

years after they have been issued a patent.

Most Americans do not understand, and I am sad to report to those people who are listening tonight that the guaranteed patent term that Americans enjoyed for over 130 years has already been taken away from them, and most Americans do not even know it.

What happened is a year and a half ago, in the GATT implementation legislation, an item was snuck into this legislation that had nothing to do with the GATT agreement. It was not required by GATT but it was snuck in there, so that we as a body would have to vote against the entire world trading system, or we would have to vote for the world trading system. We would have to vote against the world trading system in order to get at that one provision.

Most Members, of course, were not willing to cut us off from all of the trade regulations of the GATT negotiations. But it was an insult to this body that they had put this provision in in the first place. What did this small provision do, this one little item that they snuck in there? There was an innocuous change in the patent law. It said that the patents now in the United States will now be measured from 20 years from the time the inventor files for the patent. So, 20 years later he will no longer have any patent rights.

It almost sounds like, hey, we are actually expanding the amount of time that a patent applicant has for the protection of his patent. But in reality what has happened, what we used to have is that if someone applies for a patent and it took 5 or 10 years for his patent application to be processed, he or she would have 17 years guaranteed patent protection time in order to make that investment back, in order to profit from that technology. But if we started at 20 years and it is over, if we started when the man applied for the patent and it is over in 20 years, if it takes 10 or 15 years for the patent to issue, that patent is almost worthless by the time it is issued. The fact is that three-quarters of the time has already been used up. In other words, the clock is ticking against the individual, rather than ticking against the bureaucracy.

That was a dramatic change, to let us harmonize our system with Japan. Mr. Speaker, it seems innocuous, but in the end, it dramatically affects the production of technology in our society, and it also, interestingly enough, affects who receives the benefits of that technology, because if a foreign corporation then only has to pay 5 years' worth of royalties, rather than 17 years, where is that money going?

That money that used to be going into the pockets of American inventors, because they had a guaranteed 17 years of patent protection, ends up staying right in the coffers of some big corporation in China or Japan or Korea, or even here in the United States. The little guy ends up losing

dramatically. The big guys end up being able to steal legally. They have changed the rules of the game.

My bill, H.R. 359, which will serve as a substitute for H.R. 3460, will return the patent rights that the American people lost by the GATT implementation legislation. So we will face a battle in the upcoming weeks between H.R. 3460, which is, as I say, I call it the steal American technologies act, versus my bill, H.R. 359.

I believe this issue deserves to be debated, because it has an impact not only on the people of the United States, but elsewhere. We should not permit countries like Red China to steal American technology and legally do so because we are disclosing our very utmost secrets to them by passing such foolish legislation. When it comes to most-favored-nation status, when there is a dictatorship like Red China or Burma, we should not treat them as any other free Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I do believe in free trade. I believe that commerce between free people is to the benefit of all free people. But let us as a country stand not for trade with dictators, but instead, let us stand for free trade between free people.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. UNDERWOOD (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for today and Wednesday, May 29, on account of official business.

Mr. McNULTY (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for today, after 2 p.m., on account of personal business.

Mr. WARD (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for today and the balance of the week, on account of a death in the family.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ABERCROMBIE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. WATERS, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. LAFALCE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. OWENS, for 60 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SOLOMON) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. GOSS, for 5 minutes, on May 24.

Mr. WELDON of Florida, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SOLOMON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KASICH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. RIGGS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PETERSON of Florida, and to include therein extraneous material notwithstanding the fact that it exceeds two pages of the RECORD and is estimated by the Public Printer to cost \$5,185.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOSS). Pursuant to the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 60 of the 104th Congress, the House stands adjourned until 2 p.m., Wednesday, May 29, 1996.

Thereupon (at 5 o'clock and 27 minutes p.m.), pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 60, the House adjourned until Wednesday, May 29, 1996, at 2 p.m.

#### NOTICE OF PROPOSED RULEMAKING

U.S. CONGRESS,  
OFFICE OF COMPLIANCE,  
Washington, DC, May 22, 1996.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,  
Speaker of the House, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to Section 304(b) of the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. §1384(b)), I am transmitting on behalf of the Board of Directors the enclosed notice of proposed rulemaking for publication in the Congressional Record. The notice, which the Board has approved, is being issued pursuant to §220(e).

The Congressional Accountability Act specifies that the enclosed notice be published on the first day on which both Houses are in session following this transmittal.

Sincerely,

GLEN D. NAGER,  
Chair of the Board.

#### OFFICE OF COMPLIANCE

The Congressional Accountability Act of 1995: Extension of Rights, Protections and Responsibilities Under Chapter 71 of Title 5, United States Code, Relating to Federal Service Labor-Management Relations (Regulations under section 220(e) of the Congressional Accountability Act).

#### NOTICE OF PROPOSED RULEMAKING

Summary: The Board of Directors of the Office of Compliance is publishing proposed regulations to implement section 220 of the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 ("CAA" or "Act"), Pub. L. 104-1, 109 Stat. 3. Specifically, these proposed regulations are published pursuant to section 220(e) of the CAA.

The provisions of section 220 are generally effective October 1, 1996. 2 U.S.C. section 1351. However, as to covered employees of certain specified employing offices, the rights and protections of section 220 will be effective on the effective date of Board regulations authorized under section 220(e). 2 U.S.C. section 1351(f).

The proposed regulations set forth herein, which are published under section 220(e) of the Act, are to be applied to certain employing offices of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Congressional instrumentalities and employees of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Congressional instrumentalities. These regulations set forth the recommendations of the Deputy

Executive Director for the Senate, the Deputy Executive Director for the House of Representatives and, the Executive Director, Office of Compliance, as approved by the Board of Directors, Office of Compliance. A Notice of Proposed Rulemaking under section 220(d) is being published separately.

Dates: Comments are due within 30 days after publication of this notice in the Congressional Record.

Addresses: Submit written comments (an original and 10 copies) to the Chair of the Board of Directors, Office of Compliance, Room LA 200, John Adams Building, 110 Second Street, S.E., Washington, DC 20540-1999. Those wishing to receive notification of receipt of comments are requested to include a self-addressed, stamped post card. Comments may also be transmitted by facsimile ("FAX") machine to (202) 426-1913. This is not a toll-free call. Copies of comments submitted by the public will be available for review at the Law Library Reading Room, Room LM-201, Law Library of Congress, James Madison Memorial Building, Washington, DC, Monday through Friday, between the hours of 9:30 a.m. and 4:00 p.m.

For Further Information Contact: Executive Director, Office of Compliance at (202) 724-9250. This notice is also available in the following formats: large print, braille, audio tape, and electronic file on computer disk. Requests for this notice in an alternative format should be made to Mr. Russell Jackson, Director, Service Department, Office of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate, (202) 224-2705.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION:

##### I. Introduction

The Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 ("CAA" or "Act") was enacted into law on January 23, 1995. In general, the CAA applies the rights and protections of eleven federal labor and employment law statutes to covered Congressional employees and employing offices. Section 220 of the CAA addresses the application of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code ("chapter 71"), relating to Federal Service Labor-Management Relations. Section 220(a) of the CAA applies the rights, protections, and responsibilities established under sections 7102, 7106, 7111 through 7117, 7119 through 7122, and 7131 of chapter 71 to employing offices, covered employees, and representatives of covered employees. These provisions protect the legal right of certain covered employees to organize and bargain collectively with their employing offices within statutory and regulatory parameters.

Section 220(d) of the Act requires the Board of Directors of the Office of Compliance ("Board") to issue regulations to implement section 220 and further states that, except as provided in subsection (e), such regulations "shall be the same as substantive regulations promulgated by the Federal Labor Relations Authority ("FLRA") to implement the statutory provisions referred to in subsection (a) except—

(A) to the extent that the Board may determine, for good cause shown and stated together with the regulations, that a modification of such regulations would be more effective for the implementation of rights and protections under this section, or

(B) as the Board deems necessary to avoid a conflict of interest or appearance of conflict of interest."

The Board has separately published a Notice of Proposed Rulemaking with respect to the issuance of regulations pursuant to section 220(d).

Section 220(e)(1) of the CAA requires that the Board also issue regulations "on the manner and extent to which the requirements and exemptions of chapter 71 [] should

apply to covered employees who are employed in the offices listed in" section 220(e)(2). The offices listed in section 220(e)(2) are:

(A) the personal office of any Member of the House of Representatives or of any Senator;

(B) a standing select, special, permanent, temporary, or other committee of the Senate or House of Representatives, or a joint committee of Congress;

(C) the Office of the Vice President (as President of the Senate), the Office of the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Office of the Majority Leader of the Senate, the Office of the Minority Leader of the Senate, the Office of the Majority Whip of the Senate, the Conference of the Majority of the Senate, the Conference of the Minority of the Senate, the Office of the Secretary of the Conference for the Majority of the Senate, the Office of the Secretary for the Minority of the Senate, the Majority Policy Committee of the Senate, the Minority Policy Committee of the Senate, and the following offices within the Office of the Secretary of the Senate: Offices of the Parliamentarian, Bill Clerk, Legislative Clerk, Journal Clerk, Executive Clerk, Enrolling Clerk, Official Reporters of Debate, Daily Digest, Printing Services, Captioning Services, and Senate Chief Counsel for Employment;

(D) the Office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Office of the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, the Office of the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, the Offices of the Chief Deputy Majority Whips, the Offices of the Chief Deputy Minority Whips, and the following offices within the Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives: Offices of Legislative Operations, Official Reporters of Debate, Official Reporters to Committees, Printing Services, and Legislative Information;

(E) the Office of the Legislative Counsel of the Senate, the Office of the Senate Legal Counsel, the Office of the Legislative Counsel of the House of Representatives, the Office of the General Counsel of the House of Representatives, the Office of the Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives, and the Office of the Law Revision Counsel;

(F) the offices of any caucus or party organization;

(G) the Congressional Budget Office, the Office of Technology Assessment, and the Office of Compliance; and;

(H) such other offices that perform comparable functions which are identified under regulations of the Board.

These offices shall be collectively referred to as the "section 220(e)(2) offices."

Section 220(e)(1) provides that the regulations which the Board issues to apply chapter 71 to covered employees in section 220(e)(2) offices "shall, to the greatest extent practicable, be consistent with the provisions and purposes of chapter 71 [] and of [the CAA]." To this end, section 220(e)(1) mandates that such regulations "shall be the same as substantive regulations issued by the Federal Labor Relations Authority under such chapter" with two separate and distinct provisos:

First, section 220(e)(1), like every other CAA section requiring the Board to issue implementing regulations (i.e., sections 202(d)(2), 203(c)(2), 204(c)(2), 205(c)(2), 206(c)(2), 215(d)(2)), authorizes the Board to modify the FLRA's regulations "(A) to the extent that the Board may determine, for good cause shown and stated together with the regulation, that a modification of such regulations would be more effective for the implementation of the rights and protections under this section."

Second, independent of section 220(e)(1), section 220(e)(2) requires the Board to issue regulations that "exclude from coverage under this section any covered employees who are employed in offices listed in [section 220(e)(2)] if the Board determines that such exclusion is required because of—

(i) a conflict of interest or appearance of a conflict of interest; or

(ii) Congress' constitutional responsibilities."

The provisions of section 220 are effective October 1, 1996, except that, "[w]ith respect to the offices listed in subsection (e)(2), to the covered employees of such offices, and to representatives of such employees, [section 220] shall be effective on the effective date of regulations under subsection (e)."

##### II. The Advance Notice of Proposed Rulemaking

###### A. Issues for Comment that Relate to Section 220(e)

The Board sought comment on two issues related to section 220(e)(1)(A): (1) Whether and to what extent the Board should modify the regulations promulgated by the FLRA for application to employees in section 220(e)(2) offices? (2) Whether the Board should issue additional regulations concerning the manner and extent to which the requirements and exemptions of chapter 71 apply to employees in section 220(e)(2) offices?

The Board sought comment on four issues related to section 220(e)(1)(B): (1) What are the constitutional responsibilities and/or conflicts of interest (real or apparent) that would require exclusion of employees in section 220(e) offices from coverage under section 220 of the CAA? (2) Whether determinations as to such exclusions should be made on an office-wide basis or on the basis of job duties and functions? (3) Which job duties and functions in section 220(e) offices, if any, should be excluded from coverage, and what is the legal and factual basis for any such exclusion? (4) Are there any offices not listed in section 220(e)(2) that are candidates for the application of the section 220(e)(1)(B) exclusion and, if so, why?

In seeking comment on the issues related to section 220(e) regulations, the Board emphasized that it needed detailed legal and factual support for any proposed modifications in the FLRA's regulations and for any additional proposed regulations implementing sections 220(e)(1)(A) and (B).

###### B. Summary of Comments Received

The Board did not receive any comments on issues arising under section 220(e)(1)(A), and received only two comments on issues arising under section 220(e)(1)(B). These two comments addressed the issue of whether the Board should grant a blanket exclusion for all covered employees in the section 220(e)(2) offices. The Board summarizes those two comments here.

One commenter argued that nothing in the CAA warrants any categorical exclusions from coverage. The commenter argued that the CAA's instruction to the Board to issue regulations which "to the greatest extent practical" are "consistent with the provisions and purposes of chapter 71" invites coverage as broad in scope as chapter 71 provides for Executive Branch employees. The commenter argued that section 220(e)(1)(B) is an exception to the general rule mandating coverage and that Congress did not purport to find that any covered employees necessarily qualified for application of such an exception. The commenter further argued that the legislative history of section 220(e) indicates that Congress simply authorized the Board to determine whether covered employees in section 220(e)(2) offices should be excluded without in any way suggesting that they should be excluded.

The commenter then pointed out that, like Congress, the President is charged with constitutional responsibilities and that executive branch employees (other than statutorily excepted employees) are nonetheless free to join and be represented by unions of their choice. The commenter urged that there is nothing in the functions of the legislative branch that suggests that union representation of legislative branch employees is any different than union representation of executive branch employees (or that it poses any unique concerns). From this argument, the commenter concluded that no blanket exemption of all of the employees in section 220(e)(2) offices is warranted; and the commenter urged that its conclusion is supported by the overall policy of the CAA to bind Congress to the same set of rules that other employers face.

The second commenter took the position that all of the covered employees in a number of the section 220(e)(2) offices should receive a blanket exemption from coverage under section 220. In support of this argument, the commenter first described the Senate's constitutional responsibilities to exercise the legislative authority of the United States; to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution" its enumerated powers; to advise and consent to treaties and certain presidential nominations; and to try matters of impeachments. The commenter then stated that, in fulfilling these responsibilities, the Senate must be "free from improper influence from outside sources so that Members can fairly represent the interests of the United States and its citizens." The commenter asserted that exclusion from coverage of all employees in Senators' personal offices is necessary to insulate the legislative process from improper influence by outside parties.

In so stating, the commenter recognized that a number of such employees would already be excluded under chapter 71, but argued that the participation of any employee of a Senator's office in a labor organization would "interfere with the Senator's constitutional responsibilities, [] allow unions to obtain an undue advantage in the legislative process and to exercise improper influence over Members, and [] create conflicts of interest." The commenter asserted that allowing such employees to organize would "provide labor unions with unprecedented access to and influence over the operations and legislative activities of Senators' personal offices" and turn the collective bargaining process into "a lobbying tool of organized labor".

The commenter contended that union representation of employees in a Senator's personal office also could create significant conflicts of interest, both because legislation that affects union or management rights may have a direct impact on a Senator's bargaining position with an employee union, and because a Senator's voting position may be tainted by the appearance that he or she is affected by the position of the employee union. The commenter also claimed that payment of union dues by a Senator's employees could create the perception of a conflict of interest, because Senate employees may not make political contributions to their employer, but the employees may nonetheless pay dues to a union that, in turn, contributes to that employer. The commenter further argued that, if a Senator's employees are permitted to organize, they may develop conflicting loyalties that could render them politically incompatible with the Senator for whom they work. The commenter contended that it would be an unfair labor practice for an employer to discharge an employee because of union affiliation

even if that union affiliation led to political incompatibility, thus allegedly vitiating section 502 of the CAA (which is said to authorize an employing office to discharge an employee based on such incompatibility). Finally, the commenter asserted that, if employees of Senators' offices are granted the right to organize, they will be the only employees of Federal elected officials who are organized.

The commenter also took the position that the concerns stated regarding union organization in Senators' personal offices are equally applicable to employees in Senate leadership and committee offices. The commenter further asserted that employees in offices under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Senate (Offices of the Parliamentarian, Bill Clerk, Legislative Clerk, Journal Clerk, Executive Clerk, Enrolling Clerk, Official Reporters of Debate, Daily Digest and Printing Services, Office of Senate Chief Counsel for Employment) should be excluded from coverage because they allegedly occupy confidential positions that are integral to the Senate's constitutional functions. The commenter also asserted that employees in the Office of the Senate Chief Counsel for Employment should be excluded because attorneys in that office will engage in labor negotiations on behalf of management in Senate offices and because all employees in the office have access to privileged and confidential information. The commenter similarly stated that employees in the Office of the Legislative Counsel and the Office of the Senate Legal Counsel should be excluded because they have direct access to privileged and confidential information relating to the constitutional functions of the Senate.

Finally, the commenter contended that, pursuant to 220(e)(2)(H), employees in four other offices should be subject to a blanket exclusion. Employees in the Executive Office of the Secretary of the Senate, because they are privy to confidential information about both the legislative functions of the Senate and the labor management policies of the Office of the Secretary; employees in the Office of Senate Security, because they have access to highly sensitive and confidential information relating to the constitutional responsibilities of the Senate, as well as to matters of national security; employees in the Senate Disbursing Office, because they have access to confidential financial information that could enhance a union's bargaining position; and employees in the Administrative Office of the Sergeant at Arms, because they have access to confidential information about the office and the Senate.

### III. Notice of Proposed Rulemaking

In developing its proposed regulations, the Board has carefully considered both its responsibilities under section 220(e) and the two directly contradictory comments that the Board received concerning the regulations that it must issue. For the reasons that follow, the Board's judgment is that a blanket exclusion of *all* of the employees in the section 220(e)(2) offices is not "required" under the stated statutory criteria. But the Board will propose regulations that *allow* the exclusion issue to be raised with respect to any particular employee in any particular case. The Board also urges commenters who support any categorical exclusions, in commenting on these proposed regulations, to explain why particular jobs or job duties require exclusion of particular employees so that the Board may exclude them by regulation, where appropriate. Through this initial regulation and any categorical exclusions that may appropriately be included in its final regulations, the Board intends to carry out its statutory responsibility under section 220(e) to exclude employees from cov-

erage where required, and to make changes in the FLRA's regulations where necessary.

#### A. Section 220(e)(1)(A)

Section 220(e)(1)(A) authorizes the Board to modify the FLRA's regulations "to the extent that the Board may determine, for good cause shown and stated together with the regulation, that a modification of such regulations would be more effective for the implementation of the rights and protections under [section 220(e)]." No commenter took the position that there was good cause to modify the FLRA regulations for more effective implementation of section 220(e). Equally important, no commenter took the position that a blanket exclusion of *all* of the covered employees in any of the section 220(e) offices would be "more effective for the implementation of the rights and protections under [section 220(e)]." And, at present, the Board has not independently found any basis to exercise its authority to modify the FLRA regulations for more effective implementation of section 220(e). The Board therefore does not propose to issue separate regulations pursuant to section 220(e)(1)(A)—that is, except as to employees whose exclusion from coverage under section 220 is required, the Board proposes that the regulations that it issues under section 220(d) will apply to employing offices, covered employees, and their representatives under section 220(e).

#### B. Section 220(e)(1)(B)

Section 220(e)(1)(B) provides that the Board "shall exclude from coverage under [section 220] any covered employees in [section 220(e)(2) offices] if the Board determines that such exclusion is required because of—

(i) a conflict of interest or appearance of a conflict of interest; or

(ii) Congress' constitutional responsibilities."

The question here for resolution, then, is to what extent the Board should exclude covered employees in the section 220(e)(2) offices from coverage.

1. The statutory language and legislative history indicate that exclusions are proper only where "required" by the stated statutory criteria

Section 220(e)(1)(B) states that the Board "shall" exclude any covered employee of a section 220(e)(2) office where such exclusion is "required" by the stated statutory criteria. The statutory specification that the exclusion be "required" by Congress' constitutional responsibilities or a conflict of interest is telling. In this context, the term "required" means "insist[ed] upon usu[ally] with certainty and urgency." See Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1986); see also Black's Law Dictionary (4th ed. 1968) ("direct[ed], order[ed], demand[ed], instruct[ed], command[ed]"). Thus, merely being helpful to or in furtherance of the stated statutory criteria is insufficient; rather, the exclusion must be *necessary* to the conduct of Congress's constitutional responsibilities or to the avoidance of a conflict of interest (real or apparent).

Although legislative history should always be consulted with due care and regard for its limitations, the scant legislative history directly attached to section 220(e)(1)(B) here appears to confirm that exclusions are proper only where necessary to achieve the stated statutory criteria. See 141 Cong. Rec. S626 (section-by-section analysis of CAA). What is now section 220(e) was added to a predecessor to the CAA in October 1994 in the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. The Committee's Report explains that this provision was added in response to several Members' concerns that the application of labor laws to the legislative offices might interfere with Congress' ability to fulfill its constitutional functions: "For example, there was a

concern that, if legislative staff belonged to a union, that union might be able to exert undue influence over legislative activities or decisions. Even if such a conflict of interest between employees' official duties and union membership did not actually occur, the mere appearance of undue influence or access might be very troubling. Furthermore, there is a concern that labor actions could delay or disrupt vital legislative activities." [S. Rep. No. 397, 103d Cong., 2d Sess. 8 (1994).]

The Report went on to explain that the proposed bill addressed the Members' concerns in two ways: First, rather than applying the National Labor Relations Act ("NLRA") to Congress, the bill would apply chapter 71 whose "provisions and precedents . . . address problems of conflict of interest in the governmental context and . . . prohibit strikes and slowdowns." Second, "as an extra measure of precaution," the bill would not apply to the section 220(e)(2) offices "until the Board has conducted a special rulemaking to consider such problems as conflict of interest." *Id.* at 8.

The above-described Senate Report does not reveal—either expressly or implicitly—any congressional expectation that exclusions would necessarily result as a consequence of the Board's special rulemaking. Instead, the Report explains that the concerns of several Members were principally addressed by the incorporation of chapter 71 (rather than the NLRA) in the bill and that, "as an extra measure of precaution," the Board should consider in a special rulemaking whether application of even chapter 71 to employees in section 220(e) would defeat Congress' responsibilities or cause insoluble conflicts of interest (real or apparent). See 141 Cong. Rec. S444-45 (remarks of Senator Grassley). Indeed, the section-by-section analysis of the bill that became the CAA states that section 220(e) should not be construed as "a standard license to roam far afield from [the] executive regulations." See 141 Cong. Rec. S626.

The legislative materials suggest that section 220(e) requires the Board to exclude employees in section 220(e)(2) offices only where "required" by the statutory criteria—*i.e.*, where exclusion is *necessary* to the accomplishment of the statutory criteria. The legislative materials leave no room for the exclusion of covered employees in the absence of a demonstrated and substantial need for doing so.

2. Exclusion of all employees in section 220(e) offices is not required by Congress' constitutional responsibilities or concerns about real or apparent conflicts of interest

On the basis of the comments received to date, the Board is unable to find a demonstrated and substantial need for the blanket exclusion of *all* employees in the section 220(e)(2) offices. Such a blanket exclusion of *all* covered employees does not appear to be required by either Congress' constitutional responsibilities or any real or apparent conflicts of interest.

*a. Exclusion is not necessitated by Congress' constitutional responsibilities*

The key premise of the commenter's argument that exclusion of *all* section 220(e)(2) office employees is required by Congress' constitutional responsibilities is the assertion that collective bargaining rights for section 220(e) employees are categorically inconsistent with the effective functioning of the Legislative Branch. But the legislative judgment embodied in chapter 71 is that collective bargaining rights are entirely consistent with—and, indeed, enhance—the efficient and effective functioning of the Executive Branch. See 5 U.S.C. §7101. More to the point, the legislative judgment in chapter 71 is that collective bargaining is consistent with—

and, indeed, supportive of—the Executive Branch's fulfillment of the President's constitutional responsibility faithfully to execute the laws of the United States. The Board has not yet been presented with any facts or legal argument that would support a determination that, in contrast to the situation in the Executive Branch, *all* employees of the section 220(e)(2) offices must be excluded from collective bargaining in order for the Legislative Branch to be able to fulfill its constitutional charge.

For example, although the commenter asserts that, if a Senator is required to bargain with his or her employees' union, the employees' union will obtain an undue advantage in the legislative process by dint of its members' special access to the Senator and its members' influence over the Senator's legislative positions, the Board does not believe that a Senator can be brought to his constitutional knees so easily. The commitment of our Nation's elected representatives to the performance of their constitutional duties is great; and, access or no access by unions, it must be presumed that out elected representatives will carry out their constitutional responsibilities with fervor. Moreover, it must also be recognized that, in doing so, our elected representatives will be supported by many employees who simply do not have the right to organize. Supervisors—defined as individuals with authority to hire, direct, assign, promote, reward, transfer, furlough, layoff, recall, suspend, discipline, or remove employees, or to adjust their grievances, or to effectively recommend such action—are not even covered by chapter 71 as applied by the CAA. See sections 7103(a)(2)(iii) and 7103(a)(10). Likewise, management officials—defined as individuals in positions whose duties and responsibilities require or authorize the individual to formulate, determine, or influence the policies of their employer—are not covered. See sections 7103(a)(2)(iii) and 7103(a)(11). Furthermore, confidential employees—defined as employees who act in a confidential capacity with respect to individuals who formulate or effectuate management policies in the field of labor-management relations—and employees engaged in personal work are not covered. See sections 7112(b)(2),(3) and 7103(a)(13). Finally, employees whose participation in the management of a labor organization or whose representation of a labor organization results in a conflict or apparent conflict of interest or is otherwise incompatible with law or with official job duties are not covered. See section 7120(e). Cumulatively, these exclusions undermine the claim that *all* employees of a section 220(e)(2) office—including secretaries and messengers—must be excluded from coverage in order for the Legislative Branch to fulfill its constitutional charge; to the extent that a union obtains access, it will be on behalf of employees who are *not* at the center of the Senator's management core.

The commenter supporting blanket exclusion of *all* employees in certain section 220(e)(2) office also argued that, absent such an exclusion, a Senator's employees would be able to influence a Senators' legislative position of exchange for concessions at the bargaining table. This argument, however, ignores the fact that, for those employees not exempted (such as certain secretaries and messengers), chapter 71 provides only a limited set of labor relations rights. Once organized, employees may bargain about their conditions of employment. But they may not bargain about matters "specifically provided for by Federal statute," a category which includes *inter alia* a number of restrictions on pay, health insurance, and retirement benefits for legislative employees. See section 7102(2), 7103(a)(12), 7103(a)(14)(C). Moreover, they may only bargain about their "terms

and conditions of employment"; *their Senator's legislative positions are not properly on the table*. And in the event that nonexempt employees in section 220(e)(2) offices fail to come to terms with an employing office about their terms and conditions of employment, the employees do not have their principle coercive weapons that organized labor uses to further its employment goals, *see Allis Chalmers v. NLRB*, 388 U.S. 175 (1967), because they lack the right to strike or slow down. See sections 7103(a)(2)(v), 7311. These limitations make it clear that exclusion of *all* employees in a section 220(e)(2) office (such as certain secretaries and messengers) is not necessary to prevent the allegedly improper influence that concerns the commenter; and they make self-evident that such a blanket exclusion of *all* section 220(e)(2) office employees is not required by Congress' constitutional responsibilities.

The commenter supporting blanket exclusion of *all* employees in section 220(e)(2) offices further argued that all members of a Senator's staff—no matter how routine their job duties—are privy to inside information about the Senator, including information about the Senator's legislative positions. The commenter expressed a concern that a Senator's organized employees might reveal this confidential information to their union and that a union might then use the confidential information to exert improper influence on the Senator and thus on the legislative process. The commenter also feared that a Senator's organized employees would not wholeheartedly perform their duties if the Senator were to take a position inimical to the interests of unions. But, again, these concerns are not sufficient to justify blanket exclusions, if only because they can be addressed by other means.

The confidentiality of information and loyal performance of duties can be ensured without exclusion of *all* section 220(e)(2) office employees. Nothing in federal law, and certainly nothing in chapter 71 or the CAA, limits a Member's right to establish neutral work rules designed to assure productivity, discipline, and confidentiality and to discipline and/or discharge any employee who violates those rules. An employee who violates one of these work rules may be discharged *for that reason*.

This point answers the commenter's argument that categorical exclusion is necessary because a Senator would not be able to discharge or discipline an employee who leaks confidential information, or one who openly and actively supports legislation that the Senator opposes. If the Senator had in place and enforced a work rule neutrally forbidding conduct without regard to the employee's union membership or activity (so long as the employee's constitutional rights were not violated). The Senator would only violate section 220 of the CAA if he or she simply forbid inconsistent conduct that related to union membership or activities or enforced a facially neutral rule in a discriminatory manner. Exclusion of *all* covered employees is thus not "required" to address the confidentiality and loyalty concerns that have been advanced here.

*b. Exclusion of all employees in section 220(e)(2) offices is not "required" by any real or apparent conflicts of interest*

Nor is the Board prepared at this point to accept the argument that blanket exclusion of *all* employees in section 220(e)(2) offices is "required" to avoid conflicts of interest, real or apparent. The exclusions in chapter 71 for supervisory, confidential and other such employees are sufficient to take care of most potential conflict of interest questions created by employee organization; indeed, chapter 71 itself allows exclusion of employees

with additional insoluble conflicts of interest. While the Board is prepared to exclude appropriate categories of employees where required by conflicts of interest, the suggestion that *all* employees in section 220(e)(2) offices must be excluded because of such alleged conflicts does not appear well-founded.

The commenter expressed a fear that organized employees would necessarily have a loyalty to the union and to union goals that would be inconsistent with loyal service to a Member and to his or her legislative positions. There may indeed be such tensions and potential conflicts that arise from union membership of covered employees. But such tensions and conflicts also arise in connection with a covered employee's membership and participation in other special interest groups, such as the Sierra Club, the National Rifle Association, the National Right to Work Foundation, or the National Organization of Women. Indeed, an employee's outside associations—whatever they may be—all give rise to a possible tension between the employee's interests and loyalties (as expressed by outside associations) and the Member's legislative positions. Nonetheless, Congress has not imposed a blanket prohibition on employee membership and participation in outside associations; and, under chapter 71, the tensions and potential conflicts that arise in connection with union membership have not been enough to justify a blanket exclusion of all employees from organization in the Executive Branch. While the Board is prepared to consider whether such associations might preclude organization rights for particular employees in particularly sensitive positions, it cannot accept the suggestion that the possible tensions between employee interests and loyalties and Member positions "requires" the blanket exclusion of *all* employees in section 220(e)(2) offices; there are surely less restrictive means for mitigating these potential conflicts for many, if not all, of the employees of section 220(e)(2) offices.

The commenter also asserted that exclusion of all employees is required by an apparent conflict of interest for Members voting on legislation that affects unions; according to the commenter, if the Members support the legislation, they may be perceived as caving to union pressure; if they oppose it, they may be perceived as attempting to enhance their bargaining positions with the union; in either instance, they would *not* be perceived as serving their constituents. But this situation does not appear to differ from that faced by the President when he or Executive Branch officials acting on his behalf take a position on pending labor legislation. That apparent conflict is inherent to employee organization in the public sector; and yet chapter 71 reflects a judgment that this apparent conflict does not require the categorical exclusion of all employees from collective organization. The judgment in chapter 71, which Congress incorporated by reference in the CAA, prevents the Board from accepting any argument that this apparent conflict *requires* exclusion of all employees in a section 220(e)(2) office.

Indeed, with respect to both alleged conflicts of interest, the Board finds it significant that, in chapter 71's statement of congressional findings and purpose, Congress expressly found that "labor organizations and collective bargaining in the civil service are in the public interest" because they "safeguard[] the public interest," "contribute[] to the effective conduct of public business," and "facilitate[] and encourage[] the amicable settlements of disputes between employees and their employers involving conditions of employment. See Section 7101. Section 220(e)(1) of the CAA instructs the Board to hew as closely as pos-

sible to "the provisions and purposes of chapter 71." In doing so, the Board has no choice but to reject the proposition that *all* employees in a section 220(e)(2) office must be excluded from coverage because of a real or apparent conflict that their organization would create for their Member of Congress. The premise of chapter 71, and thus the CAA, is that employees in unions may loyally serve government employees and that the public will not view government acts in response to union demands as illegitimate responses to union pressure.

### 3. Proposed regulations under section 220(e)(1)(B)

For these reasons, the Board does not propose to issue regulations that grant blanket exclusion of all employees in any of the section 220(e)(2) offices. In the Board's judgment, the issuance of blanket exclusions from the application of section 220 for *all* employees in section 220(e)(2) offices would represent a significant departure from the overall purposes and policies of the CAA. The Board would promptly take that step if it were necessary because of a conflict of interest (real or apparent) or Congress' constitutional responsibilities. But no necessity has been shown or yet been found for the exclusion of all employees in section 220(e)(2) offices.

The Board further notes that no commenter took the position that there were job duties of employees within section 220(e)(2) offices that required application of section 220(e)(1)(B)'s exception to coverage; *a fortiori*, no comments provided the Board with any facts or legal argument in support of the issuance of regulations providing that employees in section 220(e)(2) offices who perform certain job duties are not covered by section 220. For this reason, the Board does not propose to issue any such regulations at this time. Of course, the Board stands ready to use its rulemaking authority to propose and issue such regulations when and if the Board is presented with facts and legal argument demonstrating that the application of section 220(e)(1)(B) to employees performing particular job duties in "required." The Board again urges commenters to provide the Board with such information and authorities.

The commenter supporting blanket exclusion of all employees in section 220(e)(2) offices argued that, pursuant to its power under section 220(e)(2)(H), the Board should propose regulations (i) adding the Executive Office of the Secretary of the Senate, the Office of Senate Security, the Senate Disbursing Office, and the Administrative Office of the Sergeant at Arms to the statutory list of section 220(e)(2) offices, and (ii) granting a blanket exclusion of all covered employees in these offices. By its analysis above, the Board has effectively rejected the argument that any offices, including these four, are entitled to blanket exclusion of all of their employees from application of section 220. The Board agrees, however, with the commenter's assertion that employees in these offices perform functions "comparable" to those performed by employees in the other section 220(e)(2) offices, and thus the Board proposes, pursuant to section 220(e)(2)(H), to treat these offices as section 220(e)(2) offices for all purposes, including the determination of the effective date of sections 220(a) and (b). For all other offices—that is, all offices that are not either listed in section 220(e)(2) or defined as section 220(e)(2) offices here—the effective date of sections 220(a) and (b) is October 1, 1996.

No commenter took the position that the Board should adopt a regulation authorizing parties and/or employees in appropriate proceedings to assert, and the Board to decide,

where appropriate and relevant, that a covered employee employed in a section 220(e)(2) office is required to be excluded from coverage under section 220(e) because of a conflict of interest (real or apparent) or because of Congress' constitutional responsibilities. The Board, however, proposes to issue such a regulation. By doing so, the Board intends to ensure that an exclusion may be provided where the law and the facts require it. The proposed regulation of the Board allows the issue of exclusions under section 220(e)(1)(B) to be raised and decided on a case-by-case basis.

### IV. Method of Approval

The Board recommends that (1) the version of the proposed regulations that shall apply to the Senate and employees of the Senate be approved by the Senate by resolution; (2) the version of the proposed regulations that shall apply to the House of Representatives and employees of the House of Representatives be approved by the House of Representatives by resolutions; and (3) the version of the proposed regulations that shall apply to other covered employees and employing offices be approved by the Congress by concurrent resolution.

Signed at Washington, D.C. on this 22 day of May, 1996.

GLEN D. NAGER,  
Chair of the Board,  
Office of Compliance.

### §2472. Specific regulations regarding certain offices of Congress

#### §2472.1. Purpose and Scope

The regulations contained in this section implement the provisions of chapter 71 as applied by section 220 of the CAA to covered employees in the following employing offices:

(A) the personal office of any Member of the House Representatives or of any Senator;

(B) a standing select, special, permanent, temporary, or other committee of the Senate or House of Representatives, or a joint committee of Congress;

(C) the Office of the Vice President of the Senate, the Office of the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Office of the Majority Leader of the Senate, the Office of the Minority Leader of the Senate, the Office of the Majority Whip of the Senate, the Conference of the Majority of the Senate, the Conference of the Minority of the Senate, the Office of the Secretary of the Conference for the Majority of the Senate, the Office of the Secretary for the Minority of the Senate, the Majority Policy Committee of the Senate, the Minority Policy Committee of the Senate, and the following offices within the Office of the Secretary of the Senate: Offices of the Parliamentarian, Bill Clerk, legislative Clerk, Journal Clerk, Executive Clerk, Enrolling Clerk, Official Reporters of Debate, Daily Digest, Printing Services, Captioning Services, and Senate Chief Counsel for Employment.

(D) the Office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Office of the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, the Office of the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, the Offices of the Chief Deputy Majority Whips, the Offices of the Chief Deputy Minority Whips, and the following offices within the Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives: Offices of Legislative Operations, Official Reporters of Debate, Official Reports to Committees, Printing Services, and Legislative Information;

(E) the Office of the Legislative Counsel of the Senate, the Office of the Senate Legal Counsel, the Office of the Legislative Counsel of the House Representatives, the Office of the General Counsel of the House of Representatives, the Office of the Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives, and the Office of the Law Revision Counsel;

(F) the offices of any caucus or party organization;

(G) the Congressional Budget Office, the Office of Technology Assessment, and the Office of Compliance; and;

(H) the Executive Office of the Secretary of the Senate, the Office of Senate Security, the Senate Disbursing Office and the Administrative Office of the Sergeant at Arms.

#### **§247.2. Application of Chapter 71**

(a) The requirements and exemptions of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, as made applicable by section 220 of the CAA, shall apply to covered employees who are employed in the offices listed in section 2472.1 in the same manner and to the same extent as those requirements and exemptions are applied to other covered employees.

(b) The regulations of the Office, as set forth at sections 2420-29 and 2470-71, shall apply to the employing offices listed in section 2472.1, covered employees who are employed in those offices and representatives of those employees.

#### **§2472.3. Exclusion from coverage**

Notwithstanding any other provision of these regulations, any covered employee who is employed in an office listed in section 2472.1 shall be excluded from coverage under section 220 if it is determined in an appropriate proceeding that such exclusion is required because of (a) a conflict of interest or appearance of a conflict of interest, or (b) Congress' constitutional responsibilities.

### **EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.**

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

3144. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting notification that the report required by section 365(a) of Public Law 104-106 will be transmitted to Congress no later than September 1, 1996; to the Committee on National Security.

3145. A letter from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, transmitting OMB's estimate of the amount of change in outlays or receipts, as the case may be, in each fiscal year through fiscal year 2002 resulting from passage of H.R. 2024 and H.R. 2243, pursuant to Public Law 101-508, section 13101(a) (104 Stat. 1388-582); to the Committee on the Budget.

3146. A letter from the Chair, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, transmitting the 1995 annual report of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, pursuant to 16 U.S.C. 797(d); to the Committee on Commerce.

3147. A letter from the Secretary, Federal Trade Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Guides for the Metalic Watch Band Industry and Guides for the Jewelry Industry—received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

3148. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of the Navy's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance [LOA] to the Netherlands for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 96-50), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.

3149. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of the Army's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance [LOA] to the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office [TECRO] in the United States for defense articles and services (transmittal No. 96-48), pursuant to

22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.

3150. A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting notification of a proposed manufacturing license agreement for production of major military equipment with Japan (Transmittal No. DTC-30-96), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(d); to the Committee on International Relations.

3151. A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the Department's report on nuclear nonproliferation in South Asia for the period of October 1, 1995, through March 31, 1996, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2376(c); to the Committee on International Relations.

3152. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of the Army's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance [LOA] to Greece for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 96-49), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.

3153. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting notification that on May 19, 1996, heavy fighting broke out between government forces and mutinous troops in the capital city of Bangui, Central African Republic, and that on May 20, 1996, the deployment of United States military personnel was ordered to conduct the evacuation from the Central African Republic of private United States citizens and certain United States Government employees (H. Doc. No. 104-220); to the Committee on International Relations and ordered to be printed.

3154. A letter from the Chairwoman, National Mediation Board, transmitting the fiscal year 1995 annual report under the Federal Managers' Financial Integrity Act [FMFIA] of 1982, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 3512(c)(3); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

3155. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the fiscal year 1995 annual report under the Federal Managers' Financial Integrity Act [FMFIA] of 1982, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 3512(c)(3); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

3156. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Indiana Regulatory Program (recodification of State law) [IN-132-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3157. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Texas Regulatory Program (road systems and others) [TX-029-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3158. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Indiana Regulatory Program (remaining and others) [IN-133-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3159. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Hopi Tribe Abandoned Mine Land Reclamation Plan [HO-003-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3160. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Missouri Regulatory Program (vegetation success guidelines) [MO-025-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3161. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Missouri Regulatory Program (state alternative bonding system and others) [MO-026-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pur-

suant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3162. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Oklahoma Abandoned Mine Land Reclamation Plan (eligible lands and waters, and others) [OK-15-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3163. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Indiana Regulatory Program (subsidence control) [IN-112-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3164. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—New Mexico Regulatory Program (definitions and others) [NM-036-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3165. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Colorado Regulatory Program (definitions and others) [CO-029-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3166. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Virginia Regulatory Program (coal waste) [VA-105] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3167. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Illinois Regulatory Program (termination of jurisdiction and others) [IL-089-FOR] received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

3168. A letter from the Director, National Legislative Commission, The American Legion, transmitting a copy of the Legion's financial statements as of December 31, 1995, pursuant to 36 U.S.C. 1101(4) and 1103; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3169. A letter from the Director, Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting notification that funding under title V of the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act, as amended, may exceed \$5 million for the response to the emergency declared as a result of the extreme fire hazard in the State of Texas dating back to February 23, 1996, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 5193(b)(3); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3170. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting the Department's report entitled "Report To Congress: Products Used For Airport Pavement Maintenance And Rehabilitation," pursuant to the Federal Aviation Administration Authorization Act of 1994; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3171. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulations Management, Department of Veterans Affairs, transmitting the Department's final rule—Veterans and Dependents Education: Miscellaneous (RIN 2900-AH60) received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

3172. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Determination of Interest Rate (Revenue Ruling 96-28) received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3173. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Definitions Relating to Corporate Reorganizations (Revenue Ruling 96-29) received May 22, 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3174. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting