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THE COMMISSION ON THE OPERATION
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WASHINGTON : 1977

COMMISSION ON THE OPERATION OF THE SENATE

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NOTE

The conclusions and recommendations of the Commission on the Operation of the Senate are contained in the report *Toward a Modern Senate* (94th Congress, Sen. Doc. No. 94-278). Any views and suggestions contained in the papers in this volume are those of the authors, not necessarily those of the Commission or any member.

(III)

PREFACE

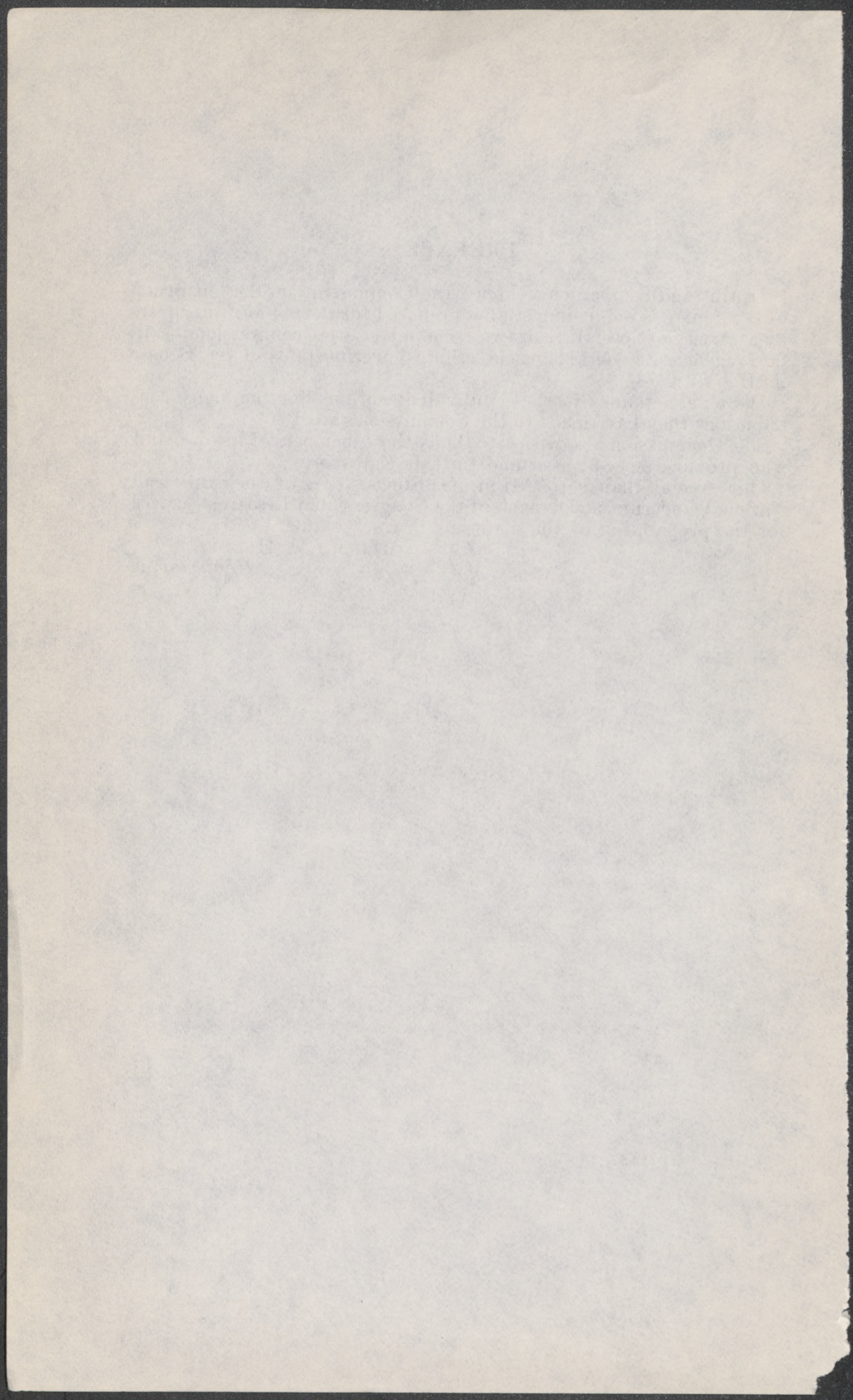
In this and companion volumes, the Commission on the Operation of the Senate is publishing studies prepared for the use of its members by a variety of specialists drawn from universities, congressional support agencies, Federal agencies, State government, and the Senate itself.

We extend thanks to these individual authors for the many contributions they have made to the Commission's work.

The Commission also wishes to thank those members of its own staff who provided special assistance in this endeavor.

Our special thanks to Arthur G. Stevens, Jr. of the American National Government Division of the Congressional Research Service for the preparation of the materials in this volume.

HAROLD E. HUGHES,
Chairman.



FOREWORD

Included in the volume is "U.S. Senate: A Selected Annotated Bibliography," prepared by Arthur G. Stevens, Paul C. Rundquist and Audrey Gunn Morris, analysts in American National Government, Government Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. The bibliography is intended to acquaint the reader with major contemporary works as well as with older classical works in the field. The Commission on the Operation of the Senate believes that it will be a useful tool for Senate employees, scholars and the public concerned with how this unique legislative body functions and how it has adapted to change.

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U.S. SENATE:
A SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Prepared for the
COMMISSION ON THE OPERATION OF THE SENATE
by
ANALYSTS IN AMERICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
GOVERNMENT DIVISION
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
January 28, 1977

INTRODUCTION

This select annotated bibliography on the U.S. Senate is intended to acquaint the reader with the major contemporary works as well as with older, noted works in the field. No bibliography on a field so broad as the Senate can be comprehensive and still be of manageable size. Some of the books included here contain extensive bibliographies of their own, and most academic journal articles are usefully annotated.

In several instances, major works will be listed here under more than one category heading. Moreover, some books deal with the House as well; these books are noted for the reader's convenience. More detailed bibliographies on each of the subject headings in this bibliography are available from the Service upon request.

For all books included in this bibliography, Library of Congress call numbers have been provided. Accordingly, the user may request a book by calling the Loan Division on 426-5441 or by placing your requests with the CRS main number, 426-5700.

THE UNITED STATES SENATE:

A Select Annotated Bibliography

GENERAL WORKS

Bailey, Stephen K. Congress in the seventies. New York, St. Martin's Press [1970] 118 p. JK1061.B32

After examining a number of facets of today's Congress, including the role of interest groups, encroachment by the executive branch, party leadership, the seniority system, and increased oversight activities, Bailey outlines "areas where reform is needed."

Berman, Daniel M. In Congress assembled: the legislative process in the national government. New York, Macmillan [1964] 432 p.

JK1061.B44

Berman's book provides a basic overview of the legislative process with explanations of congressional procedure, politics and alignments, committee structure and rules.

Bibby, John F. and Roger H. Davidson. On Capitol Hill: studies in the legislative process. 2d ed. Hinsdale, Illinois, Dryden Press, Inc. [1972] 300 p. JK1051.B5

This work examines Congress through a number of studies. Topics included are campaigning, the job of the Member, party leadership, rules and procedures, the committee system, executive-legislative relations, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, and congressional reform.

Bradshaw, Kenneth and David Pring. Parliament and Congress. Austin, University of Texas Press [1972] 426 p. JN508.B7

This book offers a descriptive and analytical comparison of Parliament and Congress, focusing on membership, leadership, structure, the legislative process, finance, and legislative oversight.

Congressional Quarterly. Origins and development of Congress. Washington, Congressional Quarterly, Inc. [1976] 325 p.

JK1021.C56

This work excerpts and updates material previously published in CQ's 1971 Guide to Congress. Included in this book are a discussion of the colonial and constitutional experiences upon which the Congress developed, and sections on the history of the House and of the Senate.

----- Powers of Congress. Washington, Congressional Quarterly, Inc. [1976] 357 p. JK1061.C59

Also a revision of material in Guide to Congress, this volume examines the historical development of congressional involvement in fiscal policy, diplomacy, commercial regulation, constitutional revision, and investigations, and traces the history of congressional-executive relations.

De Grazia, Alfred, ed. Congress: the first branch of government. Washington, D.C., American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research [1966] 515 p. JK1061.T9

This book contains twelve studies on the organization of Congress, including essays on legislative oversight, budget reform, expansion of information resources, revitalizing the committee system, congressional liaison, and legislative-executive relations. A separate chapter inventories reform proposals.

Froman, Lewis A. The congressional process: strategies, rules and procedures. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. [1967] 221 p. JK1096.F7

This book provides a systematic analysis of Senate and House rules and procedures and the legislative strategies associated with their use. It is now dated.

Galloway, George B. The legislative process in Congress. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell [1953] 689 p. JK1061.G32

This book provides a systematic analysis and description of the organization and operation of Congress.

Griffith, Ernest S. and Francis R. Valeo. Congress: its contemporary role. 5th ed. New York, New York University Press [1975] 268 p. JK1061.G7

The authors describe the major functions of Congress and assess the means by which and the ability with which Congress performs those functions.

Gross, Bertram M. The legislative struggle. New York, McGraw-Hill [1953] 472 p. JK1096.G7

Gross describes the legislative process in all its complexities, focusing on the contestants, the legislative struggle, and the potential for change in the process.

Jewell, Malcolm E. and Samuel C. Patterson. The legislative process in the United States. 2d ed. New York, Random House [1973] 565 p. JK1001.J2

KF4933.J4

The authors examine the structures and functions of the Congress in comparison with those of state legislatures.

Keefe, William J. and Morris S. Ogul. The American legislative process: Congress and the states. 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc. [1977] 498 p. JK1001.K4/1977

This work covers topics similar to those considered by Jewell and Patterson with additional analysis of legislative-executive relations, legislative-judicial relations, and legislative oversight.

Luce, Robert. Legislative assemblies: their framework, make-up, character, characteristics and manners. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company [1924] 691 p. JK2488.L8

Luce examines foreign and domestic legislative bodies from the first real Parliament in 1295 through those operating in America in the 1920's, analyzing them according to organization, functions, member selection, powers and characteristics, lobbying practices, abuses, and other factors.

Matthews, Donald. U.S. Senators and their world. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1960] 303 p. JK1161.M35

Matthews adopts a sociological-anthropological orientation in his study of the Senate, focusing on the Members and the informal, unwritten rules and expectations which influence their behavior.

Pettit, Lawrence and Edward Keynes, eds. The legislative process in the United States Senate. Chicago, Rand McNally Co. [1969] 309 p. JK1161.P65

This set of articles covers the following topics: characteristics of Senators and of their behavior; characteristics of the Senate as an institution; leadership and influence in the Senate; and policy-making in the Senate.

Preston, Nathaniel, ed. The Senate institution. New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. [1969] 202 p. JK1161.P85

This collection of articles covers such topics as the Senate in the American system, the Senator and his constituents, Senate party leadership, the committee system, congressional ethics, and institutional reform.

Rieselbach, Leroy N., ed. The congressional system: notes and readings. Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc. [1970] 469 p. JK1061.R5

This collection includes articles on committee assignments, the advantages of incumbency, subcommittees, leadership, informal groups, constituency influence, lobbying, legislative oversight, and legislative-executive relations.

Ripley, Randall B. Congress: process and policy. New York, W.W. Norton and Company, Inc. [1975] 316 p. JK1061.R55

The author prepared this basic text on Congress's activities and institutional characteristics to emphasize in particular the ways in which Congress makes public policy.

----- Power in the Senate. New York, St. Martin's Press [1969] 246 p. JK1161.R55

This is a comprehensive historical description and analysis of the distribution of power in the Senate. The impact of this distribution on the legislative process is discussed.

Rogers, Lindsay. The American Senate. New York, Alfred A. Knopf [1926] 285 p. JK1161.R6

The strengths of the U.S. Senate of the 1920's are described by the author as unusual among the world's legislative bodies. He examines the important role of the Senate as part of the American political system.

Saloma, John III. Congress and the new politics. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. [1969] 293 p. JK1061.S2

Saloma evaluates Congress on the basis of its six major functions: representation of diverse interests, lawmaking, oversight and control of the administration, investigation, education and information, and constituent service. He concludes by suggesting how Congress can best adapt to the changes in American politics in the 1970's.

Vogler, David. The politics of Congress. Boston, Allyn and Bacon [1974] 258 p. JK1061.V63

The author focuses on how Congress operates and, particularly, on its politics and the political groups within it.

Wilson, Woodrow. Congressional government. New York, Houghton Mifflin and Company [1885]; Gloucester, Massachusetts, Peter Smith [1973] 344 p. JK1061.W78

JK1061.W78/1973

This early classic provides a detailed analysis of the committee system and its place in the legislative machinery. Wilson coined the phrase, "Congress at work is Congress in its committee rooms." The reprint edition contains a forward by Walter Lippmann.

White, William S. Citadel: the story of the U.S. Senate. New York, Harper and Brothers [1957] 274 p. JK1161.W5

White describes the traditions, personages, operations, and powers of the Senate, focusing on the 1940's and 1950's.

Wolfinger, Raymond E., ed. Readings on Congress. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc. [1971] 426 p. JK1096.W64

Topics covered in this collection include: Senate rules and norms, the committee system, Senate party leadership, lobbying, and congressional-executive relations.

Young, Roland. The American Congress. New York, Harper & Brothers [1958] 333 p. JK1061.Y59

A framework of ideas for examining the role of Congress in the American governmental system is combined with possible expectations for that branch's future performance.

THE JOB OF A SENATOR

Bailey, Stephen K. and Howard D. Samuel. A day in the life of a Senator: the congressional office, 1952. Commentary, May 1952: 433-441.

The authors provide a minute-by-minute description of a typical Senator's day, as a means of helping outsiders better understand the processes of government. A day's schedule for Senator Lehman from New York (in 1951) serves as the example.

Boyd, James. Legislate? Who, me? What happens to a Senator's day. The Washington monthly, February 1969: 44-53.

Boyd describes a Senator's typical hectic day, then suggests means to enable Senators to spend more time on legislative work.

Hartke, Vance. You and your Senator. New York, Coward-McCann, Inc. [1970] 251 p. JK1161.H27

Senator Hartke describes the various duties of a U.S. Senator, the congressional legislative process, and the makeup and political climate of the 91st Congress.

Huitt, Ralph K. The outsider in the Senate: an alternative role. American political science review, September 1961: 566-575.

This article focuses on Senator Proxmire, indicating how a Senator who was not a part of the then-prominent "inner club" could effectively exert influence in the Senate.

Matthews, Donald. U.S. Senators and their world. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1960] 303 p. JK1161.M35

Matthews adopts a sociological-anthropological orientation in his study of the Senate, focusing on the Members and the informal, unwritten rules and expectations which influence their behavior.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Commission on the Operation of the Senate. Toward a modern Senate. Final report of the Commission on the Operation of the Senate. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 83 p. (94th Congress, 1st session. Senate document no. 94-278.)

The Commission, mandated to study and report on the organization and administrative operation of the Senate, presents its findings in this volume. Among its recommendations are revised scheduling processes for Senate floor and committee action, reorganized administrative management services for the Senate, broadcasting of Senate floor debates, removal of non-essential service offices from the Senate wing of the Capitol, and improvement of the management and analytical resources of its staffs and support agencies.

HISTORY

Brown, Everett S., ed. William L. Plumer's memorandum of proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807. New York, Macmillan [1923] 673 p. E331.P73

The Plumer manuscript contains the most detailed description of early Senate operations and organization compiled by a member of the Senate during the period.

Congressional Quarterly. Origins and development of Congress. Washington, Congressional Quarterly, Inc. [1976] 325 p. JK1021.C56

This work excerpts and updates material previously published in CQ's 1971 Guide to Congress. Included in this book are a discussion of the colonial and constitutional experiences upon which the Congress developed, and sections on the history of the House and the Senate.

----- Powers of the Congress. Washington, Congressional Quarterly, Inc. [1976], 357 p. JK1061.C59

Also a revision of material in Guide to Congress, this volume examines the historical development of congressional involvement in fiscal policy, diplomacy, commercial regulation, constitutional revision, and investigations, and traces the history of congressional executive relations.

Drury, Allen. A Senate journal, 1943-1945. New York, McGraw-Hill [1963] 503 p. JK1161.D7

Drury, at the time a congressional press correspondent, kept a daily log of his impressions of the Senate. Included are brief personality sketches of Senators Wherry, Connally, McKellar, Bilbo, Taft, Vandenberg, and others.

Harlow, Ralph V. The history of legislative methods in the period before 1825. New Haven, Yale University Press [1917] 269 p. JK1029.H3

Harlow's book primarily concentrates on the House of Representatives, but also describes the growth of committees, the origins of unlimited debate, and the emergence and decline of the party caucus in the Senate.

Haynes, George H. The Senate of the United States, its history and practice. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company [1938] 2 vols. JK1161.H28

Haynes' book is the only comprehensive summary history of Senate procedure and practice. The author examines a specific institution or procedure, and traces its historical development. Among scholars, there is occasional doubt as to its accuracy.

Luce, Robert. Legislative procedure. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company [1922]; New York, DaCapo Press [1972] 628 p.

JF423.L8/1972

Luce, a former Member of Congress and Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, offers a comprehensive, comparative study of the various stages and participants in the legislative process. Among the topics discussed, showing the historical development of practices in the House, Senate, state and colonial legislatures, are introduction of bills, the role of committees, floor debate, and leadership responsibilities and powers.

Maclay, William. Sketches of debate in the first Senate of the United States in 1789-90-91. Harrisburg, Pa., Lane S. Hart Printer and Binder [1880]; New York, Ungar Publishing Company [1965]

J16.M2/1965

William Maclay, a Senator from Pennsylvania, kept a diary describing the personalities and issues involved in the Senate during the First Congress. Since the Senate then met in closed session and early minutes of meetings are sketchy, Maclay's journal is one of the few sources of information about the early Senate.

Morse, Wayne L. The Senate as envisioned by the framers of the Constitution. In Preston, Nathaniel S., ed. The Senate institution. New York, Van Nostrand [1969] p. 7-17.

JK1161.P85

Morse describes three goals of the Founding Fathers for the Senate: to represent all states equally, to represent the property-holding interests of the nation, and to have a strong voice in formulating foreign policy. Morse argues that popular election of the Senate has muted the first two goals, and that, until recently, the Senate exercised only minimal influence in foreign policy.

Our 'House of Lords.' (Anonymous article). The north american review, May 1886: 454-465.

This article, attributed by some historians to Henry Cabot Lodge, then the editor of the journal, questions whether the Senate has become a refuge of public figures of great wealth isolated from public opinion.

Patterson, James T. Congressional conservatism and the New Deal: the growth of the conservative coalition in Congress, 1933-1939. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press [1967] 369 p.

E806.P365

Winner of the Frederick Jackson Turner Prize of the Organization of American Historians, Patterson's book traces the development of a conservative Democratic-Republican coalition in the Congress as a reaction to New Deal legislation. The coalition's growth in both Houses of Congress is examined.

Peffer, W. A. The United States Senate: its origin, personnel, and organization. The North American review, July 1898: 48-63.

Peffer, a former Senator, provides a short popular history of Senate organization and procedure.

Price, H. Douglas. Congress and the evolution of legislative "professionalism." In Norman J. Ornstein, ed. Congress in change: evolution and reform. New York, Praeger Publishers [1975] p. 2-23.

JK1096.074

Price looks at the shift in Senate and House tenure from the early tendency of shorter periods of service, to the modern system dominated by long congressional careers and the seniority system. He points out the earlier low prestige of the Senate and its rise to a height of power by the end of Reconstruction that led to longer tenure.

Rienow, Robert and Leona T. Rienow. Of snuff, sin, and the Senate. Chicago, Follett Publishing Company [1965] 360 p.

JK1158.R5

The Rienows' book is a popular history of the Senate, with emphasis on some of its colorful personalities and more intriguing scandals.

Stidham, Clara H. (Kerr). The origin and development of the U.S. Senate. Ithaca, Cornell University Press [1895] 197 p.

JK1158.S2

This early academic examination of the Senate concentrates on organizational and procedural developments in the Senate during its first three decades.

U.S. Congress. The United States Senate, 1787-1801. Roy Swanstrom, author. U.S. Govt. Print. Off. 1962. 325p. (87th Congress, 1st Session. Senate. Document no. 87-64)

Swanstrom's work, originally a Ph.D. dissertation, is perhaps the most comprehensive, modern examination of the early Senate. Portions of the document examine the debates of the Constitutional Convention, and the State ratification meetings at which the intended role of the Senate was a source of much controversy.

Williams, Robert P., ed. The first Congress, March 4, 1789-March 3, 1791: a compilation of significant debates. New York, Exposition Press [1970] 465 p.

JK1059.W5

The Senate portions of this book, owing to the Senate's executive sessions, are taken only from incomplete summaries of debate in the Senate journal.

Wilson, Woodrow. Congressional government. New York, Houghton Mifflin and Company [1885]; Gloucester, Peter Smith Publishing [1973] 344 p.

JK1061.W78/1973

Wilson's classic treatise on the Congress asserts that, by the late 19th Century, the Congress had become the dominant branch of the Federal Government to the detriment of the executive and judicial branches.

PROCEDURE

Burdette, Franklin L. Filibustering in the Senate. Princeton, Princeton University Press [1940] 252 p. JK1274.B87

The Senate's filibuster -- its pros and cons and parliamentary devices utilized to restrain it -- receives attention in this work.

Froman, Lewis A., Jr. The congressional process: strategies, rules and procedures. Boston, Little, Brown and Co. 221 p. JK1096.F7

This book provides a systematic analysis of Senate and House rules and procedures and the legislative strategies associated with their use. It's now dated.

Humphrey, Hubert H. Senate on trial. American political science review, September 1950: 650-660.

Procedural and party discipline problems in the 81st Congress are criticized by Humphrey as detriments to the efficiency and public image of the Senate.

Javits, Jacob. Again the Senate debates unlimited debate. New York times magazine, August 3, 1958: 11f.

The Senator writes in support of a change in Senate Rules which would limit the filibuster, explaining both the pros and cons of unlimited debate.

Keynes, Edward. The Senate rules and the Dirksen amendment: a study in legislative strategy and tactics. In Pettit, Lawrence K. and Edward Keynes, eds. The legislative process in the U.S. Senate. Chicago, Rand McNally and Co. [1969] p. 107-149. JK1161.P65

Keynes analyzes the consequences of Senate rules for the public policy-making process in Congress. Senator Dirksen's attempt to secure a constitutional amendment in the 88th and 89th Congresses to deny Federal courts jurisdiction over State legislative reapportionment cases provides the example for the importance of the Rules when controversial issues are being debated.

Lehnen, Robert G. Behavior on the Senate floor: an analysis of debate in the U.S. Senate. Midwest journal of political science, November 1967: 505-521.

Through examining characteristics of the floor debate of Senators in the 87th Congress, Lehnen tests some standard hypotheses pertaining to the dominance of committee members, the identity of deviants from Senate norms, and other factors discussed by Matthews in U.S. Senators and their world.

Luce, Robert. Legislative procedure: parliamentary practices and the course of business in the framing of statutes. Cambridge, Riverside Press [1922], New York, DeCapo Press [1972] 628 p. JK423.L8

The procedures involved in the process of forming, debating, voting on and enacting legislation in the U.S. Congress and other legislative bodies receive careful study in this dated work.

Malbin, Michael J. Compromise by Senate eases anti-filibuster rule. National journal reports, March 15, 1975: 397-400.

This discussion of the March 1975 Senate Rules change to end the filibuster provides descriptions of cloture votes since 1969. It then predicts possible impacts of the 1975 rules change.

Myers, Francis J. Limitation of debate in the United States Senate. Temple law quarterly, July 1949: 1-12.

Myers, then a Senator, discusses the filibuster with emphasis on the issues involved in the 1949 rule change which provided additional means to limit debate in the Senate.

Peffer, William A. The Senate's powers and functions, its rules and methods of doing business. The North American review, v., August 1898: 176-190.

Peffer, a former Senator from Kansas, provides a brief description of the operations of the Senate, with occasional historical background as well.

Rogers, Lindsay. The most remarkable of all inventions of modern politics. Parliamentary affairs, winter 1949: 104-113.

Rogers dwells upon the Senate's roles in confirming nominations and in approving treaties and upon the filibuster in his generally laudatory comments on the Senate.

Siff, Todd and Alan Weil, research directors. Ruling Congress: a study on how the House and Senate rules govern the legislative process. New York, Grossman Publishers [1975] 299 p. KF4937.R34

Various components of the rules process in Congress and their significance are explored as a part of the six-book Ralph Nader Congress Project series. The Senate Committee on Rules and Administration is contrasted to its counterpart in the House.

Swindler, William F. High court of Congress: impeachment trials, 1797-1936. American Bar Association journal, April 1974: 420-428.

Swindler examines the circumstances and procedures surrounding the impeachment trials of twelve "civil officers."

U.S. Congress. Extracts from the journal of the United States Senate in all cases of impeachment presented by the House of Representatives, 1789-1904. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1912. 499 p. (62d Congress, 1st Session. Senate Document no. 62-876)

This document is a compilation of Senate procedure followed in considering articles of impeachment.

U.S. Congress. President of the Senate pro tempore, proceedings in the United States Senate from April 6, 1789 to December 5, 1911. Henry Gilfrey, ed. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1911. 255 p. (62d Congress, 1st session. Senate Document no. 62-104)

Gilfrey's compilation of rulings by the chair is a basic, brief source for parliamentary precedents similar to Hinds' and Cannon's Precedents for the House of Representatives.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Commission on the Operation of the Senate. Toward a modern Senate. Final report of the Commission on the Operation of the Senate. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 83 p. (94th Congress, 1st session. Senate document no. 94-278.)

The Commission, mandated to study and report on the organization and administrative operation of the Senate, presents its findings in this volume. Among its recommendations are revised scheduling processes for Senate floor and committee action, reorganized administrative management services for the Senate, broadcasting of Senate floor debates, removal of non-essential service offices from the Senate wing of the Capitol, and improvement of the management and analytical resources of its staffs and support agencies.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Government Operations. The authority of the Senate to originate appropriation bills. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1963. 49 p. (88th Congress, 1st session. Senate. Document no. 17)

The staff of the Senate Government Operations Committee prepared this report utilizing the debates and actions of the 1787 Constitutional Convention and other pertinent materials, concluding that the Founding Fathers intended to vest the Senate with authority, equal to that of the House, to originate appropriations bills.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Precedents, decisions on points of order with phraseology in the United States Senate. Henry H. Gilfry, compiler. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1909. 711 p. (61st Congress, 1st Session. Senate. Document no. 129)

Precedents and rulings in the parliamentary practice of the U.S. Senate, from 1789 through 1909, are presented by topic in a condensed form with references to relevant House practices.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Senate procedure. Floyd M. Riddick, compiler. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1974. 1076 p. (93rd Congress, 1st session. Senate. Document no. 93-21)

This compilation of the Senate rules, portions of laws affecting Senate procedures, rules by the Presiding Officer, and established practices of the Senate provides information on Senate procedure from its beginning.

Wolfinger, Raymond E. Filibusters: majority rule, presidential leadership, and Senate norms. In Wolfinger, Raymond, ed. Readings on Congress. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc. [1971] p. 296-305. JK1096.W64

This is a scholarly analysis of the modern impact of the filibuster on legislation. Wolfinger also examines presidential stances vis-a-vis attempts to revise Rule XXII.

REORGANIZATION AND REFORM

Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Special Committee on Congressional Ethics. Congress and the public trust. New York, Atheneum [1970] 351 p. JK4970.A95

This is a fairly comprehensive study of factors affecting ethical standards in the Congress; recommendations for improvements are incorporated.

Bailey, Stephen K. Congress in the seventies. New York, St. Martin's Press [1970] 118 p. JK1061.B32

After examining a number of facets of Congress, including the role of interest groups, relations with the executive branch, party leadership, the seniority system, and oversight activities, Bailey outlines "areas where reform is needed."

Brock, Bill. Committees in the Senate. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1974: 15-26.

The author describes problems with the Senate committee system and proposes general solutions.

Buckley, James L. If men were angels: a view from the Senate. New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons [1975] 284 p. E743.B776

Former Senator Buckley's book is both a memoir and a proposal for reform. In summarizing his experiences as a Senator, Buckley offers a variety of reform proposals to improve the organization of the Senate, and to enhance its ability to oversee the actions of the executive branch.

Clark, Joseph S. Congress: the sapless branch. New York, Harper and Row [1964] 268 p. JK1061.C57

Senator Clark presents his view of the role of Congress in national political life; he also examines the workings of the Congress, especially the Senate, and advocates major structural and procedural changes.

-----, ed. Congressional reform: problems and prospects. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell [1965] 364 p. JK1061.C58

This is a collection of writings, edited and compiled by Clark, examining a variety of reform proposals. The articles are arranged in a pro-con format and were contributed by scholars and professional politicians.

Committee for Economic Development. Making Congress more effective. New York [1970] 75 p. JK1061.C585

This pamphlet outlines a number of areas in which "congressional reform is needed," including congressional control of fiscal policy, modernizing the committee system, and changes in the financing of elections. (This publication is available from the Committee for Economic Development, 477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022.)

Congressional reorganization. Congressional quarterly, v. 2, April-May-June 1946: 362-367 and 392; July-Aug.-Sept. 1946: 531-535.

Together these two articles describe the legislative history of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which greatly reduced the number of Senate committees and provided for other significant congressional reforms.

Davidson, Roger, et. al. Congress in crisis: politics and congressional reform. Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Company [1966] 336 p. JK1096.D3

The authors examine the role of Congress and the forces favoring and opposing congressional reorganization. They also provide several case studies of reform attempts in the middle 1960's.

De Grazia, Alfred, ed. Congress: the first branch of government. The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C. [1966] 515 p. JK1061.T9

This book contains twelve studies on the organization of Congress, including essays on legislative oversight, budget reform, expansion of information resources, revitalizing the committee system, congressional liaison, and legislative-executive relations. A separate chapter contains an inventory of reform proposals.

Ervin, Sam, Jr. The case against reform: a nobler purpose than political efficiency. In Preston, Nathaniel S., ed. The Senate institution. New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. [1969] p. 192-202. JK1161.P85

Senator Ervin argues against the wisdom of several "reform" tenets, such as party responsibility, majority rule, and abolition of the "seniority system."

Green, Mark J., et. al. Who runs Congress? New York, Grossman Publishers [1972] 307 p. JK1061.G68

This book was a product of Ralph Nader's Congress Project. The authors set forth their opinions as to problems Congress faces today and suggest the areas where reform is needed.

Hopkins, Bruce R. Congressional reform: toward a modern Congress. Notre Dame lawyer, February 1972: 442-513.

Hopkins examines various forms of congressional reorganization culminating in the 1970 Legislative Reorganization Act. Portions of the article deal with the Senate cloture rule, seniority reform, increased congressional information resources, and committee jurisdiction rationalization.

Humphrey, Hubert H. The Senate on trial. American political science review, September 1950: 650-660.

Humphrey criticizes Senate practices related to debate, delay, attendance, archaic rules, and the large non-legislative workload.

Jasper, Herbert N. A congressional budget: will it work this time? Bureaucrat, January 1975: 429-443.

Jasper describes the political circumstances leading to establishment of congressional budget procedures. He also describes those procedures and discusses the likelihood that they will prove effective.

Jones, Charles O. Between party battallions and committee suzerainty. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, January 1974: 158-168.

Jones suggests that, in the light of frequently split party control between Congress and the White House, changes should be made to increase the authority and visibility of congressional party leaders and, hence, Congress' potential to produce its own integrated policy proposals.

Legislative reorganization act: first year's record. *Congressional quarterly weekly report*, March 4, 1972: 485-491.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 is described, and the effects of the Act on Congress, after one year in use, are examined.

Ornstein, Norman J. 1970 Legislative Reorganization Act: first year's record. In Ornstein, Norman J., ed. *Congress in change: evolution and reform*. New York, Praeger Publishers [1975] p. 187-202.

JK1096.074

The 1970 Reorganization Act -- its legislative history and provisions -- is reviewed, and observations are made on the effects of the Act on the Senate and House during its first year. Further reforms under study also are discussed.

----- Towards restructuring the congressional committee system. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, January 1974: 147-157.

To encourage a more efficient allocation of Senators' time and resources, Ornstein suggests that committees and subcommittees be consolidated. He proposes different reforms for committees in the House of Representatives.

Pearson, Drew and Jack Anderson. *The case against Congress*. New York, Simon and Schuster [1968] 473 p.

JK1061.P4

This book by two investigative journalists recounts instances of official corruption, conflict of interest, and unfitness for office.

Saloma, John, III. *Congress and the new politics*. Boston, Little, Brown and Company [1969] 293 p.

JK1061.S2

Saloma evaluates Congress on the basis of its six major functions: representation of diverse interests, lawmaking, oversight and control of the administration, investigation, education and information, and constituent service. He concludes by suggesting how Congress can best adapt to the changes in American politics in the 1970's.

Stewart, John G. *Central policy organs in Congress*. In *Congress against the President*. New York, Academy of Political Science, 1975 (Proceedings, v. 32, no. 1, 1975) p. 20-33.

Stewart looks at the effects of congressional reform on the operations of the House and Senate, discussing 1975 changes, origins of moves to make Congress more responsive to the majority party, and the momentum for change in recent years.

Thomas, Elbert D. The Senate during and since the war. Parliamentary affairs, winter 1949: 114-126.

Thomas looks at some of the effects of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 on the operations of the Senate, focusing particularly on legislative-executive relations.

Truman, David B., ed. The Congress and America's future. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall [1965] 185 p. JK1061.A73

In this collection of essays, legislative oversight, campaign finance, constituent influence, power in the House and Senate, budget reform, and congressional control over foreign policy are among the topics considered. The final chapter deals with specific reform proposals.

U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress of the United States. Organization of Congress: hearings before the Joint Committee, Part I and II. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1965. (89th Congress, 1st session. Committee print) JK1061.A483

The hearings reported in these volumes were conducted pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 2 of 1965. It established the Committee, to make a thorough study of Congress's organization and operation and to recommend improvements.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Commission on the Operation of the Senate. Toward a modern Senate. Final report of the Commission on the Operation of the Senate. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 83 p. (94th Congress, 2d session. Senate document no. 94-278.)

The Commission, mandated to study and report on the organization and administrative operation of the Senate, presents its findings in this volume. Among its recommendations are revised scheduling processes for Senate floor and committee action, reorganized administrative management services for the Senate, broadcasting of Senate floor debates, removal of non-essential service offices from the Senate wing of the Capitol, and improvement of the management and analytical resources of its staffs and support agencies.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Temporary Select Committee to Study the Senate Committee System. The Senate committee system: jurisdictions, referrals, numbers and sizes, and limitations of assignments. First staff report. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 224 p.

The first staff report of the Select Committee surveys the Senate's committee system, describing existing committee jurisdictions, legislative subject matter referral overlaps, committee meeting scheduling conflicts resulting from Member's multiple committee and subcommittee assignments and examining various proposals for reform.

Weaver, Warren, Jr. Both your houses: the truth about Congress. New York, Praeger Publishers [1972] 306 p. JK1041.W4

In a journalistic and personal account, Weaver examines the major faults with today's Congress and suggests how they might be remedied.

PARTY LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

General

Berdahl, Clarence. Some notes on party membership in Congress. American political science review, v. 43, 1949: 309-321, 492-508, and 721-734.

These research notes examine historically such diverse topics as leadership personality, party machinery, party discipline, policy formation, and congressional relations with the executive.

Brown, George R. The leadership of Congress. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [1922] 311 p. JK1316.B7

This is an historical study of congressional leadership, from colonial beginnings through changes following World War I.

Burns, James MacGregor. The deadlock of democracy: four party politics in America. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall [1963] 388 p. E183.B96

Burns explores the theoretical and political foundations of the American political system as it was in the years following the New Deal. He focuses particularly upon the reasons for delayed governmental responses to societal problems -- described in terms of the political coalitions linking Congress and the White House.

Clark, Joseph S. The Senate establishment. New York, Hill and Wang [1963] 138 p. JK1239.C55

In this series of Senate speeches, Senator Clark identifies the Senate "establishment" and describes the means -- primarily control over committee appointments -- by which its members influence the making of legislative policy decisions.

Holt, James. Congressional insurgents and the party system 1909-1916. Cambridge, Harvard University Press [1967] 188 p. E761.H6

Holt examines the reformist Republicans and Democrats and their role in the party system during the period 1909-1916, in limiting the power of the Speaker, fostering the growth of congressional party caucuses, and in establishing the relative independence of committee chairmen.

Huitt, Ralph K. The internal distribution of influence: the Senate. In Truman, David B., ed. The Congress and America's future. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc. [1965] p. 91-117. JK1061.A73

Huitt describes the sources and uses of power within the Senate, focusing on the party floor leaders and the committee leaders.

Jones, Charles O. Between party battalions and committee suzerainty. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1974: 158-168.

Jones suggests that, in the light of frequently split party control between Congress and the White House, changes should be made to increase the authority and visibility of congressional party leaders and, hence, Congress' potential to produce its own integrated policy proposals.

Moore applies analytical methods to test significant Senate votes for the existence and impact of the conservative coalition.

Peabody, Robert L. Leadership in Congress: stability, succession, and change. Boston, Little, Brown and Company [1976] 520 p.

JK1061.P36

Peabody examines the leadership mechanisms of both Houses, election contests, shows how the leadership has changed over time.

Ripley, Randall B. Power in the Senate. New York, St. Martin's Press [1969] 246 p.

JK1161.R55

This is a comprehensive historical description and analysis of the distribution of power in the Senate; the effects of this distribution on the legislative process are discussed.

Rothman, David J. Politics and power: the United States Senate, 1869-1901. Cambridge, Harvard University Press [1966] 348 p.

JK1158.R65

The evolution of leadership positions and party structures in the Senate is treated by Rothman.

Schattschneider, E. E. Congress in conflict. *Yale review*, winter 1952: 181-193.

The author argues that Congress has let itself be overwhelmed by an unmanageable workload and that it should focus its attention on general issues of importance to the whole nation. He sees revitalized political parties, through the control of party leaders over scheduling decisions, as the vehicle by which these changes can occur.

Sullivan, William E. Criteria for selecting party leadership in Congress. *American politics quarterly*, January 1975: 25-44.

On the basis of roll-call votes from the 84th through the 92nd Congresses, Sullivan finds that neither a moderate ideological stance nor high party loyalty has characterized party leaders prior to their selection as leaders. With the exception of Senate Democrats, there was a trend toward moderate voting after assuming a leadership role.

Truman, David B. The congressional party: a case study. New York, John Wiley [1959] 336 p.

JK1061.T7

Set in the 1950's, this is a well-known study of congressional politics. The analysis techniques employed were quite advanced for that time.

Floor Leadership

Bowers, Claude G. The life of John Worth Kern. Indianapolis, Hollenbeck Press [1918] 475 p. E664.K347B7

This biography traces Kern's career as a political figure, culminating in his selection as Senate Democratic floor leader, the first person to hold that post.

Branyan, Robert L. and R. Alton Lee. Lyndon B. Johnson and the art of the possible. Southwest social science quarterly, December 1964: 213-225.

The author recounts some of the high moments of Lyndon Johnson's Senate leadership.

Collidge, Louis A. Orville H. Platt of Connecticut: An old fashioned Senator. New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons [1910] E664.P7C7

Collidge describes this private and public life of Senator Platt who served Connecticut in the Senate, for 26 years, beginning in 1879. Emphasis is placed on Platt, his party's growing involvement with business, and other economic issues.

Collins, Frederick W. How to be a leader without leading. New York times magazine, July 30, 1961: 9f.

Collins discusses the relaxed, collegial leadership style of Senator Mike Mansfield in contrast to the leadership personality of his predecessor, Lyndon Johnson.

Evans, Rowland and Robert Novak. Lyndon B. Johnson: the exercise of power. New York, New American Library [1966] 597 p.

E847.E9

Evans and Novak examine Lyndon B. Johnson's career, focusing particularly upon his legislative achievements and his leadership style.

Fritchey, Clayton. Who belongs to the Senate's inner club? Harper's magazine, May 1967: 104f.

This article describes the "inner club" of the Senate in 1967, an unofficial collegial body of senior senators and committee chairman who were a major leadership force.

Garraty, John A. Henry Cabot Lodge: a biography. New York, Alfred A. Knopf [1953] 433 p. E664.L7G3

Garraty describes the controversial Lodge's career as an historian, editor, and politician. Emphasis is placed on his long political and personal association with Theodore Roosevelt and his bitter conflicts with Woodrow Wilson over progressive reform and over the Versailles Treaty.

Glass, Andrew J. Mansfield reforms spark "quiet revolution" in Senate. National journal, March 6, 1971: 499-512.

Glass reviews the Senate under Majority Leader Mansfield, focusing on Mansfield's reforms and approach to leadership, and on the Democratic leadership in the Senate.

Huitt, Ralph K. Democratic party leadership in the Senate. American political science review, June 1961: 333-344.

This analysis of Lyndon Johnson's Senate leadership identifies those approaches to the use of leadership prerogatives which accounted for Johnson's successful tenure as leader.

Jones, Charles O. The minority party in Congress. Boston, Little, Brown and Co. [1970] 204 p. JK2256.J63

Jones analyses the role of the minority in forming coalitions to block or modify the majority's legislative program.

Kuchel, Thomas. The role of the Senate minority. In Preston, Nathaniel S., ed. The Senate institution. New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. [1969] p. 75-84. JK1161.P85

The focus in this article is on the organization, activities and accomplishments of Senate Republicans rather than on a general role for a minority party.

Mansfield, Michael J. The Senate and its leadership. In Preston, Nathaniel S., ed. The Senate institution. New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. [1969] p. 59-74. JK1161.P85

Senator Mansfield states the principles guiding his behavior as Majority Leader.

Munk, Margaret. Origin and development of the party floor leadership in the United States Senate. Capitol studies, winter 1974: 23-41.

Munk attributes the development of the Senate floor leadership to the growth of the Federal Government and increasing Presidential involvement in the legislative process, resulting in a new concept of partnership between the President and congressional leaders for formulating and adopting legislative programs.

Phillips, Cabell. Majority leader of a majority of one. New York times magazine, July 19, 1953: 13f.

Phillips describes the new Senate Majority Leader in 1953, Senator William F. Knowland of California, his duties in that position and the obstacles encountered by a leader having such a small majority.

----- The way Lyndon Johnson does it. New York times magazine, July 26, 1959: 9f.

The political power of Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, how he utilized it, and his past and possible future political career receive attention in this article.

Polsby, Nelson W. Goodbye to the inner club. The Washington monthly, August 1969: 30-34.

The article traces the transition of Senate power from the hands of the traditional "inner club" members.

Ripley, Randall E. Majority party leadership in Congress. Boston, Little, Brown and Company [1969] 194 p. JK1061.R56

Ripley provides a series of case studies to analyze various leadership patterns: same party controls Congress and Executive, different parties control Congress and Executive, one house same party as Executive, etc.

Rovere, Richard H. What course for the powerful Mr. Taft? New York times magazine, March 22, 1953: 9f.

Rovere describes Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio as Senate Majority Leader in the 83rd Congress during the administration of his political rival President Eisenhower.

Stewart, John G. Two strategies of leadership: Johnson and Mansfield. In Polsby, Nelson W., ed. Congressional behavior. New York, Random House [1971] p. 61-92. JK1061.P62

Stewart compares the Johnson and Mansfield conceptions of party leadership, pointing out the impact of the political environment on each. The impact of the two leadership styles on senatorial behavior and party performance is examined.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Majority and minority leaders of the Senate: history and development of the offices of the floor leaders. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1973. 19 p. (93rd Congress, 1st session. Senate. Document no. 93-32)

This report recounts the evolution of the offices of Senate majority and minority leader, including the changing role of those leaders in relation to their party and the full Senate, and a listing of members holding those offices.

White, William S. Rugged days for the Majority Leader. New York times magazine, July 3, 1949: 14f.

White assesses the political problems facing Senate Majority Leader Scott W. Lucas of Illinois as he attempted to further President Truman's programs.

The Whip

Oleszek, Walter J. Party whips in the United States Senate. Journal of politics, November 1971: 955-979.

This is a study of the historical development of the office of party whip. Oleszek focuses on the criteria for selection of whips, the expansion of the whip function, and the relationship between a whip and the floor leader of his party.

Party Groups

Maxwell, Neal A. The conference of western Senators. Western political quarterly, December 1957: 902-910.

Maxwell recounts the formation of the conference, describes the voting cohesion of its members on various issues, and suggests that it will not develop beyond a forum in which western problems are discussed.

Party Committees

Bone, Hugh A. An introduction to the Senate policy committees. American political science review, June 1956: 339-359.

Bone points out that the policy committees have had little effect in integrating party policies but that they have performed other functions. The nature of these functions differs somewhat with the majority-minority status of the party in the Senate.

Humbert, W. H. The Democratic joint policy committee. American political science review, June 1932: 552-554.

Humbert discusses this group established in the 72d Congress. With members selected by the Democratic leadership in both Houses, and under the chairmanship of Speaker Garner, the Joint Policy Committee was an informal legislative advisory council which met only infrequently and appeared unable to resolve differences between House and Senate Democrats. The committee met in executive session, and Humbert claims to have found few persons willing to discuss its operations. The joint policy group was discontinued in the following Congress.

Jewell, Malcolm. The Senate Republican policy committee and foreign policy. Western political quarterly, December 1959: 966-980.

Jewell shows how the Republican Policy Committee has been used as an instrument of compromise within the senatorial party and as a means of minimizing differences with a Republican administration. He concludes that the Committee has contributed to Republican unity on some foreign policy issues.

Stewart, John G. Central policy organs in Congress. In Mansfield, Harvey C., Sr., ed. Congress against the President. New York, Praeger Publishers [1975] p. 21-33. JK1051.C59

Stewart describes the recent trend in the congressional Democratic parties toward democratization of decision-making. He cites activities of the Democratic Policy Committee in the Senate and the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee in the House.

THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM

Asher, Herbert B. Committees and the norm of specialization. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1974: 63-74.

Asher examines the benefits and detriments of specialization for the Member and for the political system, briefly compares the Senate and the House in this regard, and discusses possible reforms.

Brock, Bill. Committees in the Senate. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1974: 15-26.

Senator Brock criticizes the present jurisdictional boundaries of Senate committees and the limited scope of legislative functions performed by committees. He suggests changes designed to promote the strength of the legislative branch.

Eulau, Heinz. The committees in a revitalized Congress. In de Grazia, Alfred, ed. *Congress: the first branch of government*. Washington, American Enterprise Institute [1969] p. 213-256. JK1061.T9

Eulau reviews, from the perspective of his goal of a strong and independent Congress, difficulties posed by the present congressional committee system. He is critical of some of the standard proposals for reform, while offering his own suggestions.

Fenno, Richard F. *Congressmen in committees*. Boston, Little, Brown and Company [1973] 302 p. JK1029.F45

Fenno examines committee differences, comparing six House committees with their Senate counterparts. In comparing the committees he utilizes several performance variables: member goals, environmental constraints, strategic premises, decision-making processes, and decisions.

Goodwin, George. *The little legislatures*. Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press [1970] 284 p. JK1029.G6

Goodwin briefly examines the historical development of standing committees of Congress, then looks at the internal organization of committees, their role in the legislative process, and the prospects for reform of the committee system.

Harlow, Ralph V. *History of legislative methods in the period before 1925*. New Haven, Yale University Press [1917] 264 p. JK1029.H3

This early history of the Congress examines, in part, the beginnings of the Senate. It presents a comprehensive analysis of the emergence of the committee system and of the party caucus as a leadership instrument.

Huitt, Ralph K. The congressional committee: a case study. American political science review, June 1954: 340-365.

Huitt evaluates two hypotheses -- that committee members, in hearings, act as impartial judges representing the general interest and that the members participate in the struggle between contending interests. He examines the 1946 hearings by the Committee on Banking and Currency on the question of extending price controls.

Jones, Charles O. Between party battalions and committee suzerainty. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1974: 158-168.

Jones suggests that, in the light of frequently split party control between Congress and the White House, changes should be made to increase the authority and visibility of congressional party leaders and, hence, Congress' potential to produce its own integrated policy proposals.

Kravitz, Walter. Evolution of the Senate's committee system. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1974: 27-38.

The development of the Senate committee system is traced from its beginnings, including the transition to strong committees with majority party control and seniority-based membership decisions, plus the reforms of 1921, 1946, 1970, and more recent reform trends.

Lees, John D. The committee system of the United States Congress. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul [1967] 114 p.

JK1029.L4

The author, a British scholar, examines the committee system in light of the doctrine of separation of powers, and concludes that dispersed power, although legislatively inefficient, is most suitable for a federal system.

Low, A. Maurice. The oligarch of the Senate. The North American review, February 1902: 231-244.

Low examines the positions of influence which committee chairmen had then achieved, and notes that the Finance and Appropriations Committee chairmen were preeminent in Senate influence.

Lutzker, Paul. The behavior of Congressmen in a committee setting. Journal of politics, February 1969: 140-166.

This is an attempt to identify empirically various patterns of interaction among the participants in Senate and House hearings held in 1965 on the Higher Education Act.

Malbin, Michael J. Congressional staffs: growing fast, but in different directions. National journal, v. 8, July 10, 1976: 958-965.

This look at the styles of the staffs of four committees reveals differences in the use of staff and in staff size and growth. The Senate Finance and Commerce Committees, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation serve as examples.

McConachie, Lauros G. Congressional committees. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell [1898] 441 p. JK1029.M2

This work examines the historically evolving roles of congressional committees. Special emphasis is placed upon the committees' role within the political framework of Congress.

Morrow, William L. Congressional committees. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons [1969] 261 p. JK1029.M6

Morrow discusses congressional committees from a constitutional perspective. Then he describes committee organization, norms guiding the behavior of committee members, and the role of committees in legislative-executive relations. He concludes with observations about committees and the governmental process.

Muskie, Edmund S. Committees and subcommittees in the Senate. In Preston, Nathaniel S., ed. The Senate institution. New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. [1969] p. 121-131. JK1161.P85

Senator Muskie describes the operation of the subcommittees on which he serves, as part of his evaluation of the committee system and of seniority as the criterion for choosing chairmen.

Nelson, Garrison. Assessing the congressional committee system: contributions from a comparative perspective. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1974: 120-132.

Nelson asserts that the committee system places the Congress in a stronger position vis-a-vis the executive branch than would a system of strong parties.

Open committee trend in the House and Senate. Congressional quarterly weekly report, January 11, 1975: 81-83.

The article examines the growing number of standing committee sessions and conference committee meetings open to the public.

Ornstein, Norman J. Towards restructuring the congressional committee system. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1974: 147-157.

To encourage a more efficient allocation of Senators' time and resources, Ornstein suggests that committees and subcommittees be consolidated. He proposes different reforms for committees in the House of Representatives.

Ripley, Randall B. Congressional government and committee management. In Montgomery, John and Arthur Smithies, eds. Public policy, vol. XIV. Cambridge, Harvard University Press [1965] p. 28-48.

Ripley analyses the division of labor among congressional committees when at least two committees in each house have jurisdiction over the same legislative area. The United States' economic aid program for India (1951-1962) serves as the basis for this analysis.

Russell, Mary. The press and the committee system. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1974: 114-119.

This is an analysis of the advantages and dangers of the relationships commonly developed between reporters and the members and staff of congressional committees.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Some problems of committee jurisdiction. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1951. 46 p. (82nd Congress, 1st session. Senate. Document no. 51)

Prepared as part of the committee's review of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, this study demonstrates divisions and overlaps in committee jurisdiction in the areas of foreign economic policy, transportation, construction, and fiscal affairs. A comparison of jurisdictions of parallel Senate and House committees in these areas is included.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Rules and Administration. Expenditure authorizations for Senate committees. 94th Congress, 2d session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 95 p.

At head of title: committee print.

A regular committee publication, this contains two sections: Part I--Statutory Provisions, Procedures, and Regulations -- which provides information on the statutory requirements for Senate committee expenditure authorizations; and Part II -- Funds Authorized for Senate Committees, 93d Congress through 94th Congress, 1st Session -- which lists authorizations by Congress for each committee.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Temporary Senate Committee to Study the Senate Committee System. The Senate committee system: jurisdictions, referrals, numbers and sizes, and limitations of assignments. First staff report. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 224 p.

The first staff report of the Select Committee surveys the Senate's committee system, describing existing committee jurisdictions, legislative subject matter referral overlaps, committee meeting scheduling conflicts resulting from Member's multiple committee and subcommittee assignments, and examining various proposals for reform.

----- Structure of the Senate committee system: jurisdictions, numbers and sizes, and limitations on memberships and chairmanships, referral procedures, and scheduling; first report together with additional views. Senate Report 94-1395. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 225 p.

The report of the Select Committee contains recommendations for reform of the Senate's committee system. The report formed the basis for S. Res. 586 of the 94th Congress, and S. Res. 4 of the 95th Congress.

Wilson, Woodrow. Congressional government. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company [1885]; Gloucester, Peter Smith Publishing [1973] 344 p.

JK1061.W78

JK1061.W78/1973

This early classic provides a detailed analysis of the committee system and its place in the legislative machinery. Wilson coined the phrase, "Congress at work is Congress in its committee rooms." The reprint edition contains a forward by Walter Lippmann.

Committee Assignments

Huitt, Ralph K. The Morse committee assignment controversy: a study in Senate norms. American political science review, June 1957: 313-329.

Huitt attempts to isolate those factors which influence party decisions regarding the allocation of committee assignments and of rank on committees to Senators who formally leave their party or who do not support its presidential nominee.

Swanson, Wayne R. Committee assignments and the nonconformist legislator: Democrats in the U.S. Senate. Midwest journal of political science, February 1969: 84-94.

Swanson, using data from the 86th through the 89th Congresses, shows that liberal Democrats (especially those who seemed not to conform thoroughly to Senate norms) fared relatively poorly in their committee assignments.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Rules and practice of the Senate of the United States in the appointment of committees from March 4, 1789 to March 14, 1863. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1913. 31 p. (62nd Congress, 3rd session. Senate. Document no. 1122)

The first 75 years in the evolution of the Senate committee system are traced in this report, including relevant quotations from the Senate Rules and precedents for committees provided by the Parliament of Great Britain.

Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences

Ralph Nader Congress Project. The environment committees. New York, Grossman Publishers [1975] 395 p. HC110.E5R28

This Nader Congress Project report examines six committees sharing responsibility for environmental legislation: the House and Senate Interior, Agriculture, and science Committees. The report concludes that, with few exceptions, the committees surveyed were more sensitive to the interests of major industries than to questions relating to environmental protection.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences. Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, United States Senate: tenth anniversary, 1958-1968. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1968. 109 p. (90th Congress, 2nd session. Senate. Document no. 116)

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This committee history provides a background and record of the Committee during its first decade, 1958-1968, in overseeing the nation's involvement in space activities.

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Ralph Nader Congress Project. The environment committees. New York, Grossman Publishers [1975] 395 p.

HC110.E5R68

This Nader Congress Project report examines six committees sharing responsibility for environmental legislation: the House and Senate Interior, Agriculture, and science Committees. The report concludes that, with few exceptions, the committees surveyed were more sensitive to the interests of major industries than to questions relating to environmental protection.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. A brief history of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, United States Senate, and landmark agricultural legislation, 1825-1970. U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 52 p. (91st Congress, 2nd session. Senate. Document no. 91-107)

The present status and historical development of the committee, its members since 1825, its changing jurisdictional responsibilities, and major legislation it has acted upon are described.

Committee on Appropriations

Fenno, Richard F., Jr. The power of the purse: appropriations politics in Congress. Boston, Little, Brown and Co. [1966] 704 p.

JK1074.F4

In a comprehensive analysis, Fenno examines all phases of the appropriations process in both houses and suggests an analytical framework in which the behavior of Members and agency officials can be understood.

Horn, Stephen. Unused power: the work of the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Washington, Brookings Institution [1970] 285 p.

JK1240.A62H67

Horn identifies the roles of the Appropriations Committee as an agent of the Senate, analyses the performance of the Committee in the 1960's, and suggests changes in procedures aimed at making the Committee more effective.

Kirst, Michael. Government without passing laws. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1969] 196 p. JK1074.K5

Kirst focuses on the appropriations committees and their role in policy formation. He contends that the committees exercise control over the executive not only by program funding, but through opinions and attitudes conveyed in hearings, reports, and the statements of Members.

Pressman, Jeffrey L. House vs. Senate: conflict in the appropriations process. New Haven, Yale University Press [1966] 133 p. JK1074.P7

This is a case study of the politics and personalities in the appropriations process as revealed in the 1962 delay in program funding brought about by inter-House rivalry.

Spohn, Richard and Charles McCollum. [research directors] The revenue committees. New York, Grossman Publishers [1975] 342 p. HJ257.2.R34

This Nader Congress Project book examines the operations of the Senate Finance Committee, the House Ways and Means Committee, and the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. After describing procedures within each of the committees, and the important work of these committees in conference, the Nader Project offers a series of reform proposals to increase the public accountability of the committees.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations, 100th Anniversary, 1867-1967. U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1967. 121 p. (90th Congress, 1st session. Senate. Document no. 21.) JK1240

A6A52

The 100-year history of the role of the committee in helping to guide the financial operation of the Federal Government includes some information previously confined to committee files.

Committee on Armed Services

Batten, James K. Why the Pentagon pays homage to John Cornelius Stennis. New York times magazine, November 23, 1969: 44f.

The 1969 battle over the military appropriations bill in the Senate is recounted, emphasizing the role played by the then new chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senator John C. Stennis.

Futterman, Stanley. Toward legislative control of the C.I.A. New York University journal of international law and politics, winter 1971, pp. 431-458.

Futterman reviews the Central Intelligence Agency's unique legal position as well as the legislative efforts in the 92nd Congress, to control the CIA.

Hersh, Seymour. The military committees. Washington monthly, April 1969: 84-92.

This Pulitzer Prize winning reporter criticizes the committees and their members, claiming that they are dominated by the opinions of the Defense Department.

Stephens, Herbert W. The role of the legislative committees in the appropriations process: a study focused on the Armed Services Committees. Western political quarterly, March 1971: 146-162.

Stephens describes the series of actions during the 1960's whereby the Armed Services Committees succeeded in subjecting increasing portions of the defense budget to the requirement of annual authorization.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Bibby, John and Roger Davidson. On Capitol Hill: studies in the legislative process. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston [1972] 280 p. JK1051.B5

One chapter of this book is devoted to the operations of the Committee on Banking and Currency under the chairmanships of Senators Fulbright and Robertson. Bibby and Davidson discuss several factors which explain the decision-making patterns on the Committee and, inferentially, on other committees.

Committee on Budget

Havemann, Joel. The Congressional budget committee -- high marks after the first years. National journal, September 25, 1976: 1346-1352.

Havemann claims that the efforts at budget control during the 94th Congress have been generally successful, partly as a result of diligent work by members of both Budget Committees to fulfill their responsibilities and to maintain good working relationships with the other committees in their respective chambers.

Committee on Commerce

Price, David E. [research director] The commerce committees. New York, Grossman Publishers [1975] 358 p. JK1430.C65

Price directed the research team which assembled the material in this book produced by the Ralph Nader Congress Project. The book compares the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Senate Commerce Committee in their policy orientation, committee and subcommittee organization, staff use, and oversight activities. The work concludes that the Senate Commerce Committee,

through better organization, has more effectively handled its legislative workload and oversight responsibilities. The research team also concludes that the Senate Commerce Committee has exhibited greater sensitivity to consumer interests and consumer legislation than has the House committee.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Commerce. History, membership, and jurisdiction of the Senate Committee on Commerce from 1816-1966. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1966. 61 p. (89th Congress, 2nd session. Senate. Document no. 100)

JK1240.

C57A53

The Commerce Committee briefly describes its history, including jurisdictional changes, then identifies all committee members for each Congress of its history.

Committee on Finance

Fowlkes, Frank V. and Harry Lenhart, Jr. Two money committees wield power differently. National journal, April 10, 1971: 779-807.

The history, jurisdictions, and politics of the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee are described.

Manley, John F. The politics of finance. Boston, Little, Brown, and Company [1970] p. 249-321.

JK1430.W32M33

Most of this book deals with the House Ways and Means Committee, but a lengthy section deals with its counterpart, the Senate Finance Committee, and Senate responses to House initiatives in tax policy legislation.

Spohn, Richard and Charles McCollum. [research directors] The revenue committees. New York, Grossman Publishers [1975] 342 p.

HJ257.2.R34

This Nader Congress Project book examines the operations of the Senate Finance Committee, House Ways and Means Committee, and the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. After describing procedures within each of the committees, and the important work of these committees in conference, the Nader Project offers a series of reform proposals to increase the public accountability of the committees.

U.S. Congress. Senate. History of the Committee on Finance. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 123 p. (91st Congress, 2nd session. Senate. Document no. 91-57)

JK1240.

F5A5

This committee history indicates the major public issues and national policy areas in which the committee has been involved. All members since the committee's creation in the 14th Congress are listed.

Committee on Foreign Relations

Acheson, Dean. Arthur Vandenberg and the Senate. In Polsby, Nelson W., ed. Congressional behavior. New York, Random House [1971] p. 93-140. JK1061.P62

Acheson's account of the postwar Senate, when he served as Secretary of State to President Truman, provides insight into Arthur Vandenberg and other Senate personalities and events important in shaping the American foreign policy of that era.

Dennison, Eleanor E. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Palo Alto, Stanford University press [1942] 201 p. JK1239.D4

Dennison examines the committee's development and growth, membership selection, procedures, relations with departments of government, outside pressures, jurisdiction, geographical distribution of the membership from 1816 to 1941, and influence.

Gould, James W. The origins of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Western political quarterly, September 1959: 670-682.

Gould reviews the work of the many separate Senate committees dealing with foreign affairs prior to 1817, and their evolution into the first standing committee created by the Senate to consider foreign relations, in 1816.

Halperin, Morton. Is the Senate's foreign relations research worthwhile? American behavioral scientist, September 1960: 21-24.

Halperin discusses the purpose, topic and research group selection, and final products of the Foreign Affairs Policy Research project of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as well as the value of the 12 resulting studies in the making of future foreign policy decisions.

Robinson, James A. Congress and foreign policy making. Homewood, Illinois, Dorsey press [1962] 262 p. JK1081.R6

Robinson examines the role of the Congress in foreign policy-making, devoting considerable space to analyzing the Committee on Foreign Relations. He contends that bipartisanism in foreign policy has tended to weaken congressional influence.

Sparkman, John J. The role of the Senate in determining foreign policy. In Nathaniel S. Preston, ed. The Senate institution. New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. [1969] 202 p. JK1161.P85

This is a realistic analysis of the Senate's exercise of power in the field of foreign relations, focusing primarily on the activities of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations: 160th anniversary 1816-1976. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 74 p. (94th Congress, 2nd session. Senate. Document no. 94-265.)

The committee's origins, membership, jurisdiction, powers and responsibilities, procedure, subcommittees, staff and finances are discussed in this document.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Ralph Nader Congress Project. The environment committees. New York, Grossman Publishers [1975] 395 p. HC110.E5R28

This Nader Congress Project report examines six committees sharing responsibility for environmental legislation: the House and Senate Interior, Agriculture, and science Committees. The report concludes that, with few exceptions, the committees surveyed were more sensitive to the interests of major industries than to questions relating to environmental protection.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Committee's history, jurisdiction, and summary of its accomplishments during the 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th and 91st Congresses. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 198 p. (92nd Congress, 1st session. Committee print.)

This brief history of the Committee includes description of its jurisdictions and recent accomplishments.

Committee on the Judiciary

Farrelly, David G. The Senate Judiciary Committee: qualifications of members. American political science review, June 1943: 469-475.

The author examines the qualifications of all members of the Committee, from its establishment in 1816 through 1968, to determine the competence of members to serve. Professional, technical and other indices of ability are employed, with an explanation of the origins of the practice that members be attorneys.

Schuck, Peter H. [research director]. The Judiciary Committees: a study of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees. New York, Grossman Publishers [1975] 446 p. JK4997.J8R34

This is a study of the membership, structure, behavior, and policy impact of the two Judiciary Committees within each of the main substantive areas in their jurisdiction. The book is a product of the Ralph Nader Congress Project.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. History of the Committee on the Judiciary, 1816-1976. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 174 p. (94th Congress, 2nd Session. Senate. Document no. 94-227)

This committee history contains biographical information on committee chairmen, listings of all members serving from 1816 through the 94th Congress, and activity sheets summarizing the proceedings and business of the Committee for the 80th through the 93rd Congresses.

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare: 100th anniversary, 1869-1969. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 281 p. (90th Congress, 2nd session. Senate. Document no. 108)

This history focuses on the Committee's growing importance and on shifts in jurisdiction since its creation; it also provides listings of all past and present members and of public hearings held. Major issue responsibilities include health, education, labor, employment, manpower, poverty and veterans' affairs.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Siff, Todd and Alan Weil, research directors. Ruling Congress: a study on how the House and Senate rules government the legislative process. New York, Grossman Publishers [1975] 299 p.

KF4937.R34

Various components of the rules process in Congress and their significance are explored as a part of the six-book Ralph Nader Congress Project series. The Senate Committee on Rules and Administration is contrasted to its counterpart in the House.

Conference Committees

Galloway, George. The third house of Congress. Congressional record, v. 101, March 8, 1955: A1552-A1557.

Galloway provides an historical and procedural analysis of the conference committee.

Gore, Albert. The conference committee: Congress' final filter. Washington monthly, June 1971: 43-48.

Gore is critical of the conference committee, and suggests a variety of reforms including changes in the selection process and in conference secrecy.

McCown, Ada C. The congressional conference committee. New York, Columbia University Press [1927]; New York, AMS Press [1967] 274 p.

JK111.M3

JK111.M3/1967

McCown's study attempts to analyze and trace the origin and evolution of the conference committee. It includes several historical legislative case studies as well as a comparative study of similar parliamentary units in other countries.

Oleszek, Walter J. House-Senate relationships: comity and conflict. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1974: 75-86.

Oleszek discusses the subject of cooperation between the Senate and the House, focusing on two institutional forums for bicameral interaction -- conference committees and joint committees.

Pressman, Jeffrey L. House vs. Senate: conflict in the appropriations process. New Haven, Yale University Press [1966] 133 p.

JK1074.P7

This is a case study of the politics and personalities in the appropriations process as revealed in the 1962 delay in program funding brought about by inter-House rivalry.

Reform penetrates conference committees. *Congressional quarterly weekly report*, February 8, 1975: 290-294.

This article examines recent "reforms" in conference committee procedures -- e.g., Senate and House decisions to open meetings to the public and changes in the process of selecting committee members.

Rogers, Lindsay. Conference committee legislation. *North American review*, March 1922: 300-307.

Rogers describes the historical origins of the congressional conference committee in the British parliamentary system, as well as the then-current practices of conferences. He is critical of a growing tendency for conferees to include new matter in their reports, and of the increasing reliance upon seniority in choosing conferees (rather than appointing conferees exclusively from among supporters of the measure, as had been the practice previously).

Steiner, Gilbert. The congressional conference committee: Seventieth to Eightieth Congresses. Urbana, University of Illinois Press [1951] 185 p.

JK111.S74

Steiner employs case studies in an investigation of the functions of conference committees and the relative influence of each House in conference.

Vogler, David J. The third house: conference committees in the U.S. Congress. Evanston, Northwestern University Press [1971] 133 p.

JK111.V63

The author provides a comprehensive analysis of this significant legislative institution: factors behind selection of conferees, influence of conference secrecy, and party and chamber strength in conferences. The book is a useful revision of Ada McCown's early (1927) classic, The Congressional conference committee.

Joint Committees

Green, Harold and Alan Rosenthal. Government of the atom: a study in the fusion of governmental power. New York, Atherton [1963] 338 p. HD9698.U52G7

This is a thorough examination of the early operations of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The authors conclude that the Committee is unique in several ways, but especially in the manner of its relations with the executive branch.

Kirschten, J. Dickens. Is doomsday at hand for the Joint Atomic Energy Committee? National journal, November 20, 1976: 1658-1665.

The author examines growing criticism of the Joint Committee for its support of nuclear power development programs in the face of environmental criticism. Kirschten traces some of the committee's declining influence to the retirement or defeat of its senior members, and examines the efforts then planned for removing legislative jurisdiction from the committee. At the start of the 95th Congress, the House voted to transfer nuclear power legislative jurisdiction to its respective standing committees, and similar proposals were pending before the Senate.

Oleszek, Walter J. House-Senate relationships: comity and conflict. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. January 1974: 75-86.

Oleszek discusses the subject of cooperation between the Senate and the House, focusing on two institutional forums for bicameral interaction -- conference committees and joint committees.

Subcommittees

French, Burton L. Subcommittees of Congress. American political science review, February 1915: 68-92.

The role of subcommittees in the work of the House and Senate is explained, based upon practices current in the 61st through 63d Congresses.

Goodwin, George. Subcommittees: the miniature legislatures of Congress. American political science review, September 1962: 596-604.

Goodwin examines the reasons for the increasing use of subcommittees, the ways in which they are organized, and the extent to which and the means by which they are subjected to control by their parent committees.

SENIORITY

Celler, Emmanuel. The seniority rule in Congress. Western political quarterly, March 1961: 160-167.

A former dean of the House and chairman of the Judiciary Committee favors the seniority rule because it provides a stable leadership pattern unaffected by partisanship or personalities.

Congressional reform. Congressional quarterly weekly report, June 7, 1963: 857-920.

This is a comprehensive analysis of the seniority system as it then existed, with academic and congressional opinions, suggested reforms, and interpretations of the potential impact of such reforms.

Goldstein, Dan and Richard Scamell. Congressional seniority and unequal representation: a proposal for reform. Texas law review, April 1973: 722-742.

The authors suggest that the selection of committee chairmen according to seniority results in better (e.g., more powerful) representation for some districts than for others. They propose that committee members be limited to one term of service as chairman, thereafter moving to the bottom of the committee in seniority.

Goodwin, George, Jr. The seniority system in Congress. American political science review, June 1959: 412-436.

This is a thorough analysis of the seniority system. Goodwin's article includes summaries of reform proposals, comments from Members, and statistical analyses of seniority distribution showing that, at the time, southern Members controlled a disproportionate number of chairmanships only in the House.

Hawley, Jonathan P. Seniority and committee leadership: the emergence of choice. In Groennings, Sven and Jonathan P. Hawley, eds. To be a Congressman. Washington, Acropolis Books Ltd. [1973] p. 121-150.

JK1061.G75

Hawley contends that recent party actions in Congress have reformed the seniority system "incrementally and not revolutionarily." The author contends that the seniority rule no longer provides absolute power, and that if it is maintained it will be by the sufferance of the party caucuses.

Hinckley, Barbara. The seniority system in Congress. Bloomington, Indian, University of Indiana Press [1971] 146 p.

JK1029.H5

In an exhaustive analysis of the seniority system in recent Congresses, Hinckley contends that seniority merely reinforces the geographic and philosophic majority of the parties. She endorses the effects of seniority in maintaining congressional independence of the executive and in providing definite sources of leadership in a politically fragmented Congress.

Neuberger, Richard I. A Senator's case against seniority. New York times magazine, April 7, 1957: 15f.

The Senator explains his convictions that the seniority system should be abandoned for three fundamental reasons: it ignores special ability, does not allow removal of inadequate chairmen, and penalizes states with healthy two-party systems where continual re-election is not assured.

Ornstein, Norman J. and David W. Rhode. Seniority and future power in Congress. In Norman J. Ornstein, ed. Congress in change: evolution and reform. New York, Praeger Publishers [1975] 72-87. JK1096.074

The authors follow Packwood's historical review of the seniority system with an assessment of age, tenure of service, and regional distributions of House and Senate Democrats in the 93rd Congress. Projections of power shifts are offered.

Packwood, Robert W. The Senate seniority system. In Norman J. Ornstein, ed., Congress in change: evolution and reform. New York, Praeger Publishers [1975] p. 60-71. JK1096.074

The Senator delivered this speech on the Senate floor, announcing his attempt to abolish the Senate seniority system and to provide that the members of a committee would elect its chairman. He compares the Senates of 1870 and 1970 and the chairman selection process from 1789 to 1946, when seniority became decisive.

Price, H. Douglas. Congress and the evolution of legislative "professionalism." In Ornstein, Norman J., ed. Congress in change: evolution and reform. New York, Praeger Publishers [1975] p. 2-23. JK1096.074

Price looks at the long-term change in Senate and House tenure, from short periods of service to long congressional careers and the seniority system. He discusses the relationship between Senate prestige and the tenure of Members.

Seniority: Republicans modify selection process. Congressional quarterly weekly report, Jan. 13, 1973: 57-60.

This is a report on the decision by Senate Republicans to select committee leaders by vote of committee Republicans, with these choices subject to Conference action.

Udall, Stewart L. A defense of the seniority system. New York times magazine, January 13, 1957: 17f.

Udall explains his reasons for favoring the seniority system as practiced in the Congress.

CONGRESSIONAL STAFFS AND SUPPORT AGENCIES

Beckman, Norman. Congressional information processes for national policy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1971: 84-99.

The author describes and evaluates four sources of congressional information: personal staffs, national and congressional party policy groups, nonpartisan congressional agencies, and oversight committees.

----- Use of a staff agency by the Congress: the Congressional Research Service. *Bureaucrat*, January 1975: 401-415.

Beckman describes the basic CRS functions; he explains recent changes in mandate (primarily due to the Legislative Reorganization Act) and discusses possible future innovations in support services.

Bolling, Richard. The management of Congress. *Public administration review*, September/October 1975: 490-494.

Bolling discusses issues of legislative administration, focusing upon logistics of support services, information and analysis needs, and the coherence of policy formulation and execution.

Burby, John F. Infant OTA seeks to alert Congress to technological impacts. *National journal reports*, September 21, 1974: 1418-1429.

Burby discusses the legislative history, purpose and developing role of the congressional Office of Technology Assessment as a tool to uncover dangerous side effects of new technologies before they are put into wide use.

----- OTA works to produce track record with six major projects. *National journal reports*, September 28, 1974: 1454-1464.

Burby's two articles summarize the creation and early projects of the Office of Technology Assessment, which was created in 1972 to inform the Congress of societal impacts resulting from specific technological innovations.

Butler, Warren H. Administering Congress: the role of the staff. *Public administration review*, March 1966: 3-13.

Butler discusses various ways in which staff capabilities can be improved in an effort to provide more effective help to Members. The focus is on the needs of individual Members rather than on congressional needs.

Chartrand, Robert L., et. al. Information support, program budgeting, and the Congress. New York, Spartan Books [1968] 231 p.

JK1061.I5

This is a collection of papers and transcripts of round table discussions about congressional support agencies, conducted under the sponsorship of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Heaphey, James J. Legislative staffing: organizational and philosophical considerations. In James J. Heaphey and Alan P. Balutis, eds. Legislative staffing: a comparative perspective. New York, John Wiley and Sons [1975] p. 1-22. JF540.5.L43

Heaphey provides theoretical perspectives for comparing legislatures with other organizations in terms of staffing needs. He identifies traits particularly characteristic of legislative staffing patterns.

Isaacs, Stephen. The Capitol game. Washington post, Feb. 16, 1975: A1, A8; Feb. 17: A1, A4; Feb. 18: A1, A12; Feb. 19: A1, A9; Feb. 20: A1, A6; Feb. 21: A1, A6; Feb. 23: A1, A12; Feb. 24: A1, A4. Newsp.

Isaacs studies the activities and expenses of Senate committees, charging that several committees perform tasks other than those they were created to perform and that staff are frequently used by Senators for non-committee purposes. The final segment is devoted to House committees.

Kammerer, Gladys. The record of Congress in committee staffing. American political science review, December 1951: 1126-1136.

Kammerer examines committee staffing practices following passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. She is particularly critical of the tendency not to emphasize professional expertise when hiring staff.

Kampelman, Max. The legislative bureaucracy. Journal of politics, August 1954: p. 539-550.

Following Kammerer, Kampelman calls for increasing reliance upon professional expertise as a standard for hiring committee staff. He also suggests that majority and minority committee members should have a staff which reflects the political biases of the Members for whom they work.

Kofmehl, Kenneth. The professional staffs of Congress. Lafayette, Indiana, Purdue Research Foundation [1962] 282 p. JK1083.K6

Kofmehl's book is a comprehensive history and analysis of committee staffing procedures in the Congress. It is somewhat dated due to the provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970.

Manley, John F. Congressional staff and public policy-making: the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. Journal of politics, November 1968: 1046-1067.

This is a study of the functions performed by the staff of the Joint Committee. Manley concludes by suggesting several factors pertinent to the role of committee staff.

Meller, Norman. Legislative staff services: toxin, specific, or placebo for the legislature's ills. *Western political quarterly*, June 1967: 381-389.

Meller views legislative service agencies according to their simultaneous position on two dimensions: clientele (legislature v. Member) and personal identification (personal involvement v. anonymous objectivity). In this framework, he criticizes several proposals for improved staffing -- particularly the call for larger personal staffs for Members.

O'Neill, Hugh. Policy analysis, technology, and the Congress. *Bureaucrat*, January 1975: 416-428.

O'Neill describes the process of technology assessment, mentions policy areas in which assessment techniques have been or can be applied, and analyzes problems and opportunities of the Office of Technology Assessment.

Ornstein, Norman J. Legislative behavior and legislative structures: a comparative look at House and Senate resource utilization. In James J. Heaphey and Alan P. Balutis, eds. *Legislative staffing: a comparative perspective*. New York, John Wiley and Sons [1975] p. 167-190. JF540.5.L43

Drawing from interviews with Senate and House Members and their personal staff, Ornstein describes and accounts for differences between the two bodies in staff functions.

Patterson, Samuel C. The professional staffs of congressional committees. *Administrative science quarterly*, March 1970: 22-37.

Patterson's article, drawn from material in his 1966 book, The Legislative process in the United States, examines committee staffs in terms of professional background, political activity, and staff structure.

Price, David E. Professionals and "entrepreneurs": staff orientations and policy making on three Senate committees. *Journal of politics*, May 1971: 316-336.

Price uses examples from the Commerce, Finance, and Labor and Public Welfare Committees during the 89th Congress to identify two types of staff: "policy entrepreneurs" and "professionals." He looks at the desirability of each according to the different functions of Congress.

Rogers, Lindsay. The staffing of Congress. *Political science quarterly*, March 1941: 1-22.

The size, costs, duties and potentials of the congressional staff in 1941 (and, to a certain degree, previous years) is reviewed.

Schlossberg, Kenneth. The ablest men in Congress. *Washingtonian*, August 1968: 61-63, 72-75.

This is a discussion of administrative assistants -- their roles, backgrounds, salaries and personal impressions of Congress.

U.S. Congress. House. Commission on Information and Facilities. Congressional Budget Office: a study of its organizational effectiveness. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 51 p. (95th Congress, 1st session. House. Document no. 95-20.)

This report contains the findings of an intensive study of the Congressional Budget Office. The congressional budget process is described. There is a detailed description of the functions of the CBO and an evaluation of CBO performance in its formative period. Recommendations include the creation of more effective guidelines for public release of CBO-prepared material, and the development of official position descriptions for staff.

----- The Office of Technology Assessment: a study of its organizational effectiveness. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 113 p. (94th Congress, 2d session. House. Document no. 94-538.)

This in-depth study of the Office of Technology Assessment during its early years concentrates particularly upon problems of organization, administration, and defining the scope of OTA activities. The history of OTA also is described.

----- Organizational effectiveness of the Congressional Research Service. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 119 p. (95th Congress, 1st session. House. Document no. 95-19.)

This report on the effectiveness of the Congressional Research Service suggests improvements in management structures, promotion and administration practices, and coordination of research with other support agencies. Careful growth patterns, in view of space difficulties, are suggested.

STUDIES IN POLICY FORMATION

Albright, Joseph. The pact of the two Henrys. New York times magazine, January 5, 1975: 16-17, 20, 24, 26, 28-31, 34.

In a legislative history of the recent trade bill and Soviet emigration agreement, the author provides insight into the role of congressional compromise and of congressional staffs in influencing legislation.

Bailey, Stephen K. Congress makes a law. New York, Columbia University Press [1950] 282 p. JK1061.B2

Bailey describes the passage of the Employment Act of 1946.

Bauer, Raymond, et. al. American business and public policy: the politics of foreign trade. 2d ed. New York, Atherton Press [1973] 499 p. HF1455.B33

The politics of foreign trade from 1953 to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 is studied through interviews with heads of corporations, Congressmen, lobbyists, journalists, and others.

Bendiner, Robert. Obstacle course on Capitol Hill. New York, McGraw-Hill [1964] 231 p. JK1061.B4

Bendiner focuses on the issue of Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, in a general description of the rules and practices of Congress.

Berman, Daniel M. How a bill becomes a law: Congress enacts civil rights legislation. 2d ed. New York, The Macmillan Co. [1966] 146 p. JK1096.B4

Berman examines the legislative process in Congress by comparing the efforts surrounding the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Buckwalter, Doyle. The congressional concurrent resolution: a search for foreign policy influence. Midwest journal of political science, August 1970: 435-458.

The author examines the use of this parliamentary device to express the sense of the Congress on specific foreign policy issues.

Cleaveland, Frederic N., ed. Congress and urban problems: a casebook on the legislative process. Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution [1969] 495 p. HT334.U5C65

This collection of case studies examines how Congress dealt with a number of urban problems of the 1960's including transportation, water pollution, juvenile delinquency, air pollution, and the Food Stamp Act of 1964.

Eidenberg, Eugene and Roy D. Morey. An act of Congress: the legislative process and the making of education policy. New York, W.W. Norton and Company, Inc. [1969] 256 p. KF4136.A315A163

The book uses the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 to illustrate the legislative process.

Ferejohn, John A. Pork barrel politics: rivers and harbors legislation, 1947-1968. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press [1974] 288 p. HE393.F47

The author examines the factors which governed the selection of sites for some widely-sought projects.

Jackson, Henry. Environmental policy and the Congress. Public administration review, July-August, 1968: 303-305.

Jackson discusses changes he supports for a national policy of public responsibility for the protection of natural life-sustaining elements of the environment. He outlines the Congress's role in achieving this end, mentioning his bill, S. 2805, in the 90th Congress.

Maass, Arthur. Congress and water resources. American political science review, September 1950: 576-593.

Maass studies the relationships among the Congress, the Army Corps of Engineers, and the President regarding decision-making on the development of water resources.

Manley, John F. Congressional staff and public policy-making: the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. Journal of politics, November 1968: 1046-1067.

This is a study of the functions performed by the staff of the Joint Committee. Manley concludes by suggesting several factors pertinent to the role of committee staff.

McDonnell, Timothy L. The Wagner Housing Act: A case study of the legislative process. Chicago, Loyola University Press [1957] 470 p. JK1096.M15

By describing the long, complex legislative and political history of the Wagner Housing Act of 1937, including the role of the political leaders of the day, McDonnell illustrates in detail the Federal legislative process.

Miller, Nathan. The making of a majority: the Senate and the ABM. The Washington monthly, October 1969: 60-72.

The article reviews the significance and nature of the Senate's 1969 debate concerning the ABM system.

Moe, Ronald and Steven Teel. Congress as policy-maker: a necessary reappraisal. Political science quarterly, September 1970: 443-470.

The authors contend that case-study analyses tend to minimize the role of the Congress in relation to the Executive. Their conclusions, based on a general overview of recent decisions, reveal the Congress still to be an important, and occasionally dominant, voice in national policy making.

Morrow, William S. Legislative control of administrative discretion: the case of Congress and foreign aid. Journal of politics, November 1968: 985-1011.

This study covers legislative-executive relations pertaining to foreign aid during the period 1955 through 1967.

Peabody, Robert L., et. al. To enact a law: Congress and campaign financing. New York, Praeger Publishers [1972] 225 p. JK1991.T6

The Political Broadcast Act of 1970 is the subject for another study of the legislative process.

Polsby, Nelson. Policy analysis and Congress. Public policy, fall 1969: 61-74.

Polsby discusses the ways in which policy analysis is engaged in by Congress, criticizes proposals which would restructure Congress into a hierarchical arrangement similar to the executive branch, and suggests ways in which committees can gain access to expertise in policy analysis.

----- Strengthening Congress in national policy-making. Yale review, June 1970: 481-497.

Polsby challenges the proposition that the President proposes and the Congress disposes, and emphasizes the role of Congress as the incubator of public policies.

Proxmire, William. Report from wasteland: America's military industrial complex. New York, Praeger [1970] 248 p. HC110.D4P76

Senator Proxmire examines the causes, nature, and extent of waste in U.S. military procurement.

Redman, Eric. The dance of legislation. New York, Simon and Schuster [1973] 319 p. KF4980.R4

Redman, a Senate staff member, traces the drafting and passing of the National Health Service Corps Act of 1970.

Robinson, James A. Congress and foreign policy-making. Homewood, Illinois, Dorsey Press [1962] 262 p. JK1081.R6

Robinson examines the role of Congress in foreign policy, and claims that its traditional bi-partisanship in that field has weakened its influence.

Sundquist, James. Politics and policy. Washington, Brookings Institution [1968] 560 p. HN58.S8

Sundquist examines the combination of factors -- political, social, and procedural -- which combined to overcome in the 89th Congress what James MacGregor Burns called "the deadlock of democracy" in the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations.

Torgerson, Randall E. Producer power at the bargaining table: a case study of the legislative life of S. 109. Columbia, Missouri, University of Missouri Press [1970] 328 p. KF1715.T6

Torgerson describes both the legislative history of S. 109 (91st Congress) and the changing power situation regarding national farm legislation.

ROLL-CALL ANALYSIS

Anderson, Lee F., et. al. Legislative roll-call analysis. Evanston, Northwestern University Press [1966] 203 p. JA73.A5

Anderson's book contains introductory explanations of methods used in the quantitative analysis of roll-call data.

----- Variability in the unidimensionality of legislative voting. Journal of politics, August 1964: 568-585.

Anderson examines unidimensional voting in the 80th through 84th Congresses to determine how such voting is affected by the controversiality of issues and by the majority-minority status of the parties.

Andrain, Charles F. A scale analysis of Senators' attitudes toward civil rights. Western political quarterly, September 1964: 488-503.

Andrain describes civil rights as the dominant post World War II issue in American politics, and analyzes the voting patterns of Senators in 1960 on civil rights roll calls in relation to variables such as party, age, and characteristics of State.

Bernstein, Robert A. and William W. Anthony. The ABM issue in the Senate, 1968-1970: the importance of ideology. American political science review, September 1974: 1198-1206.

Bernstein analyzes factors influencing Senate voting behavior on the ABM issue during 1968-70, concluding that ideology had the greatest correlation with Senators' voting patterns on that issue.

Clausen, Aage and Richard Cheney. A comparative analysis of Senate-House voting on economic and welfare policy, 1953-1964. American political science review, March 1970: 138-152.

The authors demonstrate the existence of economic and welfare policy dimensions in congressional voting during the 83rd through 88th Congresses.

Clem, Alan. Variations in voting blocs across policy fields: pair agreement scores in the 1967 United States Senate. Western political quarterly, September 1970: 530-551.

Clem studies the policy orientations of individual legislators and the stability of voting blocs across several policy areas, based on pair voting agreement scores of members of the 1967 Senate.

Clotfelter, James. Senate voting and constituency stake in defense spending. Journal of politics, November 1970: 979-983.

The relationship between the dependence of a state on defense spending and the tendency of the state's Senators to support increases in or maintenance of defense spending levels is examined.

Clubb, Jerome and Howard Allen. Party loyalty in the progressive years: the Senate, 1909-15. *Journal of politics*, August 1967: 567-584.

The authors look at the influence of political parties upon the legislative process in the Senate of the 61st through 63rd Congresses, through analysis of all roll calls during that period.

Crane, Wilder, Jr. A caveat on roll-call studies of party voting. *Midwest journal of political science*, August 1960: 237-249.

This study demonstrates that roll-call votes alone do not always indicate the actual role of political parties in legislative bodies, and that understanding of the issues on which the legislators are voting is a pre-condition for roll-call analyses. The 1957 Wisconsin Assembly provides the data for this article.

Dempsey, Paul. Liberalism-conservatism and party loyalty in the U.S. Senate. *Journal of social psychology*, April 1962: 159-170.

Liberalism-conservatism and party loyalty are studied as to their impacts on voting behavior of individual Senators and parties in the 83rd and 84th Congresses.

Farnsworth, David. A comparison of the Senate and its Foreign Relations Committee on selected roll-call votes. *Western political quarterly*, March 1961, Part I: 168-175.

Farnsworth compares the voting behavior of members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to that of the entire Senate for the years 1947-1956, and finds that the Committee held a stronger anti-internationalist sentiment than did the Senate as a whole on foreign policy questions.

Grassmuck, George. Sectional biases in Congress on foreign policy. John Hopkins University, *Studies in Historical and Political Science*. Baltimore, John Hopkins Press [1951] 181 p.

E744.G72

Utilizing roll-call votes, Grassmuck examines the shifting relationship between party and geographical section with regard to foreign policy stances of Members during 1921-1941.

Gray, Charles. A scale analysis of the voting records of Senators Kennedy, Johnson, and Goldwater, 1957-1960. *American political science review*, September 1965: 615-621.

The scale analysis of the three Senators' voting records during Eisenhower's second term provides a comparison of their political postures on ideological issues, and a look at changes in the stance of each as the 1960 campaign approached.

Greenstein, Fred I. and Elton F. Jackson. A second look at the validity of roll-call analysis. *Midwest journal of political science*, May 1963: 156-166.

The authors indicate methodological difficulties which they find in a critique of roll-call studies by Wilder Crane, Jr. They discuss implications for future validity tests of roll-call measures.

Grumm, John G. A factor analysis of legislative behavior. Midwest journal of political science, November 1963: 336-356.

This is an early illustration of the use of factor analysis for discerning patterns of roll-call voting.

----- The means of measuring conflict and cohesion in the legislature. Southwestern social science quarterly, March 1964: 377-388.

Grumm proposes probability-based measures for studying cohesion within, and differences between, groups. He applies them to votes in the Kansas legislature.

----- The systematic analysis of blocs in the study of legislative behavior. Western political quarterly, June 1965: 350-362.

Grumm suggests methodological improvements in roll-call studies of legislative blocs.

Jackson, John E. Constituencies and leaders in Congress: their effects on Senate voting behavior. Cambridge, Harvard University Press [1974] 217 p. JK1161.J3

The author empirically evaluates three alternative models of senatorial voting behavior: 1) an emphasis on organizational aspects of the Senate; 2) a focus on the representation relationship; and 3) an emphasis on legislators' personal attitudes' and perceptions.

----- Statistical models of Senate roll call voting. American political science review, June 1971: 451-470.

This assessment of factors influencing Senators' votes is focused upon Senators' practices vis-a-vis obtaining information and voting cues.

Jewell, Malcolm. Evaluating the decline of southern internationalism through Senatorial roll-call votes. Journal of politics, November 1959: 624-646.

Jewell examines the changing southern senatorial attitudes toward various foreign policies, particularly the declining support for foreign aid and reciprocal trade.

Kernell, Sam. Is the Senate more liberal than the House? Journal of politics, May 1973: 332-363.

Kernell discusses factors contributing to the image of the U.S. Senate as the more liberal congressional chamber, and then looks at voting behavior and other phenomena in the two Houses to assess their relative "liberalism".

MacRae, Duncan. Dimensions of congressional voting. Berkeley, University of California Press [1958] 390 p. JK1323.M25

MacRae discusses the methodology of roll-call data analysis, describing methods of studying issue domains and legislative groups such as political parties.

MacRae, Duncan. Some underlying variables in legislative roll-call votes. *Public opinion quarterly*. Summer 1954: 191-196.

Some methods of studying roll-call votes using indices and scales are illustrated.

Markus, Gregory. Electoral coalitions and Senate roll call behavior: an ecological analysis. *American journal of political science*, August 1974: 595-607.

Markus finds that Senators' constituencies, defined as those persons who supported them at election time, are highly correlated with Senators' roll-call voting.

Moffett, S. E. Is the Senate unfairly constituted? *Political science quarterly*, June 1895: 248-256.

Votes on hotly contested issues are analyzed to determine if there are differences in the voting behavior of Senators from smaller and larger states, with popular minorities gaining disproportionate power due to the equal representation of all states in the Senate.

Pennock, J. Roland. Party and constituency in post war agricultural price-support legislation. *Journal of politics*, May 1956: 167-210.

The relative importance of party and constituency influences on congressional voting patterns is studied, focusing upon agricultural price-support legislation during 1948-55.

Price, H. Douglas. Are southern Democrats different? An application of scale analysis to Senate voting patterns. In Polsby, Nelson W., et al., eds. *Politics and social life: an introduction to political behavior*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company [1963] p. 740-756. JA71.P67

Some uses of Guttman scale analysis are illustrated, with a focus on differences in voting behavior within and between the Senate parties.

Roach, Hannah G. Sectionalism in Congress. *American political science review*, August 1925: 500-526.

Roach demonstrates the influence of sectionalism on congressional behavior during the period 1870-90. Conflict in voting patterns is shown between industrial centers and agricultural regions, based on shifting social and economic conditions.

Silbey, Joel. *The shrine of party: congressional voting behavior, 1841-1852*. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press [1967] 292 p. JK2260.S5

The author attempts to measure the impact of sectional and party considerations on congressional roll-call voting during the period 1841-1852, as an aid to understanding pre-Civil War politics.

Sullivan, William E. Criteria for selecting party leadership in Congress: an empirical test. American politics quarterly, January 1975: 25-44.

Ideology and party-support scores for House and Senate leaders are measured before and after election to a leadership post and are compared with scores of a nonleadership group.

Truman, David. The Congressional party: a case study. New York, John Wiley [1959] 336 p. JK1061.T7

Set in the 1950's, this is a classic study of congressional politics. The analysis techniques employed were quite advanced for that time.

Turner, Julius. Party and constituency: pressures on Congress. Rev. ed. by Edward V. Schneier, Jr. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1951] 190 p.

H31.J6,
ser. 69,
no. 1.

----- Ibid. Rev. ed. by Edward V. Schneier, Jr. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1970) 312 p. JK2265.T87

Schneier uses contemporary data to extend Turner's study of the relationship between issues and partisanship in roll-call voting.

Woody, Carroll H. Is the Senate unrepresentative? Political science quarterly, June 1926, pp. 219-239.

In answering his own question, Woody contends that it can be. Using statistical samples and state popular votes in presidential elections, Woody contends that a majority of the Senate could be chosen by, and would reflect the opinions of, a numerical minority of the American electorate.

Wyant, Rowena. Voting via the Senate mailbag, I. Public opinion quarterly, fall 1941: 359-382.

This study attempts to ascertain statistically the nature of mail received by Senators, the type of people who send it, and the Senators' responses. Letters sent in relation to the conscription bill were analyzed for this study.

----- and Herta Hertzog. Voting via the Senate mailbag, II. Public opinion quarterly, winter 1941: 590-624.

The authors continue the analysis of Part I (above) by providing a detailed analysis of the content of the letters, plus interviews conducted with 65 of the letter writers.

LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE RELATIONS

General

Berger, Raoul. The Presidential monopoly of foreign relations. Michigan law review, November 1972: 1-58.

Berger criticizes the restriction of the Senate's role in the making of foreign policy. He attacks, on constitutional grounds, limits on Senate participation in the making of treaties as well as the very existence of a Presidential right to make executive agreements and he argues that fuller Senate participation might yield benefits in wisdom of policy and in depth of public support of national policy.

----- Executive privilege: a constitutional myth. Cambridge, Harvard University Press [1974] 430 p. KF4750.B47

Berger examines the historical context of congressional requests for information and documents from the executive branch and finds little historical support for the doctrine of executive privilege.

Binkley, Wilfred E. President and Congress. 3d ed. New York, Vintage Books [1962] 403 p. JK516.B5/1962

Binkley traces the power struggle between the legislative and executive branches from the Constitutional Convention through the Eisenhower Administration and offers some conclusions about that struggle.

Bonafede, Dom, Daniel Rapoport, and Joel Havemann. The President versus Congress: the score since Watergate. National journal reports, May 29, 1976: 730-748.

The authors examine the state of legislative-executive relations, emphasizing issues in foreign policy, oversight, budgetary control, and vetoes (both legislative and executive).

Brown, Richard E. The GAO: untapped source of congressional power. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press [1970] 127 p. HJ9802.B7

In this examination of the General Accounting Office, Brown focuses on its auditing and related investigative activities and their special potential for making invaluable contributions to the oversight and related responsibilities of Congress. The Tennessee Valley Authority serves as an example of how the GAO's audit work aids Congress. There is a forward by Senator Proxmire.

Burns, James MacGregor. The deadlock of democracy: four party politics in America. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall [1963] 388 p. E183.B96

Burns explores the theoretical and political foundations of the American political system as it was in the years following the New Deal. He focuses particularly upon the reasons for delayed governmental responses to societal problems -- described in terms of the political coalitions linking Congress and the White House.

Burns, James MacGregor. Presidential government: the crucible of leadership. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin [1966] 366 p. JK516.C5

Continuing his theme of delays in governmental decisionmaking, Burns contends that the only source of effective national leadership is in the executive branch.

Chamberlain, Lawrence. The President, Congress and legislation. New York, Columbia University Press [1946] 478 p. JK585.C5

Chamberlain's book is a comprehensive case study analysis of Presidential involvement in the legislative process since 1890.

Colegrove, Kenneth W. The American Senate and world peace. New York, Vanguard Press [1944] 209 p. JK570.C57

Colegrove explores what he feels to be the Senate's sometimes damaging and undemocratic actions on treaties submitted to it throughout the Nation's history.

De Grazia, Alfred. Republic in crisis: Congress against the executive force. New York, Federal Legal Publications, Inc. [1965] 303 p. JK585.D4

De Grazia asserts that the balance in the continual struggle between freedom and order is shifting towards the executive-led emphasis on order, while the congressional tendency towards liberty weakens. Proposals to reverse this trend are offered.

Fisher, Louis. Congress, the executive, and the budget. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1974: 102-113.

The author criticizes Nixon Administration assertions that Congress bears prime responsibility for recent large budget deficits and that those deficits have been a major cause of inflation. He examines congressional liabilities in countering such attacks.

----- Delegating power to the President. Journal of public law, v. 19, no. 2, 1970: 251-292.

Fisher presents an historical analysis of the theoretical and practical reasons for congressional delegations of power. He also discusses the adequacy of congressional and judicial restraints on arbitrary executive actions, noting that portions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 should strengthen congressional capabilities for legislative assessment.

----- The politics of impounded funds. Administrative science quarterly, September 1970: 361-377.

Fisher describes the political factors involved historically in Presidential decisions to impound funds and in congressional responses thereto.

----- President and Congress. New York, The Free Press [1972] 347 p. JK305.F55

Fisher studies conflicts between the two branches, emphasizing power and policy. His approach is comparative and historical, focusing upon legislative, spending, taxing, and war powers.

Freeman, J. Leiper. The political process: executive bureau-legislative committee relations. New York, Random House [1965] 146 p.

JK616.F7

Freeman examines and offers conclusions concerning the relationships among agency officials, interest group leaders, and members of congressional committees.

Frohnmayr, David B. The separation of powers: an essay on the vitality of a constitutional idea. Oregon law review, spring 1973: 211-235.

Frohnmayr sees separation of powers in terms of overlapping institutional functions but differing institutional processes of decisionmaking, information-gathering, and public accountability. Threats to the doctrine, posed primarily by increasing executive powers, can best be countered by awareness and action by the Congress, and, to a lesser extent, the courts.

Harris, Joseph P. Congressional control of the administration. Washington, Brookings Institution [1964] 306 p.

JK1061.H3

Congressional efforts to control administrative operations through its legislative power to authorize programs, create agencies, and appropriate funds are the subject of this book. Both traditional and newly developed methods of control are spotlighted.

Hilsman, Roger. Congressional-executive relations and the foreign policy consensus. American political science review, September 1958: 725-744.

Hilsman describes congressional handicaps -- information, time, and staff -- in the development and enforcement of foreign politics and discusses the role of Congress in the consensus-building process.

Humphrey, Hubert H. The Senate in foreign policy. Foreign affairs, July 1959: 525-536.

Writing during the stressful "cold war" period, Senator Humphrey outlines the role of the Senate in national foreign policy and suggests a Joint Committee on National Strategy to examine strategic premises in a coordinated manner.

Jahnige, Thomas. The congressional committee system and the oversight process: Congress and NASA. Western political quarterly, June 1968: 227-239.

The fragmented structures responsible in national government and Congress for achieving a rationally administered space program receive attention in this article.

Johannes, John R. Congress and the initiation of legislation. Public policy, spring 1972: 281-309.

Drawing upon case studies, Johannes describes the political and institutional factors relevant to the respective roles of the Congress and the President in policy initiation.

Johannes, John R. The President proposes and Congress disposes -- but not always: legislative initiative on Capitol Hill. Review of politics, July 1974: 356-370.

Johannes argues that the Congress is responsible for much more policy initiation than is immediately apparent. He discusses a set of factors -- environmental, institutional and structural, and procedural -- which affect congressional initiative and speculates as to the impact of recent institutional changes on such initiative.

----- Where does the buck stop?--Congress, President and the responsibility for legislative initiation. Western political quarterly, September 1972: 396-415.

Johannes examines recent instances of Presidential failure to take legislative initiative on major issues. He looks at the causes of Presidential inaction and at the factors affecting congressional responses to Presidential requests for legislative solutions.

Luce, Robert. Legislative problems. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company [1935] 762 p. JK1001.L8

Luce devotes considerable attention to the legislative difficulties caused by interaction with other branches of government. Although one chapter is devoted to legislative and judicial relations, the major concern of the work is with legislative and executive relations.

Mason, Edward C. The veto power. Edited and with an introduction by Albert Bushnell Hart. Cambridge, Harvard University Press [1890]; New York, Russell and Russell [1967] 232 p. JK586.M2

JK586.M2/1967

Mason traces the development of the Presidential veto and its legal origins. The book lists every veto from 1792 to 1885 and subsequent congressional action.

Mondale, Walter F. The accountability of power: toward a responsible Presidency. New York, David McKay [1975] 283 p. JK516.M62

The Vice President examines the growth of Presidential power since World War II, and is critical of the Congress for abdicating many of its responsibilities to the executive branch during the period. Sections of the book trace recent efforts by the Congress to reassert its prerogatives, and examine other means by which the Presidency may be made more responsive to public sentiment.

Murphy, Thomas P. Congressional liaison: the NASA case. Western political quarterly, June 1972: 192-214.

Murphy describes the development, function, and effectiveness of congressional liaison offices, studying the NASA office as a particular case.

Pipe, G. Russell. Congressional liaison: the executive branch consolidates its relations with Congress. Public administration review, March 1966: 14-24.

Pipe describes the structure of and cooperative efforts among the congressional liaison offices within the 10 executive departments, and the nature of their activities.

Polsby, Nelson W. Congress and the Presidency. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc. [1964] 120 p. JK1061.P6

Polsby discusses the American political system and, in particular, the operations of the Congress and the President and the impact of these institutions on the American public.

Randolph, Robert C., and David C. Smith. Executive privilege and the congressional right of inquiry. Harvard journal on legislation, June 1973: 621-671.

The authors analyze the constitutional and historical bases of the doctrine of "executive privilege" and of congressional claims to the information being withheld. They also discuss disputes over the scope of the privilege. The various sanctions available to Congress are examined as to political and legal feasibility, and a case study concerning the USIA is presented.

Reveley, W. Taylor. Presidential war-making: constitutional prerogative or usurpation. Virginia law review, November 1969: 1243-1305.

The scope of, and means to limit, the President's constitutional authority to commit American troops to foreign conflict are discussed, including relevant constitutional provisions and the role of Congress.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. and Alfred De Grazia. Congress and the Presidency: their role in modern times. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research [1967] 192 p. JK585.S3

This series of Schlesinger-De Grazia debates presented by the American Enterprise Institute centers on the question of what roles should be played by Congress and the Presidency today in the government of our country.

Sigal, Leon V. Official secrecy and informal communication in congressional-bureaucratic relations. Political science quarterly, spring 1975: 71-92.

Sigal describes three primary channels through which official secrets are communicated informally to Members, giving examples. He discusses the political ramifications of the system of official secrecy, stressing implications for congressional and administrative oversight.

Stennis, John and J. William Fulbright. The role of Congress in foreign policy. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research [1970] 139 p. KF4651.S74

In this volume of AEI-sponsored policy discussions, Senators Stennis and Fulbright debate whether Congress has exercised its proper role in foreign policy formation.

Wallace, Robert. Congressional control of federal spending. Detroit, Wayne State University Press [1960] 188 p. HJ2052.W3

Wallace explains the congressional appropriations process. Writing in part from experience as a research assistant to Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, he includes sections on the appropriations procedures and facilities for congressional control of appropriations, followed by potential improvements in control procedures.

Advice and Consent of the Senate

Black, Charles. A note on senatorial consideration of Supreme Court nominees. Yale law review, March 1970: 657-663.

Black offers historical and logical arguments supporting the view that Senators, when considering Presidential nominations to the Supreme Court, should be no more constrained in the factors which they consider than is the President.

Black, Forrest R. The United States Senate and the treaty power. Rocky mountain law review, November 1931: 1-19.

The roles of the President and the Senate in the making of treaties are examined and a constitutional amendment to strengthen the Senate's powers is supported. Constitutional provisions and actual practice are considered.

Cole, Kenneth C. The role of the Senate in the confirmation of judicial nominations. American political science review, October 1934: 875-894.

Cole reviews past senatorial confirmation actions on Presidential nominations of judicial officers, particularly the influences behind those actions, and makes recommendations on means to make Senate review of judicial nominations less subject to undue bias.

Dangerfield, Royden. In defense of the Senate, a study in treaty making. Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, Inc. [1933] 365 p.

JK1161.D2

The role of the Senate in treaty ratification is analyzed. An attempt is made to measure effects of the Senate's actions on the 832 treaties signed from February 6, 1778, to February 6, 1928.

Ferling, John. The Senate and Federal judges: the intent of the Founding Fathers. Capitol studies, winter 1974: 57-70.

Ferling cites the debates in the Convention and in the ratifying assemblies as evidence that the participants foresaw the Senate's "advise and consent" role as decisive and unencumbered.

Fleming, Donna P. The treaty veto of the American Senate. New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons [1930] 325 p. JK1170.F5

Fleming examines the controversial refusals of the Senate to approve important presidentially-sponsored treaties from 1893 to 1930. He assesses the implications of those refusals for the Nation, including the absence of the United States from the League of Nations.

Fleming, Donna P. The role of the Senate in treaty-making: a survey of four decades. *American political science review*, August 1934: 583-598.

The Senate's pre-1934 rejection of anti-isolationist treaties is criticized; recommendations are made to extend treaty-approval powers to the House.

Fowler, Dorothy G. Congressional dictation of local appointments. *Journal of politics*, February 1945: 25-27.

The rise and fall of the influence of members of Congress on Presidential appointments to Federal offices, in their respective States, is explored from the administrations of Presidents Washington through Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Gallagher, Hugh G. *Advice and obstruct, the role of the United States Senate in foreign policy*. New York, Delacorte Press [1969] 338 p.

KF4651.G3

Gallagher describes the powers of the Senate over foreign policy, concentrating on overseas policies and several major treaty decisions brought before the Senate.

Grossman, Joel B. and Stephen L. Wasby. The Senate and Supreme Court nominations: some reflections. *Duke law journal*, August 1972: 557-591.

The authors consider the process of judicial recruitment, with specific reference to Haynsworth and Carswell.

Harris, Richard. *Decision*. New York, E.P. Dutton [1971] 220 p.

HK8745.C32H35

Harris' book recounts the events surrounding the rejection of C. Harrold Carswell as a nominee to the Supreme Court.

Hayden, Joseph Ralston. *The Senate and treaties, 1789-1817*. New York, Macmillan Co. [1920] 237 p.

JK573.H3

Hayden provides a detailed study of the Senate's treaty-making powers during the formative period when the young Nation sought to fix her status among nations in the face of threatened and actual wars.

Heindel, Richard H. et. al. *The North Atlantic Treaty in the United States Senate*. *American journal of international law*. October 1949: 633-665.

In a discussion devoted primarily to the substance of the NATO treaty, the authors make it clear that effective Senate participation in concluding the Treaty was not limited to the "consent" stage; nor were Senate deliberations perfunctory.

Holt, W. Stull. *Treaties defeated by the Senate, a study of the struggle between President and Senate over the conduct of foreign relations*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1933] 328 p.

JK1161.H6

Recognizing that the rejection of a treaty by the Senate may stem from a struggle between the President and the Senate, rather than from the merits of the treaty itself, Holt examines all Senate-defeated treaties to identify those defeats attributable to that struggle.

Jones, J. Mervyn. Full powers and ratification: a study in the development of treaty-making procedure. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press [1946] 182 p. JX4165.J65

Jones examines the procedures by which international agreements are concluded and ratified, the historical development of those procedures, and the participation of the Senate and the United States in treaty making.

Kurland, Philip B. The appointment and disappointment of Supreme Court Justices. Arizona State University law journal, v. 1972, no. 2, 1972: 183-237.

Kurland discusses the qualities which a Justice should possess, the pressures influencing nominations, the Senate's proper role in the process, and the means of removing incumbent Justices.

Lodge, Henry Cabot. The Senate and the League of Nations. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons [1925] 424 p. JX1975.L834

The text recounts the Senate's debate of and ultimate opposition to the inclusion of the Covenant of the League of Nations in the Treaty of Versailles. Lodge was the Republican Majority Leader in the Senate at the time.

----- The treaty-making powers of the Senate. In A fighting frigate and other essays and addresses. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons [1902] 316 p. E173.L78

Lodge defends the rights and functions of the Senate as part of the nation's treaty-making power against foreign criticism about the Senate's role. In so doing he discusses several treaties and the roles of the President and the Senate.

Macmahon, Arthur W. Senatorial confirmation. Public administration review, Autumn 1943: 281-296.

Macmahon examines attempts in the 1940's to expand the range of Federal positions requiring Senate confirmation. Pros and cons of such expansion are discussed.

McDougal, Myres S. and Asher Lans. Treaties and congressional-executive or Presidential agreements: interchangeable instruments of national policy: I and II. Yale law journal, March and June 1945: 181-351; 534-615.

Recognizing strong public support for avoiding future wars, the authors discuss the relationship of treaties and executive agreements, the constitutional treaty provisions and their adaptation to present practices, the democratic basis for treaties, the importance of a Senate minority, and the possibilities for international security organizations to prevent wars.

Nelson, Randall H. Legislative participation in the treaty and agreement making process. Western political quarterly, March 1960: 154-171.

This study of post-World War II agreements between the U.S. and other countries focuses upon positive aspects of Senate advice in concluding such agreements.

Nigro, Felix A. Senate confirmation and foreign policy. *Journal of politics*, May 1952: 281-299.

Nigro presents an historical examination of Senate attempts to maintain the capability for influencing U.S. foreign policy through insisting upon its power to confirm Presidential appointments to international organizations and U.S. negotiating teams.

----- The Van Buren confirmation before the Senate. *Western political quarterly*, March 1961: 148-159.

Nigro describes the history of the Senate rejection of Andrew Jackson's appointment of Martin Van Buren as Ambassador to Great Britain. The dispute illustrates the extreme partisan nature which the confirmation process can assume, despite the constitutional assumption that only the merit of the nominees will be at issue.

Pierce, Carl A. A vacancy on the Supreme Court: the politics of judicial appointment, 1893-94. *Tennessee law review*, summer 1972: 555-612.

The debate and circumstances surrounding the replacement of Associate Justice Samuel Blatchford on the U.S. Supreme Court are described, as is the Senate rejection of President Cleveland's first two nominees.

Shogun, Robert. A question of judgment: the Fortas case and the struggle for the Supreme Court. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [1972] 314 p.

KF8748.S53

Shogun examines the Senate's refusal to vote on Justice Fortas' nomination as Chief Justice, and his subsequent resignation, in light of congressional and executive opposition to certain Supreme Court decisions.

Sparkman, John J. Notes on the Japanese Peace Treaty. *Journal of public law*, spring 1952: 109-116.

This article was written prior to Senate debate over consenting to the Treaty. In the course of describing major issues involved in negotiations, Sparkman describes the active role of Senators, in consultation with the executive branch, in developing the terms of the treaty.

Swindler, William F. The politics of "advice and consent." *American Bar Association journal*, June 1970: 533-542.

Swindler describes the political factors -- especially partisanship and philosophy -- which have been involved in nominations to the Supreme Court. Included are those nominations defeated, postponed, or withdrawn in the face of defeat.

Thorpe, James A. The appearance of Supreme Court nominees before the Senate Judiciary Committee. *Journal of public law*, v. 18, no. 2, 1969: 371-402.

Thorpe reviews the practice of nominees appearing before the Committee. He evaluates such appearances in terms of constitutional principles and political practices.

Webb, Richard E. Treaty-making and the President's obligation to seek the advice and consent of the Senate with special reference to the Vietnam peace negotiations. Ohio State law journal, summer 1970: 490-519.

Webb reviews the historical debate over the proper constitutional role of the Senate vis-a-vis the making of treaties. He concludes that the Senate's advice must be sought before and during negotiations -- as constitutional doctrine and sound political policy.

LEGISLATIVE-JUDICIAL RELATIONS

Alfange, Dean Jr. Congressional power and constitutional limitations. *Journal of public law*, v. 18, no. 1, 1969: 104-134.

Alfange contends that since 1937 the Supreme Court has given its approval to broader congressional authority while simultaneously providing more extensive protection of civil liberties.

Berger, Raoul. *Congress versus the Supreme Court*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press [1969] 424 p. KF4575.B4

Berger examines the doctrine of judicial review, citing its historical origins, the intent of the Founding Fathers, and congressional reaction to its use.

Black, Charles. A note on senatorial consideration of Supreme Court nominees. *Yale law review*, March 1970: 657-663.

Black offers historical and legal arguments supporting the view that Senators, when considering presidential nominations to the Supreme Court, should be no more constrained in the factors which they consider than is the President.

Breckinridge, Adam Carlyle. *Congress against the Court*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press [1970] 160 p. KF9625.Z9B7

Breckinridge analyzes the hostile congressional reaction to the Supreme Court's decisions in the 1960's regarding police power and the rights of the accused.

Brest, Paul. The conscientious legislator's guide to constitutional interpretation. *Stanford law review*, February 1975: 585-601.

The article specifies the standards used by the Supreme Court in its judicial review. The goal is to enable legislators to assess more accurately the constitutionality of proposed legislation.

Choper, Jesse H. *The Supreme Court and the political branches: democratic theory and practice*. *University of Pennsylvania law review*, April 1974: 810-858.

The author examines the representativeness and political accountability of the Congress, the Presidency, and the Supreme Court.

Comments on Powell v. McCormack. *UCLA law review*, November 1969: 1-191.

Most of this issue is devoted to a collection of statements by legal scholars evaluating the Supreme Court decision which placed limitations upon the right of each House of Congress to be judge of its own membership.

Congressional power over state and Federal court jurisdiction: the Hill-Burton and trans-Alaska pipeline examples. New York University law review, April 1974: 131-163.

This comment focuses on two instances in which the Congress has tried to limit the role of the judiciary. The sources and nature of congressional authority over the courts is traced, the legislative history of each act is described, and the validity of each is examined.

Cox, Archibald. The role of Congress in constitutional determination. University of Cincinnati law review, summer 1971: 199-261.

Cox discusses instances in which the judiciary commonly defers to congressional decisions, emphasizing political questions which the court refuses to review, restrictions on legislative power, and the power of Congress to expand and limit constitutional rights.

Eisenberg, Theodore. Congressional authority to restrict lower Federal court jurisdiction. Yale law journal, January 1974: 498-533.

Eisenberg argues that Congress cannot abolish lower Federal courts or withdraw Federal jurisdiction to hear cases in which constitutional rights are at stake and to grant constitutionally required remedies.

Ferling, John. The Senate and Federal judges: the intent of the Founding Fathers. Capitol studies, winter 1974: 57-70.

Ferling cites the debates in the Convention and in the ratifying assemblies as evidence that the participants foresaw the Senate's "advise and consent" role as decisive and unencumbered.

Grant, J. A. C. Judicial control of the legislative process: the Federal rule. Western political quarterly, September 1950: 364-389.

Grant reviews past practice regarding court intervention in the legislative process through interpretation of legislative rules and procedures.

Green, Justin J., et. al. Variations in congressional responses to the Warren and Burger Courts. Emory law journal, summer 1974: 725-743.

The authors conclude that congressional reactions to Supreme Court decisions has been highly related to the political nature of congressional constituencies; they predict a "wait-and-see" attitude toward the Burger Court.

Grossman, Joel B. and Stephen L. Wasby. The Senate and Supreme Court nominations: some reflections. Duke law journal, August 1972: 557-591.

The authors consider the process of judicial recruitment, with specific reference to Haynsworth and Carswell.

Harris, Richard. Decision. New York, E. P. Dutton [1971] 220 p.
HK8745.C32H35

Harris' book recounts the events surrounding the rejection of G. Harrold Carswell as a nominee to the Supreme Court.

Kurland, Philip B. The appointment and disappointment of Supreme Court Justices. Arizona State University law journal, v. 1972, no. 2, 1972: 183-237.

Kurland discusses the qualities which a Justice should possess, the pressures influencing nominations, the Senate's proper role in the process, and the means of removing incumbent Justices.

MacIver, Kenneth, et. al. The Supreme Court as arbitrator in the conflict between presidential and congressional war-making powers. Boston University law review, special issue, spring 1970: 78-116.

The authors conclude that the Court may, within the framework of the "political question" doctrine, decide the legality of congressional actions to limit presidential war-making ability. They also discuss the bases underlying support of Court authority and suggest that a Court decision in a politically volatile situation such as the Indo-China conflict might jeopardize the Court's political effectiveness.

Murphy, Walter F. Congress and the courts. Chicago, University of Chicago Press [1962] 307 p.

After a brief historical analysis of the relations between the Federal courts and the other two branches of government, Murphy examines the congressional reactions to Supreme Court decisions in civil rights and subversion cases in the late 1950's.

Polsby, Nelson, ed. Reapportionment in the seventies. Berkeley, University of California Press [1971] 296 p. KF4905.A75R37

This is a collection of articles analyzing the effects of reapportionment upon political institutions at the State and Federal level. Several contributors speculate about specific changes in the Congress.

Pritchett, C. Herman. Congress versus the Supreme Court, 1957-1960. New York, DaCapo Press [1973](c. 161) 168 p. KF8748.P69/1973

Pritchett describes congressional hostility to several Supreme Court decisions in the late fifties involving civil liberties, political activities, and the separation of powers. Unlike Murphy's analysis, Pritchett includes little historical analysis.

Shapiro, Martin. The Supreme Court and public policy. Glencoe, Illinois, Scott Foresman [1969] 298 p. KF8748.S53

Shapiro examines the legislative impetus created by Supreme Court decisions in the areas of civil liberties, separation of powers, and Federal and State relations.

Shogun, Robert. A question of judgment: the Fortas case and the struggle for the Supreme Court. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [1972] 314 p. KF8745.F65S5

Shogun examines the Senate's refusal to vote on Justice Fortes' nomination as Chief Justice, and his subsequent resignation, in light of congressional and executive opposition to certain Supreme Court decisions.

Stumpf, Harry P. Congressional response to Supreme Court rulings: the interaction of law and politics. Journal of public law, v. 14, no. 2, 1965: 377-395.

Stumpf presents a typology of negative congressional reactions to Supreme Court rulings, examining the frequency and success of each type of reaction.

Swindler, William F. The Supreme Court and Congress. International and comparative law quarterly, October 1970: 671-692.

Swindler examines the importance of political considerations (theoretical and practical) in the processes by which Justices are selected and the implications of those considerations for the nature of Court decisions. He also compares the judicial philosophies apparently dominant on the Warren and Burger Courts.

Tapia, Raul Robert, et. al. Congress versus the executive: the role of the courts. Harvard journal on legislation, February 1974: 352-403.

The authors discuss the increasing congressional use of the courts to decide conflicts with the executive branch. They conclude that such congressional suits require a careful analysis as yet unprovided by the courts.

Thorpe, James A. The appearance of Supreme Court nominees before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Journal of public law, v. 18, no. 2, 1969: 371-402.

Thorpe reviews the practice of nominees' appearing before the Committee. He evaluates such appearances in terms of constitutional principles and political practices.

U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on Congressional Operations. Court proceedings and actions of vital interest to the Congress. Committee print. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off. [various dates].

This compilation summarizes court actions affecting the constitutional rights of Congress as an institution and Members of Congress. The Joint Committee issues periodic revisions throughout each Congress, and a final report at the end of a Congress summarizes relevant court decisions during the previous two years. Final Joint Committee court proceeding reports exist for the 92d, 93d, and 94th Congresses.

BIOGRAPHIES AND MEMOIRS

Acheson, Sam. Joe Bailey: the last Democrat. New York, Macmillan [1932] 420 p. E664.B2A3

This biography of Bailey, Senate Democratic floor leader in the 1920's and political mentor of his fellow Texan, Sam Rayburn, describes his political rise from East Texas, to leadership in the State legislature, and to his rapid rise to influence in Washington.

Adams, Henry. John Randolph. Gloucester, Mass., Peter Smith [1969, first published 1822] 208 p. E302.6.R2A2

Adams' classic biography examines the temperment and character of Randolph, who was a leading figure in the House and Senate over a period spanning the first four decades of the Republic.

Aiken, George D. Aiken: Senate diary, January 1972 to January 1975. Brattleboro, Vermont, The Stephen Greene Press [1976] 370 p. E48.A193A33

Aiken, the former Dean of the Senate, kept this journal of impressions of the Senate during his final two years in office. Aiken made entries in the journal on a weekly basis to record the "factors...that were the basis of my judgment at the time."

Benton, Thomas Hart. Thirty years view, from 1820-1850. New York, D. Appleton and Company [1864] 2 vols. E338.B478

Benton's memoirs span the period of his service in the Senate as a Jacksonian Democrat from Missouri. His opposition to the extension of slavery cost him his Senate seat in 1850, but he later served a term in the House of Representatives.

Bowers, Claude. Beveridge and the Progressive era. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company [1932] 610 p. E746.B46B6

Bowers' book offers a comprehensive examination of the career of Albert Beveridge, the leading Senate Republican theoretician of liberal reform in the first two decades of the 20th Century.

----- The life of John Worth Kern. Indianapolis, Hollenbeck Publishers [1918] 475 p. E664.K347B7

Kern, who served in the Senate from Indiana from 1911-1917, was the first acknowledged Democratic floor leader.

Coit, Margaret L. John C. Calhoun: American portrait. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company [1950] 593 p. E340.C15C63

Coit's biography of Calhoun, the Senate defender of States' Rights, won the 1951 Pulitzer Prize for Biography.

Croly, Herbert. Marcus Alonzo Hanna. New York, Macmillan [1912]; New York, Archon Books [1965] 495 p. E664.H24C9/1965

Croly, a leading Progressive and founder of the New Republic, offers a sympathetic view of Hanna, William McKinley's political manager and defender of conservative economic policies in the Senate.

Current, Richard N. Daniel Webster and the rise of national conservatism. Boston, Little, Brown, and Company [1955] 215 p.
E340.W4C37

Current's biographical sketch examines Webster's role in the Senate in attempting to foster sectional reconciliation before the Civil War.

Douglas, Paul H. In the fullness of time. New York, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich [1971] 642 p.
E748.D68A3

Douglas' memoirs trace his career from the classroom, to combat service in World War II, to his three terms in the Senate.

Donald, David. Charles Sumner. New York, Knopf [1960, 1970] 2 vols.
E415.9.S9D2

Donald was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the first volume of this biography on Sumner, a leading Abolitionist and one of the founders of the Republican Party.

Evans, Rowland and Robert Novak. Lyndon B. Johnson: the exercise of power. New York, New American Library [1966] 597 p.
E847.E9

The authors emphasize the career of Johnson as Senate Majority Leader, examining his techniques of leadership and party management.

Garraty, John A. Henry Cabot Lodge. New York, Knopf [1953] 433 p.
E664.L763

Generally recognized as the standard biography of Lodge, Garraty's book examines the multi-faceted career of Lodge as historian, politician, and friend and advisor of Presidents.

----- Silas Wright. New York, Columbia University Press [1949]; New York, AMS Press [1970] 426 p.
E340.W95G37/1970

Garraty traces the public career of Wright, a Senator from New York and a political advisor to Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, who was generally regarded as the principal architect of Jacksonian Democracy.

Gorman, Joseph B. Kefauver: a political biography. New York, Oxford University Press [1971] 434 p.
E748.K314G6

Gorman's book is a comprehensive examination of the Tennessee Senator's career.

Gosnell, Harold. Boss Platt. Chicago, University of Chicago Press [1924]; New York, Russell and Russell [1969] 370 p.
F124.G63/1969

Senator Thomas Collier Platt was the leading Republican politician in New York State at the turn of the century, and was largely responsible for the election of Theodore Roosevelt as Governor of New York, and later for his selection as McKinley's running mate of 1900.

Grantham, Dewey. Hoke Smith and the politics of the new south. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press [1953] 396 p.

E748.S663G7

Smith, who served successively as a Cabinet member in Cleveland's second administration, Governor of Georgia, and Senator from Georgia, is generally associated with policies favoring industrial growth and racial moderation in the South.

Gruening, Ernest. Many battles. New York, Liveright Publishing [1973] 563 p.

E748.G878A35

Gruening's memoirs trace his varied career as a journalist, early twentieth century settler of Alaska, long-time advocate of Alaskan statehood, and as Senator from the 49th State. The final quarter of the book deals with his Senate career, notably his early opposition to the Vietnam war.

Hamilton, Virginia V. Hugo Black: the Alabama years. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press [1972] 330 p.

KF3745.B55H34

Hamilton's biography of Justice Black's early career traces his rise in local Alabama politics, his brief association with the Ku Klux Klan, and his emergence as a national political figure and Senate supporter of New Deal legislation.

Hoar, George F. Autobiography of seventy years. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons [1903] 470 p.

E661.H67

Hoar's memoirs recollect the personalities and politics surrounding his thirty-five years of congressional service as a leader of the Radical Republicans during Reconstruction, and his growing disenchantment with conservative economic policies and imperialism.

Humphrey, Hubert H. The education of a public man. Garden City, Doubleday [1977] 513 p.

E748.H94

Humphrey's memoirs trace his career in politics as Mayor of Minneapolis, advocate of civil rights, U.S. Senator from Minnesota, Senate Majority Whip, Vice President, unsuccessful candidate for President, and university professor.

Huthmacher, J. Joseph. Senator Robert F. Wagner and the rise of urban liberalism. New York, Atheneum [1968] 362 p.

E748.W2H3

Ruthmacher's award winning biography traces Wagner's influence before and during the New Deal.

Kemper, Donald J. Decade of fear: Senator Hennings and civil liberties. Columbia, University of Missouri Press [1965] 252 p.

Law

In this biography of Hennings, Kemper traces the efforts of Senate moderates, of whom Hennings was one, to restrain the anti-communist investigations conducted by Senator McCarthy.

Lowitt, Richard. George Norris: the persistence of a progressive, 1913-1933. Syracuse, Syracuse University Press [1971] 341 p.
E748.N65L6

Lowitt's biography describes Norris' career after his election to the Senate in 1912. Described in the book are Norris' filibuster against the Armed Ships Bill prior to World War I, and his suggestions for progressive reform which found support in the New Deal after his death.

MacNeil, Neil. Dirksen: portrait of a public man. New York, World Publishing [1970] 402 p.
E840.8.M27A3

MacNeil, a veteran Washington press correspondent, describes the legislative career of Everett Dirksen, first as a Republican congressman elected at the height of the New Deal, and later as the influential Senate minority leader.

Nevins, Allan. Herbert H. Lehman and his era. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons [1963] 456 p.
F124.L532

This Pulitzer Prize historian describes Lehman's career as Lieutenant Governor of New York under Franklin Roosevelt, Governor of New York, and finally as Senator from New York succeeding Robert F. Wagner.

Norris, George W. Fighting liberal. New York, Macmillan [1945] 414 p.
E748.N65A3

Norris' memoirs describe his congressional career spanning forty years' service as a progressive Republican frequently at odds with the majority sentiment of his own party.

Patterson, James T. Mr. Republican: a biography of Robert A. Taft. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin [1972] 749 p.
E748.T2P37

Patterson's biography of the late Senate Republican floor leader is the first to be written with reliance upon Taft's private papers.

Rovere, Richard H. Senator Joe McCarthy. New York, Harcourt Brace [1959] 280 p.
E743.M143R62

Rovere, the Washington correspondent for New Yorker magazine, describes McCarthy's rise to prominence, and the social forces which contributed to his influence.

Schurz, Carl. Henry Clay. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin [1899]; New York, AMS Press [1972] 2 vols.
E340.C6S425/1972

This comprehensive biography examines Clay's varied career -- Speaker of the House for every term he served; Cabinet member; frequent Presidential candidate; and leader of conciliation forces in the Senate. The author, Carl Schurz, was a leader in the Abolitionist movement, a founder of the Republican Party, and served in the Senate and cabinet during his career.

Simkins, Francis B. Pitchfork Ben Tillman. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press [1944] 577 p. E664.T57S5

Simkins' biography examines the career of Tillman, a leader in the Populist movement and an influential turn-of-the-century southern Democrat.

Stephenson, Nathaniel W. Nelson W. Aldrich, a leader in American politics. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons [1930] 496 p. E664.A35S83

Stephenson's biography spans the business as well as political career of Aldrich, the Senate's acknowledged expert on tariff legislation and the first official Republican floor leader.

Tansill, Charles C. The congressional career of Thomas F. Bayard. Washington, Georgetown University Press [1946] 362 p. E664.B3T26

Tansill examines the role of Bayard, a Democrat elected to the Senate during the height of Reconstruction, and his influential position on diplomatic issues. He later served as Cleveland's Secretary of State.

Trefousse, Hans L. Benjamin Franklin Wade. New York, Twayne Publishers [1963] 404 p. E415.9.W16T7

Trefousse's comprehensive work examines the public career of Wade, a leader of the Senate Radical Republican group who would have succeeded to the Presidency had Andrew Johnson been removed from office.

Van Deusen, Glyndon G. William H. Seward. New York, Oxford University Press [1967] 666 p. E340.C6V3

Van Deusen concentrates on Seward's career as Secretary of State under Lincoln and Johnson, but also devotes considerable time to Seward's influence in the founding of the Republican Party, in his service as Senator from Ohio, and to his unsuccessful attempt to gain the 1860 Republican Presidential nomination.

White, Horace. The life of Lyman Trumbull. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin [1913] 458 p. E415.9.T86

White's biography provides insight into the personalities of the Civil War and Reconstruction era, and to the career of Trumbull, a confidant of Lincoln, Republican moderate, and one of the principal authors of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, as well as the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

Williams, T(homas) Harry. Huey Long. New York, Knopf [1969] 884 p. E748.L86W48/1969

Williams won the 1970 Pulitzer Prize for Biography for his examination of the career and personality of the Louisiana Governor and Senator.

Woodward, C(omer) Vann. Tom Watson: agrarian rebel. New York,
Macmillan [1938] 518 p. E664.W337W6

Woodward examines the political and journalistic career of this
radical Georgia populist.

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