasing distribution of the *Congressional Record* to the federal judiciary. The bill was enacted into law on July 11, 1961.[196]

During the 96th Congress (1979–1980), the Committee undertook a reorganization of government printing arrangements in response to technological advances in dissemination and access to government information. This effort made use of a management study of the GPO conducted from March through October 1978 by the consulting firm of Coopers and Lybrand.[197] It also built upon the work of an Ad Hoc Advisory Committee on Revision of Title 44, established by the Joint Committee on Printing in May 1978 to identify the major issues and policy questions involved in overhauling relevant chapters of Title 44 of the *United States Code.* Comments were solicited from federal agencies, private industry, trade associations, labor unions, the library community, and other interested groups. The Advisory Committee began deliberations on November 8, 1978, with hearings continuing for 13 weeks. These proceedings consumed nearly 2,000 pages of transcript records. In May 1979, the panel transmitted a report with findings and policy issues to the Joint Committee on Printing.[198]

By June 1979, draft legislation recodifying and substantially revising nine of the first 10 chapters of Title 44 was completed and subsequently introduced in the House. After holding four days of hearings on this measure in July 1979, the Committee considered a revised bill, marked it up with amendments, and reported it in January 1980. Both the Committee on Rules and the Committee on Government Operations claimed sequential jurisdiction on the proposal, which was further modified by these panels. No further action was taken on the legislation during the remainder of the 96th Congress.

Before the conclusion of the 96th Congress, however, the Committee considered a House bill transferring to the Superintendent of Documents responsibility for distributing federal government publications to foreign governments. The measure was reported on May 20, and was passed by the House on June 3, 1980, but no further action was taken.

During the 97th Congress (1981–1982), the Committee's Subcommittee on Contracts and Printing actively engaged in oversight of congressional printing and binding, as well as other matters pertaining to the cost of printing; the operations and management of the GPO; the administration of the federal depository libraries; materials printed in the *Congressional Record;* and authorization for printing Army Engineer reports. Included were cost-saving recommendations for the *Congressional Handbook,* the *Congressional Staff Journal,* the House telephone directory, and other congressional publications. During the two-year period, the Subcommittee achieved a total cost savings of $877,319 for congressional printing. This was accomplished through review of authorization requests for printing matters and the production costs of House publications.

The Subcommittee also monitored labor negotiations between GPO management and labor unions, and worked with the staff of the Joint Committee on Printing concerning matters of general oversight regarding federal government printing activities. Subcommittee staff assessed proposals for the Joint Committee on Printing with special emphasis on the Joint Committee's study of agency printing plants, the GPO proposal to close its bookstores, the Joint Committee on Printing's proposal regarding automation of the *Congressional Record* index, and proposed uniform binding standards. Before the end of the 97th Congress, the Subcommittee additionally reviewed the Public Printer's proposed furlough of GPO employees.

Task Force on the Printing Procurement Program. The Subcommittee continued to monitor congressional printing, binding, and distribution, including related costs, during

the 98th Congress (1983–1984). It also continued to oversee GPO operations and management, federal depository library administration, and *Congressional Record* content. It was also in 1983 that the Joint Committee on Printing established a Task Force on the Printing Procurement Program composed of printing industry representatives, departmental printing officers, GPO procurement managers, and Joint Committee on Printing staff. The Joint Committee on Printing had determined three years earlier that, at that time, the GPO was procuring 70% of the federal government's printing by contract from the private sector. In March 1980, the Joint Committee on Printing inaugurated a 15-month series of public meetings across the country to examine the effectiveness of this contract printing arrangement. As an extension of this activity, the Task Force was established to develop a set of recommendations for improving the GPO regional printing program. It held a series of 10 meetings, and issued a final report to the Joint Committee on Printing on May 18, 1984. Indicating "that the GPO Regional Printing and Procurement Offices [RPPO] should provide quality printing and distribution services for the Government through the private commercial sector in the most timely and cost-effective manner," and "that, to the greatest extent possible, agency customer printing requirements originating in, or to be delivered in, a geographical region should be procured by the GPO-RPPO in that region unless insufficient competition is available to procure the products in a timely, qualitative, and cost-effective manner," the Task Force offered 17 recommendations.[199] The following description was offered in the report:

> The Task Force's 17 recommendations deal with improving communications among departmental customers, the Government Printing Office, and private printers from whom printing is procured; with improving ways for reviewing agencies printing needs; with improving GPO staff capabilities; with improving contract procedures; with shortening the time required between identification of agency needs and letting the contract for procuring the needed work; with improving methods for ensuring contract compliance; and with providing opportunities for the hiring of personnel displaced by the closing of departmental field printing plants.[200]

A Constitutional Challenge. In a June 23, 1983, ruling in *INS v. Chadha,* the Supreme Court found adoption of a simple resolution by one house of Congress to veto executive action or policy unconstitutional because it was an exercise of legislative power which did not follow the constitutionally prescribed lawmaking process: bicameral adoption and presentation of a bill or joint resolution to the President for signature or veto.[201] The potential breadth of the Court's ruling was signaled by its definition of a legislative act. Whether an action is an exercise of legislative power will depend on its purpose and effect. This ruling concluded that, where such action has "the purpose and effect of altering legal rights, duties and relations of persons . . . outside the legislative branch," it must be effected through the constitutionally-mandated lawmaking process.[202] The broad reach of the Court's rationale was shortly confirmed by its summary affirmance of two appeals court rulings invalidating one- and two-house vetoes of agency rulemaking, and was shortly recognized by the Department of Justice as an effective vehicle to challenge the very foundation of congressional control of federal printing.[203]

Until *Chadha,* the historic prerogative of Congress to control public printing through the Joint Committee on Printing was virtually unquestioned. The basic authority of the panel—to "use any measures it considers necessary to remedy neglect, delay, duplication, or waste in the public printing and binding and the distribution of Government publications"—is sweeping and unqualified.[204] Its exercise extends beyond oversight and veto to affirmative direction and control. The Joint Committee on Printing's role had been likened to that of the board of directors of a corporation, and it assumed powers of commensurate scope without any serious challenge.[205] This status was confirmed by a decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia

Circuit announced shortly before *Chadha*.[206]

In sum, by 1983, the statutory scheme of Title 44, *United States Code,* as interpreted by the courts, GAO, and Attorney General, appeared to prescribe a predominant role for the Joint Committee on Printing with respect to the central tasks of satisfying the printing needs of Congress and the other branches of government, and making it possible for the broadest segment of the public to have direct access to government publications. In order to assure accomplishment of those tasks, Congress long ago had established the Joint Committee on Printing to oversee the process and invested it with ample power to enforce compliance, either directly pursuant to its remedial authority, or indirectly through its general managing agent, the Public Printer. The *Chadha* ruling resulted not only in uncertainty about the legal status of the Joint Committee on Printing's remedial powers concerning government printing and its printing and binding regulations, but also questioning by the Department of Justice and the Office of Management and Budget of the longstanding assumption that Congress, through the Joint Committee on Printing, had plenary authority to control public printing throughout the federal government.

During the 100th Congress (1987–1988), the Joint Committee on Printing held a June 17, 1987, meeting to consider, among other matters: (1) GPO sales of publications in electronic formats; (2) changes in the Federal Acquisition Regulation and the Joint Committee on Printing's role; (3) advertising policy for the armed forces *Stars and Stripes* newspapers; and (4) the adoption of Committee rules regarding the hiring of staff. A year later, on June 29, 1988, the Joint Committee on Printing met to consider GPO labor-management matters and to review demonstration projects using electronic media to distribute information to depository libraries.

During the first session of the 101st Congress (1989–1990), The Committee's Subcommittee on Procurement and Printing held hearings on May 23 and 24, and June 28 and 29, 1989, to review the printing chapters of Title 44, *United States Code,* with a view to changes in electronic information format, distribution, and technology in the past decade.[207] Shortly thereafter, the Subcommittee held hearings on July 19, 20, and 25 on a House resolution requiring the Architect of the Capitol to establish a voluntary program for recycling paper disposed of in the operation of the House of Representatives. The resolution was reported by the Committee and adopted by the House on August 1, 1989. The matter received further consideration by the Subcommittee the following year when hearings were held on August 1 and 2, 1990, on a bill to require Congress to purchase recycled paper and paper products to the greatest extent practicable for its own uses. No further action was taken on the legislation. Earlier in the year, on March 7 and 8, the Subcommittee held hearings on a bill to modify the activities and operations of the GPO in view of new information technologies, but no further action was taken on the proposal.[208] On July 26 and 27, 1990, the Subcommittee held oversight hearings on the GPO general sales program.[209]

The Joint Committee on Printing began the 102nd Congress (1991–1992) with a January 24, 1991, oversight hearing on the GPO growing out of a September 1990 General Accounting Office (GAO) report critical of GPO management,[210] and focusing on an action plan prepared by the GPO in response to the GAO report.[211] A few months later, on April 25, the Joint Committee on Printing held a hearing on government information as a public asset and an organizational meeting. Among those testifying at the hearing were Librarian of Congress James H. Billington, representatives of university libraries, and spokesmen from public interest groups.[212] Shortly thereafter, on June 19 and July 24, the Joint Committee on Printing held hearings exploring the impact of new information technologies on, and their application and use by, the GPO.[213]

At the outset of the second session of the 102nd Congress, the Joint Committee on Printing held a January 30, 1992, hearing reviewing the ongoing management of the GPO.[214] Later in the year, the Committee on House Administration, together with the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, jointly held a July 23 hearing on legislation requiring the GPO to expand efforts to disseminate government information in electronic format by providing a single point of online computer access to federal publications and

databases. The Committee reported a bill on this matter on September 29, 1992, and it was approved by the House that same day, but no further action was taken before Congress adjourned *sine die.*[215]

A few months into the next Congress, the Committee, on April 1, 1993, reported a bill requiring the GPO to establish and maintain an online directory of federal publications stored in electronic format and to provide online computer access to the *Congressional Record* and the *Federal Register.* No further action, however, was taken on this measure. On May 25, the Committee reported a Senate bill establishing in the GPO a means of enhancing electronic public access to a wide variety of federal electronic information, which the House approved that same day, clearing the bill for the President's signature on June 8.[216]

On July 15, 1993, the Joint Committee on Printing held an oversight hearing on the Defense Printing Service, exploring concerns about duplication of effort, relative to the GPO, and high costs.[217]

The Congressional Record: Printing and Correction. Problems of cost and waste in public printing in the years prior to 1861 which led to the establishment of the GPO began to be repeated a decade later in the reporting and printing of congressional floor proceedings. The *Congressional Globe*, the official gazette providing these proceedings, continued to be produced by Blair & Rives, contract printers, after the GPO had been mandated. With their contract due to expire on March 4, 1871, Blair & Rives experienced mounting criticism about the bulk and excessive expense of the *Globe*—production of the gazette during 1861–1871 had cost $744,117. When the Joint Committee on Printing sought alternative proposals for the production of the gazette, it was revealed that the GPO had the capacity to meet the need. With this discovery, provision was made in an appropriation bill to have the Congressional Printer produce the gazette until a private contractor was selected for the task.[218] The likelihood of such a contract being awarded, however, was not particularly promising given the surrounding circumstances. Thus, on March 5, 1873, the GPO issued the first edition of the *Congressional Record*, as the successor to the Globe had been denominated by the Joint Committee on Printing.[219]

Shaping the Modern. The *Congressional Record*, like the *Congressional Globe* before it, is not the official record of the proceedings of the House and the Senate. That function is fulfilled by the constitutionally mandated journal of each house of Congress.[220] The Printing Act of 1895 specified that the Record "shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings" on the floor of the House and the Senate. Furthermore, the Joint Committee on Printing "shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record."[221] From its inauguration in 1873, the Record underwent minor changes in its original format, such as occurred in 1904 when typesetting by machines replaced hand composition. A change in type dress in 1930, approved by the Joint Committee on Printing, "introduced an entirely new and more legible typeface, with greater readability and better typographic appearance."[222] Another typographical facelift for the Record was approved in 1941, resulting in "an improved appearance, increased readability, saved space, and its two columns were increased to three."[223] The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 authorized and directed the Joint Committee on Printing "to provide for printing in the Daily Record the legislative program for the day, together with a list of congressional committee meetings and hearings, and the place of meeting and subject matter; and to cause a brief resume of congressional activities for the previous day to be incorporated in the Record, together with an index of its contents."[224] This "brief resume of congressional activities," which became known as the Daily Digest, made its first appearance in the *Record* of March 17, 1947.[225]

In 1968, at the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, the existing Appendix to the *Record,* which had come to include legislative statements not delivered on the floor of either house of Congress, letters, newspaper and magazine articles, and similar such extraneous material offered by Representatives and Senators, became the Extension of Remarks section. It continued to contain miscellaneous submissions, accepted for inclusion by unanimous consent, by largely House members. Contributors to the Extension of Remarks are listed alphabetically on the last page of the relevant issue of the *Record.*

Another practice in the House concerning the Record and requiring unanimous consent pertains to Members revising and extending their remarks. The practice was designed to allow the correction of grammatical and factual errors made in the course of speaking extemporaneously on the floor, and perhaps even to expedite floor debate by permitting brief remarks which could be later expanded into fuller speeches. Nonetheless, one congressional analyst has offered the following observation.

> That, however, has not been the only way the authority to "revise and extend" has been used. Instead, it has also been used as an open license for the Representative to insert anything he desired into the *Congressional Record*. Every member of the House, before he has begun to address the House, has automatically asked for this authority. Some of the Representatives never have exercised the extraordinary license thus granted, preferring to let their formal remarks stand in the *Congressional Record* as spoken. Most of the members, however, have taken advantage of this opportunity to cram the Record with speeches never spoken on the floor. Indeed, some Representatives who have rarely addressed their colleagues in formal debate have appeared in the *Congressional Record* to be the most talkative members of the House. They have been free to use the Record for that purpose. The House has even encouraged it. After every major bill has been passed, the chairman of the sponsoring committee by custom has made a general request to allow all members of the House to add to the *Congressional Record* of the debate whatever they wished. "Mr. Speaker," the committee chairman perfunctorily would say, "I ask unanimous consent that all members of the House be granted five legislative days to revise and extend their remarks at this point in the *Record*." That authority, automatically granted, has allowed any member of the House to insert in the Record any speech he composed as much as five days after the House has voted; and on most important bills a dozen or more Representatives have taken advantage of the privilege. The practice thus indulged has made the *Congressional Record* a questionable source for the historian, but it has served its primary purpose of economizing the House's time.[226]

In 1978, several years after the above comment was published, the Joint Committee on Printing made a change in the format of the *Record:* large black dots or "bullets" (•) would be used to distinguish published, undelivered remarks, and thereby apprise the reader which statements in the *Record* were not part of live discussion on the floor.[227] A few years later, in 1985, the House abandoned the "bullet" symbol arrangement to identify statements or insertions which were not verbalized on the House floor and, in its place, began using a different typeface to distinguish unspoken from spoken matter.[228] This change arose in response to a controversy over debate on a disputed congressional election, reported in the May 1, 1985, *Record* of House proceedings, which failed to delineate "spoken" from "inserted" remarks through the use of the prescribed "bullets." A resolution was introduced on May 8 authorizing the Committee on Rules to investigate the matter, report findings, and recommend remedial action. After brief debate, the resolution was referred to the Committee on a 245-184 roll call vote.[229] Subsequently, on July 23, a resolution was introduced in the House with bipartisan support calling for the use of a different typeface in the *Record* to distinguish "spoken" from "inserted" remarks.[230] Referred to the Committee, it was favorably reported from Committee by unanimous voice vote on July 25,[231] and was approved by the House by voice vote on July 30.[232] The resolution affirmed that the *Congressional Record* shall contain a substantially verbatim account of remarks actually spoken during the proceedings of the House and requested the Joint Committee on Printing to modify its rules to reflect the use of a different typeface to differentiate "spoken" from "inserted" remarks.

This reform successfully realized an attempt early in the previous year to require a House Committee on Rules

investigation of the accuracy of the *Congressional Record* and to determine if new procedures, including absolute verbatim transcripts, should be implemented. The resolution authorizing such an investigation was tabled on January 24, 1984.[233] Shortly thereafter, the sponsor of the resolution and two other members of the House filed a lawsuit demanding, as expressed in their complaint, "that the court order the Government Printing Office, the Congressional reporters, and the Joint Committee on Printing to stop printing a corrupt Congressional Record." In his May 30, 1984, dismissal of the case, U.S. District Court Judge Gerhard Gesell stated in part:

> A lawsuit such as the present one needlessly "creates a distraction and forces Members [of Congress] to divert their time, energy, and attention from their legislative tasks to defend the litigation." *Serviceman's Fund*, 421 U.S. at 503, 95 S.Ct. At 1821. Plaintiffs' remedy for their grievances lies not with the Court but with Congress itself. Congress is perfectly capable of enforcing against its members statutory and rule directives concerning how members' views on public issues are to be reported in the Record. The separation of powers, of which the Speech or Debate Clause is one guardian, dictates that this task is both the sole responsibility and privilege of Congress.[234]

This dismissal was subsequently affirmed on September 13, 1985, by a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals, Circuit Judge Abner Mikva, a former member of the House, writing for the panel, concluded:

> For 200 years, Congress has institutionally determined and redetermined that question of what kind of printed (and electronic) record should be kept of the proceedings of that body. It is most unlikely that any procedure has ever fully satisfied every member of the Congress or their constituents. This court cannot provide a second opinion on what is the best procedure. Notwithstanding the deference and esteem that is properly tendered to individual congressional actors, our deference and esteem for the institution as a whole and for the constitutional command that the institution be allowed to manage its own affairs precludes us from even attempting a diagnosis of the problem.[235]

On February 7, 1990, a resolution was offered for immediate consideration regarding the deletion from the February 1 *Record* of "unparliamentary remarks." As floor discussion ensued, the Speaker Pro Tempore noted "that the remarks mentioned in the resolution were removed from the Record pursuant to permission of the House to revise and extend and consistent with precedent and the Parliamentarian's suggestion" that the remarks be stricken. According to the sponsor of the resolution, "the question before Members is this:"

> We now have two records of the proceedings of the House of Representatives. One of them is printed in the *Congressional Record*. The other is on videotape for all Members to see. One record is, in fact, the accurate presentation of what goes on in the House of Representatives. The other is a record of what we wish we would have said, if only we had said it right. The problem is that those two do not match.[236]

Task Force on the Congressional Record. The resolution was adopted on a 373–30 roll call vote. It directed the Committee to "report to the House as soon as practicable its recommendations with respect to deletions from the *Congressional Record* pursuant to permission granted by the House to revise and extend remarks" in light of "a system of complete and unedited audio and visual broadcasting and recording of the proceedings of the House of Representatives." Pursuant to the resolution, the chairman of the Committee appointed a task force, composed of three members of the Committee, to consider the propriety of the deletion in the February 1 *Record* and the need to revise existing rules to make the *Congressional Record* adhere even more closely to the televised proceedings.[237]

The Task Force on the Congressional Record transmitted its final report to the chairman of the Committee on

House Administration on July 25, 1990. The report found that the February 1 deletion of "unparliamentary remarks" noted in the resolution prompting the creation of the task force "was not in accordance with the guidelines adopted in the 99th Congress." Commenting, the report said: "Had the rules and precedents been properly observed, [the unparliamentary remarks] would have appeared in the *Record,* but could have been deleted by unanimous consent from the permanent Record. Had a point of order been made at the time of delivery," it continued, "the words might have been deleted in the regular order." Furthermore, said the report:

> Because House rules provide that a Member shall not be held to answer nor subject to censure of the House for unparliamentary words spoken in debate if further debate or other business had intervened, the Task Force concluded that Members and staff need to be more aware of the rules and to pay closer attention to activities on the floor.[238]

Finally, the report recommended that the House Committee on Rules "consider amending House Rule XXXIV to elevate the current Joint Committee on Printing Guidelines for printing the *Congressional Record,* also included as a footnote to House Rule XXXIV, to a House Rule in their own right." It specifically recommended the following:

> (1) The *Congressional Record* should be a substantially verbatim account of the remarks made during Floor proceedings with corrections being technical, grammatical, or typographical in nature only, so as to make the process one more of verification than revision.
>
> (2) Deletion of unparliamentary remarks would be allowed only through consent or order of the House.
>
> (3) Members would be subject to the authority of the House for any abuses of the leave to revise and extend, including any violation of this rule or any of the rules regarding the *Congressional Record* promulgated by the Joint Committee on Printing.[239]

Three years later, the Government Printing and Office Electronic Information Enhancement Access Enhancement Act of 1993, became law. This act requires GPO to make an electronic version of "the *Congressional Record*, the *Federal Register*, and other appropriate publications distributed by the Superintendent of Documents available on line. In favorably reporting the measure, the Committee on House Administration believed "that public access to public electronic information will be greatly enhance by providing: (1) "an electronic system of access for dissemination of such information," and (2) "increased coordination between other Federal agencies in developing standards and formats for dissemination of Federal public information stored electronically."[240]

Subsequently, on January 4, 1995, when adopting the rules of the House for the 103rd Congress, these specific recommendations were adopted in Section 213 of the resolution prescribing the new rules.[241] They constitute clause 8 of House Rule XVII.

More recently, the chairman of the Committee offered legislation during the 108th Congress (2003–2004) transferring to the Public Printer authority over individuals responsible for preparing *Congressional Record* indexes. Five days after introducing this legislation, which was referred to the Committee, he moved its consideration under a suspension of the rules and the House approved it on October 7. The Senate passed the measure on October 15, clearing it for the President's signature on October 29, 2003.[242]

In the 111th Congress (2009–2010), the Joint Committee on Printing directed the Government Printing Office to work with the Library of Congress to digitize the Congressional Record from 1873 to the present and make it available online, and in the 112th Congress (2011–2012) formerly altered the cover of the *Congressional Record* to include and give greater attention to the www.CongressionalRecord.gov moniker.

During the 112th Congress (2011–2012), the Committee on House Administration and the Joint Committee on Printing renewed its focus on modernizing the congressional printing process for the internet age while reducing taxpayer costs. In May 2011, the Subcommittee on Oversight held a

hearing entitled, "GPO—Issues and Challenges: How Will GPO Transition to the Future?" that revealed that GPO had made "tremendous strides under the leadership" of William Boarman. Prior to his appointment on January 3, 2011, GPO was in "dire financial trouble." "Recent public printers had saddled GPO with large and growing overhead costs" by hiring senior managers who sanctioned excessive travel expenses, and failed to collect millions owed by GPO customers. In addressing these issues, Mr. Boarman trimmed $15 million from the annual spending plan submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing (JCP) and $5 million from its FY2012 appropriations request. GPO has also invigorated efforts to collect overdue accounts, leased thousands of square feet of underutilized space, redoubling efforts to expand its market position for security related documents; and worked with the Committee to improve the distribution and dissemination of congressional materials in both printed and electronic form.[243]

A month later, in June 2011, the Subcommittee on Oversight held a hearing entitled, "Modernizing Information Delivery in the House," where it received testimony on proposals to reforms and streamline congressional printing and document production. Subcommittee Chairman Phil Gingrey, in his opening remarks, told those assembled that "Central and integral to our oversight responsibility is ensuring efficiency and transparency in how we, the House, create and disseminate legislative information. Today, we are interested in learning from our witnesses about how we can improve information delivery in the House, how we can improve the way we create and distribute legislative documents, and how we reduce costs and increase transparency. As we approach the 20th anniversary of the GPO Electronic Information Access Enhancement Act of 1993," Chairman Gingrey went on to say, "Now is the time to revaluate and revisit Title 44, the statute governing our paper-based requirements," and "bring our information delivery system into this 21st century."[244]

Also in the first session of the 112th Congress, the Committee on House Administration worked with GPO to create a survey whereby individual member offices could opt out of receiving certain printed daily and permanent congressional publications that are available online. The Committee continued to perform oversight over ways to modernize the business model of the GPO in order to cut agency costs and increase efficiency.[245] As a part of this strategy, the Committee on House Administration and the Joint Committee on Printing Chairman, Representative Gregg Harper, directed the creation of unique online addresses and applications to increase the digital presence of Congressional publications for constituents and the Congressional community. As a result, the Uniform Resource Locators (URLs) www.CongressionalDirectory.gov, www.CongressionalRecord.gov, www.HouseCalendar.gov, and www.USCode.gov were launched. Additionally, the Committee worked with the GPO to release its first mobile Web application (app). The free Mobile Member Guide app features a Congressional pictorial directory and information on every Member of the 112th Congress.

Congressional Directory. The Joint Committee on Printing also has long managed the compilation and publication of the *Congressional Directory*, the official almanac of Congress. Early predecessors of the modern *Directory*, compiled and produced in very small numbers by private printers, were little more than lists of House and Senate Members. Published as broadsides and pamphlets, they were viewed as temporary documents to be discarded at the end of each Congress or when a new replacement was issued. In 1847, the *Directory* for the first session of the 30th Congress bore on its title page the following inscription: "Compiled and Published for the Use of Congress by the Postmaster of the House of Representatives." It "is generally considered to be the initial official edition because it was the first to be ordered and paid for by Congress."[246] Other developments in the evolution of the *Directory* were evident with the 1867 edition, produced for the first session of the 40th Congress. The title page indicated that it had been compiled by the clerk of the Senate Committee on Printing, Ben Perley Poore, and that, for the first time, it had been printed by the GPO. On the reverse side of the title page was a copyright notice and the following explanation:

> This copyright has been secured, by direction of the Joint Committee on Public Printing, to prevent the issue of pirated editions (incorrect or imperfect) for sale. The newspaper press is welcome to copy so much of the Directory as may be desirable, but anyone who may republish the work for sale will be liable to prosecution for infringement of the copyright. Copies of this and of subsequent editions can be ordered at the Public Printing Office on payment of the cost of printing.[247]

Poore continued to compile the *Directory* until his death in May 1887. He was succeeded by W. H. Michael, the new clerk of the Senate Committee on Printing, who was identified on the title page of the *Directory* for the first session of the 50th Congress—his initial edition of the document—as "Editor and Compiler." Michael compiled the *Directory*, which continued to be copyrighted, until the early months of 1893, when, upon his death, Francis M. Cox, as the new clerk of the Senate Committee on Printing, assumed the task. The copyright notice disappeared from the initial edition of the *Directory* for 1894 and never reappeared.[248] Editions for 1894–1896 and for 1900 and thereafter acknowledged on, or the reverse side of the title page, that the *Directory* was compiled under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing. The *Directory* continues to be produced under the guidance of the Joint Committee on Printing, and in the 112th Congress, in an effort to provide greater accessibility to the publication, the Joint Committee on Printing, created the Uniform Resource Locator www.CongressionalDirectory.gov. The site, which is administered by the GPO, currently hosts electronic versions of the Congressional Directory from the 105th Congress to the present.

Many Facets of Records Management

Proper records management within the Federal departments and agencies has long been a Congressional concern. At the outset of the Federal government in 1789, Congress provided for the preservation of State records and papers[249] and for the maintenance of official files in the new departments.[250] Among the earliest congressional investigations was one conducted in 1810 by a House committee "to Inquire into the State of the Ancient Public Records and Archives of the United States."[251] There was, however, no law providing for the destruction of valueless papers, the result being that "both these and the valuable ones were uniformly preserved"; shortly after the conclusion of the Civil War, "the accumulation of noncurrent records in the executive departments began to force attention to the question of their disposition."[252]

Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers. By one estimate, "between 1861 and 1916, the accumulated total of Federal records soared from 108,000 to 1,031,000 cubic feet."[253] Provision was made in appropriation Acts of 1881 and 1882 for the Postmaster General and the Secretary of the Treasury, respectively, to sell as waste paper accumulated files of papers "that are not needed in the transaction of current business and have no permanent value or historical interest," the proceeds of such sales to be paid into the Treasury.[254] It has been proffered that these provisions were the first to prescribe the retention-disposal standards of records having or not having permanent value or historical interest.[255] The first government-wide statute authorizing and providing for the disposition of useless papers in the executive departments was enacted in 1889.[256] It established the bipartisan, bicameral, four-member Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers to review reports by the heads of the departments concerning useless papers and to make recommendations as to the disposition of such papers. Amended in 1895 to include accumulated departmental files and papers in storage in buildings other than those occupied by the custodial departments disposing of them,[257] the "Act of 1889 remained the principal statute under which records were destroyed until the passage of the National Archives Act of 1934."[258] This latter statute and its various amendments and embellishments since 1934 have been codified in several chapters of Title 44 of the *United States Code*.

Under the 1889 statute, executive entities prepared lists of useless papers and submitted them, together with expla-

nations and justifications for their disposal, to either house of Congress. The lists were reviewed by the Joint Committee, which issued a report authorizing the destruction of the papers in the lists. After 1920, the lists, accompanying documents, and the destruction authorization were all published in a single House report. Between 1912 and 1935, the lists of useless papers, before being submitted to the House or the Senate, were reviewed by the Librarian of Congress with a view to preserving those deemed to be of historical interest. In 1935, the newly established Archivist of the United States assumed this review role.[259]

In the months immediately after the National Archives became fully operational, the Archivist introduced government-wide use of a so-called disposal schedule, which had been initially introduced at the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in late 1889, and was refined and effectively used at the Forest Service in the 1920s. The IRS schedule "listed only records that were to be disposed of, was arranged according to form number, and indicated under the recommendation the period of time the records that were to be kept before disposal or some other disposition."[260] The records disposal schedule devised, by the National Archives foresaw the scheduling of groups of records from the moment of their creation (using time intervals), and included types of records other than forms.

Consolidated Jurisdiction. Shortly after the turn of the 20th century, the House and Senate each created, for purposes of considering legislation, a Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers, composed of its Members on the Joint Committee.[261] When the Committee on House Administration was established by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, it was vested with jurisdiction for legislation "relating to the disposition of useless executive papers."[262] Thereafter, the two House members of the Joint Committee were appointed from senior members—one from the majority and one from the minority—of the committee. In 1970, Congress abolished the Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers, as it was called at the time, and vested the panel's review and records disposal authority in the Administrator of General Services, the Federal Government's property manager.[263] At the time, the National Archives was a subunit of the Administrator's General Services Administration.[264] This authority and other records management responsibilities were transferred to the Archivist in 1984 when the National Archives was returned to its former status as an independent agency of the executive branch.[265]

Other actions taken by the Committee regarding records management included directing the introduction of a privileged resolution authorizing the Clerk of the House to permit any unpublished records of the House, which have been in existence for not less than 50 years, transferred to the National Archives for storage, to be made available for use, unless he determines that such use would be detrimental to the public interest. At the time, only House documents previously printed or made public by order of the House were open for public inspection. Without debate or dissent, the resolution was adopted on June 16, 1953 and remained governing policy until 1989.[266]

The Committee was authorized by the adoption of a House resolution on July 5, 1955, to study federally-operated printing services and Government paperwork in general.[267] Federal paperwork had long been a major point of departure for criticism by some in the private sector and some in Government. The general consensus was that much of the complexity of administrative paperwork resulted from uncontrolled and uncoordinated forms. The Subcommittee on Printing of the Committee on House Administration, acting as the Special Subcommittee to Study Federal Printing and Paperwork, carried out the mandate of the resolution. The Subcommittee held four days of hearings in 1956 to consider the Government's management of paperwork, as well as the sale and distribution of Government publications. Witnesses included officials of the Bureau of the Budget, the General Accounting Office, and the General Services Administration. Information was also received from the heads of various departments and agencies who responded to a letter of inquiry from the Subcommittee.[268]

The Subcommittee's findings were provided in a comprehensive two-part report, the first portion of which was

released on July 26, 1956. It presented findings concerning department and agency forms, standard government forms, and standard accounting forms as prescribed by the Comptroller General. The need for proper management of paperwork was documented and examples of paperwork reduction were offered.[269] The second portion of the report, released January 2, 1957, dealt with publication practices of Congress and government departments and agencies and focused on distribution procedures. Conditions in need of rehabilitation, primarily due to outmoded laws, were described. Unsatisfactory practices concerning the distribution of government publications to depository libraries were examined. The report also directed attention to the distribution of standard forms and the extent to which some agencies supplied microfilm or photographic prints of publications to individuals or other government agencies.[270]

At the outset of the 85th Congress (1957–1958), the Committee established a Special Subcommittee to Study Federal Printing and Paperwork to continue the work of its Subcommittee on Printing, which remained operative. During the first session, the Public Documents Committee of the American Library Association assisted the Subcommittee with its assessment of an equitable and timely distribution of government documents to depository libraries. Questionnaires were sent to more than 1,000 depository and non-depository libraries throughout the United States. Field hearings were held in Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Boston during October 1957 on remedial legislation to revise laws relating to the distribution of government publications to depository libraries. Letters from the Subcommittee to 412 government departments and agencies solicited additional views on the proposed legislation, and an additional hearing on the bill was held in Washington, DC, on June 19, 1958. Shortly thereafter, a revised reform proposal was introduced in the House and was referred to the Committee, where it was considered and reported on July 9. Although the House approved the measure on July 21, 1958, the Senate did not act on it.[271]

On another matter, hearings were held on June 5, 1957, on a joint resolution to encourage and foster the cooperation of private and State historical groups with the National Historical Publications Commission. Statutorily established in 1934 and affiliated with the National Archives, the Commission was vested with responsibility to cooperate with, and encourage, Federal, State, and local government agencies and nongovernmental institutions, societies, and individuals to collect, preserve, and publish documents considered important for an understanding of the history of the United States.[272] The Commission developed a national program to encourage the publication of the basic source materials of American history through the cooperative efforts or public and private organizations. The joint resolution supported the program and encouraged State officials, State historical commissions and archival agencies, as well as appropriate libraries, historical societies, colleges and universities, business corporations, foundations, and civic and other non-profit organizations to cooperate with the Commission in fulfillment of its mission. Among those testifying in support of the measure at a June 5, 1957, hearing were Felix Frankfurter, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Julian P. Boyd, editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson;* Lyman H. Butterfield, editor-in-chief for the Adams papers project; and L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress.[273]

Simultaneously, however, there was under consideration, at this time, a Senate concurrent resolution supporting implementation of proposals by the National Historical Publications Commission to publish, as government documents, historical studies of the United States, to be available to the public. The Senate approved this measure on June 26, 1957, and it was transmitted to the House, where it was referred to the Committee. Subsequently, the Committee reported the Senate concurrent resolution in lieu of the counterpart House proposal, and the House adopted it on August 22, 1957.[274]

Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation. Two decades later, the Committee became involved in a records management issue arising from the so-called Watergate incident and related developments.

It was revealed by President Ford, in September 1974, that former President Nixon executed an agreement with the Administrator of General Services, Arthur F. Sampson,

to assert custody over his Presidential papers and records.[275] At a minimum, some feared that these documents would be destroyed or otherwise unavailable to prosecutors pursuing charges against individuals involved in so-called Watergate misdeeds.

At the time, it had been long-standing practice—dating back to George Washington—that Presidents departing from office took their official papers with them as personal property to do with them as they wished. Some former Presidents—Rutherford B. Hayes, Herbert C. Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Lyndon B. Johnson—had placed their papers in special libraries for public use, but there was no obligation or requirement for successors to follow this course of action.

A number of bills were introduced during the closing months of 1974 proposing solutions to the problem of the disposition of Presidential papers and the preservation of the Nixon Presidential materials, including his tape recorded conversations. The Subcommittee on Printing held hearings on September 30 and October 4, 1974 on those measures referred to the Committee on House Administration.[276] Among them was a Senate bill, the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act, which authorized the Federal Government to protect and preserve tape recordings of conversations and papers of President Nixon made and written during his Presidential tenure. Statements advocating preservation of presidential materials were offered by Members of Congress, archivists, scholars, and representatives of the American Historical Association. The Senate bill, which had been approved by the other body on October 4, was reported by the Committee on November 27, 1974.[277]

In its report, the Committee stated that Congress was constitutionally empowered to dispose of documents of Federal officials, and that the federal government was authorized to take protective custody of materials if necessary for the continuing use by the Government when in the public interest. As reported, the Senate bill contained a committee amendment creating a 17-member National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials to study the disposition of the papers of Federal officials. The commission was directed to report by March 31, 1976. The report noted that, despite overriding public interest in preserving and providing appropriate access to presidential papers, the Nixon-Sampson agreement, if implemented, could limit access to these records and result in the destruction of a substantial portion of them. The report also noted that former President Nixon had brought suit in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia to obtain control of his papers and that a temporary restraining order had been issued on October 22, 1974, preventing the Ford administration from giving Nixon custody of the material. On November 11, 1974, several Members of Congress, including the chairman of the Committee on House Administration, filed an *amici curiae* brief urging the court to extend the temporary restraining order until Congress considered appropriate legislation.

The House considered the Senate bill, as amended, under a suspension of the rules on December 3 and approved the measure. On December 9, the Senate agreed to the House amendments with additional technical amendments. That same day, the House concurred in the Senate technical amendments, enacting it into law.[278]

Thereafter, the Subcommittee on Printing held hearings on May 22 and June 3, 1975, on controversial proposed regulations of the General Services Administration to implement the first title of the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act concerning the public availability of the Nixon materials. Representatives from the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, and other organizations criticized the final review authority of the General Services Administration and the complexity of the review process. Some representatives opposed restrictions based on what was considered to be an inadequate definition of national security. The archivist of the United States, the administrator of General Services, and other General Services administration officials testified on the criteria used to determine release to the public, restriction, or return of former President Nixon's Presidential materials. The archival

review process was explained, and responses were made to criticisms of regulations restricting access to materials and the Administrator's final review authority. The General Services Administration also offered estimates of the time and the cost of review and release of the Nixon tapes and papers.[279]

As a result of the hearings, the Committee considered a resolution to disapprove certain portions of the proposed General Services Administration regulations. The resolution was reported on October 9, 1975, but by that time the Senate, on September 11, had already adopted its own resolution of disapproval.[280] Consequently, the House took no further action. The General Services Administration submitted a second set of regulations on October 15, 1975, but, on January 21, 1976, sought to withdraw them, pending a review of their constitutionality. Both the House and the Senate objected to the withdrawal. Subsequently, the Senate, on April 8, 1976, adopted a resolution disapproving seven of the October 15 regulations. The Administrator of General Services submitted a third set of regulations on April 13, but the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Printing and the chairman and ranking minority member of the Senate Committee on Government Operations determined that only those new regulations submitted on April 12, 1976, covering the seven regulations that had been disapproved were properly before Congress for review. A House resolution disapproving six of the April 13 regulations was reported on September 9 and was adopted by the House on September 14, 1976.[281]

In other action related to the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act, the Committee considered a bill which extended the deadline for the final report of the National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials and reported it on March 29. Two days later, the measure was tabled, and a Senate counterpart bill was passed in lieu, and became law on April 11, 1976.[282]

Preserving Presidential Records. Consisting of 17 members and chaired by former Attorney General Herbert Brownell,[283] the National Study Commission on Records and Documents issued its final report in March 1977.[284] Responding partly to some of the Commission's recommendations, several bills to establish the future public ownership of Presidential records and prescribe procedures governing the preservation and public availability of such materials at the end of each Chief Executive's tenure were introduced in the House early in 1978. Referred jointly to the Committee on House Administration and the Committee on Government Operations (now Government Reform), they were given hearings by a subcommittee of the latter panel in February and March. As a consequence of these hearings and other discussions, a clean bill incorporating various subcommittee refinements and changes was introduced on July 17, 1978. The bill was reported on August 14 with technical amendments by the Committee on Government Operations. Consideration of the measure by the Committee on House Administration was vacated, and the bill was approved by the House under a suspension of the rules on October 10. The Senate considered the House-passed bill, as amended, on October 13, and after adopting a technical and clarifying amendment, approved the measure. The House concurred in this modification the next day, and the measure was signed into law on November 4, 1978.[285] The resulting statute carefully defined "Presidential records," and specified that all such materials created on or after January 20, 1981, were subject to its provisions. The new law effectively declared Presidential records to be Federal property that was to remain under the custody and control of the Archivist of the United States when each incumbent President left the White House. Jimmy Carter was the last occupant of the Oval Office who could freely take away his records and papers.

It was also in 1978 that the Committee considered and reported on June 5, a Senate bill amending Title 44 of the *United States Code* to require mandatory, rather than permissive, application of time schedules for the disposal of routine government agency records in such areas as personnel, payroll, and procurement. Retention of such records had been determined by the Committee to be costly in terms of storage space, and agencies commonly retained such records long after their usefulness was ended. The measure was reported on June 5, passed the House on September 26, and was subsequently enacted into law on October 10, 1978.[286]

House Committee Records Management. The following year, the Committee completed a study of the management of records and papers of House committees. Consequently, in November 1979, the Committee published and printed, *Committee Records Guidelines: Guidelines for Standing and Select Committees in the Preparation, Filing, Archiving, and Disposal of Committee Records.*[287] This development of guidelines was a major step in improving procedures for the management of Committee files. The Committee maintained a comprehensive review of House rules and regulations concerning records in order to update the directives issued by the Committee on House Administration on the subject.

Depository Libraries. One of the early pieces of legislation referred to the Committee on House Administration, was a 1948 proposal to authorize the designation of a public library in each city with a population of 100,000 or more as a depository for government documents. The Depository Library Program dated to 1813 with regard to congressional materials,[288] and was extended in 1857 to include other federal literature.[289] Libraries selected to serve as depositories received copies of government documents at no charge and were expected to make them available for public use. Initially, each Representative could designate a depository in his or her district, and each Senator could designate two such facilities in his or her State. Other libraries granted depository status included those of federal executive departments, official State and territorial facilities, and those of land-grant colleges. The Committee took no action on the 1948 measure to expand the system.

A decade late, in 1959, the Committee scrutinized the problems of the depository libraries when it considered a bill providing for better and more selective distribution of government publications, adjustment of the number of depositories, disposal of outmoded publications by depositories, establishment of regional depository libraries, and use of microfacsimile copies of government publications. Although the measure was reported and passed the House on March 16, 1959, no further action was taken.[290]

Three years later, however, the effort to reduce the cost of Federal printing by reducing the number of Government publications and by requiring greater selectivity in the distribution of such publications to the depository libraries was successful. On July 17, 1961, the Committee approved the Depository Libraries Act of 1962, which provided for more efficient administration of the national depository library program. The legislation amended the laws relating to depository libraries in a manner similar to bills passed by the House during the 85th and 86th Congresses (1967–1960) not acted on by the Senate. The bill provided for an increase in the number of depository libraries and improved conditions relating to the selection, supply, retention, and disposal of government publications furnished to the depositories.[291] Reported on July 17, 1961, and passed by the House on August 22, the legislation was enacted into law on August 9, 1962.[292]

Also in 1972, the Committee considered, and reported on June 29, a Senate-passed bill amending Title 44 of the *United States Code* to authorize the Public Printer to designate the highest appellate court in each State as a depository library. Passed by the House on July 31, the measure became law on August 10, 1972.[293]

On September 30, 1977, the Committee reported legislation amending Title 44 of the *United States Code* to designate libraries of accredited law schools as depositories, which enabled these institutions to receive offered government publications without charge. Approved by the House on October 25, 1977, the bill was amended in the Senate before passage. With House agreement to the Senate amendments secured, the proposal was enacted into law on April 17, 1978.[294]

Five years later, in May 1983, that the Joint Committee on Printing established an Ad Hoc Committee on Depository Library Access to Federal Automated Data Bases, which was asked to determine: (1) What and how much Federal Government information is in electronic format; (2) if depository libraries have the ability to access the new formats; and (3) what are the costs and benefits of providing information in electronic format. In addition to its own information gathering, analyses, and deliberations, the ad hoc panel was assisted by a February 1984 workshop, conducted for it by the Office of Technology Assessment

with the assistance of the Congressional Research Service and the General Accounting Office. A report to the Joint Committee on Printing, with findings and recommendations, was issued later in the year.[295] A primary proposal was that the Joint Committee on Printing and Superintendent of Documents, together, initiate a pilot program enabling depository libraries to access federal information electronically and provide it to the general public without charge.

United States Botanic Garden

Origins and Background

The creation of the United States Botanic Garden at the foot of Capitol Hill was the result of congressional interest in documenting, preserving, and cultivating a collection of plant specimens brought to the United States by a Naval survey and exploration team from the Pacific and South Seas in June 1842.[296] The "Wilkes Expedition" consisted of six Navy vessels and was led by Naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes and included, among others, William Brackenridge, a horticulturist and botanist, and Charles Pickering, a naturalist.

Within two months of the expedition's return, Congress, on August 26, 1842, approved legislation directing that the expedition's findings be published under the "supervision and direction" of the Joint Committee on the Library. The Joint Committee was further directed by the Act to oversee the expedition's collection of "objects of natural history" in "the upper room of the Patent Office," and to appoint an individual to "care" for them.[297] Two years later, funds were appropriated to "defray the expenses of taking care of and preserving the botanical and horticultural specimens brought home by the exploring expedition, and for the salary of the keeper of, and enlarging the greenhouse under the direction and control" of the Joint Committee on the Library.[298] In the following years, the Joint Committee exercised its authority by employing laborers, setting and adjusting their salaries, and serving as "keeper" of the greenhouses.[299] These responsibilities served as the basis for Joint Committee's being given jurisdiction over the greenhouses containing the Wilkes collection, which Congress officially named the United States Botanic Garden in 1856.[300]

The Joint Committee's prominence in the Garden's management and oversight was recognized by the Senate Agriculture Committee in 1908 during discussions on a possible transfer of authority to the Department of Agriculture:

> . . . the successive appropriations for the enlargement and maintenance of the Botanic Garden and greenhouses have continued to be disbursed under the direction of the [Joint Committee on the Library since 1842]. The salaries of the superintendent, the assistant superintendent, and the laborers, not having been fixed by any law or regulations of Congress, the disbursements of the various appropriations have been left to the discretion of the Joint Library Committee, and in fact that committee has been supreme in all matters relating to the institution.[301]

Although other proposals were offered to change jurisdiction over the Botanic Garden following 1908, none succeeded. Records indicate that there was an unsuccessful effort in 1914 to required the Joint Committee to share its jurisdiction with the government of the District of Columbia.[302] Also, in 1914, the Chairman of the House Committee on the Library introduced legislation transferring jurisdiction from the Joint Committee to the Secretary of Agriculture in order to more adequately "prevent the spreading of disease," reduce costs, and take advantage of the botanical expertise of scientists employed by the Department:

> Some of the arguments favoring transfer to the Department of Agriculture have been to prevent the spreading of disease by distribution of plants under the congressional allotment, to reduce costs of operations, to make available the scientific talent the Department could furnish, etc. Some of the arguments against its transfer have been the danger of the garden losing its identity, the handicaps it might suffer in point of jurisdiction by being a small unit of a large department, and the upsetting of a very old tradition.[303]

Although this proposal was never carried forward, 20 years later, in 1934, the House Committee on the Library issued a committee report on the future of the Garden, in which it called again for the Garden's transfer to the Department of Agriculture, or an independent board. In either case, the Joint Committee would have retained legislative jurisdiction. The House Library Committee further recommended that Congress select an entity, perhaps an independent board, to coordinate botanical-related activities of the Department of Agriculture, the Library of Congress (collection of botanical books), the Smithsonian, the Bureau of Plant Industry, and various non-federal entities.[304]

While no further action was taken on the 1934 proposals, Congress took a major step later in the year to provide support to the Joint Committee by assigning responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the Garden to the Architect of the Capitol (AOC). While the AOC assumed the role of acting director on July 3, 1934,[305] (and continues in that role today), the Joint Committee retained its general oversight and legislative authority.

Role of the Committee

The Committee on House Administration was given jurisdiction over the Botanic Garden in the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act, which contained the new *Rules of the House* regarding committee jurisdictions. Rule X, clause 1 (j)(J) stated:

> [The] Committee on House Administration . . . [has jurisdiction over] matters relating to the Library of Congress and the House Library; statuary and pictures; acceptance or purchase of works of art for the Capitol; the Botanic Gardens; management of the Library of Congress; purchase of books and manuscripts; erection of monuments to the memory of individuals.[306]

Rules language regarding the Botanic Garden have remained unchanged, and are contained currently in Rule X, clause 1(j)(1). Even during consideration of major revisions in House committee jurisdictions in 1974, the House did not consider changing the Committee's oversight authority.[307]

Limited jurisdiction is shared with the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, which, in Rule X, clause 1(r)(1), gives that Committee responsibility for "Construction or reconstruction, maintenance, and care of buildings and grounds of the Botanic Garden."[308]

Since 1947, however, the Committee has exercised its authority primarily through its representation on the Joint Committee on the Library. Research indicates the Committee has not played a particularly active oversight role independently or through its membership on the Joint Committee. Further, records show the Joint Committee relinquished much of its oversight role to the House and Senate Subcommittees on Legislative Branch Appropriations of the Committees on Appropriations.[309] Representative Dan Miller of Florida referred to this change during a hearing by the House Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations on the FY1996 Botanic Garden budget request of the Architect of the Capitol, George White:

> Mr. Miller. Maybe we are better to have a different type of [Botanic Garden] . . . someplace else that would accomplish the same goal . . . But who asks that question? Who raises it?
>
> Mr. White. That question normally comes out of a Committee like this [House Committee on Appropriations] where funding is needed. I must say that there is very little activity of the Joint Committee on the Library with regard to oversight as an authorizing entity. And every year this Committee asks those questions, and then I think it would be this committee's prerogative to carry it further, if you wished.

During further consideration of the Garden's FY1996 funding requests, others on the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations questioned the role of the Garden. Representative Ron C. Packard of California, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations, requested Architect of the Capitol George White to justify the

need for a Botanic Garden, specifically one operated by Congress.[310] The question arose during a hearing on the proposed budget of the Architect of the Capitol, which contained a 200% increase in funds for the Garden, primarily for renovations. Some Subcommittee members questioned the amount of the request at a time when other legislative branch programs were facing significant cuts.

The Architect responded in a memorandum which contained: (1) Justifications for maintaining the Botanic Garden within the legislative branch; (2) issues for the House to consider before transferring the Garden to another agency; and (3) a discussion on possible privatization of the Garden.[311]

Similar concerns about the Garden surfaced during Senate hearings on the FY1996 request. Senator Connie Mack of Florida, Chairman of Senate Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations, also asked the Architect for his opinions on the merits of continuing the Garden under jurisdiction of the legislative branch, or transferring it to another Federal agency. Architect of the Capitol George M. White responded by saying that transferring the United State Botanic Garden (USBG) "to another agency of the government would reduce the budget of the legislative branch," but it "would not inevitably reduce costs to the government generally, unless the AOC were to retain control of the Conservatory and National Garden Projects, both would be delayed and their costs increased by being transferred to new supervision." If the Garden were transferred to another agency, he continued, "there were three possibilities that suggest themselves: the Smithsonian Institution, the National Park Service of the Department of Interior and the Department of Agriculture. Of these the Smithsonian would appear the most suitable because of its overall mission, the nature of the (USBG), and its location."[312]

As reported by the House Committee on Appropriations, the House version of the FY1996 funding bill, H.R. 1854, contained language transferring the Garden's operations to the Department of Agriculture.[313] The Senate did not include the transfer language in its version of the bill, and the House provision was subsequently dropped in conference committee.

Although the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations have acted in both authorizing and appropriating roles in recent years, the Joint Committee on the Library and the Committee on House Administration continue to retain their legislative and oversight authorities over the Botanic Garden.[314]

Endnotes

1 John Y. Cole, *Jefferson's Legacy: A Brief History of the Library of Congress* (Washington: Library of Congress 1993), pp. 11–12.

2 2 Stat. 56 (Apr. 24, 1800); *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 6th Cong. 1st sess., Apr. 25, 1800, p. 682; and *Journal of the Senate,* 6th Cong. 1st sess., Apr. 28, 1800, p. 81.

3 2 Stat. 128-129 (Jan. 26, 1802); *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 7th Cong. 1st sess., Mar. 5, 1802, p. 121; and *Journal of the Senate,* 7th Cong. 1st sess., Mar. 11, 1802, p. 191.

4 2 Stat. 350 (Feb. 21, 1806); *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 9th Cong. 1st sess., Feb. 27, 1806, p. 306; and *Journal of the Senate,* 9th Cong. 1st sess., Dec. 17, 1806, p. 114.

5 2 Stat. 667-668 (Dec. 11, 1811); *Journal of the Senate,* 12th Cong. 1st sess., Dec. 4, 1811, p. 19; and *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 12th Cong. 1st sess., Dec. 4, 1811, p. 52.

6 32 Stat. 735 (Feb. 7, 1902).

7 P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 838 (Aug. 2, 1946).

8 Charles A. Goodrum and Helen W. Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982), p. 13.

9 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 14. See also 3 Stat. 246 (Oct. 21, 1814).

10 3 Stat. 195 (Jan. 30, 1815).

11 3 Stat. 225 (Mar. 3, 1815).

12 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 16.

13 4 Stat. 579 (July 14, 1832).

14 5 Stat. 409 (July 20, 1840). The reference in the statute to "the Committee on the Library" is assumed to be the Joint Committee on the Library as neither house had a Committee on the Library at that time.

15 9 Stat. 106 (Aug. 10, 1846).

16 Cole, *Jefferson's Legacy: A Brief History of the Library of Congress,* p. 14; and Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 17.

17 11 Stat. 379 (Feb. 5, 1859).

18 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 18.

19 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 19.

20 13 Stat. 445, at 448 (Feb. 2, 1865).

21 13 Stat. 540 (Mar. 3, 1865).

22 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 21; and Morris C. Leikind, "The Smithsonian Deposit in the Library of Congress," *Science,* vol. 104, Aug. 9, 1946, pp. 145–146.

23 14 Stat. 573 (Feb. 2, 1867).

24 14 Stat. 464 (Feb. 2, 1867).

25 16 Stat. 212 (July 8, 1870).

26 U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, *Condition of the Library of Congress,* 54th Cong., 2nd sess., S. Rept. 1573 (Washington: GPO, 1897).

27 U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Sundry Civil Appropriations Bill,* report to accompany H.R. 4729, 43rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 149 (Washington: GPO, 1875), p. 24.

28 William C. Allen, *History of the United States Capitol: A Chronicle of Design, Construction, and Politics* (Washington: GPO, 2001), p. 352.

29 U.S. Congress, House Committee on the Library, *Congressional Library Building,* report to accompany H.R. 1297, 49th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 173 (Washington: GPO, 1886), p. 1.

30 "New Library Building," *Washington Post*, July 9, 1880, p. 1.

31 "The Congressional Library," *Washington Post,* Apr. 3, 1884, p. 1.

32 24 Stat. 12 (Apr. 15, 1886).

33 29 Stat. 538, at 544 (Feb. 19, 1897).

34 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 30.

35 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress*, p. 32.

36 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* pp. 34, 36; and 32 Stat. 480 (June 28, 1902).

37 31 Stat. 964 (Mar. 3, 1901).

38 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 37.

39 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 38. Also see Herbert Putnam, "Legislative Reference for Congress," *American Political Science Review,* vol. 9, Aug. 1915, pp. 542–549; Ethel Cleland, "Legislative Reference," *American Political Science Review,* vol. 10, Feb. 1916, pp. 110–113; and John H. Leek, "The Legislative Reference Bureau in Recent Years," *American Political Science Review,* vol. 20, Nov. 1926, pp. 823–831.

40 See U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on the Library, *Legislative Drafting Bureau and Reference Division,* S. Rept. 1271, 62nd Cong., 3rd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1913).

41 38 Stat. 463 (July 16, 1914).

42 P.L. 91-510, 84 Stat. 1181 (Oct. 26, 1970). The Committee's activities involving the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress are discussed in detail in a separate section of this history.

43 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 39.

44 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 184; and P.L. 541, 43 Stat. 1107 (Mar. 3, 1925).

45 P.L. 453, 45 Stat. 622, 1397 (May 21, 1928).

46 P.L. 354, 46 Stat. 583 (June 13, 1930).

47 P.L. 686, 52 Stat. 808 (June 20, 1938).

48 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 43.

49 Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress*, p. 43.

50 Quotation is found in Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 48.

51 Quotation is found in Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 48.

52 Quotation is found in Goodrum and Dalrymple, *The Library of Congress,* p. 48.

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67 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Oversight Hearing on the Library of Congress: Current Issues in Library Management,* hearing, 110th Cong., 1st sess., Oct. 24, 2007 (Washington: GPO, 2008), pp. 1–2.

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71 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the One Hundred Twelfth Congress,* H. Rept. 112-137, 112th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 13.

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93 U.S. Congress, *United States House of Representatives, Calendar of Business, One Hundred First Congress: Committee on House Administration* (Washington: GPO, 1991), p. 185.

94 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Library of Congress IT Strategic Planning,* hearing, 111th Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 29, 2009 (Washington: GPO, 2009).

95 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Charles H. W. Meehan Law Library Improvement and Modernization Act,* report to accompany H.R. 6589, 110th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 110-896, part 1 (Washington: GPO, 2008).

96 P.L. 110-336, 122 Stat. 3726-3728 (Oct. 2, 2008); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Markup of H.R. 5803; H.R. 5893, Library of Congress Sound Recording and Film Preservation Programs Reauthorization Act of 2008; and H.R. 5972, U.S. Capitol Police Administrative Technical Corrections Act of 2008,* Meeting before the Committee on House Administration, 110th Cong., 2nd sess., May 7, 2008 (Washington: GPO, 2008); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Library of Congress Sound Recording and Film Preservation Programs Reauthorization Act of 2008,* report to accompany H.R. 5893, 110th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 110-683, part 1 (Washington: GPO, 2008).

97 P.L. 106-474, 114 Stat. 2085 (Nov. 9, 2000).

98 Following the isolated example of President Rutherford B. Hayes, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established a federally-managed presidential library to house and to maintain his papers. President Harry S. Truman followed Roosevelt's precedent, and subsequent legislation facilitated like action by Truman's successors. The presidential library system is supervised by the National Archives and Records Administration.

99 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on the Library, *Microfilming Presidential Papers,* hearing on H.R. 7813, 85th Cong., 1st sess., June 21, 1957 (Washington: GPO, 1957).

100 P.L. 85-147, 71 Stat. 368 (Aug. 16, 1957); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Organizing and Microfilming Papers of Presidents,* report to accompany H.R. 7813, H. Rept. 85-811, 85th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1957).

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103 P.L. 87-113, 75 Stat. 241 (July 31, 1961).

104 P.L. 100-83, 101 Stat. 549 (Aug. 4, 1987).

105 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Oversight, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fifth Congress*, 105th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 105-850 (Washington: GPO, 1999), pp. 29, 31, 32, 34, 36–37.

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107 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *State of Our Nation's Libraries,* hearing, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 21, 1993 (Washington: GPO, 1993), p. 1.

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112 P.L. 111-19, 123 Stat. 1612-1615 (May 12, 2009).

113 Samuel Rothstein, "The Origins of Legislative Reference Services in the United States," *Legislative Studies Quarterly,* vol. 15, Aug. 1990, pp. 405–406.

114 Progressives sought governmental reforms that would insulate lawmaking from the influence of special interests, while also endowing amateur legislators with independent expert policy advice. Senator Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin was a leading voice for such reforms. See John Y. Cole, "The Congressional Research Service," in John Y. Cole and Jane Aikin, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Library of Congress: For Congress, the Nation, and the World* (Washington and Lanham, MD: The Library of Congress and Bernan Press, 2004), p. 19.

115 Rothstein, "The Origins of Legislative Reference Services in the United States," pp. 406–407.

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118 P.L. 79-601, 60 Stat. 825, 836 (Aug. 2, 1946).

119 George B. Galloway, "The Operation of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946," *American Political Science Review,* vol. 45, March 1951, pp. 41–68.

120 P.L. 91-510, 84 Stat. 1181 (Oct. 26, 1970); 2 U.S.C. 166. See also: U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Rules, *Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970,* report to accompany H.R. 17654, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 91-1215 (Washington: GPO, 1970).

121 P.L. 91-510, 84 Stat. 1181 (Oct. 26, 1970); 2 U.S.C. 166.

122 House Rule X (j)(4). There is one minor exception to the Committee's jurisdiction over the Library and CRS. The Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure has jurisdiction, per House Rule X, (r)(11), over the construction and maintenance of Library of Congress buildings and grounds. All House members of the Joint Committee on the Library (JCL) are drawn from the Committee on House Administration. The membership of the latter committee, therefore, exercises additional authority over the Service through the JCL. For instance, in accordance with the 1970 act, the Librarian of Congress consults with the JCL when appointing the Director of CRS.

123 House Rule X (j)(4). The language giving explicit committee approval authority for CRS publications was first included in the FY1954 legislative branch appropriations bill (P.L. 83-178, 67 Stat. 329 (Aug. 1, 1953)). In the report of the Senate Committee on Appropriations that accompanied the FY1966 legislative branch appropriations bill, this language was interpreted to not apply to extra copies of reports provided to Congress or to confidential reports written in response to congressional inquiries (U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Appropriation Bill, 1966,* report to accompany H.R. 8775, 89th Cong., 1st sess., S. Rept. 424 (Washington: GPO, 1965), pp. 12–13. Some of the history and interpretation of this provision are based on the findings of Walter Kravitz, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Oct. 6, 1971 (CRS internal files).

124 U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, *Annual Report of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress for Fiscal Year 2005 to the Joint Committee on the Library* (Washington: Library of Congress, 2005), p. 32.

125 Early official actions of the Committee in regard to LRS are referenced in an unpublished committee hearing in 1948 and inter-

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126 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriation Bill, 1950,* report to accompany H.R. 5060, 81st Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 81-763, (Washington: GPO, 1949), p. 10. It was also subsequently noted in the House Appropriations Committee hearings on the FY1950 and FY1951 legislative branch appropriations bills, at which members of the Committee on House Administration testified regarding LRS issues. On the issues of LRS/CRS staff loans to committees, see Minutes of Senior Specialists Meeting, Legislative Reference Service, October 8, 1952 (internal CRS files); and U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, *History of the Committee on House Administration, 1946–1984,* by Paul Dwyer, internal CRS document (1987), pp. 11–12. The provisions for committee reimbursement for LRS/CRS staff loans have been more recently included in a Memorandum of Oct. 13, 1995, from CRS Director Daniel P. Mullhollan to then-Chairman Bill Thomas of the Committee on House Oversight (internal CRS files).

127 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *The Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress: A Memorandum on Its Achievements, Problems, and Potential, With Recommendations for Its Improvement* (prepared by Ernest S. Griffith, Director, Legislative Reference Service), committee print, 85th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1958).

128 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Second Congress,* 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 102-1083 (Washington: GPO, 1992), p. 69.

129 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fourth Congress,* 104th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 104-885 (Washington: GPO, 1997), pp. 13, 71.

130 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fourth Congress,* 104th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 104-885 (Washington: GPO, 1997), p. 71.

131 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Oversight, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fifth Congress,* 105th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 105-850 (Washington: GPO, 1999), pp. 29–32, 34; U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fourth Congress* (Washington: GPO, 1997), pp. 71, 87; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Sixth Congress,* 106th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 106-1056 (Washington: GPO, 2001), p. 10. See also, U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Appropriations for the Legislative Branch for Fiscal Year 1996* (Conference Report), 104th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 104-212 (Washington: GPO, 1995), which specifies the involvement of the Committee on House Oversight in ongoing assessments of LIS and information duplication issues.

132 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the Ninety-Sixth Congress,* 96th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 96-1558 (Washington: GPO, 1981), p. 14; and U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, *Annual Report of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress for Fiscal Year 1980 to the Joint Committee on the Library* (Washington: Congressional Research Service, 1980), pp. 5–6.

133 U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, *History of the Committee on House Administration, 1946–1984,* by Paul Dwyer, internal CRS document (1987), p. 287.

134 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Oversight, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Fifth Congress,* p. 19; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the Ninety-Seventh Congress,* 97th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 97-990 (Washington: GPO, 1982), p. 93.

135 U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, *Annual Report of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress for Fiscal Year 1997 to the Joint Committee on the Library* (Washington: Congressional Research Service, 2005), p. 2.

136 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Studies Dealing With Budgeting, Staffing, and Administrative Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1946–1978,* committee print, 95th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1978).

137 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *History of the House of Representatives* (Washington: GPO, 1962); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *History of the United States House of Representatives: 1789–1994* (Washington: GPO, 1994); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Statutory History of the U.S. Capitol Police Force,* committee print, 99th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1985).

138 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Committee Records Guidelines: Guidelines for Standing and Select Committees in the Preparation, Filing, Archiving, and Disposal of Committee Records,* committee print, 96th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 1979); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration,

Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the Ninety-Sixth Congress, 96th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 1981), p. 176.

139 U.S. Congress, House Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred and First Congress,* 101st Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 101-1005 (Washington: GPO, 1991), p. 137.

140 U.S. Congress, *United States House of Representatives, Calendar of Business, One Hundred First Congress: Committee on House Administration* (Washington: GPO, 1991), p. 185.

141 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, and House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Subcommittee on Civil Service, *Underrepresentation of Minorities in Supergrade Positions and Above, at the Library of Congress,* joint hearing, 101st Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 26, 1990 (Washington: GPO, 1990); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, and House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Library of Congress Personnel Policies and Procedures,* joint hearings, 103rd Cong., 2nd sess., Mar. 18, 24, 1993 (Washington: GPO, 1994).

142 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Oversight Hearing on Library of Congress,* hearing, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., July 27, 2006 (Washington: GPO, 2007).

143 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Semiannual Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration During the One Hundred Twelfth Congress,* H. Rept. 112-137, 112th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO, 2011), pp. 13–14.

144 Although the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, "printing" usually refers to the traditional process of impressing paper with ink to produce multiple copies of documents, whereas "publishing" adds to the former concept the public distribution or availability of the produced documents. The production of information in electronic forms and formats does not constitute "printing," but, regardless of the new technological creation process, "publishing" retains its earlier understanding.

145 See, for example, 1 Stat. 68 (Sept. 15, 1789), 443 (Mar. 3, 1795), 519 (Mar. 3, 1797), 724 (Mar. 2, 1799); 2 Stat. 302 (Mar. 27, 1804); 3 Stat. 145 (Nov. 21, 1814), 439 (Apr. 20, 1818), 576 (May 11, 1820).

146 See 1 Stat. 68 (Sept. 15, 1789).

147 See, for example, 1 Stat. 28 (July 27, 1789), 49 (Aug. 7, 1789), 65 (Sept. 2, 1789). These and similar provisions were consolidated in the *Revised Statutes of the United States* (1878) at Section 161, which is presently located in the United States Code at 5 U.S.C. § 301.

148 3 Stat. 140 (Dec. 27, 1813).

149 13 Stat. 460 (Feb. 2, 1865).

150 17 Stat. 510 (Mar. 3, 1873).

151 9 Stat. 113 (Aug. 3, 1846).

152 12 Stat. 117 (June 23, 1860).

153 28 Stat. 601 (Jan. 12, 1895).

154 11 Stat. 379 (Feb. 5, 1859); the Department of the Interior was established in 1849.

155 15 Stat. 292 (Mar. 3, 1869).

156 3 Stat. 140 (Dec. 27, 1813).

157 11 Stat. 253 (Jan. 28, 1857).

158 28 Stat. 610 (Jan. 12, 1895); current authority for the depository library program may be found at 44 U.S.C. § 1901-1915.

159 33 Stat. 584 (Mar. 28, 1904).

160 42 Stat. 541 (May 11, 1922).

161 P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 812, at 825 (Aug. 2, 1946).

162 P.L. 601, 60 Stat. 838 (Aug. 2, 1946).

163 P.L. 97-4, 95 Stat. 6 (Feb. 17, 1981).

164 1 Stat. 342 (Mar. 14, 1794).

165 U.S. Government Printing Office, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961: A History of United States Public Printing* (Washington: GPO, 1961), p. 14.

166 U.S. Government Printing Office, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961: A History of United States Public Printing* (Washington: GPO, 1961), pp. 14–15.

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168 U.S. Government Printing Office, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961: A History of United States Public Printing* (Washington: GPO, 1961), p. 17.

169 U.S. Government Printing Office, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961: A History of United States Public Printing* (Washington: GPO, 1961), p. 18.

170 5 Stat. 523, at 526 (Aug. 26, 1842).

171 9 Stat. 113 (Aug. 3, 1846).

172 U.S. Government Printing Office, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961: A History of United States Public Printing* (Washington: GPO, 1961), p. 21.

173 10 Stat. 30 (Aug. 26, 1852).

174 U.S. Government Printing Office, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961: A History of United States Public Printing* (Washington: GPO, 1961), p. 24.

175 U.S. Government Printing Office, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961: A History of United States Public Printing* (Washington: GPO, 1961), pp. 24–30.

176 12 Stat. 117 (June 23, 1860).

177 U.S. Government Printing Office, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961: A History of United States Public Printing* (Washington: GPO, 1961), p. 36.

178 U.S. Government Printing Office, *100 GPO Years, 1861–1961: A History of United States Public Printing* (Washington: GPO, 1961), p. 42.

179 14 Stat. 398 (Feb. 22, 1867).

180 17 Stat. 510 (Mar. 3, 1873).

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X. NON-LEGISLATIVE BRANCH ACTIVITIES

Smithsonian Institution

Origins and Development

In 1826, James Smithson, a British scientist, drew up his last will and testament, naming his nephew, Henry James Hungerford, as his beneficiary. Smithson stipulated that should Hungerford die without heirs (as he did in 1835), the estate should go "to the United States of America, to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The motives behind Smithson's bequest remain mysterious. "Probably," as Paul H. Oehser concludes in his history of the Smithsonian, there was "no one event that persuaded James Smithson to bequeath his fortune to the United States. He was a man of his times, and his reasons were no doubt the result of the persuasive influences that his age brought to bear on an independent personality who wanted to do something original and lasting for his fellow man."[1]

Although Smithson's library at the time of his death indicates that "he had some interest in and knowledge of the United States," he never visited America or apparently corresponded with anyone here. "Some have suggested that his bequest was motivated in part by revenge against the rigidities of British society, which had denied Smithson, who was illegitimate, the right to use his father's name. Others have suggested it reflected his interest in the Enlightenment ideals of democracy and universal education."[2]

Smithson died in Genoa, Italy, on June 26, 1829, at the age of 64. Six years later, his nephew died without any heirs, and the provisions of Smithson's will became operative. Seven weeks after Hungerford's death, the U.S. government was formally notified of the Smithsonian bequest. Not until December 1835, however, did President Andrew Jackson formally announce the bequest. In notifying Congress of Smithson's wishes, Jackson explained that he did not have the authority to accept it and asked Congress for guidance on how to proceed. A "long and tedious debate" then ensued in Congress "first as to whether the bequest should be accepted at all, and second as to what form and character the Smithsonian Institution should actually take." Eventually on May 2, 1836, the Senate decided to accept the legacy. House consideration was more protracted. John Quincy Adams, as chairman of a special committee established to consider the matter, proved to be the "most effective Smithsonian protagonist," and "succeeded in overcoming the House opposition by his eloquence and successfully steering the passage of the bill" on May 25, 1836. The bill, signed by President Jackson on July 1, provided for acceptance of the legacy bequeathed to the United States, and authorized $10,000 to cover the cost of prosecuting the claim.[3]

Smithson's legacy, which amounted to more than 100,000 gold sovereigns, was delivered to the mint at Philadelphia in September 1838. Recoined in U.S. currency, the gift amounted to more than half a million dollars. Acceptance of the Smithson will and fund did not, however, result in the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution. That December, President Martin Van Buren announced that the fund of about $500,000 had been received in the Treasury, and reminded Congress of its obligation to fulfill the object of the bequest—i.e., to establish the Smithsonian Institution. There was no precedent for dealing with such a bequest, and only a handful of scientific foundations were in existence that were national in scope and could be used as models. Just what the Smithsonian would actually be remained undecided for another eight years as the nation's legislators were preoccupied by the Panic of 1837 and the subsequent six-year depression.

Finally, in August 1846, following considerable congressional debate,[4] President James K. Polk signed legislation introduced by Representative Robert Dale Owen of Indiana,

that established the Smithsonian Institution as a trust to be administered by a Board of Regents and a Secretary. The act establishing the Smithsonian, Paul H. Oehser has written, while containing imperfections:

> demonstrated an honest attempt on the part of Congress to interpret and implement the wishes of Smithson, whose directions were, after all, open ended. 'Increase and diffusion of knowledge' could mean many things, and it is certainly to the credit of those antebellum lawmakers that they did as well as they did, despite all the behind-the-scenes lobbying and feuding that went on in an attempt to make the Smithsonian something other than what it finally became.[5]

John Quincy Adams, who fought hard for the Smithsonian, may well have summarized the importance of the Smithsonian Institution best when he said, "Of all the foundations of establishments for pious or charitable uses, which ever signalized the spirit of the age, or the comprehensive beneficence of the founder, none can be named more deserving the approbation of mankind than" the Smithsonian Institution.[6]

The 1846 law establishing the Institution's framework provided for the disposition of the Smithsonian funds, a 15-member Board of Regents, a Chancellor (who was to be the presiding officer of the Board), an Executive Committee, and a Secretary (who was to be the executive officer of the Institution). Congress delegated responsibility for conducting the business of the Institution to a Board of Regents comprised of: the Vice President, the Chief Justice, and the mayor of Washington, all of whom were ex officio members; three members of the United States Senate, appointed by the President of the Senate; three members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker; and six citizens, two of whom had to be District of Columbia residents and four of whom had to be from different states, appointed by joint resolution of the House and Senate.

The act provided for the selection of a site for a Smithsonian building and its construction; transferred to the Smithsonian all objects of art, natural history, and so forth, belonging to the United States (in Washington), and also the various collections of James Smithson, which had been received by the United States; delineated the duties of the Secretary; and provided for salaries for the Institution's staff. Additionally, the act authorized special meetings of members of the Institution; an annual appropriation not to exceed $25,000 from interest on the Smithsonian fund for the gradual formation of a library; and for the Institution managers to ensure that income was spent according to "the purposes" set forth by James Smithson. Congress reserved the right to alter, amend, and repeal any of the provisions of the act.[7]

On December 3, 1846, professor Joseph Henry of Princeton, "the foremost American physicist of his day," was selected to serve as the Smithsonian's first Secretary. The selection of Henry proved to be a wise one. "Henry's insight enabled him to sense the spirit and the intent of Smithsonian's bequest and to project the donor's idealism into the fabric of the Institution." During his tenure, Henry "imposed on the Institution a sound and well-pondered plan of organization; and he was able serve long enough (32 years, until his death in 1878) to see it firmly established, his ideas bearing fruit, and the Smithsonian taking a secure place in the scientific and cultural life of the nation and building up a favorable place in the public mind."[8]

During the ensuing century, Congress amended and added to the statutory authority of the Smithsonian Institution on several occasions.

Committee Assumes Responsibility

From its inception until the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, jurisdiction over the Smithsonian Institution was under the jurisdiction of Joint Committee on the Library. In 1947, the newly created Committee on House Administration assumed responsibility for matters relating to the Institution, except for "measures relating to the construction or reconstruction, maintenance, and care of the [Smithsonian's] buildings and grounds." Responsibility for these latter matters was given to the House Committee on

Public Works.[9] That jurisdiction was transferred to the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure in the 104th Congress (1995–1996).

Consistent with its legislative jurisdiction, the Committee was given the authority to conduct oversight on any activity related to the operations and activities of Smithsonian Institution[10] "to determine whether laws and programs . . . are being implemented and carried out in accordance with the intent of Congress and whether they should be continued, curtailed, or eliminated."[11] The House Committee on Appropriations considers legislation related to the appropriation of funds to carry out the Smithsonian's publicly-funded activities.

Oversight Hearings.

1970. By far the most comprehensive congressional review of the Smithsonian's activities in more than a century occurred in July 1970. During seven days of oversight hearings, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials examined the administration of the Institution and the development and implementation of its policies, benefits to the public, and future priorities. The Subcommittee's "inquiry was designed to cover the history of the [Smithsonian Institution] from its creation in 1846 to the present and to gain a thorough understanding of its operations, purposes, and policies—past, present, and future."[12] Witnesses included S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and three dozen other Smithsonian employees. Following the hearing, the Committee reported that the proceedings "supported the Subcommittee's view of the Smithsonian's importance to the Nation." Consequently, the Committee recommended "that Congress revitalize its interest in the Smithsonian and continue to provide the Smithsonian with the means effectively to carry out its mandate 'to provide for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.'"[13]

1992. Two decades later, in 1992, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials held another oversight hearing to determine whether: (1) malfeasance in the disbursement of federal funds at the Smithsonian had occurred and (2) an attempt had been made by the Smithsonian to evade legitimate congressional oversight. Events prior to the hearing suggested that the Subcommittee had not, "despite a written request," been "kept apprised of the Institution's response and payments" of more than $400,000 in legal fees for defending Dr. Robert M. Mitchell, a zoologist on detail to the Smithsonian from the Department of the Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service. The Subcommittee determined that the Smithsonian had in this instance "surreptitiously altered its method of disbursing legal funds and resumed payments without informing" them. Following testimony by the Smithsonian Inspector General, the Secretary of the Smithsonian, and General Accounting Office officials, Chairman William Clay of Missouri announced that the Subcommittee had concluded "that the actions of the Smithsonian Institution were ill-advised and inappropriate." The panel recommended the Smithsonian "immediately return all federal funds expended on Mr. Mitchell's behalf to the appropriate Smithsonian Federal account," "review and revamp the procedures under which it interacts and responds to this subcommittee," and "reevaluate its procedures and policies regarding the indemnification of legal expenses for temporary or peripheral employees." Also, the Subcommittee requested the Secretary or Under Secretary of the Smithsonian to brief them within six months on the Institution's progress in implementing the recommendations.[14]

2003. A third oversight hearing on the operations of the Smithsonian was held by the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials in 2003. The March 5 hearing focused on four specific areas: (1) major projects underway or in development at the Smithsonian; (2) a report recently submitted by the Smithsonian Science Commission that was tasked with looking at science and science priorities at the Smithsonian; (3) management at the National Zoo, publicized animal deaths at the Zoo, and corrective actions taken; and (4) overall management and future priorities of the Smithsonian.[15]

2006. Focusing on a very different concern, the Committee held an oversight hearing in May 2006 "on the operations and investments of the Smithsonian Institution, as well as the role Smithsonian Business Ventures (SBV)[16] served in furthering the Institution's mission as "an establishment for

the increase and diffusion of knowledge." A second objective of the hearing, according to Committee Chairman Vernon Ehlers, was to better understand the management philosophy of Lawrence M. Small, Secretary of the Smithsonian, and "to bring clarity and transparency to the process used by the Smithsonian in entering into [its] contract with CBS/Showtime." The semi-exclusive television contract the Smithsonian had made with Showtime Networks Inc., in March 2006, allowed Showtime to create "Smithsonian on Demand," a commercial free cable station whose programming would feature Smithsonian programs and collections. The agreement aroused criticism because it coalesced a private company with the Smithsonian, with 90% of "Smithsonian on Demand" owned by Showtime and the remaining 10% by the Smithsonian.

As part of the agreement, the new network was to have the right of first refusal of commercial documentaries that relied significantly on the museum's archives, curators, and scientists. The Committee expressed particular misgivings about a confidentiality clause that made it difficult to gain access to a complete version of the contract, and questioned Lawrence M. Small, Secretary of the Smithsonian, and members of his staff at some length regarding the propriety of the contract's 30-year length and the restrictions it places on "film makers, rival networks, journalists and scholars" seeking access to the Smithsonian's resources.[17]

2007. Shortly after the 110th Congress convened, "a series of interlocking scandals, resignations and administrative upheavals suddenly hit the Smithsonian generating a torrent of congressional inquiries and continuous negative press coverage. These events precipitated a historic revamping of the Smithsonian's governance structure," prompted "a move toward greater transparency," and led to "replacement of senior management personnel."[18]

As the internal transformation at the Smithsonian unfolded, the "Committee conducted a wide range of oversight of these changes, including consultation with the House Members who serve[d] as Smithsonian regents, private briefings, staff meetings and public hearings. In each context, the Committee cautioned the Board of Regents that its efforts" to effect change "could not become an excuse for altering core policies of free access by the American public to Smithsonian museums, retreating from commitments to continue its unique scientific research projects, or neglecting the safety of the visiting public in its sometimes decrepit and unfunded facilities." The Committee strongly supported the Independent Review Committee appointed by the Smithsonian regents to issue reform recommendations.[19]

Amidst congressional concerns that the Smithsonian had "veered off course in recent years," the Committee on House Administration held on oversight hearing on August 1, 2007, on "The Smithsonian in Transition." The focal point of the hearing was a discussion on the recommendations of the Institution's Governance Committee and an Independent Review Committee that were designed to ensure more effective oversight, accountability, and transparency by the Smithsonian's Board of Regents as well as its senior management. During the hearing the Committee heard testimony from Representative Doris O. Matsui, a member of the Governance Committee, Smithsonian Board of Regents; Charles A. Bowsher, chairman of the Independent Review Committee; Dr. Christian Samper, Acting Secretary, Smithsonian Institution; and Anne Sprightley Ryan, Inspector General, Smithsonian Institution.[20] "Openness and transparency have to be the watchwords for the future of this institution," said former Comptroller General Bowsher. Acting Secretary Samper told the Committee that he had appointed a task force to study the "fundamental questions" surrounding Smithsonian's Business Ventures, the institution's business unit. In the meantime, Smithsonian officials were working to ensure the policies between the institution and the business unit were the same, Bowsher added.[21]

Prior to the 110th Congress, the Committee had "routinely urged House passage under suspension of rules and without formal committee action the recommendations of the Board of Regents to fill nine positions as citizen regents of the Smithsonian." Given that the Smithsonian "Board of Regents as a part-time body had been primarily responsible

for lax internal oversight," the Committee decided "to no longer give citizen regent candidates proposed by the Board automatic approval for appointments (or reappointments)." The Committee "instituted a practice of meeting informally with candidates for the nine regent positions before allowing a vote by the House on whether to appoint them by joint resolution."[22]

2009. On April 1, 2009, the Committee held an oversight hearing that focused on concerns raised by a March 15 *Washington Post* article that raised "issues relating to public safety and the possible release of asbestos during construction activities at the world's most visited museum, the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum." At the outset of the hearing, Committee chair Robert A. Brady expressed concern "about how well the Smithsonian has been complying with Federal laws and best practices in controlling asbestos and other hazardous substances that staff and the visiting public may be exposed to."[23]

The Committee heard testimony from Smithsonian Secretary, Dr. G. Wayne Clough, and several experts on treatment of hazardous materials. Secretary Clough made a commitment to conduct a complete review of asbestos safety policies and procedures using an independent outside workplace safety expert, and take several other administrative actions designed to "respond to concerns about asbestos exposure and preclude any future problems."[24] The experts who testified to the Committee that the Smithsonian's written asbestos control policy was complete and comprehensive, but there had been serious deficiencies in its implementation over a prolonged period of time.[25]

The review promised by Secretary Clough "was completed in November 2009 by an outside consultant." The study "urged improvement in the Smithsonian Institution's handling of asbestos in its buildings, changes in procedures and training, and inspections throughout the various buildings in the complex." Richard Pullman, the Air and Space Museum exhibit specialist whose complaint about asbestos prompted the initial concern ultimately "received a settlement from the Smithsonian, but the Institution did not admit liability."[26]

Legislative Action

During the six decades since the Committee assumed its jurisdictional responsibilities over the Smithsonian, the Institution has continued to broaden its scope, which in 2006 included 19 museums and galleries, the National Zoo, and 9 research facilities throughout the United States and around the world, plus 144 affiliated museums and more than 400 buildings. These activities have afforded the Committee a diverse array of opportunities to consider significant legislative proposals involving the Institution.

Appointment of Board of Regents. The most frequently recurring responsibility of the Committee has been the consideration of resolutions calling for the appointment of members of the Smithsonian Board of Regents.[27]

Paleontological Investigations. One of the first Smithsonian-related bills considered by the Committee was in the 81st Congress (1949–1950), when it reported, with amendments, legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Smithsonian to cooperate with any state, educational institution, or scientific organization in the United States for continuing paleontological investigations. The bill, which became law on August 15, 1949, specifically addressed the excavation and preservation of fossil remains in areas that would be flooded by the construction of government dams or otherwise be made unavailable for such investigations because of such construction. The Committee in reporting the bill explained that the need for this legislation grew out of an extensive flood control program and other activities involving the construction of dams in the river systems throughout the United States. In many localities, the Committee found, the reservoirs formed would permanently inundate important fossil formations.[28]

Ethnological Research on the American Indian. Also during the 81st Congress, the Committee reported legislation that provided for cooperation by the Smithsonian Institution with state, educational, and scientific organizations in the United States for continuing research on American Indians. The purpose of this legislation was "to give permanent statutory authorization to activities of the Smithsonian Institution

which [had] been carried on with continuous congressional approval for upwards of 70 years, [and] to place these activities on the same legal basis" as their permanent activities. Following House and Senate concurrence, President Truman signed the bill on August 22, 1949.[29]

Special Smithsonian Police. Legislation enhancing the security of the Smithsonian Institution and its collections was reported by the Committee on July 12, 1951, and passed the House the same day. The bill authorized the Secretary of the Smithsonian and the Trustees of the National Gallery of Art, or authorized representatives, to designate employees as special police responsible for the protection of the Smithsonian's buildings, grounds, and exhibits. It also authorized the Secretary and Trustees to prescribe regulations to protect the property of the Smithsonian and the National Gallery. The measure made it unlawful for anyone other than authorized employees to handle exhibited objects or to injure or remove objects on exhibit or plants on its property. Subsequently, a Senate companion bill, with amendments, was passed by that chamber, the House agreed to the Senate amendments, and the bill was enacted on October 24, 1951.[30] Thirteen years later, as the new Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology was about to be occupied, the 1951 act was amended to extend police coverage to this additional facility as well. Preceding passage of the amending legislation, the Committee favorably reported the bill.[31]

National Collection of Fine Arts and National Portrait Gallery. As the Smithsonian Institution continued to grow, the need for additional space for its collections prompted legislation in 1958 calling for the transfer of the Old Patent Office Building to the Smithsonian. Built between 1836 and 1867, the landmark building housed the Patient Office until 1932, and subsequently the Civil Service Commission. It was derelict and threatened with demolition prior to the transfer to the Smithsonian.

It was proposed that the building be used to house the collections of the National Collection of Fine Arts and the National Portrait Gallery, which had grown to such an extent that they could no longer safely be housed together in their existing location. The Committee favorably reported a bill authorizing the transfer, and the House concurred. The House proceedings, however, were subsequently vacated, and both the Senate and House approved a similar Senate measure, which became law on March 28, 1958.[32] Legislation officially designating the National Portrait Gallery as a bureau of the Smithsonian Institution was reported by the Committee on June 28, 1961, and then superseded by a similar Senate bill. The Senate measure passed the House with amendments on April 16, 1962. The following day, the Senate agreed to the House amendments, and the bill was enacted near the end of the month.[33]

Proposed National Armed Forces Museum. The Smithsonian took another step toward furthering the scope of its exhibits in 1961, after the Committee reported legislation establishing a National Armed Forces Museum Advisory Board. The Board was charged with providing advice and assistance to the Smithsonian regents on matters concerning the portrayal of contributions made by the Armed Forces of the United States to American society and culture. The measure stipulated that the Smithsonian was to commemorate and display those contributions; interpret through dramatic displays significant current problems affecting the Nation's security; and establish a study center for scholarly research into the meaning of war, its effect on civilization, and the role of the Armed Forces in maintaining a just and lasting peace by providing a powerful deterrent to war. In order to facilitate this mandate, the Smithsonian was directed, with the advice and consent of the Board, to proceed with the acquisition of land and property. Soon after the Committee reported the bill, it was approved by both chambers and became law.[34]

Employment of Aliens Having Scientific or Technical Capabilities. Three years later, in 1964, the Committee reported legislation to address the Smithsonian's growing need for individuals with scientific and technical backgrounds. The bill authorized the Institution to employ aliens, subject to adequate security and other investigations, when it was determined that a qualified U.S. citizen would not be available for a particular position. The Committee's report

emphasized that existing restrictions concerning the hiring of aliens would "cause the Institution to be unable to hire marine taxonomists necessary for expanded oceanographic research programs." On August 31, 1964, President Johnson signed the bill into law.[35]

Development of the National Air and Space Museum. Perhaps the Committee's longest running involvement with the development of a museum concept was its role in the planning of the National Air and Space Museum on the National Mall and its companion facility, the Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center, near Washington Dulles International Airport.

Creation of the National Air Museum. In 1946, shortly before the Committee was established, Congress provided for the creation of the National Air Museum as part of the Smithsonian Institution.[36] Eighteen years later, in August 1964, the Subcommittee on Printing and Memorials became involved in the effort to broaden the Museum's mission with a hearing on proposed amendments to the original legislation. The bill (S. 602, 88th Congress), which had already been passed by the Senate, sought to include space objects under the museum's jurisdiction and to change the museum's name to the National Aeronautical and Space Museum. Following the hearing, the full Committee "disapproved" the bill.[37]

Mission Broadened/Name Changed. Within two years, however, the Committee favorably reported legislation changing the name of the National Air Museum to the National Air and Space Museum. This bill delegated to the new entity, with the advice of a museum board, responsibility for memorializing the national development of aviation and space flight; collecting, preserving, and displaying aeronautical and space flight equipment of historical interest and significance; serving as a repository for scientific equipment and data pertaining to the development of aviation and space flight; and providing educational material for the historic study of aviation and space flight. In July 1966 the bill was signed by the President.[38]

Expansion of the National Air and Space Museum. Early in the 1990s, Smithsonian personnel returned to Capitol Hill to ask for an additional venue to house its ever expanding air and space collections. In July 1991, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials held a hearing on legislation authorizing the Smithsonian Institution to plan and design an extension to the National Air and Space Museum (NASM) at Dulles International Airport. The hearing focused on the Smithsonian's need for the extension and the method employed in its selection of Dulles. "Although there appeared to be overwhelming support for an annex to the Air and Space Museum, questions were raised by the General Accounting Office (GAO) as to the thoroughness and fairness of the Institution's process in the selection of Dulles Airport over other competing sites." Prior to the hearing, however, "GAO revised its findings and testified at the hearing that the Smithsonian could justify its decision to select Dulles as the site of the NASM extension." While the "Subcommittee found that it was essential that additional storage, preservation, and exhibition space be acquired for the National Air and Space Museum," it had become increasingly concerned over the equitability of the site selection process." The hearing "opened discussion between the Smithsonian and parties interested in acquiring the NASM extension. More importantly, these discussions led to the Institution exploring the possibility of sharing and exhibiting its artifacts and expanding or constructing new museums outside of the Washington, DC, metropolitan area."[39]

A second Subcommittee hearing in October 1991 focused on a proposal to create the National Air and Space Advisory Panel. Its duties would be to: (1) establish and conduct a national competition for the evaluation of possible expansion sites for the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum; and (2) develop expansion site selection criteria. Several reasons were offered for the new facility. Neither the National Air and Space Museum on the Mall nor its Paul E. Garber Preservation, Restoration, and Storage Facility in Suitland, Maryland, had sufficient space to properly house or exhibit the artifacts already in its collections." Smithsonian staff told the Subcommittee that it was virtually impossible to transport very large air and spacecraft promised to the Museum to either of its present sites, and that the physical

integrity of 80% of the national collections housed in the Garber Facility was compromised by the deterioration of its overcrowded warehouses and the absence of proper environmental controls.[40]

No action was taken on the first proposal. The Committee favorably reported an amended version of the second bill a year later, but it failed to pass the House under suspension of the rules.

In March 1993, the Subcommittee held a third hearing on the National Air and Space Museum extension. These latter proceedings, instead of focusing on the creation of an advisory panel that would be responsible for a national competition to evaluate possible sites for the National Air and Space Museum extension, centered on the option of delegating authority to the Smithsonian Board of Regents to plan and build an extension of the Museum at Dulles International Airport. Following the hearing, the full Committee reported an amended bill by voice vote and, following House and Senate concurrence, the bill became law in August 1993.[41]

National Zoo. A far different Smithsonian matter captured the attention of the Committee in 1966, when an issue involving the National Zoological Park in Washington, DC, needed resolution. As the popularity of the Zoo continued to grow after Congress placed it under the direction of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution in 1890,[42] so did the opportunity for private individuals and nonprofit organizations to become involved in associated educational activities.

It was within this context that the Committee reported, and Congress approved, legislation authorizing the Smithsonian to negotiate agreements granting concessions at the Zoo to nonprofit scientific, educational, and historical organizations, and to accept the voluntary services of such organizations as well as the voluntary services of individuals. The legislation was prompted by a "recent Comptroller General decision (42 Comp. Gen. 651, May 27, 1963) that held that the Smithsonian could not grant the Friends of the National Zoological Park, a nonprofit organization promoting educational purposes of the zoo, the privilege of conducting a coin-operated audio tour lecture system concession." The proceeds from the concession, the Committee reported, "were to be used exclusively for educational purposes at the National Zoological Park."[43]

The Zoo was the subject of another hearing in 2003, when Zoo director, Lucy H. Spelman, and other Smithsonian officials appeared before the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials to answer questions "about why so many of the animals [had] died under her watch." Afterwards, Smithsonian officials and the Committee reached agreement on new oversight procedures for the Zoo.[44]

National Museum Act. A desire to "give recognition to the Nation's museums as significant cultural and educational institutions," and "increase the Smithsonian's capability to advise and assist these museums . . . through direct cooperation with them," moved Congress in 1966 to pass the National Museum Act. Under the new law, the Director of the National Museum,[45] under the direction of the Secretary of the Smithsonian, was to: (1) cooperate with museums and their professional organizations in a continuing study of museum problems and opportunities, both in the United States and abroad; (2) prepare and carry out programs for training career employees in museum practices in cooperation with museums and their professional organizations; (3) prepare and distribute significant museum publications; (4) perform research on, and otherwise contribute to, the development of museum techniques; (5) cooperate with government departments and agencies operating, assisting, or otherwise concerned with museums; and (6) report annually to Congress on these activities. Prior to passage, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials held two days of hearings on the bill, and the full Committee favorably reported it. After the Senate passed a different version, the two chambers agreed to a conference report on the measure which became law in 1966.[46]

Eight years later, in 1974, Congress approved legislation amending the National Museum Act. The adjustment was designed "to strengthen the Smithsonian's program in museum conservation techniques and training—a program which has national significance to the preservation of the

great variety of artifacts and objects which comprise our national heritage and form the basis of our knowledge of the past." The act also authorized a $1million annual appropriation to the Smithsonian for the purposes of the National Museum Act for FY1975, FY1976, and FY 1977. Before reporting the bill, the Committee added amendments, which were incorporated into the final law.[47] In 1976, the Committee favorably reported legislation providing another $1 million authorization for FY1978, FY1979, and FY1980, respectively. The Senate version of this latter bill was subsequently passed in lieu of the House version considered and reported by the Committee.[48]

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. In 1968, Congress established in the Smithsonian Institution a Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars as a "living institution expressing" Wilson's "ideals and concerns," and as "memorial to his accomplishments as the twenty-eighth President of the United States, a distinguished scholar, an outstanding university president, and a brilliant advocate of international understanding." During the consideration of that legislation, the Committee "strongly endorse[d] the concept of an International Center for Scholars . . . as an appropriate living memorial to Woodrow Wilson." After the House passed the bill, those proceedings were vacated, and the House passed the Senate version of the bill. After the Senate accepted House amendments, the bill was enacted on October 24.[49] A decade later, Congress established the Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson Center and created a trust fund to provide a stipend for the annual fellowship. The Committee reported the bill establishing the fellowship in April 1978, and it became law a month and a half later.[50]

Smithsonian Museum Support Facility. In 1975, Congress passed legislation authorizing the Smithsonian to prepare plans for museum support facilities that were "to be used for (1) the care, curation, conservation, deposit, preparation, and study of the national collections of scientific, historic, and artistic objects, specimens, and artifacts; (2) the related documentation of such collections"; and (3) "the training of museum conservators." The law stipulated that the support facilities be located in the Washington, DC, metropolitan area," but not on the Mall. The House version of the bill was favorably reported by the Committee and passed by the House. In justifying the need for the facility, the Committee wrote, that the Smithsonian "buildings were constructed primarily for exhibition in an area convenient to visitors, and space on the Mall is far too limited and valuable to be devoted primarily to other than exhibition purposes." The initial House proceedings were subsequently vacated when the Senate version of the bill was amended by the House. The Senate agreed to the House amendments before it was signed into law by the President.[51]

Allowing for a Larger Footprint on the National Mall. Also in 1975, Congress reserved additional land on the National Mall "for future public uses of the Smithsonian," in the area bounded by Third Street, Maryland Avenue, Fourth Street, and Jefferson Drive in the District of Columbia. The law stipulated that no portion of the site, however, could be used "unless such use is first approved by the Congress." The Committee favorably reported the bill two months prior to enactment.[52]

Anticipating even further growth of the Smithsonian, Congress, in 1979, considered and passed legislation authorizing the Smithsonian to plan for the development of the area south of the original Smithsonian Institution Building, and authorized $500,000 for that planning.[53] Although the Committee was discharged from consideration of the bill, it did report legislation two years later that authorized an additional $500,000 to plan for the development of the area. No further action was taken on the latter measure.[54]

Museum of African Art. In October 1978, Congress authorized the Smithsonian to acquire the land, collections of works of art, and other assets and property of the Museum of African Art in Washington, DC. The previous August, the Committee favorably reported the bill. At the time, the Museum of African Art, which had been founded in 1964, was located on Capitol Hill "in a series of 19th century townhouses including the first Washington residence of Frederick

Douglass." Today, the National Museum of African Art is located on the National Mall between the Smithsonian's Arts and Industries Building and the Sackler Gallery of Art.[55]

Adjustment of Interest Rate on Smithsonian Funds in the Treasury. Under the act of August 10, 1846, which established the Smithsonian Institution, the funds derived from the bequest of James Smithson were deposited with the U.S. Treasury as a permanent loan that was to receive a payment of six percent annually. That percentage remain unchanged until 1982, when an amendment, introduced and reported by the Committee, became law. Its purpose was to ensure that the Smithsonian received a "rate of return that is approximately equal to the rate paid by the Treasury on its marketable borrowings of comparable maturities." The Committee in its report explained that: "Inflation and interest rates have created circumstances in which the statutory rate is substantially below current market rates on outstanding obligations of the United States. This legislation is required to adjust the rate paid on the Smithsonian's permanent loan at the Treasury."[56]

Fred Lawrence Whipple Observatory. Subsequently, the Committee in 1983 favorably reported legislation authorizing the Smithsonian to purchase four acres of land it had been leasing in Santa Cruz County, Arizona. The site was to be used for construction of the permanent headquarters of the Fred Lawrence Whipple Observatory, which is maintained and operated by the Smithsonian on Mount Hopkins, near Amado, Arizona. The bill became law in August of the same year.[57]

DC General Post Office Building Acquired. In August 1984, the Committee held a joint hearing with the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration to consider a bill authorizing the Administrator of the General Services Administration to transfer the DC General Post Office Building to the Smithsonian Institution for certain art galleries and related functions. Previously, the Committee on Public Works and Transportation, to which the bill had been jointly referred, had held hearings on the bill and reported it. On August 18, the bill was called up by the House under suspension of the rules and passed by a voice vote, was approved by the Senate two months later, and became law in October, 1984.[58]

A subsequent attempt by the Smithsonian in 1991 to acquire an Administrative Service Center (ASC) in Washington, DC, was favorably reported by the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials on October 23, following an October 1 hearing. The Smithsonian was interested in securing the ASC as an "off-mail facility for the long-term, general purpose, light industrial warehouse and office needs of the Institution." The full Committee took no further action.[59]

Cooper-Hewitt Museum. On August 1, 1985, the Task Force on Libraries and Memorials held a hearing on a bill authorizing the Smithsonian to construct, expand, and renovate facilities at the Cooper Hewitt (National Design) Museum in New York City, which become a part of the Smithsonian in 1967. Following the hearing, the Committee favorably reported an amended bill, but no further action was taken on the measure. A similar Senate bill pending in the Senate failed to receive the two-thirds vote required to suspend the rules so it could be passed by the House.[60]

National Museum of the American Indian. Legislation establishing a National Museum of the American Indian within the Smithsonian, as a living memorial to Native Americans and their traditions, was signed into law in November 1989. Several months earlier, on March 9 and July 20, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and House Committee on Public Works and Transportation subcommittee held joint hearings on the bill. Both the House Administration and Public Works Committees favorably reported the bill.[61]

Subsequently, in 1996, the Committee on House Oversight favorably reported, as did the House Committee on Resources, legislation introduced in the Senate that amended the National Museum of the American Indian Act to require the Smithsonian Institution to: (1) complete the inventory of Indian human remains and Indian funerary objects in the possession or control of the Smithsonian Institution by June 1998; (2) provide a written "summary of funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony;" and (3) expedite the repatriation of such objects "where a requesting Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization [could] show cultural affiliation." The House subsequently passed

the bill under suspension of the rules. It was signed into law on October 9.[62]

National Museum of African American History and Culture. Far more protracted was the movement for a National African American Museum. "During the early 1980s, discussions began in many sectors of the [B]lack community regarding the possibility of establishing a National African American Museum." On October 21, 1986, a "Sense of the Congress" resolution (H. Con. Res. 666, 99th Congress) was signed into law and stated that Congress encouraged establishment of "a commemorative structure within the National Parks Service, or on other Federal lands dedicated to the promotion of understanding, knowledge, opportunity and equality of all people."[63] Meanwhile, the Smithsonian Institution, between 1985 and 1989, instituted 12 projects or exhibits focusing on African Americans.[64] In May 1989, the "Smithsonian's Board of Regents gave general approval to the establishment" within the Institution of "a special unit devoted to issues of African American history, art, and culture that might be addressed by display, research, collecting, and outreach activities."[65]

In September of the same year, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials held an oversight hearing on the establishment of an African American Heritage Memorial Museum. "The purpose of the hearing was to provide a forum for proponents of the National African American [Heritage Memorial] Museum and for focusing both public and Congressional attention on the issue." The hearing also offered an opportunity to publicly examine H.R. 1570, a bill referred to the Subcommittee that proposed the creation of the National African American Museum on the Mall in Washington, DC.

At the hearing the Subcommittee received testimony from members of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution and other concerned federal agencies, historians, artists, and various members of the African American community. Most witnesses at the hearing supported the idea of an African American Museum. Robert McCormick Adams, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, expressed concern over what form an African American presence on the Mall should take, and other witnesses expressed doubt as to the availability of space on the Mall for another museum. Another witness, Robert E. Gresham, Assistant Director of the National Capital Planning Commission, the agency responsible for developing the Mall, recommended that any legislation to establish the National African American Museum not limit itself to the technical boundaries of the Mall. Further, Mr. Gresham explained that the Mall actually encompasses three areas: the Mall proper, the extended Mall, and the monumental core.[66]

Three weeks later, on "October 11, 1989, in response to the Subcommittee's hearing, a day-long session was held by the Smithsonian to discuss the possibility of establishing a separate physical presence dedicated to African American history, art, and culture on the Mall. Smithsonian staff and external advisors took part in the discussion." The session "focused on the need to increase African American staff, programs, and collections within existing bureaus and the need to begin program discussions about a distinct African American presence within the Smithsonian." Near the end of the year, "in an effort to further crystallize its perspective regarding the initiatives addressed in the Subcommittee's hearing, the Smithsonian Institution announced the appointment of a 22-member advisory board . . . to examine whether an African American presence on the Mall should be realized as a wing of an existing museum or as a free-standing entity, and to consider whether it should be a collecting museum, a gallery, a research center or some combination of these elements."[67]

The African-American Institutional Study Advisory Board's 120-page report of May 1991, "recommended that a National African American Museum be established at the Smithsonian and that it be dedicated to the collection, preservation, research and exhibition of materials that reflect the breadth and the experiences of Black Americans. It also recommended that the location be in a building on the National Mall, and that it be governed by a board of trustees who would report to the Smithsonian board of trustees." Later the same month, the "Smithsonian's board of regents endorsed in principle the findings of the committee."[68]

In April 1992, both the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, and the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the House Committee on Public Works and

Transportation, held hearings on a proposal to establish a National African American Museum in the Smithsonian Institution. The Public Works Committee reported the bill, but the House took no further action in the 102nd Congress.[69] Eleven months later, in March 1993, during the 103rd Congress, the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials held a second hearing on the proposal, and favorably reported that bill in June. The House Committee on Public Works and Transportation also held hearings on the proposal and reported the bill. Although the bill passed the House in late June 1993, no further action was taken by the end of the 103rd Congress.[70]

Finally in December 2001, legislation was signed into law establishing a National Museum of African American History and Cultural Plan for Action Presidential Commission to develop a plan for the establishment and maintenance of an African American History and Culture Museum in Washington, DC. Prior to enactment, the bill was jointly referred to the Committee on House Administration, House Committee on Resources, and House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. Subsequently, the House, on a motion to suspend the rules, passed the measure. The measure was enacted in December 2001.[71]

Similarly, in November 2003, a bill establishing within the Smithsonian Institution the National Museum of African American History and Culture was jointly referred to the Committee on House Administration, House Committee on Resources, and House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, but the House again passed the measure, by suspending the rules, without a report. Subsequently, the Senate also passed the bill, and President George W. Bush signed it into law.[72] The new museum was charged with collecting, preserving, studying, and exhibiting African American historical and cultural material.

National Museum of the American Latino. During the 108th and 109th Congresses, four different bills were introduced in the House to establish a commission to make recommendations to the President and Congress regarding the establishment and maintenance of a National Museum of the American Latino that would be located in Washington, DC, as part of the Smithsonian Institution.[73] The Committee held hearings on one of the proposals (H.R. 4863, 108th Congress) in July 2004, and reported a second, amendment measure (H.R. 2134, 109th Congress), in July 2006. The Subcommittee on National Parks, House Committee on Resources, held hearings on the latter bill, and the full House Resources Committee also reported the bill that July.

The bill was subsequently passed under suspension of the rules by a voice vote on August 27, 2006.[74] The Senate took no action on this bill or the Senate companion measure (S. 2475, 109th Congress) during the balance of the 109th Congress. Legislation (H.R. 512) calling for the creation of a commission to study the potential of a National Museum of the American Latino was again referred to the House Administration in the 110th Congress. That bill was considered and passed by the House under suspension of the Rules. The Senate, however, indefinitely postponed floor consideration of H.R. 512, and instead passed, as did the House, provisions creating the commission as part of the Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008.[75]

On May 5, 2011, the National Museum of the American Latino Commission submitted its final report to the President and Congress. The commission's findings were reviewed by the Committee on House Administration following their release.[76]

Civil Rights History Project Act of 2008. In mid-September 2008, the Committee on House Administration favorably reported an amended version of the Civil Rights Project Act of 2008.[77] H.R. 998, directed the Library of Congress and the National Museum of African American History and Culture to work together to collect and preserve for posterity audio and video recordings of the memories and stories of individuals who participated in and witnessed firsthand the civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s. The bill encouraged the Secretary of the Smithsonian and the Librarian of Congress to solicit and accept financial and in-kind donations for the project, and authorized appropriations to carry out the proposed act. The House passed the bill by

voice vote under suspension of rules on September 17, 2008.[78] The Senate took no action on H.R. 998 in the 110th Congress.

Smithsonian Institution Facilities Authorization Act of 2008. Also on September 17, 2008, the House by voice vote passed the Smithsonian Institution Facilities Act of 2008, which authorizes: (1) $41 million to design and construct laboratory and support space for the Mathias Laboratory at the Smithsonian Environmental Research Center in Edgewater, Maryland; and (2) $14 million to construct laboratory space to accommodate the terrestrial research program of the Smithsonian tropical research institute in Gamboa, Panama.[79] A week earlier, the bill (H.R. 6627) was favorably reported by the Committee on House Administration as well as the House Committee on Transportation. Despite favorably reporting the bill, the House Administration "criticized the Smithsonian for initiating planning and design activities without proper advance authorization from Congress."[80] The Senate took no action on H.R. 6627 in the 110th Congress.

Civil Rights History Project Act of 2009. On March 25, 2009, the Committee ordered reported H.R. 586, which called for creation of a joint project under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress to collect video and audio recordings of personal histories and testimonials of individuals who participated in the civil rights movement. The bill was passed by the House on April 22, 2010, by a vote of 422–0. H.R. 586 was passed by the Senate two days later without amendment by unanimous consent. It was signed into law (P.L. 111–19) on May 12, 2009. "Successful implementation of the new law," the Committee stressed, "demonstrated how the staff of the Museum of African American History and Culture could interact with other agencies and advance the Smithsonian's mission even without the physical infrastructure of a building in place."[81]

Construction of a Vehicle Maintenance Building in Suitland, Maryland. On December 3, 2009, the Committee favorably reported H.R. 3224, without amendment. The bill authorized $4 million for the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to plan, design, and construct a vehicle maintenance building in Suitland, Maryland, moving this activity from away from its less functional location at the National Zoological Park in downtown Washington, DC. The House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure had previously reported H.R. 3224 favorably in late September 2009. H.R. 3224 was passed by the House under suspension of the rules by a voice vote on December 8, 2009. The Senate took no action on H.R. 3224 in the 111th Congress.[82]

Smithsonian Conservation Biology Institute Enhancement Act. Late in September 2010, the Committee favorably reported a bill (H.R. 5717) providing for the construction of new facilities for education at the Smithsonian's research facility in Front Royal, Virginia, which is noted for its effort to preserve endangered species, in conjunction with George Mason University in Virginia. H.R. 5717 called for the Smithsonian to take ownership in 30 years of a building to be constructed on the site and funded by GMU. An amended version of H.R. 5717 was also favorably reported by the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure on September 20, 2010. The bill, as amended, was passed by the House under suspension of the rules by voice vote on September 28, 2010, but it failed to receive Senate floor consideration in the 111th Congress.[83]

National Library of Medicine

In a 1948 overview of the status of the Library of Congress as the National Library of Science, Librarian Luther H. Evans wrote, "as long as the Library of the Department of Agriculture and the Army Medical Library continue to maintain adequate collections in their respective fields and to discharge the national responsibility for research library service at a high level, the Library of Congress will not purchase extensively in the fields of agriculture and medicine, but will limit itself to the works that are necessary to maintain a thoroughly encyclopedic collection."[84] The statement reflected long-standing Library practice, which did not change. There had been, and would continue to be, cooperative working arrangements between the Library of Congress and the other two national libraries.

The National Agricultural Library began in 1862 as a departmental library for the newly established Department of

Agriculture,[85] and became a national library 100 years later.[86] The National Library of Education was mandated in 1994.[87] The antecedents of the National Library of Medicine, however, trace to a much earlier era, when the Library of Congress was in its infancy. It took initial form as the personal collection of books and periodicals of Dr. Joseph Lovell, the Surgeon General of the United States Army from 1818 until his death in 1836, whereupon his library became the nucleus of the library of the Office of the Surgeon General (OSG). Thereafter, from 1836 until at least 1841, Lovell's successors regularly sought $150 in their budgets for additional medical books. From 1866 until 1887, the OSG and its library were located at Ford's Theater in Washington, DC.[88] Responding to public protest against its continued use as a theater after the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, the federal government purchased the playhouse and remodeled it for use as a depository and museum for the Army medical department.[89] In 1887, the OSG library was relocated to its red brick building (razed in 1970 for the construction of the Hirshhorn Museum), built especially for it on the Washington Mall, and was denominated the Army Medical Library in 1922. Thirty years later, having functionally become the medical library of all three military branches, it was renamed the Armed Forces Medical Library.[90]

In February 1955, the Task Force on Federal Medical Services of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, chaired by former President Herbert C. Hoover, issued a report recommending the creation of a National Library of Medicine as a division of the Smithsonian Institution and transferring to this new library the collections of the Army Medical Library. The Task Force indicated that the proposed "National Library of Medicine must not be subordinate to any executive department; that, like a university library, it must have a status independent of the many groups it serves"; and observed that the "Library of Congress, which is a library primarily for the use of Congress, would present difficulties of administration as well as differences of purpose" if made responsible for managing the envisioned national medical library.[91] The parent Hoover Commission adopted the recommendations of the Task Force, saying the Army Medical Library "is in fact the National Library of Medicine of the United States," and noted existing deficiencies—lack of clear, statutorily specified functions; ineffective administrative structure; inadequate facilities; and poor financial support—that could be addressed in creating the new national medical library.[92]

Receipt of the Hoover Commission's *Federal Medical Services* report prompted the introduction of numerous bills in the House to establish the National Library of Medicine, many of which were referred to the Committee on House Administration. Initial hearings were held by the committee on June 19 and 26, 1956, which revealed that, while the urgent need for such a facility was undisputed, there was some disagreement regarding the location of the medical library—choices being Chicago, Boston, New York, or Washington, DC. Narrowing the choice to Chicago or Washington, the committee held a June 19 hearing on the Chicago option, followed by a June 26 proceeding on the Washington alternative.[93] Meanwhile, a Senate bill establishing the National Library of Medicine was reported in late May, and was adopted by the Senate on June 11. Thereafter, the measure was referred to the House, considered by another House committee, and reported in mid-July. A few days later, the House approved the bill, with amendments, and returned it to the Senate, which concurred to the House modifications on July 29, clearing the legislation for President Eisenhower's signature on August 3, 1956.[94] The resulting National Library of Medicine Act transferred the Armed Forces Medical Library to the Public Health Service, renamed it the National Library of Medicine, and authorized the construction of a new building to house the library collections. A site on the acreage of the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, MD, was selected in 1957, and the facility was opened in April 1962.[95]

Monuments, Memorials, and Memorial Services

Origins and Development

"Monuments," one author has aptly noted, "are history made visible. They are shrines that celebrate the ideals, achievements, and heroes that existed in one moment in time. They

commemorate singular individuals, heroic accomplishments, or the millions of lives swept away by war." Monuments also "reflect the politics of remembering, the subtle comparisons our bodies make when looking up or down at effigies of others. The best of them are redemptive, allowing us to understand the past in a way that is meaningful in the present."[96]

Even before the drafting of the Constitution, Congress has authorized the erection of monuments to commemorate the extraordinary contributions of individuals and groups, to memorialize "on-site battles vital to the nation's establishment and survival, and to provide landscaped and solemn cemeteries for its historic dead."[97] In August of 1783, for example, the Continental Congress passed a resolution calling for the procurement of an equestrian statue of General George Washington, to be "erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established."[98]

The concept of battlefield commemoration began two years earlier, in October 1781, when the Continental Congress, upon news of the surrender by Lord Cornwallis of his army at Yorktown, voted to erect "at York, Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States" and France.[99] No money, however, was appropriated for the column. A century passed before Congress finally appropriated $100,000 to erect the Yorktown column in accordance with the resolution of the Continental Congress.[100] The column is today the centerpiece of Colonial National Historic Park at Yorktown.

During Congress's first century, at least five different House committees reported memorial legislation. A sampling of the consideration of those measures between 1789 and the 1889 reveals that the Committee on Ways and Means, Committee on the Library, Committee on Public Buildings, Committee on Military Affairs, and Committee on the District of Columbia all, at least once, recommended passage of a memorial bill.[101]

By the mid-1880s, however, the House Committee on the Library was reporting most memorial bills. Over the next six decades, legislation reported by the Library Committee dealt with a broad range of memorial bills that provided for:

- statues of William Penn and General Anthony Wayne (1886);
- a monument to medical reformer Samuel Hahnemann (1900);
- the purchase of a bronze portrait statue of George Washington (1900);
- statues of John Paul Jones, and Revolutionary War heroes Casimir Pulaski and Baron Steuben (1902);
- amendments to the Revised Statutes relative to placing statues and busts in National Statuary Hall (1908);
- a statue in memory of Jeanne d'Arc (1921);
- a statue of Edmund Burke, British statesman and political writer (1922);
- a statue of Abraham Lincoln in Gettysburg National Cemetery (1935); and
- a statue to Nathan Hale (1946).[102]

House Committee on Memorials (Memorial Services)

Although the House did eventually establish a Committee on Memorials on January 3, 1929, the committee, despite its name, had no jurisdiction over memorials, monuments, or statues. It instead was charged with arranging for the observance of a memorial day by the House in memory of the Members of the House and Senate who had died during the preceding session. In conjunction with this ceremonial duty, the Committee was also entrusted with the responsibility of arranging for publication of the proceedings of these memorial services.[103]

Since the First Congress, it had been the custom to hold a separate memorial service in honor of each Member who had died during the session or during the intervening recess. Over time, the practice became more formalized. Services were held in the Hall of the House, usually on a Sunday, and the proceedings were printed in the *Congressional Record*, and subsequently in book form. During early Congresses, when the membership of the House was small, deaths of Members were relatively infrequent. For more than a century, the practice of individual memorial services was adequate to its intended purpose: to provide an appropriate ceremony of remembrance for Members who

had died. As the membership of the House grew, however, Members began to question whether the traditional memorial exercises should be modified in some way.[104]

During the 67th Congress (1921–1923), 19 Representatives and 4 Senators died either during its 4 sessions or in the intervening adjournment. There were a comparable number of deaths during the 68th and 69th Congresses (1923–1927). As the number of services increased, there was a perception that attendance was waning and the ceremonies were becoming perfunctory. Concerned Members felt that the traditional memorial programs were falling short of what was intended and "lacked a great deal of the dignity of a proper memorial day in the House of Representatives."[105]

In response to these perceived inadequacies, the House Rules Committee on January 3, 1929, reported the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives be amended by inserting a new paragraph following paragraph 40, which shall be known as 40a and shall read as follows: "40a. On memorials, to consist of three members." That Rule XI be amended by inserting a new paragraph following paragraph 40, that shall be numbered 40a and shall read as follows: "40a. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Memorials to arrange a suitable program for each memorial day observed by the House of Representatives as a memorial day in memory of Members of the Senate and House of Representatives who have died during the preceding period, and to arrange for the publication of the proceedings thereof.[106]

The proposal enjoyed broad support, although some Members expressed reservations regarding the wisdom of establishing such a committee and abandoning the longstanding traditions of the House governing memorial exercises. At least one Member felt that as a standing committee it ought to consist of at least five members instead of just three as proposed. This objection was countered by the argument that since the Committee had a single ceremonial task, three members would be competent to discharge the Committee's duties.[107] With only three members, the Committee was among the smallest in the House (at the time, most committees had 20 or more members).

A second source of concern was the absence of any specificity in the resolution regarding the details of the memorial service itself. Would it be sufficiently dignified? These fears were allayed by assurances that the committee would take great care to produce a memorial service befitting the solemnity of the occasion.[108] The program designed by the committee for its first memorial exercise on February 20, 1929, seemed to quiet any doubts regarding the wisdom of establishing the Committee on Memorials.[109]

The Committee on Memorials operated from the 70th–79th Congress (1927–1946), at which time its duties were absorbed by the Committee on House Administration pursuant to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The act gave the Committee on House Administration the responsibility of "arranging a suitable program for each day observed by the House of Representatives as a memorial in memory of Members of the Senate and House of Representatives who have died during the preceding period and to arrange for the publication of the proceedings thereof."[110] The duty of the Committee on House Administration to arrange for memorial services of Members was eliminated from the House Rules effective January 3, 1975, by H. Res. 988 (93rd Congress).[111]

Role of the Committee on House Administration

With the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which became operative at the beginning of the 80th Congress (1947–1948), the Committee on House Administration assumed jurisdictional responsibility for legislation calling for the "erection of monuments to the memory of individuals." The Committee retained this responsibility through the 103rd (1993–1994) Congress. At the beginning of the 104th Congress (1995–1996), jurisdiction over memorials was transferred to the House Committee on Resources.[112]

During the nearly half century that the Committee dealt with memorials, it reported more than 50 different legislative

proposals that became law. Those enactments called for memorials in recognition of contributions ranging from the patriot military service to honors for former Presidents. Virtually all of those acts authorized the establishment of memorials on federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs.

Military Memorials

United States Marine Corps. Early in the first year of its existence (1947), the Committee favorably reported legislation authorizing the erection of a memorial in Washington, DC, for the Marine Corps dead of all wars. An act extending the time limit for the beginning of the memorial from 5 to 10 years occupied the attention of the Committee in 1952.[113] A year later, the Marine Corps Memorial act was amended to extend location authority of the memorial to include public land in the immediate vicinity of the District of Columbia, such as government-owned property adjacent to Arlington National Cemetery. The amendment was needed because the statutory authority for the memorial permitted its erection only on a site within the District of Columbia, and the Commission on Fine Arts had suggested that the memorial "should not be placed on the direct axis of the Mall and the Lincoln Memorial."[114]

The Committee also approved a bill in the 80th Congress (1947–1948) calling for the establishment of a commission to formulate plans for the erection of a memorial in Chicago's Grant Park to members of the United States Marine Corps.[115]

Gen. Robert E. Lee. A bill supported by the Committee in 1955 designated the Custis-Lee Mansion overlooking the Potomac River in Arlington National Cemetery as a permanent memorial to Robert E. Lee.[116]

Gen. John J. Pershing. Authorization for the American Battle Monuments Commission to prepare plans and estimates for erection of a memorial to General John J. Pershing was reported favorably by the Committee in 1956. The Committee followed this initial action with hearings in March 1962 and July 1966, and then in August 1966 reported legislation authorizing the Commission to provide for the memorial's construction. President Johnson penned his signature to the bill in November 1966.[117]

Division Honors. In 1947, the Committee endorsed legislation authorizing the erection of a memorial for the dead of the First Infantry Division, United States Forces, World War II. Erection of a monument to the dead of the First Infantry in Vietnam was reported by the Committee in 1974.[118]

The only two memorials approved in the 85th Congress (1957–1958) paid tribute to the American troops who served in the Second Infantry Division in World War II and the 101st Airborne Division in the Korean conflict. The men of the 101st Airborne Division who fought in World War II and Vietnam were recognized by the Committee in the 94th Congress (1975–1976).[119]

Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, and Chinese Relief Expedition. Authority was extended to the United States Spanish War Veterans in 1964 to erect a monument "in honor and commemoration of the men who served in the war with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection and the China Relief Expedition (1898–1902)."[120]

Troops Quartered in Capitol During Civil War. Also in 1964, the Committee authorized, and the House approved, placement of a memorial table in the House wing of the Capitol in honor of the troops quartered there during the Civil War.[121]

Korean War. Twelve years later, in 1986, the American Battle Monuments Commission was permitted to establish a memorial "to honor members of the Armed Forces who served in the Korean War, particularly those killed in action, are still missing in action, or were held as prisoners of war." This act was amended in 1988, following favorable action by the Committee, to provide for the establishment of a fund in the Treasury "which shall be available to the American Battle Monuments Commission for expenses in establishing the memorial."[122]

Black Revolutionary War Patriots. Also in 1986, the Committee lent its support to a bill authorizing the Black Revolutionary War Patriots Foundation to establish a memorial "to honor the estimated five thousand courageous slaves and free black persons who served as soldiers and sailors or

provided civilian assistance during the Revolutionary War and to honor the countless black men, women, and children who ran away from slavery or filed petitions with courts and legislators seeking their freedom."[123]

Women in the Armed Forces. A third piece of legislation in 1986 sanctioned a Women in the Armed Forces Memorial.[124]

Vietnam Women's Memorial. The Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc. grained approval in 1988 for establishing a memorial "to honor women of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Republic of Vietnam during the Vietnam era."[125]

Presidential Memorials

FDR Memorial. In 1955, the Committee endorsed legislation establishing a commission to formulate plans for a memorial to President Franklin D. Roosevelt.[126] Four years later, it favorably reported a bill reserving a site for the FDR Memorial in West Potomac Park and authorized the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission to hold a design national competition for the proposed memorial.[127]

Subsequently, Pedersen and Tilney of New York was selected as the winner of the FDR memorial design competition, and the Committee's Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills and the Library held a hearing in June 1962 on two related legislative proposals—H.J. Res. 712 and H.J. Res. 713 (87th Congress, 1961–1962). The purpose of these resolutions was to authorize the FDR Commission to raise by public subscription the funds needed to construct the memorial. In addition, both proposals directed the FDR Commission to consult with the Commission on Fine Arts to determine whether the winning design might be changed or modified to secure the Commission's approval. The latter clause was necessitated because of considerable controversy and criticism of design, which was reported to Congress even though it lacked the Fine Arts Commission's approval. The resolution also authorized $25,000 for use by the Commission. On August 8, 1962, the Committee reported an amended version of H.J. Res. 712, which became law on October 18.[128]

The Committee returned to consideration of the FDR Memorial in 1965 with the reporting of H.R. 9495 (89th Congress). H.R. 9495 removed the time limit for the FDR Commission to file its report on another design for the memorial, which had been stipulated in the 1962 enactment. The 1965 act also authorized an additional $100,000 for use by the Commission. Another $75,000 was authorized to be appropriated for the FDR Memorial five years later.[129]

Finally, in 1982, the Committee approved and Congress concurred in legislation authorizing and directing the Secretary of Interior, "subject to the supervision and approval of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, to construct the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial in accordance with the general design developed by the FDR Commission and approved by the Commission of Fine Arts on September 20, 1979." This enactment further stipulated the memorial "be constructed in that portion of West Potomac Park in the District of Columbia which lies between Independence Avenue and the inlet bridge, reserved for the memorial by a joint resolution approved September 1, 1959 (P.L. 86-214)."[130]

Theodore Roosevelt Memorial. Amidst the long-term legislative proceedings that ultimately led to the construction of the FDR Memorial, the Committee found time to focus its attention in 1960 on establishment of a memorial to Theodore Roosevelt. Prior to favorably reporting the bill, the Committee held two days of hearings on the proposal in February and March of that year. Enactment of H.R. 8655 (86th Congress) culminated a 40-year effort by the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association, which had been created by Congress in 1920, "to direct the attention of the people of the United States to the great contributions to the Nation of Theodore Roosevelt, emphasizing his forceful leadership in conservation."[131]

James Madison. Also in 1960, legislation establishing a commission to formulate plans for memorial to James Madison was acted on by the Committee and became law.[132]

Woodrow Wilson. In 1961 Woodrow Wilson was added to the growing list of former Chief Executives to be considered for memorialization by the Committee. Legislation creating a Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission to consider and formulate plans for construction of a memorial to the late President in the District of Columbia was approved

by the Committee on September 19, and signed into law in early October 1961. The Commission in its final report to Congress and the President in September 1966 recommended "establishment and construction of an International Center for Scholars as a fitting memorial to a President noted for his scholarship and his international understanding." After receiving the report, President Lyndon B. Johnson "in February 1967, directed the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue to conduct a study to develop a detailed plan for the Center." In its report of March 1968, the Temporary Commission concurred in the recommendations of the Wilson Commission report. Later that March, legislation supporting the recommendations of the two commissions was introduced into the Senate to establish the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in the Smithsonian. A similar bill was introduced in the House that September. After the House passed the bill, those proceedings were vacated and the House then passed the Senate version of the bill, after the Senate accepted House amendments, and bill was enacted in late October 1968.[133]

A decade after the Woodrow Wilson Center was created, Congress established the Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship at the Center and created a trust fund to provide a stipend for the annual fellowship. The Committee reported the bill establishing the fellowship in April 1978, and it became law a month and a half later.[134]

Americans and Aspects of the American Experience Memorialized

Andrew W. Mellon. Among the first pieces of memorial legislation considered by the Committee on House Administration was a bill authorizing and directing the Secretary of Interior to grant authority to the Andrew W. Mellon Memorial Committee to erect a memorial fountain in honor of former Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon. This 1947 act also drafted in recognition of Mellon's notoriety as banker, industrialist, philanthropist, and art collector.[135]

Stephen Collins Foster. Three years later, support was extended for acceptance of a memorial plaque, a gift of the Stephen Foster Memorial Committee, which was to be dedicated to the memory of the famous songwriter.[136]

National Grange. Also in 1950, the Committee approved a bill permitting the National Grange to erect a marker on federal land in the District of Columbia in commemoration of the founding of the National Grange.[137]

Sara Louisa Rittenhouse. The Georgetown Garden Club was granted permission in 1953 to erect a memorial to Sara Louisa Rittenhouse in the District's Montrose Park. The park had been saved "from being used for a proposed housing development at the beginning" of the twentieth century through Rittenhouses's efforts.[138]

Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. In 1954, construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the site of Old St. Louis, Missouri, was authorized by the Committee. Subsequent legislation approved by the Committee and Congress in 1965 increased the authorization for the Expansion Memorial from $17,250,000 to $23,250,000. The Committee held hearings on the increased authorization in April 1965. In this instance, the bill ultimately signed into law was the Senate version (S. 1576).[139]

Boy Scouts of America. The Boy Scouts of America in 1959 gained a favorable reception to erecting a memorial in the District of Columbia.[140]

Mary McLeod Bethune. A committee reported bill the following year called for the erection of a memorial in honor of "prominent Negro educator [Mary McLeod Bethune], and in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation" passed a year later. Authorization for the memorial was extended an additional two years in 1965.[141]

Father Flanagan. A joint resolution approved in 1965 authorized the Father Flanagan's Boys' Home of Boys Town, Nebraska to erect a memorial in honor of the founder of the home for underprivileged and homeless boys.[142]

William Jennings Bryan. Legislation was approved in 1974 sanctioning the conveyance to the city of Salem, Illinois, of a statue of William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic Party nominee for President in 1896, 1900, and 1908, and 41st United States Secretary of State under President Woodrow Wilson.[143]

Signers of the Declaration of Independence. The Secretary of the Interior was authorized in 1965 to establish a memorial in honor of the 56 men who signed the Declaration of Independence.[144]

National Law Enforcement Officers. An effort by the Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund to gain approval for a memorial in the District of Columbia won support in 1984.[145]

Japanese-American Patriotism in World War II. In 1992, the Go For Broke National Veterans Association Foundation was authorized to establish a memorial to honor Japanese American patriotism in World War II. The Committee in its favorable report on H.J. Res. 271 (102nd Congress, 1991–1992) emphasized that:

> Despite the constraints upon their freedom and that of their families which have been imposed by the United States Government, thousands of Japanese Americans volunteered to serve in the U.S. armed forces during the Second World War. . . . While men and women of fighting age went to war, civilians in the relocation camps supported them. Facing incarceration without charge, the loss of their possessions, and gross prejudice, Japanese Americans as a group persisted in their support of the United States.[146]

Foreigners Honored

Simon Bolivar. The Committee's initial favorable report for a memorial paying tribute to a foreigner authorized and directed the Secretary of Interior in 1949 to grant authority to the Simon Bolivar Memorial Foundation "to erect a bronze statue of the great South American liberator, Simon Bolivar, the gift of the Government of Venezuela." Subsequently, in 1954, the Committee approved legislation extending the time limit for erection of the monument from 5 to 10 years because domestic disturbances within Venezuela had commanded the attention of that county's government.[147]

Mohandas K. Gandhi. Erection of a monument to the memory of Indian spiritual and political leader, and humanitarian Mohandas K. Gandhi was also authorized in 1949, and a five-year time extension was granted in 1954 for the memorial.[148]

Leif Ericsson. In 1956, approval was given for the acceptance of a statute of explorer Leif Ericsson from the Icelandic National League.[149]

Kahlil Gibran. Three decades later, in 1984, the Kahlil Gibran Centennial Foundation was authorized to establish a memorial to honor the Lebanese-American poet and artist Kahlil Gibran.[150]

Guidelines for the Consideration of Memorials

In what turned out to be one of the its last actions in dealing with memorials, the Committee in May 1994 published as a committee print, *Guidelines for the Consideration of Memorials Under the Commemorative Works Act*. The act, which became law in 1986, established a "process to ensure that future commemorative works be appropriately designed, constructed, and located to reflect a consensus of the lasting national significance of the subject honored. Its provisions established mechanisms for congressional authorization and site design approval . . . within a five year authorization period." The print, which was prepared by the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, was based on a document entitled "24 Steps to Erecting a Memorial in Washington, D.C." prepared by the National Park Service.[151]

Hatch Act

Origins and Development

The interrelated issues of political patronage in federal employment and the influence of partisan politics in and from the federal bureaucracy have been addressed both jointly and separately in executive actions and legislative activities throughout the history of the nation. As early as 1801, President Thomas Jefferson discussed the principle of required political neutrality for federal employees in a drafted circular;[152] and subsequent Presidents, as well as legislative reformers, sought during the first century of the nation to address the issues of political patronage and political coercion in federal service.[153] It was not until 1883, however, following the 1881 assassination of President James Garfield by a "disgruntled" political party

worker and federal job seeker, that comprehensive statutory reforms were adopted by Congress in the "Pendleton Civil Service Act."[154] The 1883 law sought to fashion a professional, permanent civil service based on merit principles and to deal with some of the more pernicious political activities and political coercions of federal workers and federal job seekers.[155]

The Pendleton Act established merit principles, examinations for civil service entrants, and a federal civil service commission, and it prohibited coercion of political activities or contributions from federal personnel. It also authorized the President to set out rules for political activities for federal employees. Although the Pendleton Act, the civil service rules, and other existing statutory provisions addressed *coerced* political activities, a general, overall ban on *voluntary*, off-duty participation in partisan politics by merit system employees was not instituted for federal service workers until an Executive Order by President Theodore Roosevelt was issued in 1907. The 1907 Executive Order, amending the provisions known as Civil Service Rule I, applied only to those covered employees in the competitive, classified civil service, and provided that such persons "shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns."[156]

The economic recovery pressures of the Great Depression in the 1930s lead to what some historians have called a "short term resurgence of the spoils system" in federally funded employment.[157] The creation of federal programs for economic recovery, industrial aid, job creation, and monetary stimulus, and the concurrent creation of numerous federal agencies and bureaus to carry out these programs and to quickly dispense federal funds, provided the setting for potential political patronage abuses and political coercion of prospective workers. As noted in one study, the allegations of abuse and coercion complained of were exacerbated by the fact that "positions in most of these so-called 'alphabet agencies' were exempted from Civil Service rules."[158]

Certain efforts were made by Executive Order or administrative fiat during the 1930s to deal with political patronage and coercion in federal employment, but the continuing allegations of political abuses and the use of federally funded programs to interfere with and influence partisan elections led to comprehensive investigative hearings in the Senate in 1938 by a Senate Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures and Use of Government Funds.[159] The investigative hearings and report focused on the abuses of the merit system and particularly the use of public work relief funds (Works Progress Administration) to coerce political activities, political loyalty, and political contributions from workers on federally funded projects in several states.[160]

The revelations and recommendations of the Senate Special Committee influenced Senator Carl Hatch to introduce legislation in 1939, co-sponsored by Senator Morris Sheppard (who chaired the Senate Special Committee) and Senator Warren R. Austin, which would codify in law specific restrictions on voluntary political activities (that is, that employees shall take "no active part in political management or in political campaigns"), as well as on coercion and use of official influence to interfere with elections, and apply such restrictions to most employees in both the competitive as well as the excepted services.[161] The legislation, S. 1871 (76th Congress), was reported in the Senate from the Committee on Privileges and Elections,[162] and in the House from the House Judiciary Committee,[163] passed the House and Senate, as amended, and was signed into law by President Franklin Roosevelt on August 2, 1939.[164] The law known as the "Hatch Act" codified the restrictions of Civil Service Rule I, and the administrative interpretations under it, and made these restrictions and limitations applicable to most employees in the executive branch of the federal government. In 1940, Congress extended the restrictions and limitations on voluntary, off-duty political activities in the Hatch Act to state and local government employees whose official jobs are connected with activities that are federally funded.[165]

Role of the Committee

After the creation of the Committee on House Administration in 1947, pursuant to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, the Committee exercised jurisdiction over legislation seeking to amend provisions of the Hatch Act. In 1949[166] and in 1950,[167] the Committee on House Administration

reported legislation which amended the penalties provisions of the Hatch Act to provide some flexibility for the Civil Service Commission to apply different penalties for minor or inadvertent violations of the Hatch Act by federal officers and employees.

The first bill (H.R. 1243, 81st Congress) passed both the House and the Senate, as amended, but was vetoed by the President Harry S. Truman on June 30, 1950. While the President agreed with the objective of the legislation to permit federal workers to take part in politics in their own communities, he objected to two provisions in the bill. The first objectionable provision limited coverage of the measure to federal workers in Maryland and Virginia. The President felt that "participation should be permitted on a Nationwide basis." The second bill gave Congress a statutory right to inspect Civil Service Commission records of testimony and evidence relative to alleged violations of the act. This provision, the President maintained, encroached on "the long-recognized prerogative of the Chief Executive to maintain in confidence those papers and documents, which, in the public interest, he feels should be so maintained."[168]

Subsequently, the House and Senate approved the second bill (H.R. 9023, 81st Congress), which did not contain the provisions the President had found objectionable. President Truman signed H.R. 9023 into law on August 25, 1950. Prior to this legislation, any violation of the Hatch Act was penalized by removal from federal service; but under the new law, the Civil Service Commission could determine a lesser penalty, that is, a suspension of at least 90 days for minor offenses not warranting removal.[169] The minimum penalty of a 90-day suspension was later reduced, in 1962, to a minimum of a 30-day suspension. The Committee held hearings on this latter legislation prior to favorably reporting the bill.[170]

During the time that the Committee on House Administration had jurisdiction over the Hatch "Political Activities" Act, from the Committee's creation in 1947 through 1974, numerous pieces of legislation seeking reform, repeal, or other amendment of the laws governing the voluntary political activities of federal employees (and of state and local government employees whose jobs were in connection with federally funded activities) were introduced and were considered by the Committee. The Committee investigated and conducted various studies on the application and administration of the Hatch Act provisions, and although several bills were reported from the Committee during the time that the Committee exercised jurisdiction over the legislative issue, no substantive law, other than the change in the minimum penalty of suspension, was adopted concerning federal employees and the Hatch Act.

The Committee on House Administration held hearings in 1954 concerning proposed repeals of the Hatch Act's ban on voluntary, off-duty political activities by federal employees.[171] In the 83rd Congress, in 1954, and then again in the 84th Congress, in 1955, the Committee reported out bills that would have amended the penalties provision of the Hatch Act restrictions on state and local employees. These proposals gave the Civil Service Commission flexibility in addressing minor or inadvertent violations of the law, and permitted state and permitted local government employees to engage in voluntary political activities off the job. Both bills would have substantially repealed the Hatch Act restrictions on off-duty activities for state and local employees.[172] Although the 83rd Congress bill passed the House,[173] it was not taken up in the Senate. The similar bill reported by the Committee on House Administration in the 84th Congress, H.R. 3084, received no favorable floor action.

Beginning in the 85th Congress (1957–1958), efforts were initiated to study the effects of the Hatch Act's restrictions on off-duty, voluntary political activities of federal employees, and the consequences of these restrictions on the civic duties and the civil rights of federal, state, and local governmental employees covered by the Hatch Act. Bills were introduced in the 85th Congress to establish a bipartisan commission to gather information and study the operation of the Hatch Act, and hearings were held by the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration on these bills.[174]

In August 1957, the House adopted H. Res. 406 (85th Congress), which directed the Committee on House Administration

to investigate and study the operation and enforcement of the Hatch Act and other provisions of federal law that restricted the rights of officers and employees of the United States and the state and local governments to take an active part in political campaigns.[175] Pursuant to this resolution, the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration held hearings and conducted reviews of the Hatch Act and other laws limiting political activities of government employees.[176] The report from the Committee that resulted from these hearings, investigations, and studies recommended several amendments to the Hatch Act. The recommendations called for more flexibility in assessing penalties by the Civil Service Commission, expanding exemptions for certain federal employees in areas and localities impacted by the federal government, and eliminating the federal restrictions on state and local government employees.[177]

In the 86th Congress (1959–1960), a number of the recommendations from the Committee's Hatch Act study were incorporated into H.R. 696, on which hearings were conducted by the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration.[178] The Committee also held hearings in 1962 on other proposals to amend the federal Hatch Act restrictions on state and local officials to permit a wider range of officials appointed by governors to be exempt from the restrictions.[179]

In 1966 the Committee reported out a bill, eventually enacted into law, which created a Bipartisan Commission to study the federal laws limiting political activities of government workers.[180] That Commission issued a report and recommendations on political activities which, although not acted upon immediately, added to the body of evidence and opinion that reform and change was warranted concerning the severity of the Hatch Act restrictions on even voluntary, political participation by government workers on their own free time.[181]

Although reforms and changes to the federal Hatch Act restrictions were considered in the 1950s, 1960s, and up until 1972,[182] significant change was not enacted until 1974, when the federal Hatch Act law regarding state and local government employees was substantially revised to return regulation of most of the voluntary, off-duty political activities of such employees to the states themselves, as part of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974.[183] The provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974, as reported out by the Committee on House Administration, included those to "repeal those restrictions on the voluntary partisan political activities of state and local employees" contained in the Hatch Act provisions originally adopted for such employees in 1940.[184]

Effective January 3, 1975, the jurisdiction over the Hatch Act in the House was transferred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service,[185] and then in 1995 such jurisdiction was assumed by the Committee on Government Reform.[186]

Endnotes

1 Paul H. Oehser, *The Smithsonian Institution*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983), p. 8.

2 Oehser, *The Smithsonian Institution*, p. 8.

3 Oehser, *The Smithsonian Institution*, p. 11. See also: *Congressional Globe*, vol. 3, 24th Cong., 1st sess., June 25, 1836, pp. 467–468; 5 Stat. 64 (July 1, 1836); and James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 20 vols. (New York: Bureau of National Literature, Inc., 1897), v. 3, p. 1406.

4 For discussions of the congressional debate see: Kenneth Hafertepe, *America's Castle: The Evolution of the Smithsonian Building and Its Institution, 1840–1878* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984), pp. 8–18; Oehser, *The Smithsonian Institution*, pp. 12–15; and William Jones Rhees, comp. & ed., *The Smithsonian Institution: Documents Relative to Its Origin and History, 1835–1899*, 2 vols. (Washington: GOP, 1901), vol. 1, pp. 123–144.

5 Quote is found in: Oehser, *The Smithsonian Institution*, p. 16. See also: 9 Stat. 102-106 (Aug. 10, 1846).

6 U.S. Congress, House, *Smithsonian Bequest*, report to accompany H.R. 187, 24th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 181 (Washington: Gales & Rives, 1836), p. 2.

7 9 Stat. 102-106 (Aug. 10, 1846).

8 Leonard Carmichael and J.C. Long, *James Smithson and the Smithsonian Story* (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), p. 15.

9 60 Stat. 826, 828 (Aug. 2, 1946). House Rule X, cl. 1(k)(5) generally refers to the authority of the Committee on House Administration over the Smithsonian Institution and related institutions, with the exception of building construction for those institutions, which is under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives*

of the United States, One Hundred Twelfth Congress, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, H. Doc. 111-157, 111th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 2011), sec. 724.

10 There is no prohibition from considering construction issues in the broader context of Smithsonian Institution activities oversight. Were such oversight to lead to the introduction of a measure in the House regarding construction, however, the measure would likely be referred to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

11 House Rule X, cl. 2(b)(1). U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Twelfth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, H. Doc. 111-157, 111th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 2011), sec. 742.

12 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, *The Smithsonian Institution*, hearings, 2 vols., 91st Cong., 2nd sess., July 1970 (Washington: GPO, 1971). Quote is found in: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *The Smithsonian Institution, Report by the Committee on House Administration Pursuant to Public Law 601, 79th Congress (Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946)*, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 91-1801 (Washington: GPO, 1971), p. 1. Previous hearings were held in 1855, and "embraced an institution that was a mere fraction of its" size in 1970. Ibid.

13 Committee on House Administration, *The Smithsonian Institution*, H. Rept. 91-1801, p. 24.

14 Quotes are found in: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, *Hearing on Smithsonian Institution Oversight*, hearing, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., Mar. 4, 1992 (Washington: GPO, 1992), p. 50. See also: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Second Congress*, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 102-1083 (Washington: GPO, 1992), pp. 66–68.

15 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, *Oversight of the Smithsonian Institution*, hearing, 108th Cong., 1st sess., Mar. 5, 2003 (Washington: GPO, 2003). See also: Editorial, "Open the Zoo," *Washington Post*, Mar. 11, 2003, p. A22.

16 Smithsonian Business Ventures (SBV) is an operating division of the Smithsonian Institution. SBV "was established in 1998 when the institution's board of regents authorized the creation of a distinct operating division that would bring together the Smithsonian's diverse business activities and have them managed professionally by a team of experienced executives reporting to a board of directors and the secretary. . . . The board of regents felt that there had to be a more organized professional approach to dealing with" the Smithsonian's museum shops, restaurants, the Smithsonian Magazine, and the institution's diverse activities." Testimony of Lawrence M. Small, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Smithsonian Institution Business Ventures*, hearing, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., May 25, 2006 (Washington: GPO, 2006), pp. 8, 15.

17 Remarks of Vernon J. Ehlers, Chairman, Committee on House Administration, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Smithsonian Institution Business Ventures*, hearing, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., May 25, 2006 (Washington: GPO, 2006), p. 2. See also: Ashley Parker, "Smithsonian Deal Attacked," *New York Times*, May 26, 2006, p. E1; Jacqueline Trescott, "Smithsonian Hands Over TV Contract: Lawmakers Get the Details of a 30-Year Agreement," *Washington Post*, May 26, 2006, p. C1; and Stephanie Woodrow, "Smithsonian-Showtime Deal Irks Members," *Roll Call*, May 30, 2006, pp. 20, 22.

18 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Tenth Congress*, H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), pp. 22–23.

19 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Tenth Congress*, H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), p. 23.

20 U.S. Congress. Committee on House Administration, *The Smithsonian in Transition*, meeting Aug. 1, 2007, 110th Cong., 1st sess. Washington: GPO, 2007.

21 Ibid., pp. 23, 67.

22 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Tenth Congress*, H. Rept. 110-924 (Washington: GPO, 2008), p. 23.

23 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Eleventh Congress*, H. Rept. 111-715 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 24; U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Hearing on the Management of Asbestos and Hazardous Materials at the Smithsonian Institution*, hearing, 111th Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 1, 2009 (Washington: GPO, 2009), p. 1. See also: James V. Grimaldi and Jacqueline Trescott, "Smithsonian and 27-Year Employee in Battle Over Asbestos: Staffer has Disease; Museum Defends Safety," *Washington Post*, Mar. 15, 2009, p. A1.

24 Committee on House Administration, *Hearing on the Management of Asbestos and Hazardous Materials at the Smithsonian Institution*, p. 24.

25 Ibid., pp. 31, 46, 65.

26 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Eleventh Congress*, H. Rept. 111-715 (Washington: GPO, 2011), p. 24. See also: James V. Grimaldi and Jacqueline Trescott, "Smithsonian Settles Asbestos

Lawsuit; Ex-Employee Gets $233,000 and Health Insurance," *Washington Post*, Dec. 10, 2009, p. A1.

27 In the 112th Congress, this included legislation providing for the appointment of two citizen regents of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution (P.L. 112-12, 125 Stat. 214 (Apr. 25, 2011); P.L. 112-19, 125 Stat. 231, (June 24, 2011)); and the reappointment of a third citizen regent of the Smithsonian Board (P.L. 112-20, 125 Stat. 232, (June 24, 2011)).

28 P.L. 228, 63 Stat. 606 (Aug. 15, 1949); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing for Cooperation by the Smithsonian Institution With State, Educational, and Scientific Organizations in the United States for Continuing Paleontological Investigations in Areas Which Will be Flooded by the Construction of Government Dams*, report to accompany H.R. 2290, 81st Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 896 (Washington: GPO, 1949).

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35 P.L. 88-549, 78 Stat. 754 (Aug. 31, 1964); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Smithsonian Institution to Employ Aliens in a Scientific or Technical Capacity*, report to accompany H.R. 10178, 88th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 88-1773 (Washington: GPO, 1964), p. 1.

36 For legislation providing for the establishment and construction of the National Air Museum see: P.L. 79-722, 60 Stat. 997 (Aug. 12, 1946); and P.L. 85-935, 72 Stat. 1794 (Sept. 6, 1958). The two laws were considered by the House Committee on the Library, and the House Committee on Public Works, respectively.

37 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Printing and Memorials, unpublished hearings, 88th Cong., 2nd sess., Aug. 11, 1964 (Congressional Information Service, Inc., CIS-No: 88 HHad-T.72); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Calendar of Business, Eighty-Eighth Congress: Final Calendar* (Washington: GPO, 1964), p. 67.

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40 H.R. 3281 (102nd Cong.); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *National Air and Space Museum Expansion Site Selection Act of 1992*, report to accompany H.R. 3281, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 102-923 (Washington: GPO, 1992), pp. 4–5; U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, *Hearing on Smithsonian Administrative Service Center and Air and Space Museum Expansion*, hearings, 102nd Cong., 1st sess., Oct. 1, 1991 (Washington: GPO, 1993). See also: U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Second Congress*, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 102-1083 (Washington: GPO, 1992); pp. 64–65.

41 P.L. 103-57, 107 Stat. 279 (Aug. 2, 1993); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Calendar of Business, One Hundred Third Congress*, 103rd Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: GPO,

1994), p. 119; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the One Hundred Third Congress*, 103rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 103-893 (Washington: GPO, 1995), p. 6.

42 26 Stat. 78 (Apr. 30, 1890). This act was amended in 1961. P.L. 87-360, 75 Stat. 779 (Oct. 4, 1961).

43 P.L. 89-772, 80 Stat. 1322 (Nov. 6, 1966); and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to Negotiate Cooperative Agreements Granting Concessions at the National Zoological Park to Certain Nonprofit Organizations and to Accept Voluntary Services of Such Organizations or of Individuals, and For Other Purposes*, report to accompany S. 3230, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 89-2204 (Washington: GPO, 1966), p. 1.

44 Editorial, "Open the Zoo," *Washington Post*, Mar. 11, 2003, p. A22. See also: Testimony of Lawrence S. Small, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials, *Oversight of the Smithsonian*, hearings, 108th Cong., 1st sess., Mar. 5, 2003 (Washington: GPO, 2003), pp. 15–17.

45 In 1966, the Director of the National Museum administered several different Smithsonian programs. On June 27, 1967, the "United States National Museum was established as a fully separate administrative unit of the Smithsonian. At this time the Director, United States National Museum was relieved of line responsibility for the National Museum of History and Technology and the National Museum of Natural History. The Director continued to have broad responsibilities for review and coordination of all museum and exhibit activities within the entire Smithsonian." He also "continued to carry out the directives of the National Museum Act of 1966." In 1972, the title of Director of the National Museum was superseded by Assistant Secretary for Museum Programs (Director, United States National Museum). U.S. Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Archives, Finding Aids to Official Records of the Smithsonian Institution, Record Unit 190, United States National Museum, Office of the Director, Records, circa 1921–1973, by Linda Elmore and Pamela Henson [http://siarchives.si.edu/findingaids/FARU0190.htm#FARU190i].

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58 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report of the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives During the Ninety-Eighth Congress*, 98th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 98-1173 (Washington: GPO, 1984), p. 56; and P.L. 98-523, 98 Stat. 2433 (Oct. 19, 1984).

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139 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Providing for the Construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the Site of Old St. Louis, Mo., in General Accordance with the Plan Approved by the United States Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission*, report to accompany H.R. 6549, 83rd Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 1040 (Washington: GPO, 1953); P.L. 361, 68 Stat. 98-100 (May 17, 1954); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending the Act of May 17, 1954 (68 Stat. 98), as Amended Providing for the Construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the Site of Old St. Louis, Mo., and for Other Purposes*, report to accompany H.R. 6519, 89th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 881 (Washington: GPO, 1965); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Library and Memorials, *To Amend the Act of May 17, 1954, as Amended, Providing for the Construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the Site of Old Saint Louis*, unpublished hearing on H.R. 6519, H.R. 6520, H.R. 6521, H.R. 6522, H.R. 6523, 89th Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 9, 1965, LexisNexis Hearing ID: HRG-1965-ADH-0019; and P.L. 89-269, 79 Stat. 991 (Oct. 19, 1965).

140 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Boy Scouts of America to Erect a Memorial on Public Grounds in the District of Columbia to Honor the Members and Leaders of Such Organization, and for Other Purposes*, report to

accompany S. 602, 86th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 569 (Washington: GPO, 1959); and P.L. 86-111, 73 Stat. 261-262 (July 28, 1959).

141 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Erection in the District of Columbia of a Memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune*, report to accompany H.J. Res. 502, 86th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1439 (Washington: GPO, 1960); P.L. 86-484, 74 Stat. 154 (June 1, 1960); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Extending for 2 Years the Existing Authority for the Erection in the District of Columbia of a Memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune*, report to accompany S.J. Res. 89, 89th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 882 (Washington: GPO, 1965); and P.L. 89-192, 79 Stat. 822 (Sept. 21, 1965).

142 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to Erect a Memorial in the District of Columbia or its Environs*, report to accompany H.J. Res. 641, 89th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 1174 (Washington: GPO, 1965); and P.L. 89-325, 79 Stat. 1215 (Nov. 7, 1965).

143 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Conveyance to the City of Salem, Illinois, a Statue of William Jennings Bryan*, report to accompany H.R. 5507, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1253 (Washington: GPO, 1974); and P.L. 93-432, 88 Stat. 1186-1187 (Oct. 4, 1974).

144 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to Erect a Memorial in Honor of the Fifty-Six Signers of the Declaration of Independence in Constitution Gardens in DC*, report to accompany H.R. 2960, 95th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 95-462, pt. 1 (Washington: GPO, 1977); and P.L. 95-260, 92 Stat. 197-198 (Apr. 17, 1978).

145 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *National Law Enforcement Heroes Memorial*, report to accompany H. Res. 482, 88th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 98-1084 (Washington: GPO, 1984); and P.L. 89-534, 98 Stat. 2712 (Oct. 19, 1984).

146 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Go For Broke National Veterans Association Foundation to Establish a Memorial in the District of Columbia or its Environs to Honor Japanese American Patriotism in World War*, report to accompany H.J. Res. 277, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 102-727 (Washington: GPO, 1992); and P.L. 102-502, 106 Stat. 3273-3274 (Oct. 24, 1992).

147 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Erection in the District of Columbia of a Statue of Simon Bolivar*, report to accompany H.J. Res. 240, 81st Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 897 (Washington: GPO, 1949); P.L. 157, 63 Stat. 406 (July 5, 1949); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending the Act of July 5, 1949 (Public Law 157, 81st Cong.),* report to accompany H.J. Res. 481, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1659 (Washington: GPO, 1954); and P.L. 397, 68 Stat. 250 (June 14, 1954).

148 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Erecting a Memorial to the Memory of Mohandas K. Gandhi*, report to accompany H.J. Res. 295, 81st Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 1054 (Washington: GPO, 1949); P.L. 309, 63 Stat. 699 (Sept. 28, 1949); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Extending the Time for the Erection of a Memorial to the Memory of Mohandas K. Gandhi*, report to accompany H.J. Res. 508, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1660 (Washington: GPO, 1953); and P.L. 394, 68 Stat. 249 (June 10, 1954).

149 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Authorizing the Acceptance of a Gift From the Ericsson Memorial Committee of the United States*, report to accompany S.J. Res. 93, 84th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1900 (Washington: GPO, 1956); and P.L. 910, 70 Stat. 922 (Aug. 1956).

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151 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Guidelines for the Consideration of Memorials Under the Commemorative Works Act*, prepared by the Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials of the Committee on House Administration, 103rd Cong., 2nd sess., committee print (Washington: GPO, 1994), p. 1.

152 Dorothy Ganfield Fowler, "Precursors of the Hatch Act," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 47, Sept. 1960, p. 249. See also discussion in Robert Vaughn, "Restrictions on the Political Activities of Public Employees: The Hatch Act and Beyond," *George Washington University Law Review*, vol. 44, May 1976, pp. 516–517; and *Biller v. United States Merit System Protection Board*, 863 F.2d 1079, 1084 (2nd Cir. 1988).

153 U.S. Commission on Political Activity of Government Personnel, *A Commission Report: Findings and Recommendations*, Volume I (Washington 1968), pp. 7–9; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service, *History of Civil Service Merit Systems of the United States and Selected Foreign Countries*, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., committee print 94-29 (Washington: GPO, 1976), pp. 3–10; Dorothy Ganfield Fowler, "Precursors of the Hatch Act," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 47, Sept. 1960, pp. 247–256. Note, for example, Act of Aug. 15, 1876, ch. 287, sec. 9, 19 Stat. 169, concerning political contributions from federal workers.

154 22 Stat. 403 (Jan. 16, 1883).

155 See 22 Stat. 404-407, secs. 2, 11, 12, 13, and 14.

156 Executive Order No. 642, June 3, 1907, amending Civil Service Rule I, which had been adopted originally in 1883 after passage of the Pendleton Act. Merit system civil service employees were only 10% of the federal workforce at the time of the passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Act in 1883, and increased to 32% of the federal workforce at the time of the passage of the Hatch Act in 1939, to the current figure of more than 80% of all federal workers being in the competitive civil service. See: U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Subcommittee on

Manpower and Civil Service, *History of Civil Service Merit Systems of the United States and Selected Foreign Countries*, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., Committee Print 94-29 (Washington: GPO, 1976), p. 8; and 2006 *Federal Personnel Guide* (Horsham, PA: LRP Publications, 2005), p. 14.

157 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service, *History of Civil Service Merit Systems of the United States and Selected Foreign Countries*, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., Committee Print 94-29 (Washington: GPO, 1976), p. 254.

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160 U.S. Congress, Senate, Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures and Use of Government Funds in 1938, *Investigation of Senatorial Campaign Expenditures and Use of Government Funds*, Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Senatorial Campaign Expenditures and Use of Governmental Funds in 1938, pursuant to S. Res. 283, 75th Congress, and S. Res. 290, 75th Congress, 2 pts., 76th Cong., 1st sess., S. Rept. 1 (Washington: GPO, 1939).

161 Two bills (S. 212 and S. 213, 76th Congress) were originally introduced by Senator Hatch the day following the release of the Special Committee's report. The two bills were later consolidated into one bill, S. 1871 (76th Congress), which was introduced on Mar. 20, 1939, was co-sponsored by Senators Hatch, Sheppard, and Warren R. Austin. S. 1871, was eventually enacted, as amended, and became known as the "Hatch Act." P.L. 252, 53 Stat. 1147-1149 (Aug. 2, 1939).

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163 U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Judiciary, *Preventing Pernicious Political Activities*, report to accompany S. 1871, 76th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 1028 (Washington: GPO, 1939).

164 P.L. 252, 53 Stat. 1147-1149 (Aug. 2, 1939).

165 P.L. 553, 54 Stat. 767-772 (July 19, 1940), see now 5 U.S.C. §§ 1501 et seq.

166 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending the Hatch Act,* report to accompany H.R. 1243, 81st Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 21 (Washington: GPO, 1949).

167 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending the Hatch Act*, report to accompany H.R. 9023, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 2717 (Washington: GPO, 1950).

168 U.S. Congress, House, *Amending the Hatch Act: Message From the President of the United States Returning Without Approval the Bill (H.R. 1243) to Amend the Hatch Act,* 81st Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 630 (Washington: GPO, 1950), p. 2.

169 P.L. 732, 64 Stat. 475-476 (Aug. 25, 1950).

170 P.L. 87-753, 76 Stat. 750 (Oct. 5, 1962). See U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Proposed Amendment to the Hatch Political Activities Act*, hearing on H.R. 12163 and 12661, 87th Cong., 2nd sess., July 24, 1962; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending Section 9(b) of the Act Entitled "An Act to Prevent Pernicious Political Activities" (the Hatch Political Activities Act) to Eliminate the Requirement That the Civil Service Commission Impose No Penalty Less Than 90 Days' Suspension for Any Violation of Section 9 of the Act*, report to accompany H.R. 12661, 87th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 2033 (Washington: GPO, 1962).

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172 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending Certain Provisions of the Hatch Act*, report to accompany H.R. 7745, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 2638 (Washington: GPO, 1954); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, *To Amend Certain Federal Election Laws*, unpublished hearings on H.R. 3084, H.R. 3139, H.R. 1767, and H. Con. Res. 94, 84th Cong., 1st sess., May 4, May 18, 1955, June 17, July 7, 1955, LexisNexis Hearing ID: HRG-1955-ADH-0005, HRG-1955-ADH-0002, HRG-1955-ADH-0003, and HRG-1955-ADH-0004; and U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending the Hatch Act*, report to accompany H.R. 3084, H. Rept. 1424, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., (Washington: GPO, 1955).

173 "Amending the Hatch Act," *Congressional Record*, vol. 100, Aug. 5, 1954, pp. 13486–13487.

174 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, *Proposed Investigation and Study of the Operation and Enforcement of the Hatch Act, the Corrupt Practices Act, and other Federal Regulations Governing Elections,* hearings on H.R. 1167 and H.R. 433, 85th Cong., 1st sess., July 19 and Aug. 1, 1957 (Washington: GPO, 1957).

175 H. Res. 406, *Congressional Record*, Aug. 22, 1957, pp. 15654–15656.

176 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, *Restrictions of Political Activities*, *The Investigation and Study on Restrictions of Political Activities Under the Hatch Act, Held in Hyattsville, MD, and Alexandria, VA*, 85th Cong., 2nd sess., June 19 and 20, 1958 (Washington: GPO, 1958).

177 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Report of the Special Committee to Investigate and Study the Operation and Enforcement of the Hatch Political Activities Act Pursuant to H. Res. 406*, 85th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 2707 (Washington: GPO, 1959).

178 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, *Proposed Amendments to the Hatch Political Activities Act*, unpublished hearings on H.R. 696, 86th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess., Apr. 8, 1959, Mar. 2, 1960, and May 5, 1960 (Washington: GPO, 1960). LexisNexis Hearing ID: HRG-1959-ADH-0002, and HRG-1960-ADH-0001.

179 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, *Proposed Amendments to the Hatch Political Activities Act*, hearings on H.R. 12163, 87th Cong., 2nd sess., July 24 and Aug. 13, 1962 (Washington: GPO, 1962).

180 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Creating a Bipartisan Commission to Study Federal Laws Limiting Political Activity by Officers and Employees of Government*, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 2018 (Washington: GPO, 1966); and P.L. 89-617, 80 Stat. 868-869 (Oct. 3, 1966).

181 United States, *Commission on Political Activity of Government Personnel, Findings and Recommendations* (Washington: GPO, 1968), 3 vols.

182 See, e.g., U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Amending Title 5, United States Code, to Make Exemption From the Prohibition Against Participation in Political Activities Applicable to the Commissioner of the District of Columbia and Members of the District of Columbia Council*, report to accompany H.R. 15710, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 1175 (Washington: GPO, 1968) (note that similar exemptions were eventually enacted by Congress in: P.L. 93-268, 88 Stat. 85-87 (Apr. 17, 1974)); U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, Subcommittee on Elections, *Legislation to Amend the Hatch Act*, unpublished hearing on H.R. 914, 92nd Cong., 2nd sess., Feb. 29, 1972. LexisNexis Hearing ID: HRG-1972-ADH-0008.

183 P.L. 93-443, Title IV, Sec. 401, 88 Stat. 1290 (Oct. 15, 1974). State and local employees covered by the federal Hatch Act were, and still remain, under the prohibitions on (1) using their official authority to influence an election, (2) coercing or attempting to coerce anyone into making political contributions, and (3) being candidates for office in a partisan election. See 5 U.S.C. §§ 1501, 1502.

184 U.S. Congress, Committee on House Administration, *Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974*, report to accompany H.R. 16090, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Rept. 93-1239 (Washington: GPO, 1974), p. 11.

185 U.S. Congress, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the One Hundred Third Congress*, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 102-405 (Washington: GPO, 1993), p. 400. The substantial restrictions on voluntary, off-duty political activities and political participation of most federal employees in the executive branch were removed, while on-duty restrictions and prohibitions on coercion strengthened, in the "Hatch Act Reform Amendments of 1993," P.L. 103-94, 107 Stat. 1001-1011 (Oct. 6, 1993).

186 U.S. Congress, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the One Hundred Tenth Congress*, 109th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 109-157 (Washington: GPO, 2007), p. 462.

XI. CONCLUSION: LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

The Committee on House Administration was established in 1947 to better equip the House of Representatives to deal with a post-war world in which ever-increasing demands were placed on Congress and its Members. Now in its seventh decade of existence, the Committee can look back at a changed world, and a changed Committee, with pride at a bipartisan record of service and legislative accomplishment.

Much of the focus of the Committee over the years has been internal—guiding Members in the operation of their offices and managing the countless logistical and administrative details that are necessary for a large and complex entity like the U.S. House of Representatives to operate. It has done so successfully. During its existence, the Committee has helped transform the House into a 21st century institution with a billion-dollar budget and vital responsibilities to the nation.

The Committee has been at the forefront of important legislative accomplishments as well, helping enact laws to reform and regulate the campaign finance system, improve the conduct of elections and the efficiency of voting systems, authorize the erection of monuments and museums to preserve our nation's shared heritage, modernize the U.S. Capitol complex for better public access and security, ensure that civil rights and worker protections apply to the legislative branch, and preserve intellectual treasures at the Library of Congress, to name but a few.

But even as the Committee and its Members continue to perform their work, they can look to the future and the questions it will likely hold: Will the legislative process in the House, which has always been paper-based, become paperless, with, for example, committee markup meetings where legislators amend and vote on measures entirely electronically? As communications technology evolves, can the House of Representatives remain the modern, responsive institution which constituents expect and which the Founders intended? In a budget-constrained environment, can the House as an institution do more with less? And in a world in which new security threats proliferate daily, how will the body continue to balance safety with the open character of our democratic system?

While no one knows what the future holds, the Committee on House Administration will doubtless continue to be at the forefront of life in the House of Representatives and the work of its Members. One can imagine that in its second 60 years of life, the Committee will help the People's House deal with a world as changed and demanding as the one which emerged from World War II and motivated the creation of the Committee itself.

APPENDIX A: GUIDE TO LEGISLATIVE RECORDS

Congress, in fulfilling its legislative, oversight, and investigative duties, produces a variety of official records. An examination of this "paper trail" may allow researchers a better understanding of the legislative process, the work of particular committees and Members, and the history of various issues and pieces of legislation.

In producing the present study of the Committee on House Administration, the authors examined numerous published and unpublished sources. Additionally, official government records were supplemented with material from the press, academic publications, and other secondary sources.

Official records of the Committee on House Administration and its predecessors are housed at the Center for Legislative Archives at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C., in accordance with provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 and the Federal Records Act of 1950.[1] Records of the U.S. House of Representatives comprise Record Group 233 at the National Archives, although they remain the property of the House. These records are preserved and made available to researchers in accordance with House Rule VII.[2] The Rule provides for access to most records after they have been in existence for 30 years. Exceptions include executive session transcripts and investigative and personnel records, which are available after 50 years. The Clerk also has the authority to close any record if its release is deemed "detrimental to the public interest or inconsistent with the rights and privileges of the House."[3]

It is worth noting that the Committee on House Administration, the subject of this study, has been involved in records preservation and access throughout its history. It has reported bills authorizing the printing as House documents of some of the finding aids listed below and considered measures pertaining to certain official records. Prior to 1953, records of the House not previously made public were not available for research. In that year, the Committee considered H. Res. 288 (83rd Congress), which authorized the Clerk of the House to permit public access to any records more than 50 years old or previously made public. The resolution was reported favorably by the Committee and agreed to by the House on June 16, 1953.[4] Correspondence between the Clerk of the House, Committee on House Administration Chairman Karl Le Compte, and Archivist of the United States Wayne Grover found in the Committee's records demonstrates its involvement in this revision.[5] The records show consideration for fairness among researchers, policies previously set by the Senate, and a plea from the academic community. Although not incorporated into the House Rules, this resolution served as precedent for many years. A revision instituting current closure periods was considered by the House Rules Committee and incorporated into the Rules for the 101st Congress.[6] House Rule VII grants the Committee on House Administration the authority to "prescribe guidelines and regulations governing the applicability and implementation of this rule."[7]

The *Guide to Records of the United States House of Representatives at the National Archives, 1789–1989: Bicentennial Edition* (H. Doc. 100-245), now accessible on the homepage of the Center for Legislative Archives, was prepared to help researchers navigate the vast holdings at the National Archives by providing information on the scope and content of the records of the House. Chapter 12 of the *Guide* describes records of the Committee on House Administration and its predecessors. Both the full Committee and its Subcommittee on Procurement and Printing considered legislation authorizing the printing of the *Guide* during the 100th Congress before the resolution was discharged by unanimous consent. A companion volume, the *Guide to the Records of the United States Senate*

at the National Archives, 1789–1989: Bicentennial Edition (S. Doc. 100-42), is also available on the Center's website and describes Record Group 46, records of the U.S. Senate.

While committees and officers are required to archive their official records, the files generated by a Member's personal office are the property of the Member. Members may choose to designate a repository—usually within their district or state—for their personal records. Preservation and access policies are determined by agreement between the Member and host institution. The diversity is demonstrated by a survey of selected past Chairmen of the Committee on House Administration; the papers of Wayne Hays are at Ohio University, and Omar Burleson's papers are at Abilene Christian University, while no known repository exists for Samuel Friedel's papers.

Researchers can locate these collections using the print editions of the *Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the United States House of Representatives, 1789–1987,* and the *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators, 1789–1995*, as well as updated information in the online version of the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*. Those interested in conducting archival research may also wish to contact professional organizations like the Society of American Archivists Congressional Papers Roundtable and the Association of Centers for the Study of Congress.

The *Constitution* allows the House to determine its own rules of procedure. The House Rules, adopted each Congress, help identify the jurisdiction of the Committee on House Administration, the obligations incumbent upon it, and various administrative provisions relevant for this study. The House Rules and Manual, officially titled *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual and Rules of the House of Representatives*, details the Rules of the House including reference notes and annotations prepared by the House parliamentarian and is usually authorized by resolution each Congress.

Parliamentary procedure in the House is also compiled in published precedents. Prepared by the House parliamentarian, these published sources include the most significant rulings of the chair and are organized by topic. The *Deschler-Brown Precedents*, named after Louis Deschler, the House Parliamentarian from 1928–1974, who first compiled this publication, covers the years of the Committee's existence. *Hinds' and Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States* are predecessor publications that contain selected rulings of the chair, and other precedents established, between 1789 and 1936.

A number of U.S. government publications provide information on laws and bills that fall under the jurisdiction of the Committee. The *United States Statutes at Large*, published by the Government Printing Office, is the official source for the laws and resolutions passed by Congress. These laws are consolidated in the *U.S. Code*, which is published every six years with annual supplements. The *Code* is arranged by subject into 50 titles, with Title 2 covering laws pertaining to Congress.

The *House Journal*, which fulfills the requirement in Article 1, section 5 of the Constitution that each chamber "keep a Journal of its Proceedings," has been published since the first Congress in 1789. It chronicles actions including motions offered, bills introduced and committees of reference, amendments offered and agreed to, and voting actions. Verbatim debate in the House and Senate, as well as submitted materials and speeches, have been included in the *Congressional Record* since 1873, while predecessor sources offer insight into earlier floor debate. These earlier publications include the *Annals of Congress*, which provides debates from 1789 to 1824, although these were not compiled contemporaneously, the *Register of Debates* (1824–37), and the *Congressional Globe* (1833–73).

The *United States Congressional Serial Set* contains reports and documents issued by the House and Senate. The *C.I.S. U.S. Serial Set Index, 1789–1969*, published by the Congressional Information Service (C.I.S.) and updated with annual supplements since 1970, allows researchers to easily identify entries from the Committee. C.I.S. also publishes separate indexes of published and unpublished committee hearings.

Committee activity reports published after the conclusion of a Congress provide a narrative description of the Committee's actions over the course of that Congress. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, which first mandated such reports, exempted the Committee on House Administration. That exemption was removed by the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974,[8] and the Committee has published activity reports since the 94th Congress in accordance with House Rule XI. These reports may include the jurisdiction and work of the Committee (and its former subcommittees, which existed prior to the 104th Congress), summaries of legislation, investigations, hearings, oversight activities, and the titles of documents issued by the Committee.

Committee Calendars, which were published by the Committee from its inception at the beginning of the 80th Congress through the 103rd Congress, provide a listing of Committee business and are particularly useful for locating information for the years prior to the publication of the activity reports. The *Calendars*, which are compiled and printed at the discretion of the Committee, variously have included subcommittee rosters and other organizational information, measures received, actions taken, subsequent legislative actions on measures considered by the committee, and funds the committee has authorized for studies by other committees.

The primary sources used in the research for this volume have been supplemented by a plethora of secondary sources, including academic studies and journalistic publications. These sources have been useful in providing context to some of the Committee's actions as well as additional information and analysis. Congressional Quarterly Inc., which covered politics in Washington since 1945, has produced a number of publications, including *CQ Weekly*, *CQ Almanac*, and the *CQ Guide to Congress*, that provide reference information, summaries of congressional activity. In addition, *Roll Call* and *The Hill*, as the community newspapers of Capitol Hill, offer coverage of both national and local issues from the congressional perspective. Founded in 1955 and 1994, respectively, these papers proved to be a useful source of information on some of the duties performed by the Committee as the "Mayor of Capitol Hill."

Endnotes

1 P.L. 601, ch.753, 60 Stat 833, sec. 140 (Aug. 2, 1946); and P.L. 81-754, 64 Stat 583 (Sept. 5, 1950).

2 U.S. Congress, House, *Constitution, Jefferson's Manual, and Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, One Hundred Tenth Congress*, compiled by John V. Sullivan, Parliamentarian, H. Doc. 109-157, 109th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: GPO, 2007), sec. 695.

3 Ibid.

4 H. Res. 288 (83rd Cong.).

5 Access to Archived Records (HR83A-F8.1), Records of the Committee on House Administration; Records of the House of Representatives, Record Group 233; National Archives, Washington, DC.

6 House Rule XXXVI, "Rules of the House," *Congressional Record*, vol. 135, Jan. 3, 1989, pp. 72–73.

7 Ibid.

8 H. Res. 988 (93rd Cong.).

APPENDIX B. TABLES

Table I

Chronological Listing of Members of the Committee on House Administration, 1947–2011

80th Congress (1947–1948)	
Chairman Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)	**Ranking Member Mary T. Norton (D-NJ)**
Ralph M. Gamble (R-NY)	John W. McCormack (D-MA)
Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)	Tom Pickett (D-TX)
Frank L. Sundstrom (R-NJ)	Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA)
Charles W. Vursell (R-IL)	Burr P. Harrison (D-VA)
Gerald W. Landis (R-IN)	Otto E. Passman (D-LA)
William C. Cole (R-MO)	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)	Hugh A. Meade (D-MD)
Fred. E. Busbey (R-IL)	Toby Morris (D-OK)
James Gallagher (R-PA)	George A. Smathers (D-FL)
Gregory McMahon (R-NY)	John Bell Williams (D-MS)
R. Walter Riehlman (R-NY)	
J. Caleb Boggs (R-DE)	
Howard A. Coffin (R-MI)	
Mid-Congress replacements:	
Ralph Harvey (R-IN)	Charles B. Deane (D-NC)
	Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)
	Kenneth M. Regan (D-TX)
Vito Marcantonio (American Labor Party-NY)	

81st Congress (1949–1950)	
Chairman Mary T. Norton (D-NJ)	**Ranking Member Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)**
Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)
Burr P. Harrison (D-VA)	Earl Wilson (R-IN)
Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Benjamin F. James (R-PA)
George W. Smathers (D-FL)	William B. Widnall (R-NJ)
Charles B. Deane (D-NC)	
Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)	
Kenneth M. Regan (D-TX)	

81st Congress (1949–1950)	
James W. Trimble (D-AR)	
Carl Albert (D-OK)	
William M. Wheeler (D-GA)	
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	
Anthony Cavalcante (D-PA)	
George H. Christopher (D-MO)	
Chase Going Woodhouse (D-CT)	
Edna F. Kelly (D-NY)	
Vito Marcantonio (American Labor Party-NY)	

82nd Congress (1951–1952)	
Chairman Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA)	**Ranking Member Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)**
Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)
Charles B. Deane (D-NC)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)	Albert P. Morano (R-CT)
Kenneth M. Regan (D-TX)	Edmund P. Radwan (R-NY)
James W. Trimble (D-AR)	William K. Van Pelt (R-WI)
Carl Albert (D-OK)	Edward L. Sittler Jr. (R-PA)
William M. Wheeler (D-GA)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	
Edna F. Kelly (D-NY)	
Harry P. O'Neill (D-PA)	
Clinton D. McKinnon (D-CA)	
Reva Z. B. Bosone (D-UT)	
Charles R. Howell (D-NJ)	
Mid-Congress replacements:	
Wayne N. Aspinall (D-CO)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
Victor L. Anfuso (D-NY)	
Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)	
	Robert Tripp Ross (R-NY)

83rd Congress (1953–1954)	
Chairman Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)	**Ranking Member Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA) Jan. 14, 1953–Feb. 3, 1953**
	Ranking Member Omar T. Burleson (D-TX) Feb. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1955
Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)	Charles B. Deane (D-NC)
Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)	Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)
Albert P. Morano (R-CT)	Kenneth M. Regan (D-TX)
Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)	James W. Trimble (D-AR)
Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)	Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)
Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)	Courtney W. Campbell (D-FL)
Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)	John E. Moss Jr. (D-CA)
John B. Bennett (R-MI)	Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)
William K. Van Pelt (R-WI)	John L. Pilcher (D-GA)
Patrick J. Hillings (R-CA)	
William C. Cole (R-MO)	
Gordon H. Scherer (R-OH)	
Oliver P. Bolton (R-OH)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
William E. Neal (R-WV)	Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)
D. Bailey Merrill (R-IN)	Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)
Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)	

84th Congress (1955–1956)	
Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	**Ranking Member Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)**
Charles B. Deane (D-NC)	Albert P. Morano (R-CT)
Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
James W. Trimble (D-AR)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)	Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)
John E. Moss Jr. (D-CA)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Patrick J. Hillings (R-CA)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Oliver P. Bolton (R-OH)
Dowdy, John V. (D-TX)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
George S. Long (D-LA)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
James A. Haley (D-FL)	
Hugh Q. Alexander (D-NC)	
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	

84th Congress (1955–1956)	
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	

85th Congress (1957–1958)	
Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	**Ranking Member Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)**
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)	Albert P. Morano (R-CT)
Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Patrick J. Hillings (R-CA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
George S. Long (D-LA)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	John H. Ray (R-NY)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	
Carl A. Elliott (D-AL)	
Edith S. Green (D-OR)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Robert A. Everett (D-TN)	

86th Congress (1959–1960)	
Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	**Ranking Member Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)**
Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	John H. Ray (R-NY)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	William S. Mailliard (R-CA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Edna Oakes Simpson (R-IL)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	
Carl A. Elliott (D-AL)	
Edith S. Green (D-OR)	
Robert A. Everett (D-TN)	
John M. Slack Jr. (D-WV)	
Robert R. Casey (D-TX)	
Steven V. Carter (D-IA)	

86th Congress (1959–1960)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Newell A. George (D-KS)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
	John H. Kyl (R-IA)

87th Congress (1961–1962)	
Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	**Ranking Member Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)**
Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	Edgar W. Hiestand (R-CA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	John B. Anderson (R-IL)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	Walter L. McVey (R-KS)
Edith S. Green (D-OR)	
Robert A. Everett (D-TN)	
John J. McFall (D-CA)	
Robert N. Giamo (D-CT)	
Hugh L. Carey (D-NY)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr. (D-LA)	

88th Congress (1963–1964)	
Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	**Ranking Member Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)**
Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	John B. Anderson (R-IL)
Robert A. Everett (D-TN)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
John J. McFall (D-CA)	Joe Skubitz (R-KS)
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr. (D-LA)	
Carl D. Perkins (D-KY)	

88th Congress (1963–1964)	
John H. Dent (D-PA)	
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
John Brademas (D-IN)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
John W. Davis (D-GA)	

89th Congress (1965–1966)	
Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	**Ranking Member Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)**
Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	John N. Erlenborn (R-IL)
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr. (D-LA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Carl D. Perkins (D-KY)	
John H. Dent (D-PA)	
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	
John Brademas (D-IN)	
John W. Davis (D-GA)	
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	
Jonathan B. Bingham (D-NY)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
	Barber B. Conable, Jr. (R-NY)
	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)

90th Congress (1967–1968)	
Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX) Jan. 18, 1967–July 30, 1968	**Ranking Member Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)**
Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD) July 30, 1968–Jan. 3, 1969	
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)

90th Congress (1967–1968)	
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr. (D-LA)	Barber B. Conable, Jr. (R-NY)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Albert H. Quie (R-MN)
John Brademas (D-IN)	Frederick D. Schwengel (R-IA)
John W. Davis (D-GA)	
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
	William O. Cowger (R-KY)
	Robert C. McEwen (R-NY)

91st Congress (1969–1970)	
Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	**Ranking Member Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA) Jan. 3, 1969–Feb. 1, 1970**
	Ranking Member Samuel L. Devine (R-OH) Feb. 1, 1970–Jan. 3, 1971
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr. (D-LA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	Albert H. Quie (R-MN)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Frederick D. Schwengel (R-IA)
John Brademas (D-IN)	William O. Cowger (R-KY)
John W. Davis (D-GA)	Robert C. McEwen (R-NY)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	
Thomas S. Gettys (D-SC)	
Jonathan B. Bingham (D-NY)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Bertram L. Podell (D-NY)	James Harvey (R-MI)
	Jerry L. Pettis (R-CA)
	Orval H. Hansen (R-ID)
	Phillip M. Crane (R-IL)
	John S. Wold (R-WY)
	John G. Schmitz (R-CA)

92nd Congress (1971–1972)	
Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	**Ranking Member Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)**
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr. (D-LA)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	Frederick D. Schwengel (R-IA)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Robert C. McEwen (R-NY)
John Brademas (D-IN)	James Harvey (R-MI)
John W. Davis (D-GA)	Orval H. Hansen (R-ID)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	Phillip M. Crane (R-IL)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	John G. Schmitz (R-CA)
Thomas S. Gettys (D-SC)	
Jonathan B. Bingham (D-NY)	
Bertram L. Podell (D-NY)	
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Ed Jones (D-TN)	John H. Ware III (R-PA)
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	Victor V. Veysey (R-CA)
	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)

93rd Congress (1973–1974)	
Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	**Ranking Member Samuel L. Devine (R-OH) Jan. 6, 1973–Jan. 24, 1973**
	Ranking Member William L. Dickinson (R-AL), Jan. 24, 1973–Jan. 3, 1975
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	James Harvey (R-MI)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Orval H. Hansen (R-ID)
John Brademas (D-IN)	Phillip M. Crane (R-IL)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	John H. Ware III (R-PA)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	Victor V. Veysey (R-CA)
Thomas S. Gettys (D-SC)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Jonathan B. Bingham (D-NY)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Bertram L. Podell (D-NY)	James F. Hastings (R-NY)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	
Ed Jones (D-TN)	
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	
Edward I. Koch (D-NY)	

93rd Congress (1973–1974)	
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
M. Dawson Mathis (D-GA)	Harold V. Froehlich (R-WI)
	M. Caldwell Butler (R-VA)

94th Congress (1975–1976)	
Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH) Jan. 23, 1975–June 21, 1976	**Ranking Member William L. Dickinson (R-AL)**
Chairman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ) June 23, 1976–Jan. 3, 1977	
John H. Dent (D-PA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
John Brademas (D-IN)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	M. Caldwell Butler (R-VA)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	J. Herbert Burke (R-FL)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Marjorie S. Holt (R-MD)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	W. Henson Moore (R-LA)
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	
M. Dawson Mathis (D-GA)	
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	
Corinne C. (Lindy) Boggs (D-LA)	
John L. Burton (D-CA)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Edward C. Pattison (D-NY)	Ronald E. Paul (R-TX)

95th Congress (1977–1978)	
Chairman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	**Ranking Member William L. Dickinson (R-AL)**
John H. Dent (D-PA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
John Brademas (D-IN)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	J. Herbert Burke (R-FL)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	David A. Stockman (R-MI)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	

95th Congress (1977–1978)	
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	
John L. Burton (D-CA)	
Edward C. Pattison (D-NY)	
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	
Joseph S. Ammerman (D-PA)	

96th Congress (1979–1980)	
Chairman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Ranking Member William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Chairman Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI) [Acting Chair on June 18, 1980 during interruption of service by Thompson]	
John Brademas (D-IN)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	David A. Stockman (R-MI)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	Jerry Lewis (R-CA)
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (R-SC)
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	
John L. Burton (D-CA)	
Peter A. Peyser (D-NY)	
William Ratchford (D-CT)	
Victor H. Fazio (D-CA)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	Loeffler, Thomas G. (R-TX)

97th Congress (1981–1982)	
Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	**Ranking Member William E. Frenzel (R-MN)**
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	Gary A. Lee (R-NY)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	James K. Coyne (R-PA)

97th Congress (1981–1982)	
John L. Burton (D-CA)	Lynn M. Martin (R-IL)
William Ratchford (D-CT)	
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	

98th Congress (1983–1984)	
Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA) Jan. 6, 1983–Sept. 6, 1984	**Ranking Member William E. Frenzel (R-MN)**
Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL) Sept. 6, 1984–Jan. 3, 1985	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	Lynn M. Martin (R-IL)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	Rodney Chandler (R-WA)
Thomas S. Foley (D-WA)	
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	
Anthony L. Coehlo (D-CA)	
Jim Bates (D-CA)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
	Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV)
	Pat Roberts (R-KS)

99th Congress (1985–1986)	
Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	**Ranking Member William E. Frenzel (R-MN)**
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV)
Thomas S. Foley (D-WA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	
Anthony L. Coelho (D-CA)	
Jim Bates (D-CA)	
William L. Clay (D-MO)	
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	

100th Congress (1987–1988)	
Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	**Ranking Member William E. Frenzel (R-MN)**
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Anthony L. Coelho (D-CA)	
Jim Bates (D-CA)	
William L. Clay (D-MO)	
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	
Joseph P. Kolter (D-PA)	

101st Congress (1989–1990)	
Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	**Ranking Member Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)** **Jan. 3, 1989–April 10, 1989**
	Ranking Member William M. Thomas (R-CA) April 10, 1989–Jan. 3, 1991
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	Paul E. Gillmor (R-OH)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	John P. Hiler (R-IN)
Anthony L. Coelho (D-CA)	James T. Walsh (R-NY)
Jim Bates (D-CA)	
William L. Clay (D-MO)	
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	
Joseph P. Kolter (D-PA)	
Ronnie G. Flippo (D-AL)	
J. Martin Frost III (D-TX)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Thomas J. Manton (D-NY)	

102nd Congress (1991–1992)	
Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	**Ranking Member William M. Thomas (R-CA)**
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-AL)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	Paul E. Gillmor (R-OH)

102nd Congress (1991–1992)	
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	James T. Walsh (R-NY)
William L. Clay (D-MO)	M. H. (Mickey) Edwards (R-OK)
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	Robert L. Livingston (R-LA)
Joseph P. Kolter (D-PA)	Bill Barrett (R-NE)
J. Martin Frost III (D-TX)	
Thomas J. Manton (D-NY)	
Martin A. Russo (D-IL)	
William H. Gray III (D-PA)	
Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)	
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Dale Kildee (D-MI)	

103rd Congress (1993–1994)	
Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	**Ranking Member William M. Thomas (R-CA)**
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-AL)
William L. Clay (D-MO)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	Robert L. Livingston (R-LA)
J. Martin Frost III (D-TX)	Bill Barrett (R-NE)
Thomas J. Manton (D-NY)	John A. Boehner (R-OH)
Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA)
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	
Dale Kildee (D-MI)	
Butler Derrick (D-SC)	
Barbara B. Kennelly (D-CT)	
Benjamin L. Cardin (D-MD)	

104th Congress (1995–1996)	
Chairman William M. Thomas (R-CA)	**Ranking Member Vic Fazio (D-CA)**
Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)	Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)
Pat Roberts (R-KS)	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
John A. Boehner (R-OH)	William J. Jefferson (D-LA)
Jennifer Dunn (R-WA)	Ed Pastor (D-AZ)
Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-FL)	
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	

105th Congress (1997–1998)	
Chairman William M. Thomas (R-OH)	**Ranking Member Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)**
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
John A. Boehner (R-OH)	Carolyn C. Kilpatrick (D-MI)
Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)	
Kay Granger (R-TX)	
John L. Mica (R-FL)	

106th Congress (1999–2000)	
Chairman William M. Thomas (R-OH)	**Ranking Member Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)**
John A. Boehner (R-OH)	Jim Davis (D-FL)
Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)	Chaka Fattah (D-PA)
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	
John L. Mica (R-FL)	
Thomas W. Ewing (R-IL)	

107th Congress (2001–2002)	
Chairman Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	**Ranking Member Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)**
Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)	Chaka Fattah (D-PA)
John L. Mica (R-FL)	Jim Davis (D-FL)
John Linder (R-GA)	
John T. Doolittle (R-CA)	
Thomas M. Reynolds (R-NY)	

108th Congress (2003–2004)	
Chairman Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	**Ranking Member John B. Larson (D-CT)**
Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)	Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)
John L. Mica (R-FL)	Robert A. Brady (D-PA)
John Linder (R-GA)	
John T. Doolittle (R-CA)	
Thomas M. Reynolds (R-NY)	

109th Congress (2005–2006)	
Chairman Robert W. Ney (R-OH) Jan. 5, 2005–Nov. 3, 2006	**Ranking Member Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)**
Chairman Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI) Jan. 18, 2006–Nov. 3, 2006 [Acting Chair during interruption of service by Ney]	Robert A. Brady (D-PA) Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)
Chairman Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI) Nov. 4, 2006–Jan. 3, 2007	
John L. Mica (R-FL)	
John T. Doolittle (R-CA)	
Thomas M. Reynolds (R-NY)	
Candice Miller (R-MI)	

110th Congress (2007–2008)	
Chairman Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA), Jan. 4, 2007–April 22, 2007	Ranking Member Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)
Chairman Robert A. Brady (D-PA) May 24, 2007–Jan. 3, 2009	Daniel E. Lungren (R-CA)
Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	Kevin McCarthy (R-CA)
Michael E. Capuano (D-MA)	
Charles A. Gonzalez (D-TX)	
Susan A. Davis (D-CA)	
Mid-Congress Replacements:	
Artur Davis (D-AL)	

111th Congress (2009–2010)	
Chairman Robert A. Brady (D-PA)	Ranking Member Daniel E. Lungren (R-CA)
Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	Daniel E. Lungren (R-CA)
Michael E. Capuano (D-MA)	Kevin McCarthy (R-CA)
Charles A. Gonzalez (D-TX)	Gregg Harper (R-MS)
Susan A. Davis (D-CA)	
Artur Davis (D-AL)	

112th Congress (2011–2012)	
Chairman Daniel E. Lungren (R-CA)	Ranking Member Robert A. Brady (D-PA)
Gregg Harper (R-MS)	Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)
Phil Gingrey (R-GA)	Charles A. Gonzalez (D-TX)
Aaron Schock (R-IL)	
Richard Nugent (R-FL)	
Todd Rokita (R-IN)	

Table II

Alphabetic Listing of Members of the Committee on House Administration, 1947–2011

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Abbitt, Watkins M. (D-VA)	Jan. 19, 1956–Jan. 3, 1973 (84th–92nd Congresses)	Feb. 17, 1948–Jan. 3, 1973
Albert, Carl (D-OK)	Jan. 18, 1949–Jan. 3, 1953 (81st–82nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1977
Alexander, Hugh Q. (D-NC)	Jan. 13, 1955–Jan. 3, 1957 (84th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1963
Ammerman, Joseph S. (D-PA)	Jan. 19, 1977–Jan. 3, 1979 (95th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1977–Jan. 3, 1979
Anderson, John B. (R-IL)	Feb. 13, 1961–Feb. 4, 1963 (87th–88th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1961–Jan. 3, 1981
Anfuso, Victor L. (D-NY)	Jan. 12, 1951–Jan. 3, 1943 (82nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1955–Jan. 3, 1963
Annunzio, Frank (D-IL)	Feb. 4, 1971–Jan. 3, 1993 (92nd–102nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1965–Jan. 3, 1993
Ashmore, Robert T.(D-SC)	July 8, 1953–Jan. 3, 1969 (83rd–90th Congresses)	Jan. 6, 1953–Jan. 3, 1969
Aspinall, Wayne N. (D-CO)	Jan. 12, 1951–Jan. 3, 1953 (82nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1973
Badham, Robert E. (R-CA)	Jan. 19, 1977–Jan. 3, 1989 (95th–100th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1977–Jan. 3, 1989
Barrett, William E. (R-NE)	Feb. 6, 1991–Jan. 3, 1995 (102nd–103rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1991–Jan. 3, 2001
Bates, Jim (D-CA)	Jan. 6, 1983–Jan. 3, 1991 (98th–101st Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1983–Jan. 3, 1991
Bennett, John B. (R-MI)	Jan. 14, 1953–Aug. 9, 1964 (83rd–88th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1947–Aug. 9, 1964
Bingham, Jonathan B. (D-NY)	Jan. 18, 1965–Jan. 3, 1967 (89th Congress) Jan. 3, 1969–Jan. 24, 1973 (91st–93rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1965–Jan. 3, 1983
Bishop, Cecil W. (Runt) (R-IL)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1955 (80th–83rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1941–Jan. 3, 1955
Boehner, John A. (R-OH)	Jan. 5, 1993–Jan. 3, 2001 (103rd–106th Congresses)	Jan, 3, 1991–
Bolton, Oliver P. (R-OH)	Jan. 19, 1953–Jan. 3, 1957 (83rd–84th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1957

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Boggs, Corinne C. (Lindy) (D-LA)	Jan. 23, 1975–Jan. 3, 1977 (94th Congress)	Mar. 20, 1973–Jan. 3, 1991
Boggs, J. Caleb (R-DE)	Jan. 14, 1947–Mar. 25, 1948 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1953
Bosone, Reva Z. B. (D-NJ)	Jan. 12, 1951–Jan. 3, 1953 (82nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1953
Brademas, John (D-IN)	Feb. 25, 1964–Jan. 3, 1981 (88th –96th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1959–Jan. 3, 1981
Brady, Robert A. (D-PA)	Feb. 5, 2003–present (108th–112th Congresses)	May 19, 1998–
Burke, J. Hebert (R-FL)	Jan. 28, 1975–Jan. 3, 1979 (94th–95th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1967–Jan. 3, 1979
Burleson, Omar T. (D-TX)	Jan. 16, 1947–July 30, 1968 (80th–90th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1947–Dec. 31, 1978
Burton, John L. (D-CA)	Jan. 23, 1975–Jan. 3, 1983 (94th–97th Congresses)	June 4, 1974–Jan. 3, 1983
Busbey, Fred E. (R-IL)	Jan. 14–Dec. 18, 1947 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1943–Jan. 3, 1945, Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949, Jan. 3, 1951–Jan. 3, 1955
Butler, M. Caldwell (R-VA)	Feb. 21, 1974–Mar. 21, 1975 (93rd–94th Congresses)	Nov. 7, 1972–Jan. 3, 1983
Byrd, Robert C. (D-WV)	Jan. 19, 1953–Jan. 3, 1959 (83rd–85th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1959
Campbell, Carroll A. Jr. (R-SC)	Jan. 24, 1979–Jan. 3, 1981 (96th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1987
Campbell, Courtney W. (D-FL)	Jan. 19, 1953–Jan. 3, 1955 (83rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1955
Capuano, Michael E. (D-MA)	Feb. 8, 2007–Jan. 3, 2011 (110th–111th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1999–
Cardin, Benjamin L. (D-MD)	Jan. 21, 1993–Jan. 3, 1995 (103rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1987– Jan. 3, 2007
Carey, Hugh L. (D-NY)	Feb. 6, 1961–Jan. 18, 1962 (87th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1961–Dec. 31, 1974
Carrigg, Joseph L.(R-PA)	Feb. 4, 1952–Jan. 3, 1959 (82nd–85th Congresses)	Nov. 6, 1951–Jan. 3, 1959
Carter, Steven V. (D-IA)	Jan. 7, 1959–Nov. 4, 1959 (86th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1959–Nov. 11, 1959
Casey, Robert R.(D-TX)	Jan. 7, 1959–Jan. 3, 1961 (86th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1959–Jan. 22, 1976

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Cavalcante, Anthony (D-PA)	Jan. 18, 1949–Jan. 3, 1951 (81st Congress)	Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1951
Chamberlain, Charles E. (R-MI)	Mar. 5, 1959–Mar. 5, 1969 (86th–91st Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1957–Dec. 31, 1974
Chandler, Rodney (R-WA)	Jan. 6, 1983–July 20, 1983 (98th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1983–Jan. 3, 1993
Christopher, George H. (D-MO)	Jan. 18, 1949–Jan. 3, 1951 (81st Congress)	Jan. 3, 1955–Jan. 23, 1959
Clay, William L., Sr. (D-MO)	Jan. 30, 1985–Jan. 3, 1995 (99th–103rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1969–Jan. 3, 2001
Cleveland, James C. (R-NH)	Oct. 20, 1966–Jan. 3, 1981 (89th–96th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1963–Jan. 3, 1981
Coelho, Anthony L. (D-CA)	Jan. 6, 1983–June 15, 1989 (98th–101st Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1979–June 15, 1989
Coffin, Howard A. (R-MI)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949
Cole, William C. (R-MO)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress) Jan. 14, 1953–Jan. 3, 1955 (83rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1955
Conable, Barber B. Jr. (R-NY)	May 24, 1966–Jan. 26, 1967 (89th–90th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1965–Jan. 3, 1985
Corbett, Robert J. (R-PA)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress) Jan. 14, 1953–Mar. 20, 1969 (83rd–91st Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1945–Apr. 25, 1971
Cowger, William O. (R-KY)	Jan. 26, 1967–Jan. 29, 1969 (90th–91st Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1967–Jan. 3, 1971
Coyne, James K. (R-PA)	Jan. 28, 1981–Jan. 3, 1983 (97th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1981–Jan. 3, 1983
Coyne, William J. (D-PA)	Jan. 28, 1981–Jan. 3, 1985 (97th–98th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1981–Jan. 3, 2003
Crane, Philip M. (R-IL)	Dec. 23, 1969–Jan. 3, 1975 (91st–93rd Congresses)	Nov. 25, 1969–Jan. 3, 2005
Curtin, Willard S. (R-PA)	Jan. 19, 1959–Jan. 18, 1960 (86th Congress) Jan. 24, 1963–Oct. 20, 1966 (88th–89th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1957–Jan. 3, 1967

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Davis, Artur (D-AL)	May 3, 2007 – Jan. 3, 2011 (110th–111th Congresses)	Jan. 2, 2003– Jan. 3, 2011
Davis, Jim (D-FL)	Feb. 10, 1999–Jan. 3, 2003 (106th–107th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1997– Jan. 3, 2007
Davis, John W. (D-GA)	Feb. 25, 1964–Feb 4, 1971 (88th–92nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1961–Jan. 3, 1975
Davis, Mendel J. (D-SC)	Jan. 23, 1975–Jan. 3, 1981 (94th–96th Congresses)	Apr. 27, 1971–Jan. 3, 1981
Davis, Susan A. (D-CA)	Feb. 8, 2007– Jan. 3, 2011 (110th–111th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 2001–
Deane, Charles B. (D-NC)	Feb. 26, 1947–Jan. 13, 1955 (80th–84th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1957
Dent, John H. (D-PA)	Jan. 17, 1963–Jan. 3, 1979 (88th–95th Congresses)	Jan. 21, 1958–Jan. 3, 1979
Derrick, Butler (D-SC)	Jan. 21, 1993–Jan. 3, 1995 (103rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1975– Jan. 3, 1995
Devine, Samuel L. (R-OH)	Feb. 4, 1963–June 27, 1979 (88th–96th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1959–Jan. 3, 1981
Diaz-Balart, Lincoln (R-FL)	Jan. 4, 1995–Jan. 3, 1997 (104th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1993–Jan. 3, 2011
Dickinson, William L. (R-AL)	Jan. 21, 1965–Jan. 3, 1993 (89th–102nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1965–Jan. 3, 1993
Doolittle, John T. (R-CA)	Jan. 31, 2001–Jan. 3, 2007 (107th–109th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1991–
Dowdy, John V. (D-TX)	Jan. 13, 1955–Jan. 3, 1957 (84th Congress)	Sept. 23, 1952–Jan. 3, 1973
Dunn, Jennifer (R-WA)	Feb. 4, 1993–Jan. 3, 1997 (103rd–104th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1993–Jan. 3, 2005
Edwards, M. H. (Mickey) (R-OK)	Feb. 6, 1991–Jan. 3, 1993 (102nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1977–Jan. 3, 1993
Ehlers, Vernon J. (R-MI)	Jan. 4, 1995–Jan. 3, 2009 (104th–110th Congresses)	Dec. 7, 1993– Jan. 3, 2011
Elliott, Carl A. (D-AL)	Jan. 10, 1957–Jan. 3, 1961 (85th–86th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1965
Erlenborn, John N. (R-IL)	Jan. 21, 1965–May 24, 1966 (89th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1965–Jan. 3, 1985
Everett, Robert A. (D-TN)	Apr. 3, 1958–Jan. 3, 1965 (85th–88th Congresses)	Feb. 1, 1958–Jan. 26, 1969

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Ewing, Thomas W. (R-IL)	Jan. 6, 1999–Jan. 3, 2001 (106th Congress)	July 2, 1991–Jan. 3, 2001
Fattah, Chaka (D-PA)	Feb. 10, 1999–Jan. 3, 2003 (106th–107th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1995–
Fazio, Victor H. (D-CA)	Jan. 24, 1979–Feb. 26, 1980 (96th Congress) Jan. 11, 1995–Jan. 3, 1997 (104th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1999
Flippo, Ronnie G. (D-AL)	Jan. 19, 1989–Jan. 3, 1991 (101st Congress)	Jan. 3, 1977–Jan. 3, 1991
Foley, Thomas S. (D-WA)	Jan. 6, 1983–Jan. 3, 1987 (98th–99th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1965–Jan. 3, 1995
Frenzel, William E. (R-MN)	Feb. 4, 1971–Mar. 21, 1975 (92nd–94th Congresses) Jan. 19, 1977–Jan. 3, 1989 (95th–100th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1971–Jan. 3, 1991
Friedel, Samuel N. (D-MD)	Jan. 19, 1953–Jan. 3, 1971 (83rd–91st Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1971
Froehlich, Harold V. (R-WI)	Jan. 24, 1973–Jan. 3, 1975 (93rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1973–Jan. 3, 1975
Frost, J. Martin III (D-TX)	Jan. 19, 1989–Jan. 3, 1995 (101st–103rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 2005
Gallagher, James (R-PA)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949
Gamble, Ralph A. (R-NY)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Nov. 2, 1937–Jan. 3, 1957
Garmatz, Edward A. (D-MD)	Dec. 4, 1947–Jan. 13, 1955 (80th–84th Congresses)	July 15, 1947–Jan. 3, 1973
Gaydos, Joseph M. (D-PA)	Feb. 4, 1971–Jan. 3, 1993 (92nd–102nd Congresses)	Nov. 5, 1968–Jan. 3, 1993
Gejdenson, Samuel (D-CT)	Jan. 30, 1985–Jan. 3, 1999 (99th–105th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1981–Jan. 3, 2001
George, Newell A. (D-KS)	Feb. 10, 1960–Jan. 3, 1961 (86th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1959–Jan. 3, 1961
Gettys, Thomas S. (D-SC)	Jan. 3, 1969–Dec. 31, 1974 (91st–93rd Congresses)	Nov. 3, 1964–Dec. 31, 1974
Giaimo, Robert N. (D-CT)	Feb. 6, 1961–Jan. 3, 1963 (87th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1959–Jan. 3, 1981

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Gibbons, Sam M. (D-FL)	Jan. 17, 1963–Jan. 14, 1969 (88th–91st Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1963–Jan. 3, 1997
Gillmor, Paul E. (R-OH)	Jan. 20, 1989–Jan. 3, 1993 (101st–102nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1989–Sept. 5, 2007
Gingrey, Phil (R-GA)	Jan. 5, 2011–present (112th Congress)	Jan. 3, 2003–
Gingrich, Newton L. (R-GA)	Jan. 24, 1979–Jan. 3, 1995 (96th–103rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1999
Gonzalez, Charles A. (D-TX)	Feb. 8, 2007–present (110th–112th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1999–
Goodell, Charles E. (R-NY)	June 23, 1959–Sept. 9, 1968 (86th–90th Congresses)	May 26, 1959–Sept. 9, 1968
Granger, Kay (R-TX)	Jan. 7, 1997–Jan. 3, 1999 (105th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1997–
Gray, Kenneth J. (D-IL)	Jan. 18, 1965–Dec. 31, 1974 (89th–93rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1985–Jan. 3, 1989
Gray, William H. III (D-PA)	Jan. 3, 1991–Sept. 11, 1991 (102nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1979–Sept. 11, 1991
Green, Edith S. (D-OR)	Jan. 10, 1957–Jan. 3, 1963 (85th–87th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1955–Dec. 31, 1974
Halleck, Charles A. (R-IN)	Jan. 15, 1951–Apr. 29, 1954 (82nd–83rd Congresses) Jan. 13, 1955–May 14, 1959 (84th–86th Congresses)	Jan. 29, 1935–Jan. 3, 1969
Haley, James A. (D-FL)	Jan. 13, 1955–March 16, 1955 (84th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1977
Hansen, Orval H. (R-ID)	March 20, 1969–Jan. 3, 1975 (91st–93rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1969–Jan. 3, 1975
Harper, Gregg (R-MS)	Jan. 9, 2009–present (111th–112th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 2009–
Harrison, Burr P. (D-VA)	Jan. 16, 1947–Jan. 3, 1951 (80th–81st Congresses)	Nov. 5, 1946–Jan. 3, 1963
Harrison, Robert D. (R-NE)	Feb. 20, 1952–Jan. 3, 1959 (82nd–85th Congresses)	Dec. 4, 1951–Jan. 3, 1959
Harvey, James (R-IN)	Jan. 29, 1969–Jan. 31, 1974 (91st–93rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1961–Dec. 30, 1966
Harvey, Ralph (R-IN)	Dec. 18, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1961–Dec. 30, 1966

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Hastings, James F. (R-NY)	Jan. 24, 1973–Jan. 3, 1975 (93rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1969–Jan. 20, 1976
Hawkins, Augustus F. (D-CA)	Jan. 18, 1965–Jan. 3, 1967 (89th Congress) Jan. 3, 1969–Sept. 6, 1984 (91st–98th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1963–Jan. 3, 1991
Hays, Wayne L. (D-OH)	Jan. 18, 1949–Jan. 3, 1953 (81st–82nd Congresses) Mar. 11, 1954–Sept. 1, 1976 (83rd–94th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1949–Sept. 1, 1976
Hiestand, Edgar W. (R-CA)	Feb. 13, 1961–Jan. 3, 1963 (87th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1963
Hiler, John P. (R-IN)	Feb. 22, 1989–Jan. 3, 1991 (101st Congress)	Jan. 3, 1981–Jan. 3, 1991
Hillings, Patrick J. (R-CA)	Jan. 14, 1953–Jan. 3, 1959 (83rd–85th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1951–Jan. 3, 1959
Holt, Marjorie S. (R-MD)	Jan. 23, 1975–Apr. 14, 1976 (94th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1973–Jan. 3, 1987
Howell, Charles R. (D-NJ)	Jan. 12, 1951–Jan. 3, 1953 (82nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1955
Hoyer, Steny H. (D-MD)	Jan. 3, 1991–Jan. 3, 2003 (102nd–107th Congresses)	May 19, 1981–
James, Benjamin F. (R-PA)	Jan. 18, 1949–Jan. 3, 1951 (81st Congress)	Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1959
Jefferson, William J. (D-LA)	Jan. 11, 1995–Jan. 3, 1995 (104th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1991–Jan. 3, 2009
Jones, Ed (D-TN)	Feb. 4, 1971–Jan. 3, 1989 (92nd–100th Congresses)	Nov. 2, 1948–Jan. 3, 1969
Jones, Paul C. (D-MO)	Jan. 18, 1949–Jan. 12, 1951 (81st–82nd Congresses) Jan. 13, 1955–Jan. 3, 1969 (84th–90th Congresses)	Nov. 2, 1948–Jan. 3, 1969
Kelly, Edna F. (D-NY)	Jan. 26, 1950–Jan. 12, 1951 (81st–82nd Congresses)	Nov. 8, 1949–Jan. 3, 1969
Kennelly, Barbara B. (D-CT)	Jan. 21, 1993–Jan. 3, 1995 (103rd Congress)	Jan. 12, 1982–Jan. 3, 1999
Kildee, Dale (D-MI)	Oct. 30, 1991–Jan. 3, 1995 (102nd–103rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1977–

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Kilpatrick, Carolyn C. (D-MI)	Feb. 5, 1997–Jan. 3, 1999 (105th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1997–Jan. 3, 2011
Kleczka, Gerald D. (D-WI)	Jan. 24, 1991–Jan. 3, 1995 (102nd–103rd Congresses)	Apr. 4, 1984–Jan. 3, 2005
Koch, Edward I. (D-NY)	Jan. 24, 1973–Jan. 3, 1975 (93rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1969–Dec. 31, 1977
Kolter, Joseph P. (D-PA)	Sept. 10, 1987–Jan. 3, 1993 (100th–102nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1983–Jan. 3, 1993
Kyl, John H. (R-IA)	Jan. 18, 1960–Jan. 3, 1965 (86th–88th Congresses) Jan. 26, 1967–Feb. 4, 1971 (90th–92nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1967–Jan. 3, 1973
Landis, Gerald W. (R-IN)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1939–Jan. 3, 1949
Larson, John B. (D-CT)	Feb. 5, 2003–Jan. 3, 2005 (108th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1999–
Le Compte, Karl M. (R-IA)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1959 (80th–85th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1939–Jan. 3, 1959
Lee, Gary A. (R-NY)	Jan. 28, 1981–Jan. 3, 1983 (97th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1983
Lesinski, John Jr. (D-MI)	Jan. 13, 1955–Jan. 18, 1962 (84th–87th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1951–Jan. 3, 1965
Lewis, Charles Jeremy (Jerry) (R-CA)	Jan. 24, 1979–Jan. 3, 1981 (96th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1979–
Linder, John (R-GA)	July 27, 2000–Jan. 3, 2003 (106th–107th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1993–Jan. 3, 2011
Lipscomb, Glenard P. (R-CA)	Apr. 29, 1954–Feb. 1, 1970 (83rd–91st Congresses)	Nov. 10, 1953–Feb. 1, 1970
Livingston, Robert L. Jr. (R-LA)	Feb. 6, 1991–Jan. 3, 1995 (102nd–103rd Congresses)	Aug. 27, 1977–Feb. 28, 1999
Loeffler, Thomas G. (R-TX)	June 27, 1979–Jan. 3, 1981 (96th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1987
Lofgren, Zoe (D-CA)	Feb. 16, 2005–present (109th–112th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1995–
Long, George S. (D-LA)	Jan. 13, 1955–Mar. 22, 1958 (84th–85th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1953–Mar. 22, 1958
Lungren, Daniel E. (R-CA)	Jan. 4, 2007–Jan. 3, 2013 (110th–112th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1989, Jan. 3, 2005– Jan. 3, 2013

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Mailliard, William S. (R-CA)	Jan. 19, 1959–Jan. 3, 1961 (86th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1953–Mar. 5, 1974
Manton, Thomas J. (D-NY)	Oct. 16, 1989–Jan. 3, 1995 (101st–103rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1985–Jan. 3, 1999
Marcantonio, Vito (American Labor-NY)	Mar. 25, 1948–Jan. 3, 1951 (80th–81st Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1935–Jan. 3, 1957, Jan. 3, 1939–Jan. 3, 1951
Martin, Lynn M. (R-IL)	Jan. 28, 1981–June 8, 1983 (97th–98th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1981–Jan. 3, 1991
Mathis, M. Dawson (D-GA)	Jan. 24, 1973–Jan. 3, 1977 (93rd–94th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1971–Jan. 3, 1981
McCarthy, Kevin (R-CA)	Jan. 4, 2007–Jan. 3, 2011 (110th–111th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 2007–
McCormack, John W. (D-MA)	Jan. 16–Feb. 26, 1947 (80th Congress)	Nov. 6, 1928–Jan. 3, 1971
McEwen, Robert C. (R-NY)	Sept. 18, 1968–Feb. 4, 1971 (90th–92nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1965–Jan. 3, 1981
McFall, John J. (D-CA)	Feb. 6, 1961–Dec. 10, 1963 (87th–88th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1957–Dec. 31, 1978
McKinnon, Clinton D. (D-CA)	Jan. 12, 1951–Jan. 3, 1953 (82nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1953
McMahon, Gregory (R-NY)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949
McVey, Walter L. (R-KA)	Feb. 13, 1961–Jan. 3, 1963 (87th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1961–Jan. 3, 1963
Meade, Hugh A. (D-MD)	Jan. 16–Dec. 4, 1947 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949
Merrill, D. Bailey (R-IN)	Apr. 29, 1954–Jan. 3, 1955 (83rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1955
Mica, John L. (R-FL)	Apr. 30, 1997–Jan. 3, 2007 (105th–109th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1993–
Millender-McDonald, Juanita (D-CA)	Feb. 5, 2003–April 22, 2007 (108th–110th Congresses)	Mar. 26, 1996–April 22, 2007
Miller, Candice (R-MI)	Jan. 26, 2005–Jan. 3, 2007 (109th Congress)	Jan. 3, 2003–
Minish, Joseph G. (D-NJ)	Jan. 23, 1975–Jan. 3, 1985 (94th–98th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1963–Jan. 3, 1985
Mollohan, Robert H. (D-WV)	Mar. 1, 1971–Jan. 3, 1983 (92nd–97th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1957, Jan. 3, 1969–Jan. 3, 1983

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Moore, W. Henson (R-LA)	Jan. 28, 1975–Jan. 3, 1977 (94th Congress)	Jan. 7, 1975–Jan. 3, 1987
Morano, Albert P. (R-CT)	Jan. 15, 1951–Jan. 3, 1959 (82nd–85th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1951–Jan. 3, 1959
Morris, Toby (D-OK)	Jan. 16, 1947–June 4, 1948 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1957–Jan. 3, 1961
Moss, John E. Jr. (D-CA)	Jan. 19, 1953–Jan. 13, 1955 (83rd–84th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1953–Dec. 31, 1978
Neal, William E. (R-WV)	Apr. 29, 1954–Jan. 3, 1955 (83rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1957–Jan. 3, 1959
Nedzi, Lucien N. (D-MI)	Jan. 18, 1962–Jan. 3, 1963 (87th Congress) July 25, 1963–Jan. 3, 1981 (88th–96th Congresses)	Nov. 7, 1961–Jan. 3, 1981
Ney, Robert. W. (R-OH)	Jan. 5, 1995– Nov. 3, 2006 (104th–109th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1995– Nov. 3, 2006
Norton, Mary T. (D-NJ)	Jan. 16, 1947–Jan. 3, 1951 (80th–81st Congresses)	Mar. 4, 1925–Jan. 3, 1951
Nugent, Richard (R-FL)	Jan. 5, 2011–present (112th Congress)	Jan. 3, 2011–
Oakar, Mary Rose (D-OH)	Jan. 6, 1983–Jan. 3, 1993 (98th–102nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1977–Jan. 3, 1993
O'Neill, Harry P. (D-PA)	Jan. 12, 1951–Jan. 3, 1953 (82nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1953
Panetta, Leon E. (D-CA)	Jan. 19, 1977–Jan. 3, 1979 (95th Congress) Jan. 30, 1985–Jan. 3, 1993 (99th–102nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1977–Jan. 22, 1993
Passman, Otto E. (D-LA)	Jan. 16, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1977
Pastor, Ed (D-AZ)	Jan. 11, 1995–Jan. 3, 1997 (104th Congress)	Sept. 24, 1991–
Pattison, Edward W. (D-NY)	Sept. 15, 1976–Jan. 3, 1979 (94th–95th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1975–Jan. 3, 1979
Paul, Ronald E. (R-TX)	Apr. 14, 1976–Jan. 3, 1977 (94th Congress)	Apr. 3, 1976–Jan. 3, 1977, Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1985, Jan. 3. 1997–
Perkins, Carl D. (D-KY)	Jan. 17, 1963–Jan. 3, 1967 (88th–89th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1949–Aug. 3, 1984

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Pettis, Jerry L. (R-CA)	Feb. 7, 1969–Apr. 30, 1970 (91st Congress)	Jan. 3, 1967–Feb. 14, 1975
Peyser, Peter A. (D-NY)	Jan. 24, 1979–Jan. 3, 1981 (96th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1983
Pickett, Tom (D-TX)	Jan.16–July 23, 1947 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1945–June 30, 1952
Pilcher, John L. (D-GA)	Feb. 12, 1953–March 30, 1953 (83rd Congress)	Feb. 4, 1953–Jan. 3, 1965
Podell, Bertram L. (D-NY)	Jan. 29, 1969–Jan. 3, 1975 (91st–93rd Congresses)	Feb. 20, 1968–Jan. 3, 1975
Quie, Albert H. (R-MN)	Jan. 26, 1967–Feb. 7, 1969 (90th–91st Congresses)	Feb. 18, 1958–Jan. 3, 1979
Radwan, Edmund P. (R-NY)	Jan. 15, 1951–Feb. 20, 1952 (82nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1951–Jan. 3, 1959
Ratchford, William R. (D-CT)	Jan. 24, 1979–Jan. 3, 1983 (96th–97th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1985
Ray, John H. (R-NY)	Jan. 16, 1957–Feb. 25, 1959 (85th–86th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1963
Regan, Kenneth M. (D-TX)	Dec. 4, 1947–Jan. 3, 1955 (80th–83rd Congresses)	Aug. 23, 1947–Jan. 3, 1955
Reynolds, Thomas M. (R-NY)	Jan. 31, 2001–Jan. 3, 2007 (107th–109th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1999–Jan. 3, 2009
Rhodes, George M. (D-PA)	Jan. 13, 1955–Jan. 21, 1964 (84th–88th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1969
Riehlman, R. Walter (R-NY)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1965
Roberts, Pat (R-KS)	July 20, 1983–Jan. 3, 1997 (98th–104th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1981–Jan. 2, 1997
Rokita, Todd (R-IN)	Jan. 4, 2011–present (112th Congress)	Jan. 3, 2011–
Rose, Charles G. III (D-NC)	Jan. 23, 1975–Jan. 3, 1995 (94th–103rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1973–Jan. 3, 1997
Ross, Robert Tripp (R-NY)	March 5, 1952–Jan. 3, 1953 (82nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949, Feb. 19, 1952–Jan. 3, 1953
Russo, Martin A. (D-IL)	Jan. 3, 1991–Jan. 3, 1993 (102nd Congress)	Jan. 23, 1975–Jan. 3, 1993
Schenck, Paul F. (R-OH)	Feb. 4, 1952–Jan. 3, 1965 (82nd–88th Congresses)	Nov. 6, 1951–Jan. 3, 1965

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Scherer, Gordon H. (R-OH)	Jan. 14, 1953–Jan. 16, 1953 (83rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1963
Schmitz, John G. (R-CA)	July 23, 1970–Feb. 4, 1971 (91st–92nd Congresses)	June 30, 1970–Jan. 3, 1973
Schock, Aaron (R-IL)	Jan. 5, 2011–present (112th Congress)	Jan. 3, 2003–
Schwengel, Frederick D. (R-IA)	Jan. 26, 1967–Jan. 3, 1973 (90th–92nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1955–Jan. 3, 1965, Jan. 3, 1967–Jan. 3, 1973
Simpson, Edna Oakes (R-IL)	Jan. 19, 1969–Jan. 3, 1961 (86th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1959–Jan. 3, 1961
Sittler, Edward L. Jr. (R-PA)	Jan. 15, 1951–Oct. 4, 1951 (82nd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1951–Jan. 3, 1953
Skubitz, Joe (R-KS)	Jan. 24, 1963–Jan. 3, 1965 (88th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1963–Dec. 31, 1978
Slack, John M. Jr. (D-WV)	Jan. 7, 1959–Jan. 3, 1961 (86th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1959–Mar. 17, 1980
Smathers, George A. (D-FL)	Jan. 16, 1947–Jan. 3, 1951 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 3, 1951
Smith, Frank E. (D-MS)	Jan. 13, 1955–Nov. 14, 1962 (84th–87th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1951–Nov. 14, 1962
Stanley, Thomas B. (D-VA)	Jan. 16, 1947–Feb. 3, 1953 (80th–83rd Congresses)	Nov. 5, 1946–Jan. 3, 1953
Stockman, David A. (R-MI)	Jan. 19, 1977–Jan. 3, 1981 (95th–96th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1977–Jan. 27, 1981
Sundstrom, Frank L. (R-NJ)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1943–Jan. 3, 1949
Swift, Allan B. (D-WA)	March 19, 1980–Jan. 3, 1995 (96th–103rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1979–Jan. 3, 1995
Thomas, William M. (Bill) (R-CA)	Jan. 28, 1981–Jan. 3, 2001 (97th–106th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1979– Jan. 3, 2007
Thompson, Frank Jr. (D-NJ)	Jan. 13, 1955–Jan. 3, 1981 (84th–96th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1955–Dec. 29, 1980
Trimble, James W. (D-AR)	Jan. 18, 1949–Jan. 13, 1955 (81st–84th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1945–Jan. 3, 1967
Van Deerlin, Lionel (D-CA)	July 29, 1974–Jan. 3, 1981 (93rd–96th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1963–Jan. 3, 1981

Name	Committee Service	House Service
Van Pelt, William K. (R-WI)	Jan. 15, 1951–Feb. 20, 1952 (82nd Congress) Jan. 14, 1953–Jan. 21, 1954 (83rd Congress)	Jan. 3, 1951–Jan. 3, 1965
Veysey, Victor V. (R-CA)	Feb. 4, 1971–Jan. 24, 1973 (92nd–93rd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1971–Jan. 3, 1975
Vucanovich, Barbara (R-NV)	June 8, 1983–Jan. 3, 1991 (98th–101st Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1983–Jan. 3, 1997
Vursell, Charles W. (R-IL)	Jan. 14, 1947–Jan. 3, 1949 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1943–Jan. 3, 1959
Waggonner, Joe D. Jr. (D-LA)	Jan. 18, 1962–Feb. 3, 1971 (87th–92nd Congresses)	Dec. 19, 1961–Jan. 3, 1979
Walsh, James T. (R-NY)	Mar. 2, 1989–Jan. 3, 1993 (101st–102nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1989–Jan. 3, 2009
Ware, John H. III (R-PA)	Feb. 4, 1971–Jan. 3, 1975 (92nd–93rd Congresses)	Nov. 3, 1970–Jan. 3, 1975
Wheeler, William M. (D-GA)	Jan. 18, 1949–Jan. 3, 1953 (81st–82nd Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1947– Jan. 3, 1975
Widnall, William B. (R-NJ)	Mar. 1, 1950–Jan. 3, 1951 (81st Congress)	Feb. 6, 1950–Dec. 31, 1974
Wiggins, Charles E. (R-CA)	Jan. 24, 1973–Jan. 3, 1979 (93rd–95th Congresses)	Jan. 3, 1967–Jan. 3, 1979
Williams, John Bell (D-MS)	Jan. 16, 1947–June 4, 1948 (80th Congress)	Jan. 3, 1947–Jan. 16, 1968
Wilson, Earl (R-IN)	Jan. 18, 1949–March 30, 1950 (81st Congress)	Jan. 3, 1961–Jan. 3, 1965
Wold, John S. (R-WY)	Mar. 5, 1970–Jan. 3, 1971 (91st Congress)	Jan. 3, 1969–Jan. 3, 1971
Woodhouse, Chase Going (D-CT)	Mar. 31, 1949–Jan. 3, 1951 (81st Congress)	Jan. 3, 1945–Jan. 3, 1947, Jan. 3, 1949–Jan. 3, 1951

Table III

Chronological listing of Chairmen and Ranking Members of the Committee on House Administration

Eightieth Congress	**1947–1948**
Chairman	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Ranking Member	Mary T. Norton (D-NJ)
Eighty-First Congress	**1949–1950**
Chairman	Mary T. Norton (D-NJ)
Ranking Member	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Eighty-Second Congress	**1951–1952**
Chairman	Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA)
Ranking Member	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Eighty-Third Congress	**1953–1954**
Chairman	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Ranking Member	Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA) Jan. 14, 1953–Feb. 3, 1953
	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX) Feb. 3, 1953–Jan. 3, 1955
Eighty-Forth Congress	**1955–1956**
Chairman	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Ranking Member	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Eighty-Fifth Congress	**1957–1958**
Chairman	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Ranking Member	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Eighty-Sixth Congress	**1959–1960**
Chairman	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Ranking Member	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Eighty-Seventh Congress	**1961–1962**
Chairman	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Ranking Member	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)

Eighty-Eighth Congress	**1963–1964**
Chairman	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Ranking Member	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Eighty-Ninth Congress	**1965–1966**
Chairman	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Ranking Member	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Ninetieth Congress	**1967–1968**
Chairman	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX) Jan. 18, 1967–July 30, 1968
	Samuel. N. Friedel (D-MD) July 30, 1968–Jan. 3, 1969
Ranking Member	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA) Jan. 3, 1969–Feb. 1, 1970
Ninety-First Congress	**1969–1970**
Chairman	Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)
Ranking Member	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA) Jan. 3, 1969–Feb. 1, 1970
	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH) Feb. 1, 1970–Jan. 3, 1971
Ninety-Second Congress	**1971–1972**
Chairman	Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)
Ranking Member	Samuel L . Devine (R-OH)
Ninety-Third Congress	**1973–1974**
Chairman	Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)
Ranking Member	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH) Jan. 6, 1973–Jan. 24, 1973
	William L. Dickinson (R-AL) Jan. 24, 1973–Jan. 3, 1975
Ninety-Forth Congress	**1975–1976**
Chairman	Wayne L. Hays (D-OH) Jan. 23, 1975–June 21, 1976
	Frank Thompson Jr. (D-NJ) June 23, 1976–Jan. 3, 1977
Ranking Member	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Ninety-Fifth Congress	**1977–1978**
Chairman	Frank Thompson Jr. (D-NJ)
Ranking Member	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)

Ninety-Sixth Congress	**1979–1980**
Chairman	Frank Thompson Jr. (D-NJ)
[Acting Chair on June 18, 1980, during interruption of service by Thompson]	Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)
Ranking Member	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Ninety-Seventh Congress	**1981–1982**
Chairman	Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)
Ranking Member	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Ninety-Eighth Congress	**1983–1984**
Chairman	Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA) Jan. 6, 1983–Sept. 6, 1984
	Frank Annunzio (D-IL) Sept. 6, 1984–Jan. 3, 1985
Ranking Member	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Ninety-Ninth Congress	**1985–1986**
Chairman	Frank Annunzio (D-IL)
Ranking Member	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
One Hundredth Congress	**1987–1988**
Chairman	Frank Annunzio (D-IL)
Ranking Member	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
One Hundred-First Congress	**1989–1990**
Chairman	Frank Annunzio (D-IL)
Ranking Member	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA) Jan. 3, 1989–April 10, 1989
	William M. Thomas (R-CA) April 10, 1989–Jan. 3, 1991
One Hundred-Second Congress	**1991–1992**
Chairman	Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)
Ranking Member	William M. Thomas (R-CA)

One Hundred-Third Congress	1993–1994
Chairman	Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)
Ranking Member	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
One Hundred-Fourth Congress	**1995–1996**
Chairman	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Ranking Member	Vic Fazio (D-CA)
One Hundred-Fifth Congress	**1997–1998**
Chairman	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Ranking Member	Sam Gejdenson (D-CT)
One Hundred-Sixth Congress	**1999–2000**
Chairman	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Ranking Member	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
One Hundred-Seventh Congress	**2001–2002**
Chairman	Robert W. Ney (R-OH)
Ranking Member	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
One Hundred-Eighth Congress	**2003–2004**
Chairman	Robert W. Ney (R-OH)
Ranking Member	John B. Larson (D-CT)
One Hundred-Ninth Congress	**2005–2006**
Chairman	Robert W. Ney (R-OH) Jan. 5, 2005–Nov. 3, 2006
[Acting Chair during interruption of service by Ney]	Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI) Jan. 18, 2006–Nov. 3, 2006
	Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI) Nov. 4, 2006–Jan. 3, 2007
Ranking Member	Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)
One Hundred-Tenth Congress	**2007–2008**
Chairman	Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA) Jan. 4, 2007–April 22, 2007
	Robert A. Brady (D-PA) May 24, 2007–present
Ranking Member	Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)

One Hundred-Eleventh Congress	2009–2010
Chairman	Robert A. Brady (D-PA)
Ranking Member	Daniel E. Lungren (R-CA)
One Hundred-Twelfth Congress	**2011–2012**
Chairman	Daniel E. Lungren (R-CA)
Ranking Member	Robert A. Brady (D-PA)

Table IV

Chronological Listing of Subcommittees of the Committee on House Administration and Members of those Subcommittees (1947–2011*) [and Task Forces, Special Subcommittees, Policy Groups, etc.] including House Members of the Joint Committee on Printing, the Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers, and the Joint Committee on the Library

*The Committee had no subcommittees from the 104th to 109th Congresses (1995–2006)

80th Congress (1947–1948)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Frank L. Sundstrom (R-NJ)	Tom Pickett (D-TX)
James Gallagher (R-PA)	Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA)
Gregory McMahon (R-NY)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Ralph M. Gamble (R-NY)	Tom Pickett (D-TX)
Charles W. Vursell (R-IL)	Burr P. Harrison (D-VA)
Gerald W. Landis (R-IN)	George A. Smathers (D-FL)
William C. Cole (R-MO)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)	Otto E. Passman (D-LA)
R. Walter Riehlman (R-NY)	John Bell Williams (D-MS)
J. Caleb Boggs (R-DE)	Charles B. Deane (D-NC)
Howard A. Coffin (R-MI)	

Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills, Library, Disposition of Executive Papers, and Memorials

Chairman Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)	Mary T. Norton (D-NJ)
Gerald W. Landis (R-IN)	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)	Toby Morris (D-OK)
James Gallagher (R-PA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)	Tom Pickett (D-TX)*
Ralph M. Gamble (R-NY)	Omar Burleson (D-TX)**

Note: *1st session; **2nd session

Joint Committee on the Library

Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)	Mary T. Norton (D-NJ)
Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)	Hugh A. Meade (D-MD)*
Gerald W. Landis (R-IN)	Kenneth M. Regan (D-TX)**

Note: *1st session; **2nd session

81st Congress (1949–1950)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)
Charles B. Deane (D-NC)	William B. Widnall (R-NJ)
Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)	
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	
William M. Wheeler (D-GA)	
Edna F. Kelly (D-NY)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Burr P. Harrison (D-VA)	Benjamin F. James (R-PA)
Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Anthony Cavalcante (D-PA)	
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	
Chase Going Woodhouse (D-CT)	
Vito Marcantonio (American Labor Party-NY)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Charles B. Deane (D-NC)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
James W. Trimble (D-AR)	Benjamin F. James (R-PA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	
George H. Christopher (D-MO)	
Carl Albert (D-OK)	

Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills, Library, Disposition of Executive Papers, and Memorials

Chairman Ken Regan (D-TX)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)
Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)	William B. Widnall (R-NY)
Carl Albert (D-OK)	
James W. Trimble (D-AR)	
George A. Smathers (D-FL)	

Special Committee on Administration and Personnel

Chairman Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Charles B. Deane (D-NC)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)
Chase Going Woodhouse (D-CT)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Mary T. Norton (D-NJ)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Charles B. Deane (D-NC)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Mary T. Norton (D-NJ)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Kenneth M. Regan (D-TX)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)
Carl Albert (D-OK)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)

82nd Congress (1951–1952)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Charles B. Deane (D-NC)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)
Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
William M. Wheeler (D-GA)	Albert P. Morano (R-CT)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Ken Regan (D-TX)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
Carl Albert (D-OK)	Albert P. Morano (R-CT)
Reva Z. B. Bosone (D-UT)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
Charles R. Howell (D-NJ)	Robert Tripp Ross (R-NY)
Wayne N. Aspinall (D-CO)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman James W. Trimble (D-AR)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Harry P. O'Neill (D-PA)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
Wayne N. Aspinall (D-CO)	Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)
Victor L. Anfuso (D-NY)	

Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills, Library, Disposition of Executive Papers, and Memorials

Chairman Ken Regan (D-TX)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)
Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)	Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)
James W. Trimble (D-AR)	Robert Tripp Ross (R-NY)
Carl Albert (D-OK)	
Victor L. Anfuso (D-NY)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
James W. Trimble (D-AR)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Thomas B. Stanley (D-VA)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Kenneth M. Regan (D-TX)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)
Carl Albert (D-OK)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)	Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)

83rd Congress (1953–1954)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)	Charles B. Deane (D-NC)
John B. Bennett (R-MI)	Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)
Patrick J. Hillings (R-CA)	Ken Regan (D-TX)
Oliver P. Bolton (R-OH)	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
William E. Neal (R-WV)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Albert P. Morano (R-CT)	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)	Courtney W. Campbell (D-FL)
William C. Cole (R-MO)	Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)
D. Bailey Merrill (R-IN)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)	James W. Trimble (D-AR)
Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)	Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)
Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)	John E. Moss (D-CA)
Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)	

Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills, Library, Disposition of Executive Papers, and Memorials

Chairman Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)	Ken Regan (D-TX)
Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)	Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)
William C. Cole (R-MO)	Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)
Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)	Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)

Joint Committee on Printing

Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)	James W. Trimble (D-AR)
Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)	Ken Regan (D-TX)
Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)	Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)
Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Cecil W. (Runt) Bishop (R-IL)	Edward A. Garmatz (D-MD)

84th Congress (1955–1956)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Patrick J. Hillings (R-CA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	Oliver P. Bolton (R-OH)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
Hugh Q. Alexander (D-NC)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Albert P. Morano (R-CT)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
John Dowdy (D-TX)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)

Subcommittee on Printing*

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
George S. Long (D-LA)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)

Note: * also served as the Special Subcommittee to Study Federal Printing and Paperwork

Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills and Library

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	

Special Subcommittee on Office Equipment

Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Hugh Q. Alexander (D-NC)	Patrick J. Hillings (R-CA)
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)	

Special Subcommittee on Parking

John Dowdy (D-TX)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)

Special Subcommittee on the Restaurant

John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Albert P. Morano (R-CT)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
George S. Long (D-LA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

George S. Long (D-LA)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)

85th Congress (1957–1958)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Patrick J. Hillings (R-CA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	John H. Ray (R-NY)
Carl A. Elliott (D-AL)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Albert P. Morano (R-CT)
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	
George S. Long (D-LA)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
George S. Long (D-LA)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills and Library

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)
Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)	Patrick J. Hillings (R-CA)
Edith Green (D-OR)	

Special Subcommittee on Parking

Chairman George S. Long (D-LA)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Carl A. Elliott (D-AL)	

Special Subcommittee to Study Federal Printing and Paperwork

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
George S. Long (D-LA)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	

Special Subcommittee to Study Restrictions on Political Activity

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Albert P. Morano (R-CT)
Robert C. Byrd (D-WV)	Joseph L. Carrigg (R-PA)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	
George S. Long (D-LA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Karl M. Le Compte (R-IA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert D. Harrison (R-NE)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Edith Green (D-OR)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)

86th Congress (1959–1960)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	William S. Mailliard (R-CA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	
Carl A. Elliott (D-AL)	
John M. Slack (D-WV)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Charles A. Halleck (R-IN)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
Bob Casey (D-TX)	
Steven V. Carter (D-IA)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	William S. Mailliard (R-CA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	Edna Simpson (R-IL)
Frank Thompson Jr. (D-NJ)	

Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills and Library

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	Edna Simpson (R-IL)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	
Robert A. Everett (D-TN)	

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Edith Green (D-OR)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	

Special Subcommittee on Parking

Chairman Carl A. Elliott (D-AL)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	
George S. Long (D-LA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)

87th Congress (1961–1962)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	Edgar W. Hiestand (R-CA)
Robert A. Everett (D-TN)	
Robert N. Giaimo (D-CT)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	John B. Anderson (R-IL)
John J. McFall (D-CA)	
Hugh L. Carey (D-NY)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	Edgar W. Hiestand (R-CA)
Frank Thompson Jr. (D-NJ)	Walter L. McVey (R-KS)
Edith Green (D-OR)	
Robert A. Everett (D-TN)	

Subcommittee on Enrolled Bills and Library

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
John Lesinski, Jr. (D-MI)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
John J. McFall (D-CA)	Walter L. McVey (R-KS)
Robert N. Giamo (D-CT)	
Hugh L. Carey (D-NY)	

Special Subcommittee on Contracts

Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Edith Green (D-OR)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	

Special Subcommittee on Parking

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	

Special Subcommittee on Travel (renamed Audit)

Chairman Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank E. Smith (D-MS)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)

88th Congress (1963–1964)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
Robert A. Everett (D-TN)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
John J. McFall (D-CA)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Carl D. Perkins (D-KY)	
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
Frank Thompson Jr. (D-NJ)	Joe Skubitz (R-KS)
Robert A. Everett (D-TN)	
John H. Dent (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
John J. McFall (D-CA)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Carl D. Perkins (D-KY)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	
Hugh L. Carey (D-NY)	

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	John B. Bennett (R-MI)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)

Special Subcommittee on Parking

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	

Special Subcommittee on Audits

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	

Special Subcommittee on Contracts

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
George M. Rhodes (D-PA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Paul F. Schenck (R-OH)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)

89th Congress (1965–1966)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	
John H. Dent (D-PA)	
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Carl D. Perkins (D-KY)	
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	
John W. Davis (D-GA)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	John N. Erlenborn (R-IL)
John Brademas (D-IN)	
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Carl D. Perkins (D-KY)	John N. Erlenborn (R-IL)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	
John Brademas (D-IN)	
Jonathan B. Bingham (D-NY)	

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Willard S. Curtin (R-PA)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	

Special Subcommittee on Audits

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	

Special Subcommittee on Contracts

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)

90th Congress (1967–1968)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Robert T. Ashmore (D-SC)	Charles E. Goodell (R-NY)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	Albert H. Quie (R-MN)
John Brademas (D-IN)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Fred Schwengel (R-IA)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-GA)	William O. Cowger (R-KY)

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Charles E. Chamberlain (R-MI)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Fred Schwengel (R-IA)
John W. Davis (D-GA)	

Special Subcommittee on Audits

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	

Special Subcommittee on Ethics and Contracts*

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	

*renamed Permanent Subcommittee on Ethics and Contracts

Special Subcommittee on Police

Chairman John W. Davis (D-GA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Sam M. Gibbons (D-FL)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-GA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Omar T. Burleson (D-TX)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
Paul C. Jones (D-MO)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)

91st Congress (1969–1970)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	John H. Kyl (R-IA)
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	Robert C. McEwen (R-NY)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-GA)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Fred Schwengel (R-IA)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-GA)	James Harvey (R-MI)
John Brademas (D-IN)	
Jonathan B. Bingham (D-NY)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman John H. Dent (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
John Brademas (D-IN)	Jerry L. Pettis (R-CA)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	Orval Hansen (R-ID)
Jonathan B. Bingham (D-NY)	

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D-LA)	Fred Schwengel (R-IA)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Robert C. McEwen (R-NY)
John W. Davis (D-GA)	James Harvey (R-MI)

Special Subcommittee on Contracts

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	

Special Subcommittee on Police

Chairman Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	James Harvey (R-MI)

Joint Committee on Printing

Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Glenard P. Lipscomb (R-CA)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Samuel N. Friedel (D-MD)	Robert J. Corbett (R-PA)*
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	James Harvey (R-MI)
Bertram L. Podell (D-NY)*	Fred Schwengel (R-IA)**
John Brademas (D-IN)**	*1st session **2nd session

Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers

Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Jerry L. Pettis (R-CA)

92nd Congress (1971–1972)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	Philip M. Crane (R-IL)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	
Bertram L. Podell (D-NY)	
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	James Harvey (R-MI)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	John Ware (R-IL)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Fred Schwengel (R-IA)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-GA)	James Harvey (R-MI)
John Brademas (D-IN)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Jonathan B. Bingham (D-NY)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman John Brademas (D-IN)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	Orval Hansen (R-ID)
Jonathan B. Bingham (D-NY)	Victor V. Veysey (D-CA)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

Special Subcommittee on Contracts

Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Watkins M. Abbitt (D-VA)	

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman John H. Dent (D-PA)	Fred Schwengel (R-IA)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	James Harvey (R-MI)
Bertram L. Podell (D-NY)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
John Brademas (D-IN)	Philip M. Crane (R-IL)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-GA)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	

Special Subcommittee on Police

Chairman Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	John Ware (R-IL)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Victor V. Veysey (R-CA)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	

Special Subcommittee on Non-essential Employees

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Philip M. Crane (R-IL)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
John Brademas (D-IN)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Fred Schwengel (R-IA)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	James Harvey (R-MI)
John Brademas (D-IN)**	**2nd session

93rd Congress (1973–1974)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	Philip M. Crane (R-IL)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	James F. Hastings (R-NY)
Bertram L. Podell (D-NY)	
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman John H. Dent (D-PA)	James Harvey (R-MI)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	John Ware (R-IL)
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	
M. Dawson Mathis (D-GA)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	James Harvey (R-MI)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
John Brademas (D-IN)	Harold V. Froehlich (R-WI)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman John Brademas (D-IN)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	Orval Hansen (R-ID)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	
Edward I. Koch (D-NY)	

Special Subcommittee on Contracts

Chairman Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
M. Dawson Mathis (D-GA)	
Edward I. Koch (D-NY)	

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	James Harvey (R-MI)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Philip M. Crane (R-IL)
Bertram L. Podell (D-NY)	James F. Hastings (R-NY)
John Brademas (D-IN)	Harold V. Froehlich (R-WI)
Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	

Special Subcommittee on Police

Chairman Kenneth J. Gray (D-IL)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	John Ware (R-IL)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	
M. Dawson Mathis (D-GA)	

Special Subcommittee on Personnel

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Philip M. Crane (R-IL)
Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
John Brademas (D-IN)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	Orval Hansen (R-ID)
John Brademas (D-IN)	

94th Congress (1975–1976)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	J. Herbert Burke (R-FL)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Marjorie S. Holt (R-MD)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	
John L. Burton (D-CA)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman John H. Dent (D-PA)	M. Caldwell Butler (R-VA)*
M. Dawson Mathis (D-GA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)**
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	W. Henson Moore (R-LA)
Corinne C. (Lindy) Boggs (D-LA)	
John L. Burton (D-CA)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	

Note: *1st session, **2nd session

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	M. Caldwell Butler (R-VA)
John Brademas (D-IN)	W. Henson Moore (R-LA)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Corinne C. (Lindy) Boggs (D-LA)	
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman John Brademas (D-IN)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	
M. Dawson Mathis (D-GA)	
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	

Special Subcommittee on Contracts

Chairman Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

Special Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	J. Herbert Burke (R-FL)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Marjorie S. Holt (R-MD)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	W. Henson Moore (R-LA)
John Brademas (D-IN)	
John L. Burton (D-CA)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	

Special Subcommittee on Paper Conservation

Chairman Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	

Special Subcommittee on Parking

Chairman Ed Jones (D-TN)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	

Special Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
M. Dawson Mathis (D-GA)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	

Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Computers

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Marjorie Holt (R-MD)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	W. Henson Moore (R-LA)
Corinne C. (Lindy) Boggs (D-LA)	
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	

Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the Restaurant

Chairman Dawson Mathis (D-GA)	J. Herbert Burke (R-FL)
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	

Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Oversight

Chairman Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
John Brademas (D-IN)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Wayne L. Hays (D-OH)	W. Henson Moore (R-LA)**
John Brademas (D-IN)	**2nd session

95th Congress (1977–1978)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman John H. Dent (D-PA)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	J. Herbert Burke (R-FL)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	
John L. Burton (D-CA)	
John Brademas (D-IN)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Edward C. Pattison (D-NY)	David A. Stockman (R-CA)
John Brademas (D-IN)	
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	
Joseph S. Ammerman (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	
Joseph S. Ammerman (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	Charles E. Wiggins (R-CA)
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	
John H. Dent (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Contracts

Chairman Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	

Subcommittee on Services

Chairman Ed Jones (D-TN)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
John H. Dent (D-PA)	
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	

Subcommittee on Office Systems

Chairman Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	J. Herbert Burke (R-FL)
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	David A. Stockman (R-CA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	
Joseph S. Ammerman (D-PA)	
Edward C. Pattison (D-NY)	
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	

Policy Group on Information and Computers

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	David A. Stockman (R-CA)
Edward C. Pattison (D-NY)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	David A. Stockman (R-CA)
John Brademas (D-IN)	

96th Congress (1979–1980)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman John Brademas (D-IN)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Jerry Lewis (R-CA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (R-SC)
Peter A. Peyser (D-NY)	
William Ratchford (D-CT)	
Victor H. Fazio (D-CA)	
Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
John Brademas (D-IN)	David A. Stockman (R-CA)
William Ratchford (D-CT)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Victor H. Fazio (D-CA)	
Peter A. Peyser (D-NY)	

Subcommittee on Printing

Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (R-SC)
Mendel J. Davis (D-SC)	
Peter A. Peyser (D-NY)	

Subcommittee on Contracts

Chairman Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	James C. Cleveland (R-NH)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (R-SC)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

Subcommittee on Services

Chairman Ed Jones (D-TN)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Jerry Lewis (R-CA)
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	

Subcommittee on Office Systems

Chairman Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	David A. Stockman (R-MI)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	

Policy Group on Information and Computers

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	David A. Stockman (R-MI)
Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA)	Jerry Lewis (R-CA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Lucien N. Nedzi (D-MI)	Samuel L. Devine (R-OH)
Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ)	David A. Stockman (R-CA)
John Brademas (D-IN)	

97th Congress (1981–1982)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	Gary A. Lee (R-NY)
William Ratchford (D-CT)	Lynn M. Martin (R-IL)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Contracts and Printing

Chairman Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	Lynn M. Martin (R-IL)
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	

Subcommittee on Services

Chairman Ed Jones (D-TN)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	James K. Coyne (R-PA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	

Subcommittee on Office Systems

Chairman Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	Gary A. Lee (R-NY)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	Gary Lee (R-NY)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	James K. Coyne (R-PA)
William Ratchford (D-CT)	

Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Legislative Service Organizations

Chairman William Ratchford (D-CT)	Gary Lee (R-NY)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	

Policy Group on Information and Computers

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	James K. Coyne (R-PA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	

Policy Group on New Member Orientation

Chairman William Ratchford (D-CT)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	

Task Force on Attorneys Fees

Chairman William Ratchford (D-CT)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	

Task Force on Committee Organization

Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	

Task Force on Elections

Chairman Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
John L. Burton (D-CA)	Lynn M. Martin (R-IL)
William Ratchford (D-CT)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	

Task Force on Office Supply Service

Chairman Robert H. Mollohan (D-WV)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Lynn M. Martin (R-IL)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	James K. Coyne (R-PA)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	

98th Congress (1983–1984)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Al Swift (D-WA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	Lynn Martin (R-IL)
Thomas S. Foley (D-WA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	
Tony Coelho (D-CA)	
Jim Bates (D-CA)	
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Contracts and Printing

Chairman Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	Lynn Martin (R-IL)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Services

Chairman Ed Jones (D-TN)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	Rod Chandler (R-WA)
Al Swift (D-WA)	
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Office Systems

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Thomas S. Foley (D-WA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Jim Bates (D-CA)	
Al Swift (D-WA)	

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)	Rod Chandler (R-WA)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	
Tony Coehlo (D-CA)	

Task Force on Contested Election (Archer v. Packard)

Chairman Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Al Swift (D-WA)	

Task Force on Contested Election (Hendon v. Clarke)

Chairman Jim Bates (D-CA)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

Task Force on Elections

Chairman Al Swift (D-WA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-NV)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Tony Coehlo (D-CA)	
Jim Bates (D-CA)	

Task Force on Legislative Service Organizations

Chairman Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Al Swift (D-WA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	

Task Force on New Member Orientation

Chairman William J. Coyne (D-PA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Al Swift (D-WA)	

Task Force on Telephone Configuration

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Thomas S. Foley (D-WA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	Lynn M. Martin (R-IL)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Rodney Chandler (R-WA)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	Rodney Chandler (R-WA)
William J. Coyne (D-PA)	

99th Congress (1985–1986)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Al Swift (D-WA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Thomas S. Foley (D-WA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-NV)
Tony Coelho (D-CA)	
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	

Subcommittee on Procurement and Printing

Chairman Thomas S. Foley (D-WA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

Subcommittee on Services

Chairman Ed Jones (D-TN)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV)
Jim Bates (D-CA)	

Subcommittee on Office Systems

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Thomas S. Foley (D-WA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Tony Coelho (D-CA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Jim Bates (D-CA)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Al Swift (D-WA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-NV)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	

Task Force on Food Service

Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

Task Force on the Hansen V. Stallings Contested Election (Idaho)

Chairman Jim Bates (D-CA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Al Swift (D-WA)	

Task Force on the Indiana Eighth Congressional District

Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	

Task Force on Libraries and Memorials

Chairman Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Jim Bates (D-CA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	

Task Force on New Member Orientation

Chairman Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Al Swift (D-WA)	

Task Force on the Won Pat V. Blaz Contested Election (Guam)

Chairman Ed Jones (D-TN)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Allan B. Swift (D-WA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	

100th Congress (1987–1988)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Al Swift (D-WA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Tony Coelho (D-CA)	Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-NV)
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Al Swift (D-WA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-NV)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
Jim Bates (D-CA)	
Tony Coelho (D-CA)	
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Al Swift (D-WA)	William E. Frenzel (R-MN)
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	

Subcommittee on Office Systems

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Jim Bates (D-CA)	

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Procurement and Printing

Chairman Ed Jones (D-TN)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Jim Bates (D-CA)	

Task Force on Legislative Service Organizations

Chairman Jim Bates (D-CA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Robert E. Badham (R-CA)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Leon E. Panneta (D-CA)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Ed Jones (D-TN)	

101st Congress (1989–1990)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-NV)
Al Swift (D-WA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Paul E. Gillmor (R-OH)
Tony Coelho (D-CA)	John Hiler (R-IN)
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	
Joseph P. Kolter (D-CT)	
Ronnie G. Flippo (D-TX)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Al Swift (D-WA)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	John Hiler (R-IN)
Tony Coelho (D-CA)	James T. Walsh (R-NY)
Jim Bates (D-CA)	
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	
Martin Frost (D-TX)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	Paul E. Gillmor (R-OH)
Ronnie G. Flippo (D-AL)	James T. Walsh (R-NY)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	

Subcommittee on Office Systems*

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	James T. Walsh (R-NY)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joseph P. Kolter (D-CT)	

*Name changed in the Second Session to Subcommittee on Communications, Computers and Office Systems

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	

Subcommittee on Procurement and Printing

Chairman Jim Bates (D-CA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Ronnie G. Flippo (D-AL)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	

Task Force on FLSA Implementation

Chairman Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	John Hiler (R-IN)
Thomas J. Manton (D-NY)	

Task Force on the Congressional Record

Chairman Thomas J. Manton (D-NY)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	

Task Force on New Member Orientation

Chairman Martin Frost (D-TX)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Joseph P. Kolter (D-CT)	

Task Force on Legislative Service Organizations

Chairman Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-NV)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Paul E. Gillmor (R-OH)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	James T. Walsh (R-NY)
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	

102nd Congress (1991–1992)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-NV)
Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Al Swift (D-WA)	Paul E. Gillmor (R-OH)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	John Hiler (R-IN)
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	
Thomas J. Manton (D-NY)	
Martin A. Russo (D-IL)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Al Swift (D-WA)	Robert L. Livingston (R-LA)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	James T. Walsh (R-NY)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	Paul E. Gillmor (R-OH)
William H. Gray III (D-PA)	
Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman William H. Gray III (D-PA)	Bill Barrett (R-NE)
Joseph P. Kolter (D-PA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	

Subcommittee on Office Systems

Chairman Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	James T. Walsh (R-NY)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Martin A. Russo (D-IL)	

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	William L. Dickinson (R-AL)
Joseph P. Kolter (D-CT)	Robert L. Livingston (R-LA)
Martin A. Russo (D-IL)	
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	

Subcommittee on Procurement and Printing

Chairman Frank Annunzio (D-IL)	M. H. (Mickey) Edwards (R-OK)
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-PA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
William H. Gray III (D-PA)	
Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)	

Task Force on Campaign Finance Reform

Chairman Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Leon E. Panetta (D-CA)	James T. Walsh (R-NY)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	M. H. (Mickey) Edwards (R-OK)
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	
William H. Gray III (D-PA)	

Task Force for the Investigation of the House Post Office

Chairman Al Swift (D-WA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	Bill Barrett (R-NE)

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Bill Barrett (R-NE)
Joseph P. Kolter (D-PA)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Thomas J. Manton (D-NY)	

103rd Congress (1993–1994)

Subcommittee on Accounts

Chairman Martin Frost (D-TX)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Al Swift (D-WA)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	John A. Boehner (R-OH)
Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA)
Dale Kildee (D-MI)	
Barbara B. Kennelly (D-CT)	
Benjamin L. Cardin (D-MD)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Al Swift (D-WA)	Robert L. Livingston (R-LA)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA)
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	
Benjamin L. Cardin (D-MD)	

Subcommittee on Library and Memorials

Chairman William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	Bill Barrett (R-NE)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Butler Derrick (D-SC)	
Barbara B. Kennelly (D-CT)	

Subcommittee on Office Systems

Chairman Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	John A. Boehner (R-OH)
Martin Frost (D-TX)	Bill Barrett (R-NE)
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	
Barbara B. Kennelly (D-CT)	

Subcommittee on Personnel and Police

Chairman Thomas J. Manton (D-NY)	Jennifer Dunn (R-WA)
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	Robert L. Livingston (R-LA)
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	
Butler Derrick (D-SC)	

Subcommittee on Administrative Oversight

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	William M. Thomas (R-CA)
William L. Clay, Sr. (D-MO)	Bill Barrett (R-NE)

Joint Committee on Printing

Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Pat Roberts (R-KS)
Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)	Newton L. Gingrich (R-GA)
Gerald D. Kleczka (D-WI)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Charles G. Rose III (D-NC)	Vacant
Vacant	Vacant
Vacant	

104th Congress (1995–1996)

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman William M. Thomas (R-CA)	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
Pat Roberts (R-KS)	William J. Jefferson (D-LA)
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

William M. Thomas (R-CA)	Vic Fazio (D-CA)
Pat Roberts (R-KS)	Ed Pastor (D-AZ)
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	

105th Congress (1997–1998)

Joint Committee on Printing

William M. Thomas (R-CA)	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)
Kay Granger (R-TX)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman William M. Thomas (R-CA)	Carolyn C. Kilpatrick (D-MI)
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)
Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)	

106th Congress (1999–2000)

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman William M. Thomas (R-CA)	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
John A. Boehner (R-OH)	Chaka Fattah (D-PA)
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	

Joint Committee on the Library

William M. Thomas (R-CA)	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
John A. Boehner (R-OH)	Jim Davis (D-FL)
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	

107th Congress (2001–2002)

Joint Committee on Printing

Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
John T. Doolittle (R-CA)	Chaka Fattah (D-PA)
John Linder (R-GA)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)	Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	Jim Davis (D-FL)
Charles Taylor (R-NC)	

108th Congress (2003–2004)

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	John B. Larson (D-CT)
John T. Doolittle (R-CA)	Robert A. Brady (D-PA)
John Linder (R-GA)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)	John B. Larson (D-CT)
Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)
Jack Kingston (D-GA)	

109th Congress (2005–2006)

Joint Committee on Printing

Robert W. Ney (R-OH)	Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)
John T. Doolittle (R-CA)	Robert A. Brady (D-PA)
Thomas M. Reynolds (R-NY)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Robert W. Ney (R-OH) [Jan. 5, 2005–Jan. 18, 2006]	Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)
Chairman Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI) [Nov. 4, 2006–Jan. 3, 2007] [Acting Chair Jan. 18, 2006 – Nov. 3, 2006]	Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)
Candice Miller (R-MI)	

110th Congress (2007–2008)

Subcommittee on Capitol Security

Chairman Michael E. Capuano (D-MA)	Daniel E. Lundgren (R-CA)
Robert A. Brady (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	Kevin McCarthy (R-CA)
Charles A. Gonzalez (D-TX)	Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)
Susan A. Davis (D-CA)	
Artur Davis (D-AL)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman Robert A. Brady (D-PA)	Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)
Michael E. Capuano (D-MA)	Kevin McCarthy (R-CA)
Susan A. Davis (D-CA)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Robert A. Brady (D-PA)	Vernon J. Ehlers (R-MI)
Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	Daniel E. Lundgren (R-CA)
Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-FL)	

111th Congress (2009–2010)

Subcommittee on Capitol Security

Chairman Michael E. Capuano (D-MA)	Daniel E. Lundgren (R-CA)
Robert A. Brady (D-PA)	

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	Kevin McCarthy (R-CA)
Vice Chairman Charles A. Gonzalez (D-TX)	Gregg Harper (R-MS)
Susan A. Davis (D-CA)	
Artur Davis (D-AL)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Vice Chairman Robert A. Brady (D-PA)	Daniel E. Lundgren (R-CA)
Michael E. Capuano (D-MA)	Kevin McCarthy (R-CA)
Susan A. Davis (D-CA)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Chairman Robert A. Brady (D-PA)	Daniel E. Lundgren (R-CA)
Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)	Gregg Harper (R-MS)
Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-FL)	

112th Congress (2011–2012)

Subcommittee on Elections

Chairman Gregg Harper (R-MS)	Charles A. Gonzalez (D-TX)
Aaron Schock (R-IL)	Robert A. Brady (D-PA)
Richard Nugent (R-IL)	
Todd Rokita (R-IN)	

Subcommittee on Oversight

Chairman Phil Gingrey (R-GA)	Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)
Aaron Schock (R-IL)	Charles A. Gonzalez (D-TX)
Richard Nugent (R-IL)	
Todd Rokita (R-IN)	

Joint Committee on Printing

Chairman Gregg Harper (R-MS)	Robert A. Brady (D-PA)
Daniel E. Lundgren (R-CA)	Charles A. Gonzalez (D-TX)
Aaron Schock (R-IL)	

Joint Committee on the Library

Vice Chairman Gregg Harper (R-MS)	Robert A. Brady (D-PA)
Daniel E. Lundgren (R-CA)	Zoe Lofgren (D-CA)
Ander Crenshaw (R-FL)	

Table V. Bills Reported by the Committee that Were Enacted into Law, 1947–2012

80th Congress (January 3, 1947–December 31, 1948)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report number, or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 95	61 Stat. 133-134 June 17, 1947	H. Rept. 577	To prepare a revised edition of the Annotated Constitution of the United States of America as published in 1938 as Senate Document 323 of the Seventy-fourth Congress.
P.L. 111	61 Stat. 178 June 25, 1947	H. Rept. 381	Authorizing the erection on public grounds in the city of Washington, District of Columbia of a memorial to the dead of the First Infantry Division, United States Forces, World War II.
P.L. 157	61 Stat. 242 July 1, 1947	H. Rept. 638	Authorizing the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to the Marine Corps dead of all wars.
P.L. 194	61 Stat. 327-328 July 16, 1947	H. Rept. 383	Authorizing the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to Andrew W. Mellon.
P.L. 203	61 Stat. 396-397 July 18, 1947	H. Rept. 874	To provide for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the seat of the Federal Government in the District of Columbia.
P.L. 327	61 Stat. 724-725 Aug. 4, 1947	H. Rept. 1090	To establish a commission to formulate plans for the erection in Grant Park , Chicago, of a Marine Corps memorial.
P.L. 359	61 Stat. 768-769 Aug. 4, 1947	H. Rept. 1041	Providing for the representation of the Government and people of the United States in the observance of the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city of Reading, Pennsylvania.
P.L. 788	62 Stat. 1051-1052 June 26, 1948	H. Rept. 2402	To provide for the acceptance on behalf of the United States a statute of General José Gervasio Artigas, and for other purposes.
P.L. 789	62 Stat. 1052 June 26, 1948	H. Rept. 382	Authorizing the printing and binding of Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives and providing that the same shall be subject to copyright by the author.

81st Congress (January 3, 1949–January 2, 1951)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 44	63 Stat. 48 April 19, 1949	H. Rept. 259	To amend the Printing Act of January 12, 1895, as amended with respect to the printing of extra copies of congressional hearings and other documents.
P.L. 78	63 Stat. 140-144 May 31, 1949	H. Rept. 445	To authorize the National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission to proceed with plans for the celebration and commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the seat of the Federal Government in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
P.L. 156	63 Stat. 405-406 July 5, 1949	H. Rept. 841	To authorize certain Government printing, binding, and blank-book work elsewhere than at the Government Printing Office if approved by the Joint Committee on Printing.
P.L. 157	63 Stat. 406 July 5, 1949	H. Rept. 897	Authorizing the erection in the District of Columbia of a statue of Simon Bolivar.
P.L. 190	63 Stat. 482 July 26, 1949	H. Rept. 1052	To provide for on-the-spot audits by the General Accounting Office of the fiscal records of the Office of the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 309	63 Stat. 699 Aug. 28, 1949	H. Rept. 1054	To erect a memorial to the memory of Mohandas K. Gandhi.
P.L. 701	64 Stat. 452 Aug. 16, 1950	H. Rept. 2606	To authorize the procurement of an oil portrait and a marble bust of the late Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone.
P.L. 703	64 Stat. 452 Aug. 17, 1950	H. Rept. 575	To provide for the utilization of the unfinished portion of the historical frieze in the rotunda of the Capitol to portray (1) the Civil War, (2) the Spanish-American War, and (3) the birth of aviation in the United States.
P.L. 732	64 Stat. 475-476 Aug. 25, 1950	H. Rept. 2717	To amend the Hatch Act.
P.L. 741	64 Stat. 567 Aug. 30, 1950	H. Rept. 2963	Authorizing the printing and binding of a revised edition of Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives and providing that the same shall be subject to copyright by the author.
P.L. 862	64 Stat. 1082 Sept. 29, 1950	H. Rept. 3045	To provide a more effective method of delivering applications for absentee ballots to servicemen and certain other persons.
P.L. 863	64 Stat. 1082-1063 Sept. 29, 1950	H. Rept. 3046	To amend the Act of September 16, 1942, as amended, so as to facilitate voting by members of the Armed Forces, and certain others, absent from their places of residence.

82nd Congress (January 3, 1951–July 7, 1952)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 18	65 Stat. 31-32 April 16, 1951	H. Rept. 266	To authorize the printing of the annual reports of the Girl Scouts of the United States as separate documents.
P.L. 42	65 Stat. 47 May 29, 1951	H. Rept. 440	To amend the Act of June 23, 1949, with respect to telephone and telegraph service for Members of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 81	65 Stat. 123 July 20, 1951	H. Rept. 697	Relating to the compensation of employees of the House and Senate press, periodical, and radio galleries.
P.L. 125	65 Stat. 198 Aug. 27, 1951	H. Rept. 898	Relating to the time for publication of the Official Register of the United States.
P.L. 206	65 Stat. 634-636 Oct. 24, 1951	H. Rept. 698	Relating to the policing of the buildings and grounds of the Smithsonian Institution and its constituent bureaus.
P.L. 406	66 Stat. 154 June 23, 1952	H. Rept. 2007	To provide for the reappointment of Doctor Vannevar Bush as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 446	66 Stat. 326 July 3, 1952	H. Rept. 1660	To amend thee Act entitled "An Act to provide books for the adult blind."
P.L. 462	66 Stat. 441 July 7, 1952	H. Rept. 1780	To amend the Act of July 1, 1947 (61 Stat. 242)
P.L. 463	66 Stat. 441-442 July 7, 1952	H. Rept. 2411	Authorizing the printing and binding of a revised edition of Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives and providing that the same shall be subject to copyright of the author.
P.L. 466	66 Stat. 443 July 8, 1952	H. Rept. 2469	To amend the act of June 23, 1949, as amended with respect to the accumulated balances on telephone and telegraph accounts of Members of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 548	66 Stat. 662 July 15, 1952	H. Rept. 2361	Relating to the continuance on the pay rolls of certain employees in cases of death or resignation of Members of the House of Representatives, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners.

83rd Congress (January 3, 1953–December 2, 1954)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 6	67 Stat. 5-6 March 10, 1953	H. Rept. 83	To amend the Act of June 23, 1949, as amended, to remove the monthly limitations on official long-distance telephone calls and official telegrams of Members of the House of Representatives without affecting the annual limitation on such telephone calls and telegrams.
P.L. 10	67 Stat. 7-8 March 25, 1953	H. Rept. 162	To authorize the Clerk of the House of Representatives to furnish certain electrical or mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 66	67 Stat. 64 June 16, 1953	H. Rept. 424	To amend the Act of July 1, 1947 (61 Stat. 242), as amended.
P.L. 142	67 Stat. 184 July 23, 1953	H. Rept. 864	To provide for the appointment of Robert V. Fleming as citizen regent of the Board of Trustees of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 143	67 Stat. 184 July 23, 1953	H. Rept. 866	To provide for the appointment Owen Josephus Roberts as member of the Board of Trustees of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 152	67 Stat. 169 July 27, 1953	H. Rept. 865	To authorize the erection of a memorial to Sara Louisa Rittenhouse in Montrose Park, District of Columbia.
P.L. 208	67 Stat. 439 8/7/1953	H. Rept. 1019	Establishing in the Treasury of the United States a revolving fund within the contingent fund of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 361	68 Stat. 98-100 May 17, 1954	H. Rept. 1040	To provide for the construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the site of old Saint Louis, Missouri, in general accordance with the plan approved by the United States Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission, and for other purposes.
P.L. 394	68 Stat. 249 June 10, 1954	H. Rept. 1660	To extend the time for the erection of a memorial to the memory of Mohandas K. Gandhi.
P.L. 397	68 Stat. 250 June 14, 1954	H. Rept. 1659	To amend the Act of July 5, 1949 (Public Law 157, Eighty-first Congress). Simon Bolivar statute in D.C.

84th Congress (January 5, 1955–July 27, 1956)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 15	69 Stat. 13 March 23, 1955	H. Rept. 219	To amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical or mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 17	69 Stat. 14 March 28, 1955	H. Rept. 212	To eliminate the need for renewal of oaths of office upon change of status of employees of the Senate or House of Representatives.
P.L. 45	69 Stat. 66 May 25, 1955	H. Rept. 220	To amend the Act establishing a Commission of Fine Arts.
P.L. 59	69 Stat. 82 June 3, 1955	H. Rept. 632	To provide for the appointment of Doctor Jerome C. Hunsaker as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 107	69 Stat. 190-191 June 29, 1955	H. Rept. 620	Dedicating the Lee Mansion in Arlington National Cemetery as a permanent memorial to Robert E. Lee.
P.L. 109	69 Stat. 191 June 29, 1955	H. Rept. 619	To authorize the erection of a memorial gift from the Government of Venezuela.
P.L. 230	69 Stat. 493 Aug. 4, 1955	H. Rept. 1309	To authorize the printing and binding of a revised edition of Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives and providing that the same shall be subject to copyright by the author.
P.L. 246	69 Stat. 533-534 Aug. 5, 1955	H. Rept. 1270	To establish a Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise, and for other purposes.
P.L. 296	69 Stat. 584-589 Aug. 9, 1955	H. Rept. 60	The Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955.
P.L. 372	69 Stat. 694 Aug. 11, 1955	H. Rept. 1617	To establish a commission to formulate plans for a memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
P.L. 420	70 Stat. 30-31 Feb. 25, 1956	H. Rept. 1755	To amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical or mechanical office equipment for the use of members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove officers and committees from certain limitations and other purposes.
P.L. 421	70 Stat. 31 Feb. 27, 1956	H. Rept. 1694	To provide for a prorated stationery allowance in the case of a Member of the House of Representatives elected for a portion of a term.
P.L. 422	70 Stat. 31-32 Feb. 27, 1956	H. Rept. 1700	To increase the amount of telephone and telegraph service furnished to Members of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.

84th Congress (January 5, 1955–July 27, 1956)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 461	70 Stat. 84 April 2, 1956	H. Rept. 1901	To authorize the American Battle Monuments Commission to prepare plans and estimates for the erection of a suitable memorial to General John J. Pershing.
P.L. 468	70 Stat. 98 April 6, 1956	H. Rept. 1961	Providing for the filling of a vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, of the class other than Members of Congress (Everette Lee DeGolyer).
P.L. 469	70 Stat. 98 April 6, 1956	H. Rept. 1962	Providing for the filling of a vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, of the class other than Members of Congress (Crawford Hallock Greenwalt).
P.L. 470	70 Stat. 98 April 6, 1956	H. Rept. 1963	Providing for the filling of a vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, of the class other than Members of Congress (Caryl Parker Haskins).
P.L. 504	70 Stat. 126-127 May 2, 1956	H. Rept. 2023	To authorize the printing and binding of a revised edition of Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives and providing that the same shall be subject to copyright by the author.
P.L. 910	70 Stat. 922 Aug. 2, 1956	H. Rept. 1900	Authorizing the acceptance of a gift from the Ericsson Memorial Committee of the United States.
P.L. 967	70 Stat. 990 Aug. 3, 1956	Considered by unanimous consent	Relating to clerk hire of members of the House of Representatives.

85th Congress (January 3, 1957–August 24, 1958)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 85-8	71 Stat. 6-7 March 14, 1957	H. Rept. 58	To provide for the reappointment of Doctor Arthur H. Compton as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 85-9	71 Stat. 7 March 14, 1957	H. Rept. 57	Providing for the filling of a vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, of class other than Members of Congress.
P.L. 85-53	71 Stat. 81 June 13, 1957	H. Rept. 470	To fix the responsibilities of certifying officers and disbursing officer of the Library of Congress.
P.L. 85-54	71 Stat. 82 June 13, 1957	H. Rept. 457	To amend the Legislative Appropriation Act, 1955, with reference to official office expenses of Members of Congress.

85th Congress (January 3, 1957–August 24, 1958)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 85-131	71 Stat. 346 Aug. 14, 1957	H. Rept. 812	Authorizing the erection on public grounds in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, of a memorial to the dead of the Second Infantry Division, United States Forces, World War II and the Korean conflict.
P.L. 85-147	71 Stat. 368 Aug. 16, 1957	H. Rept. 811	To organize and microfilm the papers of Presidents of the United States in the collections of the Library of Congress.
P.L. 85-289	71 Stat. 614 Sept. 4, 1957	H. Rept. 1224	To amend the Act of June 23, 1949, as amended, to provide that telephone and telegraph service furnished members of the House of Representatives shall be computed on a biennial rather than an annual basis.
P.L. 85-301	71 Stat. 622 Sept. 7, 1957	H. Rept. 1222	To provide additional office space in home districts of Congressmen, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners.
P.L. 85-308	71 Stat. 630 Sept, 7, 1957	H. Rept. 1228	To amend the act entitled "An act to provide books for the adult blind."
P.L. 85-357	72 Stat. 68 March 28, 1958	H. Rept. 1533	To provide for the transfer of the Civil Service Commission Building in the District of Columbia to the Smithsonian Institution to house certain art collections of the Smithsonian Institution.

86th Congress (January 7, 1959–September 1, 1960)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 86-5	73 Stat. 14 March 25, 1959	H. Rept. 61	To provide for the reappointment of Robert V. Fleming as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 86-17	73 Stat. 20 April 27, 1959	called up by unanimous consent	Providing for printing copies of "Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives."
P.L. 86-18	73 Stat. 21 May 13, 1959	H. Rept. 286	Authorizing the Architect of the Capitol to present to the Senators and Representatives in the Congress from the State of Alaska the official flag of the United States bearing 49 stars which is first flown over the west front of the U.S. Capitol.

86th Congress (January 7, 1959–September 1, 1960)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 86-102	73 Stat. 224 July 23, 1959	H. Rept. 372	To amend section 105 of the Legislative Appropriation Act, 1955, with respect to the disposition upon the death of a Member of the House of Representatives of amounts held for him in the trust fund account in the Office of the Sergeant at Arms, and of other amounts due such Member.
P.L. 86-111	73 Stat. 261-262 July 28, 1959	H. Rept. 569	Authorizing the Boy Scouts of America to erect a memorial on public grounds in the District of Columbia to honor the members and leaders of such Organization, and for other purposes.
P.L. 86-214	73 Stat. 445-446 Sept. 1, 1959	H. Rept. 208	To reserve a site in the District of Columbia for the erection of a memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to provide for a competition for the design of such memorial, and to provide additional funds for holding the competition.
P.L. 86-340	73 Stat. 605-606 Sept. 21, 1959	H. Rept. 920	To amending the Act of June 23, 1949, as amended, to provide that telephone and telegraph service furnished members of the House of Representatives shall be computed on a unit basis.
P.L. 86-379	73 Stat, 702-703 Sept. 23, 1959	H. Rept. 919	To amend the Act of October 24, 1951, to provide salary increases for the Police of the National Zoological Park.
P.L. 86417	74 Stat. 37 April 8, 1960	H. Rept. 1441	To establish a commission to formulate plans for a memorial to James Madison.
P.L. 86-426	74 Stat. 53-54 April 20, 1960	called up by unanimous consent	Relating to the payment of salaries of employees of the Senate.
P.L. 86-461	74 Stat. 128 May 13, 1960	H. Rept. 1435	To amend the Act relating to the Commission of Fine Arts.
P.L. 86-469	74 Stat. 132 May 14, 1960	H. Rept. 1061	To authorize a preliminary study and review in connection with proposed additional building for the Library of Congress.
P.L. 86-484	74 Stat. 154 June 1, 1960	H. Rept. 1439	Authorizing the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune.
P.L. 86-485	74 Stat. 154 June 1, 1960	H. Rept. 1440	Authorizing the Architect of the Capitol to present to the Senators and Representative in the Congress from the State of Hawaii the official flag of the United States bearing 50 stars which is first flown over the west front of the U.S. Capitol.
P.L. 86-748	74 Stat. 883-884 Sept. 13, 1960	H. Rept. 1728	To remove copyright restrictions upon the musical composition "Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag," and for other purposes.

86th Congress (January 7, 1959–September 1, 1960)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 86-749	74 Stat. 884 Sept. 13, 1960	H. Rept. 1741	Authorizing the erection of a statue of Taras Shevchenko on public grounds in the District of Columbia.
P.L. 86-754	74 Stat. 898-899 Sept. 13, 1960	called up by unanimous consent	Authorizing the preparation and printing of a revised edition of the Constitution of the United States of America—Analysis and Interpretation, published in 1953 as Senate Document Numbered 170 of the Eighty-second Congress.
P.L. 86-764	74 Stat. 904-905 Sept. 13, 1960	H. Rept. 1760	To amend the Act entitled "An Act to establish a memorial to Theodore Roosevelt in the National Capital" to provide for the construction of such memorial by the Secretary of the Interior.

87th Congress (January 3, 1961–October 13, 1962)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 87-2	75 Stat. 5 March 21, 1961	H. Rept. 138	To authorizing the distribution of copies of the Congressional Record to former members of Congress requesting such copies.
P.L. 87-11	75 Stat. 19 March 29, 1961	H. Rept. 131	To providing for the reappointment of Dr. Jerome C. Hunsaker as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 87-85	75 Stat. 202-203 July 11, 1961	H. Rept. 631	To providing for the increased distribution of the Congressional Record to the Federal judiciary.
P.L. 87-107	75 Stat. 221 July 26,1961	H. Rept. 610	To amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives to provide that Members having constituencies of five hundred thousand shall be entitled to an additional $500 worth of equipment; to increase the number of electric typewriters which may be furnished Members; and for other purposes.
P.L. 87-113	75 Stat. 241 July 31, 1961	H. Rept. 608	To providing for the indexing and microfilming of certain records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska in the collections of the Library of Congress.

87th Congress (January 3, 1961–October 13, 1962)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 87-186	75 Stat. 414-415 Aug. 30,1961	H. Rept. 609	To establish a National Armed Forces Museum Advisory Board of the Smithsonian Institution, to authorize expansion of the Smithsonian Institution's facilities for portraying the contributions of the Armed Forces of the United States and for other purposes.
P.L. 87-263	75 Stat. 544 Sept. 21, 1961	H. Rept. 901	To amend the Act of August 16, 1957, relating to microfilming of papers of Presidents of the United States, to remove certain liabilities of the United States with respect to such activities.
P.L. 87-323	75 Stat. 685 Sept. 26, 1961	H. Rept. 1129	Providing for printing copies of "Cannon's procedure in the House of Representatives".
P.L. 87-364	75 Stat. 783-784 Oct. 4, 1961	H. Rept. 1213	Authorizing the creation of a commission to consider and formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of an appropriate permanent memorial to the memory of Woodrow Wilson.
P.L. 87-430	76 Stat. 53 April 4, 1962	H. Rept. 1504	To provide for the reappointment of Dr. Caryl P. Haskins as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 87-431	76 Stat. 53 April 4, 1962	H. Rept. 1505	To provide for the reappointment of Dr. Crawford H. Greenewalt as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 87-443	76 Stat. 62 April 27, 1962	suspension of rules	To provide for a National Portrait Gallery as a bureau of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 87-517	76 Stat. 128 July 2, 1962	committee discharged	Providing for the filling of a vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution of the class other than Members of Congress.
P.L. 87-522	76 Stat. 135 July 3, 1962	H. Rept. 1892	To amend section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to create a Library of Congress Trust Fund Board, and for other purposes", approved March 3, 1925, as amended (2 U.S.C. 158), relating to deposits with the Treasurer of the United States of gifts and bequests to the Library of Congress and to raise the statutory limitation provided for in that section.
P.L. 87-579	76 Stat. 352-356 Aug. 9, 1962	H. Rept. 724	To revise the laws relating to depository libraries.
P.L. 87-605	76 Stat. 404 Aug. 24, 1962	H. Rept. 1506	Authorizing the State of Arizona to place in the Statuary Hall collection at the U.S. Capitol the statue of Eusebio Francisco Kino.

87th Congress (January 3, 1961–October 13, 1962)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 87-753	76 Stat. 750 Oct. 5, 1962	committee discharged	To amend section 9(b) of the Act entitled "An Act to prevent pernicious political activities" (the Hatch Political Activities Act) to reduce the requirement that the Civil Service Commission impose no penalty less than thirty days' suspension for any violation of section 9 of the Act.
P.L. 87-842	76 Stat. 1079 Oct. 18, 1962	H. Rept. 2148	To direct the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission to consider possible changes in the winning design for the proposed memorial or the selection of a new design for such memorial.

88th Congress (January 9, 1963–October 3, 1964)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 88-13	77 Stat. 13 April 26, 1963	H. Rept. 85	To provide for the reappointment of John Nicholas Brown as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 88-70	77 Stat. 82 July 19, 1963	H. Rept. 471	To amend the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1959, to provide for reimbursement of transportation expenses for Members of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 88-105	77 Stat. 130 Aug. 27, 1963	H. Rept. 571	To amend the Act of March 2, 1931, to provide that certain proceedings of the Veterans of World War I of the United States, Inc., shall be printed as a House document, and for other purposes.
P.L. 88-155	77 Stat. 272 Oct. 18, 1963	H. Rept. 854	To authorize the printing and binding of an edition of Senate Procedure and providing the same shall be subject to copyright by the authors.
P.L. 88-224	77 Stat. 469 Dec. 21, 1963	H. Rept. 931	To amend the Act of March 2, 1931, to provide that certain proceedings of the AMVETS (American Veterans of World War II), shall be printed as a House document, and for other purposes.
P.L. 88-299	78 Stat. 183 April 27, 1964	H. Rept. 997	To amend the act entitled "An act to organize and microfilm the papers of Presidents of the United States in the collections of the Library of Congress".
P.L. 88-391	78 Stat. 365-366 Aug. 1964	H. Rept. 998	To amend the Act of October 24, 1951 (65 Stat. 634; 40 U.S.C. 193(n)-(w)), as amended, relating to the policing of the buildings and grounds of the Smithsonian Institution and its constituent bureaus.
P.L. 88-441			

88th Congress (January 9, 1963–October 3, 1964)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 88-549	78 Stat. 754 Aug. 31, 1964	H. Rept. 1773	To authorize the Smithsonian Institution to employ aliens in a scientific or technical capacity.
P.L. 88-652	78 Stat. 1079-1084 Oct. 13, 1964	H. Rept. 1771	House Employees Position Classification Act. To provide for an equitable system for the classification of certain positions under the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.

89th Congress (January 4, 1965–October 22, 1966)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 89-122	79 Stat. 517 Aug. 13, 1965	H. Rept. 520	To amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, to expand the types of equipment furnished Members of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 89-123	79 Stat. 517 Aug. 13, 1965	H. Rept. 250	To provide for the reappointment of Robert V. Fleming as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 89-131	79 Stat. 544 Aug. 21, 1965	H. Rept. 725	To Amend the Act of June 23, 1949, relating to the telephone and telegraph service furnished members of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 89-147	79 Stat. 583-584 Aug. 28, 1965	H. Rept. 724	To amend the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act 1959, to provide for reimbursement of transportation expenses for members of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.
P.L. 89-192	79 Stat. 822 Sept. 21, 1965	H. Rept. 882	Extending for 2 years the existing authority for the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune.
P.L. 89-211	79 Stat. 857 Sept. 29, 1965	H. Rept. 726	To amending the Act of July 2, 1954, relating to office space in the districts of Members of the House of Representatives, and the Act of June 27, 1956, relating to office space in the States of Senators.
P.L. 89-248	79 Stat. 968-969 Oct. 9, 1965	H. Rept. 1009	To amend the Joint resolution of March 25, 1953, to increase the number of electric typewriters which may be furnished to Members by the Clerk of the House.
P.L. 89-269	79 Stat. 991 Oct. 19,1965	H. Rept. 881	To amend the Act of May 17, 1954 (68 Stat. 98), as amended, providing for the construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the site of old Saint Louis, Missouri, and for other purposes.

89th Congress (January 4, 1965–October 22, 1966)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 89-305	79 Stat. 1126-1127 Oct. 30, 1965	H. Rept. 1043	To increase the appropriation for the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, and for other purposes.
P.L. 89-325	79 Stat. 1215 11/7/1965	H. Rept. 1174	Authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.
P.L. 89-342	79 Stat. 1302 Nov. 11, 1965	H. Rept. 1122	To amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations.
P.L. 89-509	80 Stat. 310-312 July 19, 1966	H. Rept. 1042	To amending Public Law 722 of the Seventy-Ninth Congress and Public Law 85-935, relating to the National Air Museum of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 89-522	80 Stat. 330-331 July 30, 1966	H. Rept. 1600	To amend the Acts of March 3, 1931, and October 9, 1962, relating to the furnishing of books and other materials to the blind so as to authorize the furnishing of such books and other materials to other handicapped persons.
P.L. 89-617	80 Stat. 868-869 Oct. 30, 1966	H. Rept. 2018	To create a bipartisan commission to study Federal laws limiting political activity by officers and employees of Government.
P.L. 89-674	80 Stat. 953 Oct. 10, 1966	suspension of the rules	Relating to the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 89-678	80 Stat. 956 Oct. 15, 1966	H. Rept. 2221	To Authorize the public printer to print for and deliver to the general services administration an additional copy of certain publications.
P.L. 89-772	80 Stat. 1322 Nov. 6, 1966	H. Rept. 2204	To authorize the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to negotiate cooperative agreements granting concessions at the National Zoological Park to certain nonprofit organizations and to accept voluntary services of such organizations or of individuals, and for other purposes.
P.L. 89-786	80 Stat. 1377 Nov. 7, 1966	H. Rept. 1864	To authorize the erection of a memorial in the District of Columbia to General John J. Pershing.

90th Congress (January 10, 1967–October 14, 1968)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 90-27	81 Stat. 58 June 16, 1967	H. Rept. 264	To providing for the reappointment of Jerome C. Hunsaker as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 90-55	81 Stat. 124 July 20, 1967	H. Rept. 364	To extend the life of the Commission on Political Activity of Government Personnel.
P.L. 90-79	81 Stat. 192 Aug. 31, 1967	H. Rept. 557	To increase the amount of real and personal property which may be held by the American Academy in Rome.
P.L. 90-86	81 Stat. 226 Sept. 17, 1967	H. Rept. 559	To amend the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act 1959, as it relates to transportation expenses of Members of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.
P.L. 90-116	81 Stat. 337 Oct. 24, 1967	H. Rept. 560	To amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, to increase the number of typewriters which may be furnished to Members by the Clerk of the House.
P.L. 90-322	82 Stat. 167 May 30, 1968	H. Rept. 1381	To provide for the reappointment of Dr. Crawford H. Greenewalt as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 90-323	82 Stat. 167 May 30, 1968	H. Rept. 1382	To provide for the reappointment of Dr. Caryl P. Haskins as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 90-324	82 Stat. 168 May 30, 1968	H. Rept. 1383	To provide for the reappointment of Dr. William A. M. Burden as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 90-343	82 Stat. 180-181 June 18, 1968	committee discharged	To amend the Federal voting Assistance Act of 1955 so as to recommend to the several States that its absentee registration and voting procedures be extended to all citizens residing abroad.
P.L. 90-344	82 Stat. 181-182 June 18, 1968	H. Rept. 1385	To amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 584).
P.L. 90-610	82 Stat. 1201 Oct. 21, 1968	H. Rept. 1940	To amend the Act of August 4, 1950 (64 Stat. 411), entitled "An Act relating to the policing of the buildings and grounds of the Library of Congress" to provide salary increases for members of the police force of the Library of Congress, and for other purposes.
P.L. 90-637	82 Stat. 1356-1359 Oct. 24, 1968	H. Rept. 1942	To establish a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson. Woodrow Wilson Memorial Act of 1968.

91st Congress (January 3, 1969–January 2, 1971)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 91-27	83 Stat. 36 June 13, 1969	H. Rept. 91-246	To provide for the reappointment of Dr. John Nicholas Brown as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 91-30	86 Stat. 37 June 17, 1969	H. Rept. 91-247	To provide for the appointment of Thomas J. Watson, Jr., as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 91-34	83 Stat. 41 June 30, 1969	H. Rept. 91-248	To revise the pay structure of the police force of the National Zoological Park, and for other purposes.
P.L. 91-138	83 Stat. 284-291 Dec. 5, 1969	H. Rept. 91-569	Federal Contested Election Act
P.L. 91-139	83 Stat. 291-292 Dec. 5, 1969	H. Rept. 91-582	To provide certain equipment for use in the offices of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.
P.L. 91-167	83 Stat. 453 Dec. 26, 1969	H. Rept. 91-733	To change the limitation on the number of apprentices authorized to be employees of the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes.
P.L. 91-238	84 Stat. 201 May 1, 1970	H. Rept. 91-493	To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to permit the removal of the Francis Asbury statue, and for other purposes.
P.L. 91-255	84 Stat. 217 May 18, 1970	H. Rept. 91-1001	To provide for the appointment of James Edwin Webb as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 91-276	84 Stat. 303 June 12, 1970	H. Rept. 91-714	To authorize the Public Printer to fix the subscription price of the daily Congressional Record.
P.L. 91-277	84 Stat. 303 June 12, 1970	H. Rept. 91-999	Extending for four years the existing authority for the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune.
P.L. 91-280	84 Stat. 309 June 12, 1970	H. Rept. 91-1003	To transfer from the Architect of the Capitol to the Librarian of Congress the authority to purchase office equipment and furniture for the Library of Congress.
P.L. 91-281	84 Stat. 309 June 12, 1970	H. Rept. 91-997	To amend section 11 of an Act approved August 4, 1950 entitled "An Act relating to the policing of the buildings and grounds of the Library of Congress."
P.L. 91-287	84 Stat. 320-322 June 23, 1970	H. Rept. 91-734	To amend title 44, United States Code, to facilitate the disposal of Government records without sufficient value to warrant their continued preservation, to abolish the Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers, and for other purposes.
P.L. 91-359	84 Stat. 668 July 31, 1970	H. Rept. 91-1120	To provide for the designation of special policemen at the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes.

91st Congress (January 3, 1969–January 2, 1971)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 91-369	84 Stat. 693 July 31, 1970	H. Rept. 91-1121	To authorize the Public Printer to grant time off as compensation for overtime worked by certain employees of the Government Printing Office, and for other purposes.
P.L. 91-398	84 Stat. 837 Sept. 8, 1970	H. Rept. 91-1305	To authorize additional funds for the operation of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission.
P.L. 91-551	84 Stat. 1439-1440 Dec. 15, 1970	H. Rept. 91-725	To amend sections 5580, 5581, and 5582 of the Revised Statutes to provide for additional members of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution and to increase the number of members constituting a quorum.
P.L. 91-589	84 Stat. 1585-1587 Dec. 24, 1970	H. Rept. 1598	Authorizing the preparation and printing of a revised edition of the Constitution of the United States of America—Analysis and Interpretation, of decennial revised editions thereof, and of biennial cumulative supplements to such revised editions.
P.L. 91-629	84 Stat. 1875	H. Rept. 91-1766	To amend the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 953; 20 U.S.C. 65A), relating to the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, so as to authorize additional appropriations to the Smithsonian Institution for carrying out the purposes of said Act.

92nd Congress (January 21, 1971–October 18, 1972)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 92-56	85 Stat. 156-157 July 29, 1971	H. Rept. 92-208	Authorizing the acceptance, by the Joint Committee on the Library on behalf of the Congress, from the United States Capitol Historical Society, of preliminary design sketches and funds for murals in the east corridor, first floor, in the House wing of the Capitol, and for other purposes.
P.L. 92-57	85 Stat. 157 July 29, 1971	H. Rept. 92-311	Extending for two years the existing authority for the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune.
P.L. 92-225	86 Stat. 3-20 February 7, 1972	H. Rept. 92-752	Fair Election Campaign Act of 1971.
P.L. 92-290	86 Stat. 135 May 11, 1972	H. Rept. 1019	To provide for the appointment of A. Leon Higginbotham, Junior as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

92nd Congress (January 21, 1971–October 18, 1972)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 92-291	86 Stat. 135 May 11, 1972	H. Rept. 1020	To provide for the appointment of John Paul Austin as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 92-292	86 Stat. 135 May 11, 1972	H. Rept. 1021	To provide for the appointment of Robert Francis Goheen as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 92-332	86 Stat. 401 June 30, 1972	H. Rept. 1029	To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to participate in the planning and design of a national memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and for other purposes.
P.L. 92-333	86 Stat. 401 June 30, 1972	H. Rept. 1030	To restore to the Custis-Lee Mansion located in the Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia, its original historical name, followed by the explanatory memorial phrase, so that it shall be known as Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial.
P.L. 92-368	86 Stat. 507 Aug. 10, 1972	H. Rept. 1201	To amend title 44, United States Code, to authorize the Public Printer to designate the library of the highest appellate court in each State as a depository library.
P.L. 92-373	86 Stat. 528 Aug. 10, 1972	H. Rept. 1200	To amend section 906 of title 44, United States Code, to provide copies of the daily and semimonthly Congressional Record to libraries of certain United States courts.
P.L. 92-386	86 Stat. 559 Aug. 16, 1972	H. Rept. 1285	To authorize the printing and binding of a revised edition of Senate Procedure and providing the same shall be subject to copyright by the author.
P.L. 92-422	86 Stat. 678-679 Sept. 18, 1972	H. Rept. 1032	Proposing the erection of a memorial on public grounds in the District of Columbia, or its environs, in honor and commemoration of the Seabees of the United States Navy.
P.L. 92-564	86 Stat. 1178-1179 Oct. 25, 1972	H. Rept. 1417	To authorize the preparation of a history of public works in the United States.

93rd Congress (January 3, 1973–December 20, 1974)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 93-175	87 Stat. 693 Dec. 12, 1973	H. Rept. 93-613	To amend the Act of August 4, 1950 (64 Stat. 411), to provide salary increases for members of the police force of the Library of Congress.
P.L. 93-314	88 Stat. 239 June 8, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1069	Relating to the sale and distribution of the Congressional Record.
P.L. 93-345	87 Stat. 339 July 12, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1162	To amend the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 953, 20 U.S.C. 65a), relating to the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, so as to authorize additional appropriations to the Smithsonian Institution for carrying out the purposes of said Act.
P.L. 93-384	88 Stat. 741 Aug. 23, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1254	To authorize the erection of a monument to the dead of the First Infantry Division United States Forces in Vietnam.
P.L. 93-398	88 Stat. 795 Aug. 30, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1250	To provide for the reappointment of Dr. William A. M. Burden as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 93-399	88 Stat. 795 Aug. 30, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1251	To provide for the reappointment of Dr. Caryl P. Haskins as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 93-401	88 Stat. 800 Aug. 30, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1252	To provide for the appointment of Dr. Murray Gell-Mann as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 93-432	88 Stat. 1186-1187 Oct. 4, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1253	To authorize the conveyance to the city of Salem, Illinois, of a statue of William Jennings Bryan.
P.L. 93-443	88 Stat. 1263 Oct. 15, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1239	Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974.
P.L. 93-446	88 Stat. 1362 Oct. 17, 1974	H. Rept. 93- 1397	Authorizing the procurement of an oil portrait and marble bust of former Chief Justice Earl Warren.
P.L. 93-462	88 Stat. 1388 Oct. 20, 1974	H. Rept. 93-597	To authorize the disposition of certain office equipment and furnishings, and for other purposes.
P.L. 93-526	88 Stat. 1695-1702 Dec. 19, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1507	Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act
P.L. 93-532	88 Stat. 1723 Dec. 22, 1974	H. Rept. 93-1425	Relating to former Speakers of the House of Representatives.

94th Congress (January 14, 1975–October 1976)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 94-65	89 Stat. 378 July 31, 1975	H. Rept. 248	To provide for the Reappointment of Dr. John Nicholas Brown as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 94-66	89 Stat. 379 July 31, 1975	H. Rept. 249	To provide for the Reappointment of Thomas J. Watson, Junior, as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 94-74	89 Stat. 407 Aug. 8, 1975	H. Rept. 94-257	To reserve a site for the use of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L 94-98	89 Stat. 480 Sept. 19, 1975	H. Rept. 258, p. 2	To authorize the Smithsonian Institution to plan museum support facilities.
P.L. 94-201	89 Stat. 1129-1134 Jan. 2, 1976	H. Rept. 94-273, pt. 1 & 2	American Folklife Preservation Act
P.L. 94-203	89 Stat. 1142-1144 Jan. 2, 1976	H. Rept. 94-649, pt. 1 & 2	Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act of 1975.
P.L. 94-209	90 Stat. 30 Jan. 5, 1976	H. Rept. 94-715	To amend the National Portrait Gallery Act to Redefine "Portraiture."
P.L. 94-211	90 Stat. 151 Jan. 2, 1976	H. Rept. 94-740	To authorize the One Hundred and First Airborne Division Association to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.
P.L. 94-261	90 Stat. 326 April 11, 1976	H. Rept. 94-974	To amend chapter 33 of title 44, United States Code, to change the membership and extend the life of the National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials, and for other purposes.
P.L. 94-264	90 Stat. 329 April 13, 1976	H. Rept. 94-719	To name the building known as the Library of Congress Annex to be the Library of Congress Thomas Jefferson Building.
P.L. 94-283	90 Stat. 475 May 11, 1976	H. Rept. 94-917	Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976.
P.L. 94-287	90 Stat. 519 May 21, 1976	committee discharged	To authorize the erection of a statue of Bernardo de Galvez on public grounds in the District of Columbia.
P.L. 94-289	90 Stat. 521 May 22, 1976	H. Rept. 94-737	To provide for adjusting the amount of interest paid on funds deposited with the Treasury of the United States by the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board.
P.L. 94-290	90 Stat. 522 May 22, 1976	H. Rept. 94-738	To provide for adjusting the amount of interest paid on funds deposited with the Treasury of the United States pursuant to the Act of August 20, 1912, "An Act To Accept and Fund the Bequest of Gertrude M. Hubbard" (37 Stat. 319).
P.L. 94-315	90 Stat. 693 June 21, 1976	H. Rept. 94-1126	To provide for the Reappointment of James E. Webb as a Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

94th Congress (January 14, 1975–October 1976)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 94-327	90 Stat. 726 June 30, 1976	committee discharged	Relating to the display of certain historical documents within the United States Capitol Building during the calendar year 1976.
P.L. 94-336	90 Stat. 795 July 1, 1976	H. Rept. 1125	To amend the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 953; U.S.C. 65a), relating to the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, so as to Authorize Additional Appropriations to the Smithsonian Institution for carry out the purposes of this Act.
P.L. 94-418	90 Stat. 1278	H. Rept. 94-1395	To provide for adjusting the amount of interest paid on funds deposited with the Treasury of the United States as a permanent loan by the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art.
P.L. 94-497	90 Stat. 2377-2378 Oct. 14, 1976	H. Rept. 94-1396	Authorizing the acceptance of the Joint Committee on the Library on behalf of the Congress, from the United States Capitol Historical Society, of preliminary design sketches and funds for murals, in the first floor corridors in the House wing of the Capitol, and for other purposes.
P.L. 94-551	90 Stat. 2537-2539 10/18/1976	H. Rept. 94-1730	To provide for the printing and distribution of the Precedents of the House of Representatives compiled and prepared by Lewis Deschler.

95th Congress (January 3, 1977–October 15, 1978)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 95-129	91 Stat. 1151-1152 Oct. 13, 1977	H. Rept. 95-491	To provide for the establishment of a Center for the Book in the Library of Congress, and for other purposes.
P.L. 95-259	91 Stat. 196 April 17, 1978	H. Rept. 95-865	To amend the American Folklife Preservation Act to extend the authorizations of appropriations contained in such Act.
P.L. 95-260	92 Stat. 197-198 April 17, 1978	H. Rept. 95-462	To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to memorialize the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence in Constitution Gardens in the District of Columbia.
P.L. 95-261	92 Stat. 199 April 17, 1978	H. Rept. 95-650	To amend title 44, United States Code, to provide for the designation of libraries of accredited law schools as depository libraries of Government publications.

95th Congress (January 3, 1977–October 15, 1978)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 95-274	92 Stat. 233 May 10, 1978	H. Rept. 1064	To provide for the reappointment of A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 95-275	92 Stat. 234 May 10, 1978	H. Rept. 1065	To provide for the reappointment of John Paul Austin as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 95-276	92 Stat. 235 May 10, 1978	H. Rept. 1066	To provide for the appointment of Anne Legendre Armstrong as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 95-277	92 Stat. 236 May 12, 1978	H. Rept. 1067	To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to designate an Assistant Secretary to serve in his place as a member of the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board.
P.L. 93-286	92 Stat. 278-279 May 26, 1978	H. Rept. 1062	To establish a Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship in Social and Political Thought at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian Institution and to establish a trust fund to provide a stipend for such fellowship.
P.L. 95-414	92 Stat. 911-913 Oct. 5, 1978	committee discharged	To authorize the Smithsonian Institution to acquire the Museum of African Art, and for other purposes.
P.L. 95-440	92 Stat. 1063 10/10/1978	H. Rept. 1263	To amend sections 3303a and 1503 of title 44, United States Code, to require mandatory application of the General Records Schedules to all Federal agencies and to resolve conflicts between authorizations for disposal and to provide for the disposal of Federal Register documents.
P.L.95-470	92 Stat. 1323-1324 Oct. 17, 1978	committee discharged	To authorize withholding from salaries disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate and from certain employees under the jurisdiction of the Architect of the Capitol for contribution to certain charitable organizations.
P.L. 95-569	92 Stat. 2444	committee discharged	To authorize the Smithsonian Institution to construct museum support facilities.
P.L. 95-591	92 Stat. 2523-2528 Nov. 4, 1978	committee discharged	Presidential Records Act of 1978.
P.L. 95-593	92 Stat. 2535-2539 Nov. 4, 1978	H. Rept. 95-1568	To improve the administration and operation of the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act of 1975, and for other purposes.

96th Congress (January 15, 1979–December 16, 1970)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 96-36	93 Stat. 94 July 20, 1979	called up by unanimous consent	To authorize the Smithsonian Institution to plan for the development of the area south of the original Smithsonian Institution Building adjacent to Independence Avenue at Tenth Street, Southwest, in the city of Washington.
P.L. 96-152	93 Stat. 1099-1100 Dec. 20, 1979	H. Rept. 96-581	To establish by law the position of Chief of the Capitol Police, and for other purposes.
P.L. 96-187	93 Stat. 1339-1369 Jan. 8, 1980	H. Rept. 96-422	Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1979
P.L. 96-214	94 Stat. 122 March 24, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	To provide that receipts from certain sales of items by the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate to Senators and committees and offices of the Senate shall be credited to the appropriation from which such items were purchased.
P.L. 96-253	98 Stat. 398	called up by unanimous consent	To authorize appropriations for Federal Election Commission for fiscal year 1981.
P.L. 96-268	98 Stat. 485 June 13, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	To amend the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 953; 20 U.S.C. 65a), relating to the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, so as to authorize additional appropriations to the Smithsonian Institution for carrying out the purposes of said Act.
P.L. 96-269	94 Stat. 486 6/13/1980	called up by unanimous consent	To rename certain buildings of the Library of Congress.
P.L. 96-297	94 Stat. 827-828 July 1, 1980	H. Rept. 1129	To authorize the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., to establish a memorial.
P.L. 96-313	94 Stat. 955 July 25, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	To provide for the reappointment of William A. M. Burden as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 96-314	94 Stat. 956 July 25, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	To provide for the reappointment of Murray Gell-Mann as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 96-337	94 Stat. 1066 9/4/1980	called up by unanimous consent	To authorize the Camp Fire Girls of Cundys Harbor, Maine, to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia.
P.L. 96-388	94 Stat. 1547-1550 Oct. 7, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	To establish the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.
P.L. 96-441	94 Stat. 1884 Oct. 13, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	To rename the National Collection of Fine Arts and the Museum of History and Technology of the Smithsonian Institution as the National Museum of American Art and the National Museum of American History, respectively.

96th Congress (January 15, 1979–December 16, 1970)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 96-444	94 Stat. 1889-1890 Oct. 13, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	To transfer certain employees of the Architect of the Capitol to the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate.
P.L. 96-522	94 Stat. 3038 Dec. 12, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	To authorize appropriations for the American Folklife Center for fiscal years 1982, 1983, and 1984.
P.L. 96-529	94 Stat. 3119-3120 Dec. 15, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	Authorizing appropriation of funds for acquisition of a monument to Doctor Ralph J. Bunche and installation of such monument in Ralph J. Bunche Park in New York City.
P.L. 96-563	94 Stat. 3304 Dec. 22, 1980	called up by unanimous consent	Providing for appointment of David C. Acheson as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

97th Congress (January 5, 1981–December 23, 1982)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 97-19	95 Stat. 103 July 6, 1981	discharged by unanimous consent	To permit certain funds allocated for official expenses of Senators to be utilized to procure additional office equipment.
P.L. 97-20	95 Stat. 104 July 6, 1981	discharged by unanimous consent	To authorize the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate subject to the approval of the Committee on Rules and Administration, to enter into contracts which provide for the making of advance payments for computer programming services.
P.L. 97-84	95 Stat. 1097 Nov. 20, 1981	discharged by unanimous consent	To expand the membership of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council from sixty to sixty-five and for other purposes.
P.L. 97-199	96 Stat. 121 June 22, 1982	H. Rept. 97-503	To amend section 5590 of the Revised Statutes to provide for adjusting the rate of interest paid on funds of the Smithsonian Institution deposited with the Treasury of the United States as a permanent loan.
P.L. 97-224	96 Stat. 243 July 28, 1982	called up by unanimous consent	To authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior, subject to the supervision and approval of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, to proceed with the construction of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, and for other purposes.
P.L. 97-260	96 Stat. 1100 Sept. 13, 1982	H. Rept. 97-753	To provide for appointment of Nancy Hanks as a Citizen Regent of the Smithsonian Institution Board of Regents.

97th Congress (January 5, 1981–December 23, 1982)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 97-264	96 Stat. 1133 Sept. 24, 1982	H. Rept. 97-752	To amend the Act to establish a Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Device, and for other purposes.

98th Congress (January 3, 1983–October 12, 1984)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 98-73	97 Stat. 406 Aug. 11, 1983	H. Rept. 98-330	To authorize the Smithsonian Institution to purchase land in Santa Cruz County, Arizona.
P.L. 98-87	97 Stat. 493 Aug. 26, 1983	H. Rept. 98-329	Providing for the appointment of Jeannine S. Clark as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution Board.
P.L. 98-208	97 Stat. 1392 Dec. 5, 1983	called up by unanimous consent	To provide for the appointment of Samuel Curtis Johnson as a citizen regent of the Board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 98-340	98 Stat. 308-310 July 3, 1984	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	To direct the Architect of the Capitol and the District of Columbia to enter into an agreement for the conveyance of certain real property to direct the Secretary of the Interior to permit the District of Columbia and the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority to construct, maintain, and operate certain transportation improvements on Federal property, and to direct the Architect of the Capitol to provide the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority access to certain real property.
P.L. 98-392	98 Stat. 1362-1363 Aug. 21, 1984	H. Rept. 871	To authorize appropriations for the American Folklife Center for fiscal years 1985 and 1986, and for other purposes.
P.L. 98-435	98 Stat. 1678-1680 Sept. 28, 1984	H. Rept. 98-852	Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped Act.
P.L. 98-534	98 Stat. 2712 Oct. 19, 1984	H. Rept. 1084	Authorizing the Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.
P.L. 98-535	98 Stat. 2713 Oct. 19, 1984	H. Rept. 1014	Providing for the reappointment of Anne L. Armstrong as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institutions.
P.L. 98-536	98 Stat. 2714 Oct. 19, 1984	H. Rept. 1013	Providing for the reappointment of A. Leon Higginbotham, Junior, as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

98th Congress (January 3, 1983–October 12, 1984)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 98-537	98 Stat. 2715 Oct. 19, 1984	H. Rept. 98-1051	Authorizing the Kahlil Gibran Centennial Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

99th Congress (January 3, 1985–October 18, 1986)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 99-65	99 Stat. 163 July 12, 1985	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	Relating to certain telephone services for Senators.
P.L. 99-70	99 Stat. 168 July 22, 1985	H. Rept. 99-179	Providing for the appointment of Barnabas McHenry as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 99-75	99 Stat. 176 July 29, 1985	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	To authorize the printing and binding of a revised edition of Senate Procedure and providing the same shall be subject to copyright by the author.
P.L. 99-87	99 Stat. 290-292 Aug. 9, 1985	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	To amend Title 3, United States Code, to authorize the use of penalty and frank mail in efforts relating to the location and recovery of missing children.
P.L. 99-285	100 Stat. 407 May 1, 1986	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	To provide for the reappointment of Carlisle H. Humelsine as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 99-286	100 Stat. 408 May 1, 1986	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	To provide for the reappointment of William G. Bowen as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 99-410	100 Stat. 924-930 Aug. 28, 1986	H. Rept. 99-765	Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act.
P.L. 99-423	100 Stat. 963 Sept. 30, 1986	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To authorize the Smithsonian Institution to plan and construct facilities for certain science activities of the Institution, and for other purposes.
P.L. 99-439	100 Stat. 1085 Oct. 2, 1986	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	Relating to telephone services for Senators.
P.L. 99-473	100 Stat. 1212 Oct. 16, 1986	H. Rept. 99-800	To authorize appropriations for the American Folklife Center for fiscal years 1987, 1988, and 1989, and for other purposes.
P.L. 99-510	100 Stat. 2079 Oct. 21, 1986	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	To provide for the reappointment of David C. Acheson as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

99th Congress (January 3, 1985–October 18, 1986)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 99-558	100 Stat. 3144 Oct. 27, 1986	H. Rept. 99-340	To authorize the erection of a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia and its environs to honor the estimated five thousand courageous slaves and free black persons who served as soldiers and sailors or provided civilian assistance during the American Revolution and to honor the countless black men, women, and children who ran away from slavery or filed petitions with courts and legislatures seeking their freedom.
P.L. 99-572	100 Stat. 3226-3227 Oct. 28, 1986	H. Rept. 99-341	To authorize the erection of a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia and environs to honor members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Korean war.
P.L.99-610	100 Stat. 3477 Nov. 6, 1986	H. Rept. 99-342	To authorize the establishment of a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia and its environs to honor women who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States.
P.L. 99-620	100 Stat. 3493 Nov. 6, 1986	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	Authorizing establishment of a memorial to honor American Armored Force.
P.L. 99-621	100 Stat. 3494 Nov. 6, 1986	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	To provide for the reappointment of Murray Gell-Mann as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

100th Congress (January 6, 1987–October 22, 1988)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 100-83	101 Stat. 549 Aug. 4, 1987	H. Rept. 100-215	To confer the honorary status of Librarian of Congress Emeritus on Daniel J. Boorstin.
P.L. 100-123	101 Stat. 794-795 Oct. 5, 1987	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	Relating to the payment for telecommunications equipment and certain services furnished by the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate.
P.L. 100-135	101 Stat. 811-812 Oct. 16, 1987	H. Rept. 100-214	To change the title of employees designated by the Librarian of Congress for police duty and to make the rank structure and pay for such employees the same as the rank structure and pay for the Capitol Police.
P.L. 100-137	101 Stat. 814-818 Oct. 21/1987	Committee discharged by unanimous consent	To combine the Senators' Clerk Hire Allowance Account and the Senators' Official Office Expense Account into a combined single account to be known as the "Senators' Official Personnel and Office Expense Account", and for other purposes.

100th Congress (January 6, 1987–October 22, 1988)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 100-158	101 Stat. 896-898 Nov. 9, 1987	H. Rept. 100-221	Providing support for the Civic Achievement Award Program in Honor of the Office of Speaker of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 100-230	101 Stat. 1563-1564 January 5, 1988	H. Rept. 100-405	To permit certain private contributions for construction of the Korean War Veterans Memorial to be invested temporarily in Government securities until such contributed amounts are required for disbursement for the memorial.
P.L. 100-482	102 Stat. 2327 Oct. 11. 1988	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Commemorating the bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.
P.L. 100-660	102 Stat. 3922 Nov. 15, 1988	H. Rept. 948	To authorize the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc., to establish a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor women of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Republic of Vietnam during the Vietnam era.

101st Congress (January 3, 1989–October 28, 1990)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 101-99	103 Stat. 637 Sept. 26, 1989	H. Rept. 101-134	To authorize appropriations for American Folklife Center for fiscal years 1990, 1991, and 1992.
P.L. 101-118	103 Stat. 698 Oct. 17, 1989	H. Rept. 101-135	To authorization appropriations for fiscal year 1990 for the Civic Achievement Award Program in Honor of the Office of Speaker of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.
P.L. 101-157	103 Stat. 938 Nov. 17, 1989	Committee discharged	Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments of 1989.
P.L. 101-181	103 Stat. 1326 Nov. 28, 1989	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Providing for the reappointment of Samuel C. Johnson as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 101-182	103 Stat. 1327 Nov. 28, 1989	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Providing for the reappointment of Jeannine Smith Clark as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 101-185	103 Stat. 1336-1347 Nov. 28, 1989	H. Rept. 101-340, pt. 2	National Museum of the American Indian Act.

101st Congress (January 3, 1989–October 28, 1990)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 101-187	103 Stat. 1350 Nov. 28, 1989	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Approving the location of the memorial to the women who served in Vietnam.
P.L. 101-210	103 Stat. 1839 Dec. 7, 1989	Committee discharged	Providing for the appointment of Homer Alfred Neal of Michigan as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 101-211	103 Stat. 1840 Dec. 7, 1989	Committee discharged	Providing for the appointment of Robert James Woolsey, Jr. of Maryland as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 101-258	104 Stat. 118-119 March 27, 1990	Committee discharged	Providing for the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Dwight David Eisenhower.
P.L. 101-263	104 Stat. 125 April 4, 1990	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To provide for an increase in the maximum rates of basic pay for the police force of the National Zoological Park.
P.L. 101-268	104 Stat. 132 April 9, 1990	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To amend the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Act of 1968 to provide that the Secretary of Education and two additional individuals from private life shall be members of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.
P.L. 101-280	104 Stat. 149-163 May 4, 1990	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To make technical changes in the Ethics Reform Act of 1989.
P.L. 101-347	104 Stat. 398 Aug. 9, 1990	Committee discharged	Recognizing the National Fallen Firefighters' Memorial at the National Fire Academy in Emmitsburg, Maryland as the official national memorial to volunteer and career firefighters who die in the line of duty.
P.L. 101-358	104 Stat. 419 Aug. 10, 1990	Committee discharged	To authorize the Colonial Dames at Gunston Hall to establish a memorial to George Mason in the District of Columbia.
P.L. 101-423	104 Stat. 912-913 Oct. 12, 1990	Discharged by unanimous consent	To establish a national policy on permanent papers.
P.L. 101-428	104 Stat. 928-930 May 15, 1990	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Capitol Police Retirement Act.
P.L. 101-455	104 Stat. 1067 Oct. 24, 1990	Committee discharged	To authorize the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to plan, design, construct, and equip space in the East Court of the National Museum of Natural History building, and for other purposes.

101st Congress (January 3, 1989–October 28, 1990)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 101-483	104 Stat. 1165-1166 May 31, 1990	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Committing to the private sector the responsibility for support of the Civic Achievement Award Program in Honor of the Office of Speaker of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.
P.L. 101-569	104 Stat. 2806 Nov. 15, 1990	Committee discharged	Providing for the appointment of Ira Michael Heyman of California as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 101-586	104 Stat. 2876 Nov. 15, 1990	Committee discharged	Providing for the reappointment of Anne Legendre Armstrong as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

102nd Congress (January 3, 1991–October 9, 1992)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 102-41	105 Stat. 242 May 8, 1991	Committee discharged	Recognizing the Astronauts Memorial at the John F. Kennedy Space Center as the national memorial to astronauts who die in the line of duty.
P.L. 102-246	106 Stat. 31-32 Feb. 18, 1992	H. Rept. 102-727	To provide for additional membership on the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board, and for other purposes.
P.L. 102-336	106 Stat. 864 Aug. 7, 1992	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To extend the boundaries of the grounds of the National Gallery of Art to include the National Sculpture Garden.
P.L. 102-355	106 Stat. 947-948 Aug. 26, 1992	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To amend the Act of May 17, 1954, relating to the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial to authorize increased funding for the East Saint Louis portion of the Memorial, and for other purposes.
P.L. 102-397	106 Stat. 1949-1952 Oct. 6, 1992	Considered by unanimous consent	To add to the area in which the Capitol Police have law enforcement authority, and for other purposes.
P.L. 102-399	106 Stat. 1954 Oct. 7, 1992	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To authorize appropriations for the American Folklife Center for fiscal year 1993.
P.L. 102-407	106 Stat. 1991 Oct. 13, 1992	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To authorize the construction of a monument in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor Thomas Paine, and for other purposes.

102nd Congress (January 3, 1991–October 9, 1992)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 102-412	106 Stat. 2104 Oct. 14, 1992	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Authorizing the government of the District of Columbia to establish, in the District of Columbia or its environs, a memorial to African-Americans who served with Union forces during the Civil War.
P.L. 102-451	106 Stat. 2253-2254 Oct. 23, 1992	H. Rept. 102-979.	To authorize certain additional uses of the Library of Congress Special Facilities Center, and for other purposes.
P.L. 102-459	106 Stat. 2268-2269 10/23/1992	Considered by unanimous consent	To amend certain provisions of law relating to establishment, in the District of Columbia or its environs, of a memorial to honor Thomas Paine.
P.L. 102-502	106 Stat. 3273-3274 Oct. 24, 1992	H. Rept. 102-727	Authorizing the Go For Broke National Veterans Association Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor Japanese American patriotism in World War II.
P.L. 102-529	106 Stat. 3463-3464 Oct. 27, 1992	Considered by unanimous consent	To authorize appropriations for the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, and for other purposes.

103rd Congress (January 5, 1993–December 1, 1994)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 103-15	107 Stat. 47-48 April 12, 1993	Considered by unanimous consent	Concerning the dedication of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
P.L. 103-31	107 Stat. 77-89 May 20, 1993	H. Rept. 103-9	National Voter Registration Act of 1993.
P.L. 103-32	107 Stat. 90-92 May 25, 1993	Considered by unanimous consent	To authorize the construction of a memorial on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor members of the Armed Forces who served in World War II and to commemorate United States participation in that conflict.
P.L. 103-40	107 Stat. 112-114 June 8, 1993	H. Rept. 103-108	Government Printing Office Electronic Information Access Enhancement Act of 1993.
P.L. 103-57	107 Stat. 279 Aug. 2, 1993	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To provide for planning and design of a National Air and Space Museum extension at Washington Dulles International Airport.
P.L. 103-98	107 Stat.1015 Oct. 6, 1993	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To continue the authorization of appropriations for the East Court of the National Museum of Natural History, and for other purposes.

103rd Congress (January 5, 1993–December 1, 1994)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 103-101	107 Stat. 1020 Oct. 8, 1993	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To authorize appropriations for the American Folklife Center for fiscal years 1994 and 1995.
P.L. 103-151	107 Stat. 1515 Nov. 24, 1993	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To authorize the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to plan, design, and construct the West Court of the National Museum of Natural History building.
P.L. 103-163	107 Stat. 1973 Dec. 2, 1993	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To authorize the Air Force Memorial Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.
P.L 103-172	107 Stat. 1995-1997 Dec. 2, 1993	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Federal Employees Clean Air Incentives Act.
P.L. 103-348	108 Stat. 3133-3135 Oct. 6, 1994	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Vegetable Ink Printing Act of 1994.
P.L. 103-384	108 Stat. 4067-4068 Nov. 22, 1994	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Native American Veterans' Memorial Establishment Act of 1994.

104th Congress (January 4, 1995–October 4, 1996)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 104-79	109 Stat. 791-793 Dec. 28, 1995	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to improve the electoral process by permitting electronic filing and preservation of Federal Election Commission reports, and for other purposes.
P.L. 104-81	109 Stat. 795 Dec. 28, 1995	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Providing for the reappointment of Homer Alfred Neal as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 104-82	109 Stat. 796 Dec. 18, 1995	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Providing for the appointment of Howard H. Baker, Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 104-83	109 Stat. 797 Dec. 18, 1995	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Providing for the appointment of Anne D'Harnoncourt as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 104-84	109 Stat. 798 Dec. 18, 1995	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	Providing for the appointment of Louis Gerstner as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

104th Congress (January 4, 1995–October 4, 1996)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 104-129	110 Stat. 1199 April 9, 1996	Committee discharged	Waiving certain enrollment requirements with respect to two bills of the One Hundred Fourth Congress.
P.L. 104-186	110 Stat. 1718-1753 Aug. 20, 1996	H. Rept. 104-82	House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act.
P.L. 104-278	110 Stat. 3355-3357 Oct. 9, 1996	Called up by the House under suspension of rules	National Museum of the American Indian Act Amendments of 1996.
P.L. 104-279	110 Stat. 3358- Oct. 9, 1996	Committee discharged	To authorize the Capitol Guide Service to accept voluntary services.
P.L. 104-285	110 Stat. 3377-3386 Oct. 11, 1996	Committee discharged	National Film Preservation Act of 1996.

105th Congress (January 7, 1997–December 19, 1998)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 105-120	111 Stat. 2527 Nov. 26, 1997	Considered by unanimous consent	Waiving certain enrollment requirements with respect to certain specified bills of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.
P.L. 105-126	111 Stat. 2524 Dec. 1, 1997	Considered under suspension of the rules	To extend the authorization of use of official mail in the location and recovery of missing children, and for other purposes.
P.L. 105-144	111 Stat. 2627-2628 Dec. 15, 1997	Considered under suspension of the rules	To authorize acquisition of certain real property for the Library of Congress, and for other purposes.
P.L. 105-223	112 Stat. 1250-1251 Aug. 7, 1998	Considered by unanimous consent	To establish the United States Capitol Police Memorial Fund on behalf of the families of Detective John Michael Gibson and Private First Class Jacob Joseph Chestnut of the United States Capitol Police.
P.L. 105-253	112 Stat. 1887 Oct. 12, 1998	Considered by unanimous consent	Waiving certain enrollment requirements for the remainder of the One Hundred Fifth Congress with respect to any bill or joint resolution making general or continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1999.

106th Congress (January 9, 1999–December 15, 2000)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 106-14	113 Stat. 24 April 6, 1999	Considered by unanimous consent	Providing for the reappointment of Barber B. Conable, Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 106-15	113 Stat. 25 April 6, 1999	Considered by unanimous consent	Providing for the reappointment of Dr. Hanna H. Gray as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 106-16	113 Stat. 26 April 6, 1999	Considered by unanimous consent	Providing for the reappointment of Wesley S. Williams, Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 106-19	113 Stat. 29 April 8, 1999	Considered by unanimous consent	To make technical corrections with respect to the monthly reports submitted by the Postmaster General on official mail of the House of Representatives.
P.L. 106-93	113 Stat. 1310 Nov. 10, 1999	Considered by unanimous consent	Waiving certain enrollment requirements for the remainder of the first session of the One Hundred Sixth Congress with respect to any bill or joint resolution making general appropriations or continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2000.
P.L. 106-99	113 Stat. 1330-1331 Nov. 12, 1999	Considered under suspension of the rules	History of the House Awareness and Preservation Act.
P.L. 106-100	113 Stat. 1332 Nov. 12, 1999	Considered under suspension of the rules	To permit the enrollment in the House of Representatives Child Care Center of children of Federal employees who are not employees of the legislative branch.
P.L. 106-198	114 Stat. 249 May 5, 2000	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the appointment of Alan G. Spoon as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 106-199	114 Stat. 250 May 5, 2000	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the reappointment of Manuel L. Ibanez as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 106-380	114 Stat. 1447-1449 Oct. 27, 2000	Considered under suspension of the rules	Veterans' Oral History Project Act.
P.L. 106-383	114 Stat. 1459 Oct. 27, 2000	Considered under suspension of the rules	To authorize the Smithsonian Institution to plan, design, construct, and equip laboratory, administrative, and support space to house base operations for the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory Submillimeter Array located on Mauna Kea at Hilo, Hawaii.
P.L. 106-474	114 Stat. 2085-2095 Nov. 9, 2000	Considered under suspension of the rules	National Recording Preservation Act of 2000.
P.L. 106-481	114 Stat. 2187-2191 Nov. 9, 2000	Considered under suspension of the rules	Library of Congress Fiscal Operations Improvement Act of 2000. To establish revolving funds for the operation of certain programs and activities of the Library of Congress, and for other purposes.

107th Congress (January 3, 2001–November 22, 2002)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 107-4	115 Stat. 5 March 16, 2001	Considered by unanimous consent	Providing for the appointment of Walter E. Massey as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 107-54	115 Stat. 270 Oct. 24, 2001	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the reappointment of Anne d'Harnoncourt as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 107-55	115 Stat. 271 Oct. 24, 2001	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the appointment of Roger W. Sant as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 107-101	115 Stat. 973 Dec. 21, 2001	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the appointment of Patricia Q. Stonesifer as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 107-106	115 Stat. 1009-1011 Dec. 28, 2001	Considered under suspension of the rules	National Museum of African American History and Culture Plan for Action Presidential Commission Act of 2001.
P.L. 107-155	116 Stat. 81-116 March 27, 2002	Reported adversely by the Committee (H. Rept. 107-131, Part I.)	Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002.
P.L. 107-252	116 Stat. 1666 Oct. 29, 2002	H. Rept. 107-329, Part I.	Help America Vote Act of 2002.

108th Congress (January 7, 2003–December 8, 2004)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 108-72	117 Stat. 888-890 Aug. 15, 2003	Considered under suspension of the rules	Smithsonian Facilities Authorization Act.
P.L. 108-102	117 Stat. 1198 Oct. 29, 2003	Considered under suspension of the rules	To amend title 44, United States Code, to transfer to the Public Printer the authority over the individuals responsible for preparing indexes of the Congressional Record, and for other purposes.
P.L. 108-122	117 Stat. 1344 Nov. 11, 2003	Considered under suspension of the rules	Recognizing the Dr. Samuel D. Harris National Museum of Dentistry, an affiliate of the Smithsonian Institution in Baltimore, Maryland, as the official national museum of dentistry in the United States.
P.L. 108-184	117 Stat. 2676-2683 Dec. 16, 2003	Considered under suspension of the rules	National Museum of African American History and Culture Act.

108th Congress (January 7, 2003–December 8, 2004)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 108-284	118 Stat. 916 Aug. 2, 2004	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the appointment of Eli Broad as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 108-322	118 Stat. 1216-1217 Oct. 5, 2004	Considered under suspension of the rules	Commemorating the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian.
P.L. 108-349	118 Stat. 1389 Oct. 21, 2004	Considered by unanimous consent	To amend the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 to permit members of the Board of Directors of the Office of Compliance to serve for 2 terms.

109th Congress (January 4, 2005–December 9, 2006)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 109-9	119 Stat. 218-227 April 27, 2005	Committee discharged	Family Entertainment and Copyright Act of 2005.
P.L. 109-11	119 Stat. 229 May 5, 2005	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the appointment of Shirley Ann Jackson as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 109-12	119 Stat. 230 May 5, 2005	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the appointment of Robert P. Kogod as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 109-38	119 Stat. 408 July 27, 2005	Considered by unanimous consent	To permit the individuals currently serving as Executive Director, Deputy Executive Directors, and General Counsel of the Office of Compliance to serve one additional term.
P.L. 109-116	119 Stat. 2524-2525 Dec. 1, 2005	Committee discharged	To direct the Joint Committee on the Library to obtain a statue of Rosa Parks and to place the statue in the United States Capitol in National Statuary Hall, and for other purposes.
P.L. 109-216	120 Stat. 331 April 13, 2006	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the appointment of Phillip Frost as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 109-217	120 Stat. 332 April 13, 2006	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the reappointment of Alan G. Spoon as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 109-244	120 Stat. 574 July 25, 2006	Considered by unanimous consent	Authorizing the printing and binding of a supplement to, and revised edition of, Senate Procedure.

109th Congress (January 4, 2005–December 9, 2006)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 109-426	120 Stat. 2911 Dec. 20, 2006	Considered under suspension of the rules	To reauthorize permanently the use of penalty and franked mail in efforts relating to the location and recovery of missing children.
P.L. 109-427	120 Stat. 2912 Dec. 20, 2006	Considered by unanimous consent	To direct the Joint Committee on the Library to accept the donation of a bust depicting Sojourner Truth and to display the bust in a suitable location in the rotunda of the Capitol.

110th Congress (January 4, 2007–January 3, 2009)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 110-2	121 Stat. 4-5 Feb. 2, 2007	Considered by previous special order	House Page Board Revision Act of 2007.
P.L. 110-119	121 Stat. 1347 Nov. 16, 2007	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the reappointment of Roger W. Sant as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 110-120	121 Stat. 1348 Nov. 19, 2007	Considered under suspension of the rules	To provide technical corrections to Public Law 109-116 (2 U.S.C. 2131a note) to extend the time period for the Joint Committee on the Library to enter into an agreement to obtain a statue of Rosa Parks, and for other purposes.
P.L. 110-155	121 Stat. 1829 Dec. 21, 2007	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the reappointment of Patricia Q. Stonesifer as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 110-164	121 Stat. 2459 Dec. 26, 2007	Considered under suspension of the rules	To amend the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 to permit individuals who have served as employees of the Office of Compliance to serve as Executive Director, Deputy Executive Director, or General Counsel of the Office, and to permit individuals appointed to such positions to serve one additional term.
P.L. 110-178	121 Stat. 2546-2555 Jan. 7, 2008	H. Rept. 110-470, Part I.	U.S. Capitol Police and Library of Congress Police Merger Implementation Act of 2007.
P.L. 110-197	122 Stat. 655 March 14, 2008	Considered under suspension of the rules	Providing for the appointment of John W. McCarter as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 110-336	122 Stat. 3726-3728 Oct. 2, 2008	Considered under suspension of the rules	Library of Congress Sound Recording and Film Preservation Programs Reauthorization Act of 2008.

110th Congress (January 4, 2007–January 3, 2009)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 110-420	122 Stat. 4778-4881 Oct. 15, 2008	Considered under suspension of the rules	Code Talkers Recognition Act of 2008.
P.L. 110-437	122 Stat. 4983-4999 Oct. 20, 2008	H. Rept. 110-535	Capitol Visitor Center Act of 2008.
P.L. 110-433	122 Stat. 4971 Oct. 16, 2008	Considered under suspension of the rules	To extend through 2013 the authority of the Federal Election Commission to impose civil money penalties on the basis of a schedule of penalties established and published by the Commission.

111th Congress (January 6, 2009–January 3, 2011)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 111-17	123 Stat. 1610 May 7, 2009	Considered under suspension of the rules	A joint resolution providing for the appointment of David M. Rubenstein as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 111-19	123 Stat. 1612 May 12, 2009	Considered under suspension of the rules	Civil Rights Project Act of 2009.
P.L. 111-40	123 Stat. 1958 July 1, 2009	Considered under suspension of the rules	A bill to award a Congressional Gold Medal to the Women Airforce Service Pilots ("WASP").
P.L. 111-64	123 Stat. 2002 Sept. 18, 2009	Considered under suspension of the rules	A joint resolution providing for the appointment of France A. Cordova as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 111-66	124 Stat. 49 March 4, 2010	H. Rept. 111-66	United States Capitol Police Administrative Technical Corrections Act of 2009.
P.L. 111-114	123 Stat. 3026 Dec. 14, 2009	Committee discharged; Considered by unanimous consent	A bill to permit each current member of the Board of Directors of the Office of Compliance to serve for 3 terms.
P.L. 111-165	124 Stat. 1185 May 14, 2010	Considered under suspension of the rules	To provide that Members of Congress shall not receive a cost of living adjustment in pay during fiscal year 2011.
P.L. 111-248	124 Stat. 2628 Sept. 30 , 2010	H. Rept. 111-569	To improve the operation of certain facilities and programs of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.
P.L. 111-316	124 Stat. 3452 Dec. 18, 2010	Considered under suspension of the rules	To improve certain administrative operations of the Office of the Architect of the Capitol, and for other purposes.

112th Congress, 1st session (January 5, 2011–January 3, 2012)			
P. L. Number	**U.S. Statutes at Large Citation**	**Report no. or other action making the measure available for consideration**	**Title**
P.L. 112-12	125 Stat. 214 April 25, 2011	Committee discharged; Considered by unanimous consent	A joint resolution providing for the appointment of Stephen M. Case as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 112-19	125 Stat. 231 June 24 , 2011	Committee discharged; Considered by unanimous consent	A joint resolution providing for the reappointment of Shirley Ann Jackson as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.
P.L. 112-20	125 Stat. 232 June 24, 2011	Committee discharged; Considered by unanimous consent	A joint resolution providing for the reappointment of Robert P. Kogod as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

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