

1-21-1976

## "The State of Congress", Annual Convention of the National Limestone Institute

Max S. Baucus

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarworks.umt.edu/baucus\\_speeches](https://scholarworks.umt.edu/baucus_speeches)

---

### Recommended Citation

Baucus, Max S., ""The State of Congress", Annual Convention of the National Limestone Institute" (January 21, 1976). *Max S. Baucus Speeches*. 14.

[https://scholarworks.umt.edu/baucus\\_speeches/14](https://scholarworks.umt.edu/baucus_speeches/14)

This Speech is brought to you for free and open access by the Archives and Special Collections at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Max S. Baucus Speeches by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@mso.umt.edu](mailto:scholarworks@mso.umt.edu).

Printing, Graphics & Direct Mail  
Document Archiving  
Indexing Form

Senator \* or Department\*: **BAUCUS**

Instructions:

Prepare one form for insertion at the beginning of each record series.

Prepare and insert additional forms at points that you want to index.

For example: at the beginning of a new folder, briefing book, topic, project, or date sequence.

Record Type\*: **Speeches & Remarks**

MONTH/YEAR of Records\*: **January-1976**

(Example: JANUARY-2003)

(1) Subject\*: **The State of Congress**

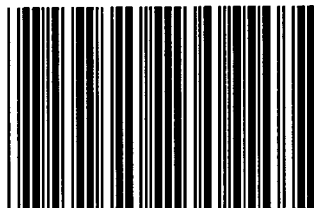
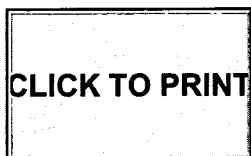
(select subject from controlled vocabulary, if your office has one)

(2) Subject\* **None**

DOCUMENT DATE\*: **01/21/1966**

(Example: 01/12/1966)

\* "required information"



**BAUCUS**

THE STATE OF CONGRESS

AN ADDRESS BY

MAX BAUCUS

FIRST YEAR CONGRESSMAN  
WESTERN DISTRICT OF MONTANA

DELIVERED TO THE

31<sup>ST</sup> ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

NATIONAL LIMESTONE INSTITUTE

STATLER HILTON HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1976

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO THANK THE MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTE FOR INVITING ME HERE THIS AFTERNOON. NEARLY ALL OF MY PUBLIC SPEAKING IS RESERVED FOR MONTANA CONSTITUENTS, AND, WHILE I DO ENJOY MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, TALKING ABOUT MONTANA'S ~~PROBLEMS~~, IT IS DELIGHTFUL FOR ME TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO A GROUP WITH MORE NATIONAL INTERESTS.

AS THE SUBJECT FOR MY ADDRESS, IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT I TALK ABOUT MY FIRST TERM IN WASHINGTON AFTER ONE YEAR IN CONGRESS. PERHAPS IT'S A BIT PRESUMPTUOUS OF ME, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO EXPAND SOMEWHAT THE THEME OF MY ADDRESS TO INCLUDE MY PERSONAL VIEW OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS A POLICY-MAKING ENTITY.

PERHAPS THE MOST USEFUL WAY TO ADDRESS THIS SUBJECT IS TO EXAMINE THE HISTORY OF CONGRESS.

THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION, AS WE ALL RECALL FROM OUR BASIC CIVICS COURSES, INTENDED THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC POLICY REST WITH ALL BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, OUR FIRST GOVERNMENT, PRESIDED OVER BY GEORGE WASHINGTON, TENDED TO RELY MORE ON EXECUTIVE POWER THAN LEGISLATIVE POWER. USING HIS ACTIVIST SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, WASHINGTON PUSHED A CONTROVERSIAL ECONOMIC PROGRAM, INCLUDING A NATIONAL BANK, A TARIFF, AND ASSUMPTION OF STATE DEBTS. HE WORKED CLOSELY WITH CONGRESS IN ADVANCING THIS PROGRAM AND SHEPHERDED MOST OF THIS LEGISLATION THROUGH THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE.

ONE VIEW I HAVE OF A WEAKNESS IN CONGRESS IS THE APPARENT "SLEDGEHAMMER" APPROACH THAT WE HAVE TO LEGISLATION. WE TEND TO AGGREGATE MANY COMPLEX PROBLEMS INTO A SINGLE OVER-SIMPLIFIED PROBLEM AND SEEK TO SOLVE THAT PROBLEM THROUGH VAST EXPENDITURES OF MONEY. SOMETIMES I FEEL THAT WE HAVE NOT ADEQUATELY DEFINED THE PARAMETERS OF PROBLEMS AND, WHERE WE HAVE, WE LACK ADEQUATE INFORMATION ON HOW THE PROPOSED SOLUTIONS RELATE TO THE PROBLEMS.

ANOTHER WEAKNESS I SEE IN THE SYSTEM IS THE RATHER LOOSE GRASP CONGRESS HAS OVER THE REGULATORY AND EXECUTIVE AGENCIES. ALTHOUGH THERE IS AN EMERGING CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT ROLE, MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE. IN 1975, COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES HELD 235 HEARINGS TO EVALUATE PRACTICES AND PROGRAMS OF VARIOUS FEDERAL AGENCIES. SOMETIMES I THINK THESE HEARINGS ARE INADEQUATE. TO SUPPLEMENT THEM, I HAVE BEGUN A PRACTICE OF PERSONALLY VISITING EXECUTIVE AGENCIES. ARRIVING UNANNOUNCED TO FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION OR HUD OR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION PROVIDES ME WITH SOME USEFUL, UNIQUE INSIGHTS TO THE WORK PERFORMED BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. RATHER THAN TALK WITH THE HEADS OF THESE AGENCIES, I HAVE FOUND IT FAR MORE USEFUL TO CONVERSE WITH WORKERS IN NON-ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS. I TRY TO FIND OUT WHAT PROBLEMS THEY ARE ENCOUNTERING IN CARRYING OUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES, WHAT PURPOSES THEY SEE IN THEIR JOBS, AND GENERALLY, WHAT THEIR OVERALL EVALUATION IS OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THEIR AGENCY. THESE INSIGHTS ARE EXTREMELY VALUABLE TO ME AS A MEMBER OF THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE IN REVIEWING BUDGET PRESENTATIONS BY THEIR SUPERIORS.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO CONVEY HERE THIS AFTERNOON THE RELATIVE INBALANCE BETWEEN A WELL PREPARED AND STAFFED EXECUTIVE PRESENTATION ON A BUDGET BEFORE THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE AND THE RELATIVE LACK OF PREPARATION ON THE PART OF CONGRESS. THE AGENCIES HAVE LITERALLY MONTHS TO PREPARE AND REHEARSE FOR THESE PRESENTATIONS, WHILE THE MEMBERS OF MY COMMITTEE HAVE MYRIAD OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES THAT KEEP THEM AWAY FROM ADEQUATE PREPARATION.

I DON'T WISH TO DWELL ONLY ON THE WEAKNESSES INHERENT IN THE CONGRESSIONAL PROCESS. THERE ARE MANY STRENGTHS, SOME OF WHICH I WAS UNAWARE OF BEFORE MY ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON. I SUPPOSE THE GREATEST STRENGTH I HAVE OBSERVED IS THE DEDICATION AND ABILITY OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE. WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT THERE ARE MEMBERS IN CONGRESS WHO ARE LESS THAN EFFECTIVE AND NOT HARD WORKING, I THINK THAT IS THE EXCEPTION TO THE RULE. MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, THE REPRESENTATIVES YOU WILL MEET IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS ARE EXTREMELY DEDICATED PUBLIC SERVANTS WHO ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF THEIR CONSTITUENTS AND WORK HARD TO SOLVE THOSE PROBLEMS AND PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS. ABOVE ALL, I HAVE A POSITIVE FEELING ABOUT THE INTEGRITY AND RECTITUDE OF MY COLLEAGUES. AGAIN, THERE MAY BE SOME AMONG US WHO DO THEIR WORK LESS THAN OPENLY, BUT I BELIEVE THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES ADHERE TO HIGH MORAL STANDARDS.

I FIND IT HARD TO OVER-EMPHASIZE THE SCOPE AND INTENSITY OF THE JOB RESPONSIBILITIES HELD BY REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS. THE TYPICAL WORK DAY IS LONG, AND IT IS EXPECTED THAT CONSIDERABLE TIME BE SPENT IN THE DISTRICT. BUT THIS WORK IS NOT WITHOUT ITS REWARDS. INDEED, I SUSPECT THAT NO WHERE CAN YOU FIND A HEALTHIER BUNCH OF OCTOGENARIANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

AND THAT BRINGS ME TO ANOTHER OBSERVATION ABOUT THE WORKINGS OF CONGRESS -- THE REWARDS STILL CONTINUE TO BE TOO GREAT FOR SENIORITY. THE LONGER A REPRESENTATIVE STAYS IN CONGRESS, THE GREATER ARE THE CHANCES THAT HE OR SHE WILL BE ELEVATED TO POSITIONS OF POWER. UNFORTUNATELY, AS THESE MEMBERS INCREASE IN THEIR POSITIONS WITH RESPECT TO POWER, I SENSE THAT THEY SUFFER A DECREASE IN THEIR BASIC CURIOSITY AND RESPONSIVENESS. IT IS NOT ALWAYS A FUNCTION OF AGE. INDEED, SOME OF THE MORE ACTIVE AND CURIOUS MEMBERS IN CONGRESS HAVE BEEN HERE FOR YEARS AND ARE IN THE SENIOR CITIZEN CATEGORY. ON THE OTHER HAND, TOO OFTEN, THE MORE RIGID, LEAST RESPONSIVE AND BASICALLY DULL MEMBERS ARE THOSE WHO RISE TO POSITIONS OF POWER AMONG THE SUBCOMMITTEES AND COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS THAT ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR DOING LEGISLATIVE WORK.

TO DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM, I CAN THINK OF SEVERAL SOLUTIONS. FIRST, SOME THOUGHT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO LIMITING THE AMOUNT OF TIME THAT ONE CAN SPEND AS A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS. I HAVE BATTED THIS AROUND WITH SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES. THE BEST I COULD COME UP WITH IS A SUGGESTION THAT 18 YEARS BE THE LIMIT. ACCORDING TO CONVENTIONAL WISDOM, A LEGISLATOR WILL REACH THEIR PEAK EFFECTIVENESS AFTER ABOUT 10 YEARS. AT THAT TIME, THEIR LEARNING CURVE BEGINS TO FLATTEN, AND THEIR DEDICATION TO THE JOB BEGINS TO SHRINK. WITH THE RARE EXCEPTION, 18 YEARS IS ABOUT AS LONG AS ONE CAN EXPECT FOR INTENSE AND CURIOUS REPRESENTATION BY A CONGRESSMAN OR SENATOR.

ANOTHER APPROACH WOULD BE TO LIMIT THE TERM THAT MEMBERS COULD SPEND ON COMMITTEES AND IN POSITIONS OF POWER. THIS APPROACH WAS TRIED RECENTLY WITH THE HOUSE BUDGET COMMITTEE. IN FORMING THAT COMMITTEE, THE LEGISLATION REQUIRED THAT NO MEMBER COULD SERVE FOR MORE THAN TWO CONSECUTIVE TERMS. THIS PRESCRIPTION INSURES THAT THERE WILL BE CONTINUING VITALITY AND CROSS-FERTILIZATION IN THE COMMITTEE. IT SEEMS TO ME THIS MODEL MIGHT BE USEFULLY FOLLOWED IN OTHER COMMITTEES.



WITH THE EMPHASIS I HAVE PLACED ON YOUTH IN THE LAST FEW MOMENTS, I SUPPOSE IT IS FITTING THAT I SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT MY CELEBRATED COLLEAGUES WHO JOIN ME AS FRESHMEN IN THE 94TH CONGRESS. WHILE OUR CLASS MAY HAVE BEEN DUBBED BY SOME TO BE "BELLA'S KIDS", IT STRIKES ME THAT THAT CHARACTERIZATION IS NOT AT ALL APT FOR A GROUP OF REPRESENTATIVES WHOSE MEMBERS INCLUDE 5 MAYORS, 25 STATE LEGISLATORS, A LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, A COLLEGE DEAN, A MINISTER AND A PRIEST, AND WHOSE AVERAGE AGE IS 41.

OUR CLASS CAME TO CONGRESS WITH HIGH EXPECTATIONS AND GREAT MORAL PURPOSE. WE WERE PROMPTED TO SEEK OFFICE BY MANY COMMON FACTORS: THE WAR IN VIETNAM, WATERGATE, A PERCEPTION OF AN ARTHRITIC CONGRESS THAT NEEDED FRESH AND SPIRITED BLOOD, AND A SENSE OF SENIOR INCUMBENTS WHO WERE NO LONGER RESPONSIVE TO THEIR ELECTORATE.

WE BANDED TOGETHER IN THE FIRST FEW DAYS OF THE FIRST SESSION. OUR PLANS WERE HEADY, AND OUR RESULTS WERE PRODUCTIVE. AMONG OTHER THINGS, WE SUCCEEDED IN ENLARGING THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE FROM 25 TO 37 MEMBERS -- WITH MANY OF THOSE MEMBERS COMING FROM OUR RANKS. ADDITIONALLY, WE HELPED STRIP THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE OF ITS JURISDICTION OVER MAKING COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS AND HELPED ASSIGN THAT DUTY TO THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS STEERING AND POLICY COMMITTEE. LASTLY, WE HELPED PUSH THE CAUCUS INTO PERMITTING NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN TO BE MADE FROM THE FLOOR OF THE CAUCUS.

THAT'S WHAT WE DID AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST SESSION. WHERE DO WE STAND NOW? MOST OF THE RECENT NEWS ABOUT THE FRESHMEN CLASS IS THAT WE ARE ALL RUNNING SCARED AND ARE LIKELY TO BE DEFEATED FOR RE-ELECTION. I WON'T RISK A PROJECTION AS TO HOW WE WILL DO AS A GROUP. ABOUT ALL I CAN SAY AT THIS POINT IS THAT MOST OF THE MEMBERS OF MY CLASS ARE WORKING EXTREMELY HARD. THEY ARE SPENDING MUCH TIME IN THEIR DISTRICT, AND THEY ARE WORKING DILIGENTLY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS EXPRESSED TO THEM BY THEIR CONSTITUENTS. FURTHERMORE, WE ARE WORKING HARD TO LEARN THE OPERATIONS OF CONGRESS, TO FIT WITHIN THAT OPERATION WHERE APPROPRIATE, AND TO WORK TO CHANGE IT WHERE WE THINK IT DOES NOT REPRESENT THE BEST INTERESTS OF A POLITICAL BODY REPRESENTING ALL OF THE UNITED STATES.

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE ON THE WORKINGS OF THE FRESHMAN CLASS HAS BEEN PROVIDED BY SOME COLUMNISTS WHO HAVE SUGGESTED THAT WE HAVE WORKED TO STIFLE THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS. FOR EXAMPLE, A RECENT COLUMN BY ERNEST CUNEO CHARGED THAT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAS BEEN PARALYZED BY THE DIVISION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE FRESHMAN CLASS AND THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP. MUCH OF THE ATTENTION ON THAT PARALYSIS HAS BEEN FOCUSED ON OUR ROLE IN VETO OVERRIDES. ACTUALLY, OUR PERFORMANCE ON THESE VOTES HAS BEEN QUITE DIFFERENT THAN THAT CHARACTERIZED BY THE PRESS. FOR EXAMPLE, ON THE THREE SUCCESSFUL VETO OVERRIDE VOTES, THE FRESHMAN CLASS VOTED BY A DECISIVE 99 PERCENT TO OVERRIDE THE VETOES WHEREAS THE RATING OF MORE SENIOR DEMOCRATS WAS 98 PERCENT FOR THE EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS OVERRIDE, 79 PERCENT FOR THE HEALTH REVENUE SHARING OVERRIDE, AND 79 PERCENT FOR THE SCHOOL LUNCH OVERRIDE. ON TWO RECENT VETOES THAT WERE SUSTAINED FOR THE EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT VOTE WAS 97 PERCENT AND 97 PERCENT RESPECTIVELY AND 90 PERCENT AND 84 PERCENT RESPECTIVELY FOR THE MORE SENIOR DEMOCRATS.

THE PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS

EARLIER I REVIEWED THE POLICY-MAKING ROLE OF CONGRESS VIS A VIS THE PRESIDENCY. I BELIEVE IT IS DIFFICULT FOR EITHER THE PRESIDENT OR CONGRESS TO BE A DOMINATE POWER IN MAKING POLICY WHEN EACH BODY REFLECTS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT VIEWS OF PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTIONS.

IN THE PAST YEAR, PRESIDENT FORD VETOED 16 BILLS PASSED BY CONGRESS. OF THOSE, CONGRESS OVERRODE ONLY THREE MEASURES, INCLUDING YESTERDAY'S DECISIVE 310 TO 113 VOTE TO OVERRIDE THE HEW-LABOR APPROPRIATIONS BILL FOR 1976.

I AM REMINDED OF HENRY CLAY'S VIEWS ON ANDREW JACKSON'S NEW-FOUND USE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO. CLAY SAID THAT THE VETO MADE THE PRESIDENT THE SUBSTANTIAL EQUIVALENT OF TWO-THIRDS OF CONGRESS IN POLITICAL POWER.

WHAT WE ARE LEFT WITH, THEN, IS A SITUATION WHERE NEITHER THE CONGRESS NOR THE PRESIDENT CAN READILY ESTABLISH PUBLIC POLICY IN ANY AREA WHERE THERE IS NO NATIONAL CONSENSUS. INSTEAD, LIFE IN WASHINGTON IN THE POLITICAL ARENA CONTINUES TO BE POSTURING AND COMPROMISE. THE ADMINISTRATION CHARACTERIZES THE PROBLEMS ONE WAY, CONGRESS SEES THEM ANOTHER. THE TIMES THAT EITHER SIDE CAN AGREE ON A SOLUTION ARE INFREQUENT.

AM I DISCOURAGED BY THIS? NOT REALLY. I SUPPOSE THERE IS MUCH TO BE SAID FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT, WHEREIN THE EXECUTIVE IS RUN BY MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT THE POLICY DEBATES ARE LONG AND TEDIOUS, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT OURS IS A RATIONAL PROCESS THAT WILL ULTIMATELY DEVELOP USEFUL SOLUTIONS TO REAL PROBLEMS.

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO SPEAK TO YOU THIS AFTERNOON.

IN MY JUDGMENT, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF THE NEW BUDGET PROCESS IS THAT, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, CONGRESS HAS ENACTED ITS OWN BUDGET AND IS STICKING TO IT.

CONGRESSIONAL STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES -- A MORE PERSONAL VIEW

NOW I'VE GIVEN YOU THE FACTS AND THE FIGURES FOR THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 94TH CONGRESS AND A BRIEF GLIMPSE OF WHAT IS EXPECTED IN THE SECOND SESSION DURING 1976. RATHER THAN BORE YOU WITH MORE FACTS AND FIGURES, IT MIGHT BE INTERESTING AT THIS POINT TO PROVIDE A SLIGHTLY MORE PERSONAL VIEW OF THE WORKINGS OF CONGRESS.

I THINK THE ONE THING THAT I AM MOST STRUCK BY IN MY FIRST YEAR HERE IS THE AMOUNT OF WORK REQUIRED. I DON'T MIND WORKING HARD, AND I'M MIGHTY GLAD I DON'T, BECAUSE THE DEMANDS ON YOUR TIME ARE SUBSTANTIAL. WHEN CONSTITUENTS CONTACTS US, THEY EXPECT TO BE TREATED WITH PERSONAL SERVICE. THAT KIND OF SERVICE IS DIFFICULT TO PROVIDE WHEN IN SOME WEEKS WE RECEIVE UPWARDS OF 500 PHONE CALLS AND LETTERS. ONE THING THE GLUT OF MAIL AND OTHER CONSTITUENT CONTACTS DOES IS SUBSTANTIALLY CONSTRAIN THE AMOUNT OF TIME ONE CAN SPEND THINKING AND WORKING ON LEGISLATION.

A SIMILAR CONSTRAINT IS THE CONSTANT CHALLENGE OF RE-ELECTION. TO STAY IN OFFICE IN CONGRESS, IT IS NECESSARY THAT A REPRESENTATIVE STAY IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH HIS OR HER CONSTITUENTS. CONSTANT TRIPS TO THE DISTRICT -- WHICH IN MY CASE IS LOCATED MORE THAN 2,000 MILES FROM THE CAPITOL -- ARE A MUST, NOT ONLY BECAUSE CONSTITUENTS EXPECT IT, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT IS NECESSARY TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH THEM TO FIND OUT MORE PERSONALLY WHAT THEIR PROBLEMS ARE.

THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET REFORM AND IMPOUNDMENT CONTROL ACT OF 1974 REQUIRES CONGRESS TO PREPARE AND PASS TWO BUDGET RESOLUTIONS PER YEAR. THE FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION MUST BE PASSED PRIOR TO THE CONSIDERATION OF SPENDING BILLS; THE SECOND MUST BE ENACTED FOLLOWING THE PASSAGE OF THE SPENDING BILLS PRIOR TO THE OUTSET OF THE FISCAL YEAR. UNDER THE NEW BUDGET REFORM ACT, THE FISCAL YEAR IS CHANGED FROM JULY 1 - JUNE 30 TO OCTOBER 1 - SEPTEMBER 30.

THE BUDGET REFORM ACT IS NOW IN PLACE AND THE CONGRESS HAS EXPERIENCED ONE YEAR OF A TRIAL RUN WITH IT. IN THAT YEAR, TWO RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED, AND SPENDING WAS KEPT BELOW THE TOTAL AMOUNTS IN THE AGREED UPON RESOLUTIONS. CONTRARY TO THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SOUGHT TO MAKE ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, CONGRESS HAS KEPT WITHIN ITS BUDGET. THE PRINCIPAL POINT OF CONFUSION ON THIS MATTER IS THAT THE PRIORITIES ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS WITHIN ITS BUDGET ARE SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT THAN THOSE ESTABLISHED BY THE PRESIDENT -- EVEN THOUGH THE TOTAL AMOUNTS FOR THE TWO BUDGETS ARE ROUGHLY THE SAME. THAT IS, ALTHOUGH THE DEFICITS PROPOSED BY THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS ARE ALMOST NEARLY EQUAL, THE DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE PROGRAM AMOUNTS OF THOSE BUDGETS ARE SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT. FOR EXAMPLE, SPENDING FOR HUMAN RESOURCE PROGRAMS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET IS NEARLY \$8 BILLION HIGHER THAN THAT IN THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET. SIMILARLY, THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET IS \$4 BILLION HIGHER THAN THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET WITH RESPECT TO DEFENSE EXPENDITURES.

AMONG THE OTHER MORE IMPORTANT MEASURES TO BE TAKEN UP WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF STRIP MINING, VOTER REGISTRATION BY POSTCARD, AMENDMENTS TO THE CLEAN AIR ACT, NO FAULT INSURANCE, HEALTH INSURANCE, HATCH ACT REFORM, FOOD STAMP REFORM, FINANCIAL INSTITUTION REFORM, MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION AND THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE. ADDITIONALLY, REGULATORY AGENCIES WILL BE EXAMINED AS A PART OF A CONTINUING ROLE OF CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT. MORE WILL BE SAID ABOUT THAT ROLE IN A MINUTE.

PERHAPS THE MOST REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 94TH CONGRESS AND THE MOST SUBSTANTIAL CHALLENGE FOR THE SECOND SESSION IS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET REFORMS PASSED IN THE FALL OF 1974. THIS LAW, WHICH WAS ENACTED DURING THE FINAL DAYS OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S TENURE, WAS PROMPTED BY TWO IMPORTANT FACTORS. FIRST, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH DURING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION DISPLAYED INCREASINGLY INDEPENDENCE IN ITS DECISIONS OF HOW MUCH MONEY TO SPEND ON PROGRAMS. ADDITIONALLY, THERE WAS A GROWING PUBLIC PERCEPTION THAT CONGRESS DID NOT CONTROL THE BUDGET AND WOULD SPEND UNDUE AMOUNTS OF MONEY ON ANY PROGRAM PROPOSED TO IT. THE NEW LAW WAS DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH THESE TWO PROBLEMS -- TO STOP EXECUTIVE IMPOUNDMENTS AND TO PLACE A LID ON CONGRESSIONAL SPENDING.



OTHER ITEMS OF SIGNIFICANCE ON THE AGENDA FOR THE SECOND SESSION OF THE 94TH CONGRESS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING. THE PUBLIC WORKS EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1975 HAS BEEN PASSED BY BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS AND A CONSENSUS BILL SHOULD BE AGREED UPON SOON, <sup>PERHAPS TOMORROW.</sup> THAT LEGISLATION WOULD PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL \$6 BILLION TO CREATE OR PRESERVE ABOUT 800,000 JOBS. A RELATED PIECE OF LEGISLATION WILL BE THE RENEWAL OF GENERAL REVENUE SHARING. LEGISLATION ON THAT ITEM IS CURRENTLY PENDING IN BOTH HOUSES, AND THE EXTENSION OF THE PROGRAM WILL PROBABLY OCCUR SOMETIME LATER THIS YEAR.

A THIRD PIECE OF EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION IS THE EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT PROJECTS AMENDMENTS OF 1976. THIS BILL CONTINUES THE COMPREHENSIVE EMPLOYMENT TRAINING ACT WHICH IS CURRENTLY PROVIDING MORE THAN 300,000 JOBS. UNDER THE NEW BILL, NEARLY 600,000 JOBS WOULD BE PROVIDED.

IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE TAX CUT EXTENSION, WHICH EXPIRES IN JUNE OF THIS YEAR, MAY BE EXTENDED AN ADDITIONAL SIX MONTHS.

THE RAIL REVITALIZATION AND REGULATORY REFORM BILL WILL SOON BE CONSIDERED BY THE HOUSE ALONG WITH THE NATURAL GAS EMERGENCY ACT, WHICH WILL PROBABLY ESTABLISH NEW POLICY FOR DEALING WITH NATURAL GAS SHORTAGES.

JOB PROGRAMS WERE ALSO PASSED. ALTHOUGH THESE PROGRAMS WERE NOT THE SIZE ORIGINALLY CONCEIVED BY CONGRESS, IT WAS NOT THROUGH THE INABILITY OF CONGRESS TO PASS THE LAWS, BUT RATHER THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO SIGN THEM.

FINALLY, ON THE SUBJECT OF ENERGY, CONGRESS DID ENACT THE ENERGY CONSERVATION ACT OF 1975.

IN ADDITION TO THESE MEASURES, SPEAKER ALBERT CALLED FOR THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

- O CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCY;
- O RESEARCH ON NEW ENERGY SOURCES;
- O A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE LAW;
- O ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION;
- O FOOD PRODUCTION INCENTIVES;
- O AID TO SPECIFIC HARDHIT INDUSTRIES;
- O REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM.

WHILE FINAL ACTION HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN ON ALL OF THESE ITEMS, BILLS WERE PASSED BY BOTH HOUSES ON THE FIRST TWO -- THE CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCY AND THE ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION AUTHORIZATION -- AND LEGISLATION IS UNDERWAY ON THE REMAINING FIVE.

PERHAPS A LESS QUANTITATIVE MEASURE OF OUR PERFORMANCE CAN BE FOUND BY EXAMINING WHAT IT WAS THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP SET OUT TO DO AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST SESSION. IN EARLY JANUARY 1975, SPEAKER ALBERT ANNOUNCED WHAT HE SAW AS THE PROGRAM FOR THE 94TH CONGRESS. THE PRINCIPAL ITEM ON THAT PROGRAM WAS A QUICK ATTACK ON THE NATION'S MASSIVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, INCLUDING RISING JOBLESSNESS, ERODED CONSUMER PURCHASING POWER, DECLINING PRODUCTION AND AN UNCERTAIN ENERGY SITUATION. AMONG THE LEGISLATIVE SOLUTIONS PROPOSED TO THOSE PROBLEMS WERE A TAX CUT, TAX REFORM, A JOBS PROGRAM, A HOUSING PROGRAM, AND ENERGY CONSERVATION MEASURES.

WHILE IT MAY BE THE PUBLIC VIEW THAT CONGRESS DID NOT DO MUCH DURING 1974, I CAN SAY THAT SPEAKER ALBERT'S PROGRAM WAS LARGELY CARRIED OUT. WE DID VOTE THE LARGEST TAX CUT IN THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY JUST THREE MONTHS FOLLOWING THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST SESSION. ALSO, JUST LAST MONTH, THAT TAX CUT WAS CONTINUED FOR ANOTHER SIX MONTHS.

MOREOVER, A TAX REFORM BILL DID PASS THE HOUSE BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS, AND IT IS NOW PENDING IN THE SENATE WHERE ACTION IS EXPECTED TO BE TAKEN ON IT DURING THE SECOND SESSION.

A HOUSING PROGRAM WAS ULTIMATELY PASSED, WHICH AMONG OTHER THINGS, PROVIDED LOWER INTEREST RATES AS A VEHICLE FOR STIMULATING HOUSING PRODUCTION.

THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF CONGRESS IS, I SUSPECT, ONE OF A CLUMSY GIANT UNABLE TO MAKE UP ITS MIND ON ANY IMPORTANT NATIONAL ISSUE. I HAVE READ RECENT POLLS WHICH RANK POLITICIANS AMONG THE LOWEST HELD IN PUBLIC ESTEEM, WHILE GARBAGE COLLECTORS RANK AMONG THE HIGHEST IN TERMS OF PUBLIC REGARD. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO JOBS HAS BEEN DESCRIBED THIS WAY: AT LEAST PEOPLE KNOW WHETHER GARBAGE COLLECTORS GET THEIR JOB DONE, BUT THEY DON'T THINK CONGRESSMEN DO MUCH EXCEPT SIT AROUND WITH THEIR FEET ON THE TABLE, ACCOMPLISHING NOTHING.

I BELIEVE THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF CONGRESS IS ERRONEOUS. HOWEVER, I DON'T EXPECT THAT IMPRESSION TO CHANGE MUCH. WHY? THE ANSWER LIES PRIMARILY IN THE WAY THE MEDIA REACTS TO AND COVERS CONGRESS. THERE ARE 535 ELECTED MEN AND WOMEN IN CONGRESS. THEY REPRESENT WIDELY DISPARATE CONSTITUENCIES. DISPARITIES EXIST GEOGRAPHICALLY, ETHNICALLY, AND ECONOMICALLY. UNLIKE THE PRESIDENCY -- OR GARBAGE COLLECTOR ORGANIZATIONS FOR THAT MATTER -- IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ONE PERSON TO SPEAK FOR CONGRESS. AND I DO NOT BELIEVE ONE PERSON SHOULD SPEAK, AS WE ARE INTENDED TO BE A REPRESENTATIVE BODY.

BUT IS IT TRUE THAT WE HAVE NOT ACCOMPLISHED ANYTHING? I THINK THE ANSWER IS NO, AND I WILL CITE THE FOLLOWING FACTS TO SUPPORT MY POSITION.

IN TERMS OF PURE NUMBERS, THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 94TH CONGRESS WAS EXTRAORDINARILY ACTIVE. THERE WERE MORE BILLS PASSED, 291, THAN IN ANY CONGRESS OF RECENT MEMORY. THERE WERE MORE QUORUM CALLS (195) AND RECORDED VOTES (331) THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS CONGRESS.

SUBSEQUENTLY, I CO-SPONSORED A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR OPEN CONFERENCES IN ALL CASES, UNLESS OVERTURNED BY A MAJORITY VOTE OF THE HOUSE.

WHILE I CANNOT REPORT THAT THIS LEGISLATION, WHICH I CO-SPONSORED WITH CONGRESSMAN MIKVA FROM ILLINOIS, HAS BEEN ACTED UPON FAVORABLY, I AM HAPPY TO SAY THAT IT APPEARS TO HAVE HAD SOME IMPACT. LAST FALL, THE SENATE MOVED TO CHANGE ITS RULES TO MAKE THEM CONSISTENT WITH THE HOUSE. UNDER THE CURRENT HOUSE RULE, ALL CONFERENCES ARE REQUIRED TO BE OPEN UNLESS VOTED TO BE CLOSED BY A MAJORITY OF THE CONFEREES. THIS MOVE WAS A SIGNIFICANT ONE FOR THE SENATE.

HOWEVER, IT DOES FALL SHORT OF THE MIKVA RESOLUTION WHICH CALLS FOR ALL MEETINGS TO BE OPEN UNLESS OVERRULED BY A MAJORITY OF THE ENTIRE HOUSE. CONGRESSMAN MIKVA AND I AND THE 70 OR SO OTHER CO-SPONSORS ARE STILL DEBATING ON WHAT STEPS TO TAKE, IF ANY, TO MOVE TO THE BROADER RULE.

### THE STRENGTH OF CONGRESS AFTER STRUCTURAL REFORMS

NOW THAT I HAVE REVIEWED THE VARIOUS STRUCTURAL REFORMS, I SUPPOSE IT IS IMPORTANT TO ASK WHETHER CONGRESS IS STRONGER AS A RESULT OF THESE CHANGES. MY ANSWER, IN A WORD, IS NO, BUT WE ARE MORE REPRESENTATIVE, AND I BELIEVE WE ARE MORE RESPONSIVE OR AT LEAST MORE SENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF OUR CONSTITUENTS.

IT MAY BE APPROPRIATE HERE TO NOTE IN PASSING A PERSONAL INCIDENT THAT I THINK IS SIGNIFICANT. DURING THE DEBATES FOR THE TAX REDUCTION ACT OF 1975, I WAS AN ARDENT OBSERVER. WHILE I DID NOT SIT ON THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, I FELT THAT MY BASIC RESPONSIBILITY IN CONGRESS WAS TO INSURE THAT THE ECONOMIC INTEREST OF MY CONSTITUENTS WERE PROTECTED.

ACCORDINGLY, I WATCHED EACH DAY AS THE TAX REDUCTION ACT WOVE ITS WAY THROUGH CONGRESS. AFTER IT PASSED BOTH THE HOUSE AND SENATE, I WAS ACUTELY INTERESTED IN THE DEBATES BETWEEN THE HOUSE AND SENATE CONFEREES. YOU MAY RECALL THAT THE TAX REDUCATION FIGURE FOR THE HOUSE WAS LOWER THAN THAT FOR THE SENATE. I FAVORED A MORE SUBSTANTIAL TAX REDUCTION AND HOPED THAT THE SENATE CONFEREES WOULD NOT CONCEDE TOO MUCH OF THEIR TOTAL REDUCTION.

AS THE INTENSITY OF DEBATE IN CONFERENCE GREW, AFTER . . . I BECAME INCREASINGLY CURIOUS AND DECIDED ONE MORNING TO GO OVER AND WATCH THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE. I WALKED UP TO THE CONFERENCE ROOM, IDENTIFIED MYSELF TO THE OFFICER WHO WAS GUARDING THE DOOR AND WAS GRANTED ENTRANCE. ALTHOUGH I HAD HEARD THAT THE CONFERENCE MEETING WAS CLOSED, AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE, I THOUGHT I WOULD BE ALLOWED TO WATCH THE MEETING. HOWEVER, TO MY CHAGRIN AND, I WILL READILY ADMIT, TO MY ANNOYANCE, I WAS ASKED TO LEAVE THE ROOM, EVEN THOUGH THERE WERE SCORES OF TREASURY OFFICIALS IN THE ROOM.

FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO FOLLOWED THE POLITICKING AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 94TH CONGRESS, YOU WILL RECALL HOW THIS PROCESS RESULTED IN THE SELECTION OF THREE NEW CHAIRMEN FOR THE COMMITTEES ON ARMED SERVICES, AGRICULTURE, AND BANKING AND HOUSING. ADDITIONALLY, THERE WAS A CHANGE IN THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, OWING TO THE DECLINE IN POWER OF WILBUR MILLS FROM ARKANSAS.

OTHER IMPORTANT STRUCTURAL CHANGES WERE OCCURRING DURING THIS PERIOD. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WAS A VIRTUAL ELIMINATION OF CLOSED RULES FOR IMPORTANT BILLS. PREVIOUSLY, COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN WERE ABLE TO CONTROL THEIR LEGISLATION BY HAVING A CLOSED RULE VOTE WHICH WOULD PROHIBIT ANY AMENDMENTS BEING MADE TO THE BILL ON THE FLOOR. THIS PRACTICE HAS BEEN USED LESS AND LESS.

ANOTHER REFORM WAS THE USE OF RECORDED VOTES. PREVIOUSLY, WHEN BILLS REACHED THE FLOOR WITH AN OPEN RULE, THEY COULD BE AMENDED SUBSTANTIALLY BY VOICE VOTE WITHOUT MEMBERS DISCLOSING HOW THEY VOTED. THIS PRACTICE HAS FALLEN INTO INCREASING DISUSE, AS THE NUMBER OF RECORD VOTES HAVE SOARED.

ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT REFORM IS THE INCREASING USE OF OPEN MEETINGS IN CONGRESS. IN 1970, 41 PERCENT OF ALL CONGRESSIONAL MEETINGS WERE CLOSED. BY 1974, THAT FIGURE DROPPED TO AN ALL-TIME LOW OF 15 PERCENT.

PERHAPS THE MOST HERALDED REFORMS MADE DURING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 94TH CONGRESS WERE STRUCTURAL, DEALING MORE WITH THE OPERATIONS AND PROCEDURES OF CONGRESS THAN WITH ITS PRODUCTS. I SUPPOSE IF THERE WAS ONE WORD TO CHARACTERIZE THESE STRUCTURAL REFORMS, IT IS THAT THEY "DEMOCRATIZED" THE OPERATION OF CONGRESS. THAT IS, THERE WAS A SHIFT ~~ING~~ OF POWER AWAY FROM A FEW INDIVIDUALS AND A DISTRIBUTION OF THAT POWER TO THE ENTIRE BODY. THE ORGINS OF THESE REFORMS PROBABLY CAN BE FOUND IN THE LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT OF 1970. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT LAW PROHIBITED ONE MEMBER OF THE HOUSE FROM BEING A CHAIRMAN OF MORE THAN ONE SUBCOMMITTEE.

SECONDLY, THE NOTION THAT SENIORITY IS THE ONLY APPROPRIATE CRITERION FOR SELECTING CHAIRMEN WAS INCREASINGLY SEEN AS ARCHANE MYTHOLOGY.

IN 1971, THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS AGREED TO PERMIT A VOTE IN CLOSED SESSIONS ON WHETHER TO RETAIN A COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN IF TEN MEMBERS DEMANDED SUCH A VOTE. THIS RULE INTIMIDATED MANY MEMBERS WHO MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE QUESTIONED THE LEGITIMACY OF A CHAIRMAN. BY 1973, HOWEVER, IT BECAME ROUTINE THAT ALL CHAIRMEN WERE VOTED ON, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER ANYONE SOUGHT TO CHALLENGE THEM.



ACCOMPANYING THIS PERIOD OF APPARENT NORMALCY, WAS THE AFTERMATH OF WATERGATE. THE WATERGATE EXPERIENCE TAUGHT US MANY LESSONS. CHIEF AMONG THEM, THAT ABSENT ADEQUATE CHECKS IN POWER, GOVERNMENTAL ABUSES CAN OCCUR. THROUGHOUT 1973 AND 1974, COLUMNISTS AND OTHER POLITICAL THINKERS, AS WELL AS THE PUBLIC AT LARGE WERE DRAWING THE CONCLUSION THAT IT WAS UNSAFE TO INVEST TOO MUCH POWER IN THE PRESIDENCY.

I WAS EXCITED, THEREFORE, WHEN I WAS ELECTED TO THE 94TH CONGRESS. AS MANY OF YOU MAY RECALL, THERE WAS A FEELING OF GREAT EXPECTATION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY FOR WHAT THIS NEW CONGRESS COULD DO. WITH NEARLY ONE HUNDRED FRESHMEN MEMBERS, THE CONGRESS HAD A NEW LOOK. FRESH FACES AND NEW IDEAS WERE THE WORD OF THE DAY IN WASHINGTON IN THE FALL OF '74.

WHAT HAS THAT FRESHNESS BROUGHT US? WHAT WERE WE SEEKING TO ACHIEVE? WHAT IS THE STATE OF CONGRESS?

HOWEVER, FOLLOWING THE WAR, THE RECONSTRUCTION POLICIES OF CONGRESS ONCE AGAIN BECAME THE DOMINANT THEME, AND CONGRESS PREVAILED IN SETTING POLICY FOR NEARLY HALF OF A CENTURY UNTIL TEDDY ROOSEVELT BECAME PRESIDENT. THE POWER REMAINED WITH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT THROUGHOUT WORLD WAR I AND THE PRESIDENCY OF WOODROW WILSON. DURING THE TWENTIES, THE POWER SEEMED TO BE NOWHERE, BUT I SUPPOSE IT COULD BEST BE SAID THAT IT RESTED WITH CONGRESS.

THE DEPRESSION ONCE AGAIN CREATED A CRISIS SITUATION THAT CAUSED THE POWER TO SHIFT BACK TO THE PRESIDENCY. MUCH OF THAT POWER HAS STAYED WITH THE PRESIDENCY THROUGHOUT WORLD WAR II, THE KOREAN CONFLICT, AND THE COLD WAR THAT FOLLOWED.

WHEN I RAN FOR CONGRESS IN THE FALL OF 1974, I SENSED A SHIFT OCCURRING IN THE BALANCE OF POWER IN WASHINGTON. IF I READ MY HISTORY CORRECTLY, POWER TENDS TO REST WITH THE CONGRESS DURING PERIODS OF NORMALCY AND WITH THE PRESIDENCY IN PERIODS OF EMERGENCY.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM WAS OVER. DETENTE WAS MOVING ALONG WELL -- AT LEAST IN THE SENSE THAT THE COLD WAR TENSIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES, CHINA AND RUSSIA WERE EASING. AND THE DOMESTIC CONFLICT OF THE 60'S HAD LOST MUCH OF ITS INTENSITY. IN SHORT, THERE APPEARED TO BE A PERIOD OF NORMALCY PERVADING THE NATION.

THIS BALANCE OF POWER TOWARDS A STRONG PRESIDENT WAS FOLLOWED UNTIL THE WAR OF 1812 WHEN THE CONGRESS REASSERTED ITSELF UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF HENRY CLAY, AND, FOR THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS, THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY RESTED WITH THE CONGRESS.

PRESIDENT JACKSON, HOWEVER, IN 1832 VETOED LEGISLATION TO REESTABLISH THE CHARTER FOR THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. HIS USE OF THE VETO REPRESENTED THE FIRST TIME IT HAD BEEN EMPLOYED BY A PRESIDENT IN PURSUIT OF HIS OWN SPECIFIC PROGRAM.

PRIOR TO JACKSON'S PRESIDENCY, MOST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS VIEWED THE PRESIDENT AS BEING A PUBLIC SERVANT RESPONSIBLE FOR CARRYING OUT THE POLICIES ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS. JACKSON'S VIEW WAS QUITE DIFFERENT. HE BELIEVED THAT HE REPRESENTED ALL THE PEOPLE AND THAT AS AN ELECTED OFFICIAL, HIS ALLEGIANCE RESTED WITH THE PEOPLE AND NOT WITH CONGRESS.

IN THE YEARS FOLLOWING JACKSON'S PRESIDENCY, THE POWER TO MAKE NATIONAL POLICY INEXORABLY SHIFTED BACK TO CONGRESS. IT WAS NOT UNTIL ABRAHAM LINCOLN ASSUMED THE PRESIDENCY THAT THE POWER SHIFTED BACK ONCE AGAIN. THE CIVIL WAR CREATED AN EMERGENCY WHICH REQUIRED IMMEDIATE RESPONSES. SINCE IT WAS EASIER FOR ONE PERSON TO MAKE A DECISION THAN HUNDREDS OF LEGISLATORS, THE SHIFT BACK WAS LOGICAL.