

"Writing a Legislative History"

Prof. Anthony Madonna POLS 4790H Spring Semester 1/28/2021 University of Georgia

Undergraduate Research

The School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA) is pleased to announce a call for proposals for the SPIA Undergraduate Research Colloquium. This event will bring together faculty and students from across SPIA to celebrate the accomplishments of our students and the faculty that facilitate their research. Students may submit research projects completed or currently in progress, as part of course work, CURO, internships, or independent research. We invite paper and poster presentation submissions on research drawing from all academic concentrations within SPIA including American Politics, International Relations, Comparative Politics, Political Theory, Criminal Justice, and Public Administration. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic it is expected that most, if not all, presentations will take place remotely.

Interested students should complete this form by Tuesday, February 16, 2021.

Application form link: https://bit.ly/spia-urc The form will require applicants to include:

- 1. Contact Information
- 2. Your SPIA major
- 3. Title of paper
- 4. An abstract (summary) of your research of approximately 250 words
- A brief (100 word max) explanation of whether this research was completed (or is currently taking place) in a SPIA course, as part of a CURO project, an internship, or some other experience
- 6. Whether you wish to be considered for a panel presentation, poster session, or both (see website for more information on the different formats).

Applicants will be notified of acceptances by early March. Please send all questions to spia.urc@gmail.com.

Additional information about the SPIA Undergraduate Research Colloquium is available at: https://spia.uga.edu/news-events/signature-events/undergraduate-research-colloquium/

Introductory Slides

Legislative History Overview

<u>Legislative History</u> - In order to demonstrate an understanding of the historical policy-making process, students are required to complete a paper analyzing the consideration and passage of a major piece of American legislation. After filling out the background survey discussed above, each student will be assigned to one of his 15 legislative history "teams."

While students are encouraged to work with their legislative history `teammates," they are not obligated to do so.

Each student will be assigned differing questions and duties related to the legislative history and graded separately. Students are also encouraged to use material from their exams in compiling their legislative histories. The legislative history assignment will count for 50% of the final course grade, broken up accordingly (more detailed discussions of the assignment will be provided in class):





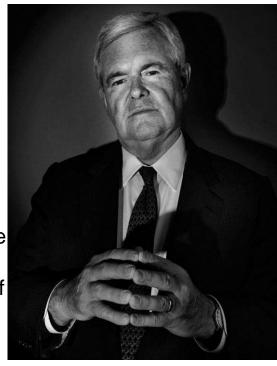
Above: After signing the Beer-Wine Revenue Act in the 73rd Congress, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (D-NY) famously declared "I think this would be a good time for a beer (Smith 2007)."

Legislative History Overview

A brief, three-paragraph <u>Summary</u> detailing the legislation the student will be analyzing. More specifically, the summary section should do three things: Paragraph 1: Tell the reader what the law does/sought to do; Paragraph 2: Tell the reader why the law is or is not considered important today; Paragraph 3: Characterize its passage. Was is controversial? Partisan? What were the key votes/moments that occurred during consideration? The summary section should not exceed 500 words and is due on <u>Thursday, February 11th</u> at 5pm. It is worth 5% of the final course grade.

A <u>Background</u> section that answers a specific question assigned by the instructor. Typically, this will necessitate contextualizing either the political climate the legislation was considered in or provide a history of the policy. Ideally, it will demonstrate why the legislation was needed. The background section is due on <u>Thursday, March 11^h</u> at 5pm. It is worth 10% of the final course grade.

A <u>Member Spotlight</u> section. This is a short, one to two-page discussion detailing a member of Congress associated with the passage of the law. It can include either on a broad overview of a member's career and/or an interesting episode they were involved in. Students are encouraged to focus on whatever details they feel are the most interesting. The Member Spotlight is due on <u>Thursday, March 25th</u> at 5 pm. It is worth 5% of the final course grade.



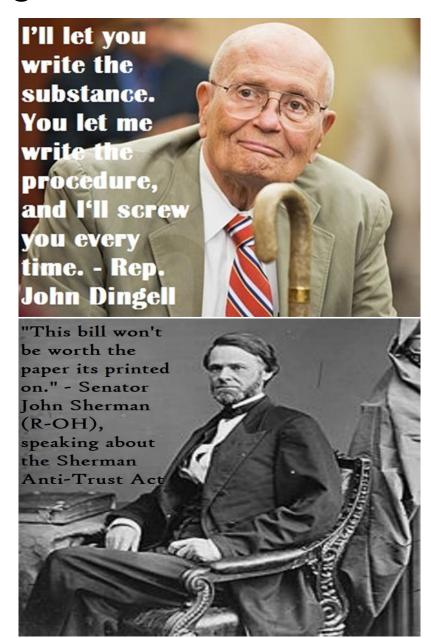
Above: Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA). The man knows how to take a "power photo".

Grading

A <u>Process</u> section that analyzes committee and floor consideration of the measure during a specific period assigned by the instructor. The may involve House or Senate consideration of a bill or conference report and will likely necessitate the discussion of a given rule or legislative procedure. It will also likely necessitate analyzing a roll call vote. The process section is due on <u>Tuesday</u>, <u>April 13th</u> at 5pm. It is worth 10% of the final course grade.

An <u>Aftermath</u> section that analyzes a post-enactment event related to the bill assigned to the student by the instructor. This might include the law being amended by a subsequent piece of legislation, being altered by a series of Supreme Court decisions or its enforcement by the President and bureaucracy. The Aftermath section is due on <u>Thursday, April 22nd</u> at 5 pm. It is worth 10% of the final course grade.

A <u>Final Paper</u> that combines the previous five sections and incorporates any instructor comments is due on <u>Friday, May 7th</u> at 5 pm. It is worth 5% of the final course grade.



Legislative History Overview



Left: Consult

<u>www.thecongressproject.co</u>

<u>m</u> (recent updates) for

example legislative histories

A <u>Member Spotlight</u> section. This is a short, one to two-page discussion detailing a member of Congress associated with the passage of the law. It can include either on a broad overview of a member's career and/or an interesting episode they were involved in. Students are encouraged to focus on whatever details they feel are the most interesting. The Member Spotlight is due on <u>Tuesday, June 2nd</u> at 5 pm.

An <u>Aftermath</u> section that analyzes a post-enactment event related to the bill assigned to the student by the instructor. This might include the law being amended by a subsequent piece of legislation, being altered by a series of Supreme Court decisions or its enforcement by the President and bureaucracy. The Aftermath section is due on <u>Friday</u>, <u>June 5th</u> at 5 pm.

1/28/21 Outline and Links

I. Writing A Legislative History

a. Title Slide

b. Legislative History

Overview

c. Outline and Links

II. Starting Notes

a. Key Questions

b. Process Notes

c. Suggested Sources

d. Overview

e. Sections and Timeline

III. Sections

a. Summary

b. Background

c. Member Spotlight

d. Process Sections

e. Aftermath

IV. Grading and Tips

a. Final Grading

b. Tips

c. General Points

V. Resources

a. Congressional Record

b. Congress.gov

c. Index

d. Historical Newspapers

e. CQ Almanac

f. Additional Sources (Google

Scholar; ProQuest

Congressional; BioGuide, etc.)

g. Committee Resources

VI. Assorted Process Terms

a. House Rule Types

b. Vote Types

c. Cloture

d. Filibusters

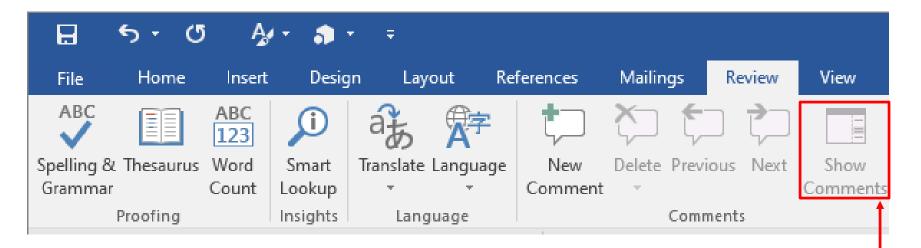
e. Amendment Trees



Above: Rep. John E. Moss (D-CA), who almost single-handedly brought about the Freedom of Information Act. He argued: "our system of government is based on the participation of the governed, and as our population grows in numbers it is essential that it also grow in knowledge and understanding."

What You'll Be Starting With...

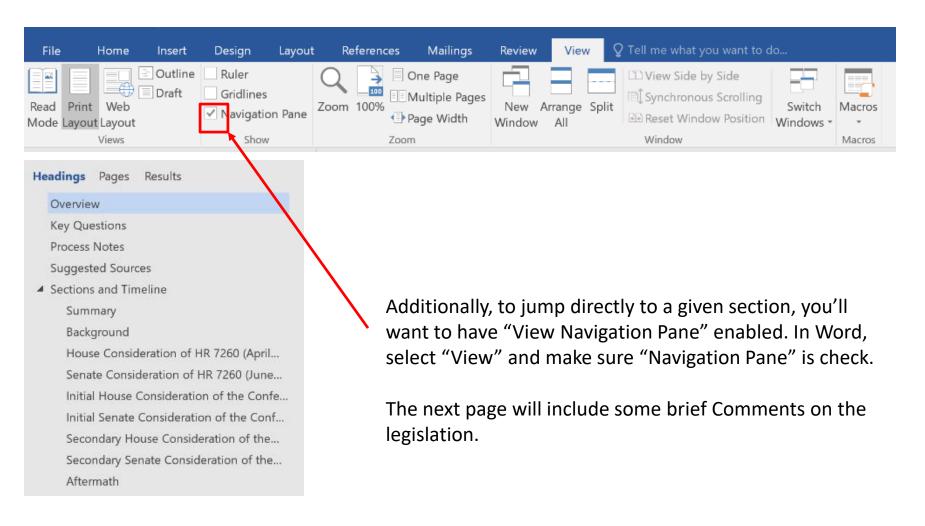
Instructor Notes



You're going to be receiving an assigned bill with notes from me by **Monday, February 1.** It will include an overview section and an outline by sections. You should simply copy and paste the overview and sections into a word document and work off of that. You're welcome to use the notes I've provided in there, as well as the attached newspaper articles.

These notes may be in comment form, so in Word, select the "Review" tab and make sure "Show Comments" is turned on.

Instructor Notes



Legislative History: Key Questions

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY KEY QUESTIONS

This will be followed by "Key Questions."

Key Questions:

These are questions about the measure specifically assigned to you that a good legislative history would be able to answer There are certainly going to be additional questions regarding the measure I didn't include in here.

However, for large, complex pieces of legislation, students will not be able to answer everything. I've found that student often like having these because it allows them to gear the legislative history in a specific direction.

If you have a specific focus or question coming into the bill, I'll try and incorporate it into the key questions section.

- 1. I've given you a bunch on the background below you can use or work with however you'd like. You want to use that section to detail why education funding failed so frequently. Religious pressure? Race? How did they avoid that with the ESEA? It's so bizarre to see an issue consistently come up on the floor of Congress and fail that often. I don't think I've seen anything comparable.
- 2. Definitely give a rundown on what the bill did. School construction? Raising teacher pay? What all is in it?
- 3. After years of derailing these kinds of bills with his amendment, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY) opted not to offer it on ESEA. Why not? I honestly don't know if this question can be answered, but it's pretty fascinating.
- 4. Was this measure partisan? I gave you a note on this below, but it sounds like House Republicans were attempting to delay the measure through journal readings.
- 5. In your Aftermath section, tell the reader how successful this measure has been (or at least has been perceived). I think you can talk about the amendments to the act you detail in your Topic Paper here. My read on this is that the floor consideration sections should be fairly short.

Legislative History: Key Questions

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY KEY QUESTIONS

Key questions will be provided to students. Here's another example from the Sherman Anti-Trust Act:

1. What motivated Congress to pass this law? I gave you a ton of suggested sources, but one that's definitely worth going through is the Dickson and Wells (2001) piece. It's basically a walkthrough on the debate, so it should be useful. But it also argues that Sherman never really wanted a strong Trust bill. Basically, Republicans were trying to appease voters and wanted to pass a bill for the sake of passing a bill. Address this in your background section.



Above: After the bill was recommitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator John Sherman (R-OH) and several of his supporters argued the measure would no longer "be worth the paper it was printed on."

- 2. Clinton and Lapinski rated this as the most important law passed in the 51st Congress and the sixth most important law passed in history. The biggest question that jumped out at me while skimming this debate is basically "What the hell happened?" Every press account and Sherman himself basically thought this bill would be completely worthless. After a short fight in the Senate, passage was really non-controversial. In your Aftermath section, explain how this bill became so important. Was it all Court rulings? This CRS Report might be helpful.
- 3. What amendments were added to this bill in the Senate that led to it being sent to the Judiciary committee? Employ historical newspapers and the Congressional Record to get at this.
- 4. Also in your Aftermath section, tie this thing into the U.S. v. Paramount ruling. This will let you get at the history of Hollywood studios, the impact the ruling had on this, etc...This stuff I'm guessing will be of more interest to you. There are a few suggested citations below to consider on this point
 1

Legislative History: Process Notes

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY PROCESS NOTES

Process Notes:

So from a process stand-point, this thing is pretty straight-forward. No conference committee or extraneous consideration. As I mention below, it sounds like there's some Rules Committee shenanigans that you might need historical newspapers to sort out. Also, in the House, prior to passage, Majority Leader Carl Albert (D-OK) had to make a motion to proceed to cut off debate. This was odd and I can't recall seeing it before (it passed 274-119).

It sounds like Republicans were upset with how fast the bill was moving and so they forced a reading of the journal. During the reading, they made two points of order that a quorum isn't present. This is a delaying tactic. (or at least was a delaying tactic, House rules stopped mandating the reading of the Journal at the start of each legislative day in the 92nd Congress). Albert then made a motion to suspend the reading of the journal and moved the previous question motion (which would end debate on it). This was what the roll call vote was on. Albert's motion to suspend the reading of the journal was then adopted by voice vote. See Washington Post. 1965. "House Passes Education Bill After Angry Partisan Hassle," March 27.

Also—for more on the history of the Journal, this is a useful CRS report:

https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45209.pdf

Again, this should be too tough. If you have other questions, see the CQ write-up here:

 http://library.cqpress.com.proxyremote.galib.uga.edu/cqalmanac/document.php?id=cqal65-1259110&type=hitlist&num=0

I gave you a bunch of suggested sources that I referenced below. Don't feel like you need to crack into these.

Next will be "Process Notes."

Process Notes is going to be a paragraph or two with some notes highlighting any issues that might be worth paying attention to or asking me about when you're going through this measure.

It might also include weird nerd points I found interesting (it's likely that you will not).

Suggested sources is just that...Some sources I had on a given bill that might be of interest/use for you.

Not all the process points will be relevant for your legislative history, as you're only drafting one section. However, students are expected to be familiar with other process sections for the exams.

Legislative History: Suggested Sources

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY SUGGESTED SOURCES

Then a section called "Suggested Sources."

You do NOT have to consult all of these. I'll make a note of the ones that are particularly helpful. These are mainly academic, so CRS or CQ Almanac may not be in here.

Watch my formatting here. I might have messed some stuff up.

Suggested Sources:

Graham, Hugh Davis. 2011. The Uncertain Triumph: Federal Education Policy in The Kennedy and Johnson Years. *UNC Press Books*.

Kaestle, Carl and Marshall Smith. 1982. The Federal Role in Elementary and Secondary Education, 1940-1980. *Harvard Educational Review*, 52(4): 384-408.

McClure, Phyllis. 2008. The History of Educational Comparability in Title I of The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Ensuring Equal Opportunity in Public Education, June 9.

Kessinger. Thomas A. 2011. "Efforts toward educational reform in the United States since 1958: A review of seven major initiatives." *American Educational History Journal* 38: 263.

Murphy, Jerome. 1971. "Title I of ESEA: The Politics of Implementing Federal Education Reform." *Harvard Educational Review*, 41(1): 35-63.

Eidenberg, Eugene, and Roy D. Morey. 1969. An Act of Congress: The Legislative Process and the Making of Education Policy. Norton.

Denzau. Arthur, William Riker, and Kenneth Shepsle. 1985. "Farquharson and Fenno: Sophisticated Voting and Home Style." *American Political Science Review* 79(December): 1117-1134.

Gilmour, John B. 2001. "The Powell Amendment Voting Cycle: An Obituary." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26(May): 249-262.

Jenkins, Jeffrey and Justin Peck. 2020. "The Blair Education Bill: A Lost Opportunity in American Public Education." Working Paper.

Legislative History: Overview

Overview

Act Title: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

Author/Authors: Date Updated:

Congress: 89th Congress (1965-1966)

Session/Sessions: 1st Statute No: 79 Stat. 27-58 Public Law No: 89 PL 10

Eid: 890010

Bill: HR 2362

Sponsor: Rep. Carl D. Perkins (D-KY)
House Committees: Education and Labor
Senate Committees: Labor and Public Works

Companion Bill: S 370

Related Bills:

House Rules: Hres 285

Past Bills: 78 S 637, 79 S 181; 79 S 717; 79 S 2207; 79 S 2499, 80 S 472, 81 S 246; 81 HR 4643; 81 S 2317; 81 HR 7940, 82 S 1452; 82 HR 8145, 83 HR 6049; 83 HR 6078; 83 S 3628, 84 HR 7535; 85 HR 358, 86 HR 22; 86 S 8; 87 HR 7904; 87 S 1726; 87 S 2345, 88 HR 3000, 88 S 580

Introduced Date- Law Date: January 12, 1965- April 11, 1965

House Floor Days: 3 (March 24- 26, 1965) Senate Floor Days: 3 (April 7-9, 1965)

Roll Call Votes: 2



Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives About this object

PERKINS, Carl Dewey (1912-1984)

Biography

PERKINS, CARL DEWEY, (father of Carl Christopher Perk Hindman High School, Caney Junior College (now Alice Louisville, Ky., in 1935; was admitted to the bar in 1935 first judicial district; member of Kentucky General Asser become counsel for Department of Highways, Frankfor to the Eighty-first and to the seventeen succeeding Cor eighth Congresses); was a resident of Hindman, Ky. unt

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OVERVIEW

The next two items are yours to use in the final paper.

The first of these is the "Overview" section.

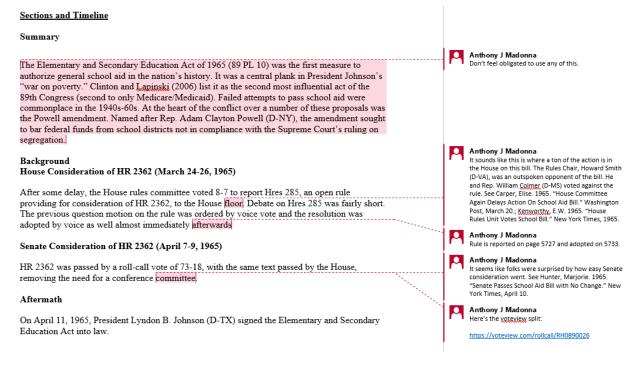
You don't need to touch this section except for entering your name.

Legislative History: Sections and Timeline

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY SECTIONS AND TIMELINE

Finally, you'll receive sections and a timeline.

It's likely there will be some notes in there. I tried to handle tougher process issues. **PLEASE, FEEL FREE TO USE MY NOTES!**Copy and paste the Overview and Timeline into a word file and get rolling.



I know this feels like you're plagiarizing me. I view it as "co-authoring" with your professor.

What you should be plugging into each section will vary depending on your key questions/piece of legislation.

You'll be assigned a specific process section.

The next few slides discuss each section in turn.

How to Write Each Legislative History Section

Section Instructions



Above: Former Senator Walter Jones (R-WA), the sponsor of "The Jones Act."

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY SECTIONS:

These slides take students through goals of each legislative history section and detail how the final product should appear.

Students are being asked to write portions of the legislative history, as opposed to the bill in its entirety.

Accordingly, for writing purposes, they should focus on answering the key questions provided to them by the instructor.

In short, the slides below will provide more detail than students in the course will need.

However, it bears repeating that while students will not be required to write every process section, they will be asked about them in their exams and should be familiar with them.

Summary Section



Above: Rep. Carl Vinson (D-GA), who served from 1914 to 1965 and was known as "The Father of the Two-Ocean Navy."

SUMMARY SECTION: STRUCTURE

Give a brief one-three paragraph overview of the measure. Was it controversial? What did it contain? Was debate heated? Passage contentious? What was the final passage vote? List any particularly controversial votes or motions here. How many total floor amendments were there? I would generally recommend writing the summary section after you've written the longer consideration sections.

More specifically, the summary section should do three things:

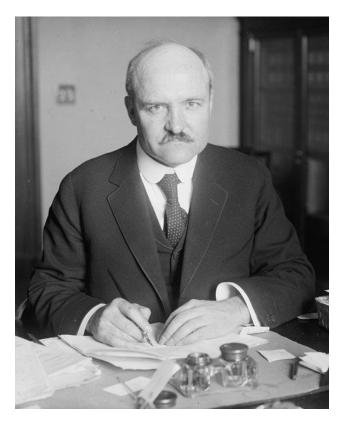
Paragraph 1: Tell the reader what the law does/sought to do.

Paragraph 2: Tell the reader why the law is or is not considered important today.

Paragraph 3: Characterize its passage. Was is controversial? Partisan? What were the key votes/moments that occurred during consideration?

It should not exceed 500 words

Background Section



Above: Upon passage of the Standard Time Act, its sponsor, Senator William Calder (R-NY) predicted it would be "a very popular measure" and "no effort [would] be made to repeal it." It was a terrible prediction. The daylight saving provision of the law was repealed just over a year later after widespread confusion.

BACKGROUND SECTION: OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

A good example of a background section can be found in the Standard Time Act case on the Congress Project website:

https://www.thecongressproject.com/standard-time-act-of-1918

Broadly speaking, the background section should be broken up into two parts. However, you'll be assigned a specific question to focus on in your background section.

The first focuses on the political background the measure was considered in. What was the political climate like in this Congress? Who was the President? What party controlled the House and the Senate? Were there other key issues on the agenda when this measure was being considered? Was there a recent election that altered the two parties leverage in Congress?

The first part of the background section is usually one to three paragraphs. It gives the reader contextual information about whether the President's party could have pushed through a partisan legislative agenda. Legislative politics scholars have found that laws past by fragmented coalitions under divided government are less durable than those passed by unified coalitions.

The second part should focus on the issue.

Background Section

BACKGROUND SECTION: STRUCTURE

The second part of the background section should focus on the issue.

What was the problem Congress was attempting to solve? Why was it being considered in this Congress? Was it a key part of the President's agenda? Did the policy solution originate in the United States? State governments? Other countries? What did newspapers say about the issue? Was the measure considered in previous congresses? What did scholarly sources think about the topic at the time?

It is important that the author let the reader know if this was an issue that Congress had been debating for awhile, whether it was a bill that was considered in response to a specific, recent event; whether it was a routine measure considered by Congress; or if the bill simply came together quickly on the floor.

The length of this second part varies by enactment substance. Students should pay attention to any "Key Questions" that were provided with by the instructor. If there's something in the Key Questions the instructor suggests be address in the background, look to address it.



Above: From the movie "1917." As World War 1 was breaking out, nations were actively seeking ways to increase efficiency. Daylight saving time became a popular solution. Supporters argued that adjusting time so work hours better coincided with periods of natural daylight would increase productivity, result in health benefits and cut down on costs associated with lighting and heating.

Background Section



Above: During debate, Rep. Otis Wingo (D-AR) asserted the bill's supporters had "never seen the sun rise in 20 years" and predicted the measure would provide relief to "the slackers of the Nation who are too lazy to get up early."

BACKGROUND SECTION: SOURCES

In addition to suggested sources supplied by the instructor (most of which will focus on the policy), there are some useful sources to consult for information on the Congress.

Stathis, Stephen W. 2014. Landmark Legislation, 1774-2012: Major U.S. Acts and Treaties, 2nd Edition. Washington: CQ Press.

The above Stathis book will provide information on landmark bills for each Congress, as well as background on the Congress. It is available online through UGA's website.

Additional useful information can be found on the Senate and House websites:

- https://www.senate.gov/history/partydiv.htm
- https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/101st/

Member Spotlight



Above: Rep. Martha Griffin (D-MI), who navigated the Equal Rights Amendment through the U.S. House. Her obituary includes this description: "Dubbed the mother of the Equal Rights Amendment, the weapons she deployed during her 10-term congressional career included implacable determination, a lawyer's grasp of procedural niceties, and a tongue like a blacksmith's rasp. She once asked [an airline] executive if he thought he was running a brothel, and publicly denounced her political boss, then governor of Michigan, as a "son of a bitch"."

Martha Griffiths, 91, Dies; Fighter for Women's Rights

By Wolfgang Saxon

April 25, 2003



Martha Wright Griffiths, a longtime United States representative who was a legend in Michigan Democratic politics and one of the most effective women's civil rights legislators of her day, died on

MEMBER SPOTLIGHT: STRUCTURE

A short, one to two-page discussion detailing a member of Congress associated with the passage of the law. It can include either on a broad overview of a member's career and/or an interesting episode they were involved in. Students are encouraged to focus on whatever details they feel are the most interesting.

The member profiled can be either a supporter or an opponent of the bill. Students are encouraged to consult bioguide, the Congressional Record and the "Historic Newspapers" resource for background information. When possible, students are strongly encouraged to include a citation to a member's obituary.

Member Spotlight

MEMBER SPOTLIGHT: EXAMPLE

Rep. Thomas Blanton (D-TX), who was "booed" by wets on the floor, spoke of death threats he received due to his support for prohibition and encouraged other dries to continue to "hold the line (*Congressional Record*, 72nd Congress, February 20, 1933, 4512-16)."

Notably, Blanton was no stranger to this kind of treatment. He had been booed during earlier speeches as well and was a highly controversial figure in the House. Blanton was loathed for asking for roll call votes on a wide number of issues, raising frequent points of order on the floor and often aggressive during debate. His antics ate into floor time and caused delay. First elected to the House in 1917, Blanton's behavior came to a boiling point in 1921 when he entered a curse word into the Congressional Record. A resolution expelling him from the House was introduced.



While many anticipated Blanton would apologize, he instead gave an hour and half long speech defending himself, declaring that "the man who is not afraid to lose his own head does not consider political head (*Congressional Record*, 67th Congress, October 27, 1921, 6886)." His defense was largely led by the noted parliamentarian, Rep. Robert Luce (R-MA). A Republican, Luce announced it was difficult to defend Blanton but he felt duty-bound to oppose expulsion, which he felt was too extreme an option. Luce argued: "A seemingly righteous precedent set now may be turned to unrighteous ends next year (*Congressional Record*, 67th Congress, October 27, 1921, 6890)." After the expulsion resolution fell by eight votes, Blanton was unanimously censured. Blanton would faint on the floor afterwards.

For more, see Stevens (1982); "Censure to Blanton," 1921. *The Washington Post*, October 28; Fishbein, Rebecca. 2018. "The Time the Word 'Damn' Almost Got a Man Kicked Out of Congress." *Vice*, July 19. For the vote to expel see Voteview, 67th House, rcnum 119 (Poole and Rosenthal 1997).

https://voteview.com/rollcall/RH0670119

Links Summary Background Initial House Consideration (June 18, 1986) Initial Senate Consideration (August 14-15, 1986) Secondary House Consideration (September 12, 1986) Presidential Veto (September 26, 1986) House Override (September 29, 1986) Senate Override (October 1-2, 1986) Aftermath Overview Citations Footnotes

PROCESS SECTIONS: OVERVIEW

I'm calling any section between Background and Aftermath "process sections." You might have as few as two of these, but you might also have many more.

A good example of process sections can be found in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 case on the Congress Project website:

• https://www.thecongressproject.com/comprehensive-antiapartheid-act-of-1986/#Initial-House-Consideration

These are the process sections for that bill. For most students, I will provide an outline with the process sections labelled beforehand. I recommend working off of that outline. **You'll be assigned a specific process section or sections to focus on.**

Questions to consider in the initial process sections (i.e. the first House and Senate consideration sections): When was the bill introduced? By whom? What committee or committees was it referred to? What happened in committee? When was it reported out?

How did it get to the floor? Was there a special rule in the House? A unanimous consent agreement in the Senate? Was debate over the initial process contentious?

Once on the floor, what happened? What did supporters of the measure say about it? What about opponents? I recommend pulling several quotes directly from the debate. Was there a key fight over an amendment? What was it? How did it pass (recorded vote, voice vote, etc...)? What was the vote total? How did newspapers discuss the House consideration?

PROCESS SECTIONS: STRUCTURE

In terms of length of the process sections, they will vary a great deal. Use notes from the instructor as a guide. I'll often tell you when to expect short process sections. Some of you may be dealing with highly complex pieces of legislation subjected to a great deal of debate. Accordingly, expect longer sections there. Again though, don't hesitate to quote directly from the Record.

Your first paragraph or two of the initial process sections will often focus on what happened to the bill in Committee. This is information will generally come from secondary sources like CQ Almanac and/or historical newspapers.

After this, the next paragraph or two will want to tell the reader how this bill reached the floor. House special rule? Unanimous consent agreement? Was there debate over this?

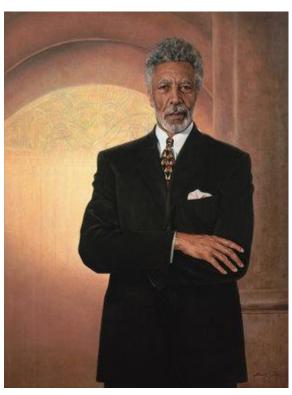
From there, you're going to want your next paragraph or handful of paragraphs to tell the reader about the debate and amending process. What were the arguments being made by opponents and supporters? Broadly speaking, I think you probably want to shoot for 2-3 direct quotes from the Congressional Record from both supporters and opponents.



Above: Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) (above) sponsored the Senate bill and was credited with getting the measure through committee "with sheer political muscle (CQ Almanac 1987)."

Was there a key vote on an amendment that led to the bill's passage? For bills with a large number of floor amendments, a look through historical newspapers will help you identify the most important amendment votes.

Your <u>final paragraph</u> will recap the vote on passage. How did it pass? Who opposed it? Was it partisan? Ideological? You may want to use a figure from Voteview.com here.



Above: Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) viewed the House bill as a "step forward," but also "inadequate in response to what is evolving in South Africa at the very moment (Congressional Record, June 18, 1986, 99th Congress, 14276)." His full-text substitute amendment was adopted by voice vote.

PROCESS SECTIONS: GOALS

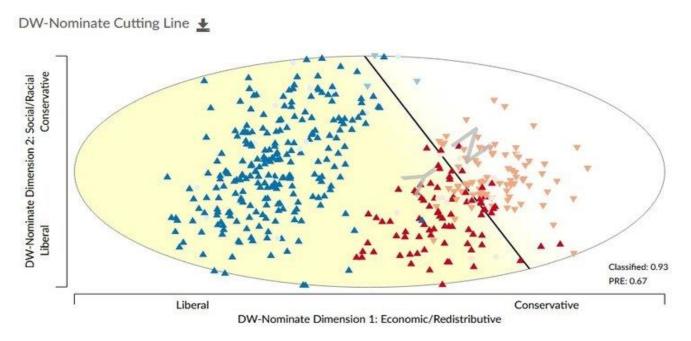
Perhaps the most important aspect of the process sections is making sure you keep the consideration chronological (you want to do that for this entire project.) When it doubt, provide a date. You don't want to include quotes from a debate or May 7, 1986 in a paragraph and then jump back to May 3, 1987 in the next paragraph.

Generally speaking, you have two main goals in the process sections: (1) to explain how the policy this piece of legislation was originally viewed by lawmakers and (2) to identify key issues in the legislation. These two goals may or may not overlap. Often times, policies we associate with a bill were not the focal point of the debate.

Occasionally, the content of a law might be altered by procedural rules or tactics employed by members of Congress. For example, in the case of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, a stronger measure proposed by Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) was adopted in part because conservative opponents of the bill felt it was "the worst [measure] possible" and it would doom any attempt to sanction South Africa.

PROCESS SECTIONS: TIPS

For many students, I have provided some text describing procedural issues and/or other issues that occurred during consideration of the bill. Feel free to use that text, delete it or keep it as is. I recognize this can be a bit daunting, but you are the ultimate editor here. Decide whether or not its useful to you.



Above: The House vote to override President Ronal Reagan's veto of the Anti-Apartheid Act from Voteview.com. It was overridden 313-83, with 82 Republicans joining 234 Democrats in support, with four Democrats joining 82 Republicans in opposition. As the figure demonstrates, the vote was fairly ideological.

If you encounter a confusing procedural issue in the *Congressional Record*, you can either look up the procedure, e-mail me or quote it verbatim in your write-up. Please do not "guess" as to what might be happening.

When describing a final passage vote, roll call votes can be found using Voteview.com. You might find it helpful to include a Voteview figure. It is often helpful in characterizing whether the vote was partisan, ideological, etc.

It may be that your secondary process sections are longer than your initial process sections. This is purely dependent on how much floor debate occurred.

29

PROCESS SECTIONS: CITING THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD



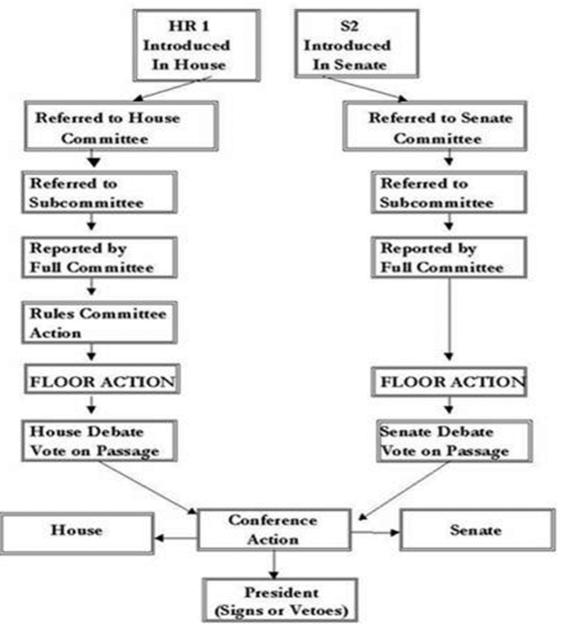
Above: Freshman Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY), who argued: "Because I have chosen to stand with those who struggle for freedom, I must stand apart from my President."

When identifying good quotes from the Congressional Record, historical newspapers can help. Also, the identity of the member may be useful. Quotes from the bill sponsor, leading opponent, major amendment sponsor, party or committee leaders, moderate swing votes, etc., can all be useful in telling the story of this measure.

Give me at least a few quotes from both sides.

The *Congressional Record* should be cited parenthetically. It should take the following form: "Quote (*Congressional Record*, ## Congress, Month, Day, Year, Page #)." So, for example:

Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) argued against the amendment: "Mr. President, I would like to suggest that we look at every amendment we have and ask ourselves, do we have to have this? [The] election is two years away. We do not have to start kissing this and rubbing that to get elected next time. And, thank God, I do not have to do it ever again (Congressional Record, 96th Congress, December 11, 1980, 16227)."



PROCESS SECTIONS: SOURCES

There are a number of additional resources to consult if you have questions on process. First, do not hesitate to e-mail the instructor.

Second, CQ Almanac, when available, often provides a nice overview of key issues and questions that occurred during debate. CRS Reports are also excellent resources.

Third, Congress.gov provides a video overview of the legislative process below:

https://www.congress.gov/legislative-process

Additional sources can be found on the Congress Project website here:

 https://www.thecongressproject.com/da ta-and-links

Aftermath Section

AFTERMATH SECTION: OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

A good example of an aftermath section can be found in the Anti-Drug Abuse Act case on the Congress Project website:

https://www.thecongressproject.com/anti-drug-abuse-act-of-1986

Questions to be answered in an Aftermath section: When did the President sign it into law? Did the papers quote the President's discussion of it?



Above: Maryland basketball star Len Bias, whose death helped motivated the passage of the act.

Was the law amended by a subsequent law? Was it overturned in a later Supreme Court case? Bureaucratic rules?

How do contemporary scholars view the law? Was it effective? Citations from google scholar will help here.

Perhaps more so than any other section, the length of the Aftermath section will vary greatly depending on the enactment. As with the Background section, students should pay attention to any "**Key Questions**" that were provided with by the instructor. If there's something in the **Key Questions** the instructor suggests be address in the Aftermath section, please address it.

Aftermath Section



Above: Senator Charles Mathias (R-MD) (above) informed Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-KS) he would filibuster the bill with a death penalty provision in it and he was "prepared to spend Christmas [in the Senate]" to do so.

AFTERMATH SECTION: STRUCTURE

In the Anti-Drug Abuse Act case, the Aftermath section largely follows the questions detailed above. The first sentence notes when President Reagan signed the law. It's followed by newspaper coverage of the signing.

The following paragraph briefly detailed the passage of subsequent legislation amending the 1986 bill.

Finally, much of the Aftermath section focused on problems caused by the legislation, as identified by scholars and political observers. The idea here was to identify the positive or negative qualities the law is most known for.

In the case of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act, the most notable aspect of the law was the provision calling for "mandatory minimum sentences for possession of even smaller amounts of crack cocaine with the crack-to-powder ratio at 100 to one."

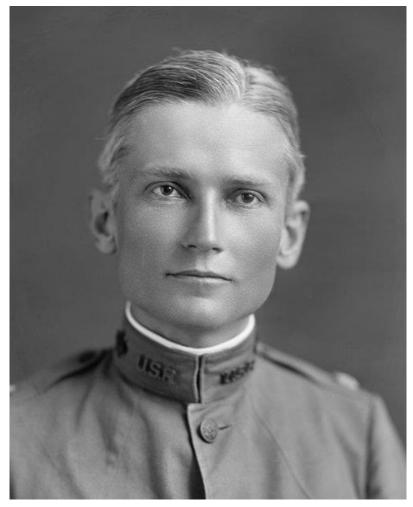
Finally, the Aftermath section concludes with contemporary events, highlighting its relevance. Specifically, it notes that: "Attempting to correct their severely flawed and racially biased legislation, Congress passed, and President Barack Obama signed into law the Fair Sentencing Act of 2010 (S. 1789; 111 PL 220). The New York Times reported that "Congress addressed the issue by passing the Fair Sentencing Act of 2010, which reduced the sentencing disparity to 18 to one."

Grading and Tips for Writing

Legislative History: Final Grading

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY FINAL GRADING

Factors that influence students' grades include how well the student followed the assignment and answered key questions; spelling and grammar; did not include errors; if proper formatting was followed; and whether scholarly, journalistic and primary source materials were cited.



Above: Prior to coming to the Senate, Hiram Bingham (R-CT) was an academic and explorer most well-known for publicizing the location of the Inca city of Machu Picchu. He has been cited an inspiration for the Indiana Jones character.

Legislative History Tips





Look to <u>www.thecongressproject.com</u> for examples! But don't kill yourself trying to match the style.

You have the flexibility to focus on aspects of the law/bill you find the most interesting...

You don't have to know anything about Congress to do this assignment. Just ask questions...

The goals of a legislative history

- 1. Explain to the reader why the issue matters
- 2. Explain why Congress acted the why they did
- If the policy evolved afterwards, provide a brief explanation of how and why
- 4. Tell the reader where to find more information

Things you should take away

- 1. How to research federal laws and legislation
- 2. Greater knowledge of a specific policy and its evolution
- 3. More incite on the lawmaking process
- 4. How to use footnotes...

General Points

I. Comments from me

- 1) Might be in a new document.
- 2) Turn on your comments feature.
- 3) More notes is NOT a bad thing!
- 4) Use what I'm giving you.

II. DON'T BE WRONG!

- 1) Be unsure, ask questions, say you don't know. But do NOT guess.
- Part of the point is to ID confusing junctions in the lawmaking process. If you don't understand something, the odds are good readers won't either.

III. Find things that interest YOU.

- 1) Don't worry about making me happy. If there's a topic you find interesting, focus on that.
- 2) Policy impact, floor fights, member information, etc.
- 3) If you find a podcast or a video on your bill or topic, let me know!



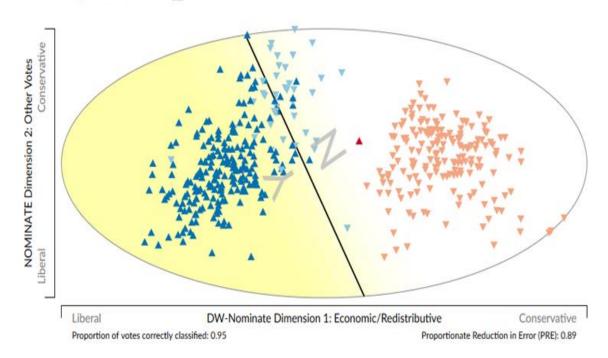


General Points

Vote Ideological Breakdown 🕹

IV. When in doubt, write it down!

- Use a notes section to look at later
- Put free to put it in a footnote.



VI. Other points

- 1) Link the bioguide and congress.gov if possible.
- 2) What parts of the debate to focus on? Use the newspapers and CQ Almanac.
- 3) Look for quotes on your topic.
- 4) Use voteview.
- 5) If you quote the CR—and you definitely should—give me the member's name, the page number, the date and the Congress (i.e. Rep. Alan Trammell (D-MI) argued "Freedom is probably good (Congressional Record, 88th Congress, July 4, 1964, 11125).

Accessing Primary Source Materials and Other Resources for Writing a Legislative History

Key Terms



WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1963

House of Representatives

THE JOURNAL

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE ge from the Senate by Mr

go Journal of the proceedings of ADJOURNMENT TO 11 O'CLOCK A.M. AUGUST 8, 1963



Primary source: An immediate, first-hand account of an event. They encourage students and researchers to seek out new information and are frequently employed by researchers to minimize certain types of bias. However, students should be aware that primary sources frequently include different types of biases as well.

Examples of key primary sources for Legislative Histories are The Congressional Record; Committee Reports; Legislative Text.

Secondary source: As the name implies, a secondary source is a step away from a primary source. It frequently quotes from—and relies on—a primary source. These are frequently useful to contextualize key issues and debates in lawmaking.

Examples include Historical Newspapers; Biographies; Scholarly Books and Articles.

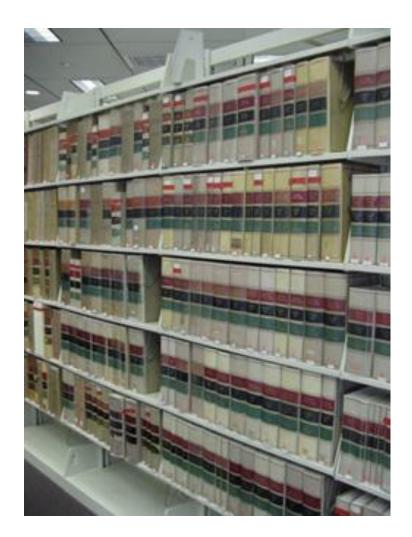
Key Terms

A **bill** is the primary vehicle employed by legislators to introduce their proposals. House bills are designated H.R. 1, H.R. 2, etc...Senate bills are designated S. 1, S. 2, etc. As the Senate website notes, "They address either matters of general interest ("public bills") or narrow interest ("private bills"), such as immigration cases and individual claims against the Federal government." It needs to pass both the House and the Senate in identical forms and be signed by the President (or passed over a presidential veto) to become law.

Once a bill becomes law, it is assigned a **public law number** corresponding to the Congress is was enacted in and the order it passed. 115 PL 12 is a public law number corresponding the 12th public law enacted in the 115th Congress.

The law is also assigned a **statute number**. This corresponds to the volume and page number the law can be found in the *Statutes at Large*.

Congress may work on several bills throughout a given Congress before agreeing on a final bill that eventually becomes a public law. For example, the Senate may debate and amend S 120 while the House considers HR 5. Eventually, the two changes agree on the content of the bill and include that language in HR 282.



Legislative History Resources

Using Some Resources:

Instructions

www.thecongressproject.com

www.congress.gov

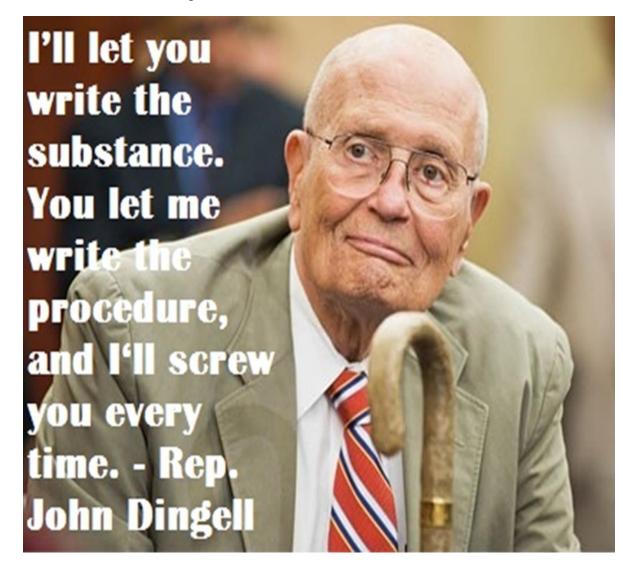
Congressional Record via Heinonline

Historical Newspapers

CQ Almanac

www.everycrsreport.com

ProQuest Legislative Histories

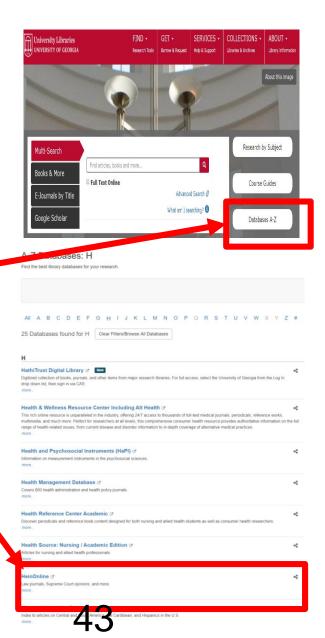


Finding Your Enactment in the CR

Access the Congressional Record through HeinOnline on the University of Georgia Library's website here:

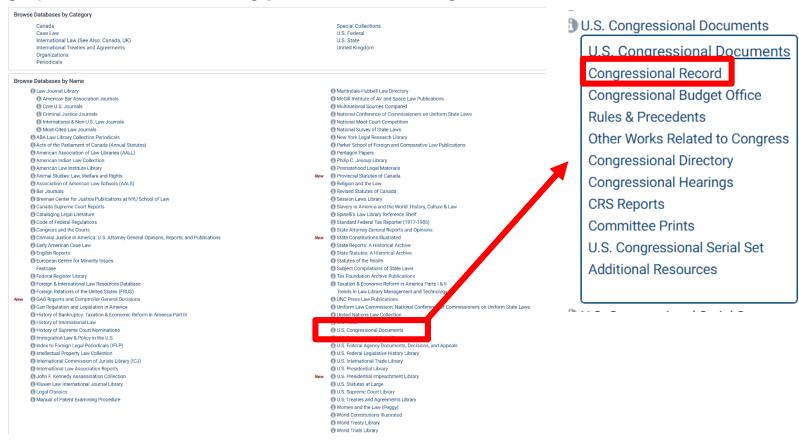
http://www.libs.uga.edu/

From there, click on Databases A-Z, select "H" and find HeinOnline that way.



Finding Your Enactment in the CR

Pulling up HeinOnline will bring you to the following screen:



On the lower right-hand side, click on "U.S. Congressional Documents." On the dropdown menu, then select "Congressional Record." Click "Congressional Record" again on the dropdown screen.

Finding Your Enactment in the CR

```
Vol. 131 (99th Congress, 1st Session) (1985)
Vol. 130 (98th Congress, 2nd Session) (1984)
Vol. 129 (98th Congress, 1st Session) (1983)
Vol. 128 (97th Congress, 2nd Session) (1982)
Vol. 127 (97th Congress, 1st Session) (1981)
Vol. 126 (96th Congress, 2nd Session) (1980)
Vol. 125 (96th Congress, 1st Session) (1979)
Vol. 124 (95th Congress, 2nd Session) (1978)
Vol. 123 (95th Congress, 1st Session) (1977)
Vol. 122 (94th Congress, 2nd Session) (1976)
Vol. 121 (94th Congress, 1st Session) (1975)
Vol. 120 (93rd Congress, 2nd Session) (1974)
Vol. 119 (93rd Congress, 1st Session) (1973)
Vol. 118 (92nd Congress, 2nd Session) (1972)
Vol. 117 (92nd Congress, 1st Session) (1971)
Vol. 116 (91st Congress, 2nd Session) (1970)
Vol. 115 (91st Congress, 1st Session) (1969)
Vol. 114 (90th Congress, 2nd Session) (1968)
Vol. 113 (90th Congress, 1st Session) (1967)
Vol. 112 (89th Congress, 2nd Session) (1966)
Vol. 111 (89th Congress, 1st Session) (1965)
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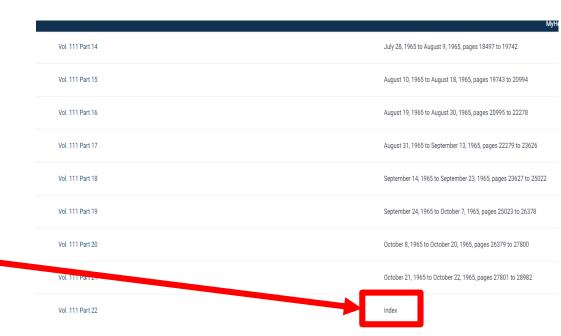
This will bring you to a list of volumes and congresses.

Find the 89th Congress. The overview lists only session 1. So select that.

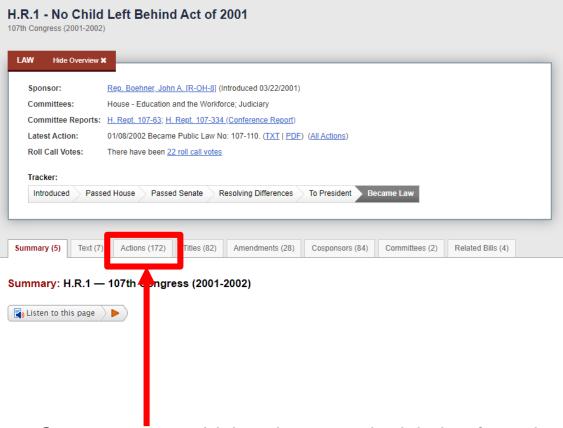
This will bring you to a list of parts and dates. Finding the first floor consideration of your bill requires one of three things:

(1) Most of you will have an outline with dates in it. If so, use that. (2) If not, check the bill on congress.gov.(3) If that's not available, find the bill in the index.

CQ Almanac is also invaluable in this respect.



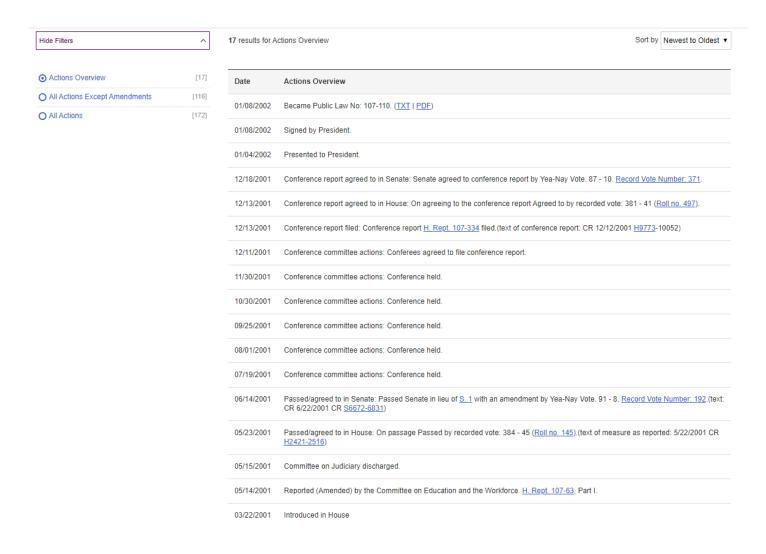
Finding Your Enactment in Congress.gov



ESEA is not on Congress.gov, which only covers legislation from the mid-1970s on. Some of the earlier measures in there will have incomplete information.

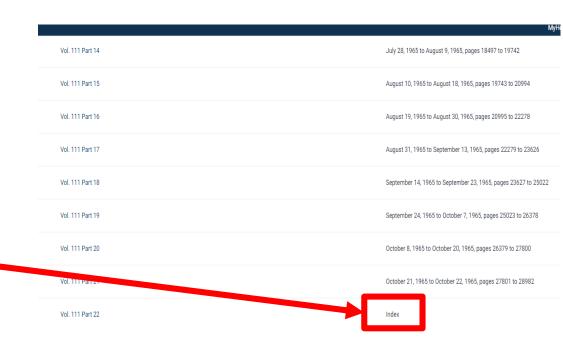
This is "No Child Left Behind." Click on Actions.

Finding Your Enactment in Congress.gov



Often, this will link directly to the CR, though it is often confusing.

Let's find ESEA in the Index. On the parts and dates portion of hein, select "index". It's usually at the bottom.



Reading the Index

The outline only listed HR 2362 as receiving floor consideration. Some enactments might have more! See this enactment.

Typical index breakdown:

Introduction/referral, reported out of committee, special rule/suspension (if either occurs), debate and amending, passes chamber, referred to new chamber committee, reported, special rule/suspension (if either occurs), debate and amending, passes chamber, conference, president

Here's ESEA.

We probably want page 5727.

tion for farmers and assure consumers of an abundance of food and fiber at reasonable prices, and for other pur-

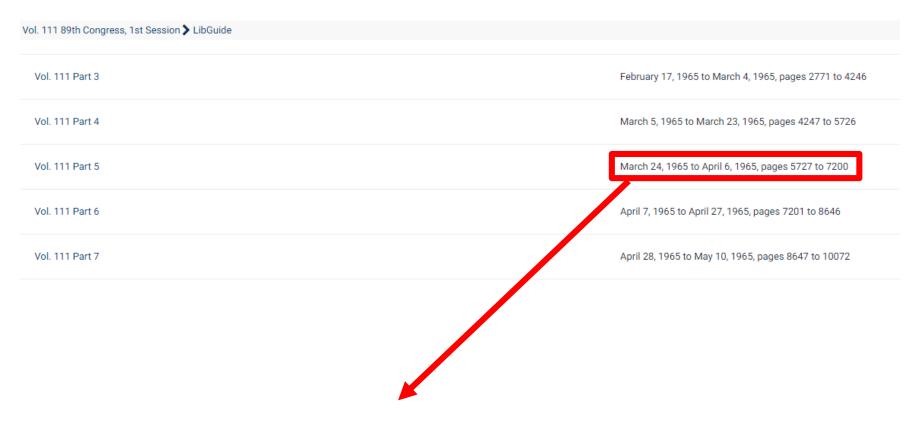
Mr. Talmadge, Mr. Allen, Mr. Dole, Mr. Domenici, Mr. Eastland, Mr. Helms, Mr. Huddleston, and Mr. Stone; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1457.-Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 95-180), 14873.—Debated, 16036, 16075. 16146, 16268.—Amended and passed Senate, 16351.-Amended and passed House (in lieu of H.R. 7171), 25531.—Title amended, 25561.—House insisted on its amendments and asked for a conference. Conferees appointed. 25561.—Senate disagreed with House amendment and agreed to a conference. Conferees appointed, 25701,-Conference report submitted in the Senate and agreed to, 28522.—Conference report (H. Rept. 95-599) submitted in the House and agreed to, 28730, 29564.-Examined and signed, 29792, 29874.—Presented to the President, 30202.—Approved [Public Law 95-113], 31943,

S. 275—To provide price and income protec- H.R. 7171—To establish more responsive programs for the benefit of farmers and consumers of farm products; to extend and improve the programs conducted under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended; and for other purposes.

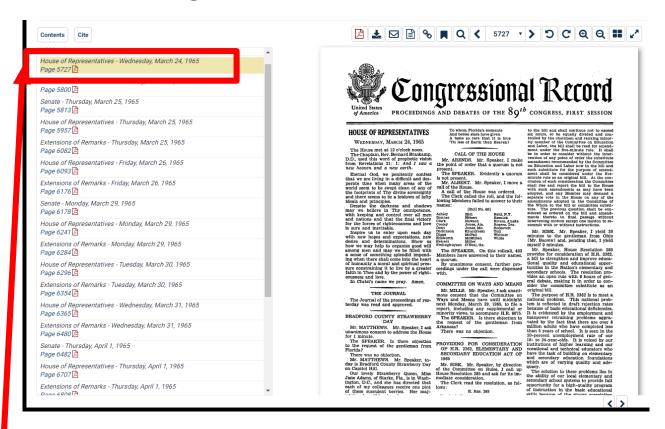
Mr. Foley, Mr. Poage, Mr. Jeffords, Mr. Akaka, Mr. Ammerman, Mr. Baldus, Mr. Bedell, Mr. Bowen, Mr. Breckinridge, Mr. Brown of California, Mr. Coleman, Mr. de la Garza, Mr. Huckaby, Mr. Jenrette, Mr. Jones of North Carolina, Mr. Jones of Tennessee, Mr. Krebs, Mr. Mathis, Mr. Moore, Mr. Panetta. Mr. Richmond, Mr. Rose, Mr. Skelton, Mr. Thornton, and Mr. Volkmer; Committee on Agriculture, 14648.-Reported (H. Rept. 95-348), 15152.—Made special order H. Res. 666, 21429.—Debated, 23702, 24053, 24377, 24545, 24756, 24942, 25206, 25462.—Amended and passed House, 25531.—Proceedings vacated. Laid on the table (S. 275 passed in lieu). 25561.

H.R. 2362-To strengthen and improve educational quality and educational opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools.

Mr. Perkins; Committee on Education and Labor, 627.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 143), 4393.—Made special order (H. Res. 285), 5727.—Debated, 5733, 5958, 6095, 6112.—Amended and passed House, 6152.—Referred to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 6178.—Reported (S. Rept. 146), 7056.-Debated, 7195, 7291, 7523, 7541, 7550, 7609, 7666, 7671, 7675.—Passed Senate, 7718.—Examined and signed, 7771, 7801.-Presented to the President, 7795 .-- Approved [Public Law 89-10]



Return to the parts and dates and find the one that covers page 5727. Right click it and open a new tab.



It's the Congressional Record!

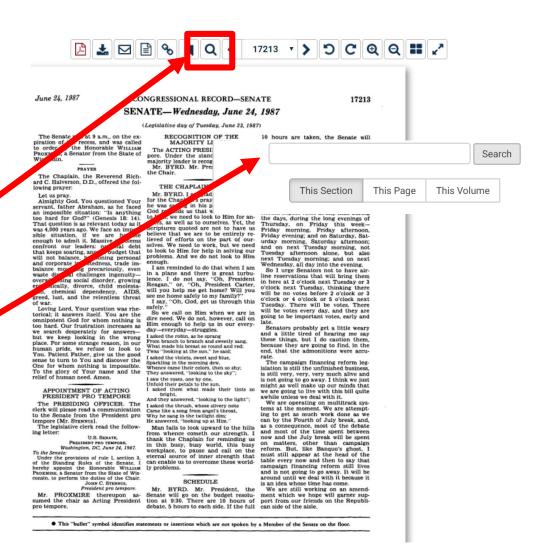
Some points on the CR...

This Congress breaks up the entries by chamber (they won't all do this.) Select the date for page 5727.

Another way to find things is to search the section.

To do so, click on the magnifying glass. If you wanted to find a vote, for example, you might search for "yeas" or "ayes" or "Roll No."

Using the dropdown menu, type in "yeas" and select search *for this* section.



six hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider without the intervention of any point of order the substitute amendment recommended by the Committee on Education and Labor now in the bill and such substitute for the purpose of amendment shall be considered under the fiveminute rule as an original bill. At the conclusion of such consideration the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any of the amendments adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or committee substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Baown] and, pending that, I yield myself 9 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 285 provides for consideration of H.R. 2362, a bill to strengthen and improve educational quality and educational opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools. The resolution provides an open rule with 6 hours of general debate, making it in order to consider the committee substitute as an original bill.

The purpose of HD 1982 to to most o

Here's the Rule being introduced!

What's the debate like? Pull some quotes into your outline!

Who are the members involved? Use Bioguide!

Sisk, Brown, Brown's Grandson, There CAN ONLY BE ONE!

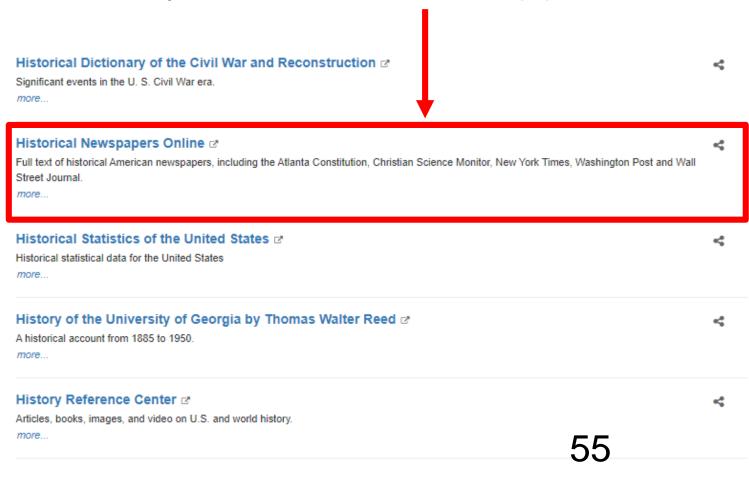


Finding Your Enactment in Historical Newspapers

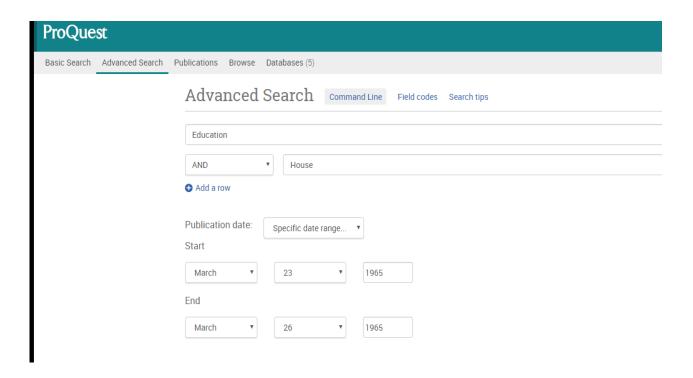
This is confusing as hell. What's going on here substantively?

Great question. Let's check historical newspapers.

Go back to the UGA library's databases. Find Historical Newspapers. Click on it.



Finding Your Enactment in Historical Newspapers

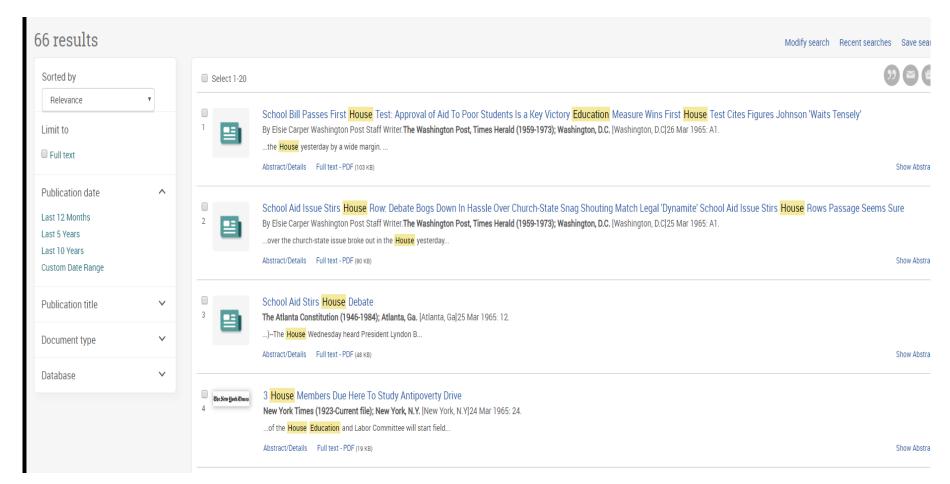


Click on "Advanced Search." You might have to play with the search terms, but select "Specific Date Range" and enter a few days before and after.

This was March 24th, 1965.

Finding Your Enactment in Historical Newspapers

The Results...



Finding Your Enactment in CQ Almanac

Let's also check CQ if you don't already have that. If your bill is pre-1945, you're out of luck...

Go back to the UGA library's databases. Find CQ Almanac. Click on it.

Corsini Encyclopedia of Psychology (2010) 2

The Corsini Encyclopedia of Psychology, 4th Edition is a four-volume set with over 1,500 entries; including, complete coverage of DSM disorders and a bibliography of over 10,000 citations.

more...

CQ Almanac @

Annual summary of Congress by topic. Covers 1945-2013 (79th - 113th Congresses)

CQ Historic Documents Collection &

Selected primary source material from recent U.S. history. Our content ends after June 30, 2019.

CQ Researcher Plus Archive

Reports on topical public issues. Our content ends after June 30, 2019.

CQ Voting and Elections Collection @

Historical data and information about voting and elections in the U.S.

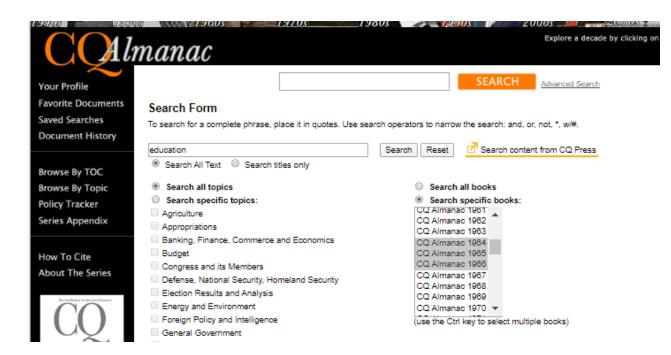
Finding Your Enactment in CQ Almanac

Click on advanced search.

Enter your search term. Bill number is a solid first guess.

Click on Search Specific Books.

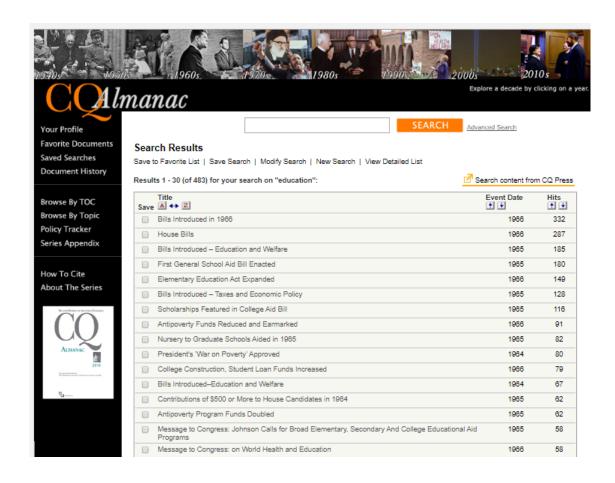
Find the years surrounding your bill's enactment.



Finding Your Enactment in CQ Almanac

The Results...

Great resource for the Background section as well.



Additional Sources: Google Scholar



		Q
Artic	es Case law	

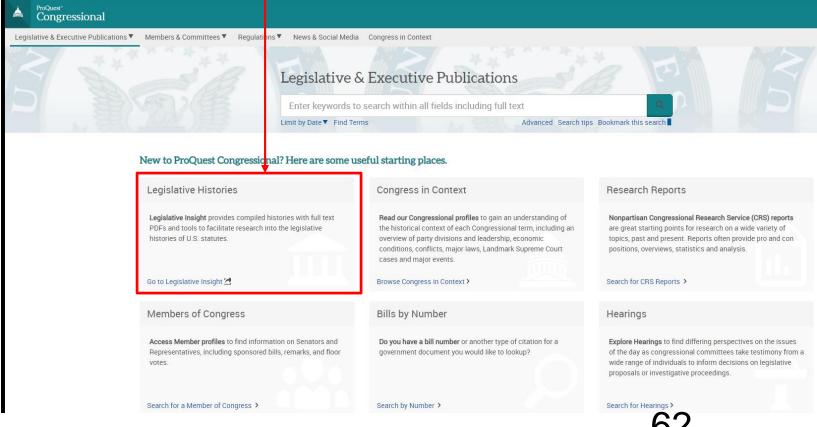
Four additional sources that students are encouraged to consult are (1) Google Scholar; (2) ProQuest Congressional; (3) HeinOnline's U.S. Federal Legislative History Library; and (4) Congressional Research Service Reports.

1) A google scholar search of your bill's title will frequently pull up a number of articles. These pieces are often law or policy related and can provide both useful background on your enactment and highlight the policy ramifications of it. The latter is particularly useful for your "Aftermath" section. Google scholar can be found here:

https://scholar.google.com/

Additional Sources: ProQuest Congressional

2) ProQuest Congressional offers a wide-range of congressional documents from 1789 to present. It also includes fairly robust legislative histories that includes related bills, regulatory histories and assorted references. To find it, select "ProQuest Congressional" from "Articles and Databases" off of the University Library Website. Then select "Legislative Insight." A list of congresses will be on your left. Select your relevant Congress and find your bill.



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Additional Sources: HeinOnline's U.S. Federal Legislative History Library

3) Like ProQuest Congressional,
HeinOnline's U.S. Federal Legislative
History Library will provide some
legislative history information. To find it,
select "HeinOnline" from "Articles and
Databases" off of the University Library
Website. Then, in the column on the right,
select "U.S. Federal Legislative History
Library." From there, select "Sources of
Compiled Legislative Histories Database."
Select your relevant Congress and find
your enactment.

- U.S. Code
- U.S. Congressional Documents
- 1 U.S. Congressional Serial Set
- U.S. Federal Agency Documents, Decisions, and Appeals
- U.S. Federal Legislative History Library

U.S. Federal Legislative History Library

U.S. Federal Legislative History Title Collection

Sources of Compiled Legislative Histories Database

Legislative Reference Checklist

External Links

- **1** U.S. International Trade Library
- 1 U.S. Presidential Library
- 1 U.S. Presidential Impeachment Library
- **1** U.S. Statutes at Large
- 1 U.S. Supreme Court Library

Additional Sources: CRS

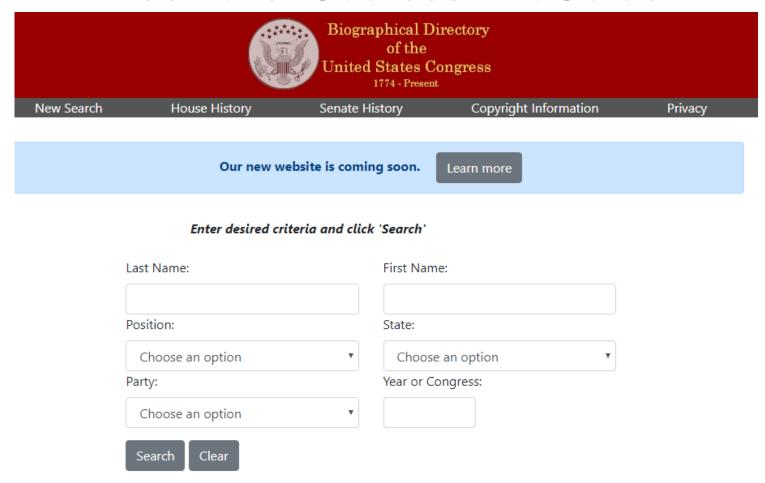
4) As noted on the Federation of American Scientists website, "The Congressional Research Service, a component of the Library of Congress, conducts research and analysis for Congress on a broad range of national policy issues. While many CRS memoranda are generated in response to individual Member or staff inquiries and are confidential, most CRS reports are available to anyone who has access to a congressional intranet."



CRS Reports are frequently drafted in response to certain legislation and often will provide detailed historical background and a discussion of the policy ramifications of a given bill. While Congress has directed CRS to not publicize their reports, a number of websites have publicized them. Before checking the websites listed below, I recommend students do a simple google search of their bill title and CRS report. If a report isn't listed, checking the websites below for a relevant report may be worthwhile:

- www.everycrsreport.com
- https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/
- http://stanistan.org/index.html
- http://archives.democrats.rules.house.gov/archives/crs_reports.htm?utm_content=buffer4c368&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer

Additional Sources: BioGuide



5) Bioguide provides a "Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress from 1774-Present. Students with questions about invidual members are encouraged to use it for additional information. It can be found at www.bioguide.congress.gov

Committee Resources

Changes in committee will be discussed and key aspects of the bill will be summarized in the committee reports. In recent decades, the minority and majority views are included in the same report, though historically, they have been reported separately.

LL Hide Overview	v X
Sponsor:	Rep. Black, Diane [R-TN-6] (Introduced 03/20/2017)
Committees:	House - Budget
Committee Reports	s: H. Rept. 115-52
Latest Action:	Senate - 09/14/2017 Considered by Senate. (All Actions)
Roll Call Votes:	There have been 13 roll call votes

Using Congress.gov, the committee reports can be found here.

Committee Resources

ProQuest | Legislative Insight

Home Quick Search Gu	uided Search Search	by Number Timeline Browse	Legislative Proc	Legislative History of the Air	line Deregulation Ac 🕻 Lit	oGuide	
PDF Print Export Legislative Process Options Sort by pub type Publication Filter Show all				Legislative History of the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978, P.L. 95-504 9v. Washington: Covington & Burling, 1978 Washington: Covington & Burling,			
PL95-504 contains 89 pub	blications.	Tip: Begin your research with I	reports marked with	Search this title	•	Q	
Find terms on			Go	Cumula	itive Contents		
Find terms in full text pu			Go	■ 1 (Doc Contents Table of Do Page 1 🕒			
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SUMMARY:

To amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, to encourage, develop, and attain an air transportati to determine the quality, variety, and price of air services, and for other purposes.

USCS: 15 USCS § 1511, 18 USCS § 112, 18 USCS § 878, more...

DURABLE URL: https://congressional-proquest-com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/legisinsight?id=f

REGULATORY HISTORY:

View the administrative rule-making process related to this public law. Open in Regulatory Insight: Regulatory History of P.L. 95-504

SUPREME COURT CASE HISTORY:

View Supreme Court cases related to this public law, and their associated documents. Open in Supreme Court Insight: American Airlines, Inc. v. Wolens (92-249): ct Johnson v. American Airlines, Inc. (94-1170): Alaska Airlines, Inc. v. Brock (85-920): to American Airlines, Inc. v. Wolens (93-1286): [2 Northwest, Inc. v. Ginsberg (12-462): to

Scrolling down on **ProQuest Congressional** will give you Committee Hearings transcripts as well as committee reports.

Hein's Legislative History library will also have some reports.

Other sources to identify what happened in Committee: Historical newspapers, CQ Almanac.

Assorted Process Terms

Rules Committee

Why a Rule? Priority.

Who serves on the Rules Committee? How does one become Chair?

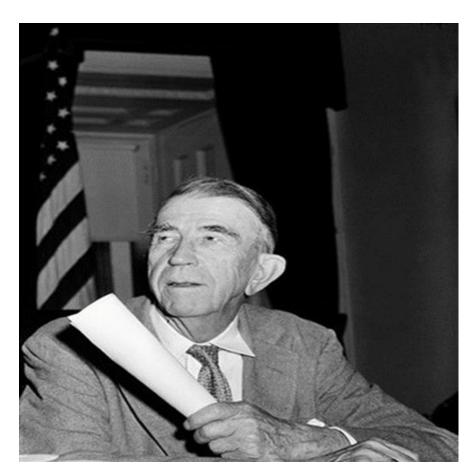
9 to 4 majority party advantage on Rules...

History: Power stems from reforms in the late 19th Century.

Rules can block germane amendments, provide time limits.

Types of rules: closed, open, structured. Why is it so important to control the amending process?

Minority input on Rules?

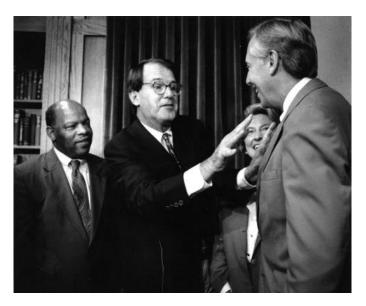


Open Rule



The most common rule type for many congresses is the <u>open</u> <u>rule</u>. An open rule will include language to the effect of "amendments will be considered under the 'five-minute' rule. This means any amendment can be offered and five-minutes will be permitted for debate and/or discussion.

Modified-Open Rule





A <u>modified-open rule</u> is generally considered an open rule with some non-discriminatory limitation. Generally, this takes the form of a time limit or a pre-printing requirement. In the case of a pre-printing requirement, the rule specifies that amendments will only be considered if they are printed in the Congressional Record by a certain time period. Practically, what this means is that the majority wants to know what amendments are coming ahead of time. The language will look like this rule from the 104th Congress: "No amendment to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be in order unless printed in the portion of the Congressional Record designated for that purpose in clause 6 of rule XXIII before the beginning of consideration of the bill for amendment." Time limits will simply state that any amendments can be offered, but they will state that consideration of the bill and amendments will end at a specified time (i.e. at 5 p.m.) or after an allotted time period (i.e. two hours).

Closed Rule





A <u>closed rule</u> is the most restrictive type of rule. It bars any amendments from being offered. The rule text will generally not reference amendments of any kind. Instead, it will specify control over debate and then include language like the following: "The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution to final passage without intervening motion except ne motion to recommit with or without instructions."

A Standard Closed Rule

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 1430) to provide for a temporary increase in the public debt limit. All points of order against the bill and against its consideration are waived. Debate on the bill shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means. *The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.* Sec. 2. Upon its passage by the House, H.R. 1430 shall be considered to constitute reconciliation legislation pursuant to section 7(a) of the conference report to accompany the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 64) setting forth the congressional budget for the United States Government for the fiscal years 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998.

The debate supports this as a purely closed rule. Here's the manager, Moakley (D-MA):

"[A] closed rule on a debt limit bill is traditional, especially for a new President, and closed rules in this circumstance have won overwhelming bipartisan support every time in the past."

And on the minority side, here's Solomon (R-NY):

"The new Members were told of the tradition and custom of closed rules on debt limit bills. They were told of procedural problems-of futile previous question fights, of germaneness rules, of closed rules, and on and on and on. But, Mr. Speaker, one of those new Members cut right through the smoke that was thrown in his face by the Rules Committee. He put it quite sim- ply and eloquently when he said the American people do not care about these procedural customs and traditions and precedents and obstacles. They do not really understand them."

A Modified-Closed Rule

A <u>modified-closed</u> rule is also highly restrictive. It will bar nearly all amendments, but may specify that an amendment will be offered by the Committee Chairman or his/her designee (or a set of amendments may be offered that have been approved of by the committee). A modified-closed rule also includes rules that are completely closed in one section, but open, modified-open or structured in other sections.



A Structured Rule



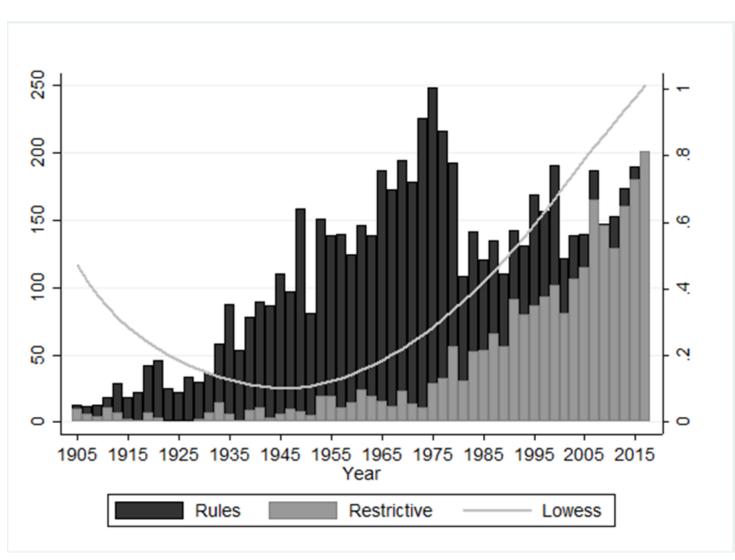


A <u>structured rule</u> is a restrictive rule that provides for only certain amendments to be in order. These are usually list in a report of the Committee on Rules. An announcement for a structured rule is typically made several days in advance. Amendments are then proposed and screened by the Rules Committee. Those found to be acceptable are printed in the report. The language will often look like this: "No amendment to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be in order except those printed in part B of the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution."

Rules over Time; Other Provisions

- 1. Waiver only
- 2. Special Order
- 3. King-of-the-Hill
- 4. Queen-of-the-Hill
- 5. Self-executing
- 6. Martial Law
- Bifurcated

Other floor options: Suspension; Unanimous consent.



Voting on the Floor



First vote may be to order the previous question motion on the Rule, followed by a vote on the Rule itself.

Debate here is structured by the rule. Generally, the floor is empty and the outcome is pre-determined.

Note: Not all votes are recorded!

This is often followed by debate on the bill, votes on any amendments (may not be recorded), a motion to recommit with instructions, potential votes on points of order and a vote on the bill.

What influence member votes? Reelection, policy goals, reelection, party loyalty, reelection. Priorities are often as important as policy goals.

Different vote types: Voice, Division, Teller, Recorded/Roll Call...

Voice Vote

The default voting mechanism in Congress is the *voice vote*.

During a voice vote, the chair will put forward two questions: "all in favor say 'Yea'," and '`all opposed say 'Nay'."

The job of tallying the votes in such a situation falls to the chair, and his or her count cannot be appealed. While members may make their opinions clearly known, voice votes produce no record of individual positions on a given bill.



The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Division Vote

A <u>division vote</u> can be requested by any member.

Once requested, members rise if they take the affirmative on a question and they are then counted by the chair.

This process is repeated for those in opposition.

Division votes are not recorded and – like with voice votes – the chair's count of the votes cannot be appealed.



The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Knurson) there were—ayes 135, noes 152.

So the amendment was rejected.

Teller Vote

A <u>teller vote</u> is a vote in which members of Congress pass between two tellers, who write down the votes of each member, along with their names.

Teller voting is restricted to the House of Representatives and is used infrequently in the modern era.

While it is likely to yield more accurate vote totals than either voice or division votes, it is similar to these in that it also does not produce a record of how members cast their votes



The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. All time has expired on the pending amendment.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Knurson].

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. Doughton of North Carolina and Mr. Knutson.

The committee divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 174, noes 197.

So the amendment as rejected.

Roll Call Vote

To receive a *roll call vote* in either chamber a member needs a second of "one-fifth of those present."

In the House of the Representatives, once a sufficient second is voiced a roll call vote is taken. This voting has largely been done electronically since 1972. When the vote is called, members insert a personalized voting card into a station on the House floor and press either "Present", "Yea", or "Nay". Members' votes are then displayed on panels throughout the chamber.

While the speaker does have authority to extend votes, few last longer than the 15 minute requirement.

In the Senate, once the yeas and nays are ordered, the clerk begins to call the names of each senator alphabetically. The senator then has, generally, 15 minutes to respond to his or her name.

the passage of the bill. Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, I offer

a motion to recommit. The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman op-

posed to the bill? Mr. KNUTSON. Yes.

The Clerk will report The SPEAKER. the motion to recommit. The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. KNUTSON moves to recommit the bill (H. R. 3240) to the Committee on Ways and Means with instructions to forthwith report back a bill extending the existing tradeagreements law for a period of 2 years.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit offered by the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the year and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered. The question was taken; and there were—yeas 181, nays 212, answered

Were—yeas	101, Hays 2	12, answered		
"present" 2, not voting 37, as follows:				
[Roll No. 88]				
YEAS-181				
Adams	Gillette	Mason		
Allen, III.	Gillie .	Michener		
Andersen,	Goodwin	Miller, Nebr.		
H. Cart	Granger	Moss		
Anderson, Calif.	Grant, Ind.	Mundt		
Andresen,	Griffitha	Murray, Wis.		
August H. Andrews, N. Y.	Gross	O'Hara		
Andrews, N. Y.	Gwinn, N. Y.	Peterson, Pla.		
Angell	Gwynne, Iowa	Philbin		
Arends	Hagen	Phillips		
Arnold	Hale	Pittenger		
Auchineloss	Hall,	Ploeter		
Barrett, Wyo.	Edwin Arthur			
Bates, Mass.	Hnlieck	Powers		
Beall	Hancock	Ramey		
Bennett, Mo.	Hand	Randolph		
Bishop	Harness, Ind.	Reed, II). Reed, N. Y.		
Blackney	Hartley	Pereco, N. X.		
Bolton Brehm	Henry Herter	Rees, Kans. Rich		
Brumbaugh	Heselton	Rizley		
Buck	Hill	Robertson,		
Buffett	Hinshaw	N. Dak.		
Butler	Hoeven	Robston, Ky,		
Byrnes, Wis.	Holmes, Mass.	Rockwell		
Campbell	Holmes, Wash.	Rodgers Pa		
Canfleid	Hope	Rodgers, Pa. Rogers, Mass.		
Cannon, Fla.	Horan	Schwabe, Mo.		
	Howell	Schwabe, Okla.		
Casc, N. J.	Hull	Scrivner		
Case, S. Dak.	Jenkins	Shafer		
Chenoweth	Jennings	Sharp		
Chiperfield	Jensen	Short		
Church	Johnson, Calif.			
Clason	Johnson, Ill.	Simpson, Ill.		
Clevenger	Johnson, Ind.	Simpson, Pa.		
Cole, Kans.	Jones	Smith, Maine		
Cole, Mo.	Jonkman	Smith, Ohio Smith, Wis,		
Crawford	Kean			
Cunningham	Kearney	Springer		
Curtis	Keefe Kilburn	Stevenson		
Dirksen Dolliver	Kilday	Stockman Sumner, III.		
Domengeaux	Kinzer	Sundstrom		
Dondero	Knutson '	Taber		
Dworshak	Kunket	Talbot		
Elliott	Landis	Talle		
Ellis	Lane	Taylor		
Ellsworth	Latham	Thomas, N. J.		
Elssesser	Len	Tibbott		
Elston	LeCompte	Towe		
Engel, Mich.	LeFevre	Vorys, Ohlo		
Fellows	Lemke	Vursell		
Fenton	Lewis	Weichel		
Pogarty	Luce	West		
Fuller	McConnell	Wigglesworth		
Gamble	McCowen	Winter		
Gavin	McDonough	Wolcott		
Gearhart	McGregor	Wolfenden, Pa.		
Gerlach	McMillen, Ill.	Woodraff Mich		
Gifford Gillespie	Martin, Iowa Martin, Mass.	Woodruff, Mich.		
Gillespie	STATE OF THE STATE			

Andrews, Ala. Barrett, Pa. Baldwin, N. Y.

O'Neal O'Toole Outland Beckworth Bell Bennet, N. Y. Granahan Biemiller Green Page Bland Gregory Patman Bonner Patrick Brooks Patterson Peterson, Ga. Brown, Ga. Harris Pfeifer Pickett Havenner Buckley Poage Price. Fig. Bulwinkie Hays Hedrick Burch Burgin Heffernan Price, Ill. Byrne, N. Y. Priest Quinn, N. Y. Mobbs Camp Cannon. Mo. Rabin Holifield Carnahan Raina Celler Ramspeck Chapman Chelf Jackson Rayfiel Resa Richards Jarman Clark Clements Johnson Cochran Riley Rivers Luther A. Coffee Judd Robertson, Va. Robinson, Utah Colmer Kee Kefauver Combs Roe, Md. Rogers, Fla. Rogers, N. Y. Rooney Kelley, Pa Kelly, Ill. Cooper Courtney Cox Kerr King Rowsn Kirwan Russell Crosser Curley Kopplemann LaFollette Ruter D'Alexandro Daughton, Va. Lanham Sadowsky Sasseer Sheppard Davis Larcade Dawson Lesinski Sheridan Smith, Va. Delancy. James J Landbow Snyder Somers, N.Y. Lynch Delaney. McCormack McGehee John J Sparkman Dickstein McGlinchev Starkey Doughton, N. C. Sumners Tex McMillan, S Douglas, Calif. Tarver Thom Douglas, Ill. Doyle Drewry Mahon Maloney Manasco Thomas, Tex Thomason Durham Ebernarter Engle, Calif. Mansfield. Tolan Mont. Mansfield, Tex. Ervin Fallon Trimble Vinson Voorbis, Calif. Marcantonio May Merrow Peighan Pernander Miller, Calif. Wenver Plannagan Weiss White Polger Monroney Morgan Whitten Morrison Whittington Fulton Murdock Murphy Gallaghes Wickersham Gardner Gary Gathings Murray, Tenn. Wood Woodhouse Woodrum, Va. Neely Morrell Norton O'Brien, Iil. Zimmerman Gibson Gordon O'Brien, Mich.

ANSWERED "PRESENT"-2

Brown, Ohio W		stelewski	
NOT VOTING-37			
Bender	Grant, Ala.	Rabaut	
Bloom	Hall,	Reece, Tenn.	
Boren	Leonard W.	Roe, N. Y.	
Boylcin	Healy	Savage	
Bradley, Mich.	Hébert	Slaughter	
Bradley, Pa.	Hess	Stefan	
Bunker	Hoffman	Stewnit	
Cole, N. Y.	Hook	Stigler	
Cooley	Johnson.	Traymor	
Earthman	Lyndon B.	Wadsworth	
Eaton	Johnson, Okla.	Weich	
Fisher	O'Konski	Wilson	
Graham	Powell	Worley	

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Bradley of Michigan for, with Mr. Hook nealmst

Mr. Hoffman for, with Mr. Stigler against. Mr. Leonard W. Hall for, with Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma against.

Mr. Cole of New York for, with Mr. Roe of New York against. Mr. Fisher for, with Mr. Cooley against.

Senate Floor Process: Filibusters

Here's where the process generally gets weird.

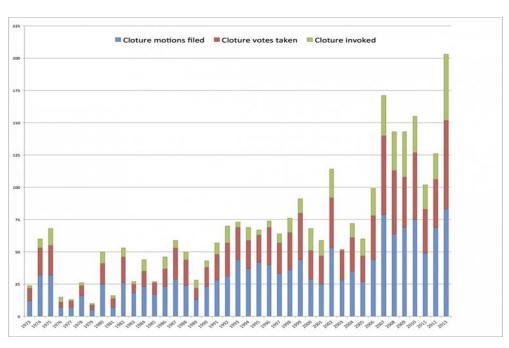
No feature comparable to the House Rules Committee. Lack of a simple-majoritarian method for ending debate makes the Senate extremely unique. So how does a bill get to the Senate floor? Leader will offer a motion to proceed. But ending debate on that is difficult.

Primarily two options:

- Cloture. 60 votes and extremely timeconsuming. May need cloture on the motion to proceed and then on the bill itself.
- 2. Unanimous Consent. Necessitates even more compromises then cloture.



Senate Floor Process: Filibusters



Understanding the filibuster

The Senate "filibuster" is not a rule in the Senate (sorry, Mr. President). It owes its existence to the absence of a rule allowing a simple majority to end a debate.

Rule XXII, or cloture, established in 1917, provides for a supermajority to end debate.

Historically, floor time is so valuable in the Senate that measures subject to filibusters are not brought to the floor and cloture votes are not taken.

Because of this, determining when a filibuster has taken place—or providing a count of filibusters—is almost completely arbitrary.

Senate Floor Process: Filibusters

Understanding the filibuster

Often times, obstruction through long speeches on the Senate floor are for "show." See recent speeches by Senators Paul (R-KY), Cruz (R-TX) and Merkley (D-OR).

Even when cloture is not invoked, the Senate's debate rules have an effect on policy output. See Senator Tom Coburn (R-OK) and the Zadroga Health Compensation Act of 2010.

Because of workload and time demands, the modern U.S. Senate is largely run by unanimous consent.

Want a longer discussion? E-mail me...





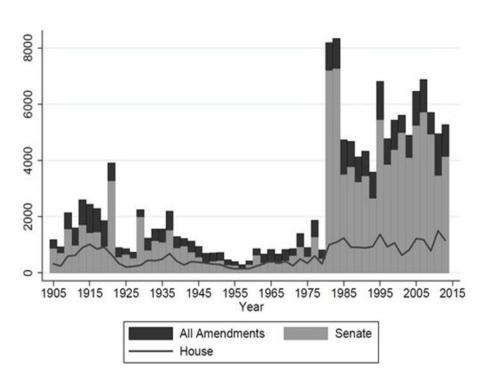
Senate Floor Process: Amendments

The amending process on the Senate floor is crazy.

Individual members have a great deal of leverage, so we see a large number of amendments offered and voted on in the Senate.

Most are of the position-taking variety. Why do this?

Some will be bills offered "as amendments."



Can be offered as motions to strike, strike and insert, etc....A major job for staffers and interns is summarizing amendments and writing vote recommendations for their members. Unlike bills, where members have a great deal of notice and information from committee mark-ups, introductory speeches, lobbyists and party leaders, amendments are often offered with no supplemental information and very little time to process.

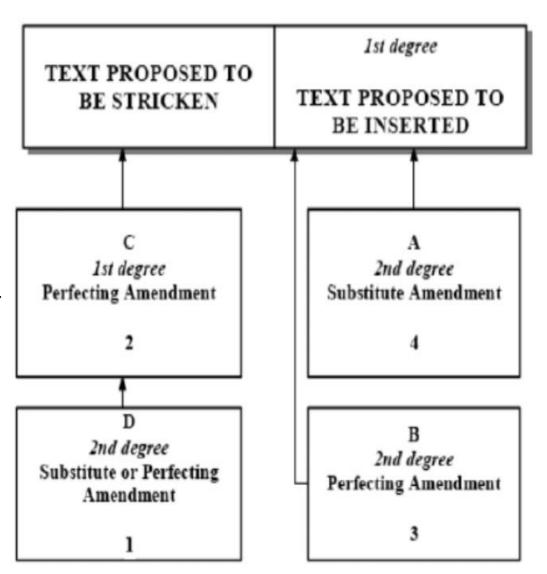
Amendment Tree

Depending on the kinds of amendments that members offer and the order in which they are recognized to offer their amendments, members can offer anywhere from three to 11 amendments before the Senate has to vote on any of them.

As a general rule, a measure being considered on the House or Senate floor is open to amendment in only two degrees.

<u>Amendment trees</u> are the graphic ways of depicting these possible situations.

One such tree is presented in the adjacent Figure.



Questions, Concerns, Angry Rants?





Don't hesitate to e-mail me.